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**M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE
LIBER PRIMVS**

**EDITED BY
ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
1920**

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PREFATORY NOTE

The importance of Cicero's treatise on divination to students in a wide range of historical fields—religious, philosophical, literary, and political—and the fact that there exists no modern commentary upon it of any considerable scope¹ furnish the occasion and excuse for the publication of this volume, which contains the text of the first book of the *De Divinatione* with an exegetical commentary. To this it is my purpose to add a similar treatment of the second book, together with an appendix dealing with manuscripts, editions, and translations of the work, and with an index to the text and notes.

Inasmuch as this edition emphasizes chiefly the content rather than the textual form of the treatise, it has not seemed necessary to provide a text based upon a new and independent study of the manuscripts, and I have therefore followed, with some exceptions, the text of C. F. W. Müller in the Teubner edition of Cicero (Leipzig, 1878, and later impressions), the expected recension by O. Plasberg being unfortunately not yet available. In the brief critical apparatus here printed only those passages are treated² in which readings are adopted either unsupported by any of the MSS. constituting the C group (*Leid. Voss.* 84 = A, *Leid. Voss.* 86 = B, *Leid. Heins.* 118 = H, and *Vindob.* 189 = V) or differing from the text of Müller. The apparatus is based upon that of Christ (1861), supplemented by those of Moser (1828), Orelli (1828), Baiter (1864), and Müller (1905), by the work of Deiter, *De Ciceronis cod. Leid. no. 118 denuo collato* (1882), and the photographic facsimiles of codices H and A published by Plasberg in 1912 and 1915 respectively.

The inadequacy of any commentary upon a work of such varied character I well appreciate, and in the words of Virgil³ I may say *tanta inchoata res est ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar*. Many a reader will, no doubt, be dissatisfied with this or that interpretation, or will miss some significant parallel or the treatment of some important question. I have striven, however, to make the notes answer, so far as possible in the words of the ancient writers themselves, such difficulties as could be readily foreseen, including many quite untouched by earlier commentators, to

¹ Since the variorum edition of Moser (Frankfort, 1828) and the editions of Giese (Leipzig, 1829) and Allen (London, 1839) no annotated edition is known to me save those of Thoresen (Copenhagen, 1894) in Danish and Heeringa (Leyden, 1909) in Dutch, of which neither is intended for the same end as the present commentary.

² Exceptions are made in the case of a few important cruces.

³ *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 24, 11.

whose useful collections (particularly that of the learned Davies) I am greatly and continually indebted. Valued assistance has been given me by Professors J. S. P. Tatlock of the Leland Stanford University and W. Scott of the University of Indiana, and by several of my colleagues at the University of Illinois, particularly Professors H. S. V. Jones, C. M. Moss, A. T. Olmstead, J. Stebbins, and C. Zeleny, and Dr. R. C. Whitford. To my colleague Professor W. A. Oldfather I am under especial obligation for many important suggestions and for careful editorial assistance. I wish also to express my gratitude for privileges generously accorded to me by the authorities of the Harvard College Library.

Urbana, Illinois,
1 March, 1920.

INTRODUCTION

μή . . . ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἷς τὰρὸν ἀνθρώπειός ἐστι πάσχειν, ἐπειδὴν κτερομήκτου αὐτοῖς ἐπιλήθωναι αἱ θάνατοι ἔλπιδες, καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθύλατται, μαντικῆν τε καὶ χρησμοῖς, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἑλπίδων λυμύεται.

Thucydides, 5, 103.

Ceterum plerumque mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere fallacis ignara dicentium; ita corrumpi fidem artis cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. Tacitus *Ann.* 6, 22, 5.

1. The purpose of the philosophical works which Cicero produced in great abundance during the years 45-44 B.C. appears to have been at least threefold. The death of his daughter Tullia in February, 45¹ had been a severe blow from which he sought relief in the renewed study of philosophy,² of which his *Consolatio* is but one of the more striking results.³ Again, his writings made it possible for him, even in enforced retirement, to reach a circle of readers who, to some extent, compensated for the more numerous hearers whom he had previously influenced during his public career.⁴ Finally, the purpose seems to have developed with him of creating by his various theoretical works an encyclopaedic system which should make available to his fellow countrymen the treasures of Greek philosophic thought⁵ in a form which they could both understand and respect.⁶

2. Prominent in this encyclopaedic structure, as was to be expected in any Roman adaptation of Greek philosophy, were the groups of works

¹ Cf. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. T. Cicero* (1893), 271; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 375.

² Cf. *Ac.* 1, 11: *nunc vero et fortunae gravissimo percussus vulnere et administratione rei publicae liberatus, doloris medicinam a philosophia peto et otii oblectationem hanc honestissimam iudico; ad Att.* 12, 14, 3; *ad Fam.* 4, 6, 2; *N.D.* 1, 9. On his methods of work during this period see Reid's edition of the *Academicus* (1885), 28-29. Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity* (1914), 4, well remarks: "I do not think it has been sufficiently noticed that those writings point to an era in his life in which he was really bringing his mind to bear on great questions of human interest, as he had never yet done, except perhaps when, as a younger man by ten years, he wrote

the *De Republica* and the *Somnium Scipionis*,—in another period of recovery from serious misfortune and depression."

³ Cf. 2, 3 *infra*.

⁴ Cf. 2, 7: *in libris enim sententiarum dicebamus, contionabamur; N.D.* 1, 6.

⁵ Cf. 2, 1: *si optimum artium vias traderem meis civibus; N.D.* 1, 7: *ipsius rei publicae causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi, magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis res tam graves tamque praeclaras Latinis etiam litteris contineri; Off.* 1, 1: *magnus attulimus adiuventium hominibus nostris ut non modo Graecarum litterarum rudes sed etiam docti aliquantum se urbi-trentur adeptos et ad dicendum et ad iudicandum; also Reid, op. cit. 20-24.*

⁶ Reid, *op. cit.* 20; 23.

upon ethics (both theoretical and practical) and upon the theory of religion, the latter centring about the *De Natura Deorum*, a work, as I have elsewhere⁷ attempted to show, of descriptive rather than polemic purpose. With it were intimately connected in subject matter and practical application the subjects of divination and fate, which, on account of their importance and complexity, it had become customary, among the Stoics at least, to treat in excursuses or separate works.⁸ This plan of separate treatment was adopted by Cicero, who, on the one hand, followed closely the fashion of his sources without pausing to make many new combinations of material, and, on the other, perhaps welcomed the opportunity of making a sharper distinction between superstitious belief in divination and legitimate religion.⁹

3. The need of an attack upon divination was becoming more and more apparent. The decline of faith in the traditional Roman religion among a large part of the intellectuals of Cicero's day and the consequent formalizing of those rites which were still retained had led to the frequent and ridiculous abuse of this art for political or personal ends, as in the notable case of M. Bibulus in 59 B.C.¹⁰ and the absurd incident which in 56 had occasioned Cicero's *De Haruspicum Responso*.¹¹ Even Cicero himself, an augur¹² and the author of a work *De Auguriis*,¹³ illustrates this inconsistent political and antiquarian tendency to preserve an unreal but

⁷ *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 44 (1913), 25-37.

⁸ Cf. *N.D.* 3, 19: *maximae res tacite praeterierunt, de divinatione, de fato, quibus de quaestionibus tu quidem strictim, nostri autem multa solent dicere, sed ab hac ea quaestione quae nunc in manibus est separantur*; 1, 9, n. (*quod praetermissum est, etc.*) *infra*. The relation of the *De Natura Deorum* to our work is indicated in 1, 8; et al.; that of the *De Fato* in 1, 127 (see note on *id quod alio loco ostenditur*); 2, 3; 2, 19; *de Fat.* 1; that of the *De Natura Deorum* and the *De Fato* in *N.D.* 3, 19; cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 1 (1895), 539, and n. 3.

⁹ Cf. especially 2, 148-150. The Stoic attempt inextricably to involve divination with a belief in the gods (1, 82-83) he expressly attacks in 2, 101-106.

¹⁰ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 257 (who also gives other instances); Fowler, *Relig. Experience of the Rom. People* (1911), 306-307.

¹¹ Cf. *de Har. Resp.* 9; al.

¹² Cf. 1, 15, n. (*vestra*); 1, 90; al. Cicero was chosen in 53 in place of Crassus.

¹³ The date of this work is disputed. Drumann (*Gesch. Roms*, 6 (1844), 352) and Schanz (*op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 380; cf. 340) set it later than the *De Divinatione*, since it is not mentioned in the catalogue of Cicero's works in 2, 1-4 *infra*. But more probable is the view of Hirzel (*op. cit.* 1, 537, n. 3) that it is not there mentioned because its subject was technical rather than philosophical, that it may have been written soon after Cicero's election as augur, and that its composition may perhaps be hinted at in *ad Fam.* 3, 9, 3. Whether the phrase in 2, 75 *infra* (*sed de hoc loco plura in aliis, nunc hactenus*) suggests a work to be written or one already elaborated is not clear. The fragments of the *De Auguriis* (in Müller's edition 4, 3 (1904), 312) give little help.

convenient fiction,¹⁴ and the contrast of his attitude in our work to that in the *De Legibus*¹⁵ has struck the attention of many scholars.¹⁶ But the decline in the state religion, while it resulted, in the case of the intellectuals, in the discrediting of divination, had, for the populace, a somewhat opposite effect, in releasing them from what was, to be sure, a superstition, but yet a legitimized and regulated one, and exposing them to a selfish

¹⁴ Cf. 2, 75 infra; also such passages as *pro Sest.* 32; in *Vat.* 18; *Rep.* 2, 17. Cicero's consultation of the Pythian oracle (*Plut. Cic.* 5) was perhaps made while he was under the strong influence of Posidonius; cf. Thiaucourt, *Essai sur les Traits philosoph. de Cic.* (1885), 253; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 50.

¹⁵ 2, 31-33. The political value of divination is clearly uppermost in this passage. Reitzenstein (in *Festschrift für Mommsen*, 3 (1893), 28-29), comparing *Leg.* 2, 32-33 with the *De Divinatione*, concludes that the latter was the earlier and that from it and the second book of the *De Natura Deorum* Cicero composed various sections and inserted them in the already written second book of the *De Legibus*. Cf. also Loercher in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, 17 (1907), 343, n. 3.

¹⁶ Explanations have varied. Lamarre (*Hist. de la Lit. lat.* 3 (1901), 281) thinks it the contrast of an earlier attitude in the *De Legibus* and a later in the *De Divinatione*, and this was the view of some earlier scholars (e.g., Moser in his edition of the *De Legibus* (1824), 259-260). But the date of the *De Legibus* is too uncertain to allow us to argue thus, and it may well be that in its completed form it is even later than the *De Divinatione*; cf. Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 347-348 for varying theories. Hirzel, on the other hand (*op. cit.* 1, 534, n. 2; cf. 538), thinks that our work and the *De Fato* represent a short relapse into scepticism. But the spirit of the work, as shown in such passages as seem to represent Cicero himself rather than his sources (e.g., the end of the second book), does not, on the whole, favor this interpretation. More

probable is the explanation of such writers as Moser (in his edition of the *De Divinatione* (1828), xi), Kühner (in his German translation (1868), xiv), Lecky (*Hist. of European Morals*, 1, 3 ed. (1888), 165, n. 3), Stoerling (*Quaest. Cicronianae ad Relig. spectantes* (1894), 29-32), Zielinski (*Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2 ed. (1908), 147, who makes Cicero show toward religion a threefold attitude inherited from the Scipionic circle: poetic, civil, and philosophical), and Jaeger (*op. cit.* 49-50), who distinguish between Cicero the philosopher and Cicero the senator, magistrate, and orator. Similar inconsistency appears between Cicero's theory and practice in other religious fields as well. Perhaps few men of distinction during all history have kept their speculative theory and actual practice in more carefully separated compartments—a support of the truth of Fowler's criticism (*Roman Ideas of Deity* (1914), 6-7) that Cicero (and perhaps his sources) failed to relate their philosophical thinking sufficiently closely to the life about them. The frequent employment by the Romans of legal *fictiones* may also have made more easy in the mind of a lawyer like Cicero the acceptance of one in a field which so closely affected politics. Again, we must make some allowance, as perhaps Hirzel (*l.c.*) would wish to do, for Cicero's temporary dependence upon sources which he had not thoroughly mastered, and also for the likelihood that in the second book of the *De Legibus* he is, in parts at least, describing and recording existing practices rather than creating in his imagination ideal ones. On this subject see also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 72.

an irresponsible host of impostors¹⁷ and an increasing rather than a diminishing body of delusions. There had also to be considered a few reactionaries among the educated class, who, through bigotry or antiquarian interest, had assumed the defence of well-nigh discarded mantic practices. As prominent among such should be mentioned Appius Claudius Pulcher and Publius Nigidius Figulus. The former, an augur who had dedicated to Cicero a work upon augury,¹⁸ was a friend of Cicero¹⁹ and his predecessor as governor of Cilicia, but a decided reactionary in religious matters and an opponent of the rationalistic views of his fellow augur, C. Claudius Marcellus.²⁰ Appius had died in 48 B.C.²¹ Nigidius Figulus was a Neopythagorean polymath of distinction,²² especially in the fields of grammar, theology, and natural science,²³ and also a recently deceased²⁴ friend of Cicero.²⁵ He had written works on private augury,²⁶ extispicine,²⁷ dreams,²⁸ the significance of thunder,²⁹ and astrology,³⁰ and might be considered the most notable Roman defender of divination at the time. It is noteworthy that he is nowhere mentioned in our work, but it is very probable, as Hirzel^{30a} suggests, that Cicero had him more or less in mind.

4. Against popular ignorance, then, on the one hand, and political and antiquarian obscurantism on the other, the *De Divinatione* stands

¹⁷ This outcome, recognized from the time of Ennius (1, 132 *infra*), appears frequently in our work; cf. Fowler, *Relig. Experience of the Roman People* (1911), 306.

¹⁸ Cf. 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*); *ad Fam.* 3, 4, 2; Schanz, *op. cit.*, 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 492; also n. 138 *infra*.

¹⁹ Who addresses to him the letters of the third book of the *ad Familiares*. And cf. Zingler, *De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 19.

²⁰ Cf. 2, 75; *Leg.* 2, 32.

²¹ Cf. Schanz, *l.c.*

²² The testimony of various authors is collected by Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed., 422; cf. Boissier, *Cic. et ses Amis*, 9 ed. (1892), 283-284.

²³ Cf. Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed., 419-422.

²⁴ According to Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1972 he died in 45.

²⁵ Cf. *ad Fam.* 4, 13; *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 2, 16; *Tim.* 1-2 (the only citation); *Plut. Cic.* 20; *an Seni*, 27; Roehrig, *De P. Nigidio Figulo* (1887), 1-2; Fries in *Rhein. Mus.* (1900), 31.

²⁶ Gell. 7, 6, 10.

²⁷ Gell. 16, 6, 12; *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 9, 5.

²⁸ Lydus, *de Ost.* 45.

²⁹ Cf. 1, 72, n. (*rituales*); Lydus, *de Ost.* 27-38; Schanz, *op. cit.* 422.

³⁰ The remains of these works on divination will be found in Swoboda's edition of the fragments of Nigidius (1889), 91-126.

^{30a} *Op. cit.* 1, 538, n. 1. He also tries to explain why Nigidius does not appear in the *De Divinatione* instead of Quintus Cicero, suggesting that Cicero had planned another memorial for Nigidius and also that he wished to honor his brother Quintus by a place in the dialogue. Furthermore Caesar had exiled Nigidius, and at the time when the plan of the dialogue was being elaborated Cicero may well have considered it inexpedient to insert allusions to him; but cf. n. 142 *infra*. Possibly, too, a feeling of delicacy about making Nigidius appear, so soon after his death, as the champion of ideas which Cicero subjects to such serious attack may have been a reason for his absence here.

forth as a vigorous rationalistic protest,³¹ which some have not hesitated to compare in its spirit with the passionate earnestness of Lucretius.³² It may be that the work is, in a sense, esoteric, and intended, like the *De Natura Deorum*, for a select circle of Cicero's friends³³—this is in some measure true of certain such works even at the present day—but within this circle, whether large or small, there could have been no doubt as to Cicero's plainly stated purpose: *multum enim et nobismet ipsis et nostris profuturi videbamur si eam (sc. superstitionem) funditus sustulissemus.*³⁴

5. The date of the work has been, on account of somewhat conflicting evidence, much disputed. We have as indications (1) its relation to other Ciceronian works, especially those noted in the catalogue of philosophical writings in 2, 1-4; (2) direct references to the death of Caesar; (3) allusions to Deiotarus and others which depend for their significance upon the question whether Caesar was alive or dead at the time when they were written. The way through this perplexing mass of detail has been skilfully traced by Durand,³⁵ whose treatment I shall, in the main, here set forth. First those passages must be mentioned which refer to the Ides of March.

³¹ Lamarre, *op. cit.* 3 (1901), 280, considers it an epoch-making work directed against the superstitions which formed so large a part of the religious structure of the Romans; cf. also Stoerling, *op. cit.* 29-32.

³² So Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 70; followed by Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 277 (who remarks that the poet shows more enthusiasm and indignation, the orator more logic), and Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 8-9. The comparison with Lucretius applies particularly to the close of the second book. Jaeger, *op. cit.* 49, thinks that Cicero seldom expressed himself more independently than in this second book.

³³ Thus Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 276, basing his view upon 2, 28: *soli sumus; licet verum exquirere sine invidia, mihi praesertim de plerisque dubitanti*. With the spirit of this remark cf. 2, 5: *ne postulandum quidem est ut omnes adolescentes se ad haec studia convertant. pauci utinam* and *N.D.* 1, 61. But possibly these phrases are merely intended to entice the reader by that fascination of the illicit which has so often been the strongest appeal of heterodoxy.

³⁴ 2, 148.

³⁵ In *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 173-183. The view of Sommerbrodt (12 ed. of the *De Senectute* (1896), Einleitung, 8) that our work was composed after the death of Caesar, and that of Maurer (in *Neue Jahrb.* 129 (1884), 386-390), Schwenke (in *Burs. Jahresb.* 47 (1886), 298), and Schanz (*op. cit.* 1, 2, 2 ed. (1898), 326; but in his 3 ed. (1909), 367 he accepts Durand's explanation) that the first book was written before and the second after the Ides of March (thus trying to account for the appearance of a prooemium in the second book; but Hirzel (*op. cit.* 1, 535, n. 1) following Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen* (1882), 475) thinks that the prooemium of the second book was justified by a change of scene, without any change of date in composition) are very properly rejected by Durand. The remarkable theories of Sander (*Quaest. de Cic. Libris quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 1-6), assuming posthumous publication by an anonymous person, have been well answered by Heeringa (in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 562-568) and need not here detain us.

Surely written before that date³⁶ are these: 1, 11: *hoc autem tempore, cum sit nihil aliud quod lubenter agere possim*;³⁷ 2, 52-53, where the rationalism of Caesar is favorably contrasted with the superstition of Pompey; 2, 142: *nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operae et lucubrationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam, nec tam multum dormiens ullo somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus*;³⁸ *nec mihi magis umquam videor, quam cum aut in foro magistratus aut in curia senatum video, somniare*; possibly also 1, 92: *apud maiores nostros senatus tum cum florebat imperium*.³⁹ Subsequent to Caesar's murder are: 1, 26-27 (cf. 2, 78-79), where King Deiotarus is described in a tone which Cicero would hardly have used while Caesar was living;⁴⁰ 1, 43-45, where there may be an allusion suggested by the events of 6 July, 44;⁴¹ 1, 119 (cf. 2, 36): *quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit*; 2, 7: *nunc quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus tribuenda est opera rei publicae*; 2, 23 (with an account of Caesar's murder); 2, 79: *adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui*;⁴² 2, 99: *quam multa ego Pompeio . . . quam multa huic ipsi Caesari a Chaldaeis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi senectute, nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum*; 2, 110: *quorum interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur eum quem re vera regem habebamus appellandum quoque esse regem si salvi esse vellemus*. From these passages it will be clear that though the work as a whole could not have been published before Caesar's death, yet parts, at least, of each book were written before that date.⁴³ By ingenious chronological elimination Durand argues, first, that the *De Divinatione* must have been written before the *De Fato* and hence before May-June, 44,⁴⁴ and, secondly, that between the Ides of March and that date, during which time we know somewhat closely about Cicero's movements, he neither had the time nor was in the frame of mind to have composed such a work,⁴⁵ and he concludes that it was written mainly before Caesar's death but completed and retouched here and there,⁴⁶ provided with a new prooemium to the second book,⁴⁶ and pub-

³⁶ Cf. Durand, *op. cit.* 179.

³⁷ See my note on this passage; parallel expressions for enforced retirement are collected by Durand, *op. cit.* 179, n. 2.

³⁸ Cf. Durand, *op. cit.* 179, n. 5.

³⁹ See my note on this passage.

⁴⁰ Cf. Durand, *op. cit.* 174.

⁴¹ See my note on 1, 43 (*Bruto*).

⁴² Cf. Durand, *l.c.*

⁴³ But cf. the improbable hypothesis of Sander mentioned in n. 35 above.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* 175-176.

⁴⁵ *Id.* 176-180; cf. *ad Att.* 14, 13, 4.

⁴⁶ Durand (*op. cit.* 181, n. 11) fancies that in some of the insertions he can detect the traces of hasty revision. For retouching of works by Cicero cf. *ad Att.* 13, 21, 4; 16, 3, 1.

⁴⁷ As evidence of Cicero's habit of writing his prooemia after the works themselves Durand (*op. cit.* 173, n. 7) cites *ad Att.* 13, 32, 3; 16, 6, 4; cf. also Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 535, n. 2.

lished between the Ides of March and 6 April, 44.⁴⁶ The date of composition may also be more exactly ascertained. The list of philosophical works in 2, 1-3, which is to be considered as chronologically correct,⁴⁷ names in order the *Hortensius*, the *Academica (posteriora)*, the *De Finibus*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *De Natura Deorum*, and the *De Senectute*.⁴⁸ Of these the *De Finibus* was finished by the end of June or early July, 45,⁴⁹ the *Tusculan Disputations* probably between June and August,⁵⁰ and the *De Natura Deorum* apparently was begun at least by August, 45,⁵¹ but probably not finished until November.⁵² It was followed by the *De Senectute*,⁵³ and it, in turn, by the *De Divinatione*, preparations for which seem to reach back as far as June, when Cicero asked Atticus to send him a copy of the epitome of Coelius by Brutus and one of the *περὶ προφασίας* of Panaetius,⁵⁴ but the scene is laid at Tusculum where Marcus and Quintus had recently been together,⁵⁵ and where we know that Cicero was in the last part of December, 45,⁵⁶ while in January, 44 he was working at Rome in the company of Atticus.⁵⁷ It was, then, as Durand argues, in the period between the first of January and the Ides of March that our work was written.

6. The *De Divinatione* possesses no formal dedication. Hirzel⁵⁸ feels that as a pendant to the *De Natura Deorum* it should have been dedicated, like that work, to Brutus, and that his absence is perhaps an additional indication that the treatise was composed after the death of Caesar. This reasoning as to the date is not convincing, yet we must agree⁵⁹ that the

⁴⁶ Durand, *op. cit.* 182. The latter date is reached from the fact that Cicero does not mention the *De Divinatione* in his letters to Atticus, from which Durand argues that it appeared while Cicero and Atticus were together at Rome. The correspondence which was interrupted while Cicero was at Rome, was renewed (*ad Att.* 14, 1) on 7 April, 44.

⁴⁷ Plasberg, *De M. T. Cic. Hortensio Dialogo* (1892), 6.

⁴⁸ *interiectus est etiam nuper liber is . . . de senectute.*

⁴⁹ Cf. *ad Att.* 13, 19, 4; also Durand, *op. cit.* 180, n. 5; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 353-354.

⁵⁰ Cf. Schanz, *op. cit.* 356. Durand thinks in August-September; *op. cit.* 180, n. 8; 181 (where he suggests that the *Tusculan Disputations* and the *De Natura*

Deorum together fell between August and November, 45).

⁵¹ Cf. Schanz, *op. cit.* 361. The theory of Mayor (in his edition of the *De Natura Deorum*, 3 (1885), xxv-xxvi; condemned by Schwenke in *Burs. Jahresb.* 47 (1888), 284; cf. 1, 8, n. (*perlegi*) *infra*) that the *De Natura Deorum* was not published until after Cicero's death need not seriously trouble us in dealing with the present problem. Cf. Philipsson in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 38 (1918), 409.

⁵² *Op. cit.* 181.

⁵³ 2, 3 *infra*.

⁵⁴ *ad Att.* 13, 8; but cf. n. 121 *infra*.

⁵⁵ 1, 8: *nuper, cum essem cum Q. fratre in Tusculano.*

⁵⁶ *ad Att.* 13, 42, 1-2.

⁵⁷ *ad Fam.* 7, 30, 2.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* 1, 535.

⁵⁹ *Id.*, 1, 536.

place of Brutus in the former dialogue is here filled by Quintus Cicero,⁶⁰ the only character in addition to Marcus himself.⁶¹ It is quite possible that Cicero strove deliberately to emphasize the difference in purpose between the *De Natura Deorum* and this work by a change both in the *dramatis personae* and in the person to whom the dialogue is (here by implication) dedicated.

7. Cicero recognizes two types of dialogue, the Heraclidean and the Aristotelian,⁶² to the former of which, where the speakers are men of the olden time, belong the *De Republica*, the *De Amicitia*, and the *De Senectute*, to the latter, with speakers contemporaneous with the author, most of Cicero's works in dialogue form, including the *De Divinatione*. Another feature of the Aristotelian dialogue is expressed in *ad Att.* 13, 19, 4: *quae autem his temporibus⁶³ scripsi Aristotelium morem habent; in quo sermo ita inducitur celerorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus*; and this idea is further treated in *de Fat.* 1: *quod autem in aliis libris feci qui sunt de natura deorum, itemque in iis quos de divinatione edidi, ut in utramque partem perpetua explicaretur oratio, quo facilius id a quoque probaretur quod cuique maxime probabile videretur, id in hac disputatione de fato casus quidam ne facerem impedivit*. The long unbroken speech naturally lent itself better to a writer who was following his sources somewhat slavishly, without having thoroughly mastered their content, than did the give and take of a real dialogue.⁶⁴ As befitted a discourse in the Aristotelian style the scene of this conversation is laid in the *Lyceum*, or upper gymnasium⁶⁵ upon

⁶⁰ To whom the *De Oratore* and the *De Republica* had already been dedicated. He had also appeared in the fifth book of the *De Finibus*.

⁶¹ Hirzel (*ibid.*, n. 1) observes that Quintus is not addressed in the preface, and compares the similar cases of the *Academica posteriora* (Varro) and the *Brutus* (Brutus), where it might seem unfitting to dedicate to one a dialogue in which he was himself a character.

⁶² *ad Att.* 13, 19, 4; *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 23 (and Tyrrell and Purser's note); Reid's edition of the *Academica* (1885), 25. Hirzel (*op. cit.* 1, 276-277) presents various views as to what constituted an Aristotelian dialogue, but arrives at no very definite conclusion. On p. 342 he treats the use of monologue in dialogues contemporaneous with or subsequent to Aristotle. On the general characteristics of Cicero's dialogues cf. *id.*, 1, 457-459; 550-552.

⁶³ This phrase Reid (*op. cit.* 25, and n. 4) takes to refer to the dialogues of about the year 45.

⁶⁴ In *Tusc.* 1, 8 Cicero describes the *velus et Socratica ratio contra alterius opinionem disserendi*. Wilamowitz (*Platon*, 1 (1919), 505, n.) remarks that there are no real debates in Cicero's dialogues, "weil er nicht hinreichend in die Gedanken eingedrungen war, übrigens auch den Schüler der Rhetoren nie verleugnete." Cf. also Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 537 on the monologues here represented. In our work the monotony of monologue is relieved (1) by the numerous quotations, especially from the poets; (2) by occasional apostrophes of opponents (as in 1, 23; 2, 108); and (3) by rare interruptions, the most noteworthy being perhaps 2, 100, after which Marcus continues (in 2, 101) *quasi ab alio principio*.

⁶⁵ Cf. 1, 8, and n. (*Tusculano*); 2, 8; Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 537, n. 1.

Cicero's estate at Tusculum, where during the first book the two brothers walk about,⁶⁶ while in the second they sit down *in bibliotheca quae in Lyceo est*.⁶⁷ The time is limited to one day, the only break in the dialogue being due to the change from walking to sitting.⁶⁸

8. Unlike the *De Natura Deorum* the dialogue makes no provision for an exposition of Epicurean views,⁶⁹ since the Epicureans did not recognize the existence of divination.⁷⁰ The Peripatetic doctrines in regard to this art were apparently not very precisely formulated,⁷¹ and hence the burden of positive support of divination fell to the Stoics, whose beliefs are here championed by Quintus Cicero. We must, however, avoid the conclusion that Quintus was himself a Stoic, for elsewhere⁷² he is represented as having Peripatetic sympathies. His selection may be due either to an eclectic synthesizing of the Lyceum and the Stoa, after the example of Cicero's teacher Antiochus,⁷³ or, more likely, to a desire of Cicero to compliment his brother by making him a character in the dialogue, regardless of whether the views ascribed to him were his or not.⁷⁴ Offset against Quintus and the Stoics in the first book stands Marcus in the second, with a destructive criticism drawn from sources presently to be discussed, but probably fairly well representing his own philosophical (as distinguished from political) views, culminating in the vigorous assault on superstition in 2, 148-150. As at the end of the first book,⁷⁵ however, Quintus had qualified his constructive argument so that in defending divination he

⁶⁶ Cf. 1, 8: *ambulandi causa* (and note on this passage); 2, 8: *cum . . . satis . . . ambulatum videretur*.

⁶⁷ 2, 8.

⁶⁸ Cf. Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 528, n. 1.

⁶⁹ Cf. Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 251.

⁷⁰ Cf. 1, 5, n. (*Epicurum*).

⁷¹ Cf. 1, 5, and nn.

⁷² Cf. *Fin.* 5, 96: *tum Quintus: mihi quidem, inquit, satis hoc confirmatum videtur, laetorque eam philosophiam cuius antea suppellectilem pluris aestimabam quam possessiones reliquarum (ita mihi dives videbatur ut ab ea pelere possem quidquid in studiis nostris concupissem), hanc igitur laetor etiam acutiorem reperlam quam ceteras quod quidam ei deesse dicebant.* And in *de Div.* 2, 100 he expresses a view consistent with this: *mea sponte nimis superstitiosam de divinatione Stoicorum sententiam iudicabam; haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippus, etc.* In *Fin.* 5, 3

Cicero is perhaps trying to indicate that the interests of Quintus were mainly poetical rather than philosophical; cf. Bücheler, *Q. Ciceronis Reliquiae* (1869), 15-24; Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 537, n. 2; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 409-410. Also cf. Zielinski, *Cic. im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2 ed. (1908), 61-62: "zum Anwalt des stoischen Dogmatismus hat er seinen Bruder Quintus gemacht, dessen romantische Dichternatur die Kraft der Weissagung, wenigstens soweit sie unmittelbar im Geiste des Menschen wirkt, nicht missen möchte."

⁷³ Cf. *N.D.* 1, 16.

⁷⁴ On the occasional lack of correspondence between the beliefs of Cicero's characters and their views in real life see *ad Att.* 13, 19, 5; Reid, *op. cit.* 48; Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 507-508. Yet in *Brut.* 218-219 Cicero censures the inconsistencies found in some dialogues.

⁷⁵ 1, 132.

might not appear to support charlatanry,⁷⁶ at the end of the second Marcus qualifies his attack, so that in his prosecution of superstition he may not seem to imperil true religion.

9. The prooemium to the first book sets forth the importance of the subject, due to its almost universal acceptance, and recounts the views of leading philosophers upon it.⁷⁷ That to the second book has no specific connection with divination, but contains a catalogue of Cicero's philosophical works and an explanation of the reasons which have led him to write them. This second prooemium seriously interrupts the course of the dialogue and was undoubtedly composed after the death of Caesar,^{77a} and though Birt and Hirzel⁷⁸ think the slight change of scene sufficient to justify the insertion of another preface it seems more probable that Durand is correct⁷⁹ in suggesting that in presenting to the public a philosophical treatise so soon after the death of Caesar it was desirable for Cicero to offer some explanation. But he was unwilling to discard the introduction to the first book in which he had given a very necessary résumé of the views of earlier philosophers and was desirous that that introduction should stand, to explain to his readers the circumstances of enforced retirement under which the bulk of the work had been composed,⁸⁰ that is, his withdrawal from public affairs which had preceded the Ides of March. For a prominent statesman to have written a book on such a subject just after the death of Caesar would have given Roman readers an unfortunate impression of trifling and aloofness at a critical moment in the life of the state, and this impression the retention of the preface to the first book was intended to dispel.^{80a} "Le manifeste, en tête du second livre, prenait le caractère d'une *Postface* à l'œuvre entière."⁸¹

10. The problem of the sources of this dialogue, as of those of Cicero's other philosophical works, is one of considerable complexity. The speed with which these treatises were dashed off⁸² and the famous statement which Cicero himself makes as to his methods of composition⁸³—*ἀπόγρηφαι sunt; minore labore fiunt; verba tantum affero, quibus abundo*—are sufficient *a priori* indications that he could have made little use of widely scattered

⁷⁶ The correspondence in the matter here mentioned between the close of the first book and that of the second is perhaps an additional indication that little has been lost at the end of the first; cf. 1, 132, n. (*praeclare . . . paratus*).

⁷⁷ Cf. 1, 5, n. (*philosophorum*).

^{77a} Cf. 2, 7.

⁷⁸ Cf. n. 35 above.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.* 182-183.

⁸⁰ Cf. 1, 11.

^{80a} Cf. *Ac.* 2, 5: *sunt . . . qui . . . earum rerum disputationem principibus civitatis non ita decoram putent.*

⁸¹ Durand, *op. cit.* 183.

⁸² This has left its traces in almost every work, in such forms as inconcinnity of parts, unfulfilled promises, anachronisms, forgetfulness as to the setting of the dialogues, and occasional rhetorical carelessness.

⁸³ *ad Alt.* 12, 52, 3.

sources.⁵⁴ What the few which he employed were, however, has been much disputed.⁵⁵ To reproduce here every argument adduced in regard to each section of our work and the arguments favoring or opposing each theory is manifestly impracticable; the larger aspects, nevertheless, will be here touched upon, and discussion of minor matters will frequently be found in the notes on particular passages. The sources may be roughly divided into a few main groups: (1) those for the résumé of the views of earlier philosophers in 1, 5-7; (2) Greek sources for the defence of divination by Quintus in the first book; (3) Greek sources for the destructive criticism expressed by Marcus in the second book; (4) literary and historical examples added by Cicero in both books and drawn mainly from Roman sources. These I shall now proceed to discuss.

11. The catalogue of views in 1, 5-7 corresponds in purpose to that in *N.D.* 1, 25-41, but is more plausibly put into the mouth of the author as part of his proemium. In form and content it bears some resemblance, as noted by Diels,⁵⁶ to a collection of *placita*, and likenesses appear between the opinion here ascribed to Xenophanes and that found in *Act.* 5, 1, 2, and between that of Dicaearchus and that in *Act.* 5, 1, 4. But the rest,

⁵⁴ Cf. Heeringa, *Quaestiones ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes* (1906), 13. In fact, the use of the few which he probably did employ lies open to much criticism on the ground of their not being thoroughly digested; cf. Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), lxxv; also n. 64 above. That Cicero did not regard his work as original appears in many places, e.g., 1, 11: *nihil . . . novi, nec quod praeter ceteros ipse sentiam, etc.*

⁵⁵ Among the more important discussions may be mentioned the following: Jacob, in his German translation (1841), 6-7; Drumann, *Gesch. Roms.* 6 (1844), 352; Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen* (1860), 14-15; Meltzer in *Neue Jahrb.* 105 (1872), 429-432; Schiche, *De Fontibus Librorum Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875)—perhaps the most important single contribution to the subject; Corsen, *De Posidonio Rhodio* (1878), 14-15; Hartfelder, *Die Quellen von Ciceros zwei Büchern de divinatione* (1878); Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (1879), 224-225; Thiaucourt, *Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic.* (1885), 251-277; Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), lxxv-lxxviii; Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 13, n. 8; Maass, *Aratea*

(1892), 156-158; Hoyer in *Rhein. Mus.* 53 (1898), 55-64; Zingler, *De Cicerone Historico Quaest.* (1900), especially 18-26; Vick, *Quaest. Carneadeae* (1901), 36; von Arnim, *Stoic. vet. Frsg.* 1 (1905), xxx; Heeringa, *op. cit.*; Loercher, *De Comp. et Fonte Lib. Cic. qui est de Fato* in *Diss. philol. Ital.* 17 (1907), 342-345; Sander, *Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div.* (1908); Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 367-368; Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 560-568; *id.*, edition of the *de Div.* (1909), 18-23; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid vel. Philos. iudicaverint* (1910), 39-40; Laurand in *Muste Belge*, 15 (1911), 7; Schönberger in *Bl. f. d. Gymnas.-Schulwesen*, 51 (1915), 13-17; Norden, 2 ed. of *Virgil, Aen.* VI (1916), 41-43. Many other scattering allusions to the question occur, particularly in discussions of the sources of the other philosophical works, and in monographs on individual philosophers. A summary of many of the views in the principal works mentioned will be found in Heeringa, *op. cit.* 1-5; 35-39.

⁵⁶ *Doxographi Graeci*, 224.

although Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics are mentioned, has little similarity, and the list of authors in 1, 6, doubtless added from the same source as the remainder, differs from the custom of the *placita*. The most recent name mentioned is that of Posidonius, who brings the list down to Cicero's own time, and in the description of the previous names a Stoic bias is at times to be detected,⁸⁷ or, at least, a disposition favorable to divination.⁸⁸ The last part of the catalogue (1, 6-7) is apparently added by Cicero from some other source, for it is distinctly hostile to the art and contains the names of Panaetius and Carneades, who chronologically belong in the earlier list but were probably excluded from it on account of the dislike felt by Cicero's source for their sceptical opinions.⁸⁹ In view of these considerations we may perhaps surmise that 1, 1-6 (through the mention of Antipater) was derived from the five books of Posidonius here mentioned,⁹⁰ to which Cicero, from his own general knowledge and in his characteristically more copious style, added the counterblast in 1, 6-7 in praise of Panaetius and Carneades.

12. The remainder of the first book is chiefly occupied with an exposition of divination from the standpoint of a believer, and, in particular, of a Stoic.⁹¹ Heeringa⁹² gives a full list of passages in this book in which

⁸⁷ Note the praise of Chrysippus (1, 6), the contempt for Epicurus (1, 5), and the relatively great space given to Stoics (Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Diogenes, Antipater) as contrasted with other schools.

⁸⁸ To be seen in the emphasis on the almost universal acceptance of divination by philosophers. This would make against the ascription of the catalogue to an Academic source.

⁸⁹ The more expanded treatment of the passage containing these two stands in decided contrast to the brevity of what precedes.

⁹⁰ On the interest of Posidonius in collecting the opinions of the ancients see Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 8; Diels, *op. cit.* 225.

⁹¹ 2, 8: *atque ego: adcurate tu quidem, inquam, Quinte, et Stoico Stoicorum sententiam defendisti*; cf. 1, 10: *arce[m] tu quidem Stoicorum, inquam, Quinte, defendis*; 1, 82; 1, 118; 2, 100.

⁹² *Quaestiones*, 8-12. Hartfelder (*op. cit.* 5 ff.) very methodically shows that the source is (1) Stoic, (2) Greek (on

pp. 5-6 he notes the numerous examples from Greek history, and the employment of Greek words such as *μαρτυρήν* (1, 1), *φυσιολογία* (1, 90), *μάγους* (1, 95), *δαίμονια* (1, 122), and *εμαρμήνην* (1, 125); Schiche (*op. cit.* 10) had also noted the mention (1, 34) of the Erythraean rather than the Cumaean Sibyl, and (*op. cit.* 16) the use in 1, 39 of *Syracosiorum* rather than *Syracusanorum*; and cf. Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 254-255, against supposing that Cicero used a Roman source, such as Varro, (3) not Chrysippus but a more recent Stoic, (4) not Panaetius (on account of 1, 6; 1, 12; 2, 88; 2, 97; etc.; cf. Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 259-260; 263; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 23-24), (5) not Diogenes of Babylon (for though he is cited in 1, 6 and 1, 84, yet it appears from 2, 90 that he did not accept astrology to the same extent as did the source of the first book), (6) nor Antipater (cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 8), but, by elimination, Posidonius (cited in 1, 6, et al., and a friend and correspondent of Cicero; cf. *ad Att.* 2, 1, 2), and, in particular, probably his five-volume work *κατὰ μαρτυρήν* (Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 10-11).

Cicero cites his sources, but many of these⁸² are far earlier writers and are surely used at second-hand, and of those who are mentioned by name only two—Cratippus and Posidonius—need be considered as possible sources on any large scale. Now Corsen⁸³ has listed those passages which are undoubtedly derived from Posidonius and finds the following: 1, 60-66 middle (in which the long quotation from Plato (60-61) is closely attached to what follows, and the phrase⁸⁴ *illo etiam exemplo confirmat Posidonius* clearly makes him the source both of what precedes and of what immediately follows⁸⁵); 1, 118 (the reference to the selection of victims by divine guidance is in 2, 35 said to be due to Posidonius); 1, 125-131 (where he definitely announces a threefold division based on Posidonius, whose name is again brought in at 1, 130). Further, when 1, 114 is compared with 1, 129, and 1, 115 with 1, 63, such likeness of thought and expression is found as to make it seem probable that the passage in which they occur⁸⁶ should also be thus treated. We thus easily win nearly seventeen sections of the first book which can be confidently assigned to Posidonius. With so large an amount clearly due to him it becomes extremely likely that much more is also thus derived, and by elaborate use of combination Schiche, Hartfelder, and others have tried to show traces of his work at many other points, such as 1, 36 (references to astrology),⁸⁷ and 1, 47 (the story of Callanus),⁸⁸ while numerous other details have been pointed out which are at least consistent with what we know of his views.⁸⁹ All things con-

⁸² Cf. Pohlenz in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 28 (1908), 71.

⁸³ *Op. cit.* 14-15.

⁸⁴ 1, 64, and n. (*etiam*).

⁸⁵ The verse and the discussion of *sagire* in 1, 65, being, of course, excepted.

⁸⁶ Corsen, *l.c.*, would make this include 1, 110-115, and Schmekel (*op. cit.* 251, n. 1) includes 1, 109-131—possibly too extended a passage to base on this evidence alone. Schiche (*op. cit.* 25) compares 1, 117 with the second book of the *De Natura Deorum* (where Posidonius is the probable source) and holds 1, 109-125 to be from Posidonius.

⁸⁷ Cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 12-14.

⁸⁸ So Schiche, *op. cit.* 18, on the basis of the references in 1, 64-65; cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 9. An explanation of why this incident was inserted in the section on dreams is given by Schiche, *op. cit.* 17.

⁸⁹ Thus Hartfelder (*op. cit.* 9-10) emphasizes the great respect shown by

the source of the first book for Plato and Platonists (cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 14-15), and for writers on natural science, such as Democritus (1, 5; 1, 80; 1, 131; cf. Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 263), and notes (p. 11) that Galen (*de Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* p. 399) says that Posidonius (in the style of our work) *ῥήσας τε ποιητικὰς παραλίθους καὶ λογιὰς παλαιῶν πράξεων μαρτυροῦσας οἷς λέγεις*. On Posidonius and the Druids cf. 1, 90, n. (*Druidae*). See also 1, 97, n. (*nam et, etc.*); 1, 122, n. (*et nostrum, etc.*); 1, 126, n. (*causa, etc.*). It is also not unlikely that by a comparison with Tertullian, *De Anima*, *Aen.* VI (1916), 41-43, which shows great likenesses to our work and is apparently derived from Posidonius, yet other passages could be more definitely gained for Posidonian authorship. Similarly Malchin (*De Auct. quibusdam qui Posid. Lib. meteor. adhibuerunt* (1893), 41-44), from certain likenesses between our work and

sidered, then, we seem justified in assuming that the first book is based, in the main, upon Posidonius, and that, in most cases, references to Greek philosophers and to writers and events in Greek history are taken mainly at second-hand through this source.¹⁰⁰ Posidonius seems to have defended

Manilius (especially 1, 1; 1, 34; and Manil. 1, 29; 1, 2 and Manil. 1, 44 ff.; 1, 109 and Manil. 1, 25-65; 1, 118 and Manil. 1, 557) would show that both used Posidonius *κατὰ μυσταίης*. In yet other cases where we cannot prove Posidonius the source it is clear that a Stoic is being followed; e.g., 1, 9 (cf. 1, 82-83; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 3; Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 255, n. 5); 1, 56-57; 1, 72; 1, 79, n. (*alioe quae acuta*); on 1, 84 cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 13.

¹⁰⁰ Attempts have been made to find independent use by Cicero of the works of Cratippus, from whom a long passage is quoted in 1, 70-71 (cf. 2, 107-109), and who is mentioned in 1, 5; 1, 113; 2, 100-101. Loercher (*op. cit.* 344, n. 1) also thinks that most of the Greek *exempla* beginning in 1, 39 are from him. Against the use of Cratippus in 1, 110 (as Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 20, n. 22 supposed) see Schiche, *op. cit.* 24, who rather plausibly supposes that Cicero's knowledge of his views is not derived from a published work but from conversations (cf. 1, 5, n. (*Cratippus*) *infra* and correspondence (cf. also Corsen, *op. cit.* 13, n. 1). On the contrary Heeringa (*Quaestiones*, 3; 13; 33-34; and in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 561-562; opposed by Pohlenz in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 28 (1908) 72) supposes all this information to have been taken at second-hand through Posidonius. Again Maass (*op. cit.* 156-158) would find borrowings from Boethus in 1, 13-16 (Boethus being named in 1, 13), but it is significant that 2, 47, which refers to the passage in the first book, says: *prognosticorum causas persecuti sunt et Boethus Stoicus, qui est a te nominatus, et noster etiam Posidonius*. There is even less necessity for imagining Boethus as a source in 2, 145. In short, Maass has not given sufficient weight to 1, 130, which Hartfelder (*op. cit.* 9) well cites as showing the interest of Posidonius in such matters.

and Heeringa (*Quaestiones*, 29) seems to be right in ascribing 1, 13-16 to Posidonius. Similarly Chrysippus, though several times named (1, 6; 1, 37; 1, 39; 1, 84), was doubtless used only through the medium of Posidonius; cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 6; Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 257-259; von Arnim, *op. cit.* 1, xxx; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 12; though Hoyer (*op. cit.* 56) and Loercher (*op. cit.* 344, n. 1) think that it was through Cratippus. The desire of Wachsmuth (*op. cit.* 14) to include Diogenes of Babylon among Cicero's immediate sources (on the strength of 1, 6; 1, 82-84; and passages in the second book) should be similarly rejected; (cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 1-2), as well as the suggestion that Clitomachus was used for certain parts of this book which were later to be refuted in the second book (cf. Schiche, *op. cit.*, 19; 21; 36; 42; Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 264-265; Sander, *op. cit.* *passim*; against which cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 22-23; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 566-567. In fact, the large size of the work of Posidonius on divination, as suggested by von Arnim (*l.c.*) was very likely due to its having contained a collection of the *placita* of earlier philosophers. The complicated and unscientifically developed theory of Hoyer (*op. cit.*, especially 55-56) that Cicero used (1) a large work by Antiochus, already used by him in the *De Natura Deorum*; (2) an excerpt from Cratippus; (3) another from Posidonius (*κατὰ θεῶν?*); and (4) a work of Chrysippus (cf. 1, 6), has been adequately refuted by Heeringa, *op. cit.* 29-30; 38-39 (cf. Pohlenz, *op. cit.* 72; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. 368), and need not here detain us.

The examples drawn from Greek historians and polymaths—Heraclides (1, 46; 1, 130); Dino (1, 46); Herodotus (1, 121; cf. 2, 116; Laurand, *op. cit.* 7, and n. 3; Schönberger, *l.c.*); Xenophon (1, 52; 1,

divination against the attacks made upon it by Carneades,¹⁰¹ and in several places¹⁰² Cicero has failed to notice that he had so modified his definitions as to avoid the criticisms made by Carneades and repeated by Cicero in the second book!

There yet remains the question what work of Posidonius was here used. From the mention of the *περὶ μαντικῆς* in 1, 6 it has been not unnaturally thought that that treatise was Cicero's main source, but we know that Posidonius also discussed divination in his *φυσικῶς λόγος*,¹⁰³ and Heeringa has collected a noteworthy set of parallels between the first book of the *De Divinatione* and the second of the *De Natura Deorum*, which, following Hirzel¹⁰⁴ and other scholars, he supposes to be based (in sections 1-45; 154 ff.) on Posidonius, *περὶ θεῶν*.¹⁰⁵ But Pohlenz (*l.c.*) calls

122); Callisthenes (1, 74; cf. 2, 54; 2, 57); and Philistus (1, 39; 1, 73; Schiche, *op. cit.* 16; 21; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 13; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 24; 28-29)—need not have been borrowed directly, in spite of Cicero's acquaintance with most of these authors; cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 15-16. Thiaucourt (*op. cit.* 264) suggests a somewhat larger use by Cicero of his memory of past reading in the insertion of passages independent of his main sources than would commend itself to a critic who was disposed to emphasize Cicero's own statements; cf. n. 83 above. The great influence of Posidonius on Cicero's thought is noted by Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros philos. Schriften*, 1 (1877), *passim*; Fowler, *Relig. Experience of the Roman People* (1911), 382; and for Posidonius as a great intellectual power in the background of the whole Ciceronian age see Leo in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, 1, 8, 2 ed. (1907), 360-361; with the criticism of tendencies to exaggerate his influence expressed by Dobson in *Class. Quart.* 12 (1918), 179-195.

The attempt of Schiche (*op. cit.*, especially 25) to find in the first book traces of the five volumes into which the *περὶ μαντικῆς* of Posidonius was divided—(1) a general defence of divination; (2) artificial divination; (3) natural divination; (4) *quibus rebus divinatio confirmatur*; (5) philosophic explanations of divination—involves many difficulties and is convincingly refuted by Heeringa, *op. cit.* 18-21; cf. Pohlenz, *op. cit.* 72.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 1, 12; 1, 23; 1, 62; 1, 109.

¹⁰² Cf. 1, 9, and n. (*de divinatione*); contrast 2, 13; also Schiche, *op. cit.* 8-9; 29-30; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 19-20 (Schiche and Hartfelder think that the definition of divination attacked in 2, 13 was probably that of Antipater); Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 261; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 40-41; Sander, *op. cit.* 22. Also 1, 118, and n. (*potest dux esse*); contrast 2, 35; and cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 58-59. Schiche (*op. cit.* 34) and Hartfelder (*op. cit.* 19) further show that in 2, 130 the second book by no means exactly corresponds to the arguments of the first, and (Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 20) that the Stoic explanation of lightning (2, 44) is not that of Posidonius (ap. Sen. *N.Q.* 2, 54). Thiaucourt (*op. cit.* 269, n. 6) detects anticipations of the arguments of the second book in 1, 23 (contrast 2, 52) and 1, 37 (contrast 2, 115), and the drawing of the rebuttal from works anterior to those containing the positive argument he notes also in the second book of the *Academica* and the first and second books of the *De Finibus* (*op. cit.* 270). And cf. especially 1, 12, n. (*Carneades*).

¹⁰³ Cf. Diog. L. 7, 149.

¹⁰⁴ *Op. cit.* 1, 197-243.

¹⁰⁵ Heeringa, *op. cit.* 25-28; citing 1, 24 (*N.D.* 2, 12); 1, 79 (*N.D.* 2, 17); 1, 80 (*N.D.* 2, 167); 1, 81 (*N.D.* 2, 6); 1, 87-89 (*N.D.* 2, 7); 1, 93 (*N.D.* 2, 7); 1, 118 (*N.D.* 2, 12; 2, 167).

attention to yet other parallels from Roman history which occur in these two places, but which we must suppose were derived by Cicero from a Roman source (he thinks from Coelius; cf. 1, 78), and concludes that *N.D.* 2, 6-11 is an injection made by Cicero himself, who there temporarily abandons his main source. If this be correct, then likenesses between that passage and the *De Divinatione* can hardly be held to show that the latter is derived from the *περὶ θεῶν*. Heeringa further argues¹⁰⁶ that Posidonius's triple division of the causes of divination (god, fate, nature) does not appear in our work until 1, 125, all before that point being on the basis of its divine cause alone, and concludes that the first book of the *De Divinatione*, the subject matter of which, like that of the *De Fato*, is closely connected with the gods, is derived from the *περὶ θεῶν*. This view may be correct, but on the other side it should not be overlooked (1) that the likenesses cited appear in the *De Natura Deorum* in but four passages,¹⁰⁷ of which the latter two (which, in view of Pohlenz's reasoning, alone here concern us) do not specifically concern divination; (2) that these illustrations may have been inserted by Cicero in the second book of the *De Natura Deorum* from the *περὶ μαντικῆς*, or may have appeared in both the *περὶ μαντικῆς* and the *περὶ θεῶν* (as well in those two works of Posidonius as in these two of Cicero!); and (3) that the *περὶ μαντικῆς* may have contained in its earlier books a collection of *placita* (cf. n. 100 supra), roughly classified by the traditional grouping of natural and artificial divination, and only at the end (in the fifth book?) the philosophical explanation of Posidonius himself.¹⁰⁸ Summing up, then, we may say that the first book of the *De Divinatione* (with the exception of certain illustrations from Roman sources to be discussed in section 14 below) was apparently derived from a work of Posidonius, probably his *περὶ μαντικῆς*, though possibly his *περὶ θεῶν*.

13. The prooimium to the second book¹⁰⁹ is mainly personal in character and not drawn from any outside writer, but the remainder of the book sets forth the case against divination, with Marcus Cicero as speaker, a fact which is perhaps in itself an indication that it has an Academic source.¹¹⁰ Many further passages,¹¹¹ too numerous to be here cited, show either advocacy of views known to have been supported by the Academics or attack upon doctrines of the Stoics which were the especial object of Academic criticism. Among the Academics Carneades here appears with

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* 28.

¹⁰⁷ 2, 6-7; 2, 12; 2, 17; 2, 167.

¹⁰⁸ This view resembles that of Schiche, but does not go so far in trying to identify the different parts of the original as reflected in the *De Divinatione*.

¹⁰⁹ 2, 1-7.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 26-27; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 13-16, who calls attention to the statements in 2, 8 and 2, 150 describing Cicero's methods of discussion; cf. also 2, 28.

¹¹¹ Cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 33-42; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 14-17.

particular prominence,¹¹³ but since, like Socrates, he left no writings of his own^{112a} (save some letters of doubtful authenticity), Cicero's knowledge of his doctrines must be derived from the works of some one of his school. Of these most notable as a writer was Clitomachus¹¹³ (a Carthaginian, whose native name was Hasdrubal), the author of over four hundred volumes,¹¹⁴ of whom Cicero in other works makes considerable use,¹¹⁵ and a clear indication that he is used in this one also is found in 2, 87: *quod Carneades Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, etc.*¹¹⁶ The occasional allusions to Posidonius¹¹⁷ in the second book are best regarded as direct additions by Cicero himself, not using any Greek source.

The discussion of astrology (2, 87 middle—2, 97 middle) forms a unit by itself, and at the end we find this remark (2, 97): *videsne me non ea*

¹¹³ Cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 17-18. Noteworthy passages are 2, 9: *me movet illud quod in primis Carneades quaerere solebat, etc.*; 2, 97 (at the beginning of a section from another source, to be discussed presently): *videsne me non ea dicere quae Carneades sed ea quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit?* (cf. 2, 51, after another section not taken from Carneades: *num ergo opus est ad haec refellenda Carneade?*); 2, 115: *casu veris* (shown by a comparison with 1, 23 to be in accord with the teaching of Carneades); 2, 150. The numerous attacks upon Chrysippus, fighting the Stoics with their own weapons (Schiche, *op. cit.* 27; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 17-18; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 35), are also quite in the style of Carneades, and the reference in 2, 144 to Antipater (Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 20) is characteristic of Clitomachus.

^{112a} Cf. Diog. L. 4, 65.

¹¹³ Cf. *Ac.* 2, 16; Schiche, *op. cit.* 27-28; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 18-19.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Diog. L. 4, 67.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Vick, *Questiones Carneadeae* (1901), 35-36; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. 352 (for the *Academica*); 362 (for the *De Natura Deorum*; and Heeringa, *op. cit.* 37-38, cites parallels between the second book of the *De Divinatione* and the third book of the *De Natura Deorum* to show the use of Clitomachus in both); 370 (*De Fato*). That Cicero considered him a better authority on the opinions of

Carneades than either Philo or Metrodorus is seen from *Ac.* 2, 78 (see Reid's note).

¹¹⁶ See also the reference in 2, 28 to the *haruspices . . . Poeni* (Schiche, *op. cit.* 33), with which compare the allusion to Carthage in *N.D.* 3, 91; Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 243. The three books of Clitomachus *repl. μαρτυρίης*, which were followed by Cicero in the second book, are but a hypothetical reconstruction of Schiche, *op. cit.* 42-43, on the analogy of his similar reconstruction for Posidonius on the basis of the first book, and are naturally incapable of proof; cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 35-38, who thinks it more likely that Clitomachus discussed both the nature of the gods and divination in the same work. Loercher (*op. cit.* 343, n. 3) believes we should distinguish between Cicero's close and literal following of Clitomachus, which he would detect in 2, 9-25; 2, 110- (or 119-) 134; 2, 142-147 (excepting, of course examples from Roman sources), and passages in which he freely recalls or reworks ideas of Carneades, as in 2, 26-87; 2, 97-109; 2, 135-142. Cf. Usener, *op. cit.* lxxvi: *umbram captes eamque fallacem si quaevis quem auctorem sequi Cicero voluerit, nisi simul quo modo sequatur, expresserit necesse, explores.*

¹¹⁷ 2, 35; 2, 47; cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 33; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 20, who similarly regards the references to Cratippus (2, 100-101; 2, 107-109) and Dicaearchus (2, 100; 2, 105).

dicere quae Carneades sed ea quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit? And near the beginning of the passage (2, 88) Panaetius is directly cited, and a reference is made to his friend Scylax of Halicarnassus.¹¹⁸ Panaetius differed from the rest of the Stoics in his scepticism in regard to divination, as is shown by 1, 6¹¹⁹; 1, 12; 2, 88. That he wrote a detailed work on the art we are not told, but, since divination and fate were closely connected in Stoic expositions^{119a} and since we know from a letter of Cicero's¹²⁰ written in June, 45¹²¹ that he wished Atticus to send him a copy of the *περί προνοίας* of Panaetius, it is a not unreasonable inference that 2, 87-97 have their source in that work. Schmekel¹²² suggests that the Academic refutation of astrology had been reserved by Cicero to use in his *De Fato*, and that of Panaetius here inserted in its place. Another reason may also be advanced, namely the added impressiveness of refuting Stoic views by the arguments of leaders of the Stoic school.¹²³ We may summarize, then, by saying that the Greek sources of the second book appear to have been (1) a work of Clitomachus, and (2), for the astrological section, the *περί προνοίας* of Panaetius.

14. *Quantum . . . Graeci praeceptis valent tantum Romani, quod est maius, exemplis.* Thus speaks Quintilian,¹²⁴ who also remarks¹²⁵ that the orator should be provided with illustrations, both ancient and modern, historical and mythical. Accordingly Cicero, who, even in his philosoph-

¹¹⁸ Also in 1, 95 one to Scipio Africanus (a friend of Panaetius), and in 1, 94 one to weather signs, in which not only the Stoics (1, 13; 2, 47) but especially Panaetius himself (cf. *Rep.* 1, 15) were much interested; cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 22; also Schiche, *op. cit.* 39-40 for other indications of Panaetius as author.

¹¹⁹ Cf. the note at that point on *negare*.

^{119a} Cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 22-23.

¹²⁰ *ad Att.* 13, 8 (in June, 45); cf. n. 128 below; Schiche, *op. cit.* 15-16; 40.

¹²¹ Cf. section 5 above. Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 225, n., doubts whether Panaetius treated divination in his *περί μαρτυρίας*, and thinks that Cicero meant to use the work in the composition of the *De Natura Deorum*.

¹²² *Op. cit.* 176; followed by Heeringa, *op. cit.* 41.

¹²³ Cf. 1, 6. It may be that the doubt of Panaetius (*nec tamē ausus est negare vim esse divinandī sed dubitare se dixit*)

was only in the case of astrology so definitely formulated as to be an effective weapon of attack. Schiche thinks (*op. cit.* 13-14; 32) that the earlier Stoics did not defend astrology, hence that Clitomachus furnished no refutation of it and that Cicero was here forced to draw upon Panaetius. But cf. Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 20-21.

¹²⁴ 12, 2, 30.

¹²⁵ 12, 4, 1: *in primis vero abundare debet orator exemplorum copia cum veterum tum etiam novorum, adeo ut non ea modo quae conscripta sunt historiis aut sermonibus velut per manus tradita quaeque cotidie aguntur debeat nosse verum ne ea quidem quae sunt a clarioribus poetis ficta negligere.* Cf. 1, 29, n. (ut *P. Claudius*) infra. And in 2, 8 Marcus praises Quintus because *plurimis nostris exemplis usus es, et iis quidem claris et illustribus.* See also Reid, *op. cit.* 25, for the use of *exempla* as lending to theoretical philosophy that dignity and concreteness which for the practical Roman it otherwise lacked.

cal works retained a touch of the orator,¹²⁶ liberally supplied these writings with examples drawn from the history of his own land. In the *De Divinatione* these illustrations furnish another problem, since they are obviously not derived from Posidonius,¹²⁷ Clitomachus, or probably even from Panaetius. In a letter to Atticus already quoted¹²⁸ Cicero asks for a copy of the epitome of Coelius by Brutus, and it is noteworthy that Coelius is a number of times cited as an authority in our work.¹²⁹ Other writers similarly named are Fabius Pictor,¹³⁰ Gellius,¹³¹ C. Gracchus,¹³² Sulla,¹³³ and Sisenna,¹³⁴ while in other instances he mentions *annales*¹³⁵ and various indefinite sources.¹³⁶ That these were all individually consulted in the composition of the *De Divinatione* is unlikely; perhaps in some instances the information contained in them had lingered in Cicero's memory, but more probable, I believe, is the theory of Zingler¹³⁷ that they are derived from some Roman work supporting divination. Such a work he would find indicated in the various allusions to Appius Claudius Pulcher,¹³⁸ who, in augural matters, stood in much the same relation to his colleague C. Marcellus as does Quintus Cicero in this dialogue to his brother Marcus.¹³⁹ Definite references to Appius Claudius are also found

¹²⁶ Cf. n. 4 above.

¹²⁷ Cf. Zingler, *op. cit.* 22.

¹²⁸ *ad Au.* 13, 8 (June, 45): *epitomen Bruti Coelianorum velim mihi mittas, et a Philoxeno Παναυριου κει εν πορολας.*

¹²⁹ 1, 48, 1, 49 (where Coelius follows Silenus); 1, 55-56; 1, 78 (the introductory expression *magnum illud etiam quod addidit Coelius* may imply that 1, 77 also belongs to this quotation, and *N.D.* 2, 8 would further support this view). With the exception of *Orat.* 230 Coelius is not mentioned by Cicero outside these two works; cf. Zingler, *op. cit.* 13. See also Schiche (*op. cit.* 15-16), who sees no reason to suppose that Cicero used the original of Coelius rather than the epitome; Hartfelder, *op. cit.* 13, who cites Wölflin (*Antiochus von Syrakus u. Coelius Antipater* (1872), 75 ff.) for the interest of Coelius in prodigies; Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 265. Meltzer, *op. cit.* 431, and Wölflin, *op. cit.* 26, would detect in these quotations ascribed to Coelius certain archaisms which were apparently retained in the epitome; but cf. Zingler, *op. cit.* 25.

¹³⁰ Cf. 1, 43, and n. (*Fabii Pictoris Gracis annalibus*); 1, 55.

¹³¹ Cf. 1, 55, and n. (*Fabii, Gellii*); Meltzer, *op. cit.* 430-431; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 2.

¹³² Cf. 1, 36, and n. (*scriptum reliquit*); 2, 62.

¹³³ Cf. 1, 72; 2, 65.

¹³⁴ Cf. 1, 99; 2, 54.

¹³⁵ Cf. 1, 33; 1, 51; 1, 100.

¹³⁶ Cf. Heeringa, *op. cit.* 2; Zingler, *op. cit.* 25. Needless trouble is taken by Heeringa (*op. cit.* 17) in explaining Cicero's use of Silenus. There seems no good reason to doubt that his name was preserved as authority for the incident in 1, 49 both by Coelius and by Brutus in his epitome.

¹³⁷ *Op. cit.* 24-25; cf. Soltau in *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 17 (1900), 571 (who rightly, I think, excepts Coelius from the number of those so used); Holzappel in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 21 (1901), 1037-1038.

¹³⁸ Cf. nn. 18-19 above; 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*).

¹³⁹ Cf. 2, 75; *Lrg.* 2, 32 (which mentions the works of both on the subject of divination); Zingler, *op. cit.* 20.

in 1, 29-30; 1, 105; 1, 132.¹⁴⁰ The extent to which Marcellus may have been used—if used at all—is not clear. Further sources are perhaps to be sought for Cicero's knowledge of the *Etrusca disciplina*, which is less likely to have been handled either by his Greek authorities or by a distinctly augural source like Appius Claudius. Especially striking is the legend of Tages in 2, 50,¹⁴¹ which appears not to be derived from either Nigidius Figulus¹⁴² or Varro,¹⁴³ but which Schiche conjectures is due to A. Caecina,¹⁴⁴ a friend of Cicero and an expert in such matters.¹⁴⁵ Finally, there are not a few passages in the two books which are taken directly from Cicero's own works¹⁴⁶ or his own experience,¹⁴⁷ and so much in accord with his habits in other works is the citation of the old Roman poets that we may be confident that most of such quotations were his direct addition.¹⁴⁸ The Latin sources used in the *De Divinatione* appear, then, to have been Appius Claudius Pulcher (and possibly C. Marcellus), Coelius Antipater, possibly A. Caecina, and various passages from the Latin poets (including especially the author!) and incidents from Cicero's personal knowledge and experience.

15. In view of the employment of differing and unrelated main sources for the two books and also of the speed with which Cicero wrote, it is not surprising that numerous cases of inconcinnity appear between the different parts of the work.¹⁴⁹ It is unnecessary, however, with Sander¹⁵⁰ to suppose that these defects arose because the work was post-

¹⁴⁰ Cf. 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*); 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); 1, 46, n. (*redemptus*). That some of these, if based upon Appius, must have been considerably modified by Cicero may be seen from 1, 29.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 34-35; 43.

¹⁴² Cf. nn. 22-30 above; 1, 72, n. (*rituales*) for the theory of Hertz (*De Nigidii Studiis* (1845), 33) that Cicero in our work made use of Nigidius.

¹⁴³ Cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 43; followed by Thiaucourt, *op. cit.* 274-275; Heeringa, *op. cit.* 21-22.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Schmeisser, *Quaest. de Etrusc. Discipl.* (1872), 29; Schiche, *l.c.*; Thiaucourt, *l.c.*; Heeringa, *l.c.*

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed., 496. Schiche's theory, as Aristotle remarks of dreams, *ὅτι καταφρονῆσαι βέλδιον ὅτι πισθῆναι*.

¹⁴⁶ E.g., 1, 13-15 (*Prognostica*; but the Greek original may have been used in Posidonius); 1, 17-22 and 2, 45 (from the poem on his consulship); 1, 106 (from

his *Marius*); 2, 63-64 (translation from the *Iliad*); etc.

¹⁴⁷ E.g., 1, 58-59 (the dreams of Marcus and Quintus Cicero); 1, 68-69 (experiences at Dyrrachium); 1, 79 (incident of Roscius); 1, 119 (incident before Caesar's death); etc.

¹⁴⁸ E.g., 1, 24; 1, 29; 1, 40-42; 1, 44-45; 1, 66-67; 1, 80; 1, 88; 1, 107-108; 1, 114; 1, 131-132; 2, 57; 2, 82; 2, 104; 2, 112; 2, 115-116; 2, 133; cf. Quintil. 1, 8, 11: *praecipue . . . apud Ciceronem . . . vidimus Ennii, Accii, Pacuvii, Lucilii, Terentii, Caecilii, et aliorum inseri versus, summa non eruditionis modo gratia sed etiam iucunditatis, etc.*

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Schiche, *op. cit.* 30. The disproportion between the treatment of astrology in the first book and that in the second is striking.

¹⁵⁰ *Op. cit.* 1-6; well answered by Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 562-568. But cf. Sander's rejoinder in *Philologus*, 75 (1910), 388-389.

humously published by an anonymous editor who included in it various marginal jettings not yet worked by Cicero into the text. Faulty arrangement of main divisions of the argument,¹⁵¹ alternation in the use of sources,¹⁵² and disproportionate digressions are among the natural results of the method of composition employed, and are not without parallel in Cicero's other work.¹⁵³ It was indeed true that *minore labore fiunt*.¹⁵⁴

16. The effects and the subsequent history of the *De Divinatione* are not altogether easy to trace. In Cicero's own day the work was probably either so esoteric as to have affected few readers, or else, if publicly circulated, one that drew but little attention from a public of which a large part was steeped in superstition, while all were distracted by social and political crises. How generally it was known in the early empire is uncertain, but it is clear that it did not stem the tide of superstition and the mystical reaction against rationalism represented in Cicero's time by Nigidius and Appius Claudius and increasing through the decades which followed.¹⁵⁵ Unless its influence may be detected in Dionysius of Halicarnassus,¹⁵⁶ our first definite cases of borrowing are found in Valerius Maximus. It is, of course, the *exempla* in which he is interested, and it is noteworthy that these are, with two exceptions, drawn from the first book, and are used (chiefly in Valerius, 1, 1-8), as Quintus employs them, as arguments for rather than against belief in divination.¹⁵⁷ Verrius Flac-

¹⁵¹ Cf. 1, 37, n. (*barbari, etc.*); 1, 72, n. (*haruspices, etc.*); 1, 93, n. (*ac mihi*); Schiche, *op. cit.* 37.

¹⁵² Cf. 1, 46, n. (*redeamus*).

¹⁵³ Cf. Mayor on *N.D.* 3, 42; also *id.* 3, lxxviii for instances in the third book of the *De Natura Deorum* in which arguments are refuted which had not been advanced in the second book. For forgetfulness due to hasty composition see 1, 87, n. (*dixi*).

¹⁵⁴ *ad Att.* 12, 52, 3.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 73-91.

¹⁵⁶ With 1, 28 ff. perhaps compare Dion. Hal. 2, 6. Very likely, however, both authors are following the same source. In the parallels which I shall cite in the succeeding notes it is difficult to be sure, when Cicero is not cited by name, that borrowings have not been made from a common source, or, in many cases, at second-hand, e.g., through writers like Valerius Maximus.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Zschech, *De Cic. et Liv. Val. Max. Fontibus* (1865), 45-50; Krieger, *Quibus Fontibus Val. Max. usus sit, etc.* (1888); Thormeyer, *De Val. Max. et Cic. Quaest. crit.* (1902), 80-84. The following likenesses may be noted, though in some cases Valerius probably drew from Livy: 1, 26 (Val. 1, 4, ext. 2); 1, 28 (Val. 2, 1, 1); 1, 30 (Val. 1, 8, 11); 1, 31-32 (Val. 1, 4, 1; probably not from Cicero?); 1, 36 (Val. 4, 6, 1); 1, 39 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 7); 1, 47 (Val. 1, 8, ext. 10); 1, 50 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 8); 1, 51 (Val. 5, 6, 5; conflated with Livy, according to Krieger, *op. cit.* 7; 25); 1, 55 (Val. 1, 7, 4; probably from Livy; cf. Thormeyer, *op. cit.* 82); 1, 56 (Val. 1, 7, 6; also cf. Val. 1, 7, ext. 3; Thormeyer, *ibid.*); 1, 57 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 10), 1, 59 (Val. 1, 7, 5); 1, 72 (Val. 1, 6, 4); 1, 77 (Val. 1, 6, 6); 1, 78 (Val. 1, 6, ext. 2-3); 1, 81 (Val. 1, 1, ext. 9 in Nep. and Par.); 1, 88 (Val. 8, 15, ext. 3); 1, 92 (Val. 1, 1, 1); 1, 103 (Val. 1, 5, 3); 1, 104 (Val. 1, 5, 4); 1, 119 (Val. 1, 6, 13); 2, 52 (Val. 3, 7, ext. 6); 2, 143 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 9).

cus¹⁵⁵ cited our work, and Pliny the Elder¹⁵⁶ quotes three lines of the *Prognostica* as they stand in the *De Divinatione*, while elsewhere¹⁵⁷ he shows his acquaintance with the treatise. Plutarch¹⁵⁸ transcribes the dream of C. Gracchus (citing Cicero as authority) and¹⁵⁹ the incident of Aemilius Paulus and the dog Persa. Apuleius¹⁶⁰ possibly, and Aulus Gellius¹⁶¹ certainly knew the work. At least one characteristic passage¹⁶² impressed Minucius Felix,¹⁶³ who, as is well known, makes ample use of the *De Natura Deorum*,¹⁶⁴ and a passage in Arnobius¹⁶⁵ fairly closely paraphrases part of Cicero's poem on his consulship. Elsewhere¹⁶⁶ Arnobius says that many pagans would like to have Cicero's books burned by order of the Senate, as supporting Christianity and unfavorable to paganism. He is probably thinking especially of the *De Natura Deorum*, but his remarks are perhaps applicable to the *De Divinatione* as well, and are suggestive of reasons for its comparatively infrequent mention by pagan writers. Lactantius, the 'Christian Cicero,' also draws much from the philosophical works,¹⁷⁰ and in several places uses the *De Divinatione*.¹⁷¹ The citations by Nonius are naturally brief,¹⁷² and the alleged references in Symmachus are not very convincing.¹⁷³ Whether Marius Victorinus, who, according to Jerome,¹⁷⁴ wrote commentaries on the dialogues of Cicero, included our work within the scope of his labors is very doubtful, for Jerome lists his commentaries

¹⁵⁵ 1, 65; cf. Fest, p. 254 M (Paul. p. 255M.).

¹⁵⁶ *N.H.* 18, 228: *ismi vero . . . arandi*.

¹⁵⁷ *N.H.* 2, 191; cf. *de Div.* 1, 112. With *N.H.* 11, 186 cf. *de Div.* 1, 119.

¹⁵⁸ *C. Gracch.* 1; *de Div.* 1, 56.

¹⁵⁹ *Aem. Paul.* 10-11 (Κικίρων ὁ φήρωσ ἐν τοῖς περὶ μαντικῆς); cf. *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* Paul. Aem. 2; *de Div.* 1, 103. The anecdote is repeated by Nicephorus Greg. ap. Synes. *de Insomn.* p. 132 (in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 149, 537), doubtless from Plutarch, although Terzaghi (in *Stud. ital. di Filol. class.* 12 (1904), 184) is unable to find its source.

¹⁶⁰ *de Deo Socr.* 7; *de Div.* 1, 32; but Apuleius may be copying Liv. 1, 36, 3.

¹⁶¹ *de Div.* 1, 53 (Gell. 15, 13, 7); 1, 62 (Gell. 4, 11, 3—a long quotation); 1, 87 (Gell. 15, 13, 7).

¹⁶² 1, 7; see n. (*anili superstitione*).

¹⁶³ See the numerous passages cited by Wilhelm in *Bresl. philol. Abh.* 2 (1888), 4-5.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.* 4; Schanz, *op. cit.* 3, 2 ed. (1905), 273-274, and the works there cited; Zieliński, *Cic. im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2 ed. (1908), 115-118; 381-382.

¹⁶⁵ 7, 40; cf. *de Div.* 1, 20.

¹⁶⁶ 3, 7.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Fessler, *Benutzung der philos. Schriften Ciceros durch Lactans* (1913).

¹⁷¹ 1, 19=2, 45 (*div. Inst.* 3, 17, 14; quoting three lines); 1, 34 (*div. Inst.* 4, 15, 27); 1, 36 (*div. Inst.* 7, 14, 4); 2, 104 (*de Ira.* 17, 1; but perhaps from *Leg.* 1, 21).

¹⁷² 1, 69 (Non. p. 190M.); 2, 5 (Non. p. 265M.); the formula of citation is *M. Tullius de Divinatione*.

¹⁷³ Cf. Kroll in *Bresl. philol. Abh.* 6, 2 (1891), 73-74; the cases are 1, 78 (Symm. 9, 84: *Platonicum nectar*); 1, 89 (Symm. 4, 34, 3: *et Marcorum quidem vatium divinationo caducis corticibus inculcata est*); 1, 132=2, 104 (Symm. 8, 6: *ne optimi senatoris longa vexatio fulem faciat nihil curare caelestes*; but cf. n. 171 above).

¹⁷⁴ *adv. Rufin.* 1, 16.

in a catalogue of books used by schoolboys, and for such the sceptical character of the *De Divinatione* would hardly have commended it. Among the grammarians we find it cited by Probus,¹⁷⁶ Charisius,¹⁷⁶ and Diomedes.¹⁷⁷ Several rather dubious parallels have been noted in Ammianus Marcellinus,¹⁷⁸ but a rather definite knowledge of the work and its character is shown by Macrobius.¹⁷⁹ The acquaintance of Jerome¹⁸⁰ with the *De Divinatione* apparently centred about one passage in the second book.¹⁸¹ Much more significant are certain places in Augustine,¹⁸² especially one¹⁸³ in which he discusses the real purpose of the *De Natura Deorum* and the *De Divinatione* (which he feels to be the destruction of a belief in prescience and determinism), and remarks: *in libris vero de divinatione ex se ipso apertissime obpugnat praescientiam futurorum. hoc autem totum facere videtur ne fatum esse consentiat et perdat liberam voluntatem. putat enim concessa scientia futurorum ita esse consequens fatum ut negari omnino non possit.*¹⁸⁴ Priscian furnishes testimony for one phrase of our work.¹⁸⁵ Boethius,¹⁸⁶ after a poem describing the difficulties and disadvantages of knowledge of the future, continues: *vetus . . . haec est de providentia querela, M. que*

¹⁷⁶ 1, 85 (Prob. *Comm. in Virg.* p. 25 Keil: *ut Cicero divinarum: quorum a dextera corvus, a sinistra cornix facit augurium*).

¹⁷⁷ *Insl. gram.* 1 (GLK, 1, 130).

¹⁷⁷ *Ars gram.* 1 (GLK, 1, 374).

¹⁷⁸ Michael, *De Amm. Marc. Studiis Ciceronianis* (1374), 34, who cites 1, 127 (Amm. 29, 1, 6: *rudentem explicuit*); 2, 15 (Amm. 22, 1, 1: *fortunae . . . volubiles casus*; cf. 26, 1, 3: *volubilium casuum*); 2, 115 (Amm. 18, 5, 6: *flexiloquis ambagibus vel obscuris*; cf. 31, 2, 11: *Hunni flexiloqui et obscuri*). See also Amm. 23, 5, 9 for possible borrowings.

¹⁷⁹ *Sat.* 1, 24, 4: *cum ipse Tullius, qui non minus professus est philosophandi studium quam loquendi, quotiens aut de natura deorum aut de fato aut de divinatione disputat, gloriam quam oratione conflatit incondita rerum relatione minuit*.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Lubeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit Scriptores et ex quibus hauserit* (1872), 146.

¹⁸¹ 2, 115-116. To this *Ep.* 84, 4, 5 seems to allude; the *Comm. in Is.* 12, p. 504 Vall. quotes the verse *uiso te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse*; but for *Croesus Italyn penetrans magram periret opum vim* Jerome reads *Croesus transgressus Italyn maxima regna perdit*.

¹⁸² 2, 110 (Aug. *C.D.* 3, 17: *sicut Cicero in libris de divinatione commemorat, etc.*, which suggests that the reference a little before this (*dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Romanos*) is taken from 2, 116: *aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse*. This verse, however, was very widely quoted (cf. Vahlen's 2nd edition of Ennius (1903), 33), and in most instances, as with Jerome in the passage discussed above, it is hardly safe to assume that the verse was known only through Cicero. Could we assume this we should be able to add to the list of those familiar with our work a number of writers not otherwise represented, such as Quintilian (7, 9, 6); [Aurelius Victor], *de vir. ill.* 35, 1; Porphyrio (on *Hor. A. P.* 403); and a number of Roman grammarians; cf. Vahlen, *l.c.*). Further parallels to Augustine are 1, 55 (*C. D.* 4, 26); 2, 78 (*C. D.* 4, 30).

¹⁸³ *C.D.* 5, 9; cf. Zielinski, *op. cit.* 154-156; Pease in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 44 (1913), 27-28.

¹⁸⁴ The context is also of interest in this connection.

¹⁸⁵ 1, 59 (*Partil. XII Vers. Aen.* 162 = GLK, 3, 498: *Cicero fasces lauratos*).

¹⁸⁶ *Cons.* 5, pr. 4.

Tullio, cum divinationem distribuit, vehementer agitata tibi que ipsi res diu prorsus multumque quaesita, etc.¹⁸⁷ In the centuries which immediately follow I have found little allusion to our work,¹⁸⁸ the reference in Isidore¹⁸⁹ to the *acredula*, sometimes connected with it, being really derived from an earlier version of the *Prognostica*¹⁹⁰ than that which Cicero quotes in 1, 14.

We should next note an important collection of excerpts found in Cod. Vat. Regin. 1762¹⁹¹ of the ninth or tenth century.¹⁹² Introduced by a poem of fifty-six distichs by the maker of the collection, the presbyter Hadoardus,¹⁹³ it contains about a hundred pages¹⁹⁴ drawn from Cicero (with some passages inserted from Sallust and Macrobius) in nineteen chapters. The Ciceronian works used are the *Lucullus*, *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*,¹⁹⁵ *De Fato*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, *Paradoxa*, *De Legibus*, *Hortensius*, *Timaecus*, and *De Oratore*, a remarkably large number for that epoch. Hadoardus is a West Frankish name,¹⁹⁶ and he was thought by Schwenke to be both the compiler and the copyist of this collection,¹⁹⁷ but Mollweide has clearly shown¹⁹⁸ that mistakes and corrections are found in the manuscript of a sort that could hardly have been made by the compiler, and hence the selection of the excerpts must have antedated our manuscript of them. By less convincing arguments he would date the composition¹⁹⁹ between

¹⁸⁷ There are perhaps other traces of Cicero to be noticed in this section.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, 1 (1911), 481-483, for Cicero from the seventh to the ninth century; also Deschamps, *Essai bibl. sur M. T. Cic.* (1863), 11 ff., on the knowledge of Cicero in the Middle Ages; and Zielinski, *op. cit. passim*.

¹⁸⁹ *Etyim.* 12, 7, 37.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. 1, 14, n. (*saepe*) *infra*.

¹⁹¹ Noted by Bethmann in *Archiv d. Ges. f. Alt. deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 12 (1874), 325; Dümmler in *Neuer Archiv*, 4 (1879), 531; Narducci in *Bull. di Bibliogr. e di Storia delle Scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 15 (1882), 512-518; and published after Narducci's copy by Schwenke in *Philologus*, 5 Supplbd. (1889), 397-588; cf. *id.* in *Burs. Jahrb.* 47 (1888), 270, and *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 349; Manitius, *op. cit.* 1 (1911), 478-481; also the elaborate treatment of Mollweide in *Wien. Stud.* 33 (1912), 274-292; 34 (1912), 383-393; 35

(1913), 184-192; 314-322; 36 (1915), 189-200; 37 (1915), 177-185.

¹⁹² Following Dümmler and Narducci Schwenke at first considered this manuscript to be of the ninth century; later (in *Class. Rev. l. c.*) he was influenced by Guenther to date it in the tenth. Plasberg (*De M. T. Cic. Hortensio Dialogo* (1892), 12), without statement of reasons, puts it in the eighth century. Mollweide (*op. cit.* 33, 278) is inclined to say the ninth.

¹⁹³ Verses 111-112 read: *hoc opus explicuit nomen cui est Hadoardus, / ordine presbiteri officioque cluit.*

¹⁹⁴ *Philologus*, l. c. 419-522.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Schwenke, 445-450 (with heading *De Divinatione Fato Sorteque ac Somniis*); 547-550.

¹⁹⁶ Schwenke, *op. cit.* 401-402; Mollweide, *op. cit.* 34, 384.

¹⁹⁷ *Op. cit.* 400.

¹⁹⁸ *Op. cit.* 34, 387; 35, 190-191.

¹⁹⁹ *Id.* 34, 386.

the time of Jerome²⁰⁰ and the middle of the sixth century, but—*sub iudice lis est*. The methods of excerpting here used are foreshadowed in the introductory verses, and consisted²⁰¹ in the elimination of what was undesirable from a Christian standpoint, such as references to polytheism, Epicurean views, etc. Again, the interest of the excerpter, unlike that of Valerius Maximus, is not in the illustrations, which he rather consistently omits, but in the abstract argument. As Mollweide points out, however,²⁰² the eliminations are due, not to piety alone but also to the expensiveness of an unabridged edition of the works in question.

The existence of a *corpus* of the philosophical writings of Cicero as a basis for these excerpts is very probable,²⁰³ and most writers, with the exception of Mollweide,²⁰⁴ consider that the *corpus* of eight works²⁰⁵ which appears in a goodly series of manuscripts²⁰⁶ receives in these excerpts its oldest testimony. But in view of the fluctuating number of works contained in different manuscripts there is some color for the theory of Mollweide²⁰⁷ that there may have been in the early Middle Ages at least two different *corpora* of the philosophical works, one of which, normally with eight component works, is represented by the Leyden *corpus* (Codd. *A, B, F*), and the other, with twelve, by the excerpts of Hadoardus,²⁰⁸ but both of which are ultimately derived from the same source.

By the ninth or tenth century, then, we come to our earliest extant manuscripts. The discussion of the manuscripts I purpose to defer to an appendix to the second book, but in passing a word should be said of one

²⁰⁰ With whose interest in the classics he attempts (following a hint in Schwenke, *op. cit.* 411) to connect the origin of the collection, perhaps among a Gallic circle inspired by Jerome; *op. cit.* 34, 384. Not a little in this hypothesis appears very questionable.

²⁰¹ Cf. Schwenke, *op. cit.* 411-412.

²⁰² *Op. cit.* 34, 384. Hortis (*M. T. Cicerone nelle Opere del Peirarca e del Boccaccio* (1878), 17) observes that many of Cicero's works were not cited in the Middle Ages largely because their very number made it impossible to acquire them all.

²⁰³ Halm, ed. of Cicero, 4 (1862), *praef.* i; Schwenke, *op. cit.* 410; *id.* in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 347-348; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341-342; Manitius, *op. cit.* 1, 480-481; Mollweide, *op. cit.* 33, 277-278; Clark, *Descent of Manuscripts* (1918), 324-363.

²⁰⁴ *Op. cit.* 33, 278.

²⁰⁵ The *De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus, De Fato, Paradoxa, Lucullus, De Legibus, Topica*.

²⁰⁶ Especially *A* (Cod. Leid. Voss. 84), *B* (Cod. Leid. Voss. 86), and *F* (Cod. Flor. Marc. 257). Codices *M* (Monac. 528) and *V* (Vindob. 189) lack the *Topica*, and others lack one or more additional works. Manitius (*op. cit.* 480-481) gives a useful list of nine library catalogues from the twelfth to the fifteenth century in which the group appears (with which compare the list of books given by Bishop Harcourt of Bayeux to Corbie; Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Schol.* 1, 2 ed. (1906), 650), but at least one of the eight (and often more) is lacking.

²⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* 33, 278.

²⁰⁸ Common to the two would be the *Lucullus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, Paradoxa, De Legibus,*

or two of the more important in so far as they affect the question under consideration. Codex *A* (Leid. Voss. 84) contains at the top of fol. 1 recto the words: *hunc librum dedit Rodulf' eps.* . . . and Plasberg,²⁰⁰ though unable to identify this particular bishop, would, by an elaborate and not entirely certain process of combination, associate the book with the monastery of St. Mesmin (Aube).²¹⁰ The history of *H* is more clear, for a note of the thirteenth or fourteenth century on fol. 9 verso indicates that it belonged to the monastery at Monte Cassino, and its Beneventan script suggests that it was probably written there, for Petrus Diaconus²¹¹ says of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino from 1058-1087: *non solum autem in aedificiis verum etiam in libris describendis operam Desiderius dare permaximam studuit. codices namque nonnullos in hoc loco describi praecepit, quorum nomina haec sunt*, and a little later he mentions *Ciceronem de natura deorum* (which this manuscript contains). This certainly agrees with what we know of *H*,²¹² as does the style of writing, which Loew²¹³ assigns to the last part of the eleventh century.

The knowledge of our work by John of Salisbury has been disputed. Schaarschmidt²¹⁴ detected its influence, but Krey,²¹⁵ though admitting that it and certain other Ciceronian works were known in John's day, yet finds the references to the *De Divinatione* too scanty and vague.²¹⁶ Webb's edition, however, in 1909, notes a number of other parallels to Cicero,²¹⁷ of which several, but not all, appear also in Valerius Maximus. Whether, then, John compiled his instances directly from Cicero or from Valerius and some other source, or, again, followed some author who had used one

Timaeus; peculiar to the former the *Topica*, to the latter the *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, and *De Oratore*.

²⁰⁰ Cicero. *Opera philol.* Cod. Leid. Voss. Lat. Fol. 84 (1915), ii.

²¹⁰ For its later owners (Alexander Petavius, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Isaac Voss) see Plasberg, *op. cit.* i.

²¹¹ In continuation of Leo's *Chron. Monast. Casin.* 3, 63 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* 7, 747; this part reprinted in Loew, *Beneventan Script* (1914), 81-82); cf. Schwenke in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 348; Plasberg, *Cicero de N.D. de Div. de Leg. Cod. Heins.* (Leid. 118) (1912), i.

²¹² It is doubtless the book which the catalogue of the library of Monte Cassino in 1532 (in Cod. Vat. 3961) calls *Lib. de natura Deorum inc.* Cum multae res. *Divinationum*.

²¹³ *ap.* Plasberg, *l.c.*; also in his *Beneventan Script*, 340; cf. *id.* 50, n. 5.

²¹⁴ *Johannes Saresberiensis* (1862), 92, in a list of works of Cicero known to John, gives the *De Divinatione*, on the strength of a single passage.

²¹⁵ *John of Salisbury and the Classics in Wisc. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Lett.* 16 (1909), 976.

²¹⁶ But he obviously relies on the single reference noted by Schaarschmidt.

²¹⁷ 1, 78=2, 66 (cf. *Polier.* p. 409c-d; but this may be from Val. Max. 1, 6, ext. 2-3); 1, 99 (cf. *Polier.* p. 409d); 1, 103 (cf. *Polier.* p. 413b; but perhaps from Val. Max. 1, 5, 3); 2, 20 (cf. *Polier.* p. 409c; but perhaps from Val. Max. 4, 3); 2, 56 (cf. *Polier.* p. 411.), 2, 115-116 (cf. *Polier.* p. 462b). The whole question of the sources of John apparently merits a more detailed study.

of these two methods is not clear. Vincent of Beauvais includes the *De Divinatione* in a list of Ciceronian works,^{217a} and evidence of acquaintance with it on the part of Richard de Fournival (ca. 1250) is to be seen both in his allusion to it in a catalogue and also, perhaps, in a misunderstanding which he seems to show of *de Div.* 2, 1.²¹⁸ Roger Bacon remarks:²¹⁹ *Tullius etiam in libro Divinationum magis in particulari ad eius (sc. astrologiae) malitiam descendens ostendit quod cultum divinum destruxit, rempublicam violavit, et medicinam infecit et naturalem philosophiam et omnes bonas artes subvertit.* Dante makes no use of the *De Divinatione*,²²⁰ but Dionigi Roberti da Borgo San Sepolcro²²¹ cites it in his commentary on Valerius Maximus, 1, 6, 4, as does the contemporary Walter Burley (or Burleigh) in his *Vita omnium Philosophorum et Poetarum, etc.*,²²² in a list of Cicero's works. Robert Holkot²²³ in his work on the *Wisdom of Solomon*²²⁴ is acquainted with the two dreams described in 1, 56-57, but apparently took them through Valerius Maximus,²²⁵ and it seems that Chaucer, in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, borrowed them from Holkot,²²⁶ though that he knew of our work, at least indirectly, may be seen from his translation of Boethius.²²⁷ The English translation of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon* by John of Trevisa²²⁸ also names the *De Divinatione* among other works of Cicero.

^{217a} *Spec. hist.* 7, 6.

²¹⁸ Manitius in *Rhein. Mus.* 47 (1892), Ergänzungsheft, 17.

²¹⁹ In a list of *placita* of philosophers in *Opus maius*, part 4 (1, 240 of Bridges' edition). And cf. Charles, *Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Oeuvres, ses Doctrines* (1861), 323; on p. 325 he quotes from a curious fragment (Bibl. imp. 7740, fol. 26) a list of works available to Bacon, including the *De Divinatione*.

²²⁰ Cf. Schück in *Neue Jahrb.* 92 (1865), 264 for classical writers known to Dante; Hortis, *op. cit.* 23, n. 2.

²²¹ He died in 1342; cf. Hortis, *op. cit.* n. 3.

²²² Chapter 94; cf. Orelli-Baiter, *M.T. Cic. Opera*, 3 (1845), xi.

²²³ Professor at Oxford; died 1349.

²²⁴ *Lectio* 103.

²²⁵ Cf. Petersen, *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale* (1898), 106-110, following the view of Warton but in opposition to Lounsbury (*Stud. in Chaucer*,

2 (1892), 272-274) and Skeat (edition of Chaucer, 4 (1894), 253), who think that Chaucer drew directly from Cicero.

²²⁶ *Id.* 106-110; 117.

²²⁷ 5, 4: "Marcus Tullius, when he devyded the divynacions (that is to seyn, in his book that he wrot of dyvynacions), etc." The parenthesis is not found in the Latin original; cf. n. 186 supra. Whether it is Chaucer's own addition, and so a further testimony to his knowledge of the *De Divinatione*, or is due to some of the other aids which he is thought to have employed (cf. Petersen in *Publ. mod. Lang. Assoc.* 18 (1903), 173-193; Körting, *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. engl. Litt.* 4 ed. (1905), 186; Hammond, *Chaucer* (1908), 87; Wells, *Man. of the Writings in Middle English* (1916), 650-652; 872; Lowes in *Romanic Rev.* 8 (1917), 383-400) is a question for Chaucerian scholars.

²²⁸ *Rolls Series*, 41, 4(1872), 143.

The name of Petrarch²²⁹ marks an epoch in the restoration of Cicero, and the interest which he felt in this tractate was considerable. A fourteenth century manuscript of Cicero at Troyes which probably belonged to Petrarch contains the *De Divinatione*,²³⁰ and marginal notes express Petrarch's admiration for particular passages.²³¹ Other important references in Petrarch bearing upon his use of the *De Divinatione* are collected by Hortis.²³² Boccaccio also knew and used the work,²³³ naming it among those of Cicero,²³⁴ employing the parts on dreams,²³⁵ and remarking:²³⁶ *dicit ergo de fato sic Tullius in libro quem de divinatione scripsit*. From a French paraphrase of his *De Casibus Virorum illust.* are probably²³⁷ derived three lines in John Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*.²³⁸ "He wrote also the dreame of Scipion, / Of rethorikes compiled bokes twayne. / And twayne he wrote of Diuinacion." Giovanni Pontano not merely knew our work but even wrote out a copy with his own hand,²³⁹ and Pico della Mirandola, in his work against astrology, makes occasional citations from it.²⁴⁰

Of the more abundant use in subsequent centuries space forbids more than brief mention. The influence of 1, 34 on Herbert, Lord Cherbury's *De Veritate* (1624) is noted by Zielinski.²⁴¹ Cudworth, in his *True Intellectual System*,²⁴² quotes from the *De Divinatione*, and John Toland²⁴³ praises Cicero's habit, as illustrated in our work and the *De Officiis*, of artistically inserting Greek *exempla* to add to the interest of a theoretical discussion. To other English deists the work seems to have appealed because of its vigorous attacks upon superstition; among such may be

²²⁹ Cf. Hortis, *op. cit.* 46; 49, n. 2; 50, n.; de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme* (1892), 176-223; Zielinski, *op. cit.* 2 ed., especially 216.

²³⁰ Cf. de Nolhac, *op. cit.* 186-187.

²³¹ *Id.* 196, n. 5; 197, n. 1; cf. 200, and n. 2.

²³² *Op. cit.* 46 (from *Lib. Rev. memor.* 4, p. 525); 46, n. 5 (*id.* 3, p. 495; *fam. Epp.* 3, 8; *de Otio Relig.* 1, p. 352); 49, n. 2 (*Apol. c. Galli Cal.* p. 1194); 50, n. (*de Vita sol.* 2, 8, 2; on Cicero's villas—*ibi . . . divinationem radicem errorum multiplicium convulsit; fam. Epp.* 12, 8: *Quintius Cicero frater, cum quo divinationem legesque tractabat*). Most of these passages are also cited by de Nolhac.

²³³ Hortis, *op. cit.* 73; 82.

²³⁴ *Comm. a Dante*, *Lez.* 16; cf. Hortis, *op. cit.* 73.

²³⁵ Passages are collected by Hortis, *op. cit.* 82.

²³⁶ *De Gen. Deor.* 1, 5; cf. Hortis, *op. cit.* 73, n. 2.

²³⁷ Cf. Hortis, *op. cit.* 77, n.

²³⁸ 6, 15.

²³⁹ Soldati, *La Poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento* (1906), 239, n. 2, and esp. 244, n. 1, quoting Filangeri, *Documenti per la Storia*, etc. 3 (1885), 50, for a list of the books of Pontano presented by his daughter in 1505 to the church of S. Domenico. Among them was "Cicerone, *De Divinatione, scritto di pugno di Gioviano stesso*."

²⁴⁰ *Disput. adv. Astrol.* (1557 ed.) 1, pp. 77 recto; 2, p. 83 verso; 11, p. 146 verso.

²⁴¹ *Op. cit.* 2 ed., 263-264.

²⁴² In the 1845 edition, 3, 97 (*de Div.* 1, 115). The reference in 3, 21 to "Cicero in his book of Divination" is really to *de Fato*, 7.

²⁴³ In the introduction to his letters to Serena, 8; cf. Zielinski, *op. cit.* 437-438.

mentioned Anthony Collins,²⁴² Thomas Woolston,²⁴³ Peter Annet,²⁴⁴ and Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke.²⁴⁵ Of its influence upon Voltaire indications are not lacking.²⁴⁶ Quite a different use is made of it by Defoe, in his *Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell*.²⁴⁷ That it was read by Goethe appears from various excerpts in his *Ephemerides*.²⁴⁸

Here we may perhaps close this hasty and inadequate résumé.²⁴⁹ Enough material, however, has been collected to reveal the *De Divinatione* as a work of rationalism, unsuited to be a text-book for pagan students and hence chiefly cited—when cited at all—as Valerius Maximus used it, for exactly the opposite purpose to that for which it was intended. Christian readers, on the other hand, while welcoming attacks by a pagan upon pagan superstitions, probably felt that the arguments undermined all beliefs in prophecy, Christian as well as pagan, and so used chiefly those portions which were valuable or interesting as *exempla*. It was hardly before Petrarch that the work was accepted in its true purpose, and perhaps not until the deistic movement that it gained any considerable influence, amid surroundings in which Cicero's other philosophical works were also regarded as of importance.²⁵⁰

²⁴² Who in his *Discourse of Freethinking* makes especial use of 2, 148 ff.; cf. Zielinski, *op. cit.* 277.

²⁴³ Zielinski, *op. cit.* 280.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Who repeatedly cites the work, especially with reference to dreams; cf. Zielinski, *op. cit.* 282.

²⁴⁶ *Id.* 309; 314.

²⁴⁷ In chapter 5 (p. 85 of the 1903 ed.) he quotes from *de Div.* 1, 64; on p. 101 our work is mentioned in a list of evidences for demonism.

²⁴⁸ 16; 17; cf. Keller, *Goethe's Estimate of the Greek and Latin Writers* in *Bull. of the Univ. of Wisc.* no. 786 (1916), 159.

²⁴⁹ On the attitude of different ages toward Cicero's philosophical works in general see Zielinski, *op. cit.* 314-315; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 2, 2 ed. (1919), 691, n.

²⁵⁰ An account of manuscripts, editions, and translations is reserved for the appendix.

A—Cod. Leid. Voss. 84, S. IX–X
B—Cod. Leid. Voss. 86, S. X
H—Cod. Leid. Heins. 118, S. XI
V—Cod. Vindob. 189, S. X
C—*A B H V*
O—editio Orelliana (1828)

M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE
LIBER PRIMVS

I. I. Vetus opinio est iam usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus, eaque et populi Romani et omnium gentium firmata consensu, versari quandam

1. *vetus opinio*: cf. 2 *Verr.* 4, 106: *vetus est haec opinio, iudices . . . hoc cum ceterae gentes sic arbitrantur, tum ipsis Siculis ita persuasum est*; *N.D.* 2, 63: *vetus haec opinio Graeciam opplevit.*

1. *heroicis*: cf. *N.D.* 3, 54: *is quem heroicis temporibus Acantho Rhodi peperisse dicitur*; *Tusc.* 5, 7: *iam heroicis aetatibus Ulixem et Nestorem accepimus*. Cicero is doubtless here thinking of various instances of divination mentioned by Homer, such as those cited in 1, 65; 1, 72; 1, 87-89; 2, 63-64; 2, 82, *infra*. Other examples are those from tragedies based on the Trojan cycle, e.g., 1, 29; 1, 42; 1, 66-67; 1, 80; 1, 114; etc.

2. *populi Romani*: for this distinction between native and foreign theory or evidence see 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); *Leg.* 2, 33.

2. *consensu*: cf. 1, 11-12; 1, 84; *Leg.* 2, 33: *iam vero permultorum exemplorum et nostra est plena res publica et omnia regna omnesque populi cunctaeque gentes augurum praedictis nulla incredibiliter vera cecidisse*; *Xen. Apol. Socr.* 13: *ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προεῖδέναι γε τὸν θεὸν τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ προσημαίνειν ᾧ βούλεται, καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς περ ἐγὼ φημι, οὕτω πάντες καὶ λέγουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν*; *Plut. de Fato* 11: *μαντικὴ μὲν ἔτασιν ἀσθράτοις εὐδόκιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῶν ὑπάρχουσα*; *id. adv. Col.* 27; 31. Elsewhere in Cicero *consensus* appears as an argument for the existence of the gods or for the immortality of the soul, as in *Tusc.* 1, 30; 1, 35: *omnium consensus naturae vox est*; 1, 36: *permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium*; *Leg.* 1, 24. It is sometimes adduced by speakers opposed to Cicero's own views, as by Q. Cicero in this dialogue (e.g., 1, 11-12; 1, 84); Velleius in *N.D.* 1, 43-44 (an important passage); 1, 46; and Balbus in the same work (2, 12); while it is attacked

by critics, notably by Cotta (*N.D.* 1, 62; 3, 8; 3, 11; 3, 17). For commonly accepted *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔνομοι* see also Corsen, *De Posidonio Rhodio* (1878), 7-8; Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik und Daemonen* (1860), 8, who cites Sext. Emp. 9, 132: *ἔταστον δὲ γε τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πραγμάτων ἀραιεῖν πεπιστευμένων ἢ ἢ παρὰ πάντων ἀσθράτοις*; *Sen. Epist.* 117, 6: *praesumptio omnium hominum . . . consensus hominum*; cf. *Min. Fel.* 8, 1; *Lact. Inst.* 1, 2, 5; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 143. In other instances Cicero limits his appeal to the *consensus* of philosophers (*N.D.* 1, 13; 3, 79; *Off.* 2, 35); with which may perhaps be compared the famous test of ecclesiastical catholicity formulated by Vincentius Lerinensis (*Commonit.* 1, 2): *in ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*. For the doctrine of *consensus* in the deistic movement, influenced in part by Cicero, cf. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2 ed. (1908), 261 ff.

2. *quandam*: commonly used by Cicero with abstracts (1) to designate one of a class (e.g., 1, 118: *vis quaedam sentiens*) or (2) sometimes combined with *quasi*, in apology for an unusual metaphor (e.g., *Tusc.* 2, 64: *quasi quandam exaggerationem animi*) or a translation from the Greek (as *N.D.* 1, 43: *anticipationem quandam deorum*). Here translation is clearly not involved, and probably the class idea is vaguely present. Cicero indeed uses *divinatio* with modifiers of different sorts (1, 4: *furoris d.*; 1, 115: *somniantis . . . d.*). The word *divinatio* seems not to be used in any extant work earlier than Cicero, but its occurrence in our work is by no means his earliest use of it, nor is there reason for supposing that it was not in familiar use before he employed it.

inter homines divinationem, quam Graeci *μαντικήν* appellant, id est praesensionem et scientiam rerum futurarum. Magnifica quaedam res et salutaris, si modo est ulla, quaque proxime ad deorum vim natura mortalis possit accedere. Itaque ut alia nos melius multa quam Graeci, sic huic praestantissimae rei nomen nostri a divinis, Graeci, ut Plato interpretatur,

1. *μαντικήν* C.

3. quaque proxime *Turnebus*, quaque (siq. *V. corr.*) proxima C.

3. mortalia *Marius*, mortali C. sed in A i *supra lin.*

1. *μαντικήν*: cf. *Leg.* 2, 32: *divinationem quam Graeci μαντικήν appellant; N.D.* 1, 55: *μαντική vestra quae Latine divinatio dicitur.* For the form of expression see also 1, 90: *naturae rationem quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci appellant.* The use of the Greek alphabet in Latin works is discussed by Nieschmidt, *Quatenus in Scriptura Romani Litteris Graecis usi sunt* (1913), esp. p. 40; see also 1, 90; 1, 95; 1, 122; 1, 125; 2, 11; 2, 34; 2, 89; 2, 92; 2, 108; 2, 111; 2, 118; 2, 124; 2, 142, *infra.* *μαντική* was originally an adjective, probably modifying *επιστήμη* (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 3, n. 1).

1. *id est*: on definitions of divination see 1, 9 (*de divinatione*). The coupling of *praesentia* and *scientia* is found in 1, 105. For *scientia* cf. also 1, 132.

3. *si modo*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 78: *cum sint di, si modo sunt*; 3, 71; *Rep.* 3, 12: *quae est una, si modo est.*

3. *ad deorum vim*: cf. *Gell.* 14, 1, 34: *ex quibus est Pacuvianum illud [407 Ribb.]: nam si quae eventura sunt provident, nequirent Iovi.* The words *deorum vim* are surely not a periphrasis for *deos* (so Moser misinterprets *Ernesti* as thinking), for the comparison is between mortal *natura* and divine *vis*, the two being here closely parallel (cf. their use in combination in *N.D.* 1, 32). A similar expression is found in 1, 34, *infra.* See also *Rep.* 1, 12: *neque enim est ulla res in qua proprius ad deorum numen virtus accedat humana.*

4. *nos melius*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 30: *multa intelleges etiam aliunde sumpta meliora apud nos multo esse facta quam ibi fuissent unde huic translata essent; Tusc.* 1, 1: *mentem propter iudicium fuit omnia nostros aut invenisse pro se sapientius quam Gracos aut accepta*

ab illis fecisse meliora; N.D. 2, 8. Though once admitting (*Tusc.* 2, 35) the greater copiousness of the Greek vocabulary and recognizing a certain popular distrust of the Latin one (*N.D.* 1, 8 and Mayor's n.), Cicero yet takes every opportunity to insist that Latin is at least equal to Greek (*N.D.* 1, 8) or even superior (*Fin.* 1, 10; 3, 5). He also notes certain concepts for which Latin possesses and Greek lacks proper terms (*de Or.* 2, 17-18; *Leg.* 1, 27), or cases in which the Latin word is more precise or appropriate (*Tusc.* 3, 7; 3, 10-11; 3, 23; *ad Fam.* 9, 24, 3, on the word *convivium* vs. the Greek *συνπόσιον*, for which cf. *dc. Scn.* 45; *Hier.* in *Is.* 1, 22, p. 26 Vall.; *Isid. Etym.* 20, 1, 3). See Lange in *Diss. phil. Hal.* 4 (1880), 232-234; Zillinger, *Cicero und die altröm. Dichter* (1911), 15, n. 2; De Quincey, *Collected Writings* 10 (1890 ed.), 254-255.

5. *divis*: this form is here used in preference to *deis* on account of the clearer etymology. Elsewhere in the philosophical works Cicero uses it only in verse quotations and in the archaic language of the *De Legibus* (except in *N.D.* 1, 63, in translation from the Greek). Cicero's etymological methods as shown here and elsewhere are discussed by Dietrich, *De Ciceronis Ratione etymologica* (1911), 43-44.

5. *Plato: Phaedr.* p. 244b-c: τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ τὰ ὄνματα τιθήμενοι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἤγοῦντο οὐδὲ θναῖος μαρτυρῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ τέχνῃ, ἧ τὸ μέλλον κρίνεται, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐμπλέκοντες μαντικὴν ἐκάλεσαν· ἀλλ' ὡς καλοῦ ὄντος, ὅταν θεῖα μοῖρα γίγνηται, ὄντω νομισάντες ἴσθητο. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀπειροκάτως τὸ ταῦ ἐπιβάλλοντες μαντικὴν ἐκάλεσαν; cf. *Tim.* p. 71 e: ἰκανὸν δὲ σημεῖον ὡς μαντικὴν ἀφροσύνη θεῶν ἀφθροσύνη δόξαν

a furore duxerunt. 2. Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam neque tam inmanem tamque barbaram, quae non significari futura et a quibusdam intellegi praedicique posse censeat. Principio Assyrii, ut ab ultimis auctoritatem repetam, propter planitiam magnitudi-

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσθ' ἕνα μαρτυρῆς βῆθου καὶ ἀληθοῦς, κτλ. (in what follows Plato distinguishes between the inspired μάρις and the sane προφήτης or interpreter); Cael. Aur. Chron. 1, 5. This etymology of Plato has been variously regarded by scholars. Meyer, *Gr. Etymol.* 4 (1902), 365 assigns the word to the root μαρ-, but is not certain in what sense it is to be taken, probably not in that of μαρθεσθαι. Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1905), 281, like Plato, connects it with μήρις, Doric μάρις, and μαρβομαι, and compares Hdt. 4, 79: ὄνδρ' τοῦ θεοῦ μαρβεται. Boisacq, *Dict. Etym. de la Langue grecque* (1912), 608-609, discards the explanation proposed by Osthoff (*Indog. Forsch.* 15(1904), Anz. 104-105): μάρις, 'seer,' cf. μαρβεται, 'search,' and thinks it a combination of *μαρι- (= Skt. *māri-*, Lat. *mens*) and *μαρι- (= Skt. *muni-*, 'inspired,' 'seer'). For Plato as an etymologist cf. Muller, *De Veterum imprimis Romanorum Studii etymol.* 1 (1910), 15-33, esp. 26, n. 3.

Serv. Aen. 3, 443 (in Cod. Dresd. D. 136): a *Graecorum tractum etymologiae qui μάρις ἀπὸ τῆς μαρίας ἀποκαλεῖται. nam supra sensus humanos intelligentia furor et insaniam dicitur, teste Cicero in lib. de divinatione 'haec praestantissimae . . . a furore dixerunt (sic).'*

1. *furore*: in this sense in many passages in our work: 1, 4; 1, 5; 1, 18; 1, 66; 1, 70; 1, 80; 1, 81; 1, 85; 1, 118; 1, 126; 2, 16; 2, 100; 2, 101; 2, 110-112. In *Tusc.* 3, 11 it is made the equivalent of *μελαγχολία* rather than of *μαρία*.

1-2. *humanam atque doctam*: cf. 2 *Verr.* 4, 98: *homo doctissimus atque humanissimus*. Similar sweeping assertions are found in *Leg.* 1, 24: *nulla gens est neque tam mansueta neque tam fera quae non, etiam si ignoret qualem habere deum deceat, iumen habendum sciat*; *Leg.* 2, 33; *Tusc.* 1, 30; *N.D.* 1, 43;

also 1, 12 *infr.* For the extent of beliefs in divination see Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religions* (1913), 410, and the bibliography in n. 1.

3. *principio*: cf. 1, 3; 1, 17; al. The catalogue in the following passage of kinds of divination, arranged geographically and historically, is closely parallel to that in 1, 87-94; cf. 1, 93, n. (*ac mihi*).

4. *Assyrii*: here confused with the Babylonians, the reasons for whose interest in the stars are related in similar words in 1, 93. Cf. Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 8: *nam si principes Chaldaei, qui in patentibus campis colebant, stellarum motus et vias et discessionem et coelium intuentur, quid ex his efficeretur observaverunt, etc.* Elsewhere (*Tusc.* 5, 101, and Kühner's n.) Cicero confuses Assyrians and Syrians.

4. *ultimis*: the subsequent order, gradually approaching Rome, might suggest that this applied to location rather than to time, and I find no case in Cicero's philosophical works in which *ultimus* without a qualifying word refers to past time. Yet compare two similar passages with *repeto*: *Fin.* 1, 65: *ab ultima antiquitate repetitis*; *N.D.* 1, 25: *ab ultimo repetam superiorum*; also *Leg.* 1, 8. In 1, 36 *infra* the extreme age of the Babylonian astrological records is noted.

Various mythical inventors of divination and of its different branches are recorded. Pliny says (*N.H.* 7, 203): *auguria ex avisibus Car (sc. invenit) a quo Caria appellata, adiciis ex ceteris animalibus Orpheus, haruspiciam Delphus, ignispicia Amphiarus, exispicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretacionem ostentorum et somniorum Amphiclyon, astrologiam Allus Libyae filius, ut alii Aegyptii, ut alii Assyrii*; Clem. *Strom.* 1, 16, 74: *Αἰγύπτιοι γοῦν πρώτοι ἀστρολογίαν εἰς ἀθρώπων ἀξήνεγκαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι. . . εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ Κᾶραι τὴν δι' ἀστέρων πρόγνωσιν ἐπινοήσαντες λέγουσιν. πῆθεισ' ἂν*

nemque regionum quas incolebant, cum caelum ex omni parte patens atque

ὄντων παραφύλαξαντο πρώτοι Φρύγες, καὶ
 Θυτικὸν ἠερίβωσαν Τούσοι, Ἰταλίας γείτονες.
 Ἰσαυροὶ δὲ καὶ Ἄραβες ἐξέπησαν τὴν
 οὐρανιστικὴν, ὡς περ <ἀμιλὰ> Τελμεσεῖς τὴν
 δὲ ὄντων μαρτυρεῖ. Justin 1, 1, 5 traces
 the astrological knowledge of the East
 from Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum . . . qui
 primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et
 siderum motus diligentissime spectasse;
 and by Servius the invention is ascribed
 to Prometheus (Serv. Ed. 6, 42): *Prome-
 theus dicitur est ἀπὸ τῆς προμηθείας, id
 est a providentia. hic primus astrologiam
 Assyriis indicavit quam residens in monte
 altissimo Caucaso nimia cura et sollicitudine
 deprehendat.* Aeschylus (in *Prom. Vinc.*
 484 ff.) ascribes to him the invention of
 divination through dreams, ἐνὸδια, augury,
 and exta, but says nothing of astrology—an
 indication that it was not yet familiar to the
 Greeks (cf. Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie*,
 1810). Other supposed inventors are Apollo
 (Plat. *Symp.* p. 197a: τοξικὴν γὰρ μὴν καὶ λα-
 τρικὴν καὶ μαρτυρεῖ Ἀπόλλων ἀνηγέρει); Atlas
 (Eupolemus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 9, 173 = *F. H.*
G. 3, 212; Arnob. 2, 69; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 246-
 247; Hier. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 380: *Atlas frater
 Promethei praecipuus astrologus dicitur est,
 qui ob eruditionem istius disciplinae etiam
 caelum sustinere affirmatus est*; Theutis the
 Egyptian (Arnob. *l.c.*); Hippo, daughter of
 Chiron (Eur. *Μελαντιπηή ἢ σοφὴ* in *Tr. Graec.*
Fr. 2 ed. 452); Abraham (Eupolemus *l.c.*: *ὅν
 δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ Χαλδαϊκὴν εὐρεῖν*);
 demons (Lact. *Inst.* 2, 16, 1); and finally
 the devil himself (Firm. *Mat. Err.* 1, 1).

The ages of the Babylonian and Egyptian
 astrologies have been the subject of much
 controversy, ancient and modern (cf. Riess
 in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie*, 1805). The opinion
 of most scholars, however, favors Baby-
 lonia as the earlier source. For a review of
 the discussion as to the age of the Babylonian
 astrology see Jastrow in *Proc. Am. Philos.*
Soc. 47 (1908), 667, and n. 53. Kügler
 (*Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (1907),
 61) maintains that the earliest dated genuine-
 ly astrological tablet dates from 522 B.C.,

although based on an older original, and in
 his *Kulturhistorische Bedeutung der babylon.*
Astronomie (in *Vereinschriften der Görres-
 Gesellschaft*, 3 (1907), 38-50) further supports
 the late origin of the Babylonian astrology.
 He is followed by Boll (in *Neue Jahrbücher
 für kl. Altertum*, 31 (1913), 103-126) and
 King (in *Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* 35 (1913),
 41-46), who states that even late Babylonian
 astrology was very primitive in character,
 and that scientific astronomy is hardly
 earlier than the eighth century before
 Christ. On the other hand, Jeremias (*Das
 Alter der babylon. Astronomie* (1908), and
 the adherents of the Winckler school hold
 to the view that it arose in the early period
 of Babylonian history; cf. 1, 36, n. (*qua-
 dringenta*, *e.c.*). Jastrow (*op. cit.* 655), be-
 lieves that the earliest texts known to us do
 not revert to originals older than the time
 of Hammurapi (dated by Meyer (*Gesch. d.*
Altertums 1, 2, 2ed. (1909), 341 from 1958-
 1916 B.C.), but that astrology in Babylonia
 may be older than this (see also his *Relig.*
Babylon. u. Assy. 2 (1912), 432, n. 1), and
 Meyer (*op. cit.* 525) finds the first inscrip-
 tions of astrological tendency(?) in the time
 of Gudea (ca. 2500 B.C.), but thinks their
 source may be dated in the time of Sargon
 (ca. 2850), while to the periods of Gudea
 and Sargon Weidner (*Oriental. Liter.* 16
 (1913), 41-46; 102-103) ascribes certain
 astrological texts. From these and other
 elements, according to Meyer (*op. cit.* 528;
 cf. 402, n.), in the early part of the first
 millennium B.C., a new Aramaic branch, the
 Chaldaean, entering the south, developed
 an elaborate system, the Chaldaean astro-
 logy. In any event, astrology must be
 considered an advanced and learned rather
 than a primitive product (cf. Jastrow in
Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 47 (1908), 647, n. 3;
 656). The Babylonian astrology was at its
 height in the Seleucid and Arsacid periods
 (*id.* 667-668).

Of early astrological remains in Egypt
 there is little or no trace (Meyer, *op. cit.* 152,
 says that astrology is foreign to Egypt), and

apertum intuerentur, traiectiones motusque stellarum observitaverunt, quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur memoriae prodiderunt. Qua in natione Chaldaei, non ex artis sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati, diuturna

in Greece the first indication is probably to be found in the fragment of Euripides, *Μελωίωσσι ἡ σοφία*, cited above. Its first teacher among the Greeks was apparently Berosus, who in the time of Alexander opened a school in Cos (Vitr. 9, 6, 2). Genethliology, or the casting of individual horoscopes from the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of birth, is a Greek contribution to the art, and nowhere appears in Babylonia. Greek social and political theory may in part account for this increased importance attached to the fate of the individual (cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* 669).

After astrology developed in Greece, the Egyptians found it profitable to dispute the Babylonian origin in favor of an Egyptian one, and thus two schools arose whose exact differences are unknown to us (Riess, *op. cit.* 1817). This Egyptian influence is to be dated in the Ptolemaic period, (Jastrow, *op. cit.* 670, n. 67.). The Egyptian claims were supported by various authors, especially by Diodorus: 1, 9, 6; 1, 50, 1; 1, 81, 6: *φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλωνίῳ Χαλδαίοις, ἀποικοῦσι Αἰγυπτίωσιν ὄντας, τὴν ὁδὴν ἔχειν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀστρολογίας παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν μαθόντας τῶν Αἰγυπτίωσιν*; 5, 57, 2-4, in which Actis, one of the Heliadae and founder of Heliopolis, is said to have taught the Egyptians astrology. The source of Diodorus in these accounts seems to be Hecataeus, a contemporary of Ptolemy I (Riess, *op. cit.* 1816). Cf. also Macr. *Somm.* 1, 21, 9: *Aegyptium . . . quos constat primos omnium caelium scrutari et meliori solitos*, [Luc.] *de Astrol.* 3; 5; 9; Arnob. 2, 69; Lact. *Inst.* 2, 13, 10; [Clem.] *Recogn.* 5, 20. For the contrary claims of Babylon cf. Arist. ap. Diog. L. praef. 8; Orig. *c. Cels.* 6, 80; Joseph. *Antiq.* 1, 168; Procl. in *Plat. Tim.* p. 277d; Eupolemus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 9, 17, 3; Thdt. *Gr. Aff. cl.* 1, p. 6. Non-committal are Pliny *N. H.* 7, 203; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1, praef. 1 (who considers the Hindus still earlier discoverers); Iamb.

Vit. Pyth. 158; Julian, *Or.* 4, p. 156b; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 848; Schol. Greg. Naz. *Or. 1 c. Iul.* 70 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 36, 1022). Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 2 says: *disciplinam istam Chaldaeorum tantae vetustatis non esse quantae videri volunt, neque eos principes eius auctoresque esse quos ipsi ferant, sed id praestigiarum atque officiarum genus commentos esse homines aercuscalotes et cibum quaestulumque ex mendaciis captantes.*

[42]ff. *caelum . . . apertum*: Theophr. *de Signis pluv.* 4 speaks of the observation of the stars from mountains, for a similar reason.

1. *traiectiones*: cf. 2, 16; 2, 60.

1. *observitaverunt*: cf. 1, 102; Gell. 10, 15, 27; possibly it is a technical term.

2. *cuique significaretur*: Hottinger, comparing 1, 92 (*quid quibusque ostendatur monstris*), emended to *quoque* (sc. *signo*), and Allen explained *cuique* as a dative used for the ablative 'more Graeco,' which, however, as Klotz well pointed out (*Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paedagog.* 33 (1841), 310), is a construction employed with reference to persons rather than to things. The phrase is apparently used, then, in the same general sense as *quid cuique eventurum* in the next sentence, save that the emphasis is here upon the prediction rather than upon the fulfilment.

2. *memoriae prodiderunt*: cf. 1, 55. The phrase appears ten times in the philosophical works alone.

3. *Chaldaei non ex artis*: cf. 1, 91; also see 1, 2, n. (*ultimis*) supra. Berosus used the term *Chaldaei* for the inhabitants of Babylonia (and called the population of the city Babylonians), but this was because of his failure to understand racial differences (Meyer, *Gesch. d. Allertums*, 1, 2, 2 ed. (1909), 402, n.). The art came to be called *Χαλδαϊκή* (Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie* (1896), 1807), and its practitioners appear frequently in Greek

observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, ut praedici posset quid cuique eventurum et quo quisque fato natus esset. Eandem artem etiam Aegyptii longinquitate temporum innumerabilibus paene sacculis consecuti putantur. Cilicum autem et Pisidarum gens et his finitima Pamphylia, quibus nationibus praefuimus ipsi, volatibus avium cantibusque, ut

5. ut addidit Lambinus, et addidit V¹.

and Latin literature under the (often derogatory) title of *Chaldaei* (e.g., 2, 84; *Tusc.* 1, 95), and similarly in Hebrew (cf. Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religions* (1913), 375, n. 3). Yet the geographical character of the name is also recognized, as, for instance, by Strabo 16, p. 739; *Amm. Marc.* 23, 6, 25. Cf. Gell. 1, 9, 6: *vulgus autem quos gentilitio vocabulo Chaldaeos dicere oportet mathematicos dicit.* Cf. Jastrow in *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1908), 674-675; *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (1911), 259-260.

[43]3f. diuturna observatione: cf. 1, 34; *Hier. in Is.* 11, p. 476 Vall.; *Jul. Afric. Chronogr.* fr. 1 (quoted below); and with the phrase cf. 1, 109; 1, 128; 2, 26; 2, 28; 2, 42; 2, 124; 2, 146.

1. *siderum*: possibly modifying *observatione*, but more probably either *scientiam* or both words; *observatio* in the philosophical works being usually unmodified, while *scientia* frequently has a dependent genitive.

1. *scientiam* . . . *effecisse*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*scientiam*); 1, 25, n. (*ars est effecta*).

2. *quo quisque fato*; cf. *Manil.* 1, 51-57: *hi tantum movere decus primique per artem / sideribus videre vagis pendentia fata. / singula nam proprio signarunt tempora casu / longa per assiduas complexi saecula curas, / nascendi quae cuique dies, quae vita fuisset, / in quas fortunae leges quaeque hora valeret, / quantaque quam parvi facerent discrimina motus.*

3. *longinquitate temporum*: cf. *Jul. Afric. Chronogr.* fr. 1 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 10, 63): *Αγύπτιοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν κομπωδίσταρον <φλυαροῦντες> χρόνων, περὶ τὰς περιόδους καὶ μυριάδας ἐτῶν, κατέθεσαν τινα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀστρολογουμένων ἐξέθετο*

. . . ἡ τῶν τῶν Χαλδαίων λήρον, τὸ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν μυριάδων, τί θεὸς λέγει; For the age of Egyptian records see *Rep.* 3, 14; and for the phrase here used cf. 1, 12: *longinquitas temporum.*

3. *innumerabilibus*: cf. 2, 147; *Diod.* 1, 81, 4: *ἐπιμελοῦς γάρ, εἰ καὶ παρὰ τισιν ἄλλοις, καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παρατηρήσασιν τυγχάνουσιν αἱ τῶν ἀστρῶν τάξεις τε καὶ κινήσεις· καὶ τὰς μὲν περὶ ἐλάστων ἀναγραφὰς ἐξ ἐτῶν ἀπίστων τῷ πλήθει φυλάττουσιν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἐξηλωμένης παρ' αὐτοῖς τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς, κτλ.*

4. *Cilicum*: cf. 1, 25; 1, 92; 1, 94: *et Cilices . . . cantus avium et volatus notaverunt; eademque et Pisidiarum causa fuit, etc.*; 2, 80; *Leg.* 2, 33. For the augurings Amphilocheus and Mopsus as founders of Cilician towns see 1, 88; *Plut. de Def. Orac.* 44-45; and for Cilician haruspicine *Tac. Hist.* 2, 3.

4. *Pisidarum*: from 1, 105 it would appear that the Pisidians were proverbial for their credulity in matters of augury; cf. 1, 25; 1, 92; 2, 80.

4. *Pamphylia*: in 1, 25 augury is spoken of as still practiced there.

5. *praefuimus*: Cicero's proconsular province included Cilicia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Isauria, Lycaonia, and three dioceses north of the Taurus (cf. Tyrrell and Purser, *Correspondence of Cicero*, 3, 2 ed. (1914), ix). He reached Laodicea 31 July, 51 B.C. (*ad Att.* 5, 15, 1; 5, 16, 2), and his year's service expired 30 July, 50 (*ad Att.* 6, 2, 6). His activities during this term are described by Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* ix-xxvi, and his travels in the province by Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. T. Cicero* (1893), 77-91; Schiche, *Zu Ciceros Briefwechsel während seiner Statthalterschaft von Cilicien*

certissimis signis, declarari res futuras putant. 3. (Quam vero Graecia coloniam misit in Aeoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam sine Pythio aut Dodonaeo aut Hammonis oraculo? aut quod bellum susceptum ab ea

2. *Aeoliam Turnebus, Aetoliam C.*

(1897); Girard, *Les Assises de Cicéron en Cilicie* (in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 217 ff.). Cf. Hunter, *Cicero's Journey to his Province of Cilicia in 51 B. C.* (*Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 3 (1913), 73-97, with map). For a Greek inscription perhaps mentioning Cicero during his proconsulship see Wiegand, *Milet*, 1 (1906), 101-102, esp. line 39. Tyrrell and Purser note (p. xi) the almost complete lack of references in Cicero's letters from Cilicia to observations of local customs. In our work there are a few allusions, however, perhaps prompted by his travels in Asia Minor: 1, 79; 1, 88; 1, 91; 1, 94.

1. *quam vero*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 9: *colonia-rum vero quos est deducta a Graecis in Asiam, Thraciam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam, praeter unam Magnesium, quam unda non aduat?*

2. *coloniam misit*: the views of numerous scholars upon the relations between the oracles (especially the Delphic oracle) and Greek colonization I have discussed in *Class. Phil.* 12 (1917), 1-20, with a collection of many oracular utterances directing the planting of colonies. Cf. also Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle* (1918), 96-104. It appears probable that Delphi, Dodona, and perhaps other shrines may have been consulted for the confirmation of sites already chosen, the legitimization of the occupancy of new sites, and for inquiry as to religious rites to be established there, but that the oracles actually preserved to us are chiefly those concocted after the event by colonists, priests, or antiquarians for sentimental, mercenary, or historical purposes respectively.

2. *Aeoliam*, etc.: the principal spheres of colonization in Asia Minor and Sicily and Magna Graecia here stand as types of Greek colonization as a whole.

2. *sine*: Cicero, it will be noticed, is

somewhat non-committal as to the exact degree of influence exerted by the oracles in this respect.

2. *Pythio*: in the great majority of cases it was Delphi which was consulted; I have noted a few instances of the consultation of Dodona (*op. cit.* 4). The oracle of Ammon was too inconvenient of access to be much used at the period of colonization, and is probably here added (as in 1, 95; cf. Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 22, and n. 2) solely to complete a rhetorical group of three. The fondness for such groups of three may be seen in *Plin. Ep.* 2, 20, 9: *scholastica lege tertiam poscis*; cf. *Quintil.* 4, 5, 3; *Merguet, Lex. s. d. phil. Scriptiones Ciceros*, s.vv. *tres* (*genera, modi, partes*, etc.), *triplex*; Schoenberger, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte* (1911), 60-63; 1, 24, n. (*an medicina*); *Lease in Class. Philol.* 14 (1919), 59, and n. 4. Delphi, Dodona, and Ammon also appear together in the *Lysander* story; cf. 1, 96, n. (*Lycurgus*) and works there cited; also *Plat. Leg.* p. 738c. In the choice of names in similar stock lists of oracles Delphi and Dodona predominate in frequency, followed by Clarus, the oracle of Ammon, Didyma, etc. Myers (*Class. Essays* (1883), 21, n.) states that the number of oracular seats in Greece has been estimated at 260.

3. *Dodonaeo*: according to tradition the ancient oracle of Zeus at Dodona was founded by Deucalion (*Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination*, 2 (1880), 280, n. 2), and is known in literature as early as Homer (*Il.* 16, 233; *Od.* 14, 327; 19, 296). It was probably originally that of a fountain deity, for the inscriptions dealing with it constantly refer to (Ζεὺς)Νά(ι)ος (for the derivation of which cf. *Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.* 2, 290, n.),

sine consilio deorum est? II. Nec unum genus est divinationis publice privatimque celebratum. Nam, ut omittam ceteros populos, noster quam multa genera complexus est! Principio huius urbis parens Romulus non

who was probably later identified with the panhellenic Zeus (Kern in *P.-W.* s.v. *Dodona* (1903), 1261). Other traditions make its foundation akin to that of Ammon (see the following note), to the cult of which it presents various likenesses, and in its importance among the Greeks it is second only to Delphi. On the various forms of divination practiced there (doves, talking oak, cauldrons, Selli, etc.) cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 277-331; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 354-355; Cook in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 22 (1902), 5-28. A good ancient description of the oracle is found in Philostr. *Imag.* 2, 33. The oracle was pillaged in 219 B.C., suffered in the time of Mithridates, had ceased in the time of Strabo (7, p. 327), was apparently revived but again destroyed by the time of Julian (Himer. *Ecl.* 20, 5), and its sacred oak cut down (Serv. *Aen.* 3, 466). The extant responses of Dodona have been collected by Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, 1 (1878), 142 ff., and to him we owe most of our knowledge of the site, first recognized by Lincoln in 1832 at Dramisus in the valley of Tcharacovista, 18 km. SW. of Janina, among springs and oak trees. Though much remains to be done there (Kern, *op. cit.* 1258), important finds were made by Carapanos, including inscribed bronze, copper, and lead tablets (vol. 1, 39-83) connected with the consultation of the oracle, which have been studied in detail by Roberts (in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1 (1880), 228-241; 2(1881), 102-121); Pomtow (in *Flerk. Jahrb.* 127 (1883), 305-360), cf. 1, 76, n. (sortes).

[45]3. **Hammonis**: the word usually appears in Greek without, in Latin with the aspirate (cf. 1, 95; *N.D.* 1, 82), which is due, according to Meyer (in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, 1, 291; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 354), to a confusion with the

Punic *Ba'al chammân*, or 'fiery Baal, much worshipped in N. Africa (for other suggested derivations— Ἄμμων , Ἄμμη , or the name of an eponymous hero—cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 339, n. 3). By modern scholars the god has usually been traced to *Amen-Râ* of the Egyptian Thebes, who as a king of gods, was easily associated with the Greek Zeus and Roman Jupiter, and whose worship became localized at the Ammonium in the oasis of Siwah in the Libyan desert. A tradition that its foundation there was contemporaneous and connected with that of the oracle at Dodona appears as early as Herodotus (2, 55). Following the suggestion of Overbeck (*Gr. Kunstmyth.* (1871), 273 ff.; viewed with distrust by Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 1559, n. 4), Cook (in *Class. Rev.* 17 (1903), 403-404, and more fully in his *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 361 ff.) attempts to show that the entire oracular apparatus at Dodona—grove, sacred oak, doves, and holy well—was to be matched in the oasis of Ammon, and to explain (p. 371) the latter cult as the relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of North Africa, and therefore Greek rather than Egyptian in origin, though later confused with the worship of Amen-Râ and Ba'al chammân. The ambiguity of this oracle was notorious in antiquity (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 196), but its fame was enhanced by important consultants, especially Alexander the Great (Parthey, *Die Orakel u. die Oase des Ammon*, in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1862, 143; 163 ff.; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 352-353). In Roman times it was greatly neglected (Strabo 17, p. 813; Lucan 9, 515 ff.). The most comprehensive work on the history of Ammon is that of Parthey (*op. cit.* 131-194), who describes also its location and various visits of modern explorers. For a more recent

solum auspiciato urbem condidisse, sed ipse etiam optumus augur fuisse traditur. Deinde auguribus et reliqui reges usi, et exactis regibus nihil

account of the remains see Steindorff, *Durch die Libysche Wüste sur Amonose* (1904), with a good map and photographs and (pp. 156-157) a bibliography of other modern visits. Cook (*op. cit.* 1, 376-390) also has an excellent summary of the archaeological remains at Siwah. For the cult see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 338-360; Meyer, *op. cit.* 283-291; Kern, *op. cit.* 1259-1264; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 1557-1559 (in 1557, n. 4 he gives reasons for thinking it originally a dream-oracle).

[46]1. nec unum: cf. de Inv. 2, 4: non unum aliquod exemplum . . . sed; Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, 8 ed. (1888), 721.

[46]2. ut omittam, etc.: cf. Rep. 3, 24: ut iam omittam alios, noster hic populus, etc.

[46]3. principio: cf. Dion. Hal. 2, 6: τότε δ' οὖν ὁ Ῥωμῖλος ἐπειθὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου βίβαια προσέλαβε, συγκαλέσας τὸν ἔθνον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ μαρτεῖα δηλώσας βασιλεῖς ἀποδείκνυται πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ καταστήσαντο ἐν θεοῖς τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἄπασιν μῆτε βασιλείας μῆτε ἀρχὰς λαμβάνων, ἴαν μὴ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεσίῃσιν, διέμενέ τε μέχρι πολλοῦ φυλαττόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ περὶ τοῖς οὐρανισμοῖς ἔθμιμον οὐ μόνον βασιλευμένων τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ καταλύσειν τῶν μετάρχων ἐν ὑπάτων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων . . . ἀρχόντων αἰρήσει.

[46]3. urbis parens: cf. pro Balb. 31: princeps ille creator huius urbis, Romulus; Liv. 1, 16, 6: Romulus . . . parens urbis huius; and for similar terms—conditor (urbis), custos patriae, genitor (urbis), pater (urbis), sator—applied by the Roman poets to Romulus see Drakenborch (1717) on Sil. Ital. 2, 654; Carter, *Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 90.

1. auspiciato . . . condidisse: cf. 2, 70; N. D. 3, 5; Rep. 2, 5; 2, 16; 2, 51; Leg. 2, 33 (also Keitzstein, *Drei Vermutungen s. Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* (1894), 29); in Valin. 14; Justin, 8, 2, 11. In Phil. 2, 102 a colony is mentioned as *auspiciato deducta*, and the word appears almost adverbially in other connections: 1, 26; 1, 28; 2, 76;

2, 77; N. D. 2, 11; al. And cf. *inauspiciato* in 1, 33. See also Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2325. Valetton (in *Mnemos.* 21 (1893), 65 ff.) well points out that it was not the city as a whole to which these auspices applied, but only the ground occupied by its walls. The space within them was not consecrated by this act; cf. Varro ap. Solin. 1, 17; Liv. 1, 44, 4: *ibi Romulus mansitavit qui auspiciato murorum fundamenta fecit*. The fortune of the state was sometimes connected with the performance of this rite; cf. Liv. 6, 41, 4: *auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse . . . quis est qui ignorat?* And Cyprian has to combat this notion (*de Idol.* 6): *non ergo de religionibus sanctis nec de auspiciis aut auguriis Romana regna creverunt*.

1. augur: cf. 1, 30; 1, 107, and nn.; 2, 80. Valetton (in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 216, n. 2) notes that Cicero uses *augur* in three different senses: (1) = Greek μάγιστρος (as in 1, 5; 1, 74; 1, 87-88); (2) one who understands divination from birds (1, 12; 1, 72; 2, 13; 2, 26; 2, 72; 2, 82; 2, 109); (3) a member of the Roman college of augurs (1, 29; 1, 36; 2, 77). The derivation of the word is uncertain (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 162, n. 2; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 73-74). It has been connected with *augeo* (*auctor*, *augustus*); with *avis* (shortened as in *auspicium* for *avispicium*) + one of several roots: (1) that appearing in *garrigo*; (2) that of *gustus*; (3) that of *gero* (cf. Fest. p. 2 M.: *augur ab avibus gerendoque dicitur, quis per eum avium gestus edicitur: sive ab avium garritu, unde et augurium*; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 5, 523; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 9, 19: *auguria quasi avium garrigo, hoc est avium voces et linguae. item augurium quasi avigerium, quod aves gerunt*; Hugo de S. Vict. *Erudit Didascal.* 6, 15).

2. auguribus: the foundation of the augural college at Rome was often ascribed to Numa, e.g., by Flor. 1. 2. 2; Jord. *Rom.*

publice sine auspiciis nec domi nec militiae gerebatur. Cumque magna vis videretur esse et inpetriendis consulendisque rebus et monstris inter-

2. inpetriendis *Mannius* (cf. 1, 25; 2, 35), inpetrandis *AB*, impetrandis *HY*.
2. et monstra *Darius*, et in monstra *CO*.

1, 95. Livy, however, represents (1, 18, 6-9) Numa's own accession as being under the direction of an augur, and Cicero (*Rep.* 2, 16) and Dionysius (2, 22) depict Romulus as founding the institution, with at first three augurs (Cic. *l.c.*). From the *Lex Ogulnia* (300 B.C.) they numbered 9 (5 of them plebeians), and from the time of Sulla 15 (Liv. per. 89). During the monarchy they were probably appointed, during the Republic chosen by cooptation. The names of the members, as known from the literature and inscriptions, have been collected by Bardt, *Die Priester d. vier grossen Collegien* (1871), 17-27; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 363-372; Spinazzola in Ruggiero, *Diz. epigrafico*, 1 (1895), 790-810; Howe, *Fasti Sacerdotum . . . Aetatis imperat.* (1904), 27-32. For their organization see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 262-272; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 398-400; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 523-534. [47]2. *reliqui reges*: cf. *Phil.* 3, 9: *servabant auspicia reges*; Dion. Hal. 4, 80, 2. For Numa see the preceding note, also Liv. 1, 20, 7; for Hostilius *N.D.* 2, 9 (though 1, 31 infra and Liv. 1, 36, 3-6 put the incident in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus); for Tarquinius Superbus Liv. 1, 55, 3-4; Flor. 1, 1, 7, 8; Aug. *C.D.* 4, 23; 4, 29. Favorable auspices preceded the accession of Numa (Dion. Hal. 2, 60), Tullus (*id.* 2, 1), Ancus (*id.* 2, 36), and Tarquinius Priscus (*id.* 3, 46), though it is to be noted that there is but a single source for these statements, and one very likely influenced in this regard by priestly tradition.

[47]2. *exactis regibus*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 13; *Leg.* 3, 15.

[47]2f. *nihil publice*: cf. 1, 95; *Leg.* 2, 31; Liv. 1, 36, 6; 6, 41; Val. Max. 2, 1, 1: *apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur nisi auspicio prius*

sumpto. Important for comparison is *N.D.* 2, 9, where the Stoic Balbus contrasts the attention paid to auspices during early Roman history with their neglected condition in his own time. Cf. also Dion. Hal. 2, 6. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 377, well emphasizes the closer connection between divination and political institutions prevailing at Rome as contrasted with conditions in Greece.

1. *auspiciis*: ancient writers at times discriminate between *auguria* and *auspicia*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 161-164. Thus the idea of Servius (according to Valetton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 419 ff.) seems to be that *auspicia* are *oblative*, i.e., presented to the observer without action on his part, while *auguria* are *impetrative*, or deliberately sought; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 341 for *auspicia* in this sense; *id. Aen.* 2, 703; 3, 89 for *auguria*; and *id. Aen.* 1, 398 for the contrast between the two. But in most instances in Latin the two words are used indiscriminately, and are often combined, as in 1, 28; 1, 107 (from Ennius). Valetton (*op. cit.* 423), though not discriminating between *auspicia* and *auguria*, would do so between *augurari* (the explanation of oblativ signs) and *auspicari* (the search for impetrative ones); cf. 1, 27, n. (*augurari*). The definition which would restrict *auspicium* to use in connection with magistrates and *augurium* to use in connection with augurs (Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 530, n. 1; Blumenthal in *Hermes* 49 (1914), 251, n. 4, who compares Valetton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 442-443) will not always hold, according to Valetton, *op. cit.* 422, n. 5.

1. *militiae*: on augury in military operations cf. Valetton in *Mnemos.* 19 (1891), 409-410; Varro *L.L.* 6, 95: *augur consulis adest tum cum exercitus imperatur.*

pretandis ac procurandis in haruspicum disciplina, omnem hanc ex Etruria

[48]H. magna vis . . . esse . . . in: cf. *Off.* 2, 19; *Ac.* 2, 74; *Tusc.* 3, 36; 5, 32; 5, 50; al.

[48]2. consulendisque rebus: *consulo* is regularly followed by the dative of the thing (or by *de*+the ablative), and *impetrio* by the accusative, the two being here somewhat awkwardly combined in a single gerundive phrase. The chastically arranged groups *impetriendis* . . . *rebus* and *monstris* . . . *procurandis* correspond roughly to impetrative and oblativistic distinctions.

[48]2. *monstris*: similar terms are found in *N.D.* 2, 7: *ostenta monstra portenta prodigia* (cf. 1, 92-93 infra); *N.D.* 3, 5; *Leg.* 2, 21; *Fest.* pp. 138M.; 140M.; 157M. (*monstra*); 194M.; 201M. (*ostenta*); 229M. (*prodigia*); 244M. (*portenta*); *Non.* pp. 429-430M.; *Aug. C.D.* 21, 8; Luterbacher, *Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer* (1880), 5; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung d. Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 1; Stein, *Tipas* (1909), 3-4. These terms usually appear in an unfavorable sense (but cf. *Fest.* p. 245M.), and refer to abnormal phenomena; cf. Steinhauser, *Der Prodigienenglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 2.

[48]2f. *interpretandis*: cf. *Fest.* p. 229M.: *prodigatores haruspices, prodigiorum interpretes*.

1. *procurandis*: cf. *Har. Resp.* 18: *maiores nostros . . . qui . . . portentorum expiationes Etruscorum disciplina contineri pulaverunt*; *Val. Max.* 1, 1, 1: *maiores . . . portentorum depulsi <one> s Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt*. On *procuratio* as a technical term cf. Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 20; 38; Wülker, *op. cit.* 29 ff.; and especially Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 3 (1909), 117-130.

1. *haruspicum disciplina*: cf. 1, 33; 1, 91; *N.D.* 2, 10. It is also (Thulin in *P.-W.* s.v. *Etrusca disciplina* (1907), 725) called by Cicero *Etruscorum disciplina*, *Etruriae disciplina*, *haruspicina*

(2, 28; 2, 37; al.), and *haruspicinae disciplina* (2, 50).

On the haruspices see especially Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 1-3 (1906-1909); *id.* in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices* (1912). The spelling *haru-* is far more frequent than *aru-*, *hari-*, *ari-*, etc. (for the spelling cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 62, n. 1; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 3, n. 1; *id.* in Ruggiero, *Dis. epigrafico*, s.v. *Haruspex* (1911), 648), and the word appears cognate with Gk. *χορδή*, Skt. *hird*, 'vein' (for the inspection of veins by the haruspices see Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2, 37), Lat. *hira*, 'guts'; cf. Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusker*, 2, 2 ed. (1877), 12, n. 39; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 360. In Faliscan we find *harisp* (Deecke, *Dis Falisker* (1888), 190), and perhaps *haracno* (*id.* 191), while in Etruscan the word is apparently *netwis*, appearing in a bilingual from Pesaro (*C.I.L.* XI, 6363 = Dessau 4958), and in an Etruscan inscription from near Chiusi (Fabretti 560 *ter h*; cf. Thulin, *op. cit.* 1 (1906), 55). Thulin (*op. cit.* 2, 4, n.) suggests that the word is a foreign one (probably not Etruscan) which has by popular etymology been modified on the analogy of such words as *extispex*. For popular etymologies cf. Ivo Carnot. *Panormia*, 8, 66 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 161, 1318); Hugo de S. Vict. *Erudit. Didascal.* 6, 15; Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*

The use of haruspices at Rome is traced by Livy (1, 56, 4-5; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8, 345) back to the time of Tarquinius Superbus, but their especial influence dates from the Second Punic War (Thulin in *P.-W.*, *l.c.*, 2433), and their consultation becomes increasingly frequent as compared with that of the Sibylline Books, which were used on similar occasions (*N.D.* 3, 5). Carter (in *Röm. Mitt.* 25 (1910), 87) would detect a similar encroachment of haruspicine upon augury; cf. 1, 28 infra; also, for the frequency of

scientiam adhibebant, ne genus esset ullum divinationis quod neglectum ab iis videretur. 4. Et cum duobus modis animi sine ratione et scientia motu ipsi suo soluto et libero incitarentur, uno furente, altero somniante, furoris divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati, eorum

the use of these methods in Cicero's time, cf. 1, 16. M. Tarquinius Priscus, probably a contemporary of Varro, seems to have translated the Etruscan books on haruspicine (1, 72) into Latin (Plin. *N. H.* ind. auct. lib. 2, 11; Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 7, 2; 3, 20, 3; Amm. Marc. 25, 2, 7; C. I. L. XI, 3370). For the organization of the haruspices, which was apparently still alive in the fifth century (Müller-Deecke, *op. cit.* 2, 15-18), see Thulin *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3(1909), 131-149; *id.* in *P.-W.*, l.c., 2437 ff.; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 410-415; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 543-549. Our oldest inscription mentioning an *ordo haruspicum LX* is of the late Republic (C. I. L. VI, 32439; cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 548, n. 8). In the earlier period the haruspices were when needed regularly imported from Etruria (2, 11; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 544, n. 4), but how they were selected is not clear. Their foreign character (*N. D.* 2, 11: *Tusci ac barbari*) wore off as the Etruscans became Latinized and other more foreign cults were introduced at Rome, but though in Cicero's time they were *apparitores* to higher state officials (Wissowa, *op. cit.* 548), the college was not a part of the established state religion till the time of Claudius (Thulin in *P.-W.*, l.c., 2740).

The art of the haruspices will be treated later (esp. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); 1, 92, n. (*X ex*)); cf. also the works of Thulin already cited. Fasti of the haruspices will be found in Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 376-377; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3(1909), 154-156; *id.* in Ruggiero, *op. cit.* s.v. *Haruspex* (1911).

[49]1. *ex Etruria*: the home of haruspicine in Italy was Etruria and especially

Tarquinius (Strabo 5, p. 220). The name of the 'science' and various traditions (2, 50; Isid. *Etym.* 14, 4, 22; al.) associated it with that district, and other races in Italy seem to have had no analogous native customs (Carter, *op. cit.* 86). On account, however, of certain similarities in nomenclature and interpretation between the hepatoscopy of Etruria and that of Babylonia a connection between the two is probable; cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*).

1. *scientiam*: a word frequently applied to forms of divination; 1, 2; 1, 32; 1, 87; 1, 91; 2, 70; cf. 2, 147.

2. *videretur*: such awkward repetitions are rather common in Cicero's rapidly composed and inadequately revised works; cf. *principio* in 1, 2-3; *quod ita contigit* in 1, 46-47 (perhaps there intentional); *paulo ante* in 1, 73; 1, 74; 1, 75; *subito* in 1, 72 (*bis*); 1, 73; 1, 74; 1, 75; 1, 99, n. (*disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat*); 1, 129, n. (*sentiant . . . sentiat*).

2. *ratione et scientia*: coupled as in *Tusc.* 5, 72; *de Or.* 1, 201; *Brut.* 258.

3. *motu ipsi suo*: cf. 1, 129.

3. *soluto et libero*: cf. 1, 34; 2, 100; *Ac.* 2, 8; 2, 105 (and Reid's n.); *Tusc.* 1, 66; *Rep.* 4, 4; *Lact. Inst.* 7, 3, 4.

3. *furente . . . somniante*: cf. 1, 118; *Ac.* 2, 90; Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, 8 ed. (1888), 471. For the thought cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 3 ed. (1903), 64, n.; 66, n.

4. *furoris . . . arbitrati*: quoted by Serv. *Aen.* 3, 443 (in Cod. Dresd. D 136).

4. *Sibyllinis . . . versibus*: for the various derivations offered for *Sibylla* see Buchholz in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Sibylla* (1910), 790-791. The Sibyl is first mentioned by Heraclitus (ap. Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 6), and in early

decem interpretes delectos e civitate esse voluerunt. Ex quo genere saepe

allusions Sibylla appears like a proper name. This personage, whose form is perhaps influenced by the figures of Cassandra and Manto (cf. 1, 67, n. (*adest*) *infra*), seems to have been localized at various places, particularly Marpessus and Erythrae, and legends of her wanderings then arose, but till the time of Heraclides Ponticus she was not pluralized (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 136-137). Later the Sibyls of these different towns were treated as distinct, as two (Mart. Cap. 2, 159), three (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 137 n. 4), four (Paus. 10, 12, 9; Ael. V. H. 12, 35), five, six (*ibid.*), ten (according to various writers who follow a canon established by Varro), or twelve (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 108c-d) in number; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 137; 2, 166-167, and notes; Buchholz, *l.c.*; also Maass, *De Sibyllarum Indicibus* (1879). The term Sibylla then became generic, and individual names were given to the differentiated Sibyls. For the Cumaean Sibyl see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 184-190; Buchholz, *op. cit.* 800; for that at Erythrae 1, 34, n. (*Sibylla Erythraea*); for the Delphic Sibyl 1, 79, n. (*Sibyllam*). The famous story of the sale of the Sibylline Books reduced by burning from nine to three, to one of the Tarquins (Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 2-4; Zonar. 7, 11; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 187-189) may not place the use of these prophecies at Rome at too early a date, since consultations of them are known from as early as the sixth century (Buchholz, *op. cit.* 804). The original collection was destroyed by the burning of the Capitol in 83 B.C. Later a search was made at Erythrae and other Sibylline centres for originals and copies, and many were brought to Rome (Dion. Hal. *l.c.*; Tac. *Ann.* 6, 12; Suet. *Aug.* 31), at which time many spurious verses were inserted, so that testing and rejections had to be made, under the direction of the *XVviri*, and many false books were

burned. These later books are last known to have been consulted in 363 A.D. (Amm. Marc. 23, 1, 7), and they were burned by Stilicho (Rutil. 2, 51 ff.). Much late material, notably from Jewish and Christian sources, became associated with the name of the Sibyl, for which see Buchholz, *op. cit.* 807 ff., and of these 14 books, amounting to 4238 verses, are extant and have been edited by Alexandre (2 ed. 1869), Geffcken (1902), and others. Ancient writers on the Sibyl are named by Lact. *de Ira*, 22; later works by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 133, n. On the iconography of the Sibyl see Buchholz, *op. cit.* 812-813; Rossi in *L'Arte*, 18 (1915), 207-221. The importance attached by Posidonius to the Sibyl (as shown in Cicero, Plutarch, and Apuleius) is noted by Geffcken in *Hermes*, 49(1914), 338, and n. 3; cf. 1, 79; 1, 97 *infra*.

1. *decem interpretes*: cf. *Leg.* 2, 30: *sunt ad placandos deos alii constituti, qui sacris praesint sollemnibus, ad interpretanda alii praedicta votum neque multorum, ne esset infinitum, neque ut ea ipsa quae suscepta publice essent quisquam extra conlegium nosset.* This secrecy was perhaps in the earlier period to prevent the undue influence of the Greeks at Rome (Buchholz, *op. cit.* 805), but later for reasons of internal politics, as the Roman emperors rather generally tried to keep secret the results of divination (Maury, *Hist. de la Magie* (1860), ch. 4). Cf. 2, 112; Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 5; Dio Cass. 54, 17, 2; Lact. *Inst.* 1, 6, 13; *de Ira*, 23. The term *interpretes* appears often in connection with the Sibylline Books (2, 110; *N. D.* 3, 5; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 534, n. 3), and may refer, as *interpretetur* in *Leg.* 2, 20, not merely to the explanation of what was obscure but also to the fact that the books in their charge were in Greek (Cicero uses *interpres* in each of these senses).

For their number cf. *Serv. Aen.* 6, 73: *sciendum sane primo duos librorum*

hariolorum etiam et vatium furibundas praedictiones, ut Octaviano bello Corneli Culleoli, audiendas putaverunt. Nec vero somnia graviora, si quae ad rem publicam pertinere visa sunt, a summo consilio neglecta sunt. Quin etiam memoria nostra templum Iunonis Sospitae L. Iulius, qui cum

2. Corneli Maller: at cf. *Neus-Wagner, Formensätze d. lat. Spr. 1, 3 ed. (1902), 150.*

fuisse custodes, inde decem, inde quindecim usque ad tempora Sullana. postea crevit numerus, nam et sexaginta fuerunt, sed remansit in his quindecimvirorum vocabulum. The college was traditionally established under the Tarquins (Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 4; Val. Max. 1, 1, 13; Zonar. 7, 11), with two members (Liv. 5, 13, 6). In 367 B.C. the number was increased to ten (Liv. 6, 37, 12; 6, 42, 2), half being patrician and half plebeian. The increase to fifteen, from which the college is generally known in inscriptions as that of the *XV VIRI S(acris) F(aciundis)*, came in the time of Sulla; Caesar added a sixteenth member (Dio Cass. 42, 51, 4; 43, 51, 9), and the number in the empire was often much larger. An important description of the method of consulting the books is given by Vopiscus, *Aurelianus*. 19, 1 to 20, 3. For the organization and duties of the college see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 306-317; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 379-397; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 534-543. Lists of members of the college are given by Bardt, *Die Priester der vier grossen Kollegien* (1871), 28-31 (for the Republic); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 373-375; Howe, *Fasti Sacrodotum . . . Aetatis imperatoriae* (1904), 32-39.

[51]1. *delectos e civitate*: on methods of cooptation see Wissowa, *op. cit.* 487 ff.

1. *hariolorum*: this word (occurring in 1, 132; 2, 9; 2, 10; *N. D.* 1, 55), like *hariolor* (1, 132), is used by Cicero and commonly by other (notably comic and patristic) writers in a bad sense, denoting a quack as opposed to the members of the recognized priestly colleges. The word is apparently cognate with *haruspex* (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 360).

1. *furibundas*: cf. 1, 114.

1. *Octaviano bello*: 87 B.C. For the events of this war see Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, 4(1908), 239-240. Such predictions are especially mentioned in connection with this war, probably because of the unusual danger to the state and the extreme superstition of the consul, Cn. Octavius (attested by Plut. *Mar.* 42; App. *B.C.* 1, 71; Val. Max. 1, 6, 10). The appearance of ominous comets at this time is noted in *N. D.* 2, 14, and by Plin. *N. H.* 2, 92.

2. *Corneli Culleoli*: otherwise unknown. To a certain L. Culleolus, proconsul of Illyricum, Cicero in 59 B.C. addressed two letters (*ad Fam.* 13, 41; 13, 42). The cognomen is a rare one.

3. *summo consilio*: a term applied to the senate in *de Sen.* 19; *de Domo* 73; in *Vatin.* 36; *Phil.* 7, 19.

4. *memoria nostra*: 1, 99 (q.v.) says that it was during the Marsic War.

4. *Iunonis Sospitae*: cf. Fest. p. 343 M.: *Sispitem Iunonem, quam vulgo sospitem appellant, antiqui usurpabant, cum ea vox ex Graeco videatur sumpta quod est σωφέρ.* With this testimony agrees certain evidence from inscriptions (*C. I. L.* I, 1110=XIV, 2090: *SEI-SPITEI*; *Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1907, 657 = *Ephem. Epigr.* 9 (1910), no. 605 = Dessau 9246: *SISPIT(I)*), so that against the view of Roscher (in *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Iuno* (1894), 595), who traces the word from the root *sa-* (cf. *σάος*) + *pāsi* ('protector'; cf. *Skt. pami*, 'protect'), Ehrlich (*K. Z.* 41 (1907), 285), followed by Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 727), would derive it from **st(e)s-pōtis*, 'die über das (Mond-) Gestirn mächtige.'

Her oldest shrine seems to have been at Lanuvium, where the two inscriptions

P. Rutilio consul fuit, de senatus sententia refecit ex Caeciliae, Baliarici filiae, somnio.

III. 5. Atque haec, ut ego arbitror, veteres, rerum magis eventis moniti quam ratione docti, probaverunt. Philosophorum vero exquisita

just mentioned were found (for the remains of her temple there cf. Colburn in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 18 (1914), 185-198; Galiati in *Bull. della Comm. arch. comun. di Roma*, 44 (1916), 3, n.1; and for the cult *id.* 3-30), and the form of her cult statue there is doubtless described by Cicero in *N. D.* 1, 82 (cf. Roscher, *op. cit.* 595). Mayor, in his note on the last mentioned passage, however, is probably incorrect in thinking that in our account also Cicero is referring to the temple at Lanuvium, for Juno Sospita had a temple at Rome in the Forum Olitorium, vowed by the consul C. Cornelius Cethegus in the war with the Insubres in 197 B.C. (Liv. 32, 30, 10), and dedicated by him as censor in 194 (Liv. 34, 53, 3), and to this, in the absence of any qualification to the contrary, we must suppose that Cicero here refers. Another temple of Sospita, probably on the Palatine, is known only from *Ov. Fast.* 2, 55-56.

The present story is told more at length in *Obsequens* 55: *Metella Caecilia somnio Iunonem Sospitam profugientem, quod immunde sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus acgre revocatum diceret, aedem matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat, commendatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit.*

[52]4. **L. Iulius:** sc. *Caesar*. For his life see Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, 3 (1906), 116-117. As consul in 90 B.C. he fought against the Samnites in the Marsic War, with varied success, but after his victory at Acerrae the Romans seem to have felt themselves safe (Liv. per. 73; Oros. 5, 18, 14). If to the Romans of his day *Sospita* suggested 'Savior' (cf. the passage cited from Festus), there may have seemed an appropriateness in the

restoration of the temple at this time akin to that at its foundation.

1. **P. Rutilio:** P. Rutilius Lupus, who lost his life in 87 B.C. at the hands of Fimbria.

1. **de senatus sententia:** cf. *pro Sest.* 50; *pro Cucl.* 55; *ex senatus sententia* is more usual in Cicero.

1-2. **ex . . . somnio:** cf. 1, 16, n. (*ex somnio*); 1, 54, n. (*in somnis*); 1, 55.

1. **Caeciliae:** Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Baliaricus (consul in 123 B.C.). She later befriended Sextus Roscius, married Appius Claudius Pulcher (consul in 79 B.C.), and was the mother of the demagogue P. Clodius and the augur Appius Claudius Pulcher (mentioned in 1, 29; 1, 105; 2, 75); cf. Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Caecilius* (1897), 1235, no. 135.

1. **Baliarici:** this cognomen *ex virtute* was used after his victory over the Baliaric Islands. For the spelling (later *Balearici*) cf. Hübner in *P.-W.* s.v. *Baliares* (1896), 2824.

3. **ut ego arbitror:** *ego* is emphatic, in contrast to the following views of philosophers; cf. *Off.* 3, 44. *Ut arbitror* is regular where no such emphasis is intended.

3. **rerum . . . eventis:** cf. 1, 58; more often merely *eventus*; 1, 36: *eventus ac res*. Creuzer compares the antithesis between *eventis* and *ratione* to that in Greek between ἔργον and λόγος. And for this principle of empiricism, here stated rather than defended by Cicero, cf. 1, 12, n. (*eventa*).

4. **philosophorum:** cf. 1, 87. With this catalogue of the views of philosophers on divination compare that of their opinions on the existence and nature of the gods in *N. D.* 1, 25-41. Cicero has here arranged his material more naturally in putting the recital in the introductory

quaedam argumenta cur esset vera divinatio collecta sunt; e quibus, ut de antiquissimis loquar, Colophonius Xenophanes unus, qui deos esse diceret, divinationem funditus sustulit; reliqui vero omnes praeter Epicurum

section in his own words instead of in the mouth of an Epicurean disputant in the course of his argument.

The earlier Greek philosophers, in their more purely physical speculations, seem to have come less in contact with the popular views on divination (yet cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 32-33 for Thales), but with the growth of interest in psychology and the applications of philosophy to conduct a conflict between the philosophers and the diviners inevitably arose (cf. Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien Glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 5). Plutarch (*Plac. Phil.* 5, 1) gives a brief list of the views of philosophers upon divination, and Clement (*Strom.* 1, 21, p. 82 Stählin) a long list of philosophers and others who had accepted it. For modern lists see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, (1879), 29-91; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910); Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 5-10. Philosophers who wrote on the subject are noted by Wolff in his edition of Porphy. *de Philos. ex Orac. haur.* (1856), 54-56.

On the sources of Cicero's list cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (1879), 224, who thinks that the beginning of our passage might suggest that Cicero took this over from a collection of *Placita*. Further, the opinion of Xenophanes corresponds to Aët. *Plac.* 5, 1, 2, and that of Dicaearchus to Aët. *Plac.* 5, 1, 4. But the rest, although Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics are mentioned in each, has little likeness, and the list of *scriptores*, doubtless added by Cicero from the same source as the other parts, differs from the custom of Aëtius. Last mentioned here is Posidonius, whose collected material was used by Cicero for this book (cf. Schiche, *De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875), 25), and he is usually last

in the *Placita* (though missing at the end of Aët. *Plac.* 5, 1). On the interest of Posidonius in collecting the opinions of the ancients see Diels, *op. cit.* 225.

[53]4. *exquisita*: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 116: *rationes cae quae exquisitius a philosophis conliguntur*; *Fin.* 1, 30; 1, 31.

1. *cur esset*: 1, 128: *argumenta cur sit divinatio*.

2. *Colophonius Xenophanes*: cf. Aët. *Plac.* 5, 1, 2 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 415; n. on *Epicurum* infra); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 33-34; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 9; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 6.

2. *unus qui*, etc.: Hartfelder (*Neue Jahrb.* 119 (1879), 270) holds this statement to be at variance with the facts, Xenophanes not being the only ancient philosopher to admit the existence of deity, even according to Cicero (cf. *N. D.* 1, 25-41). Codex H reads not *deos* but *deum*, and comparing *Ac.* 2, 118: *Xenophanes . . . unum esse omnia (dixit), . . . et id esse deum*, he would emend *unum qui deum esse diceret*, explaining that *unum* is put first for emphasis. The difficulty with this view, which has been followed by Spanoghe, *Emendationes Tullianae* (1890), 22 (who reads *Xen. unus, unum qui deum esse diceret*), is that it fails to explain why the monotheism of Xenophanes should here be so emphasized. On the contrary, the words are correct as they stand, the clause *qui . . . diceret* being concessive (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 2 (1914), 294-295). Atheists like Diagoras or agnostics like Protagoras would naturally deny the existence of divination; Xenophanes is, among the *antiquissimi*, the only believer in the gods to deny divination. It may still be said that the word *deos* is inexact as applied to the beliefs of Xenophanes, and the reading *deum* is doubtless the attempt of someone

balbutientem de natura deorum divinationem probaverunt, sed non uno modo. Nam cum Socrates omnesque Socratici Zenoque et ii qui ab eo

to avoid this difficulty. But in a hastily written work, in a passage where the number of the gods is not significant, deos need cause no more concern than θεοί or deus in a similar passage dealing with the beliefs of a polytheist. Indeed, there is reason for doubting whether Xenophanes was really a monotheist after all (cf. Gomperz, *Gr. Denker* 1, 2 ed. (1903), 131-132; 437). For his views on divination cf. the note on *Epicurum* infra; also 1, 86.

[54]3. *funditus sustulit*: these two words are combined by Cicero in the philosophical writings no less than 13 times (cf. 1, 8).

[54]3. *Epicurum*: the sources for his views on divination are collected by Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 261-262; cf. also Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 444, and nn. 2-3; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 41-43; Steinhäuser, *op. cit.* 6, and nn. 5-8; Diog. L. 10, 135: μαρτήν δ' ἀπασαν ἐν ἄλλοις ἀναιρεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ μικρῇ ἐπιτομῇ; Philodemus, *περὶ θεῶν*, col. 25 (ed. Diels in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1915, 7 (1916), 44; 95); Aët. *Plac.* 5, 1, 2 (*Doctogr. Gr.* 415): Σωφράνης καὶ Ἐπικούρου ἀναιροῦσι τὴν μαρτην; Cic. *N. D.* 2, 162: *nihil tam invidet Epicurus rationi traditionem re-ctam iutaratum*, also infra 1, 87, 1, 109; 2, 39-40; 2, 51. The disbelief of Epicurus in divination is naturally derived from his rejection of divine influence upon men and of predestination (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 64-65), and from his desire to free men from anxiety as to the future; cf. 2, 49 infra. See also Schol. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 624: Ἐπικούρειον ἔστι δόγμα ἀναιροῦν τὴν μαρτην. εἰμαρμένης γὰρ, φησὶ, πάντα κρατούσης πρὸ καιροῦ κελύπτης <εἰπὼν τὴν συμφορὰν>, ἢ χρηστὸν τε εἶπὼν τὴν ἥδονην ἐξέλυσας. Similar statements are found in Lucretius (e.g., 4, 33-34; 5, 1159 ff.; 6, 49 ff.; 6, 379 ff.).

1. *balbutientem*: so of the remarks of opposing philosophers in *Ac.* 2, 137;

Tusc. 5, 75. ψελλίζομαι is used by Aristotle (*Metaph.* 1, 4, p. 985 a 5; 1, 10, p. 993 a 15-16) of the faltering utterances of early Greek philosophers; but the Latin *balbutio* has rather the notion of stammering (βαρραρίζω, βαρρολογέω).

The dislike of Cicero for the doctrines of Epicurus is perhaps to be here seen. With a not dissimilar slur he is dismissed by Q. Cicero in 1, 87, and in 2, 39 Marcus Cicero aligns himself with the Stoics against him. This prejudice may also be seen at various places in the *De Natura Deorum*, especially in the Stoic utterances in 2, 74, but it may be in considerable measure due to Posidonius, his source, rather than to Cicero himself (cf. *N. D.* 1, 123).

2. *Socrates*: cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 43-45; Joel, *Der echte u. der xenoph. Sokrates* (1893), 70 ff. (who ascribes to the superstitious Xenophon much of the tradition of the belief of Socrates in divination); Zuccante, *Socrate* (1909), 363 ff.; Jaeger, *op. cit.* (1910), 16-20. According to Plato (*Apol.* p. 33c; *Crit.* p. 44a; *Phaed.* p. 60e) Socrates recognized μαρτεῖαι, dreams, and other forms of divination. He advised his friends to consult the Delphic oracle in cases of uncertainty (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 44, and n. 1; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 19-20), and perhaps considered the existence of divination as a sort of corollary of belief in the goodness of the gods to men; cf. *Xen. Mem.* 4, 3, 12: ἢ ἀδυνατοῦμεν τὰ συμφέροντα προνοεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ταῦτα αὐτοῦς (sc. τοῦς θεοῦς) ἡμῖν συνεργεῖν, διὰ μαρτηνῶν τοῖς πυνθαρομένοις φράζοντας τὰ ἀποβησόμενα καὶ διδάσκοντας ἢ ἐν δριστα γίγνεται. He inclined especially to those mantic forms which depended on the inspiration or illumination of the individual by the divine power (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 45), as the passages dealing with his δαιμόνιον (1, 122, n. (*divinum quiddam*) infra) make clear.

essent profecti manerent in antiquorum philosophorum sententia vetere Academia et Peripateticis consentientibus, cumque huic rei magnam auc-

That he appreciated the dangers of divination is perhaps to be concluded from Xen. *Mem.* 1, 1, 6, where he advises that it be resorted to only in matters of uncertainty, and from the precautions advised by his pupils Xenophon and Plato against its abuse in political affairs (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 44-45).

[55]2. *omnesque Socratici*: properly speaking this would include the Academics and Peripatetics mentioned below, but to emphasize the continuity of the tradition they are here inserted.

Little attempt is here made by Cicero to trace the opinions on divination of Plato himself, although much material might be derived from his writings (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 47-54; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 22-26) defending and explaining it (cf. 1, 60-62; 2, 119 *infra*). For his reputed trip to Egypt to study astrology and other mantic arts cf. *Apul. de Plat.* 1, 3; *Schol. Luc.* 10, 180; *Diog. L.* 3, 29.

For the rejection of divination by the earlier Cynics we have slight but trustworthy evidence (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 46; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 21-22); the later Cynic Oenomaus of Gadara (of the second century after Christ) wrote works against oracles (*Julian, Or.* 7, p. 209b; cf. *Euseb. Pr. Ev.* 5, 19 ff.). The Cyrennics and Megarians might, on general principles, be supposed to have been hostile to the art, but we lack evidence. For the Peripatetics see below.

[55]2. *Zeno*: cf. *Diog. L.* 7, 149: *καὶ μὴ καὶ μαρτυρῆν ὑφ' ἑστέωναι πᾶσαν φασιν, εἰ καὶ πρόβουλον εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τέχνην ἀποφαλοῦσαι διὰ τινος ἐβδόμου, ὡς φησι Ζήνων.* Little other material exists by which to distinguish his views on this subject from those of other Stoics, but cf. 1, 6, n. (*Zeno*).

[55]2f. *qui . . . profecti*: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 8: *Platonem reliquosque Socraticos et deinceps*

eos qui ab his profecti sunt; 5, 119; *N. D.* 1, 11; *Leg.* 3, 14.

The opinions of the Stoics are discussed by Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen* (1860); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 57-64; Bardt, *Die Stoa* (1903), 54-57; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 1471-1475; Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Griechen* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345-355; Jaeger, *op. cit.* (1910), 31-41; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien Glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 8; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 227-228. Though their belief was derived from Zeno it was especially systematized by Chrysippus (Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 345, and n. 3), and represented a compromise between rationalistic and popular views (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 64; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 8). Justified as part of the care of Providence for mankind (Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 347; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 58; 2, 101-102 *infra*), its physical explanation lay in the doctrine of *συμπύθωια* (cf. 2, 34; 2, 124; 2, 142; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 349-350; Arnold, *op. cit.* 225-227). What the theory lacked in logic was in part supplied by an abundant array of examples, of which the Stoics were the chief collectors (1, 6; cf. 1, 37-38; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 62; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 348). This substitution of fact for logic is, in a way, the forerunner of Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic revelation (Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 355), but in spite of it later Stoics seem to have discarded divination (Arnold, *op. cit.* 228, quoting *Epict.* 2, 7, 3-4).

If, *vetere Academia*: the evidence is slight. Speusippus, *Definitiones*, 91; 92 (*Fr. Phil. Gr.* 3, 79 Mullach), defines *μαρτυρῆ* and *μαρτεία*; the belief of Xenocrates in demonic influences (Jaeger, *op. cit.* 25) suggests an acceptance of the

toritatem Pythagoras iam ante tribuisset, qui etiam ipse augur vellet esse,

oracular (*ibid.*, where Jaeger follows the view of Buresch. *Klarios* (1889), 58), but his six books τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίας (Diog. L. 4, 13) probably related to astronomy, in which he was interested (*id.* 4, 10); Eudoxus, though prominent in *astrologia*, denied the possibility of casting horoscopes (2, 87). Crantor in his *Consolatio* tells of the consultation of a ψυχμαντεῖον (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 115), but as to his own belief we are ignorant. Heraclides Ponticus, cited in 1, 46 as authority for the story of a dream and in 1, 130 for weather predictions, wrote περὶ χρησθηρίων, and perhaps περὶ χρησμῶν (Jaeger, *op. cit.* 31, and nn. 1-4). Davies (in his 2nd ed., 1730) objected to the apparent distinction between the *Socratici* and the *veteri Academiae Peripateticis consentientibus*, but, as pointed out by Hottinger (in his ed., 1793), *Socratici* includes both Academics and Peripatetics (as is clearly shown by *Ac.* 1, 17; cf. Reid's n.), and the two are mentioned here (with the Stoics, as in 1, 87) to indicate essential agreement between different sects; cf. also *N. D.* 1, 16. As to the real agreement, however, between the two schools in the matter of divination see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 57.

[56]2. *Peripateticis*: For Aristotle see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 53-57; Zeller, *op. cit.* 2, 2, 3 ed. (1879), 551, n. 4; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 26-30. He occasionally mentions oracles (Jaeger, *op. cit.* 26, n. 3), but usually without comment or with hostile attitude (*id.* 27). His scientific spirit discarded external (or sign) divination (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 53-54), and regarded its dispensers as charlatans (*id.* 1, 56). The subject of dreams he investigates, and in connection with it that of dream-divination, in his work *De Divinatione per Somnium*, at the beginning of which he says (p. 462 b 12) that it is not easy either to disregard or to believe such divination. Whether the view

attributed to him in 1, 81 *infra*, that, as Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 1, 54) remarks, divination really exists but as the product of a natural faculty, is genuinely his may be questioned. Zeller (*l.c.*) holds that any apparent support given by him to divination represents, not his own belief, but his description of the belief of others, or that it is at most a trace of the powerful influence still exerted over him by certain Platonic doctrines from which he could not quite escape. Perhaps, however, the passage in 1, 81 is a mingling of two distinct elements: (1) the effect of psychological (especially pathological) causes upon dreams, one of the two important types of internal divination, and (2) the theory, not of Aristotle himself, but of Dicaearchus and Cratippus (1, 133; 2, 100; for their views see special notes below) of the *tamquam oraculum aliquod* (2, 100) in human minds *ex quo futura praesentiant*. This opinion in its entirety Bouché-Leclercq is perhaps hardly justified in ascribing to the more strictly scientific master of the school.

Theophrastus seems to have believed in oracles (Jaeger, *op. cit.* 28-29). Athen 14, p. 624a says that he wrote a work περὶ ἰσοθουασμοῦ, but Bouché-Leclercq considers this strictly a scientific treatise. In any event, his attitude towards the grosser forms of divination, such as the interpretation of dreams and observation of birds, can be clearly gathered from his description of the superstitious man (*Charact.* 16).

Testimony as to the hostile attitude of Peripatetics in general towards divination is given in 1, 72; Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 2, 13 (in which they are coupled with the Cynics); Orig. *c. Cels.* 7, 3. During the Empire the Peripatetic Diogenianus attacked the teaching of Chrysippus on divination (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3).

1. *Pythagoras*: Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 31-32; Zeller, *op. cit.* 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 322, n. 3; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 7-8;

plurimumque locis gravis auctor Democritus praesensionem rerum futurarum conprobaret, Dicaearchus Peripateticus cetera divinationis genera sustulit, somniorum et furoris reliquit, Cratippusque, familiaris noster,

Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 7; and cf. 1, 102 *infra*. Purely religious rather than philosophical considerations seem to have led Pythagoras to accept almost all kinds of divination (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 32; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 7). For many accounts of the importance ascribed by him to it cf. Zeller, *op. cit.* 1, 1, 5 ed., 300-304; 311. But to discover the exact truth is wellnigh impossible, in view of the fictions of later Pythagoreans. Thus many of his teachings were represented by legend as obtained by him from Themistoclea, a priestess of Delphic Apollo (Diog. L. 8, 8; 8, 21) of whom he thus became the mouthpiece—Πυθαγόρας (cf. Zeller, *op. cit.* 1, 1, 5 ed., 313; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 8, n. 1)—, and he was said to have visited in his travels the Egyptians, Chaldaeans, Magi (especially Zoroaster), and Druids (Zeller, *op. cit.* 1, 1, 5 ed., 300-304), but the evidence for such travels is late and unsatisfactory. In the fourth century B.C. Andron of Ephesus seems to have collected his alleged prophecies in a work called the *Τρίτροις* (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 10, 3, 4). To the later Pythagoreans he became a type of diviner and thaumaturgist (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 31), and Artemidorus (*Onirocr.* 2, 69) mentions various groups of diviners known as Πυθαγορισταί.

For the views of the Neopythagoreans on divination see Jaeger, *op. cit.* 59-61.

[57]1. *augur*: cf. Diog. L. 8, 20: μαρτυρεῖ τε ἔχρητο τῇ διὰ τῶν κληδόνων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν; also the story (Porphyr. *Vit. Pyth.* 25; Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 62) of the eagle which swooped down to him at Olympia as he was conversing *περὶ τε οἰωνῶν καὶ συμβόλων καὶ διωρημῶν*—a tale reflected in Amm. Marc. 22, 16, 20. For the meaning of *augur* in this passage cf. 1, 3, n. (*augur*); and for the use of *vellet* cf. 1, 65, n. (*volunt*).

1. *gravis auctor*: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 3: *gravissimus auctor . . . Cato*. For the praise of Democritus cf. 1, 53, n. (*singulari*).

1. *Democritus*: Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 39-42; Zeller, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 5 ed. (1892), 940-941; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 10-11; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 7. The atomistic theory, with its denial of Providence, might seem to leave little place for divination. But Democritus made no violent opposition to the popular faith, and seems to have accepted most forms of the mantic art, explaining them by the theory of εἰδῶλα (cf. 2, 120). Thus dreams (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 8, 10, 2) and prophecy are treated, while external types of divination he justified, as in 1, 131 *infra*, on purely scientific grounds (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 41). One of the titles ascribed to him is *περὶ εἰδῶλων* & *περὶ προφητῶν* (see below). Popular tradition later made of him, as of Pythagoras, a diviner and pupil of the Chaldaeans (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 42; cf. Ael. *V. II.* 4, 29; Diod. 1, 98, 3; Hippolyt. *Refut.* 1, 13), and to the canon of his works, as arranged by Thrasyllus, in the time of Tiberius, some added *ἐκ τῶν δημομημάτων* a work called *Χαλδαϊκῶς λόγος* (Diog. L. 9, 49). The titles of the works in the canon (cf. Diog. L. 9, 45) are listed by Nietzsche, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde . . . des Diog. Laert.* (1870), 22-27; cf. Wellmann in *P.-W.* s.v. *Democritus* (1903), 136-139; 1, 80, n. (*negat enim*): 1, 131, n. (*Democritus*). For the confusion by which Democritus stands in Lucian (*Alex.* 17; 50) as the type of a rationalist in regard to divination cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.* 11, and n. 2.

2. *Dicaearchus*: Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 56; Zeller, *op. cit.* 2, 2, 3 ed. (1879), 891; Martini in *P.-W.* s.v. *Dikaiarchos* (1903); Jaeger, *op. cit.* 30. Aët.

quem ego parem summis Peripateticis iudico, isdem rebus fidem tribuit, reliqua divinationis genera reiecit. 6. Sed cum Stoici omnia fere illa defenderent, quod et Zeno in suis commentariis quasi semina quaedam sparsisset et ea Cleanthes paulo uberiora fecisset, accessit acerrimo vir ingenio, Chrysippus, qui totam de divinatione duobus libris explicavit

Plac. 5, 14 (Doxogr. Gr. 416): 'Αριστοτέλη καὶ Δικαίαρχος τὸ κατ' ἐπιουσιασμόν μόνον παρεσιόγουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέρου; cf. 1, 113 infra. Zeller (*l.c.*) and Rohde (*Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 310, n.) think it strange that Dicaearchus could reconcile this tenet with his disbelief (*Tusc.* 1, 21) in a distinct *ánímus*, separable from the body. Martini (*op. cit.* 558) tentatively reconstructs three works of Dicaearchus dealing with divination: (1) that of 2, 105 (*magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea (i.e., quae eventura sunt) melius esse quam scire*); (2) *περὶ μαρτυρίας*, from which the present passage and that cited from Aëtius are drawn; (3) *ἐπὶ τῷ Τροφῶνι κατὰ βάσιν*, of at least three books (fragments in Fuhr, *Dicaearchi Messenii quae supersunt* (1851), 130-135; Müller, *F. H.G.* 2, 266-268). The last named has been thought by various writers, following Müller (*Orchomenos u. die Mynier*, 2 ed. (1844), 144-145), to have been an attack upon the priestly deceptions practiced at the oracle at Lebadea, probably reducing the hallucinations there found to natural phenomena (Bouché-Leclercq. *op. cit.* 1, 56; 3, 329-330). For a possible connection between the work and one by Plutarch on the oracle of Trophonius see Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 2 (1895), 160; 193; 211; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 30. Dicaearchus and Cratippus are also coupled by Cicero in 1, 113; 2, 105-109; and in a passage important for this subject, 2, 100.

[58]3. *reliquit*: for this word in the sense of 'allow to stand' see Plusberg on *Ac.* 2, 104.

[58]3. *Cratippus*: the few facts known are collected by Mekler, *Acad. Philos. Ind. x Herculan.* (1902), 111; cf. Fries in *Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900), 41, n. 1. He was a native of Pergamum (Mekler,

l.c., line 10), whom Cicero first met at Mytilene when on his way to Cilicia (*Cic. Tim.* 2), but who was later at Athens (*ad Fam.* 12, 16, 2; *Off.* 1, 1; 2, 8; 3, 6; *Plut. Cic.* 24). Cicero obtained for him Roman citizenship (*ibid.*; *Off.* 1, 1; 2, 8; 3, 5-6), was on terms of intimacy with him (*familiaris noster* here; 1, 70: *Cratippo me scito non ut discipulum sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum*; cf. *Brut.* 250-251), and considered him *Peripateticorum omnium, quos quidem audiverim, meo iudicio facile princeps* (*Tim.* 2); cf. *Off.* 3, 5: *principe huius memoriae philosophorum*; also *id.* 2, 8. Pompey in his flight visited Cratippus at Mytilene and discoursed with him on providence (*Plut. Pomp.* 75). For his beliefs on divination we have no evidence outside Cicero's statements; cf. 1, 70-71; 2, 100. From 1, 71 it appears that he treated of *ratificationes* and dreams.

1. *parem summis*: perhaps one of the rather fulsome judgments which Cicero sometimes rendered upon his personal friends; cf. that on Balbus in *N. D.* 1, 15.

If. *tribuit . . . reiecit*: the perfect is perhaps used through the influence of the preceding verbs *sustulit* and *reliquit* whose subject was no longer living. Cratippus was still alive, however, as is shown by 2, 100, where, as in 1, 113, the present tense is used for the views of Dicaearchus and Cratippus combined.

2. *Stoici omnia fere*: cf. 1, 5, n. (*qui . . . profecti*); Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 1472, n. 6; also Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Dämonen* (1860). Even the Stoics, however, recognized the mistakes of divination when carried to extremes (1, 132), or in cases of error or defect due to

sententiam, uno praeterea de oraculis, uno de somniis; quem subsequens

the mantic medium (1, 24-25; 1, 127; Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 21).

In Diog. L. 7, 149-150 Zeno and Chrysippus (and his second book on divination), Posidonius (and his fifth book on divination), and Panaetius are mentioned in the same connection as here.

[59]3. *Zeno in suis commentariis*: Diog. L. 7, 4 mentions a work of Zeno *περὶ σπουδαίων*, which Pearson, *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* (1891), 21, understands to be a treatise on divination.

[59]3. *commentarius*: not infrequent in Cicero for philosophical writings.

[59]3. *quasi semina quaedam*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 41: **quaedam quasi semina*; in *Fin.* 5, 18 and *Tusc.* 5, 69 *semina* is similarly qualified. May it perhaps be a Latin rendering of *σπίγμα*, an allusion not altogether inappropriate when applied to the work of the head of a school which so emphasized the importance of the *σπίγμα* (cf. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 161-162)?

[59]4. *Cleanthes*: fragments of his works on providence and divination are found in von Arnim, *S.V.F.* 1 (1905), 124-125, but they furnish little information. In *N. D.* 2, 13 and 3, 16, however, the existence of divination and the effects of portents are made by Cleanthes two of his four arguments for the existence in human minds of the conceptions of the gods.

[59]4f. *acerrumo vir ingenio*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 16: *Chrysippus quidem, quamquam est acerrumo ingenio*; 3, 25: *Chrysippus . . . homo sine dubio versutus et callidus*; and in 1, 39 even the Epicurean says *Chrysippus qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrimus habetur interpretes*. Cf. also *Ac.* 2, 75: *Chrysippus qui fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum*; *Of.* 3, 42.

[59]5. *Chrysippus*: his opinions on divination will be found collected by von Arnim, *op. cit.* 2 (1903), 270-272: 342-348; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 57-64; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345-355; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 32-34.

Individual matters will be noted below; indeed this book is, to a considerable extent, an elucidation of views systematized by Chrysippus and transmitted by Posidonius (von Arnim, *op. cit.* 1 (1905), xxx). For the work of Chrysippus on divination see also Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen* (1860), 13.

[59]5. *duobus libris*: cf. Diog. L. 7, 149: *Χρυσίππος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ μαντικῆς*; Philod. *περὶ θεῶν διαγωγῆς* (*Volum. Heroulan.* 6, 49, col. 7, 33 = *S.V.F.* 2, no. 1183): *Χρυσίππος ἐν τοῖς περὶ μαντικῆς, κτλ.*; Varro ap. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 6, 9: *Chrysippus . . . in eo libro quem de divinatione composuit*. The fragments are in von Arnim, *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 1183; 1191; 1214. In addition Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345, n. 3, would detect traces in our work: 1, 82; 2, 35; 2, 41; 2, 101; 2, 130; and perhaps in *Fal.* 13-14. The relation of the work here mentioned to the two following is not clear. Chrysippus treated the same subject in different places (Diog. L. 7, 180; cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.* 33), and the two one-volume works may have been partly repetitions of the two-volume treatise, or the larger one may have been mainly theoretical and argumentative and the others chiefly devoted to collections of illustrative instances. To the zeal of Chrysippus in the collection of details Cicero bears witness in *Tusc.* 1, 108: *permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus*.

1. *de oraculis*: cf. Phot. s.v. *νεοτότος* (and elsewhere excerpted; see *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 1202-1203): *Χρυσίππος ἐν τῷ περὶ χρησμῶν*. For the fragments see *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 1202-1203; 1205-1206. 2, 134 infra (= *S.V.F.* 2, no. 1201) has the same source as *S.V.F.* 2, no. 1202, but is not assigned to the book on oracles (*est hoc in Chrysippi libro somnium*); for this question see Jaeger, *op. cit.* 32-33. Criticisms of the work are found in 1, 37; 2, 115. Whether Cicero knew the book at first

unum librum Babylonius Diogenes edidit, eius auditor, duo Antipater, quinque noster Posidonius. Sed a Stoicis vel princeps eius disciplinae,

2. principem cod. *Pithagoraeus*, principem^a A, principes B¹ BV¹, principibus B²V². *Nominum a capite derivatorum casum rectum singularis veteres in -cipis studuisse auctores sunt Charisius (l. pp. 47; 88; 120 Keil) et Priscianus (l. p. 325 Keil).*

hand is not clear; cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.* 39, n. 4.

Other ancient collections of oracles are listed by Wolff in his ed. of Porphyry, *de Phil. ex Orac. haur.* (1856), 43-56; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 226, n.; Hiller von Gaertringen in *P.-W. s.v. Delphoi* (1901), 2521; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 1472, n. 2. A modern collection is that of Hendess, *Oracula Graeca*, in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, 4, 1 (1877), 1-107. For a projected *Corpus Oraculorum* by Schwartz and Pomtow see Hiller von Gaertringen, *l.c.*

[60]1. uno de somniis: *επι ύνπνίων* (though the Greek title seems not to be attested); cf. 1, 39. The fragments are collected in *S.V.F.* 2, 343-346 (to which Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345, n. 3 would add from our work 2, 126; 2, 130). For the ancient collectors of dreams see the lists of Wolff, *op. cit.* 56-65; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 277, n. The most noteworthy extant work of the sort is the *Onirocritica* of Artemidorus, on which much later Moslem dream literature is based (Margoliouth in Hastings, *Encyclop. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 818; cf. Thomas in *Encyclop. Brit.* 8, 11 ed. (1910), s.v. *Dream*, 562). Babylonian works on the interpretation of dreams are found as far back as the fifteenth century B.C. (L[an]don) in *Mus. Journ. of the Univ. of Penn.* 8 (1917), 116-122).

[60]1. quem subsequens: cf. *N. D.* 1, 41; quem (sc. *Chrysiippum*) *Diogenes Babylonius consequens*; Ps.-Galen. *Hist. Phil.* 3 (in *S. V. F.* 3, 210, no. 1): του δὲ (sc. *Χρυσίππου*) *Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλωνίος ἀκροατῆς γενοῦντος Ἀντιπάτρου καθηγητῆς γέγονε*. Diogenes did not, however, as one might judge from the word *subsequens* in *N. D.* 1, 32, immediately follow Chrysiippus in the headship of the Stoic school, Zeno of

Tarsus coming between the two (*Ind. Stoic. Herculan.* col. 48 = *S.V.F.* 3, 210, no. 3), so that *subsequens* in our passage probably refers, as van Lynden (*Disputat. historico-crit. de Panaetio Rhodio* (1802), 16) suggested, not to headship of the school, but to the writing of works on divination.

1. unum librum: doubtless *επι μαρτυρίῃς*. For the fragments see *S.V.F.* 3, 217-218; cf. *infra* 1, 82-84; 2, 41; 2, 90-91; 2, 101.

1. Babylonius: so called from his country rather than from his city, for he was a native of Seleucia (*S.V.F.* 3, 210, nos. 2-4). The term 'Babylonian' was, however, frequently applied to him (*id.* nos. 1; 2; 10; 16; 17; 19; 29; al.).

1. duo Antipater: probably *επι μαρτυρίῃς*. For the fragments see *S.V.F.* 3, 249-250, nos. 37-42; cf. 1, 39; 1, 84; 1, 123-124; 2, 35; 2, 41; 2, 101; 2, 144. In 2, 144 (*talium plenus est Chrysiippi liber, plenus Antipatri*) we are not to suppose a one-volume work, but rather that the second *plenus* is singular by attraction to the number of the first, or else through mere carelessness. Antipater (to be distinguished from the Antipater of Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 65, according to Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 15) was the pupil and successor of Diogenes (Ps.-Galen. *Hist. Phil.* 3 (*S.V.F.* 3, 244, no. 2); *Off.* 3, 51) and the teacher of Panaetius (see *infra*), who, on account of the difference of his views, is not here included in his natural place in the succession but placed after instead of before Posidonius. For Antipater's attitude toward divination see Cohn, *Antipater von Tarsos* (1905), 50-51.

2. Posidonius: the interest of Posidonius (called by Strabo 16, p. 753 *ἀθηρῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων πολυμαθέτατος*) in collecting material of all sorts (cf. 1,

Posidoni doctor, discipulus Antipatri, degeneravit, Panaetius, nec tamen ausus est negare vim esse divinandi, sed dubitare se dixit. Quod illi in

130, n. (*Posidonius*) infra) is discussed by Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* (1879), 225, and in his *Sibyllin. Blätter* (1890), 21-22 he suggests that the ample space of five books was filled, as we may judge from the use of them by Cicero and Plutarch, with examples rather than argument. Reverting to views abandoned by Panaetius under the influence of Carneades (Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 321-322), he was greatly interested in fate (*id.* 244 ff.) and, through the theory of *συμμάθεια* and his belief in daemones, in divination (*id.* 245-248; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 46), which he attempted to support by the collection of material here noted (cf. Wendland, *Die hellenist.-röm. Kultur*, 2 ed. (1912), 219). A five-volume work on the subject is attested also by Diog. L. 7, 149; Cicero gives fragments in 1, 64; 1, 125; 1, 130; 2, 35; 2, 47; cf. Boeth. *de Diis et Praesens*. fin. (in Orelli's ed. of Cicero, 5, 1, 395); Bake, *Posidonii Rhodii Reliquiae* (1810), 45-47. Either in this work or in a separate one he treated the form of divination known as *καταμύθεον* (Suid. s.v. *ολώνισμα*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 68; Dobson in *Class. Quart.* 12 (1918), 187). His interest in astrology is explicitly mentioned by Cicero (*de Fato?*) ap. Aug. C. D. 5, 2, and is discussed by Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (1912), 83 ff., and Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics* (1913), 116, who both, in differing measure, make him a syncretist of East and West. For his possible influence on Manilius cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 2, 2, 3 ed. (1913), 37. His importance as a source of our work is discussed in the introduction.

[61]2. **noster**: he first became acquainted with Cicero when the latter, during his Greek tour in 77 B.C. (Plut. *Cic.* 4), visited Rhodes. Cicero mentions him as his philosophical teacher (*N. D.* 1, 6; *Fat.* 5) and as an intimate (2, 47; *N. D.* 1, 6;

1, 123; *Fin.* 1, 6; *Tusc.* 2, 61; cf. Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 594, n. 4; Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptismus* (1905), 133, n. 2).

[61]2. **princeps . . . disciplinae**: cf. *N. D.* 1, 16: *trium disciplinarum principes*; *Ac.* 2, 129. *Disciplina* is frequently used for the school itself as well as for the whole or a part of its body of dogma. Panaetius is called the *princeps* of the Stoics in 2, 97; *Ac.* 2, 107.

1. **doctor**: the relation of teacher and pupil existing between Panaetius and Posidonius is also attested by *Off.* 3, 8; Suid. s.v. *Ποσειδώνιος Ἀρωαίης . . . διδάσχος γεγραπὸς καὶ μαθητὴς Παναίτιου* (= Eudocia, p. 365). The philosophical training of Posidonius is discussed by Schmekel, *op. cit.* 9-12. From the fact that he did not succeed Panaetius as head of the school at Athens we may surmise that he was one of the younger pupils (*id.* 10, n. 1).

1. **discipulus Antipatri**: for their relations and the education of Panaetius cf. van Lynden, *op. cit.* 18-38 (esp. 33-38); Schmekel, *op. cit.* 3.

1. **degeneravit**: in its rarer literal meaning of 'change from the class, or type,' rather than in the sense which it and *degener* more often present of a change to the worse, which is clearly not Cicero's meaning here.

2. **negare**: the work in which Panaetius treated divination van Lynden (*op. cit.* 117) took to be one *περὶ μαρτυρῆς*. But shortly before the composition of our work Cicero wrote to Atticus (*ad Att.* 13, 8; dated *vi Id. Jun.* in the year 45): *epitomen Brutii Caecilianorum velim mihi mittas, et a Philoxeno Παναίτιου περὶ πορολας*. That the work referred to had a great influence on the second book of the *De Natura Deorum* is generally admitted (cf. the summaries of opinions in Schmekel, *op. cit.* 8, n. 4; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 362), and that the closely

aliqua re invitissimis Stoicis Stoico facere licuit, id nos ut in reliquis rebus faciamus a Stoicis non concedetur? praesertim cum: id, de quo Panaetius non liquet, reliquis eiusdem disciplinae solis luce videatur clarius. 7. Sed haec quidem laus Academiae praestantissimi philosophi iudicio et testimonio comprobata est. IV. Etenim nobismet ipsis quaerentibus quid sit de divinatione iudicandum, quod a Carneade multa acute et

related question of belief in divination (in 2, 3 infra Cicero unites our work and the *De Fato* as parts of a single investigation) should have been treated in the same book, which was still fresh in Cicero's mind, is the very plausible view of many modern scholars (cf. Fowler, *Panaetii et Hecatonis Librorum Fragmenta* (1885), 35-40; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 579, n. 3).

For the views of Panaetius on divination cf. van Lynden, *op. cit.* 70-71; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 15; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 67; Fowler, *l.c.* (with the fragments); Schmekel, *op. cit.* 190-194; Zeller-Wellmann, *l.c.*, esp. 588, n. 1; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 45-46. Accounts differ as to whether he was merely agnostic in the matter of divination or actively hostile to belief in it (Schmekel, *op. cit.* 191, n. 1; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 588, n. 1). As agnostic he appears here and in *Ac.* 2, 107: *cum Panaetius, princeps prope meo quidem iudicio Stoicorum, ea de re dubitare se dicat, quam omnes praeter eum Stoici certissimam putant, vera esse haruspicum responsa, auspicia, oracula, somnia, vaticinationes, seque ab adsensu sustineat, quod is potest facere vel de eis rebus, quas illi a quibus ipse didicit certas habuerint, cur id sapiens de reliquis rebus facere non possit?* But in both these places Cicero is trying to make the most of the Academic principle of doubt. On the other hand, according to Diog. L. 7, 149 (ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παναίτιος ἀνυπόστατον αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν μαρτυρῆν) φασιν) and Epiphanius (*adv. Haeres.* 2, 3, 9, p. 1090d (= *Doxogr. Gr.* 593, 6 f.): τῆς μαρτυρίας κατ' ὁδὸν ἐπιστρέφεται), as well as the Stoic view of Q. Cicero, expressed in 1, 12, he seems to have rejected divination altogether. He apparently did not

deny the phenomena adduced by the defenders of the art, but rather the need of resorting for their explanation to divine interposition (Schmekel, *op. cit.* 193), and he could not accept a Stoic *συμπάθεια* in the vast extent of the cosmos analogous to that asserted in the individual (*id.* 191-192). Though he was much interested in scientific astronomy (*Rep.* 1, 15), yet his abandonment of astrology is clear from 2, 88-97 infra. That his attitude of doubt towards divination, like that towards the Stoic doctrine of cyclic conflagration, may have been influenced by Carneades, is indicated by 1, 12; cf. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schriften*, 1(1877), 240. For the return of Posidonius to the orthodox Stoic views, a reversion in which the influence of oriental superstitions may be suspected, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 68; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 597; Stoerling, *Quaest. Ciceronianae ad Relig. spectantes* (1894), 23.

[62]2. *dubitare*: perhaps a sort of *ἔροχθ*, like that of *Ac.* 2, 59; 2, 148.

[62]2f. *quod . . . concedetur*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 117 cited in the note on *negare* supra; and for similar complaints against Stoic intolerance of dissent see Reid on *Ac.* 2, 126.

1. *Stoicis Stoico*: the figure of *πολύπτωρον*, noted in *Orat.* 135: *cum aut duplicantur iteranturque verba, aut breviter commutata ponuntur . . . aut continenter unum verbum non eadem sententia ponitur*, etc.; Quintil. 9, 3, 36-37; Ps.-Longin. 23, 1; cf. Wölfflin, *Die Geminatio im Lat.* (*Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1882, 422-491); Volkman-Hammer, *Die Rhét. d. Gr. u. Römer*, 3 ed. (1901), 44. Other examples are: 2, 8: *Stoive Stoicorum*; 2, 51: *haruspex haruspicum*; 2, 92: *omnis*

copiose contra Stoicos disputata sint, verentibusque ne temere vel falsae rei vel non satis cognitae adsentiamur, faciendum videtur ut diligenter etiam atque etiam argumenta cum argumentis comparemus, ut fecimus in iis tribus libris quos de natura deorum scripsimus. Nam cum omnibus in rebus temeritas in adsentiendo errorque turpis est, tum in eo loco maxime in quo iudicandum est quantum auspiciis rebusque divinis religionique tribuamus; est enim periculum ne aut neglectis iis impia fraude aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur.

omnium; *N. D.* 1, 121; et al. On repetitions in Cicero cf. 1, 14, n. (*vocibus instat*). A large collection of instances is found in Landgraf, *Kommentar zu Cic. pro Sex. Rosc. Amer.* 2 ed. (1914), 240-241.

[63]1. nos: the Academics, as appears in 1, 7.

[63]3. non liquet: cf. *N. D.* 1, 29; 2, 3; *Ac.* 2, 94.

[63]3. solis luce: Friedrich (*Neue Jahrb.* 127 (1883), 425) interprets *solis* as the masc. dat. of *solus*, referring to the *reliquis eiusdem disciplinae*, and thinks that the doctrine here mentioned rests only on popular belief, with the single exception of the Stoics, who defend divination. But this view runs counter to the statements of Cicero in sections 5-6 above as to the belief of philosophers, and good parallels are found to justify taking *solis* as the gen. of *sol*, e.g., *Fin.* 1, 71: *sole ipso illustriora et clariora*; and the expression *luce clarior* is frequent in Cicero; cf. Merguet's *Lexica*, and Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 203.

[63]5. quaerentibus: cf. 2, 1.

[63]6. Carneade: For his attitude towards divination cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 66-67; Goedeckemeyer, *op. cit.* 67, n. 4; 77 ff.; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2(1906), 1471, and n. 8; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigienlaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 7; Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 529-530; Jaeger, *op. cit.* 44-45. A sceptical feeling towards divination was the logical consequence of his inquiries about the nature of the gods. Further, as we may judge from the second book of our

work, of which large parts are ultimately derived from him, he denied both the possibility and the utility of the prediction of events depending upon chance. His attacks were directed against the Stoics, especially, no doubt, Chrysippus, who represented both the chief philosophical apologists for divination and the firmest champions of philosophical dogmatism (*N. D.* 1, 4; 2, 162; *Rep.* 3, 9), and to his arguments may be traced much later polemic against divination and especially against astrology (Riess in *P.-W. s.v. Astrologie* (1896), 1813).

[63]6f. acute et copiose: testimony as to the skill of Carneades in argument is found in *de Or.* 2, 161; 3, 68.

1. verentibusque: *Ac.* 2, 138: *miki verenti ne labar ad opinionem et aliquid asciscam et comprobem incognitum*, etc.

If. ne . . . adsentiamur: this Academic *ἔροχθ* pervades all the second book of the *Academica* and appears not infrequently elsewhere in Cicero. In at least three cases (*Ac.* 1, 45; 2, 59; 2, 68; cf. *N. D.* 1, 1) we find the same grouping of *falsa* and *incognita* as the things from which assent should be withheld. For Cicero's views on assent see Goedeckemeyer, *op. cit.* 146-147.

2. faciendum videtur ut: cf. *Off.* 1, 110; *Leg.* 2, 14; 3, 48; *ad Fam.* 3, 8, 1. The cumbersome and repetitious phrase (*diligenter, etiam atque etiam, argumenta cum argumentis*) well express the difficulty and delay of such a search for the truth.

3. argumenta cum argumentis: cf. 2, 150: *conferre causas*.

V. 8. Quibus de rebus et alias saepe et paulo accuratius nuper, cum essem cum Q. fratre in Tusculano, disputatum est. Nam cum ambulandi

[64]3f. in iis tribus libris quos de: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 1: in iis sex libris quos de re publica scripsimus.

[64]4. de natura deorum: this title is also attested in 1, 8; 2, 3; 2, 148; *Fat.* 1; cf. infra 1, 110; 1, 117. For the view that this, rather than *de deorum natura*, is the proper name for the work see Vahlen in *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn.* 24 (1873), 241, n. (= *Gesamm. philol. Schr.* 1 (1911), 566, n.). Birt, however, in his *Kritik u. Hermeneutik* (1913), 154, and in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 38(1918), 545-546, though admitting the order *de natura deorum* in passages like ours, where rhetorical considerations of euphony are of weight (although in *Tim.* 8 even this principle is violated), yet points out (1) that for the title of the work the MS. evidence favors *de Deorum Natura*, euphonic considerations not applying to titles, and (2) that *de Deorum Natura* is in its order analogous to similar titles such as *de Rerum Natura*, *de Agri Cultura*, etc. But in reply to this it must be insisted that the deliberate citation by Cicero himself of his own work, and that not in a solitary instance, must far counterbalance in value the testimony of MS. titles and the analogy of the designations of works by others.

From the present passage it appears that the method of our work is to be similar to that of the *De Natura Deorum*, in which the expositions of the Epicurean Velleius and the Stoic Balbus are subjected to the criticism of the Academic Cotta, the final decision, as in 2, 150 infra, being left to the reader.

[64]5. turpis: often applied to hasty and unjustified assent; e.g., *N. D.* 1, 1: *quid est enim temeritate turpius?* (and see similar instances collected by Mayor ad loc.; also Plasberg ad loc., who cites Schömann, *Opuscula*, 3(1858), 296; 356, for the exact meaning of *turpis*).

[64]5. loco: = τόπος, as in 1, 117; 2, 2; 2, 3; 2, 4; 2, 70; al.

[64]7. est: emphatic, "for there really is danger."

[64]7. fraude: 'guilt'; cf. *Tusc.* 1, 72.

[64]8. anili superstitione: cf. 2, 19; 2, 36; 2, 125; 2, 141; *N. D.* 3, 92; the use of *aniculae* in typical descriptions of superstition and credulity is discussed by Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 55. It is doubtless due to the traditionally gossiping and inquisitive character of old women (1, 65: *ex quo sagax anus, quia multa scire voluit*; Mayor, l.c.; Plat. *Theaet.* p. 176b: ὁ λεγόμενος γράων ἄθος; 1 *Tim.* 4, 7: γράωδους μύθους). Our passage was probably in the mind of Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 13, 5: *mea quoque opinione quae sunt dubia ut sunt relinquenda sunt, nec tot ac tantis viris deliberantibus temere et audaciter in alteram partem ferenda sententia est, ne aut anilis inducatur superstitio aut omnis religio destruat*; cf. id. 11, 2.

[64]8. superstitione: the difficulty of steering a proper course between neglect of religion and acceptance of superstition appears in many places, notably in 2, 148-149. On the meaning of the word cf. 2, 148, n. (*superstitio*).

1. et alias saepe: a frequent introductory phrase; cf. *Ac.* 2, 9: *quibus de rebus et alias saepe nobis multa quaesita et disputata sunt, et quondam in Hortensi villa; Tusc.* 4, 7: *quod cum saepe alias tum nuper in Tusculano egimus*; 5, 11: *fecimus et alias saepe et nuper in Tusculano; N. D.* 1, 15: *quod cum saepe alias tum maxime animadverti cum apud C. Cottam . . . disputatum est; Fat.* 2.

2. Q. fratre: his part in the dialogue is discussed in the introduction.

2. Tusculano: the villa of Cicero at Tusculum was formerly the property of the dictator Sulla (*Plin. N. H.* 22, 12), later of Catulus and one Vettius (*ad AH.* 4, 5, 2), and then was bought by Cicero in 68 B.C. (Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen in Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Altert.* 3(1899), 470). In 58 it was devastated by Clodius, but was

causa in Lyceum venissemus (id enim superiori gymnasio nomen est), Perlegi, [ille] inquit, tuum paulo ante tertium de natura deorum, in quo disputatio Cottae, quamquam labefactavit sententiam meam, non funditus tamen sustulit. Optime vero, inquam; etenim ipse Cotta sic disputat ut Stoicorum magis argumenta confutet quam hominum debeat religionem. Tum Quintus: Dicitur quidem istuc, inquit, a Cotta, et vero saepius, credo, ne communia iura migrare videatur; sed studio contra Stoicos disserendi deos mihi videtur funditus tollere. 9. Eius orationi non sane desidero quid respondeam; satis enim defensa religio est in secundo libro a Lucilio, cuius disputatio tibi ipsi, ut in extremo tertio scribis, ad veritatem

2. inquit H. Ille inquit ABV, inquit ille Lambinus: ille in archetypo super lineam videtur fuisse.

8. orationi codd. et edd., rationi Müller (perperam).

restored at great expense (*id.* 471). Cicero lived there almost uninterruptedly in the years 46-45, about sixty letters being dated from there. For the books written there cf. *id.* 471, n. 2; Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna* (1909), 259. Silius Italicus later possessed a villa that had belonged to Cicero (Mart. 11, 48; 11, 49), and there are reasons for identifying it with this Tusculan estate (Lanciani, *op. cit.* 265-266).

The sites proposed for the villa vary a good deal, from the hill above Frascati to the region of the abbey of Grottaferrata; cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 467, n. 1; Lanciani, *op. cit.* 254, n. 4 (the latter giving on p. 263 a view of a site excavated by Zuzzeri in 1741-1746 and (p. 264) a tile found with the inscription M. TVLI). On the subject cf. also Grossi-Gondi, *La Ville-gialura Tusculana di Cic.* (1905).

The villa was at a distance from main roads (*ad Att.* 7, 5, 3), and contained an upper gymnasium called the *Lyceum*, with a library (2, 8), and a lower gymnasium named the *Academia* (*Tusc.* 2, 9; 3, 7; 4, 7), the latter probably below the house. Schmidt (*op. cit.* 470, n. 3) would also detect in the account of the Tusculan villa of Crassus (*de Or.* 2, 20) a description based upon Cicero's own villa. Mayor (on *N. D.* 1, 15) cites the description of Vitruvius (5, 11, 2) of *palaestrae* in Roman villas with cloisters containing *exhedrae spatiosae, habentes sedes in quibus*

philosophi rhetores reliquique qui studiis delectantur sedentes disputare possint; and Spartianus, *Had.* 26, 5, says that Hadrian's villa near Tivoli had, among other parts, a *Lyceum* and an *Academia*.

Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 1(1895), 430-431, discusses the custom, first appearing among the Romans with M. Iunius Brutus, of placing the scene of dialogues in country houses, as opposed to the city setting of Greek dialogues, which was unfavorably regarded by Cicero (*de Or.* 2, 18).

[65]2. *ambulandi*: cf. *de Or.* 1, 28; *Brut.* 10. The walking continues through Book I; in Book II they are seated (2, 8; 2, 150). A similar arrangement is found in the *De Finibus* and the *Tusculan Disputations*, and it later became the rule in the dialogues of Plutarch (Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 1(1895), 528, n. 1; 537), and is employed by Minucius Felix (*Oct.* 4, 5) and Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* 1, 1, 2). The mention of walking and of the Lyceum would naturally suggest the methods of the Peripatetics, with whose school Quintus, in spite of the Stoic views here attributed to him, had a considerable affinity (Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 537, n. 2), just as the scene of the *Tusculan Disputations*, in the lower gymnasium or *Academia* is appropriate to the Academic method there used (*id.* 1, 526, n. 2).

2. *perlegi*: for similar references in Cicero to works already published cf.

est visa propensior. Sed, quod praetermissum est in illis libris (credo quia commodius arbitratus es separatim id quaeri deque eo disseri), id est de divinatione, quae est earum rerum quae fortuitae putantur praedictio atque praesensio, id, si placet, videamus quam habeat vim et quale sit.

Tusc. 5, 32: *quia legi tuum nuper quantum de legibus; Fat.* 4; and the cases noted by Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 539, in which the *De Legibus* recalls the *De Republica*. For the expression cf. *Brut.* 11. Our passage, though evidence for the practical completion of the *De Natura Deorum*, is perhaps not a proof that it was already published, for Quintus may be thought of as having read it before its publication. Mayor (ed. of *N. D.*, 3(1885), xxvi) distinguishes between the terms in which the *De Natura Deorum* and other works are mentioned in 2, 3 *infra* and in *Fat.* 1, and suggests that, like the *Epistles* and probably some other works, the *De Natura Deorum* was published posthumously, and that it was at this time and up to Cicero's death undergoing a revision which has left it in its present unfinished and often inconsistent state.

[66]2. *inquit*: cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 18.

[66]2. *tertium*: for the omission of *librum* cf. *Tusc.* 5, 32 (quoted above).

[66]3. *Cottae*: C. Aurelius Cotta, consul in 75 B.C., the Academic disputant in the *De Natura Deorum*.

[66]3f. *funditus . . . austrulit*: cf. 1, 5.

[66]4f. *ut Stoicorum*: this assertion is also emphatically made in *N. D.* 3, 1; 3, 4; 3, 5-6; 3, 9-10; 3, 15; 3, 93. In 3, 93 Cotta says *haec fere dicere habui de natura deorum non ut eam tollerem, sed ut intellegeretis quam esset obscura et quam difficilis explicatus haberet*.

[66]7. *ne . . . videatur*: various passages illustrating Cicero's civil conformity to the state religion as a useful social and political instrument, in spite of his philosophic dissent from some of its tenets, are collected by Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 5; 3, 14. Cf. *I Verr.* 13: *neque nostra senatus consulta neque communia iura tenuerunt. For migrare* in the sense of 'transgress' cf. *Leg.* 3, 11; *Off.* 1, 31; *Fin.* 3, 67.

[66]9. *defensa*, etc.: cf. 1, 117.

[66]10. *Lucilio*: Lucilius Balbus, the Stoic disputant in the *De Natura Deorum*.

[66]10. *scribis*: *N. D.* 3, 95: *ita discessimus ut Velleio Cottae disputatio verior, mihi (sc. Ciceroni) Balbi ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propensior*. The distinction between *verior* and *ad veritatis similitudinem propensior* (in our work less carefully phrased as *ad veritatem propensior*) is, as Mayor (*ad loc.*) remarks, an attempt to fit the expression to the philosophic habits of the respective judges, the Epicurean Velleius and the Academic Cicero. But the important question remains, why does Cicero, who in the first part of Book I of the *De Natura Deorum* declares himself an Academic, and who at his appearance upon the scene of the dialogue is recognized (*N. D.* 1, 17) as the fellow-schoolman and natural supporter of Cotta, now cast his vote, not with Cotta and the Academy, but with the Stoic speaker and those views which Cotta has been brilliantly refuting? That there is deliberate purpose in this is also made yet more clear by the quotation in the present work. The explanation of the difficulty I have attempted to find (*Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 44 (1913), 25-37) by interpreting the *De Natura Deorum* as a work not primarily polemic but rather descriptive in purpose, and also as an illustration of Academic method rather than the exposition of any positive or negative Academic dogma.

1. *praetermissum est*: this subject received scanty notice in *N. D.* 2, 6-14; 2, 162-163, and that there was no opportunity for fuller discussion Balbus complains in 3, 19: *itaque maximae res tacitae praeterierunt, de divinatione, de fato, quibus de quaestionibus tu quidem strictim, nostri autem multa solent dicere, sed ab hac ea quaestione quae nunc in manibus est*

Ego enim sic existimo, si sint ea genera divinandi vera, de quibus accepimus quaeque colimus, esse deos, vicissimque, si di sint, esse qui divinent. VI. 10. Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, inquam, Quinte, defendis, siquidem ista sic reciprocantur, ut et, si divinatio sit, di sint, et, si di sint, sit

separantur. That such a separation was customary is shown by the various Stoic monographs on divination and fate (cf. Diog. L. 7, 149), and by Cicero's own works on those subjects. But in addition to precedent Cicero perhaps had as a reason for treating divination separately the desire to attack this superstition in the manner least involving any direct assault upon legitimate religion (cf. 2, 148-149), and with as little confusion of issues as possible.

[67]2f. *de divinatione*: for the definition cf. 1, 1. Schmekel (*Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 322, n. 2) refers to 2, 19 (*si negas esse fortunam et omnia quae fiunt quaeque futura sunt ex omni aeternitate definita dicis esse fataliter, muta definitionem divinationis, quam dicebas praesensionem esse rerum fortuitarum. si enim nihil fieri potest . . . nisi quod ab omni aeternitate certum fuerit esse futurum rato tempore, quae potest esse fortuna? qua sublata qui locus est divinationis?*), and notes that this dilemma, doubtless pointed out by Carneades, Posidonius or whoever was the source of our passage has tried to avoid by the use of the phrase *quae fortuitae putantur* (with emphasis on *putantur*), his real belief being shown by 1, 125: *fieri igitur omnia fato ratio cogit fateri*. That is, Posidonius(?) had changed the definition to meet hostile criticism. But in 2, 13 Marcus Cicero does not hesitate to misquote the definition as set forth by his brother: *animadverti . . . te . . . ita definire: divinationem esse earum rerum praedictionem et praesensionem quae essent fortuitae*, and, in 2, 19, as above noted, he still attacks the uncorrected Stoic view. This inconsistency is probably due to the use of different and unrelated sources for the two books, the definition in 2, 19 being that of Antipater, according to Schiche,

De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div. (1875), 8-9; 29-30. On definitions of divination cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 7 ff.; Thiaucourt, *Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic.* (1885), 261; Sander, *Quaest. de Cic. Libris quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 22-24.

[67]4. *si placet*: cf. 1, 10; *Fin.* 2, 9. Other such apologetic phrases found near the beginning of the remarks of the first or the principal speaker in a dialogue are *si videtur* (*Ac.* 1, 14; *N.D.* 1, 17); *nisi molestum est* (*Ac.* 1, 14; *Fin.* 1, 28; 2, 5; *Tusc.* 1, 26; *N.D.* 1, 17; *Rep.* 1, 46; *de Sen.* 6); *ne . . . vobis molestus sim* (*Fin.* 5, 8); *nisi quid . . . videtur secus* (*Leg.* 1, 17); *si tibi est commodum* (*Brut.* 20); cf. *Part. Orat.* 2. These apologies are probably intended to describe the natural feeling of delicacy on the part of one speaker in intruding what is essentially a monologue into the midst of general conversation. So in Plat. *Phaed.* p. 96a, before a long monologue, Socrates remarks ἐγὼ οὖν σοι δίσταμι . . . ἐὰν βούλη. For apologies also on the ground of the time consumed cf. 1, 10, n. (*si vacas animo*); *Hor. Ep.* 1, 2, 5.

1. *de quibus accepimus*: *accipio de*, except in clauses introduced by *ita*, *sic*, and *ut*, is rare in Cicero; cf. *de Amic.* 38 (in Cod. Paris., adopted by many editors).

3. *arcem*: cf. *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 8: *in arcem illius causae invadere*; *Div. in Caecil.* 18, where the *lex repetundarum* is called the *arx of the socii*; *Liv.* 3, 45, 8; 6, 37, 10; cf. 28, 42, 16; *Aug. c. Acad.* 1, 9, 24: *ubi enim arcem locaverunt Academici*; *de Ordine*, 1, 11, 32: *summam philosophiae arcem*. So ἀρχή or πύργος in Greek; e.g., Theogn. 233; Demades ap. Stob. *Flor.* 74, 56. In 2, 37 Cicero uses a similar figure: *urbem philosophiae . . . perditis dum castella defenditis*.

divinatio. Quorum neutrum tam facile quam tu arbitraris conceditur. Nam et natura significari futura sine deo possunt, et, ut sint di, potest fieri ut nulla ab iis divinatio generi humano tributa sit. Atque ille: Mihi vero, inquit, satis est argumenti et esse deos et eos consulere rebus humanis quod esse clara et perspicua divinationis genera iudico. De quibus quid ipse sentiam, si placet, exponam, ita tamen si vacas animo neque habes aliquid quod huic sermoni praevertendum putes. 11. Ego vero, inquam, philosophiae, Quinte, semper vaco; hoc autem tempore, cum sit nihil aliud quod lubenter agere possim, multo magis aveo audire de divinatione quid sentias.

9. avevo Gruter, *add. rec.*, habeo C, sed abeo A¹.

[68]4. reciprocantur: appropriate for such argument; cf. 'battledore and shuttlecock.'

[68]4. ut et si divinatio sit: cf. 1, 82-83; 1, 104; 1, 117; 2, 41. The argument appears in different forms. In one (Aristot. fr. 10 Rose; Diog. L. 7, 149; *N.D.* 2, 12, cf. Mayor's note) the existence of divination proves that of the gods: *quorum enim interpretes sunt eos ipsos esse certe necesse est; deorum autem interpretes sunt; deos igitur esse fateamur* (*N.D.* 2, 12; ridiculed by Luc. *Iup. Trag.* 51: εἰ γὰρ εἰσι βωμοί, εἰσι καὶ θεοί· ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰσι βωμοί, εἰσι βρα καὶ θεοί), in the other, as here, the belief in divination is an inference following from the existence of gods and from the probability of their care for mankind; as in 1, 82-83; Sext. Emp. 9, 132: εἰ μὴ εἰσι θεοί, οὐδὲ μαρτυρῆ ὑπάρχει, ἐπιστήμη οὐσα θεωρητικὴ καὶ ἐξηγητικὴ τῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις δεδομένων σημείων, οὐδὲ μὴν θεοληπτικὴ καὶ ἀστρομαρτυρῆ, οὐ λογικὴ, οὐχ ἢ δι' ἐπιπέρας πρόρρησις. Ἄστρον δὲ γε τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πραγμάτων ἀναιρεῖν πεπιστευμένων ἢ ἢ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. εἰσι βρα θεοί; *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* 138: διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς μαρτυρῆς σπουδάζουσι· μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἑρμηνεία τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν διαβολῆς ἐστὶ. καὶ ὁμοίως δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν πραγμάτων ἐξίαν τῶ δόξειεν εἶναι τῶ οὐκ εἶναι θεῶν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' εἰθέως θάτερον τοῦτων καὶ ἀμφότερα. Cf. *Leg.* 2, 32: *si enim deos esse concedimus eorumque mente mundum regi et eosdem hominibus consulere generi et posse nobis signa rerum futurarum ostendere, non video cur esse*

divinationem negem; sunt autem ea quae posui; ex quibus id quod volumus efficitur et cogitur. The dangers of the argument are indicated in 2, 41 *infra*. So, according to Nestle (*Class. Philol.* 5 (1910), 149-150), Sophocles urges that divination and religion in general stand and fall together (*O.T.* 898-910), and Tertullian, *de Anim.* 47, observes the close connection between *visiones* and men's ideas of the existence of gods; cf. *id. Apol.* 20, and Mayor's note. The close relation of divination to fate is shown by Diog. Oenoand. fr. 33 William: <ὅτι ἀρηρημ>της οὐν μαρτυρῆς σημείων ἐμαρμύνης ἔστιν ἄλλ<ο>; cf. Val. Max. 1, 5, 1: *ominium etiam observatio aliquo contactu religioni innexa est, quoniam non fortuito motu sed divina providentia constare creduntur.* An important passage in Augustine (*C.D.* 5, 9) deals with the whole question. He thinks that Cicero's attacks on divination are due to a desire to demolish the dogma of fate (*putat enim concessa scientia futurorum ita esse consequens fatum ut negari omnino non possit*), and that Cicero chose the alternative of freedom of the will rather than what seemed to him the mutually involved ideas of divination and determinism. Augustine's reconciliation of these opposing concepts emphasizes rather the divine prescience than the revelation of it to men in a way that might modify their actions. For analogies with other Christian arguments cf. Mayor on *N.D.* 2, 12.

Nihil, inquit, equidem novi, nec quod praeter ceteros ipse sentiam; nam cum antiquissimam sententiam, tum omnium populorum et gentium consensu conprobatam sequor. Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum

[69]1. *neutrum tam facile . . . conceditar*: cf. 2, 106.

[69]4. *et esse deos et eos consulere*: two points from the four elaborated in the *De Natura Deorum* (cf. *N. D.* 2 3: *primum docent* (sc. Stoici) *esse deos, deinde quales sint, tum mundum ab iis administrari, postremo consulere eos rebus humanis*). Cf. *Leg.* 2, 32 (quoted in the note on *ut et si divinatio sit* above), and Reitzenstein, *Drei Vermutungen sur Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* (1894), 28-29.

[69]5. *esse*: emphatic in position.

[69]5. *clara et perspicua*: probably not synonymous, the second being stronger than the first as in *Fin.* 5, 55: *etiam clariora vel plane perspicua minimeque dubitanda*.

[69]6. *ita . . . si*: cf. Allen on this passage and Holden on *Off.* 3, 13.

[69]6. *si vacas animo*: cf. *Brut.* 20: *si es animo vacuo*; Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 58d: *εἰ μὴ τίς σοι ἀσχολία τυγχάνει ὄψα*; Cebes, 3: *εἰ μὴ τίς σοι μεγάλη ἀσχολία τυγχάνει ὄψα, διήγησαι ἡμῖν*; 1, 9, n. (*si placet*).

[69]7. *praevertendam*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 3: *iis de rebus agimus quae sunt etiam negotiis anteponendae*. The word *praevertio* in this sense is infrequent; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 528, cited by Non. p. 362 M.; Liv. 2, 24, 5; Gell. 4, 3, 2.

[69]8. *philosophiae . . . vaco*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 3: *et otiosi sumus et his de rebus agimus quae sunt etiam negotiis anteponenda*; *Rep.* 1, 14: *michi vero omne tempus est ad meos libros vacuam; numquam enim sunt illi occupati*; Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 14, 1: *soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae vacant, soli vivunt*; Hier. *adv. Iovin.* 2, 9: *vacare philosophiam; vacare . . . sapientiam*.

[69]8. *hoc autem tempore*: excuses for philosophical study on the ground of enforced retirement are: *Ac.* 1, 11: *nunc vero et fortunae gravissimo percussus vulneri et administratione rei publicae libera-*

tus, doloris medicinam a philosophia peto et otii oblectationem hanc honestissimam iudico; 2, 6: *quis reprendet nostrum otium qui in eo non modo nosmet ipsos hebescere et languere nolumus, sed etiam ut plurimis proximis enitimus?* *Tusc.* 1, 1: *cum defensionum laboribus senatorisque muneribus aut omnino aut magna ex parte essem aliquando liberatus rettuli me . . . ad ea studia*; 5, 121: *me etiam conscripturum arbitror (ubi enim melius uti possumus hoc cuiuscumodi est otio?)*; *N. D.* 1, 7: *cum otio langueremus et is esset rei publicae status ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset*; cf. 2, 1 infra; Durand in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 179.

[69]9. *avoc*: in Cicero's philosophical works used chiefly with verbs of learning, etc.

1. *nihil . . . novi*: cf. *Fin.* 1, 28: *nunc dicam de voluptate, nihil scilicet novi, ea tamen quae, etc.*; *Rep.* 1, 21: *nihil novi vobis adferam, neque quod a me sit cogitatum aut inventum*.

1. *nec quod praeter ceteros*: his purpose is twofold: to represent the views to be discussed as not peculiar (1) to himself as an individual nor (2) to the Stoics as a school, but based upon the *consensus gentium*.

3. *duo sunt enim*: the division into two classes, external or artificial and internal or natural, of which the second group is very primitive (Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 15 calls dreams τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῖν μαρτύριον) and the former the result of ages of experience, interpretation, and systematization (Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religions* (1913), 409), was one apparently early made among the Greeks (cf. Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 8 ff.), being perhaps known to Homer (*Od.* 20, 100-101: *φήμη τίς μοι φάσθω ἔγκρομμικον ἑσθράτων / ἰσθόσθω, ἑκροσθῶ δὲ Διὸς τίρας ἄλλο φανήτω*), of whom Plut. *de Gen. Socr.*

alterum artis est, alterum naturae. 12. Quae est autem gens aut quae civitas quae non aut extispicum aut monstra aut fulgora interpretantium aut augurum aut astrologorum aut sortium (ea enim fere artis sunt) aut

2. extispicum *Mercerus* (*ad Nou. s. r.:* cf. 2, 26; 2, 42 *infra*), extis pecudum (pecodum V¹)C.
3. artis V¹, artes C.

p. 593c says: φαίνεται δὲ γινώσκων καὶ Ὀμηρος ἢν λέγομεν διαφορὰν ἡμεῖς τῶν γὰρ μάντεων ὠλεωπόλους τινὰς καλεῖ καὶ λερεῖς, ἰτίρους δὲ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγομένων συνάτας καὶ συμφρονούντας ἀποσημαίνει οἰεῖται τὸ μέλλον . . . ; p. 593d: οὕτω τὸ θεῖον ἀλλίως ἐπιτυχάνει δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ σπανίως, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς σημεῖα δίδωσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ λεγομένη μαντικὴ συντέθηκε; Ps.-Plut. *de Vit. Hom.* 212: ταύτης (sc. μαντικῆς) μάντοι τὸ μὲν τεχνικῶν φασιν εἶναι οἱ Στωϊκοί, οἷον ἱεροσκοτίας καὶ ὠλεωπόους καὶ περὶ φήμας καὶ ἐλεφάντας καὶ σύμβολα, ἄτερ συλλήβδην ἕττω καλοῦμεν, τὸ δ' ἄτεχρον καὶ ἀδίδακτον, ρουτίστιν ἐνέπικια καὶ ἔθουσιασμοῖς. οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἷν Ὀμηρος ἠγνόησεν· ἀλλ' οἷδε μὲν μάνταις καὶ λερεῖς καὶ ὠλεωπόλους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὠλεωστάς, κτλ., quoting various examples. There may perhaps be intention in the fact that among the children of Priam there are representatives of these two classes of divination; cf. 1, 89 *infra*; Heinze, *Xenocrates* (1892), 105. The two kinds are further recognized by Plato, *Phaedr.* p. 244d: ὁσαυ δὴ οἷν τελειώτερον καὶ ὑπεριώτερον μαντικὴ οἰωνιστικῆς, τὸ τε δρομα τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔργον τ' ἔργου, τόσων κάλλιον μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ μάτιαν σωφροσύνης τῆν ἐκ θεοῦ τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων γιγνομένης; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 50-51. The passages adduced by Steinhauser (*l.c.*) from Aristotle (fr. 10-12 Rose) are not convincing. By the Stoics, however, the two-fold division was adopted with the *τεχνικὸν* offset to the *ἀτεχρον καὶ ἀδίδακτον*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 62 ff.; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 9-10 (on p. 10, n. 1 he compares the similar division by the rhetoricians of the *πίστεις ἐντεχνον* and *ἀτεχνον*).

The two kinds are further discussed in 1, 34 ff.; 1, 72; 1, 109 ff.; 2, 26-27; and Cicero apparently dealt with them else-

where, for Serv. *Aen.* 3, 359 says: *nam ut ait Cicero omnis divinandis peritia in duas partes dividitur. nam aut furor est, ut in vaticinantibus, aut ars, ut in haruspici-bus, fulguritis sive fulguratoribus, auguri-bus. et omnia ista ex se pendunt, licet propriis finibus contineantur* (cf. *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 14). This passage is not taken by Servius from any extant part of our work, and Regell (*De Augurum publicorum Libris* (1878), 3, n. 1) with some plausibility suspects it to be from Cicero's lost work *de Auguriis*. For modern objections to the two-fold division cf. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-Lore and ancient Greek Religion* (1910), 298-299; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 54-58; and on the whole subject Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 108-109, who also observes (4 (1882), 119) that the term 'natural' was hardly as applicable to divination in Italy as in Greece. Servius (*l.c.*) and several patristic writers (e.g., *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 13) also mention a four-fold classification by Varro, which is, however, a somewhat artificial one based on the physical fields of divination (*geomantia, hydromantia, aeromantia, and pyromantia*), with which may be compared the twofold division according to place—*σημεῖα* in the sky and *τίματα* on the earth—which Lydus, *de Ostent.* proem., attributes to the Hebrews. In *Schol. A Il.* 1, 62 a threefold classification appears.

1. *quae est autem gens*: cf. 1, 1, n. (*consensus*); 1, 87.

2. *quae non aut*: 1, 72, n. (*haruspices, etc.*).

2. *extispicum aut monstra, etc.*: this list differs from many Greek ones in the omission of specific mention of oracles, but they are probably embraced under the heads of *sortium* and *vaticinationum*,

somniorum aut vaticinationum (haec enim duo naturalia putantur)

on account of the difficulty of classifying them exclusively in either one of the two main groups, as is well shown in 1, 34. This being the case, this sentence includes the chief sorts of divination known to Cicero. The art of the haruspices is divided into its three essential parts, as consistently throughout the work (e.g., 1, 35; 1, 72; 1, 93; 2, 26; 2, 28; 2, 42; 2, 49; 2, 109).

[71]2. *fulgora*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*Summanus*).

[71]3. *sortium*: probably cognate with *sero* 'string.' For the appropriateness of the term to the early form of Italic lots cf. Mommsen in *C.I.L.* I, p. 267; also Skutsch in *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 15 (1895), 342, n. 2; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), s.v. *sors*. Divination by lots, or cleromancy, is a method of consultation of the divine will of long duration, wide geographical extent, and many forms. Traditionally the invention of Athena or the Nymphs (Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 363; Wolf in his ed. of Porphyr. *de Philos. ex Orac. haur.* (1856), 48), but usually placed under the patronage of Hermes as god of chance (Hom. *Hymn. Herm.* 552 ff., with Sikes and Allen's n.; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 191, n. 1; 192-193; Glotz in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Sortitio*, 1402, n. 14; Bergk in *Bull. dell' Instit.* 1859, 229, n. 1 treats the *sors Mercurii* as the most favorable of lots), or elsewhere (Paul. ex Fest. p. 368 M.) of special goddesses named *Tentatae*, it appears as early as the *Iliad* (7, 175 ff.) and is not yet extinct. It has been found all over the world (Frazer on Paus. 7, 25, p. 174; Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 417), among nations of as varied cultures as the Greeks and Romans (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 189-197; Bolling in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 830; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 205-234), Hindus (Weber in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* (1859), 158-180), Hebrews (Gaster in Hastings,

op. cit. 4, 812; Toy, *op. cit.* 417-418; Clark in Hastings, *Dict. of the Apost. Church*, 1 (1915), 711), Mohammedans (Fleischer in *Bericht. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 13 (1861), 24 ff.), the ancient Germans (Caes. *B.G.* 1, 53, 7; Tac. *Germ.* 10), Persians (Sykes in *Folk-Lore*, 12 (1901), 263-264), Chinese (Moore, *Hist. of Relig.* 1 (1913), 72), and Japanese (Revon in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4, 804).

Its earliest Greek form was doubtless by *λῶβόλλια* (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 191), which may easily have antedated the invention of writing, and in a primitive culture, where the doctrine of chances was as yet unsuspected (Halliday, *op. cit.* 205), men might easily think of "spiritual beings standing over the diviner or the gambler, shuffling the lots or turning up the dice to make them give their answers" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1, 2 ed. (1874), 79). Of the different kinds of cleromancy (for which see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 191; *id.* in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Divinatio*, 301) a number are independent of writing, and that by dice has so continued, but with the knowledge of writing varieties dependent on letters, words, or sentences came into use, the relation of which to what may be called 'clendonistic' divination is analogous to that between the written and the spoken word in language (*id.* 302). Such divination has the advantage of requiring no unusual equipment, and, as Glotz (*op. cit.* 1402) points out, it respectfully but firmly obliges the gods to show their will, rather than leaving it to their mere caprice or to vague ambiguities, as in the case of oracles. It is not surprising that such a successful rival method should have been appropriated by the priests of the oracles, and we find, in fact, many traces of cleromancy at oracular sites (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1, 192-196; *id.* in Daremb. et Saglio, *op. cit.* s.v. *Oraculum*, 222; Frazer on Paus. 7, 25, p. 173; Robbins in *Class. Philol.* 11 (1916), 278-292; on Apollo

praedictione moveatur? Quarum quidem rerum eventa magis arbitrari quam causas quaeri oportere. Est enim vis et natura quaedam, quae tum

Clarius as cognate with *αἰήρος* cf. Paus. 3, 53, 9; Robbins, *op. cit.* 286). Especially is this so in Italy, where, in the absence of real oracles, the centres of sortilege such as Caere, Falerii, Praeneste (cf. 2, 85, and nn.), Antium, Patavium, Clitumnus, the temple of Jupiter Appenninus, etc. (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 146-158; Wissowa in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 822), usually under the protection of Fortuna (Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, *op. cit.* s.v. *Divinatio*, 302), furnished for those craving knowledge of the future important outlets, freed, to be sure, from the competition of legitimate oracles, but suffering, on account of their ease, from a certain triviality (*id. Hist. de la Div.* 4, 159) and from the disparaging attitude of the state religion towards them (cf. 2, 87; Wissowa, *l.c.*).

Material remains of divination by lots, in addition to astragals and dice, will be found in Heinevetter, *Würfeln und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland u. Kleinasien* (1912), with citation of earlier literature; *C.I.L.* I, 1438-1454 (seventeen small bronze plates inscribed with oracular answers and probably coming, as Mommsen in his note on them (p. 267) shows, from a shrine of Geryon near Padua); XI, 1129 (from Forum Novum, now at Parma). Cf. cognate literary material in the work of Astrampsychus (ed. by Hercher, 1863) and the *Sortes Sangallenses* (ed. by Winnefeld, 1887). On representations in ancient art of the drawing of lots see Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, *op. cit.* s.v. *Divinatio*, fig. 2479; p. 301, n. 129; *id.* s.v. *Sortitio*, 1402, n. 1, and fig. 6520; 1416, fig. 6521; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 4, 821-822; Robbins, *op. cit.* 272-292; and the references cited by these authors.

The ritual of sortilege is described in 2, 86; for the status of the *sortilegi* cf. 1, 132, n. (*sortilegos*). The use of the lot for the choice of magistrates, dicasts

priests, etc. (doubtless originally on the principle laid down by Plat. *Leg.* 6, p. 757b, e) is discussed at length by Glotz and Lécrivain in Daremb. et Saglio, *op. cit.* s.v. *Sortitio*, and by Heisterbergk in *Berl. Stud.* 16(1896), part 5; cf. also its use in the Apostolic Church (*Acts*, 1, 26; Clark in Hastings, *Dict. of the Apost. Church*, 1(1915), 712-713). Its use in athletic contests is attested by Luc. *Hermolim.* 40, and its employment by the Romans in land allotments by Hygin. *Constit.* (in Thulin, *Corp. Agrim. Rom.* 1, 1, pp. 162-163; 167).

A similar form of divination, originating after the invention of writing and continuing long after the silence of the oracles themselves, is rhapsodomancy, that is, the random consultation, for nautic purposes, of a poet or other revered author (cf. Aug. *Conf.* 4, 5: *de paginis poetae cuiuspiam longe aliud canentis atque intendentis*; Du Resnel in *Mém. de Litt. . . . de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 19(1753), 287-310; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1(1879), 195-196; Toy, *op. cit.* 418). Among Greek authors Homer (cf. Wessely in *Denkschr. d. Wiener Akad.* 42, 2 (1893), 7, who also discusses (8-24) a London papyrus containing verses of Homer arranged for this purpose) and Hesiod (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 195, but he cites no example); among the Romans, in addition to the Sibylline Books, Virgil (Du Resnel, *l.c.*; Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio Evo*, 1, 2 ed. (1896), 64; Teuffel-Kroll-Skutsch, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 2, 6 ed. (1910), 46, n. 4; Schanz, *Gesch. d. rom. Litt.* 2, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 120), the consultation of whose works was practised as early as Hadrian's time (Spart. *Had.* 2, 8), and is frequently mentioned by the authors of the *Historia Augusta*. (For its employment by Charles I of England see Wilkin's ed. of Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, 2 (1852), 97, n. 4). Similar use of the Old Testa-

observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu inflatuque divino futura praenuntiat. VII. Quare omittat arguere Carneades, quod faciebat etiam Panaetius, requirens Iuppiterne cornicem a laeva, corvum

ment by the Jews is noted by Gaster (in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 813), and of the entire Bible or parts of it, especially the Psalter and the Gospels, by the Christians (Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5(1696), 364 ff.; Du Resnel, *l.c.*; Scudamore in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 2, Am. ed. (1880), 1920; Mayor on Juv. 1, 82; Barns in Hastings, *op. cit.* 4, 790-791). Analogous use of the Koran by Moslems is mentioned by Toy, *op. cit.* 418. It is to be noted that the works thus employed are those most frequently quoted for purposes of magic (Heim in *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.* Supplementb. 19 (1893), 514-522, esp. 518-519). On the transition from the older to the modern ideas about the use of lots cf. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1, 2 ed. (1874), 79. Much material on lots in general will be found in van Dale, *De Oraculis* (1700), 280-324.

[73]1. *eventa*: for similar appeals to empiricism in matters of divination Schmekel (*Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 322, n. 3) compares 1, 23; 1, 35; 1, 36; 1, 109; which he believes are samples of the argument employed by Posidonius to meet the sceptical demand for reasons. The argument also appears in 1, 5; 1, 16; 1, 72; 1, 84; 1, 128; and is attacked by Cicero, doubtless following Carneades and Panaetius, in 2, 27; 2, 79-80; 2, 99; 2, 146, on the ground of its unphilosophic character and its divergence from observed facts, with the same distrust that Aristotle (*de Div. per Somn.* p. 462 b 14 ff.) shows towards dreams. The claims of empiricism also appear in Diog. L. 7, 149: *καὶ αὐτὴν* (sc. *μαντικὴν*) *καὶ τέχνην ἀποφαλοῦσι διὰ τινὰς ἐμβάσεις, ὡς φησὶ Ζήνων; Artemid. Onirocr.* 4, 20: *πειρῶ δὲ πάντα μὲν αἰτιολογεῖν καὶ προσάπτειν ἐκάστῳ λόγον καὶ πιθανὰς τινὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς εἰ καὶ πάνυ ἀληθὴ λόγους, ψιλά καὶ περιλειπεύσμενα ἀποτε-*

λέσματα λέγων ἤττον εἶναι δόξεις ἑμπεῖροι· αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὡς τῆς αἰτιολογίας κυρίας τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ὀψης· πολλὰ γὰρ ἀποβαλεῖται συνεχῶς ἐνίοις, καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ λόγον ἀποβαλεῖται ἴσμεν ἐκ τοῦ πάντοτε ὁμοίως ἀποβαίνειν, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας, δι' αἷς οὕτως ἀποβαίνειν, εὐρεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. ὅθεν ἡγοῦμεθα τὰς μὲν ἀποβάσεις ἀπὸ τῆς κείρας εὐρησθαι, τὰς δὲ αἰτιολογίας ἀπὸ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν; cf. *id.* 2, 70 (p. 167 Hercher); Manil. 1, 61-65: *per varios usus artem experientia fecit / exemplo monstrante viam, speculataque longe / deprendit facilius dominantia legibus astra / et lotum aeterna mundum ratione moveri / falorumque vices certis discernere signis.* Even Posidonius recognized, of course, that signs were but indications, not causes, of future events (Schmekel, *op. cit.* 254, n. 1).

The long digression here begun continues through 1, 33; cf. 1, 34, n. (*is igitur*).

[73]2. *vis et natura*: hendiadys as in 1, 3; 1, 15. In 1, 109 artificial prediction passes insensibly into scientific calculation of effects, *quae potest esse etiam sine motu atque impulsu deorum.*

1. *longo tempore*: cf. 1, 2.

If. *instinctu inflatuque*: cf. 1, 34: *instinctu divino adflatuque*; 1, 38: *divino adflatu*; 1, 66: *divino instinctu*; *Tusc.* 1, 64: *caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu*; *N.D.* 2, 167: *aliquo adflatu divino.*

2. *Carneades*: 1, 7, n. (*Carneade*). In *N.D.* 3, 14-15, of which Carneades is probably to be regarded as the source, we find some of the points here appearing, e.g., *quis cornicis cantum notavit? quis invenit fissum icoris?* (cf. 1, 16 infra); *quis sortis* (sc. *notavit*)? (cf. 1, 23 infra?); *at medici quoque . . . saepe falluntur* (cf. 1, 24 infra); *Atti Navi . . . litium* (cf. 1, 30 infra). In other words, the source which Quintus is here represented as following has tried to answer the arguments

ab dextera canere iussisset. Observata sunt haec tempore inenso et in

raised by Carneades and recounted by Clitomachus in a work which Cotta follows in *N. D.* 3, 14-15.

[74]3. *Pannaetius*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*negare*).

[74]3. *Iuppiter*: that Carneades took too mechanical a view of the Stoic theory of divine revelation by augury is indicated in 1, 118; cf. 1, 119, n. (*eademque*); *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 32, 3-4: *aves non in hoc motae ut nobis occurrerent dextrum auspiciis sinistrumque fecerunt. 'et illas,' inquit, 'deus movit.' nimis illum otiosum et pusillae rei ministrum facis, si aliis somnia, aliis ista disponit; ista nihilominus divina ope geruntur, si non a deo pennae avium reguntur nec pecudum viscera sub ipsa securi formantur; alia ratione fatorum series explicatur indicia venturi ubique praemittens; Apul. de Deo Sorr. 7: neque enim pro maiestate deum caelestium fuerit ut eorum quisquam vel Hannibali somnium pingat vel Flaminio hostium corroborat vel Alto Navio avem velificet vel Sibyllae falisloquia versificet vel Tarquinio velit apicem rapere sed reddere, Servio vero inflammare verticem nec exurere, non est operae diis superis ad haec descendere. mediolorum divorum ista sortitio est, etc.; cf. Max. Tyr. 13, 3 Hobein; *Iamb. de Myster.* 3, 16, pp. 138-139 Parthey; Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen* (1860), 21. The question of Carneades was not satisfied; it is echoed in *Livy* 6, 41, 8: *cludent nunc licet religiones; quid enim esse . . . si occiderit avis?* and as late as *Isidore (Flym.* 12, 7, 44; repeated by *Hugo de S. Vict. de B. stii*, 3, 35) it had still to be raised: *magnum nefas haec credere ut Deus consilia sua cornicibus mandet*, although others took the opposite view and argued, as did *Plutarch (de Sollert. Animal.* 22, p. 975 a-b), that the animals, especially the birds, offer to the deity especial advantages for the revelation of his will.*

Jupiter is doubtless here mentioned as the supreme god rather than as the one with whom these birds were especially

associated. In fact, the *corvus* was particularly the sacred messenger of Apollo (cf. *Ael. Hist. Anim.* 1, 48; *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 133; *Thompson, Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895), 92).

[74]3. *cornicem . . . corvum*: on the identification of these birds cf. *Thompson, op. cit.* 91-95; 97-100; *Martin, The Birds of the Latin Poets* (1914), 69-75. The *cornix* (κόρῳν) *Thompson* takes as the Crow, *Corvus corone* L., perhaps including also the Hooded Crow, *Corvus cornix* L., and the Rook, *Corvus frugilegus* L. It was noted as a weather prophet (*Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1885), 115; *Thompson, op. cit.* 98; *Martin, op. cit.* 69-70; 1, 14, n. (*fuscaque, etc.*) *infra*) and for its longevity (*Thompson, l.c.*). Its use in augury is rare among the Greeks (*Hopf, l.c.*; *Thompson, l.c.*), but frequent among the Romans (*Hopf, l.c.*). By *Festus* p. 197 M. both it and the *corvus* are classed under the *oscines* (cf. 1, 120, n. (*oscines*)), and its omens, though occasionally good, are usually unfavorable (*Hopf, op. cit.* 116; *Martin, op. cit.* 70; *Plin. N. H.* 10, 30 calls it a bird *inauspicatae garrulitalis*). For parallels from other nations cf. *Hopf, op. cit.* 116 ff.; see also *Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.* 1, 133-134.

The *corvus* (κόραξ) is, according to *Thompson (op. cit.* 91-95), the Raven, *Corvus corax* L., though *Fowler (A Year with the Birds, 2 ed.* (1886), 149-153), on the ground of its pugnacity (*Virg. Georg.* 1, 410 ff.), thinks it the Rook, and *Thompson* accepts this possibility for one or two passages. It was also important for its weather signs (*Thompson, op. cit.* 94; *Martin, op. cit.* 74-75), but especially as an augural bird (*Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.* 1, 133; *Hopf, op. cit.* 110-111; *Thompson, op. cit.* 93; *Martin, op. cit.* 75), being either favorable or unfavorable according to circumstances; *Ael. Hist. Anim.* 1, 48: ταῦτά μοι καὶ μαρτυροῦσι συμβόλοι ἀγαθοῦ δμολογοῦσι τὸν αἰτὸν καὶ ὀτρύνονται γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοήθῃ οἱ σκιετέρη ὄρνιθων καὶ ἔθρας καὶ

significatione eventus animadversa et notata. Nihil est autem quod non longinquitas temporum excipiente memoria prodendisquē monumentis efficere atque adsequi possit. 13. Mirari licet quae sint animadversa a medicis herbarum genera, quae radicū ad morsus bestiarum, ad oculorum

1. in significatione eventus *C*, in significationem eventus *Orelli*, *Christ*, significatione eventus *Höttinger*, significatione eventus *Madvig*, *Theobald*, significatione eventus *Klots*, cum significatione eventus *Regall*, significationum eventus *Koch*, *Pellier*, eventus (om. in significatione) *Müller*, *Hörring*, exin significationes eventus animadversae et notatae *Davies*, exin significatione est eventus animadversa et notata *Allen*, significatione est eventus *Rath*, *crucis notavit Boller*; fortasse recte in significatione eventus, cf. 1, 72: eventus animadversa ac notata sunt.

ελαγγὰς καὶ πῆσεις αὐτῶν ἢ κατὰ λαϊὰν χεῖρα ἢ κατὰ δεξιάν; cf. Psellus fr. περὶ ὠμοπλατοσκοπίας καὶ ὀλοσοσκοπίας (in *Philologus*, 8 (1853), 167): ἀπάρχομαι . . . τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν κορᾶκων καὶ κορωνῶν σημειώσεως, ἧς ἡ διαφορά ἐν τετρασὶ τοῖτοισι: ἐν πῆσει, φωνῆ, καθέσθρ, καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ, κτλ.; Fulgent. *Myth.* 1, 12: sive quod in orneoscopicis libris secundum Anaximandrum sive etiam secundum Pindarum solus (sc. corvus) inter omnes aves LX quattuor significationes habet vocum (Christ on Pind. fr. 285 thinks this derived from the commentary on *Pyth.* 3, 28). When seen in numbers corvi were usually unlucky (Hopf, *op. cit.* 111). Appian (*B.C.* 4, 19), Plutarch (*Cic.* 47), and Valerius Maximus (1, 4, 6) tell us that ravens appeared as an omen to Cicero himself just before his death (as before the deaths of Tiberius Gracchus and Sejanus) Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 97). For similar later and modern beliefs cf. Hopf, *op. cit.* 112-115; Latham in *Folk-Lore Record*, 1 (1878), 52; Craigie in *Folk-Lore*, 4 (1893), 230; Schwartz, *Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglaube* (1888), 34; and the remarkable series of cases connected with recent deaths in the House of Hapsburg (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, 29 Feb., 1916).

On the different things observed in divination from ravens see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 133. There were special κορακομάντεις among the Greeks (cf. Schol. Hom. *Od.* 14, 327), and among the Romans we hear of the *cornicularius qui in cornicibus augurium captat* (Schol. Prudent. *Psychom.* 636 ed. Burnam).

[74]3. a laeva: questions affecting right and left will be further discussed in 2,

82, n. (*laevum*); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 21, n. 1; also Frothingham in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 21 (1917), 55-76; 187-201; 313-336; 420-448; on p. 60 he gives a catalogue of countries which employed southern 'orientation' and considered the left as lucky and those using a northern 'orientation' and considering the lucky side as the right; 1, 31, n. (*ad meridiem*).

With our passage should be compared 1, 85; *ad Fam.* 6, 6, 7: *nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, auguror.* To the Greeks birds on the right were, in general, favorable, and those on the left unfavorable (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 136), while as Valetton (in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 321) shows, "*signa caelestia semper aestimaverunt Romani ex regione qua apparerent, aves in aere volitantes oblativas semper ex regione in quam concederent; verum reliqua signa et auguria, cum aves tum alia (paucis exceptis, ut pico et cornice, quae a laeva manu habebantur prospera) a laeva manu vim funestam, a dextra vim faustam accipere censebant.*" That is, there was a contradiction between the definite augural observation of these signs and that of the layman. Further that there was for certain birds divergence of usage is shown by this passage and by 1, 85; 2, 80—a divergence clearly belonging to the systematized observation of the augurs. Cf. also Plaut. *Asin.* 260-261: *picus et cornix ab laeva, corvus, parva ab dextera! consuadent* (and Gulick in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 7 (1896), 240-241 for other Plautine references); Serv. *Ecl.* 9, 15; Wagener, *Popular Associations of Right and Left in Rom. Lit.*

morbos, ad vulnera, quorum vim atque naturam ratio numquam explicavit, utilitate et ars est et inventor probatus. Age ea quae, quamquam ex alio genere sunt, tamen divinationi sunt similia, videamus:

Atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros

(1912), 55; Hopf, *op. cit.* 111; Thompson, *op. cit.* 93; 98; Martin, *op. cit.* 75. The differences in the omens from birds according to the side on which they were seen is also noted by Psellus, *op. cit.* 167: *παρεξίοναι δὲ ἡμῖν τὴν ἀβλιων κόραξ [δπισθεν] καὶ κορώνη ἔμπροσθεν βοήσαντες, ἀθυμῶναι τινὰ καὶ δυσχέρειαν ἐν πράγμασι προσμαίονται, περὶ δὲ τὰ λαϊὰ κορώνη διίπταται καὶ ἀνακράζουσα καὶ κόραξ ὁμοίως ἐκ θατέρου μέρους παραφλεγζάμενος θαρρεῖν σοὶ παρακελεύεται: ἀχομῶνται δὲ κορώνη ἔπισθεν κράζουσα τυχεῖν τῆς ἐσχῆς μαρτυρεῖται, εἰδώνυμος δὲ διελθοῦσα φόβον ἐμβάλλει καὶ ταραχὴν τῇ ψυχῇ;* cf. Joann. Saresb. *Poligr.* 1, 13 (of the crow): *refert etenim plurimum a dextris sit an a sinistris.* A possible, though very uncertain, explanation for the difference in this respect between the birds mentioned is suggested by Valetton, *op. cit.* 321, n. 1. For the possibility that some of the omen-giving birds may originally have been totems cf. Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), sections 515; 517; 572.

[75]1f. in *significatione eventus*: the reading of the MSS. and perhaps making tolerable sense: "and comprehended and noted in regard to the significance of their outcome." But see the end of the critical note above.

[76]1. *animadversa et notata*: cf. 1, 25; 1, 72; 1, 131.

[76]1. *non*: for the long separation of this word from its verb cf. 1, 12: *non . . . moneatur*; 1, 125; Wopkens, *Lect. Tull.* (1829), 237.

[76]2. *longinquitas temporum*: cf. 1, 2.

[76]2. *excipiente memoria*: cf. 1, 87; 1, 127.

[76]2. *monumentis*: including perhaps such books as those mentioned in 1, 72.

[76]4. *herbarum genera*: cf. 1, 16; *N. D.* 2, 161: *multaque ex earum (sc. bestiarum) corporibus remedia morbis et vulneribus*

eligamus, sicut ex quibusdam stirpibus et herbis, quarum utilitates longinqui temporis usu et periclitatione percepimus. For special accounts of such drugs see, in addition to Pliny's *Natural History*, the works of Nicander and Dioscurides. In our passage *herbarum* seems to be used of those plants whose stems, leaves, fruits, or other portions growing above ground are employed as cures, as contrasted with *radicum*.

[76]4. *radicum*: many such were and are used as remedies, especially in the case of snake-bite; cf. 1, 16, n. (*ad morsum serpentium*); *Encycl. Brit.* 25, 11 ed. (1911), 285, s.v. *Snake-Root*; also the index of Sillig's ed. of Plin. *N. H.* vol. 8 (1858), 302-303. In Greek there are not a few references to the *μφοτόμος* (cf. Reinach in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Medicus*, 1679), in whose practices magic sometimes played an important part (cf. Tavener, *Stud. in Magic from Lat. Lit.* (1916), 95; 97).

[76]4. *ad morsus*: cf. 1, 16: *ad morsus; Off.* 3, 92: *medicamentum . . . ad aquam intercutem.* This use of *ad* (= *πρὸς*) is common on the stamps of oculists (Espérandieu, *Recueil des Cachets d'Oculistes rom.* (1893), 141-147); cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *ad*, 543-544.

[76]4. *oculorum*: diseases of the eyes, due to such causes as lack of precautions at birth, lack of corrective glasses, smoke in houses, and the out-of-door glare of southern lands, were common among the Romans, and the oculist was one of the most early developed of medical specialists (cf. Reinach, *l.c.*). For the commoner types of eye-medicines (*collyria*) of which we have traces in the works of the medical writers and on certain stamps found chiefly in Gaul, see Espérandieu, *op. cit.* Cicero is here, however, thinking of the

Inflatum mare, cum subito penitusque tumescit,

components of the various remedies rather than of their finished form.

[77]1. *ratio numquam explicavit*: yet Plin. *N. H.* 8, 97, in speaking of remedies used by animals, says *nec haec sola multis animalibus reperta sunt usui futura et homini*. On empiricism and experimentation as a factor in the development of ancient medicine cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* 1669-1671.

[77]2. *utilitate*: cf. *Fin.* 1, 42: *ut enim medicorum scientiam non ipsius artis sed bonae valetudinis causa probamus, et gubernatoris ars, quia bene navigandi rationem habet, utilitate, non arte laudatur*.

[77]2. *age*: cf. 1, 46: *age . . . redeamus*.

[77]3. *divinationi . . . similliora*: cf. Vitruv. 9, 6, 3 (quoted in n. on *quis igitur infra*).

[77]4. *atque, etc.*: for the life and works of Aratus see Susemihl, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt. in d. Alexandrinerzeit*, 1 (1891), 284-299; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.* 2, 1, 6 ed. (1920), 163-167. He was born at Soli, probably about 315 B.C., and in philosophical studies at Athens attached himself to the Stoics. His most famous work, the *Φαινόμενα*, was composed apparently between 276 and 274, at the instigation of Antigonus Gonatas, and was based on a prose work of the same title by Eudoxus. This work was often divided into three parts, the first the *Φαινόμενα* proper; the second *περὶ συνανατολῆς καὶ συγκαταδόσεως τῶν ἄστρων*; and the third *προγνώσεις διὰ σημείων* (cf. Maass, *Aratea*, in *Philol. Untersuchungen*, 12 (1892), 155). On his other works see Maass, *op. cit.* 211-248. The *Φαινόμενα*, in spite of its amateurish and unscientific character (cf. *Rep.* 1, 22; *de Or.* 1, 69), became extremely popular, and was honored with much comment, imitation, and translation (Maass, *op. cit.* 121-164). Among the Latin translators were Cicero, Germanicus, Gordianus I (Capitol. *Gord.* 3, 2), and Avienus; the portion on weather signs was also employed by Varro in his *Ephemeris*

and by Virgil in the *Georgics*. For his popularity among the Stoics cf. Maass, *op. cit.* 158.

Important in its bearing on Cicero's translation of Aratus is *N. D.* 2, 104: *utar, inquit* (sc. *Balbus*), *carminibus Aratiis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conversa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex iis in memoria teneam*. Mayor on this passage thinks the work was probably written in Cicero's seventeenth year, but cites no evidence. Leo (in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 191, n. 3) suggests a date about 86 B.C. From a letter of June, 60 (*ad Att.* 2, 1, 11: *Prognostica mea cum oratiunculis propediem expecta*) it might appear that the portion on weather signs was only then completed, and this is the view of Jordan (*Krit. Beitr. zur Gesch. d. lat. Spr.* (1879), 299), but it is unlikely that so long a time elapsed between the translation of the two parts (cf. Sieg, *De Cicerone Germanico Avieno Arati Interpretibus* (1886), 6-7), and practically certain is the opinion of Leo (*l.c.*) that there was a new edition of the *Prognostica* in 60. For a summary of opinions see Grollmus, *De M. Tullio Cic. Poeta* (1887), 11-18. Important additional evidence for this view I have presented in *Class. Philol.* 12 (1917), 302-304; cf. 1, 14, n. (*saepe, etc.*). The second edition seems to have been made without fresh comparison with the original and differed mainly in its greater turgidity of style.

That Cicero treated the *Phaenomena* proper and the *Prognostica* as two distinct works may be seen (1) from his use of a separate title (as below; also 2, 47; *ad Att.* 2, 1, 11; 15, 16a); (2) from the use of the plural *carminibus Aratiis* (*N. D.* 2, 104 (yet see Plasberg's critical note for variant readings); cf. Sieg, *op. cit.* 6); and (3) from the two editions of the *Prognostica* as contrasted with one of the first part (see above). The title *Prognostica* does not correspond so much to the Greek *διοσημῆλαι*, appearing in some MSS.

Saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore
 Tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces,
 Aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis

of Aratus (see Maass, ed. (1893), 40, app. crit.), as to *προγνώσεις*, the title used by Boethus, from whom it is probably taken (Maass, *Aratea*, 157). For the Latin title of the first part there is little evidence (Sieg, *op. cit.* 5).

Of Cicero's translation of the first part about 552 verses remain, and of the *Prognostica* 27 (of which 23 are found in the present passage), making a total of 579, as compared with 1154 in the Greek as edited by Maass. The translation (or at least all save the *Prognostica*) is on about the same scale of fullness as the original, Sieg (*op. cit.* 11) noting that in long and continuous passages 480 verses of Cicero correspond to 472 of Aratus. Of Cicero's qualities as a translator varying opinions are held. Sieg (*op. cit.* 8; 13) and Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 1(1887), 301), while conceding variations in the closeness of the translation, are disposed to think that he handled rather well a difficult and unattractive task; Maybaum (*De Cic. et German. Arati Interpretibus* (1889), 8 ff., esp. 15-16), Moll (*Ciceros Aratea* (1891), 12 ff.), and Guendel (*De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907), 40-42) are more severe, and emphasize his lack of comprehension both of the subject matter and of the meaning of particular passages in the Greek. For a comparison of various parts of the translation with the corresponding originals cf. Atzert, *De Cicerone Interprete Graecorum* (1908), 3-11 (p. 6 for the *Prognostica*). The external features of Cicero's poetry, such as the technique of the hexameter, are discussed by Peck in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 28 (1897), 60-74; Guendel, *op. cit.* 7-39. That the style of this translation was by the Romans of the Empire considered as archaic and antiquated is indicated by Capitol. *Gord* 3, 2. In this archaism the

imitation of his favorite Ennius (Guendel, *op. cit.* 51-81; Wreschniok, *De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907)) played an important part. Judgments ancient and modern on Cicero's poetical ability will be found in Mayor's n. on *N.D.* 2, 104; Sieg, *op. cit.* 15; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 396; cf. 1, 17, n. (*de consulatu*).

The fragments of Cicero's *Aratea* are edited by Müller in his edition 4, 3 (1879), 360-394 (with the supplementary lines of Grotius), and by Baehrens in *Poet. Lat. Min.* 1(1879), 1-28.

[77]4. atque etiam ventos: Arat. *Phaen.* 909-912: σῆμα δὲ τοι ἀνέμου καὶ οὐδαίνουσα θάλασσα / γινίσθω καὶ μακρὸν ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖ βοῶντες, / ἀταί τ' εὐάλιαι ὄντ' εὐθὺς ἤχησσαι / γλυπταί, κορυφαί τε βοῶμεναι ὄρωσι ἀραι.. The translation in the text will give a good idea of the extent to which Cicero at times expanded the original without adding to the thoughts therein contained.

The phraseology of the original suggests *Il.* 17, 264-265: ἀμφὶ δὲ τ' ἀραι / ἤϊνες βοῶσιν ἑρευγομένης ἄλτος ἕξω, and much more Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.* 29: θάλασσα οὐδοῦσα καὶ ἀταί βοῶσαι καὶ αἰγιαλοὶ ἤχων ἀνεμώδης. Cf. *Georg.* 1, 11, 7: ἀνεμον δὲ προμηθεὶ θάλασσα κυμαίνουσα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς μεγάλα ἤχουσα; Psellus, *op. cit.* 167: ἀνεμον δὲ σοι σημαίνουσα ἤχουντες ἐπὶ πλείστον αἰγιαλοὶ καὶ ἀθρόον ἀνοιδαινουσα θάλασσα καὶ οἷον βομβοῦσαι αὐ κορυφαί τῶν ὄρων; Virg. *Georg.* 1, 356-359: continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta pontis / incipienti agitata tumescere et aridus altis / montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe / litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur; Aen. 10, 98-99; Sen. *Agam.* 466-469: tum murmur graue / maiora minitans, collibus summis cadit / tractuque longo litus ac petrae gemunt; / agitata ventis unda venturis tumet; Plin.

Ortus adaugescit scopulorum saepe repulsus.

VIII. Atque his rerum praesensionibus Prognostica tua referta sunt. Quis

N. H. 18, 359: *est et aquarum significatio mare si tranquillo portu cursitabit murmurabile intra se, ventum praedicat, si idem hieme, et imbrem; litora ripaeque si resonabunt tranquillo, asperam tempestatem, item maris ipsius tranquillo sonitus spumae dispersae aut aquae bullantes; 18, 360: et montium sonitus nemorumque mugitus praedicunt.* The version of Avienus is as follows (2, 1671-1675): *nam cum traxere tumorem / aequora prolixum, cum litora curva resultant / sponte procul neque caeruleus colliditur aestus, / aut cum proceris vertex in montibus ultro / perstrepat aërium, ventos instare docebunt.*

[77]4. *praemonstrat*: cf. *de Har. Resp.* 20: *praemonstrare et praecinere.*

[78]1. *subito*: Cicero here follows, not the original, but, as Atzert, *op. cit.* 6, points out, a scholiast; cf. Maass, *Comment. in Arati Reliq.* (1898), 509, line 3: *ὅταν ἐξαίφνης . . . ἀνορθῶν ἢ θάλασσα.*

[78]1. *tumescit*: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1, 357; 2, 479; Ov. *Met.* 1, 36; Luc. 10, 224.

[79]1. *spumata*: a rare word, in the participle perhaps only here. With the line cf. Claud. *Carm. Min.* 26 (49), 58: *desumat niveum fistula cana salem.*

[79]2. *tristificas*: cf. 1, 20: *voces tristificas.* It is a trace of Cicero's imitation of the freedom of the earlier Roman poets in the use of compound adjectives. Other examples in the quotations from his poems in our work are 1, 15: *mollipedes, umiferum*; 1, 19: *allitonans*; 1, 21; 2, 63: *umbrifera*; 1, 22: *anxiferas*; 1, 106: *altisoni*; 2, 63: *aurigeris*. For such words used by Cicero in his verse but not in his prose see Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 43-57; on p. 57, n. 1 he discusses the question of Cicero's having invented these words.

[79]2. *certant*: cf. Patin, *Études sur la Poésie latine*, 2, 2 ed. (1875), 476.

[79]2. *Neptuno*: such metonymy (*N. D.* 3, 41) is, of course, common in Latin poetry; cf. Prud. *c. Symm.* 1, 299-302:

haec sibi per varias formata elementa figuras / constituere patres hominumque vocabula mutis / scripserunt status vel Neptunum vocitantes / Oceanum; Min. Fel. Oct. 19, 10; also Lucr. 2, 652-657.

[79]2. *voce*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3, 355-356: *et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa / audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces.* For the verse ending *reddere voces* cf. Wreschniok, *De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907), 54 (who cites similar parallels to Ennius from several other poets); Guendel, *De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907), 80.

[79]3. *densus*: of a thick sound in Quintil. 11, 3, 63, but probably here in the sense of *continual* (cf. *πυκνός* in Aristotle, e.g., *de Audibilibus*, p. 804 a 21). The continuously heavy rhythm of the line is perhaps intended to give the effect of the sound. Virgil in the corresponding passage (*Georg.* 1, 357-358) speaks of an *aridus . . . fragor*, a harsh (according to Nettleship) or crackling (according to Ladewig-Deuticke) sound.

Virgil has also noted (*Aen.* 10, 97-99) the importance for sailors of observing these first traces of rising winds.

[79]3. *montis*: a difficult passage. The MSS. read *repulsus*, and with this reading *saepe* must be interpreted as a noun in the ablative (the reading *sede* of the Cod. a of Victorius is an unnecessary change), upon which depends *scopulorum*. Many editors, however, from Manutius on, have preferred to read *repulsu*, taking *saepe* as an adverb and explaining its use as emphasizing the repeated dashing of the waves. Stylistic objection to *saepe* in this sense, on the ground of its use in line 1 of this fragment is unnecessary. The word has no equivalent in Aratus (as in 1, 14, and like *subito penitusque* above) and may have been added by Cicero as a bit of padding. But this emendation, however plausible, should not be adopted if the reading of the MSS. is intelligible. The

igitur elicere causas praesensionum potest? etsi video Boëthum Stoicum esse conatum, qui hactenus aliquid egit ut earum rationem rerum explicaret quae in mari caelove fierent. 14. Illa vero cur eveniant quis probabiliter dixerit?

Cana fulix itidem fugiens e gurgite ponti
Nuntiat horribilis clamans instare procellas
Haud modicos tremulo fundens e gutture cantus.

1. video Boëthum *Gruter, edd. rec.*, uide boëthum A, uidebo eotum V, uidebo eotum B, uidebo eothii B (*teste Baetere sed uidebo eothum teste Deitero*).

5. fulix itidem *Camerarius*, fluxit idem C, sed idem fluxit B.

difficulties raised against the latter are mainly two: (1) the use of *saepes* in this sense; (2) the meaning of the whole passage. As to the first cf. the verse quoted in *N.D.* 1, 119: *silvestribus saepibus densa*; *Ov. Tr.* 4, 1, 81: *portarum saepe*; and, better, *Apul. de Plat.* 1, 15: *superciliorum saepes praemuniunt oculis*, and from such cases to the picture of a 'hedge of cliffs' (cf. the 'Palisades' of the Hudson) the transition is not difficult. The second difficulty applies almost equally to the reading of the MSS. and to that of the emendation. Neither Cicero nor Virgil (*Georg.* 1, 356-359) are following the Greek closely enough to cast much light upon one another or receive much from it. One important feature, the adjective *εὐθιος*, they both neglect, and in their descriptions of mountains and cliffs they are very vague. Yet in the Ciceronian passage *montis* perhaps refers to the upper part of the cliffs as distinguished from the lower *scopulorum* (cf. *capita montis* by which Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 360, renders the *πίρη* of *Od.* 5, 428), and to these two may correspond the *κορυφαί τε . . . ὄρητος ἄκρα* and *ἀκραί τε εἰσάλια* of the original and the *altis montibus* and *litora* of Virgil, who, like two Greek scholia on the passage (*Maass, Comment. in Arati Reliq.* (1893), 508, 14; 509, 6), pluralized the mountains. And is there in Aratus an intentional distinction between the *ἀγίαλοι βοῶντες* and *ἀκραί . . . ἠχέσσαι* on the one hand and the *κορυφαί τε βοῶμεναι ὄρητος ἄκρα* on the other, the first actively sounding, the second passively vocal or echoing?

The original seems to offer no other ground for such an idea of *reflected* sound. In this question of the echo trouble arises unless we interpret *montis* and *scopulorum* as I have done. For a sound originating on or from high hills back from the coastline, in addition to the difficulties caused by distance, would hardly be echoed back by the (landward side of) a *scopulorum saepes*. This difficulty was felt by Giese (ad h. loc.) who thought that Aratus had in mind such a partly landlocked bay as those described by Homer (*Od.* 13, 96-101) and Virgil (*Aen.* 1, 159-168; 1, 310-312). But the Greek says nothing of this, and apparently applies to any rocky shore line, so that I think we shall best take the *montes* of the sea-cliffs or bluffs, rising, perhaps, rather sheer (cf. *Virg. G.* 4, 419), and the *scopulorum* of the wave-beaten line of reefs and ledges that hedge in the actual shore.

Either this passage or the Virgilian parallel was perhaps in the mind of Bacon in a passage quoted by Inwards, *Weather Lore*, 3 ed. (1898), 127, who cites other modern beliefs as to such prognostications.

[80]1. *adaugescit*: cf. *Lucr.* 2, 296.

[80]2f. *quis igitur*: cf. *Vitruv.* 9, 6, 3: *quorum* (i.e., the earlier Greek philosophers) *inventa seculi siderum <ortus> et occasus tempestatumque significatus Eudoxus Euctemon Callippus Melo Philippus Hipparchus Aratus ceterique ex astrologia parapegmatum disciplinis invenerunt et eas posteris explicatas reliquerunt. quorum scientiae sunt hominibus*

Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen

suspiciendae quod tanta cura fuerunt ut etiam videantur divina mente tempestatum significatus post futuros ante pronuntiare. Did the προγνωστικά βιβλία ascribed by Tzetz. *Chil.* 2, 888-891 to Pythagoras perhaps also deal with this question?

[81]1. **Boethum:** cf. 2, 47. Boethus of Sidon was a pupil of Diogenes of Babylon (*Stoic. Ind. Herculan.* col. 51) and himself a philosopher of distinction (Philo, *de Incorrupt. Mundi*, p. 25, 2 Cumont (= S.V.F. 3, 265, fr. 7): Βόηθος γούν ὁ Σιδώνιος καὶ Παλαιὸς ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς ἰδύμασιν ἰσχυρότες, ἀτε θεώληπτοι). In his beliefs he diverged from orthodox Stoicism (von Arnim in *P.-W.* s.v. *Boethos* (1897), 601-602; Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 573-576) towards a philosophical eclecticism. His exact views on divination we do not know (Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 576; Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros phil. Schriften*, 2 (1882), 227, n.), but from this passage and 2, 47 we learn that he attempted, perhaps stimulated by the attacks of Carneades (Schmekel, *Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 320), to find a scientific justification for at least some forms of prediction; cf. Geminus Rhodius p. 61a (cited by Maass, *Aratea*, 153): ὅθεν καὶ Βόηθος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς Ἀράτου ἐξηγήσεως φυσικὰς τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδίδωκε τῶν τε πνευμάτων καὶ δμβρων ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων εἰδῶν τὰς προγνώσεις ἀποφαινόμενος, and cf. Maass, *ibid.* n. 62. We know that he wrote works *περὶ θεῶν* (Diog. L. 7, 148) and *περὶ εἰσαρμήτης* (*id.* 7, 149); whether it is to them or to his four-volume commentary on Aratus mentioned above that Cicero here refers is uncertain (von Arnim, *l.c.*), but that Cicero used the latter is argued by Maass, *Aratea*, 157-158 (for his use of extant scholia cf. Atzert, *De Cicero Interprete Graecorum* (1908), 6). The interest of Boethus in comets, etc. is reported by Aëtius (*Doxogr. Gr.* 367, 5). His fragments are collected by von Arnim, *S.V.F.* 3, 265-267.

[81]3. **illa:** pointing forward; cf. 1, 40, n. (*illa*); 1, 42; 1, 67; 1, 80; 1, 114; 1, 131; etc.

[81]3f. **quis . . . dixerit:** the scholiast on Aratus (Maass, *Comment. in Arati Reliq.* 509, 23-30) attempts a scientific explanation of the prognostic power of animals here mentioned. Cf. the opinion of Epicurus (Diog. L. 10, 115): ἀλλὰ ἐπισημασθαι αἱ γινόμεναι ἐπὶ τισὶ ζῴοις κατὰ συγκύρημα γίνονται τοῦ καιροῦ· οὐ γὰρ τὰ ζῶα ἀνάγκη τιὰ προσφέρεται τοῦ ἀποτελεσθῆναι χειμῶνα, οὐδὲ κἀθηταί τις θεία φύσις παρατηροῦσα τὰς τῶν ζῴων τούτων ἐξόδους, κἀπειτα τὰς ἐπισημασθαι ταύτας ἀποτελεῖ.

[81]5. **cana, etc.:** cf. Arat. *Phaenomen.* 913-915: καὶ δ' ἄν, ἐπὶ ἑρῆν ὄν' ἑρωδιὸς σὸ κατὰ κόσμον / ἐξ ἄλλοι ἐρχηται φωνῆ περιπολλὰ ληληγῶς, / κινυμένοι κε θάλασσαν ἕστε φοροῦντ' ἀνέμοιο; *id.* 948-953: ἢ τρέξει ὄρθρον ἐρημαῖη ὀλολυγῶν, / ἢ που καὶ λαερούσα παρ' ἠϊόνι προουσίη / χεῖματος ἐρχομένου χροαῖ' ὑπέτιψε κορώνη, / ἢ που καὶ ποταμοῖο ἐβάφατο μέχρι παρ' ἄκρου / ὄμου ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἢ καὶ μάλα πᾶσα κολυμβῆ, / ἢ πολλῆ στρέφεται παρ' ἕδωρ ταχία κρώφουσα. No indication appears in the Latin that the two passages are not continuous in the original, although in Aratus the first follows immediately upon that quoted in 1, 13, and the lines about the frogs in 1, 15 immediately precede the second. Avienus 2, 1676-1678 renders: *et cum parva fuliz Irepidō pelis arva volatu, / stagna sinens, longasque iterat clangore querelas, / indicat insanis freta mox canescere ventis.*

Popular observation has derived many weather prognostications from the movements or sounds of birds, partly, perhaps, on account of the interest of sailors in the collection of such lore (as in the case of the Stormy Petrel), and partly, as Halliday (*Greek Divination* (1913), 258-259) notes, because the phenomena of bird migration, affording certain exact indications of seasonal changes (cf. *Ar. Av.* 709-716), led to the feeling that minor weather changes might also be foretold

Et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,

1. *acredula* cf. *Isid. Etym.* 12, 7, 37, *acredula AVH*, *accredula B*.
1. *instat vulg.*, *instans C*.

by the same animals. That the belief is derived from Roman augury, as Inwards (*Weather Lore*, 3 ed. (1898), 158) supposes, is hardly correct, but augural principles may often have helped to strengthen and justify it, by a method exactly opposite to that of Boethus as described in 1, 13. Ancient attempts to explain these premonitions were given by Suet. *Prata* (pp. 234-235 Reiffersch.) for sea animals, and in the *Brev. Expos. in Virg. Georg.* 1, 388 for birds, with which cf. Quintil. 5, 9, 16; Ambr. *Hexaem.* 5, 40-43; also, for all animals, cf. *Virg. Georg.* 1, 415-423; 4, 219-222. Further, birds were sometimes regarded, not merely as the precursors, but also as the causes of weather changes, by a sort of error frequent in divination (cf. 1, 16, n. (*arandi maturitatem*); 1, 29), and we find divinities of the weather conceived in the form of birds (cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 841-845).

On this subject see also Veg. *Epit. Rei Mil.* 4, 41; M. Casaubon, *Treatise concerning Enthusiasme* (1655), 42; Inwards, *op. cit.* 158-170.

[81]5. *fulix*: this form occurs only in Cicero, the usual word being *fulica*. It is perhaps cognate with the Greek φαλαρίς or φαληρίς (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 324), and is somewhat doubtfully identified (Thompson, *op. cit.* 176; Martin, *op. cit.* 97; Royds, *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (1914), 38-39; cf. Lindsay and Thompson in *Class. Philol.* 13(1918), 5; 17-18) with the coot, *Fulica atra* L., a bird well distributed throughout Italy (Giglioli, *Inchiesta ornitologica in Italia*, 1(1889), 552-554). Aratus here mentions, however, not the φαλαρίς, but the ἐρωδιός (Latin *ardea*), or heron, which often appears as a weather prophet (Thompson, *op. cit.* 58; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 844, n. 9; Martin, *op. cit.* 41); cf. Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.*

28: ἐρωδιός ἀπό θαλάσσης πετόμενος καὶ βοῶν πνεύματος σημεῖόν ἐστι; Plin. *N.H.* 18, 362: *tempestatis signa sunt . . . grues in mediterranea festinantes, mergi, gaviae maria aut stagna fugientes*; Callim. fr. 167: *δύτται τ' ἐξ ἄλλοι ἐρχόμενοι / εὐδοιοι καθήκεις*.

The similar use of the *fulica* in foretelling storms appears in the Latin authors; cf. *Virg. Georg.* 1, 362-364: *cumque marinae / in sicco ludunt fulicae notasque paludes / deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem* (cf. *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed. (1906), 772, 39-40); Plin. *N.H.* 18, 361 (of signs of storm): *fulicae matutino clangore*; Ambr. *Hexaem.* 5, 43; *fulicae quae maritimo delectantur profundo refugientes quam praesenseritis commotionem maris in vado luditis*; *Isid. Etym.* 12, 7, 53: *est (sc. fulica) autem avis stagnensis, habens nidus in medio aquae, vel in petris quas aquae circumdant, maritimoque semper delectatur profundo. quae dum tempestatem praesenserit fugiens in vado ludii*; repeated in Hugo de S. Vict. *de Bestiis*, 1, 58. Cf. also Afran. 264 Ribb., 3 ed., and Ribbeck's n. The same seeking of the shore is ascribed by various writers to *mergi* (*Virg. Georg.* 1, 361-362, who has apparently confused them with the ἐρωδιός of Aratus (cf. Martin, *op. cit.* 97; 144); *Luc.* 5, 553; Plin. *N.H.* 18, 362; *Isid. Etym.* 12, 7, 54).

[81]5. *fugiens*: influenced by the scholiast (in Maass, *Comment. in Arati Reliq.* 509, 30): *φεύγει γοῖνον ὁ ἐρωδιός τὸν χερμῶνα καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν προαισθανόμενος*; cf. Atzert, *De Cic. Interprete Graecorum* (1908), 6, and perhaps also by Ennius, according to Guendel, *De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907), 75, who notes the same verse tag in *Lucr.* 5, 387

[81]5ff. *fugiens . . . clamans . . . fundens*: similar cases in the *Aratea* of participles juxtaposed without conjunctions are collected by Munro in his note on *Lucr.* 5, 692-693.

Vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,

[81]5. *e gurgite ponti*: cf. *Prognost.* fr. 3 Müller (quoted by Priscian, VI, p. 196, 9). *Pontus* is in Cicero a poetic word; cf. Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 53.

[81]6. *horribilis*: cf. Cicero's verses in 1, 20; *Tusc.* 2, 20.

[81]7. *tremulo*: of the song of a bird also in 2, 63.

[82]1. *saepe*: Cicero has here expanded into four lines one line of Aratus, and even so has omitted one of its significant ideas (*ἀρημαλή*). A comparison with a one-line translation of the same passage ascribed by Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 37 to Cicero: *eodem* (sc. *luscinia*) *et acredula de qua Cicero in Prognosticis Et matutinos exercet acredula cantus*, leads to the conclusion, which I have set forth in *Class. Philol.* 12(1917), 302-304, that we have preserved to us two of Cicero's versions of the same line, an older, one-line version which Isidore quotes, and a later four-line reworking of it, done largely as a rhetorical exercise, about the year 60, and quoted in our text as being the later and so the more approved; cf. 1, 13, n. (*atque, etc.*).

[82]1. *pertriste*: on the use by Cicero of compounds of *per-*, which become less frequent in his later works, see Laurand, *op. cit.* 263-276; Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des ciceronischen Stils* (1910), 121-122.

[82]1. *de pectore carmen*: cf. note on *acredula* infra. Wreschniok, *De Cicerone Lucretiaque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907), 54, compares *Lucr.* 5, 1: *pectore carmen*, and suspects both passages to be imitations of Ennius.

[83]1. *matutinis*: cf. Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.* 42: *ὄλολυγῶν ἔδοσα μόνη ἀκρωπίας χειμῆριον*; *Geopon.* 1, 3, 11: *ὄλολυγῶν τρίζουσα ἐπιθὼν χειμῶνα θελοῖ*; *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 762, 15-16 (= *Poet. Lat. Min.* 5, 363, 15-16): *vere calente nosos componit acredula cantus / matutinali tempore rurirulans*.

[83]1. *acredula*: Aratus: *ὄλολυγῶν*. The

identity of this creature has been recently discussed by Oliphant (in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 47(1916), 85-106), who, after noting various conflicting views, concludes that the word expressed (1) as an onomatopoeic term the call of the male frog at the mating season; (2) a name given to the male frog itself; (3) frogs in general, without limitation of season or age (usually, however, tree-frogs); (4) by metaphorical application, persons of an erotic or foolish character, etc., a meaning not here concerning us. That the word has been explained, however, as a bird and in various other ways is admitted by Oliphant, who gives too little chance for the possibility that the name, like those of other animals, may have been at times transferred from its proper class to another, as in the case of *ἀλώπηξ*, *γλαῦξ*, *ἴππος*, *ἀκκυξ*, *λαγώς*, *locusta*, *lupus*, *milvus*, etc.; cf. Robert, *Les Noms des Oiseaux en Grec ancien*, 1(1911), esp. 61; 98-100. This would be a particularly easy change in the case of animals of similar sound whose names describe their cries.

In view of the variation as to the meaning of *ὄλολυγῶν* it seems best to ask here, not what did Aratus mean but what did Cicero intend to express by *acredula*? The derivation is often held to be uncertain; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 9, says "wohl 'eine Froschart' (Thes.), nicht 'luscinia,' obgleich in der Bildung an *ficedula*, *querquedula*, *monedula* erinnert: unerklärt." It belongs, however, in a small class of words with the suffix *-edula*, including those above noted and *nitedula*, with which may be grouped the masc. *coredulus*. Niedermann, who discusses this group in full (*Indog. Forsch.* 10 (1899), 234-238), suggests formations by analogy from *ficedula* (*ficus*+*edo*, the *e* lengthened by analogy from *monedula*, the derivation of which is not certain (Walde, *op. cit.* s.v.)), but he can

Cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit.
Fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix

offer no explanation for *acredula*. That offered by Wackernagel (*Voces variae Animalium* (1869), 75, n. 176), by which the suffix is connected with *ἀελω, ἀελών*, may be discarded with that of Goerenz: "haud dubie ex acri gula." But Döderlein (*Reden u. Aufsätze* (1843), 371-374) and Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, N.S., 9 (1890), 313-319—apparently not knowing Döderlein's article) collect much of the evidence here noted, and advance the very probable theory that the *acredula* (and perhaps sometimes the *δολυγών*) was some kind of an insect, and that the word is cognate with *ἀκρίς*. Döderlein goes one step further than Thoresen and conjectures that *ακράλις* (*εἶδος ὀρνίθου*, according to Hesych. s.v.): *querquedula* = *ἀκρίς*: *acredula*. With the latter word he further would connect the Lat. *gryllus*, or more correctly *grillus* (Ger. *Grille*) and the verb *grillo*.

As noted by Oliphant (*op. cit.* 87), the translation of this passage by Germanicus is lost, and Avienus renders *δολυγών* by *ululae*. In *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 762, 15-16 (quoted in the n. on *matutinis* above), the *acredula* appears in a list chiefly of birds but including the *cicada*, the *apis*, the *strix*, and the *vespertilio*. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 37 identifies it with the *luscinia*. Du Cange (s.v. *Accredula*) cites the *Miracula S. Opportunae*, 14: *vidit aviculum nomine Accredulam quam vulgus vocavit Alaudam*; also a gloss from Cod. Reg. 4778 (evidently based on Isidore, l.c.): *acredula luscinia, avis modica de qua Cicero in Prognosticis: Et matutinos exercet acredula cantus. ipso est bascinia*. To these passages, cited by Oliphant (*op. cit.* 88), may be added Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Altkochdeutschen Glossen*, 3 (1895), 459, under the title *de avibus: luscinia nachtrgel. vel flomena. acredula distilvinch. vel carduelis* (cf. id. 463: *carduelus distil-*

vincho.) On the strength of these passages Heraeus (in *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.* 155 (1897), 355-356) would read the word, by emendation, in the Edict of Diocletian.

But another form also occurs. A curious passage in *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., 82 reads: *et post arlitum Nasonem quasi agreedula quibusdam lacunis bahurrium stridorem averruncandus obblatero*; and Isid. *Etym.* 12, 6, 59 (followed by Hugo de S. Vict. *de Bestiis*, 3, 55) and Placidus (*C. G. L.* 5, 46; cf. 5, 7) agree in the definition: *agredulae ranae parvae multum in sicco vel agris morantes unde et nuncupatae*. Isidore thus, as Martin (*Birds of the Latin Poets* (1914), 13, n. 2) observes, distinguishes between *acredula* (bird) and *agredula* (frog). This distinction in spelling is perhaps only the attempt of the grammarian to differentiate two diverse creatures which would otherwise have the same name, but it is not unlikely that not only the *acredula* but also the *δολυγών* may have been used for two zoologically distinct groups, and that as the latter was perhaps extended from 'frog' through 'tree-toad' to 'bird,' so *acredula* may have passed from an etymological equivalence with *ἀκρίς* to the meanings of 'tree-toad' and 'bird.' That the differences in the sounds of these animals do not constitute a serious difficulty may be judged from the grouping in Arist. *de Audibilibus*, p. 804 a 21 ff.: *λιγυραὶ δ' ἐλοὶ τῶν φωνῶν αὐλεπταὶ καὶ πυκναὶ, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρίγων καὶ τῶν ἀκρίδων καὶ τῶν ἀηδόων*, and cf. Sharp in *Camb. Natur. Hist.* 6 (1899), 572-573 on the likeness in sound between cicadas and frogs.

What Cicero, our earliest writer to use *acredula*, intended by it we can but infer. The phrase *canit de pectore carmen* and the emphasis upon the dew in line 4 of the verse suggest something akin to the cicada, of which Plin. *N. H.* 11, 93-94 says: *pectus ipsum fistulosum; hoc cantum*

Demersit caput et fluctum cervice recepit.

IX. 15. Videmus haec signa numquam fere mentientia nec tamen cur ita fiat videmus.

2. mentientia *Hollinger*, omentientia C.

achetae, ut diximus. de cetero in ventre nihil est; excitatae cum subvolant umorem redunt, quod solum argumentum est rore eas alii. Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 5, 77; Ael. *N.A.* 1, 20; Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 26; Thoresen, *op. cit.* 318. Swainson (*Handbook of Weather Folk-Lore* (1873), 254), Bergen (in *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* 7 (1899), 45; 138), and Gadow (in *Camb. Natur. Hist.* 8 (1901), 193) speak of the sound of crickets as a sign of rain. Further compare the scholiast on Theocr. 10, 18 for the term *μάστις* as applied to the *ἀκρίς*, and, though weather prediction is not given for the name, the definition of Hesychius (*μάστις: ὁ ἐν τοῖς κήποις βάτραχος. καὶ εἶδος ἀκρίδος*), in which the same name is applied to the tree-toad and the *ἀκρίς*. Moreover Thoresen (*op. cit.* 315-317) observes that the solitary character ascribed by Aratus to the *ὀλολυγάνων* well agrees with a passage in *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 196, 1-2 (an epigram on a cicada): 'Ἀχθεὶς τέττιξ θροσσεραῖς σταγόνεσσι μυσθθεῖς / ἄγρονόμος μάλπει μοῦσαν ἰσημολάων. Cicero's *pertristite carmen* Thoresen would match with the *ὀλολυγάνος οἶτος ἔχουσα* of Nicaenetus (ap. Parthen. *περὶ ἔρωτ.* παθ. 11).

Altogether, then, may we not agree with Döderlein and Thoresen that probability favors the identification of *acredula*, in this passage at least, with the cicada or some similar insect?

[84]l. *vocibus instat*: cf. 1, 6, n.) *Stoicis Stoico*. Repetitions in verse, to increase the effect of a passage (Demetrius, *de Elocut.* 61-62; 66), are common from the time of Homer; cf. Poterat, *Repetition in Lat. Poetry* (1912); *id.* in *Class. Weekly*, 12 (1919), 139-142. This particular form, in which the end of an hexameter is repeated at the beginning of the following hexameter or pentameter, also appears in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 22, 127-128), and is frequent in the Alexandrian poets and their Roman imitators (Helm in *Fest-*

schrift für Vahlen (1900), 359-362). It is found not only here in Cicero but also in Lucretius (e.g., 5, 950-951; cf. Munro on 2, 955), and hence was perhaps used by Ennius (cf. Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6, 164). It is apparently one of the forms of verse referred to by Sidonius (*Ep.* 8, 11, 5: *elegos vero nunc echoicos nunc recurrentes, nunc per anadiplosin sine principiis conexos*), and has been employed by Ausonius in an entire poem (12, 3, p. 157 Peip.). In the present passage, where Cicero has inserted the repetition as padding, it imitates the repetitious insistence of the sound of the *acredula*. Thoresen (ad h. loc.) regards *vocibus* as dative. It is probably better taken as ablative.

[84]l. *oro*: probably poetic liberty rather than ignorance on Cicero's part (cf. Thoresen, *op. cit.* 317-318). The ancients, though realizing, as the passage quoted from Pliny shows, that cicadas do not sing with mouth and lungs, still used *αὐδή*, *ὄψ*, or *vox* of their sound, and Cicero might freely dash off such a verbose expression as this with little thought of the real facts. On the sound of the cicada and its production see Packard, *Text Book of Entomology*, (1898), 296; Sharp in *Camb. Natur. Hist.* 6 (1899), 572-574.

[84]l. *querellas*: cf. Porphyrio ad Hor. *Epod.* 2, 26 (*queruntur in silvis aves*): *queruntur, inquit, quoniam veteres omnium animalium voces praeterquam hominum querellas dicebant. demique et Vergilius: Et cantu querulae rumpunt arbusta cicadae, inquit, et de ranis: Et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam, et de bubus: Atque omne querellis impleri nemus.*

[85]l. *rores aurora remittit*: for Cicero's use of alliteration cf. 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeternis*).

Vos quoque signa videtis, aquai dulcis alumnae,
 Cum clamore paratis inanis fundere voces
 Absurdoque sono fontis et stagna cietis.

Quis est qui ranunculos hoc videre suspicari possit? sed inest in ranunculis

4. in ranunculis vis et natura *Vahlen* (*Zeitschr. f. Oester. Gymnas.* 19 (1868), 104), in re vis et ranunculis *EPV*, in risus et ranunculis *B*, in raais et ranunculis *A* sed risus in ras., mire vis et ranunculis *EPV*, in gyrinis et ranunculis *Victorius*, in bestiis et ranunculis *Klotz*, mira vis in ranunculis et ex *Riegeri comi*. O, in rubetis et ranunculis *Boiler*, *cruce notat Christ*.

[85]2. *fuscaque*, etc.: The source of Aratus is Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.* 16: κορώνη ἐπὶ πείρας κορυσομένη ἢν πύμα κατακλίθει ἕδωρ σημαίνει καὶ κολυμβῶσα πολλὰ καὶ περιπετομένη ἕδωρ σημαίνει; cf. *id.* 15; 28; *Geopon.* 1, 2, 6; 1, 3, 4; *Virg. Georg.* 1, 388-389: *lum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce / et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena* (but the ducking of the bird he (*Georg.* 1, 385-387) and his model Varro (cf. *Serv. ad loc.*) apply to a different bird); *Avienus*, 2, 1704-1706, thus translates these lines: *improba si cornix caput altis inserit undis, / flumine terga rigans, si suavit gulture rauco, / plurimus abruptis fundetur nudibus imber*. Further compare *Plin. N. H.* 18, 363: *cum terrestres volucres contra aquam clangores dabunt perfundentesque sese, sed maxime cornix*; *Luc.* 5, 555-556: *quodque caput spargens undis, velut occupet imbrem, / instabili gressu metitur lititora cornix*. Similar points are noted by *Nicander, Ther.* 406: κοραξ ἢ ὀμβράρα κρώζων, on which the scholiast says: ὅτι χειμῶνα δηλοῦσιν οἱ κόρακες καὶ Ἄρατος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Εὐφορίων, ὁμοίως: ἰερόμαντις ὅτι κρώζει κορώνη; *Geopon.* 1, 3, 7; also *Lucr.* 5, 1083-1086: *et partim mutant cum tempestatiibus una / raucisonos cantus, cornicum ut saecula vetusta / corvorumque greges ubi aquam dicuntur et imbris / poscere et interdum ventos aurasque vocare*; *Hor. Carm.* 3, 17, 11-13: *demissa tempestas ab Euro / sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur / anosa cornix*; 3, 27, 9-10: *antequam stantes repetat paludes / imbrium divina avis imminuentium*; *Claud. Bell. Gild.* 492-493; *Anthol. Lat.* ed. *Riese*, 2, 2 ed., no. 772, 48; *Isid. Etym.* 12, 7, 44; *Thompson, op. cit.* 98; *Keller, Die antike Tierwelt*,

2(1913), 98-99; and cf. *Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis*, 3, 35. For similar modern beliefs see Inwards, *op. cit.* 163-164; *Bergen, op. cit.* 49-50; *Levézier, Rec. de Pronostics normands et français* (1907), 84; *Martin, op. cit.* 70. Washing or preening by other birds or quadrupeds is frequently thought to be a sign of storm (cf. *Bergen, op. cit.* 47-48, for cats). On the crow see further 1, 12, n. (*cornicem . . . corvum*).

[86]1. *demersit*: Cicero has probably quoted only a part of his translation, for the additional words of Aratus (ἢ καὶ μάλα τᾶσα κολυμβῆ, / ἢ πολλὰ στρέφεται παρ' ἕδωρ παχέα κρώζουσα) are not here rendered. The gnomic perfects, *demersit* and *recepit*, correspond, as *Thoresen* (ad h. loc.) notes, to the aorist ἐβάφατο; cf. *duxere* in 1, 15.

[86]1. *cervice recepit*: for similar verse endings in *Ennius*, *Lucretius*, and *Cicero* cf. *Wreschniok, op. cit.* 17.

[86]2. *signa*: cf. *Quintil.* 5, 9, 15-16: *ea quoque quae, quia plerumque observata sunt, vulgo signa creduntur, ut prognostica 'vento rubet aurea Phoebé' et 'cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce', si causas ex qualitate caeli trahunt sane ita appellantur. nam si vento rubet luna, signum venti est rubor; et si, ut idem poeta colligit, densatus et laxatus aer facit ut sit inde ille 'avium concentus' idem sentiemus. sunt autem signa etiam parva minorum, ut vel haec ipsa cornix, nam maiora minorum esse nemo miratur.*

[86]2. *numquam fere*: cf. 2, 14; in 1, 128 a still less sweeping claim for the universal fulfilment of predictions is made.

1. *vos quoque*: *Arat.* 946-947: ἢ μᾶλλον (δειλαὶ γενεαί, ἕδρωσιν δεικται) /

vis et natura quaedam significans aliquid per se ipsa satis certa, cognitioni autem hominum obscurior.

Mollipedesque boves spectantes lumina caeli
Naribus umiferum duxere ex aëre sucum.

ἀπίθεν ἐξ ὕδατος πατέρες βοῶσιω γυρίων, doubtless following, as in many of these prognostics, Theophrastus (*de Sign. Temp. pest.* 15: βάρραχοι μᾶλλον ἔβουτες σηματονομοῦσι ὕδωρ). Here, as in the passage about the *acredula*, the translation is very free. The curious expression πατέρες γυρίων (cf. γυρίων τοῦτης in Nicand. *Ther.* 620; *Alexiph.* 562), is disregarded; βοῶσιω is expanded into two whole lines; and one may be permitted the suspicion that Cicero has misunderstood the parenthesis of Aratus and rendered it by *aquasi dulcis aluminae*. Avienus, 2, 1696, translates: *si reptant veterem ranae per stagna querelam*.

For frogs as signs of rain cf. *ad Au.* 15, 16a: *ρίνιαις μελιω σὶ Προγνῶστικα ποστρα νερα σὺντ; ranae enim βροτοβουσιω; Virg. Georg.* 1, 378: *et veterem in limo ranae cecinerē querelam*; Plin. *N.H.* 18, 361: *ranae quoque ultra solitum vocales*; Plut. *de Sollert. Animal.* p. 982e: *ἄλλωσ δὲ λαμπρῶνοσι τὴν φωνήν, ὑπερὸν προσδεχόμενοι: καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐν τοῖς βεβαιωτάτοις ἐστίν; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 772, 51. In Anthol. Pal. 6, 43 the frog is called φιλόμβριον, and the scholiast to the passage in Aratus says (p. 517 Maass): *σημεῖον χειμῶνος βατράχων φωνῶν: προαισθάνονται μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος μεταλλασσομένου εἰς ψυχρότητα. χαίροντες δὲ πᾶν βοῶσιν: εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ φιλόδροι, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε τὸ ἄμβριον ὕδωρ γλυκύτερον ἐσὶ τοῦ πηγαίου ὑφθαίνει αὐτοῖς καὶ πλεονζωγοεῖν ποιεῖ, ὡς καὶ τὰ φυτὰ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ ἄμβριου θάλλουσι*; cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 313; Inwards, *op. cit.* 177-178; Bergen, *op. cit.* 138. Even the sight or the killing of a frog may foretell rain; Arist. *Probl.* 1, 22; Bergen, *op. cit.* 53; cf. *The Nation* (N.Y.), 1912, 542. For much additional material on the relation of frogs to rain see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 292-295.*

The frog here described is probably *Rana esculenta* L.

[87]1. *quoque . . . aquai*: certainly onomatopoeitic, like Virg. *Georg.* 1, 378 (already quoted), and cf. Keller in *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt* (n.d.; 1904?), 31; *id.*, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2, 311, who discusses the various terms (βρακακάξ καὶ κώξ, *quaxare*, *coaxare*, Skt. *maka-makḍja*, Eng. *croak*) for the sound of the frog, and quotes also the clearly onomatopoeitic line of Ovid, *Met.* 6, 376: *quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere temptant*, further remarking that the vowel *a* and the consonants *q*, *k*, and *r* appear most frequently in such words, and that even the nouns βάρραχος and *rana* are very likely onomatopoeitic. For the sound of our line see also Guendel, *De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907), 13.

[87]1. *aquai*: for this genitive, frequent in Cicero and Lucretius, and probably in both a result of the influence of Ennius, see Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 13-15.

[87]1. *aluminae*: the gender is inconsistent both with that of the πατέρες γυρίων of Aratus and that of the *ranunculos* below, but probably *ranae* was the word in Cicero's mind. For the difference in gender between *rana* and *ranunculus* see Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 984.

[87]2. *inaniis . . . voces*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 48: *voce inani*; *Tusc.* 3, 42: *voce inanis fundere*; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 6, 58: *ranae a garrulitate vocatae, eo quod circa genitales strepunt puldēs, et sonos vocis inportunis clamoribus reddunt* (= Hugo de S. Vict. *de Bestiis.* 3, 55).

[87]4. *quis est*: in *N.D.* 2, 163 the statement is made that divination is bestowed by the gods upon man alone.

1. *vis et natura*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*vis et natura*).

Non quaero cur, quoniam quid eveniat intellego.

Iam vero semper viridis semperque gravata

Lenticiscus triplici solita grandescere fetu

Ter fruges fundens tria tempora monstrat arandi.

[88]3. *mollipedesque*: Arat. 954-955:

καὶ βόες ἤδη τοὶ πάρος ἕδατος ἐνβόιο / οὐρανὸν
εἰσανιδόντες ἀπ' αἰθέρος ὀσφράσσαντο; Theophr.
de Sign. Tempest. 15: ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἀνακίπτων ὀσφραίνηται ἕδωρ σημαίνει; Ael.
N.A. 8, 8: βοῦς ἐὰν βοᾷ καὶ ὀσφραίνεται, βέν
ἀνάγκη; Georop. 1, 3, 10: καὶ βόες πρὸς με-
σημβρίαν δρῶσαι, ἢ τὰς χηλὰς περιλειχόμεναι,
καὶ μετὰ μεσημβρίων ἐπὶ τὴν βουστασίαν ἰρχόμεναι
βυβρῶν δηλοῦσιν; Virg. Georg. 1, 375-376:
ovē bucula caelum / suspiciens patulis
capitulis naribus auras (on which Servius
remarks: hic locus de Varrone est; ille
enim sic: . . . et bos suspiciens caelum—
mirabile visu—/ naribus aetrium patulis
deceperit odorem); Plin. N.H. 18, 364:
boves caelum olfactantes seque lambentes
contra pilum; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2,
2 ed., no. 772, 49-50: bucula hinc bibit
auras, / naribus ardua spectans. Avienus
translates (2, 1707-1708): imber erit, latis
cum bucula naribus auras / concipit. Rea-
sons for this habit of cattle are given by
the scholiasts on Aratus: πυκνομένου γὰρ
τοῦ περιγέλου αἴρος καὶ θερμότερου γινομένου
τὸν λεπτότερόν τε καὶ ψυχρότερον ποθοῦσιν
ἀνακτεῖν τε καὶ ἐξωθεῖν ἔλαιον. Also οἱ βόες
ἠρασιόμους καὶ διαχάσκοντας ἔχοντες τοὺς
μικτῆρας αἰσθητικώτεροι μᾶλλον εἰσιν. καὶ
τῶν μὲν τετραπόδων τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰσθητικώ-
τερόν ἐστιν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ὁ βοῦς διὰ τὴν τῶν
μικτῆρων ἀραίωσιν. For modern beliefs cf.
Swainson, *Handbook of Weather Folk-Lore*
(1873), 231; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakel-
thiere* (1888), 76; Inwards, *Weather Lore*,
3 ed. (1908), 154; Levezier, *Recueil de
Pronostics normands et français* (1907), 83.

The appropriateness of the adjective
mollipedes has been challenged by Deiter
(in *Philologus*, 47 (1889), 677), who would
read *vulpipedes*, recalling the Homeric
εἰλυποδες. But compounds of *-pes* are
rather numerous in Latin (cf. Gradenwitz,
Laternuli Vocum Latinarum (1904), 447-

448), and this word, appearing only here,
is perhaps formed on the analogy of the
μαλακαίποδες Ὠοί of Theocr. 15, 103,
where the adjective has not so much
the notion of softness as of slowness,
according to a scholium upon the passage:
μαλακαίποδας ἔφη τὰς ὥρας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξαίφνης
τὰς ποιότητας ἀμειβεσθαι ἀλλὰ σχολασιότῶς
καὶ διὰ μεσοτήτων. Similarly Cicero's *mollip-
edes* may well mean 'slow-footed' or
'lazy-footed,' a perfectly appropriate
adjective and not unlike the compounds
lentipes, *segnipes*, and *turdipes*.

[88]3. *spectantes lumina caeli*: an un-
usual attitude, according to ancient
notions. Cf. Plato's famous statement
(*Crat.* p. 399c): σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα
ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θηρία ὦν
ὄρᾳ οὐδὲν ἐπισκοπεῖ οὐδὲ ἀναλογίζεται οὐδὲ
ἀναβρεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπος ἅμα ἐώρακεν—τοῦτο δ'
ἔστι τὸ δῶκε—καὶ ἀναβρεῖ καὶ λογίζεται
τοῦτο δ' ὄρωκεν. ἐπιτεθεῖν δὲ δὴ μόνον τῶν
θηρίων ὀρθῶς ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἀνθρώπος ὠνομάσθη,
ἀναβρῶν δ' ὄρωκε. And cf. N.D. 2, 140,
and Mayor's note, to which add Lact. *de
Ira*, 7, 4: *illarum* (i.e., the brutes) *natura
in humum pabulumque prostrata est, nec
habet quicquam commune cum caelo quod
non intuetur; id., Inst.* 2, 9, 26: *pecudes
neque in caelum suspiciunt neque religionem
sentiant*; 4, 17, 19; 7, 5, 6; 7, 9, 11; *de
Opific.* 8, 2; 10, 26; Basil. *Hexaem.* 9, 2;
Greg. Nyss. *de Hom. Opific.* 8, 1.

[88]3. *lumina caeli*: this verse ending
also in Cic. *Arat.* 355; 653; Catull. 66, 59.
Possibly from Ennius, just as Aratus in
the words οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδόντες has recalled
Hom. *Il.* 24, 307; cf. Guendel, *op. cit.* 80.

[88]4. *uniferum*: *semel dictum*.

[88]4. *duxere ex aëre sucum*: clearly
not from Aratus, but, as Atzert, *op. cit.* 6,
has observed, from the scholium: οἱ βόες ἐν
τῇ ὀσφράσει ἄνωθεν ἔλασσαν τὸν αἶρα χεμῶνα
σημαίνουσι: πυκνομένου γὰρ τοῦ περιγέλου

16. Ne hoc quidem quaero, cur haec arbor una ter floreat aut cur arandi maturitatem ad signum floris accommodet; hoc sum contentus, quod, etiamsi cur quidque fiat ignorem, quid fiat intellego. Pro omni igitur divinatione

1. ne hoc *Dioscor.*, nec hoc *CO.*

1. cur (quos) *coni. Christ.*, *scr. Bailei*, quo *C.* quo modo *codd. Ozon.* et *O.* *cruxa notat Christ.*

έλεος και θερμότερον γινόμενου τόν λεπτότερόν τε και ψυχρότερον παθοῦσιν άναπνεῖν τε και έξωθεν έλευν.

[89]2. iam vero, etc.: Arat. 1051-1056: τριπλόα δέ σχῖνος κῦται, τρισσαί δέ οἱ αὔξαι / γίνωσται καρποῖο, φέροι δέ τε σήμαθ' ἐκάστη / ἐξείης ἀρότω· και γάρ τ' ἀροθήσιον ὤρη / τριπλόα μέρονται, μέσση και ἐν' ἀμφοτέρ' έπας / (πρώτοι μὲν πρώτην έρραση, μέσοι δέ τε μέσση / καρπὸς ἀπαγγέλλει, πυμάτην γε μὲν έσχατος έλλων), which is taken from Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.* 55: ὁ τῆς σχῖνου καρπὸς σημαίνει τοῖς ἀρότοις· έχει δέ τρία μέρη και ἔστιν ὁ πρώτος τοῦ πρώτου ἀρότου σημαῖον, ὁ δεύτερος τοῦ δευτέρου, ὁ τρίτος τοῦ τρίτου; cf. *id.*, *Hist. Plant.* 7, 13, 6 (of the σείλλα): ποιείται δέ τὰς ἀθήσας τρεῖς, ὡν ἡ μὲν δοκεῖ σημαίνει τὸν πρῶτον έρρατον, ἡ δέ δευτέρα τὸν μέσον, ἡ δέ τρίτη τὸν έσχατον· ὡς γάρ ἔν αὐταῖς γίνωσται και οἱ ἀροτοι σχεδόν οὕτως έβαλινουσι (what the seasons are he indicates in 8, 1, 2-4); in 9, 1, 2 he speaks of the tree as producing a gum and (9, 4, 7) as resembling the frankincense tree. It is also described at length by Diosc. 1, 70 as a common tree whose fruit produces an έλαιον στυπτικόν, and its medicinal uses are set forth by him and by Pliny (see Sillig's index s.v. *lentiscus*), who in *N. H.* 18, 228 quotes our passage: *est et alia manifestior ratio mirabiliore naturae providentia in qua Ciceronis ipsius verba subsignabimus: Iam vero . . . arandi* (quoted as here save that Pliny reads *soluta est*); cf. *id.* 18, 244: *ergo haec aratio has habebit notas: lentisci primum fructum ostendentis*, etc.; cf. *Geopon.* 11, 12: ἡ σχῖνος χαίρει μὲν καθύγρασι χωρίοις, φυτεύεται δέ ἀπὸ καλανθῶν Ἰασηνουαρίων. τρεῖς δέ καρποὺς φασί φέρειν, και εἰ μὲν ὁ πρώτος καρπὸς καλὸς γένηται τὸν πρῶτον σπόρον καλῶς καρποφορεῖν σημαίνει· ὁμοίως δέ και ἐπὶ τῶν έλλων.

The plant is to be confidently identified with *Pistacia Lentiscus* L., the oil

and gum of which are still much in use for external and internal medicinal purposes and in the preparation of sweetmeats. Cf. Parlatore, *Flora Italiana*, 5(1873), 378-380; Pickering, *Chronological Hist. of Plants* (1879), 275; Fiori e Paoletti, *Iconographia Florae Italicae* (1895/9), 289 (with figure); Engler und Prantl, *Die natürlichen Pflanzenfamilien*, 3, 5(1896), 157-158 (with figure); Fiori e Béguinot, *Flora analitica d'Italia*, 2(1900/02), 225; von Halácsy, *Conspectus Florae Graecae*, 1(1901), 321-322; Hehn-Engler-Pax, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte*, 8 ed. (1911), 427; 429-430; and the works cited by Rehder, *The Bradley Bibliography*, 2 (1912), 457; 3(1915), 525. The date of flowering is given by von Halácsy, *l.c.*, as March-May; by Fiori e Béguinot, *l.c.*, as March-June, but this triple flowering is not mentioned by them.

[89]3f. *triplici . . . ter . . . tria*: cf. *Lucr.* 5, 93-94: *triplicem . . . tria . . . Iris . . . tria*.

[89]3. *grandescere*: cf. *Lucr.* 1, 192, 2, 1121; 2, 1159.

[89]4. *fruges*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*arandi maturitatem*).

[89]4. *monstrat*: the primitive farmer's almanac, especially at a time when the calendar was as yet ill adjusted to the seasons, must have contained many such hints drawn from coincidences in the habits of plants. So *Plut. Quaest. Conv.* 2, 7, 2, says that the flowering of the Chaste Tree coincides with the ripening of the vintage, and Pliny in various places gives similar hints. For modern maxims of this sort cf. *Bergen in Mem. Amer. Folk Lore Soc.* 7(1899), 109.

On the custom of ploughing thrice yearly *Frazer, Golden Bough*, 7, 3 ed. (1912), 73, compares *Il.* 18, 542; *Od.* 5, 127; *Hes. Theog.* 971, and with this cus-

idem quod pro rebus iis quas commemoravi respondebo. X. Quid scammonae radix ad purgandum, quid aristolochia ad morsus serpentium

tom the name Triptolemus is perhaps to be connected; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1(1906), 49, and n. 17; Frazer, *l.c.*

[90]1. *haec arbor una*: limited to the trees, for Aratus, 1060-1063, says: ἀβρωὶ δ' ἀφ' ἑρικού τριχθὰ σείλλης ὑπεραιωνεῖ, / σήμαρ' ἐπιφράσασθαι ὁμολοῦ ἀμήτηο, / ὅσσα δ' ἐπὶ αἰθίου ἀροτῆρ ἑφράσαστο καρπῶ, / τοσσάδε καὶ σείλλης τεκαίρεται ἐσθῆϊ λευκῶ; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 21, 106 (of the *scilla*): eademque *ter* floret, ut diximus, *tria tempora arationum ostendens*. And Plin. *N. H.* 18, 133 says of the lupine: *cum sole circumagitur horasque agricolis etiam nubilo demonstrat. ter praeterita floret*; 18, 146 (of *medica*): *refloruit . . . sexies . . . per annos. cum minimum quater*; 25, 160 (of a kind of *alsoon*): *trihales quia ter floreat*. In the isles of the blessed, according to Hes. *Opera*, 173: τρεῖς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει γαῖωπος ἄρουρα. Two harvests a year are several times attested (e.g., Diod. 2, 35, 3; 2, 47, 1; 2, 54, 5); fruit twice a year (Athen. 14, p. 653 f.); animals bearing several times a year are mentioned by Homer (*Od.* 4, 86), Aristotle (*de mirabil. Auscult.* 80, p. 836 a 19 ff.), and Stephanus of Byzantium (s. vv. Ἀδρία, Ὀμβρικοί). Sir John Mandeville (*Travels*, 1915 ed., 33) speaks of gardens in Egypt in which trees and herbs fruit seven times a year. For figs near Naples bearing thrice yearly cf. Ward ap. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 315, n. 1.

[90]1f. *arandi maturitatem*: cf. *Leg.* 1, 24: *maturitatem serendi generis humani*; *N. D.* 2, 119: *maturitatesque gignendi*. This passage has been variously interpreted, (1) as a case of hypallage (Wopkens, *Lectioes Tullianae*, 1(1829), 324-326; and others); (2) by changing the position of *ad* so as to read *ad arandi maturitatem signum floris accomodet* (so Davies) or *arandi ad maturitatem* (so Hottinger); (3) by assuming a different subject for *accomodet* (such as *arator* or *aliquis*), or chang-

ing it to *accomodet* or *accomodetur* (cf. Rath). But, as Giese (ad loc.) well notes, no change of text or assumption of a harsh figure or construction is required, for Quintus is probably here speaking from the standpoint of the popular belief, in which antecedent or concomitant signs were often regarded as causes (cf. 1, 14, n. (*cana*, etc.); 1, 29). Usener's emendation (*Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.* 139 (1889), 391) of *conmodet* appears unnecessary.

[90]2. *floris*: inconsistent with the *ter fruges fundens* of the verses above. Harduin (ed. of Plin. *N. H.* 4(1685), 555) with hesitation suggested reading in the verse *ter flores fundens*, but the reading *fruges* is well attested here and in the quotation in Pliny, and is clearly taken from the *καρποῖς* of Aratus, 1057; cf. Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.* 55; *Geopon.* 11, 12. It would be more reasonable to change *floris* in the present sentence to *frugis* (which need not involve the change of *floreat* just above; indeed the reading *floris* might have arisen through the influence of *floreat*), but it is still more natural to assume that Cicero, in hasty composition, has been careless about a matter to him both trifling and unfamiliar.

1. *quid*, etc.: for works on the empirical pharmacology of the Greeks see Fuchs in *Handbuch d. Gesch. d. Medicin*, 1 (1901), 188-189; 248.

2. *scammonae*: on the spelling of this word see Saalfeld, *Tensaurus Italo-graecus* (1884), 994. The form in *-ea* is on the whole earlier than that in *-ia*. The derivation is obscure. Curtius, Prellwitz, Walde, and Boisacq appear to omit the word; Lennep, *Etymologicum Linguae Graecae*, 2 ed. (1808), 659, derives it from *σκάπτω* (with which cf. Wittstein, *Handwörterbuch der Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreichs* (1882), 787, who mentions *σκάπτω+ἄρμος* as one explanation, but himself prefers to derive it from the Arab.

possit—quae nomen ex inventore repperit, rem ipsam inventor ex somnio—

scamunio). Wharton, *Etyma Graeca* (1882), 114, says "κάμων, Mysian," doubtless on the basis of Nicand. *Alexiph.* 484: νεοβλάστοιο κάμωτος, on which the scholiast remarks τὸ κάμωτος κατ' ἔθειαν τοῦ τ' λέγει δὲ τὸν σκαμωίας χυλόν. Meyer, *Handbuch d. gr. Etym.* 4(1902), 68, considers the etymology obscure but thinks it perhaps derived from some proper name.

Theophrastus tells little of the plant save (*Hist. Plant.* 4, 5, 1) that it grows in cold regions, and that its roots produce a medicinal juice (9, 1, 3; 9, 1, 4; 9, 9, 1; 9, 20, 5). Dioscurides 4, 70 says: σκαμωία κλώνας ἀνίσει πολλοὺς ἀπὸ μιᾶς βίβης, τριπῆχεις, λιγαροίς, ἐμφαλοντάς τι δασύτητος, καὶ τὰ φύλλα δὲ δασία, ὁμοία ἰλίξιη ἢ κισσῷ, μαλακώτερα μέγιστο καὶ τριγωνοειδῆ, ἀσθη λευκά, περιφερῆ, κοίλα ὡς κάλαθοι, βερύσσομα: βίβα δὲ εὐμήγη, παχεῖα ὅσον βραχίων, λευκή, βερύσσομος, ὅπου μεστή. συλλέγεται δὲ ὁ ὅπος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπὸ τῆς βίβης ἀφαίρουμένη καὶ θολοειδῶς ἐκρομβιζομένη εἰς κοιλότητα: σURREI γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ ὅπος καὶ οὕτως ἀναλαμβάνεται εἰς μύακας. ἔτιον δὲ τὴν γῆν ὀρύξαντες ἀλμοειδῶς <καὶ> καρίας φύλλα ὑποθίντες καταχίουσι τὸν ὅπον καὶ οὕτως ξηραθίντα ἀπαιροῦνται. He also says that it is exported from Mysia, and poorer qualities come from Syria and Judaea. Pliny in several places mentions the plant (especially *N.H.* 26, 59-61), agreeing in general with Dioscurides, and saying that the best sorts come from Colophon, Mysia, and Priene.

With these descriptions of the plant and its uses there can be little doubt that it is a *Convolvulus*, probably *C. Scammonia* L., the drug from which is still known as *Scammonium*. For a modern description see Boissier, *Flora Orientalis*, 4 (1879), 108; for an illustration Woodville, *Medical Botany*, 2, 2 ed. (1810), 243. The plant belongs to the eastern Mediterranean region, in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the islands, and is especially common near Smyrna, from

which city and Aleppo the principal exports of the drug are made (Wittstein, *op. cit.* 784). The method of collecting the milky juice is described by Kraemer, *Text Book of Botany and Pharmacognosy*, 4 ed. (1910), 656; cf. Woodville, *op. cit.* 244-245. For the chemical analysis of the drug cf. Wittstein, *op. cit.* 785; Kraemer, *op. cit.* 656-657; Wehmer, *Die Pflanzenstoffe* (1911), 636 (with bibliography).

The strong cathartic properties of this drug were well known to the ancients; cf. Hippocr. *de intern. Affect.* 2, 505; Arist. *Probl.* 1, 41, p. 864 a 4; 1, 43, p. 864 b 13; Dioscur. 4, 170, 3-4; 5, 73; Galen, *de Subst. Fac. nat.* 4, 760; *de Meth. Medend.* 10, 858; *ad Pisonem.* 14, 223; Celsus, 3, 20, 3, 24; 4, 24; Plin. *N.H.* 26, 59; al.; Plut. *Quomodo Adulator*, p. 69b; Nicand. *Alexiph.* 564-565, and schol.; Anon. *περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν* (in *Berl. Stud.* 5, 2 (1886), 166; 168); Scrib. *Larg.* 140; Oribas. 5, 25, 44. It was generally taken compounded with some other substance, such as aloe, but was even then considered by some as too powerful a drug to be free from danger (Plut. *de tuenda Sanit.* p. 134d, and perhaps by implication Cato, *de Agric.* 157, 12; Wittstein, *op. cit.* 786, recommends care in its use). A curious device for reducing its strength is described by Galen, *Comm. in Hippocr. Epidem.* 17, 2, 206. For other notes on its use see Berendes, *Die Pharmacie bei den alten Cillurovölkern*, 1 (1891), 228; Pickering, *Chronological Hist. of Plants* (1879), 121-122.

[912]. *aristolochia*: cf. Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9, 20, 4: ἡ δὲ ἀριστολοχία παχεῖα καὶ ἐσθιομένη πικρὰ τῷ χρώματι μέλαινα καὶ εἰσομοσ, τὸ δὲ φύλλον στρογγύλον, οὐ πολλὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπερ τῆς γῆς. φέεται δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι: καὶ αὕτη βελτίστη. τὴν δὲ χρειαυ αὐτῆς εἰς πολλὰ καταριθμοῦσιν: ἀρίστη μὲν πρὸς τὰ κεφαλόθλαστα, ἀγαθὴ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἔλκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐρπετὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕττον καὶ πρὸς ἕστταν ὡς πεσσοί. . . τῶν δὲ ἐρπετῶν ἐν οἴσῳ ὄξιν πινομένη καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δῆγμα ἐπι-

video, quod satis est; cur possit nescio. Sic ventorum et imbrum signa quae dixi rationem quam habeant non satis perspicio; vim et eventum agnosco, scio, adprobo. Similiter, quid fissum in extis, quid fibra valeat,

1. video *Marius*, *trasee* video (videbo *B*) *C*.

κατομή, κτλ.; Dioscur. 3, 4, 1-4: ἀριστολόχεια: ὠνόμασαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀριστα βοηθεῖν ταῖς λοχοῖς. ἔστι δὲ ἢ μὲν τις στοργύλη, θήλεια καλουμένη . . . ἢ δὲ μακρὰ ἀριστολόχεια ἄρρη καλεῖται καὶ δακτυλίτις, ἔχουσα φύλλα ἐπιμηκίστερα τῆς στοργύλης καὶ τὰ κλάδια λεπτά, ὡς σπιθαμῆς τὸ μέγεθος, ἀσθοὶ πορφυροῦν, δυσώδες, ὅπερ ἐξαιθῆσαν ἀπὲν παρατήσιον γίνεται. ῥίζα δὲ . . . τῆς μακρῆς δακτύλου τὸ πάχος ἔχει, σπιθαμιαία ἢ καὶ μείζων. Then follows a third kind called κληματίτις. *Id.* sect. 4: ποιεῖ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἄλλα φάρμακα ἢ στοργύλη, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἔρπετά καὶ θανάσιμα ἢ μακρὰ βραχυῆς μᾶς δλητῆ πνωμένη μετ' οἴνου, κτλ. Galen, *de Antid.* 1, 14 (*Med. Gr.* 14, 82), mentions three kinds, and elsewhere (*de simplic. Medic. Temperament.* 6 (*Med. Gr.* 11, 835-836)) describes their uses, without, however, mentioning snake-bite. Of the plant in general he says (*de Compos. Medic.* 6, in *Med. Gr.* 12, 940): ἡ ἀριστολόχεια τῶν διαφορητικῶν ἐστίν. Plin. *N.H.* 25, 95-96 describes the third kind mentioned above and a fourth called *plistolochia*. *Id.* 25, 97: *maxime lomen laudatur Pontico et in quocumque genere ponderosissima quaeque, medicinis aptior rotunda, contra serpentes oblonga*, etc. Sillig here punctuates *rotunda contra serpentes, oblonga . . .* but this assumes a lacuna and disagrees with Dioscur. 3, 4, 4; yet cf. Aem. Macer, 1395-1398: *aristolochiae species tres dicimus esse. / longa prior, radix est cuius longa, vocatur. / dicta rotunda sequens, quod sit radice rotunda. / tertia clematis Graeco sermone vocatur; 1402-1403: *pestiferus morsus, cum vino sumpta rotunda / curat et assumptis prodest sic hausta venenis*. Ps.-Apul. *de Virtut. Herb.* 19 gives many names for the plant, but distinguishes only one kind, with power *contra vim veneni . . .* and *contra serpentium et hominum morsus. radices aristolochiae**

pondere denarii unius in vini hemina saepius potat discutiant venena serpentis. Celsus, 5, 26, 35, mentions its use for wounds. For the different kinds see also Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 509.

These plants are commonly assigned to the genus *Aristolochia*, of which von Halácsy, *Conspectus Florae Graecae*, 3 (1904), 87-90, describes ten species from Greece. Illustrations of some of these, including *A. longa* L. and *A. rotunda* L., are given in Fiori e Paoletti, *Iconographia Florae Italicae* (1895/9), 110-111. Both *A. longa* and *A. rotunda* grow in the Peloponnese, but *A. parviflora* Sibth. and *A. pallida* Willd. are of wider distribution and greater frequency in Greece, so that it is probably impossible to determine just what species Cicero's source here intended (cf. Pickering, *Chronological Hist. of Plants* (1879), 307-308; Murr, *Die Pflanzwelt in der gr. Mythol.* (1890), 191, and n. 4).

[91]2. *ad morsus serpentium*: in addition to the passages just cited cf. von Hovorka u. Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, 2(1909), 434-442, on popular remedies for snake-bite. On p. 441 J. F. Osiander is quoted for the statement that on the Malabar coast powdered *Aristolochia indica* L. is used, both externally and internally, for this purpose. Cf. also 1, 13, n. (*radicum*).

[92]1. *nomen ex inventore*: from the gender of *inventore* we should infer a derivation from *Aristolochus*, and with this notion apparently agrees Tzetz. *Alleg. in Il.* 11, 272-273 (*Anecd. Gr.* ed. Matrang, 101): τρίψας δὲ ῥίζαν τὴν κυρτὰν τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστολόχου / τὴν παυστικὴν τῶν ὀδόντων ἐνέβαλε τῷ Ἰλαεῖ, κτλ.; but cf. Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 509: βοτάνη δὲ ἐστίν ἡ ἀριστολόχεια ὠνόμασαι ταύτην δὲ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης γυναῖκα ἐρηπείαι (this fragment seems

accipio; quae causa sit nescio. Atque horum quidem plena vita est; extis

lacking in Rose's ed.). Yet with this view cf. Dioscur. 3, 4, 1: ἀριστολόχεια· ὠνόμασται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἄριστα βοθηεῖν ταῖς λόχοις; Plin. *N.H.* 25, 95: *inter mobilissimas aristolochiae nomen dedisse gravidae videntur, quoniam esset ἀπληρὴ λεχούσας*; Isid. *Etym.* 17, 9, 52: *aristolochia dicitur quod muliebribus felis optima sit. nam supersessa post partum matricem beneficio vaporis expurgat*. This seems the better attested and more probable explanation (cf. the English name 'Birthwort'). For plants named for persons, however, cf. Plin. *N.H.* 25, 22-77, including *paonia, asclepiion, heracleon, chironium, achilleos, teucrion, melampodion, mithridatia, eupatoria, centaurium, clymenus, gentiana, lysimachia, artemisia, nymphaea, euphorbea*, etc. The principle is, of course, retained in modern scientific nomenclature, both for genera and species.

[92]1. *ex somnio*: for similar cases of discovery of curative herbs through dreams cf. Plut. *Pericl.* 13 (Plin. *N.H.* 22, 44); Diod. 17, 103, 7 (Curt. 9, 8, 26; Justin, 12, 10, 3); Strab. 15, p. 723 (Oros. 3, 19, 11); Plin. *N.H.* 25, 17; Iambl. *de Myst.* 3, 3: διὰ δὲ τὴν τάξιν τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιφανεῖται ἢ λατρικὴ τήρησι συνήθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ὄνειράτων; also 1, 4, n. (*ex somnio*); 1, 54, n. (*in somnis*); and the whole question of incubation (1, 96; 2, 123); Plin. *N.H.* 29, 3: *nec non et hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur*. Many inscriptions bearing phrases of this nature—*ex somnio, ex visu, somnio monitus, iussu dei*, etc.—are collected by De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, 1 (1896), 285-289; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 324, n. 1; 3 (1880), 405, n. 2.

[93]1. *cur possit nescio*: cf. 2, 47.

[93]3. *agnosco, scio, adprobo*: cf. *in Cat.* 2, 1: *abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*; Phil. 2, 79: *impulsus, inductus, elusus*; 5, 51: *promitto, recipio, spondeo*; and other instances cited by De Witt in *Class. Journ.* 14 (1919), 331; Quintil. 9, 3, 45: *initia quoque et clausulae sententiarum aliis sed*

non alio tendentibus verbis inter se consonant.

[93]3. *fixum in extis*: the word *exta* is probably from **exsecta*, according to Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 263; yet cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 78 M.: *exta dicta quod ea dis prosectentur quae maxime extant eminentque*. The term is applied to certain of the vital organs, especially those used in divination; cf. 2, 29, where *fel, iecur, cor*, and *pulmo* are mentioned; also 1, 85, n. (*pulmo incisus*). Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 68, reckons six: spleen, stomach, reins, heart, lungs, liver. Of these the earliest to be so used was apparently the liver (Jastrow in *Studies in Honor of C. H. Toy* (1912), 159-161). The scholiast on Ar. *Vesp.* 831 says: *λείνοι γὰρ (the priests) πρῶτον τὸ ἥπαρ ἐπισκοποῦνται, εἶτα σπλάγγνα καὶ τὰ λοιπά*, and Plin. *N.H.* 11, 186 says of the heart *non semper autem in parte exteriorum habitum est*. L. Postulm L. f. Albino *rege sacrorum post CXXVI Olympiadem, cum rex Pyrrhus ex Italia decessisset, cor in extis haruspices inspicere coeperunt*. This addition, according to Jastrow, *op. cit.* 161, was made after the seat of life and of the soul had been shifted from the liver, where it was early placed and where some primitive peoples still localize it (cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 8, 3 ed. (1912), 147-148), to the heart. The attempt to place the psychic functions in various parts of the body, as in Plat. *Tim.* pp. 69-72, left the liver as the seat of the lower passions, but even for Plato (*Tim.* p. 71e) the mantic power remained in it; cf. Jastrow in *Encycl. Brit.* 20, 11 ed. (1911), 104, who compares the relation between hepatoscopy and ancient psychological theories of the liver with that of phrenology and more modern psychological ideas of the functions of the brain.

The animals used for hepatoscopy were usually sheep, but occasionally others, e.g., bulls (Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 237-238; but cf. Philostr. *Vit.*

enim omnes fere utuntur. Quid? de fulgurum vi dubitare num possumus?

Apollon. 8, 7, 15), dogs (Paus. 6, 2, 4-5), geese (Petron. 137, 11), and frogs (if we may take seriously Juv. 3, 44-45), and accusations of the use of human exta are not wanting; cf. Strab. 3, p. 154 (of the Lusitanians); Philostr. *l.c.*; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρδαλία; *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., no. 406, 1; Lamprid. *Heliogab.* 8, 1; Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 21; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 8, 14, 5; *Vit. Const.* 1, 36; Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 2; 3, 13. On the subject of the varieties used see also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 171.

Our knowledge of the methods employed is derived (1) from literary sources; (2) from comparison with similar customs among other peoples, especially the Babylonians; and (3) from inferences from certain ancient models of livers (collected by Blecher, *op. cit.* 237-241, and plates; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), pl. I-III). No ancient Greek or Roman work on the subject is extant; for the names of such as are known see Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusker*, 2, 2 ed. (1877), 19-41; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 171. Very noteworthy is an Etruscan bronze liver found near Piacenza in 1877 and published by Körte in *Mitt. d. kais. d. arch. Inst.*, Röm. Abt. 20 (1905), 348-377, and plates XII-XIII; cf. pl. XIV; Thulin, *op. cit.* pl. I. This probably dates from the third century B.C. (Körte, *op. cit.* 370), and shows the gall-bladder, the two main lobes of the liver, and the striking projections known as the *processus papularis* and the *processus* (or *lobus*) *caudatus* or *pyramidalis* (Greek λοβός, Latin *caput*; cf. 1, 119, n. (*caput*) *infra*), a feature of especial importance. A comparison with the liver of an actual sheep as shown by Körte p. 353 (in the corrected figure) makes clear that the bronze liver is somewhat schematized. Over all runs a set of Etruscan inscriptions significantly arranged, which have been discussed at length in various works (Körte, *op. cit.* (1905), 362 ff.; Thulin, *Die Götter des*

Martianus Capella u. der Bronzeleber von Piacenza (1906); *id.*, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 20-21; Skutsch in *P.-W.* s.v. *Etrusker* (1907), 784-785; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 187, n. 2). This liver was perhaps used by priests for purposes of instruction (Körte, *op. cit.* 370-371), and is interesting for comparison with a similar Babylonian clay one of the Hammurapi period (about the twentieth cent. B.C.), now in the British Museum (Jastrow, *op. cit.* 159; cf. Boissier, *Note sur un Monument Babylonien se rapportant à l'Extispicine* (1899); Blecher, *op. cit.* 201, fig. 2), and a Hittite one from Boghazkeui (Jastrow, *op. cit.* 164); cf. also the liver held in the hand of a diviner as shown in a bronze statuette at Avignon (Reinach in *Rev. Arch.* 40 (1902), 137; *id.*, *Répertoire de la Statuaire gr. et rom.* 3 (1904), 11, no. 8); and for a possible survival in Christian art Kemp-Welch in *Burlington Magazine*, 18 (1911), 337.

A full discussion of the parts of the liver here noted is that of Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 24 ff. (for the *fissum* pp. 40-41); *id.* in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices* (1912), 2453. According to Thulin the *fissa* are stripes on the surface, which in the case of sheep's livers are frequent and were considered very significant; cf. 1, 118; 2, 34; *N.D.* 3, 14: *quis invenit fissum iecoris?* Fronto, p. 137 Naber: *sicut in extis diffis<s>a plerumque minima et tenuissima maximas significant prosperitates*. According to its appearance on the *pars familiaris* or the *pars inimica* (2, 28), the *fissum* was *familiare* or *vitale* (2, 32). For tricks used by haruspices to change the appearance of the liver, (perhaps with reference to the *fissa*?) see Jastrow in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1908), 652, n. 13.

Fibra (Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2, 42-44; *id.* in *P.-W. l.c.*) is especially a poetic word for *exta* or *iecur*. Sometimes it appears as a technical term of varying meaning: Celsus, 4, 1: (*iecur*) *in quattuor*

Nonne cum multa alia mirabilia, tum illud in primis: cum Summanus in

fibras dividitur; Serv. *Georg.* 1, 120: *iocineris extremae partes fibrae a nonnullis appellantur*; cf. *id.*, *Aen.* 10, 176; Varr. *L.L.* 5, 79; Paul. ex Fest. p. 90M.; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 1, 126. Servius also says (*Georg.* 1, 120): *fibrae per iecur, id est venae quaedam et nervi*; and elsewhere (*Aen.* 6, 600): *fibrae sunt eminentiae iecoris*. Their color was significant (*Fulg. Sermon. Ant.* p. 112, 11 Helm). The procedure with other parts of the liver is noted by Thulin in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices*, 2451-2454, and for similar points in Babylonian custom see Jastrow in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47, 650-651.

The *exta* were interpreted in different ways in different places (2, 28 *infra*), the divergences perhaps mainly resting on the varying application of two principles: (1) the explanation of the signs found on the basis of likeness; (2) the theory that certain parts or provinces of the liver represented certain things (Blecher, *op. cit.* 202). Yet the great similarity found, in the face of these differences, between Etrusco-Roman, Greek, and Babylonian hepatoscopy can hardly be ascribed to mere chance, but seems to indicate a definite derivation, probably at the period of the oriental residence of the Etruscans; cf. 1, 3, n. (*ex Etruria*); Körte, *op. cit.* 377; Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus, etc.*, (1906), 7 ff.; *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 2(1906), 35; 54; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresh.* 137 (1908) 335-336; Moore, *Hist. of Relig.* 1(1913), 559. The opposition of Blecher (*op. cit.* 192-199; *Berl. phil. Woch.* 27 (1907), 527-532) to the theory of the oriental origin of the art is unsuccessful and does not regard all the facts.

Greek and Latin passages dealing with extispicine are collected, not exhaustively, by Blecher, *De Extispicine*, 173-192; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 166 ff.; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-Lore and ancient Greek Religion* (1910), 319; and Blecher reviews (pp. 204-205) the traditions of the discovery of the art (cf. 2,

50-51 *infra*) and (pp. 205-215) the opinions of ancient philosophers and writers upon it. But as to the primitive conceptions underlying this remarkable rite they give little help. Democritus, to be sure, according to the account in 1, 131, took a view largely physiological, namely, that the liver, doubtless as an organ dealing with digestion, revealed certain results arising from the kind of food on which the animal had been feeding, the weaknesses of which opinion are well noted in 2, 30; but cf. Vitruv. 1, 4, 9. For the elaboration of this theory by the Stoics upon the principle of *συμπάθεια* see 2, 34. Somewhat different is the view of Porphyry, *de Abstinent.* 2, 48: *οι γούν ζώντων μαρτυρών ψυχᾶς διέξασθαι βουλόμενοι εἰς ταυτοῖς, τὰ κυριώτατα μόρια καταπίοντες, ὅσον καρδίας κοράκιον ἢ ἀσπαλάκων ἢ ἱεράκων, ἔχουσι παροῦσαν τῆν ψυχὴν καὶ χρηματίζουσαν ὡς θεόν καὶ εἰσιούσαν εἰς αὐτοῦς ἅμα τῇ ἐθέσει τῆ τοῦ σώματος*, that is, the existence in the heart (which at this stage of culture probably corresponds to the liver at an earlier one), both during life and after it, of a mantic property. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 8, 7, 15 says: *ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων εἰσὶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀγροῖα τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαι τι τῶν σπλάγχων ὑπὸ ἀσυνείας ὧν πέσσονται* (as opposed to man, whose entrails, full of foreboding as to his future, can give no calm intimation to others of their fate); cf. Porphyry, *op. cit.* 2, 51: *πότερα δὲ τὰ σημεῖα οἱ θεοὶ ἐπιφαίνουσιν ἢ δαίμονες ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπαιλαττομένη τοῦ ζῴου πρὸς τὴν πύσιν ἀποκρίνεται διὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχμοις σημείων, οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ παρόντος λόγου κρηνησαί*; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1(1879), 167; Halliday, *op. cit.* 200, n.1. In short, the origin of the practice lies in a period too remote and primitive to be recovered with certainty from the writings of cultivated Greeks and Romans.

Various scholars, such as Thulin, *op. cit.* 2, 5; 2, 12; Blecher, *op. cit.* 216 ff.; 225; Fowler, *The relig. Experience of*

fastigio Iovis optumi maximi, qui tum erat fictilis, e caelo ictus esset nec

the Rom. People (1911), 299; Halliday, *op. cit.* 193 ff., hold that the examination of entrails was originally merely to ascertain the perfectness, and hence the fitness, of the animal to be offered. But the rite certainly developed far beyond this modest beginning, and if we look for a theory as to its significance (cf. 2, 28 ff. *infra*) we may perhaps assume (1) that the animal sacrificed was itself regarded as a deity (cf. Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 418), and therefore, in its seat of intelligence, possessed of a knowledge of the future (against which view the frequency and triviality of the occasions for killing the god might perhaps militate); or (2) that the god entered into perfect sacrificial *exta* (Blecher, *op. cit.* 229 ff.; Thulin, *op. cit.* 2, 49-50), where, since he was voiceless, his will and foreknowledge had to be sought by extispicine; but in case the *exta* were imperfect the god would not reside in them, and a new, artificial system of foretelling the future, by the appearance of the (originally pathological) liver arose (the view of Blecher, *op. cit.* 228-235; cf. Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 137 (1908), 335; Ziehen in *Burs. Jahresb.* 140 (1908), 45; this theory is combated in 1, 118 *infra*); or, again, (3) that the god in accepting the sacrifice assimilates the victim to his own being, as one assimilates food in eating it, so that the victim's liver is brought into accord with the liver (and hence with the foreknowledge) of the god himself (so Jastrow, in *Encycl. Brit.* 20, 11 ed. (1911), 102), a somewhat subtle theory which is open to the objection that, if we press the analogy, complete assimilation does not take place until the *exta* are consumed by the god, i.e., burned in sacrifice, to which condition the examination of the *exta* must obviously be antecedent. Another possible explanation may be suggested, namely, (4) that just before the moment of death the animal, like a human being, becomes most prophetic

in power (cf. 1, 63), so that changes may take place at the moment of or immediately before death (cf. 1, 118; Halliday, *op. cit.* 202-203; the fact that Plat. *Tim.* p. 72b denies the mantic value of the liver of a dead animal need not disprove the view, for Plato is probably attempting to attack a well-established belief). And precisely as there may still be muscular action for a moment after death, so the liver may, if immediately examined, be thought of as still being in the condition in which it was at the moment before death, and hence prophetic. In support of this view may be cited various bits of evidence indicative of the speed with which the liver was inspected after the actual killing of the animal: Virg. *Aen.* 4, 64: *spirantia consulit exta*; cf. Serv. ad loc.; Ov. *Met.* 15, 136: *ereptas viventi pectore fibras*; 15, 576: *trepidantia consulit exta*; Sen. *Oed.* 353-354: *non levi motu, ut solent, / agitata trepidant exta*; 391: *fibra vivis raptia pectoribus*; *Thyest.* 755-756: *erepta vivis exta pectoribus tremunt / spirantque venae corque avidum pavidum sulit*; Luc. 1, 617: *iram superum raptis quaesivit in extis*; 1, 639; Sil. Ital. 1, 120-122: *hostia mactatur dirae raptimque recludit / spirantis artus poscens responsa sacerdos / ac fugientem animam properatis consulit extis*; Donat. ad *Aen.* 12, 215: *in flammam fundebatur sanguis animalium et, antequam morerentur, extrahebantur eorum viscera et aris imponebantur*; *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 10, 12, 1: *si quispiam . . . audebit . . . spirantia exta consulere*. So in Schol. B Hom. *Il.* 1, 86 (*ἀνατέμνοντες γὰρ* (sc. τὰ ἔγκατα) σημεῖα τῶν θωύρων ἐν τοῖς ἥρασιν) the use of the present participle perhaps denotes the simultaneity of sacrifice and observation. Strabo says of the Lusitanians (3, p. 154): τὰ . . . σπλάγχνα ἐπιβλήπουσιν οὐκ ἐκτέμνοντες. Desire for the speedy examination of entrails is also found in Xen. *Anab.* 2, 1, 9, and Pliny, *N. H.* 30, 19 (where the heart of a mole is to be eaten while still throbbing); and

usquam eius simulacri caput inveniretur, haruspices in Tiberim id depul-

Blecher, *op. cit.* 243-244 gives instances from the customs of other races; also cf. his pl. I, 1 for an ancient representation showing evident haste on the part of the consulting priest.

On the connection in form and name between the liver (regarded as a *templum*) and the celestial *templum* cf. Körte, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 362; Thulin in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices* (1912), 2454; Frothingham in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 2 ser. 18 (1914), 313; and for a connection in Babylonia between liver divination and astrology see Jastrow in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 47 (1908), 141-156.

As to the wide distribution of this practice I have already hinted. Of its employment in Babylonia we have abundant traces, including many clay tablets; more than a thousand from the royal library at Nippur belong to this class, according to Jastrow, *op. cit.* 664, n. 41; cf. *id.*, *Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, 2, 1 (1912), 213-415 on this subject. It was used among the Hittites (*id.* in *Stud. in Honor of C. H. Toy* (1912), 164); was of comparatively late introduction into Greece, being without mention in Homer (for its mythical inventors cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 169, and for its early practice at Olympia *id.* 2 (1880), 335, and n. 4); was common among the Etruscans and borrowed from them by the Romans (for its organization at Rome see 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*) supra); was known to the Hebrews (see especially Moore in *Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke* . . . *gewidmet*, 2 (1906), 761-769; Gaster in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 808), even as late as the Talmud (Marmorstein in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 15 (1912), 320); and is at present known from such widely scattered cultures as those of the Eskimos, North American Indians (from the Micmacs to California), natives of New Guinea and Borneo (Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 162-164), Maoris, Kaffirs,

and Nigerians (cf. Wallis in *Class. Journ.* 9 (1914), 273-274; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 170).

[94]lf. *extis* . . . *utuntur*: Hottinger (ad loc.) held these words to be a gloss, but without them the preceding clause is very bald and the transition to what follows too abrupt. For the thought cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*).

[95]l. *fulgurum*: cf. 1, 92, n. (*Etruria*).

[96]l. *nonne*, etc.: as noted by various editors, Cicero colloquially but somewhat awkwardly changes his question to a declarative sentence; cf. *Tusc.* 1, 84.

[96]l. *Summanus*: an epithet of Jupiter as the god who sends lightning by night, or, more exactly, just before morning (for *sub-manus* cf. *C.G.L.* 2, 348: *καραιοβόλιος ἀπὸ πρώην νυκτερίων fulgur sub-manum*). In the inscriptions of the empire the name appears as an epithet of Jupiter (Peter in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. (1914), 1600), and his worship is probably but a branch of the Jupiter cult, in which it gradually lost its identity (Carter, *De Deorum Rom. Cognominibus* (1898), 14), so that Paul. ex Fest. p. 75 M. can say: *dium fulgur appellabant diurnum, quod putabant Iovis, ut nocturnum Summani*; cf. Fest. p. 229 M.: *provorsum fulgur appellatur quod ignoratur noctu an interdiu sit factum. itaque Iovi fulguri et Summano fit, quod diurna Iovis, nocturna Summani fulgura habentur*; Plin. *N.H.* 2, 138: *Tuscorum litterae novem deos emittere fulmina existuntant, eaque esse undecim generum . . . Romani duo tantum ex iis servavere diurna atribuentes Iovi, nocturna Summano*; Aug. *C.D.* 4, 23; Milo ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 29, 3; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 23; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 122; 135; and, against the view of Usener (*Rhein. Mus.* 60 (1905), 17-18) that Summanus is not an epithet of Jupiter, Thulin, *op. cit.* 135.

It is not strange, in view of his identity, that the statue of Summanus should

sum esse dixerunt, idque inventum est eo loco qui est ab haruspibus demonstratus. XI. 17. Sed quo potius utar aut auctore aut teste quam te? cuius edidici etiam versus, et lubenter quidem, quos in secundo de consultiat Urania Musa pronuntiat:

3. de consultiat *Mommsen*, de om. C. consultiat *codd. aliquot dett., Boiss.*

have adorned the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter (though Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 2 (1899), 184, would apparently view it as a mere compromise and survival, like the preservation of an image of Tarpeia there). The exact history of this statue is disputed. Pliny, following Varro, says (*N. H.* 35, 157): *praeterea elaboratam hanc autem Italiae et maxime Etruriae: Vulcam Veis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem in Capitolio dicendam; fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari solitum; fictiles in fastigio templi eius quadrigas, de quibus saepe diximus . . . haec enim tum effigies deorum erant laudissimae, nec paenitet nos illorum qui tales eos coluere. . . . durant etiam nunc plerisque in locis talia simulacra; fastigia quidem templorum etiam in urbe crebra et municipiis, mira caelatura et arte sui que firmitate, sanctiora auro, certe innocentiora; cf. id. 28, 16; Plut. *Public.* 13, for the making of these quadrigae fictiles. Now Liv. 10, 23, 11-12 says (of the year 298 B.C.): *Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot faeneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis nullatis ex eo quod in publicum reductum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea vasa in cella Iovis Iovemque in culmine cum quadrigis, etc., i.e., a statue of Jupiter, probably of metal, with or in a four-horse chariot; Liv. per. 14: *Pyrrhus in Siciliam traiecit. cum inter alia prodigia fulmine deiectum esset in Capitolio Iovis signum caput eius per haruspices inventum est* (on the probable mistake of the epitomator in substituting *Iovis* for *Summani* see Jordan, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Altertum*, 1, 2 (1885), 99, n.). Finally Plaut. *Trin.* 83-85 says: *si te surripuisse suspicer / Iovi coronam de capite ex Capitolio / qui in columine astat summo*. In reconciling these varying statements**

Jordan (*l.c.*) suggests (1) that there was originally on the *columen fastigii* a terra-cotta quadriga, with Jupiter driving; (2) that the Ogulnii replaced this by a metal work; (3) whether the terra-cotta Summanus here mentioned was replaced by another of a different material (cf. the words *qui tum erat fictilis*) cannot be decided; nor (4) can we decide on exactly what part of the roof—ridge-pole, pediment, etc.—it stood. The incident mentioned here (and in 2, 45) occurred in 278 B.C., and was atoned for by the building of a new temple to Summanus near the Circus Maximus (*Ov. Fast.* 6, 731; *Plin. N. H.* 29, 57; and inscriptions cited by Peter, *l.c.*), which was, in its turn, struck by lightning in 197 B.C. (*Liv.* 32, 29, 1). The Capitol, on account of its height, was frequently so struck (*Lact. Inst.* 3, 17, 12: *Capitolium . . . non semel sed saepius fulmine ictum conflagavit*).

[97]1. *e caelo ictus*: cf. 1, 98.

[98]1. *haruspices*: a scholiast on Cic. *in Cat.* 3, 19 (Stangl, *Cic. Orat. Scholiastae*, 2(1912), 285) has curiously confused our incident with that relating to the statue of Natta told in 1, 19. On the services of the haruspices in expiation of portents see 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*); 2, 45; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 36-37; and for the services of prophets in recovering lost articles cf. 2 *Kings*, 6, 6.

[98]1. *in Tiberim*: the distance is not far from 1000 feet.

1. *idque*: intentional repetition to show the exactness with which the result follows the prediction.

2. *quo potius utar*: cf. 1, 122; also the similar introduction of lengthy quotations from his own works in 1, 13-15; *N. D.* 2, 104: *utar, inquit, carminibus*

Principio aethereo flammatus Iuppiter igni

Aratius, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conversa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex iis memoria teneam. It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of Cicero's poetic labors would have perished had he not taken the precaution of preserving them in quotations in his prose works. For the appeal to Cicero's own experience cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

[99]3. *et lubenter quidem:* cf. *N. D.* 1, 89; *Rep.* 1, 30; 2, 64; *Tusc.* 2, 26.

[99]3. *de consulatu:* some confusion attaches to Cicero's works on this subject, so that a résumé of the situation may not be amiss. In July, 61 B.C. he writes (*ad Att.* 1, 16, 18): *ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam. nihil erat absoluti.* This Schanz (*Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 385, n. 2) thinks may refer to a work on his consulship. At least, on 15 March, 60 he writes (*ad Att.* 1, 19, 10): *commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te . . . Latinum si perfectero ad te mittam. tertium poema exspecto ne quod genus a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur.* Tyrrell and Purser (*The Correspond. of M. T. Cicero*, 1, 3 ed. (1904), 238) think this Latin work may have been Cicero's letter to Pompey (*epistolam non ad mediocris instar voluminis scriptam*, as the Schol. Bob. p. 148 Hildeb. call it), for which see Schanz, *op. cit.* 388. In May, 60 he says (*ad Att.* 1, 20, 6): *de meis scriptis misi ad te Graece perfectum consulatum meum. eum librum L. Cossinio dedi. puto te Latinis meis delectari, huic autem Graeco Graecum invidere.* And in June, 60 (*ad Att.* 2, 1, 1): *Kal. Iunii . . . venit obvius tuus puer. is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum reddidit* (for this work, in one volume, cf. *Nep. Attic.* 18, 6). *in quo laetatus sum me aliquanto ante de isdem rebus Graece item scriptum librum L. Cossinio ad te perferendum dedisse; nam si tuum ante legissem furatum me abs te esse diceret . . . meus autem liber totum Isocrati myrothecium atque omnis*

eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit. quem tu Corcyrae, ut mihi aliis litteris significas, strictim alligisti, post autem, ut arbitrator, a Cossinio accepisti. He further says that the work had been read by Posidonius, and, in 2, 1, 2: *tu si tibi placuerit liber, curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae; videtur enim posse aliquod nostris rebus lucis adferre.* This work is cited by Plutarch (*Crass.* 13; *Caes.* 8), and probably excerpted by him in *Cic.* 10-23, according to Weizsäcker in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol.* 111(1875), 417-428. On a further set of memoirs called *ἀνὰ βόρα* (*ad Att.* 2, 6, 2) see Schanz, *op. cit.* 386; 389. They less concern us here, because, although probably dealing with related matters, they were not published until after Cicero's death (*Dio Cass.* 39, 10). From this point the evidence becomes even more confused. I shall cite the principal passages in chronological order. *Ad Att.* 2, 3, 4 (Dec., 60): *sed me κακὰ λέξις illa commovet quae est in tertio libro: 'Interrea cursus . . . laudesque bonorum.' haec mihi cum in eo libro in quo nulla sunt scripta ἀριστοκρατικῶς Calliope ipsa praescripserit; 4, 8a, 3 (autumn of 56): de poemate quod quaeris quid si cupiat effugere? quid? sinas? ad Q. Fr. 2, 7, 1 (Feb., 55): placiturum tibi esse librum meum suspicabar: tam valde placuisse quam scribis valde gaudeo. quod me admones de nostra Urania suadesque ut meminerim Iovis orationem quae est in extremo illo libro, ego vero memini et illa omnia mihi magis scripsi quam ceteris; in Pis. 72 (55 B.C.): qui modo cum res gestas consulatus mei conlaudasset, quae quidem conlaudatio hominis turpissimi mihi ipsi erat paene turpis, 'non illa tibi,' inquit, 'invidia nocuit sed versus tui.' nimis magna poema te consule constituta est sive malo poetae sive libero. 'scripsisti enim: Cedant arma togae,' etc., from which it would appear that the poem containing this famous line*

Vertitur et totum conlustrat lumine mundum

was already published; *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 13, (2 June, 54): *scribis poema ab eo (sc. Caesare) nostrum probari*; 2, 15, 5 (Aug., 54): *quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante et prima sic ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quendam locum παραυπρεπα; hoc enim utitur verbo. dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut χαρακτήρ non delectat?* 3, 1, 24 (Sept., 54): *mirificum embolium cogito in secundum librum meorum temporum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum qualis reditus duorum imperatorum Iulurus esset, quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter vendidisset*; *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 23 (Dec., 54): *scripsi etiam versibus tres libros 'de temporibus meis,' quos iam pridem ad te (sc. Lentulum) misissem, si esse edendos pulassem, sunt enim testes et erunt sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaque pietatis . . . quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem cui recte committam invenero, curabo ad te perferendos.*

The main question raised is this: must we assume two works by Cicero, each in Latin verse, each with an epic mechanism of gods and muses (Urania in our passage and, by emendation, in *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 7, 1; cf. the long note of Tyrrell and Purser *ad loc.*; Calliope (*ad Att.* 2, 3, 4); Jupiter (*ad Q. Fr.* 2, 7, 1); and Apollo (*ad Q. Fr.* 3, 1, 24; cf. Quintil. 11, 1, 24, quoted below)), and dealing, one with his consulship, the other with his times (*ad Fam.* 1, 9, 23), because *ad Fam.* 1, 9, 23, in Dec., 54, speaks of the work as only just published, while the oration in *Pisonem* in 55 indicates that it was already common property? Scholars have generally differentiated between the two works, but Heikel (*Adversaria ad Cic. de Consulatu suo Poema* (1912)—known to me only from the summary in *Scriptor Latinus*, 9, 9(1913), 127-130—holds that the poem on his consulship was written before his exile, and that later,

after his return, he so elaborated it as to cover the entire period from the beginning of the Catiline conspiracy to his return from exile under the new, and now more exact, title 'de Temporibus meis.' Our only evidence outside Cicero's own references is the slight allusion in the Schol. Bob. p. 144 Hildeb.: *de consulatu suo scripsit poetico metro, quae mihi videntur opera minus digna talis viri nomine*, and the remarks of Quintilian 11, 1, 24: *in carminibus utinam pepercisset quae non desierunt carpere maligni: 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae,' et: 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam,' et Iovem illum a quo in concilium deorum advocatur, et Minervam quae artes eum edocuit; quae sibi ille seculus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat, and of Ps.-Sall. in *Cic.* 3; 5-7. In the last-named work noteworthy is section 7: *quem Minerva omnis artes edocuit, Iuppiter optimum maxumum in concilio deorum admisit, Italia exulem humeris suis reportavit*, in which the mention of these events, of which the last, at least, could not have been treated in the *de Consulatu suo*, occurs without any break after the criticism of the two verses cited by Quintilian, thus apparently bearing testimony that, for the author of this invective, all occurred in the same work, as would be the case, were Heikel's theory to be accepted. On this question see also 1, 19, n. (*atque ea, etc.*).*

Evidence for the exact title is scanty. The suggestion of Manutius of *secundo de* in our passage for *secundo* of the MSS. is a convincing emendation for an ancient case of haplography of the syllables *-do de*. In addition to the passages cited above cf. Non: p. 202 M.: *Cicero in consulatu suo*; p. 204 M.: *idem consulatus sui lib. II*. The fragments are collected in Müller's edition 4, 3 (1879), 398-402, and amount to seven verses in addition to the present passage. On the poem and its contents see also Patin, *Études sur la*

Menteque divina caelum terrasque petessit,
Quae penitus sensus hominum vitasque retentat
Aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis.

1. petemsi O, petemset BH, petiamet ABV, petissit asx. Petessere analogia firmatur, quomquam Priscianus inter reliqua huius formae desideratina hoc verbum non recenset; apud Festum quoque in lemmae p. 206 M. petissere scribendum videtur, ut item in Paolo Diacono, p. 216 M.

2. retentat vulg., retentant C.

Poesie latine, 2, 2 ed. (1875), 428-442; Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 297-303; Schwartz in *Hermes*, 32 (1897), 599 ff.; Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* 2, 2 ed. (1906), 93-94; 1, 13, n. (*atque, etc.*) supra.

How seriously Cicero regarded the impressive list of portents described in this fragment may be judged from 2, 45-48. It may be that his attitude had changed materially since the poem and in *Cat.* 3, 18-21 were written, but it is more likely that the incidents were used chiefly for their dramatic value.

[99]4. *Urania*: an appropriate Muse to recite to Cicero these phenomena, many of which were in the heavens.

[100]1. *principio*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*principio*); frequent in Lucretius (e.g., 1, 271; 1, 504; 2, 589; 2, 1030; 2, 1048; al.) and Virgil (*Georg.* 2, 9; 4, 8; *Aen.* 3, 381; 6, 724; al.), and hence, perhaps, an indication of borrowing from Ennius, for whose use by Cicero cf. Wreschniok, *De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907), 1, and n. 1.

[100]1. *aetherio . . . igni*: cf. *Lucr.* 2, 1098; *ignibus aetheriis*.

[100]1. *flammatus*: a favorite word in this fragment (1, 18; *flammato ardore*; 1, 20; *flammato . . . ictu*); also used by Lucretius (2, 672) and Virgil (*Aen.* 1, 50; 3, 330).

[100]1. *Iuppiter*: apparently the Stoic view (derived from Heraclitus; *N.D.* 3, 35) is here accepted, as set forth in *N.D.* 1, 37; 2, 23-28; 2, 57-58; 3, 35; and cf. Mayor's note on the *ignem artificiosum* of *N.D.* 2, 57; also *Ac.* 2, 126; Virg. *Aen.* 6, 724 ff.

[101]1. *conlustrat lumine mundum*: cf. *de Fat.* fr. 3 Muller (ap. Aug. *C.D.* 5, 8; a

translation from Homer): *Iuppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras*; *Aratea* 578: *haec sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans* (cf. Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 56-57); Virg. *Aen.* 4, 6: *lustrabat lampade terras* (cf. Norden, 2 ed. of *Aen.* 6 (1916), p. 375). The compound *conlustrat* is frequent in Cicero (cf. Merguet, *Lex. s.v.*). In Cicero's translation of the *Phaenomena* the word *lumine* appears in the fifth foot of the verse 47 times in 546 lines.

1. *menteque divina*: cf. *divina menta notata infra*. For the phrase, which occurs 23 times in the philosophical works, cf. Guendel, *De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907), 77, and Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 45.

1. *caelum terrasque*: cf. 1, 19: *caelo terrisque*; Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 57.

1. *petessit*: this archaic word, of which Fest. p. 206 M. says: *petessere antiqui pro petere dicebant, ea quidem forma verbi qua sunt lacessere et incessere. sed, ut mihi videtur, quom significabant saepius petere, et pelissant saepius pelant*, and which occurs also in *Lucr.* 3, 648; 5, 810, as well as below (1, 18), is perhaps Ennian; on the variation in its spelling cf. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* (1894), 462.

2. *retentat*: 2, 63; cf. *N.D.* 2, 121: *ad vilam retinendam*; *Tusc.* 1, 27: *vitae quae . . . humi retineretur*.

3. *aetheris aeterni*: alliteration is a frequent feature of Ennius (cf. 1, 40, n. (*anus attulit artubus*); 1, 66; Froben, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (1910), 126-146), and is much in favor with Cicero, being used not only for initials (cf. 1, 13: *scopulorum saepe*; 1, 14: *roras Aurora remittit*; 1, 15: *fruges fundens tria tempora*; 1, 17: *sint signorum in sede*; 1, 18: *lustrasti et lacto . . . lacte Latinas; mulluque misceri; cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna;*

Et, si stellarum motus cursusque vagantis
 Nosse velis, quae sint signorum in sede locatae,
 Quae verbo et falsis Graiorum vocibus errant,
 Re vera certo lapsu spatioque feruntur,
 Omnia iam cernes divina mente notata.

18. Nam primum astrorum volucris te consule motus

*subito stellanti; lumina liquit; vero varias; motusque monebant; 1, 19: Torquato quae quondam et consule Colla; vetus venerataque; 1, 20: rore rigabat; flammato fulminis; fixa gravi fato ac fundata; sanctusque senatus; cernere conatus; si solis; 1, 21: multumque morata; flamma ferroque; patribus populoque patebat; 1, 22: tutamen . . . requiete relaxans; 1, 52: terribis te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit; 1, 106: serpentis saucia; praepetibus pinnis; signa suae; 2, 63: liquerunt lumina; pulsu penetraret; 2, 64: tam teneros; mirabile monstrum; deum dedit) but also for the repetition of conspicuous syllables in the same or adjacent lines (as here: *aetheris aeterni*; 1, 17: *omnia iam*; 1, 18: *stellarum ardore*; *maestasti lacte*; 1, 106: *unguidus anquem*; 2, 63: *portentum mente relentant*; *penetraret ad ara*; 1, 64: *versarier aris*; and the notorious line of the present poem (fr. 9 Müller): *o fortunatam natam me consule Romam*). On alliteration in Cicero's poetry see also Guendel, *op. cit.* 14-16.*

[102]3. *inclusa cavernis*: Guendel (*op. cit.* 67) and Wreschniok (*op. cit.* 44) compare Lucr. 4, 391: *aetheris adfixa cavernis*; 4, 171 = 6, 252: *magnas caeli . . . cavernas*; Cic. *Arat.* 497: *caeli lustrare cavernas*; and Guendel notes that Virgil often ends hexameters with *cavernas*. And cf. Enn. Sc. 112 Vahl: *cava caeli*; 381: *caeli ingentes fornices*; 1, 79, n. (*terrae cavernis*).

1. *vagantia*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 68: *Diana omnivaga dicitur . . . quod in septem numeratur tamquam vagantibus*; 2, 103.

2. *signorum in sede locatae*: cf. 2, 89; *N.D.* 2, 52: *signorum urbem*; 2, 53: *signiferum orbem*; *signiferi orbis*; *Arat.* 563-565: *sodiaceum hunc Graeci vocitant nostrique Latini / orbem signiferum perhibebunt nomine vero; / nam gerit hic volvens bis sex*

ardentia signa; 609: *signifero . . . ex orbi*; cf. Mayor on *N.D.* 2, 52.

3f. *verbo . . . falsis . . . re vera*: λόγῳ . . . ἴσχυ. Cf. 1, 28; 1, 81, n. (*reapse*); *Fat.* 22; 44; *pro Cluent.* 54. *Verbo* also here emphasizes the etymology of *πλανήται*; cf. *Tusc.* 1, 62: *illa non re sed vocabulo errantia*; *N.D.* 2, 51: *earum quinque stellarum quae falso vocantur errantes*; 2, 119: *earum quae errare dicuntur*; *Rep.* 1, 22: *earum quinque stellarum quae errantes et quasi vagae nominantur*; 2, 10 *infra*. Also Plat. *Leg.* 7, p. 821b: *καταφευδόμεθα ὡν ὡς θεοσ ελεῖν Ἑλλήνες πάντες μεγάλων θεῶν, ἅλιου τε ἕμα καὶ σελήνης . . . φάμεν αὐτὰ οὐδῖποτε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵνα, καὶ ἀλλ' ἅτα ἄστρα μετὰ τούτων, ἑπονομάσαντες πλανήτὰ αὐτὰ*; *Tim.* p. 38c; *Plut. de Exil.* p. 604a; *Lucr.* 2, 1031: *palantia sidera*; *Virg. Aen.* 9, 21: *palantesque polo stellas*; *Plin. N.H.* 2, 12: *septem sidera quae ab incessu vocamus errantia, cum errent nulla minus illis*; *Gell.* 3, 10, 1-2; 14, 1, 11; 14, 1, 18; also the jest of Diogenes on this subject (*Stob. Ecl.* 2, 1, 23 Wachsmuth).

4. *spatio*: cf. Munro on *Lucr.* 2, 218 ff.

6. *nam primum*: with the following omens cf. in *Cat.* 3, 18: *ita praesentes (sc. dei) his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terras motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec quae nunc sunt canere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est (what follows is quoted in 1, 19, n. (*nunc ea, etc.*)); *Sall. Cat.* 30, 2: *simul, id quod in tali re solet,**

Concursusque gravis stellarum ardore micantis
Tu quoque, cum tumulos Albano in monte nivalis

alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant; Obseq. 61: M. Cicero C. Antonio coss. fulmine pleraque decussa. sereno Vargunteius Pompeius de caelo exanimatus. irabis ardens ab occasu ad caelum extenta. terrae motu Spoletum totum concussum, et quaedam corruerunt . . . ab his prodigiis Catilinae nefaria conspiratio coepta; Dio Cass. 37, 25, 1-2: και άλλα τε αὐτοῖς σημεῖα οὐκ αἴσια συνηχῆθη κεραυνοὶ τε γὰρ ἐν αἰθρῇ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰσχυρῶς ἰσείσθη, εἰδωλὰ τε πολλαχῶς ἀνθρώπων ἐφαιτάσθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἀνεκὰς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέβραμον, ὥστε πάντα τινα καὶ ἰδιώτην τὰ σημαινόμενα ἐπ' αὐτῶν προγνώσκει; Plut. Cic. 14: ἔδοκει δὲ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα σεισμοῖς καὶ κεραυνοῖς καὶ φάσμασιν.

[103]6. te consule: cf. 1, 21.

1. *concursum*: cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 7, 12, 1: *quibusdam antiquorum haec placet ratio: cum ex stellis errantibus altera se alteri applicuit confuso in unum duarum lumine facies longioris sideris redditur; nec hoc tunc tantum evenit cum stella stellam attingit, sed etiam cum appropinquavit; intervallum enim quod inter duas est illustratur ab utroque inflammaturque et longum ignem efficit;* 7, 13, 1; 7, 19, 1; also the note on 1, 47 (*magos*) infra. For the conjunction of planets or of the sun and moon as omens in India see *Sacred Books of the East*, 11, 198; 35, 247.

1. *ardore*: the idea is that of light rather than heat; cf. the third line below, also in *Cat.* 3, 18; Mayor in *Class. Rev.* 3 (1889), 163.

1. *micantis*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 111: *fulgore micanti*. Here by hypallage transferred from *stellarum* to *concursum*.

2. *tumulos*: probably of the neighboring hills in the Alban group; cf. *pro Mil.* 85: *vos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro;* 1, 80, n. (*tumulis*) infra.

2. *Albano in monte*: cf. Hülsen in *P.-W. s.v. Albanus mons* (1894). with plan.

Monte Cavo, 3100 feet high, the culminating point of the Alban Hills, is the site of the sacred precinct of Jupiter Latiaris, the scanty remains of which are mostly obliterated by a monastery. Our sources for knowledge of the rites are (1) several inscriptions found at the site (*C.I.L.* VI, 2011-2018; 2021-2022 = XIV, 2227-2228; 2236-2244), and (2) numerous references in the authors, collected and discussed by Weiner, *De Feriis Latinis* (1888); cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 40-41; 124-125. Distinction should be made between *feriae Latinae*, the holiday, and *Latinae* (as in the next line) the rite itself (Weiner, *op. cit.* 5-6). The annual festival, whose origin probably reaches back to Alba (Weiner, *op. cit.* 10-12), as taken over by the Romans formed a basis of union for the different communities of Latium under the protection of Jupiter Latiaris. It belonged to the class of *feriae conceptivae* (*id.* 19-22), and was probably proclaimed by the consuls not long after beginning their term of office. The inscriptions (Augustan copies of earlier *fasti*) show that it was held in many different months, but with a tendency towards May, June, and July (Weiner, *op. cit.* 36-38). January, February, March, and November, however, also appear, and it is clear that the celebration here described fell in the winter (*tumulos . . . nivalis*). The number of days in the celebration was gradually increased to three or four (Weiner, *op. cit.* 22-23). For the details of the sacrifice see Weiner, *op. cit.* 24-36. The offering of milk here described appears also in Dion. Hal. 4, 49: *καὶ φέρουσιν εἰς αὐτὰς αἰ μετέχουσαι τῶν ἱερῶν πόλεις, αἱ μὲν ἄρνας, αἱ δὲ τυροὺς, αἱ δὲ γάλακτός τι μέτρον, αἱ δὲ ὁμοίως τι τοῖτοις πελάνου γένος; l'est. p. 194 M.: *memoriae quoque redintegrari initio acceptae vitae per mokus cunarum lactisque alimentum, quia per eos dies feriarum et oscillis moveantur, et lactata potione utan-**

Lustrasti et lacto mactasti lacte Latinas,
Vidisti et claro tremulos ardore cometas,

lur. A list of celebrations of this festival is given by Weiner, *op. cit.* 56-63. These holidays are made by Cicero the occasion of the dialogues on the *Natura Deorum* (1, 15) and the *Republic* (1, 14; 1, 33).

1. *laeto*: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3, 310: *laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina marmis*. The word is probably in the sense of 'abundant,' and may be derived from the use of *laetus* of fruits and crops; cf. *de Or.* 3, 155; *N.D.* 2, 156; *de Sen.* 53; 54.

1. *mactasti*: cf. Serv. *Aen.* 9, 641: *macte magis aucte, adfecte gloria. et est sermo tractus a sacris: quotiens enim aut his aut vinum super victimam fundebatur, dicebant 'mactus est taurus vino vel iure,' hoc est cumulata est hostia et magis aucta*; Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 125 M.: *mactus magis auctus*; Non. p. 341 M. gives for the word the meanings *praecipitare, honorare, immolare, magis augere, malo adhaerere*, and cites many examples, including, under the fourth head, *Rep.* 1, 67. The verb is frequently used with a god as its subject and the offering in the ablative (e.g., in *Vatin.* 14; Cato, *de Agr.* 132; 134; 139), but apparently only here, perhaps by a ritualistic archaism or by a poetic figure, is it extended in use to take the name of a festival as its object.

1. *lacte*: cf. Wyss, *Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen u. Römer* (1914), 7-13 for the use of milk as an offering at Roman sacrifices.

2. *cometas*: Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*, book 7, is devoted to comets, with an elaborate criticism of the views of earlier philosophers (7, 3, 1-7, 21, 4). His theories of the causes of the phenomena need not detain us, but of interest is the classification which he ascribes (7, 6, 1) to Epigenes of Byzantium: *duo, inquit Epigenes, cometarum genera sunt: alii ardorem undique effundunt nec locum mutant, alii in unam partem ignem vagum in modum comae porrigunt et stellas*

praetermeant (quales duo aetate nostra visi sunt). illi priores criniti undique et immoti humiles fere sunt et isdem causis quibus trabes facesque conflantur ex intemperie aëris, etc. Now the first kind, by reason of its form, its stationary character, and its apparent nearness to the earth, agrees closely, not with our notion of a comet, but with the 'aurora polaris.' Seneca, though not disapproving the classification of Epigenes, does not follow it closely, but in several places in his description of *cometae* he refers to their affinity for the northern portion of the heavens (7, 11, 1; 7, 21, 1; 7, 21, 3; 7, 29, 3). Further, Pliny in his account (*N.H.* 2, 89-94) distinguishes several kinds of *cometae* (*rogoniae, acontiae, zephiae, ceratae, lumpadae*, etc.), and says (2, 91), without showing to which kind he refers: *sunt et hibernis mensibus et in austrino polo, sed ibi circa illum iubar*. But the *aurora polaris* was probably not unrecognized by Aristotle, who says (*Meteor.* 1, p. 342 a 34 ff.): *φαίνεται δὲ ποτε συριστάμινά νύκτωρ αἰθρίας ὀψοῦς πολλὰ φάσματα ἐν τῷ ὀρατῷ, ὅλον χάσματά τε καὶ βέθουσι καὶ αἰματώδη χρώματα . . .* p. 342 b 7 f.: *ὁ ἀήρ παντοδαπὰ χρώματα ποιῆσει, μάλιστα δὲ φοινικῶν ἢ πορφυρῶν . . .* p. 342 b 14 ff.: *τὰ δὲ χάσματα ἀναρρηγυμένου τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκ κενεῶν καὶ μέλαρος ποιεῖ τι βάθος ἔχειν δοκεῖν. πολλάκι δ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ θαλάσσι ἐκπίπτουσιν, ὅταν συγκριθῇ μᾶλλον συνῆς δ' ἔτι χάσμα δοκεῖ*. It is difficult to accept the view of Gilbert (*Die meteorolog. Theorien d. gr. Altert.* (1907), 597, n. 2) that Aristotle is here referring merely to cloud phenomena. The word *χάσμα* appears in Latin as *hiatus*, and Pliny, *N.H.* 2, 96-97, says: *fit et caeli ipsius hiatus, quod vocant chasma, fit et sanguinea species et, quo nihil terribilius mortalium timori est, incendium ad terras cadens inde, sicut Olympiadis CVII anno tertio, cum rex Philippus Graeciam quateret*; cf. Sen. *N.*

Multaque misceri nocturna strage putasti,

Q. 1, 14, 1-4 (an important passage too long to quote). Further cf. 1, 97; 1, 99; 2, 60 *infra*. The aurora polaris is of comparatively rare occurrence in Greece and Italy (averaging, for Greece and S. Italy, only once in about ten years, according to the chart copied from Fritz, *Das Polarlicht* (1881) by Chree in *Encycl. Brit.* 2, 11 ed. (1910), 928), and since there are many different types—arcs, bands, rays, curtains, crowns, patches, and diffused light, shown in Chree's article and in greater variety in Angot, *The Aurora Borealis* (1897)—it is likely that the different forms were by the ancients regarded as distinct phenomena, some, such as perhaps the arcs, being classed as *χάσματα*, others, such as the radiate forms, as *κομήται*.

In the present passage indications favor identification with the aurora for these reasons: (1) the use of the plural *cometas*, which might well describe the numerous parallel comet-like rays of certain forms of aurora; (2) the appropriateness of the words *claro tremulos ardore*; (3) the winter season, at which the aurora is more frequent (tables in Chree's article, p. 929); (4) the line *multaque misceri nocturna strage*, which, though by some editors explained as referring to the intrigues of the Catiline conspiracy, has a real appropriateness when understood of an appearance of northern lights. Obsequens 61 speaks of a *trabes ardens ab occasu ad caelum extensa* as seen this year (cf. note on *nam primum* supra), which Frobes, *Novae et antiquae Luminis atque Aurorae borealis Spectacula* (1739), and Lovering in his list of auroras from 502 B.C. to 1864 A.D. (*Mem. Amer. Acad.* 10, 1 (1868), 16-173) regard as an aurora, but I should prefer to identify this with the *Phocbi fax* mentioned below.

The ominous character of comets, under which head, as I have tried to show, are probably to be included some of the occurrences of aurora polaris, was widely

felt. Not only were they observed (Arist. *Meteor.* 1, p. 343 b 1 ff.; 1, p. 344 b 19) to portend storms (correctly, if the references are to the aurora; cf. Chree, *op. cit.* 932; Inwards, *Weather Lore*, 3 ed. (1898), 78), but they were long regarded as precursors of military or political change (cf. Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, 1, rev. ed. (1868), 289-291, and works there cited), having been noted before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, before the Peloponnesian War (Lecky, *op. cit.* 290), before Cannae (Sil. Ital. 8, 637), in the Octavian War (*N.D.* 2, 14), before the conspiracy of Piso (Tac. *Ann.* 15, 47), before the fall of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 6, 5, 3; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 8, 2), before the invasion of Attila (Procop. 2, 4, 1-4), before the movements of the Saracens in 729 A.D. (Beda, 5, 23), and before the Norman Conquest (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.* for the year 1066; this comet is interestingly shown in the Bayeux Tapestry). Other occasions of note were at or before the death of Julius Caesar (Virg. *Georg.* 1, 488; Sen. *N.Q.* 7, 17, 2; Plin. *N.H.* 2, 93; Plut. *Caes.* 69; Dio Cass. 45, 7; Suet. *Iul.* 88; Obseq. 68; for representations in art cf. Richter in *Jahrb. d.k. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 4(1889), 149), of Agrippa (Dio Cass. 54, 29), Augustus (Dio Cass. 56, 29), Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 46; Plin. *N.H.* 2, 92; Calpurn. 1, 78; Dio Cass. 60, 35), Nero (Suet. *Nero.* 36), Vitellius (Dio Cass. 65, 8), Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 23; Dio Cass. 66, 17), Commodus (Lamprid. *Commod.* 16), Constantine (Eutrop. 10, 8, 2), Valentinian (Amm. Marc. 30, 5, 16), and Charles V (Lecky, *op. cit.* 290), and in several instances in Russia (Anon. in *Folk-Lore*, 26 (1915), 171). Silius, 8, 637, speaks of the comet as *regnum everror*; Suet. *Nero.* 36, says: *stella crinita, quae summis polestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur*; cf. Joann. Damasc. *de Fid. orihod.* 2, 7 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 94, 893): *κομήται, σημαία τῶν θάνατον δηλοῦντα*

Quod ferme dirum in tempus cecidere Latinae,
 Cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna
 Abdidit et subito stellanti nocte preempta est.
 Quid vero Phoebi fax, tristis nuntia belli,

1. cecidere *cod. Etenensis testu Dorisio, cecidere C.*

βασιλιω; Schol. Prudent. *Cathem.* 12, 21 (ed. Burnam): *cometa a crinibus dicitur: qui quando visitur aut mortem regis aut regni mutationem, aut etiam famem vel pestilentiam significat, et ideo dicitur tristicus.* Less frequently comets are a sign of good to come, e.g., Plin. *N.H.* 2, 93-94; Justin, 37, 2, 2-3; Orig. *c. Cels.* 1, 59; Serv. *Aen.* 10, 272. On omens from comets see also, in general, Lydus, *de Ostent.* 11-15b; and Wachsmuth's 2 ed. of Lydus (1897), 165-172.

[106]l. *multaque misceri*: the likeness of some forms of aurora to ranks of shining weapons (so perhaps the *acontiae* and *xiphiae* of Plin. *N.H.* 2, 89) or to fire-brands doubtless suggested this description. Cf. the striking account in 2 *Maccab.* 5, 2-3.

1. *ferme*: probably modifying *cecidere*, rather than *dirum* as Merguet understands it; cf. n. on *abdidit* infra.

1. *cecidere*: in the same position in the verse in 1, 19.

2. *claram speciem*: Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 56, compares Lucr. 5, 582.

2. *concreto lumine*: not, as some editors have thought, with reference to the complete circle of light of the full moon, but in the sense of a dulled or dimmed light. So in 1, 130 *pingue et concretum* is used of the sky and opposed to *tenue purumque*; cf. *N.D.* 2, 42; 2, 117; *Tusc.* 1, 42. The dimming of the light of the moon as it enters into the penumbra at eclipse becomes visible to the naked eye shortly before the phase of total eclipse (Newcomb in *Encycl. Brit.* 8, 11 ed. (1910), 891) and therefore agrees with Cicero's description. Probably the same idea is found in Luc. 1, 537-539: *cornuque coacto / iam Phoebus toto fratrem cum redderet orbe, / terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.*

2. *lumine luna*: a verse tag found also in *Aral.* 491.

3. *abdidit*: the date of this eclipse has been calculated by Ginzel in his *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse* (1899), followed by Boll in *P.-W.* s.v. *Finsternisse* (1909), 2359, as 3 May, 63, hence it cannot be synchronous with the celebration of the *feriae Latinae* (on account of the word *nivalis*), and to avoid such an implication Cicero has inserted the word *ferme* in the second line above.

Tables of eclipses, solar and lunar, will be found in Ginzel and Boll, *op. cit.*; cf. Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 8. For the explanations advanced by ancient writers see Boll, *op. cit.* 2331-2334; 2337-2349; Steinhäuser, *Der Prodigien Glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 11, n. 2. The theory that they were due to demonic or magic influence accounts for some of the precautions taken at the time of an eclipse (Liv. 26, 5, 9: *aeris crepitu qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet*; 43, 10, 5; Plaut. *Aemil.* 17; *de Fac. in Orb. Lun.* 29; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 28, 2; Lasch in *Archiv. f. Religionswiss.* 3 (1900), 97-152). That Cicero had a sound idea, however, of the causes of eclipses may be seen from *N.D.* 2, 103; *Rep.* 1, 23-25. But for the ominous meanings attached to such phenomena by the uneducated see Lydus, *de Ostent.* 9; Boll, *op. cit.* 2336-2337; 1, 44, n. (*liquier*) infra. For the prediction of eclipses see 1, 112, n. (*defectionem*).

3. *subito*: the suddenness of the total phase is also noted in *N.D.* 2, 103; *Rep.* 1, 23.

3. *stellanti*: cf. 1, 19.

Quae magnum ad columen flammato ardore volabat,
 Praecipitis caeli partis obitusque petessens?
 Aut cum terribili perculsus fulmine civis

2. *petessens* *Hollinger*, *petisset* C.

[107]4. *Phoebe* *fax*: not the sun, as Thoresen (ad loc.) supposes, in spite of *Phoebeae facis* in Sen. *Phaedr.* 379, for the expression *magnum ad columen* does not suit the sun and there is nothing else in the three lines, which are dwelt upon in detail, that could seem ominous if applied to the sun. Nor would *tristis nuntia belli*, standing where it does, properly apply to the sun. Further, Cicero's own words (in *Cat.* 3, 18): *ab occidente facies ardoremque caeli* make it clear that *fax* is not here a poetic term for the sun, and are supported by Dio Cass. 37, 25, 2: *λαμπάδες ἀνεκὰς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀπὸ τῶν θυμῶν ἀνέδραμον*. Obseq. 61: *trabis ardens ab occasu ad caelum extensa*, has apparently confused the *trabis* and the *fax*, for the distinction between which see below. It is probable that meteoric phenomena of some sort are here described, for Plin. *N.H.* 2, 96 says: *emittant et facies, non nisi cum decidunt visae . . . duo genera eorum. lampadas vocant plane facies, alterum bolidas, quae Mutinensibus malis visum est. distant quoad facies vestigia longa faciunt priore ardente parte, bolidis vero perpetua ardens longiorem trahit limitem*; cf. Sen. *N.Q.* 7, 5, 2: *trabes autem non transcurrunt nec praetervolant ut facies sed commorantur et in eadem caeli parte collucent*. From these passages and from Cicero's words *volabat* and *petessens* we may understand the swift motion of the meteor.

[107]4. *nuntia belli*: on meteors as omens see Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 511-512; Wülker, *op. cit.* 10-11; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 4, 3 ed. (1912), 58-68; Lucr. 2, 206-208; Frontin. *Strat.* 1, 12, 6; Luc. 7, 155; Sil. Ital. 8, 650-651; Amm. Marc. 25, 2, 7; Lydus, *de Ostent.* p. 33 Wachsmuth; also 1, 97; 2, 60 infra.

1. *ad columen*: for the phrase cf. 1, 20. *Columen* is here used instead of the usual *columna* (in 1, 20 and 1, 21 the two

words are used synonymously), in the sense of a pillar of fire; so *αὐω* in Heracl. Pont. ap. Aetius, *Plac.* 3, 2, 5; Sen. *N.Q.* 7, 20, 2 (following Posidonius): *columnae clipeique flagrantes*. Elsewhere the word better describes a comet, as in *Fast. Vind. I*, p. 298 Mommsen: *his consulibus (i.e., 390 A.D.) signum apparuit in celo quasi columna pendens per dies XXX*; and cf. the pillar of fire in *Exod.* 13, 21-22; 14, 19; al.; Courtney in *Folk-Lore Journ.* 5 (1887), 191.

2. *praecipitis*: for other cases of such east to west movement of flashes of light cf. Liv. 29, 14, 3 (204 B.C.); Dio Cass. 43, 35 (46 B.C.); 45, 17 (43 B.C.); Sen. *N.Q.* 1, 1, 12: *nostra certe aetas non semel vidit diurnas facies, alias ab oriente in occidentem versas, alias ab occasu in ortum*; Hier. *Chron.* 164 A.D. For *praecipitis* Thoresen (ad loc.) well compares Ov. *Met.* 2, 67-69 (of the down-hill afternoon course of the sun's chariot); see also Virg. *Georg.* 1, 365-366.

3. *terribili*: in Ennius twice (*Ann.* 140; 310) in the same position in the verse; awkwardly repeated four lines below.

3. *perculsus fulmine*: cf. Plin. *N.H.* 2, 137: *in Catilinianis prodigiis Pompeiano ex municipio M. Herennius decurio sereno die fulmine ictus est*; cf. Obseq. 61: *sereno Vargunteius Pompeiis de caelo exanimatus*. With regard to the identification of the man, as pointed out by Münzer (in *P.-W.* s.v. *Herennius* (1912), 664), not only is Pliny's account the more explicit, but no Vargunteii are as yet known from Pompeii, while the Herennii are frequently mentioned in Pompeian inscriptions, and at least two are known to have attained high office in the municipality, one having been a *duumvir* (*C.I.L.* X, 802; 831; 939; cf. X, 899-900). One L. Vargunteius was prominent in the Catiline conspiracy, but was alive at a

Luce serenanti vitalia lumina liquit?
 Aut cum se gravidō tremefecit corpore tellus?
 Iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae
 Terribiles formae bellum motusque monebant,

later period than that here mentioned (cf. *pro Sull.* 6; 67; *Sall. Cat.* 17, 3; 28, 1; 47, 1).

The striking of a man by lightning was often considered ominous of further trouble (e.g., 1, 98; *Liv.* 10, 31, 8; 22, 36, 8; 25, 7, 7; 33, 26, 7; 37, 3, 2; *Dion. Hal.* 5, 46; *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 83; *Dio Cass.* 41, 14; 76, 3; *Amm. Marc.* 23, 5, 12). Cf. also *Liv.* 1, 31, 8 (on which see Ampère, *Hist. rom. d. Rome*, 1(1862), 485-487); *Plin. N.H.* 28, 14; *Fest.* p. 245 M.; and for the significance of such occurrences Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.*, 1(1906), 77-78.

1. *luce serenanti*: cf. in *Cat.* 3, 18; *Obseq.* 61 (quoted above); *Dio Cass.* 37, 25, 1: κεραυνοί τε γὰρ ἐν αἰθέρι πολλοὶ ἔπαιον; *Plut. Cic.* 14 mentions κεραυνοί. Despite adverse statements of modern writers (e.g., Hann, *Lehrbuch d. Meteorologie*, 2 ed. (1906), 477) and of the Epicureans, as represented by *Lucretius* (6, 400-401: *denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro / Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?*—cf. *Sen. N.Q.* 2, 26, 7), the phenomenon of thunder in a clear sky, always ominous, often appears in ancient literature, chiefly, however, in poetry, e.g., *Hom. Od.* 20, 113-114: ἢ μεγάλ' ἰβρότησαν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δατερρότατοι, / οὐδέ ποθι νείφει ἐστὶ τίρας ὅτε τὰς τῶδε φάλαξ; ; *Enn. Ann.* 527 (quoted in 2, 82 infra); *Varr. Menipp.* 233-234; *Hor. Carm.* 1, 34, 5-8; *Virg. Georg.* 1, 487; *Aen.* 7, 141-142; 8, 523-526; 9, 630-631; *Ov. Fast.* 3, 369-370; *Obseq.* 1; 24; 28; 47; *Plin. N.H.* 18, 354; *Sen. N.Q.* 1, 1, 14-15; 2, 18; *Luc.* 1, 530; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 86-87; *Sacred Books of the East*, 1, 262, no. 13; also *Dion. Hal.* 2, 5 (as a good sign); *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 244 M.; *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 4(1882), 34, and n. 5. The word *serenanti* is unique in this absolute use.

1. *vitalia lumina liquit*: cf. 2, 63: *liquerunt lumina fatis*; the translation of *Il.* 7, 89 in the *de Glor.* (Müller's ed. 4, 3, 351, no. 3): *hic situs est vitae iam pridem lumina linquens*; for parallels in *Ennius* and *Lucretius* cf. *Wreschniok, op. cit.* 11-12.

2. *se . . . tremefecit*: cf. 1, 35; 1, 78, n. (*terrae motus*); 2, 60; *N.D.* 2, 14: *quae terreret animos . . . terrae motibus et saepe fremitibus*; in *Cat.* 3, 18. Earthquakes, probably in part from their chthonic character (1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*) infra), have been very generally regarded as portentous; e.g., *Plin. N.H.* 2, 191-206; *Plut. Cic.* 14: ἔδεικε δὲ καὶ τὸ δαίμωνιον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα σεισμοῖς, κτλ.; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 166: *secundum Etruscum disciplinam nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli dicitur*; *Lydus, de Ostent.* 53-58; *Anon. de Terrae Motibus* (published by Wachsmuth in his second ed. of *Lydus* (1897), 172-175). Lists of ominous earthquakes in Italy are collected by *Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 18, to which add, from a wider field, *Bulenger* in *Graevius, Thes. Antiq.* 5(1696), 494; 515-519; 539-540; *Ar. Eccl.* 791, and schol.; *Xen. Hell.* 3, 2, 24; 4, 7, 4; *Virg. Aen.* 3, 90-92; *Ov. Met.* 7, 205-206; *Justin.* 17, 1, 1-2; 24, 8, 9; 30, 4, 1-3; 40, 2, 1; *Sil. Ital.* 8, 643-649; *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 6, 38; *Matt.* 27, 51 (cf. *Mark.* 15, 38; *Luke.* 23, 45; *Hier. Chron. ann. Abr.* 2047); *Sozom. Hist. Eccl.* 6, 10; *Mullinger* in *Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 2, Am. ed. (1880), 1544; and, for more exhaustive treatment, *Capelle, Erdbeben im Altertum*, in *Neue Jahrb.* 11(1908), 603-633. Cf. also *Lasch* in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 5(1902), 236-257; 369-383; *Steinhauser, Der Prodigien Glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 13.

Multaque per terras vates oracla furenti
Pectore fundebant tristic minitantia casus,

19. Atque ea quae lapsu tandem cecidere vetusto
Haec fore perpetuis signis clarisque frequentans

[109]4. *terribiles formae*: doubtless ghosts. Plut. *Cic.* 14 mentions *φάσματα* at this time, and Dio Cass. 37, 25, 2, says: *εὐωλά τε πολλαχῶς ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντάσθη*. For the conception of the prescience of the dead see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 334-336. The questions connected with their appearance (which, when it was brought about by magic means, was known as necromancy; cf. 1, 132, and notes *infra*) are discussed by Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Aberglaube* (1894), 93; Hild in *Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Larvae* (1904), 950-953; Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed. (1907), index s.v. *Gespenster*; Wünsch in *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, 2 (1903), 177-188; Collison-Morley, *Greek and Roman Ghost Stories* (1912), 1-18; 54-79. For an interesting case of such an apparition see *Amm. Marc.* 31, 1, 3.

[109]4. *-que monebant*: a verse-ending found in 1, 20.

1. *vates*: cf. *de Har. Resp.* 18: *hanc recentem urbis inflammandae delendique imperi coniurationem non obscure nobis paulo ante praedixerint* (sc. *haruspices*); yet in 1, 105 below Appius Claudius the augur is named as one of those who foretold these dangers. With neither of these methods do the words *furenti pectore fundebant* agree.

1. *furenti*: cf. 1, 4: *furor*.

2. *fundebant*: cf. 1, 34; 1, 115; 2, 110; *N.D.* 1, 66; and especially the note on 1, 21 (*fuderunt*) *infra*.

3. *atque ea*, etc.: these lines appear to be connected with the preceding rather than with those that follow (*nunc ea*, etc.), although they of course refer to a time earlier than the year 63. Much difficulty has resulted from the fact that most editors have sought to connect them with the lines that follow and to consider them as

describing events of 65, but, as the editors have all noted, *vetusto* is entirely inappropriate for occurrences of only two years previous. It seems more probable that Cicero is here looking back to the year 87 (the *Bellum Octavianum*), the revolutionary attempts of which were preceded, like those of 63, by many portents, of which two, at least, were closely identical with those before the Catilinarian conspiracy, namely, the appearance of *cometae* (*N.D.* 2, 14; *Plin. N.H.* 2, 92), and the killing of a prominent man by lightning (Pompeius Strabo, according to *App. B.C.* 1, 68; 1, 80; *Plut. Pomp.* 1; *Obseq.* 56a; *Oros.* 1, 1). In other words, the attempts against the state (*ea*) which at last (*tandem*), i.e., with the final victory of Sulla, failed (*lapsu cecidere*), years ago (*vetusto* might well be used, especially in the freedom of poetry, for events of a score of years previous), Jupiter in the year 63 by clear and repeated (*frequentans*) signs foretold would recur (*fore*). This equating of the trifling Catilinarian conspiracy with the significant and far-reaching civil wars of Marius and Sulla would tend to increase the interest in the poem and to enhance the glory of its author-hero. Such a comparison, moreover, is well paralleled in the words of Cornelius Lentulus as described by Sallust (*Cat.* 47, 2), and that Cicero compared the plot which he had stifled with the civil wars of the past—in disparagement of the importance of the latter—is clear from another passage: *in Cat.* 3, 24-25. Very likely in the lost introductory portions of our poem the comparison here hinted at in so cursory a manner was more completely developed. Cf. Pease in *Class. Philol.* 14 (1919), 175-177.

4. *haec*: redundant, yet helping to emphasize the identity between the sets of portents and their fulfilment.

Ipse deum genitor caelo terrisque canebat.

XII. Nunc ea, Torquato quae quondam et consule Cotta
Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenae gentis haruspex,
Omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus.
Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo

1. *ipse deum genitor*: so in Virg. *Aen.* 7, 306.

1. *ipse*: perhaps with reference to the fact that many of the portents were phenomena of the sky, lightning, *cometae*, etc.

1. *caelo terrisque*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*caelum terrisque*).

1. *canebat*: cf. in *Cat.* 3, 18: *ut haec quae nunc fiunt canere di immortales viderentur*.

2. *nunc ea*, etc.: cf. in *Cat.* 3, 19: *nam profecto memoria tenetis Cotta et Torquato consulibus compluris in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum deiectae et legum aera liquefacta*, etc.; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 1-2: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωρέθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα . . . τὰ τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἢ ἄς οἱ νόμοι ἐσεγράφητο συνεχίσθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο*; Obseq. 61: *tabulae legum aeneae * * litteris liquefactis*.

2. *Torquato . . . et consule Cotta*: in 65 B.C. L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta were consuls.

3. *Lydius*: the famous story of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, who left the realm of King Atys under the guidance of his son Tyrsenus and came for settlement ἡ Ὀμβρικοῖς, where they became known as Tyrseni, is given by Hdt. 1, 94, and to his account Costanza (in *Ausonia*, 2(1907), 186-196) would trace back the numerous other ancient references of the same sort, most of which are collected by Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1(1848), xxxii, n.2. The archaeological and linguistic evidence for the facts in this question (still *sub iudice*) need not here concern us, but a careful résumé of modern theories is given by Körte in

P.-W. s.v. *Etrusker* (1907), 731-748, and a good summary of the main points of likeness between the Etruscans and the Orient by Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 1(1906), x-xv. The important point is that the Etruscans are in literature often called Lydians, and that the adjective 'Lydian' is consequently substituted for 'Etruscan' (e.g., Virg. *Aen.* 2, 781-782; cf. Catull. 31, 13, and Tennyson's well-known imitation). On the Etruscan haruspices cf. 1, 3 *supra*.

4. *fixa*: in the same position in the verse in 1, 20; cf. 1, 21.

4. *tuus . . . annus*: i.e., *annus consulatus tui*.

4. *glomerans*: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 25 (Cicero's translation of Aesch. *Prom.* V.): *atque haec vetusta, saeculis glomerato horridis, / lucifica clades nostro infixas est corpori*.

4. *determinat*: 'brings to a head.'

5ff. *nam pater . . . ignis*: = 2, 45; quoted also by Lact. *Inst.* 3, 17, 14: *qua de re etiam in libris consulatus sui eadem dixit quae Lucretius: Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo / ipse suas arces atque incluta templa petivit / et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus (aedis) codd. B R) ignes*. The difference of the second line may be a slip on the part of Lactantius, or perhaps we have here a trace of two editions, ours of the *de Consulatu* and the other of the *de Temporibus*, though Lactantius does not so cite the work.

5. *nam pater altitonans*: the adjective was apparently coined by Ennius (*Ann.* 541) to render the Greek ὑπερβρεμέτης, and Cicero here follows him in applying it to Jupiter; cf. Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 5; also 1, 106, n. (*altisoni*). For the beginning of the line cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4, 25: *vel pater omnipotens*; 6, 592: *at pater omni-*

Ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templa petivit
Et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus ignis.

Tum species ex aere vetus venerataque Nattae

3. venerataque *Gullimus*, generataque *C*, sacrataque *Wopkens*, generosaque *O cum Murdo*.

potens; 12, 178: *et pater omnipotens*; 7, 141: *hic pater omnipotens*; 8, 398: *nec pater omnipotens*; 1, 60: *sed pater omnipotens*; 7, 770; 10, 100; *Georg.* 2, 325; *Sil. Ital.* 3, 163: *tum pater omnipotens*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 248: *sic pater omnipotens*; *Ihm* on *Damasus* 57, 1; *Wreschniok, op. cit.* 24 (detecting the influence of Ennius).

[111]5. *stellanti*: cf. 1, 18; such awkward repetitions of unusual words at short intervals are a psychological phenomenon frequent in Cicero, both in prose and in verse.

[111]5. *Olympo*: a verse ending found in Ennius, Cicero, and often in Virgil (*Wreschniok, op. cit.* 24). The adjective *stellanti* shows that *Olympo* here = *caelo*.

1. *ipse suos*: ancient temples, being often in lofty and exposed situations, were frequently struck by lightning. In addition to 29 such cases described by Livy (*Lutembacher, Prodigien Glaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer* (1880), 13, n. 36), cf. *Dio Cass.* 42, 26; 45, 17; 47, 40; 55, 1; *Consol. ad Liv.* 401-402; *App. B.C.* 2, 36; 4, 4; *Suet. Aug.* 29; *Dom.* 15; *Tac. Ann.* 13, 24; *Oros.* 4, 4, 1; *Hier. Chron.* 112 A. D.; 189 A. D.; *Theodoret.* 3, 7; also *Ar. Nub.* 401; *Ov. Am.* 3, 3, 35. That such an occurrence was regarded as of religious significance may be seen from the frequent mention of it and from *Liv.* 27, 25, 8, where the dedication of a temple to Honor and Virtus in 208 B.C. was prevented by the pontiffs, *quod negabant unam cellam duobus diis recte dedicari, quia si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina fieret sciri non posset*; cf. *Hor. Carm.* 1, 2, 2-4; *Lydus, de Ostent.* 47: *ei δὲ καθ' ἑραοῦ πύθῃ κεραυνὸς τοῖς ἐρδόξοις τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλήθῃ ὁ κινδύνος ἐσπέφει*; cf. *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 43, and *Thulin, op. cit.* 1, 73, for the theory

that the significance of the bolt was indicated by the province of the god whose shrine was struck. The common view is attacked by *Lucretius*, 6, 397-400: *postremo cur sancta deum delubra suasque / discutiit infesto praeclaras fulmine sedes / et bene facta deum frangit simulacra suisque / demit imagines violento vulnere honorem?* cf. 2, 1101-1102; *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 45, 1: *quid enim tam imperitum est quam credere fulmina e nubibus Iovem mittere, columnas, arbores, nonnumquam statuas suas petere?* cf. 2, 46, 1; also *Christian writers*, e.g., *Min. Fel. Oct.* 5, 9. *Eusebius* remarks (*Pr. Ev.* 6, p. 238c): *εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ τὴν εἰμαρμένην οἱ γενναῖοι θεοὶ πεφρασαν, ὡς ὁμολογεῖν μὴδὲ κεραυνουμένους αὐτῶν τοῖς ἑραοῖς δύνασθαι ἐταμίειν. πολλὴ ἔρα γένοιτ' ἂν ἕλπις ἀνθρώποις εὐχομένοις τυχεῖν βοηθείας παρὰ τῶν μὴδὲ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἐπαρτήτων δωμάτων, κτλ.*; cf. 4, p. 135a. That the same superstition may have attached itself also to *Christian churches* may be guessed from *Isid. Pelus. Ep.* 1, 73, who explains why God does not spare his own temples.

1. *tumulos*: cf. 1, 18 supra. The plural is perhaps poetic, as in *Hor. Carm.* 1, 2, 3-4: *dextera sacras iaculatus arcis / terruit urbem*; or perhaps refers to the two summits of the Capitoline Hill; or may even refer to the striking of the Capitoline and some other hill not elsewhere noted in the evidence preserved. For the alliterative pair *tumulos ac templa* cf. 1, 20: *fixa ac fundata*; 1, 21: *flamma ferroque*; *Wölfflin in Sitzungsber. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 1881, 2, 1-93; especially 56-57.

2. *Capitolinis*: in the time of Sulla the Capitol had been burned, so now Jupiter seemed to foreshadow a similar danger to it. Further, the Capitoline is the type of the state itself, as in *Hor. Carm.* 3, 3, 42; 3, 30, 8; *Virg. Aen.* 9, 448; etc.

3. *species*: this use of the word (= *simulacrum*) is apparently limited to

Concidit, elapsaeque vetusto numine leges.

I. vetusto ¹⁷, uetustae (vel uetuste) C.

this poem (cf. 1, 20; 1, 21) and is doubtless poetic, for in 2, 45 and 2, 47 Cicero uses the expression *Natae statua*.

[112]3. *venerataque*: the simplest emendation here suggested, which forms a neat and characteristic alliterative phrase with *vetus*.

[112]3. *Natae*: one of the *statuae veterum hominum* mentioned by Cicero in *Cat. 3*, 19 (and cf. the scholiast). The name is discussed by Schulze, *Zur Gesch. röm. Eigennamen* (1904), 286, n. 3; 363. By some it is identified with the *Naccae* of Fest. p. 166 M. (in the sense of *fullones*). We have two unfavorable pictures of later men named Natta (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 124; Pers. 3, 31). Natta appears as a cognomen in the gens *Pinaria* attached to the worship of Hercules (Liv. 1, 7, 12; Dion. Hal. 1, 40; Fest. p. 237 M.), and with this gens Cicero in 2, 47 connects this Natta. Tac. *Ann.* 4, 34, 2 also speaks of a *Pinarius Natta*; cf. *Prosopogr. Imper. Rom.* 3 (1898), 39; Schulze, *op. cit.* 366; 416. Various guesses as to whom this statue may have represented are offered by Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 2 (1899), 665, n. 1. For statues on the Capitoline see Jordan, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1, 2 (1885), 56-58; also the second line below in our text.

1. *concidit*: the portent is partly in the striking by lightning and partly in the falling. For the latter feature cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64 M.: *caduca auspicia dicunt quum aliquid in templo excidit, veluti virga e manu*; 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*); 1, 75, n. (*stellaque*); 1, 77; and the question of stumbling in 2, 84. The falling of statues of men or gods is often noted; cf. Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 13, n. 36; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 152; 35, 5; Suet. *Nero*, 46; *Galb.* 1; Dio Cass. 37, 9; 39, 15; 40, 17; 41, 14; 50, 15; 54, 1; 77, 11; Obseq. 5; 7; 18; Gell. 4, 5; Vopisc. *Prob.* 24, 2; Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1965; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 33; Crooke in *Folk-Lore*, 8 (1897), 341; Knowlson,

Origins of Popular Superstitions (1910), 164-167; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 11, 3 ed. (1913), 165-167; Rose in *Folk-Lore*, 24 (1913), 222. Sometimes a significant part of the statue fell, as the golden apple in the hands of the statue of Justinian at Constantinople (cf. 1, 20, n. (*tum fore, etc.*)), the fall of which betokened the loss of much of the Greek empire (*Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1905 ed.), 7). For *caduca auspicia* in general see the collection of Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 437-440, to which may be added Xen. *Hell.* 4, 4, 5; Heracl. Pont. in *F. H. G.* 2, 218, no. 17; Ov. *Met.* 9, 571-572; Plut. *Marc.* 5; *Otho*, 4; Dio Cass. 43, 18; 48, 43; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 13, 2; 60, 4-5; *Chron. Pasch.* 407 A.D.; Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 5, 34, p. 231 c-d; Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 1; Claud. in *Eutrop.* 2, 282 ff.; *de Rapt. Proserp.* 3, 126-127; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 198.

For the striking of statues by lightning cf. 1, 98; Lydus, *de Oestn.* 47: *εὶ δὲ κατ' ἀγάλματων κατερχῆθῃ, ποιῆται καὶ ἐπαλλήλους τὰς συμφορὰς τοῖς πράγμασι ἀπειλεῖ· εἰ γὰρ χαρακτηριστὸν ἰδεῖν τῶν καὶ κόσμου πῶλων τὰ ἀγάλματα ὑπτίωθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἀρὰ τοῖς πράγμασι ἢ περὶ αὐτὰ ἔβρις; also see *Oxyrhynch. Pap.* 6 (1908), 198-200 for a papyrus of the second or third century describing the omens from the striking of the statue of a poor man and (broken off just after the beginning) those from the striking of that of a rich man. And cf. Thulin, *op. cit.* 1, 76-77; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 9-*

1. *elapsae*: cf. in *Cat.* 3, 19: *legum aera liquefacta*; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 2: *τὰ τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ἄς οἱ νόμοι ἐσγράφηοντο συνεχίσθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο*; Obseq. 61: *tabulae legum aeneae * * litteris liquefactis*; also 2, 47 infra. Whether *elapsae* refers to the slipping down of the inscribed tablets from their places, or possibly to the 'run-

Et divom simulacra peremit fulminis ardor.

20. Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix,

ning' of the letters on their surfaces is not clear. A passage in Dio Cass. 41, 14, 3 (relating to the year 49 B.C.) says: *περὶ αὐτῶν . . . τὰς στήλας τὰς τοῦ νόμου ἐχοῦσας ἐλυμήναντο*. The way in which the Capitol had become the repository for documents, original or copied, is well discussed by Jordan, *op. cit.* 1, 2 (1885), 52-56, who quotes Suet. *Vesp.* 8 (for the period after the fire of 69 A.D.): *aerearumque tabularum tria milia quae simul conflagraverant restituenda suscepit undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta plebiscita de societate ac foedere ac privilegio cuiusque concessis*.

[113]l. *vetusto numine*: troublesome to editors but probably correct, for *numen* is used not only of the divine but also of the human will and its expressions; cf. *Phil.* 3, 32: *magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus; post Red. in Sen.* 18: *numenque vestrum aequae mihi grave et sanctum ac deorum . . . futurum*. The idea appears, then, to be 'laws of ancient sanction.'

2. *hic silvestris, etc.*: cf. 2, 45; in *Cat.* 3, 19: *et latius etiam ille qui hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio, parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministis*; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 1: *εὐκλῶν τὲ τις λυκαίτης σὺν τῷ ῥῶμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἰδρυμένη ἔπεισε*; *Obseq.* 61: *biennio ante in Capitolio lupam Remi et Romuli fulmine ictam*. [U]sener] in *Rhein. Mus.* 56(1901), 313 compares *Rep.* 2, 4: *cum esset (sc. Romulus) silvestris beluae sustentatus uberibus*; *Propert.* 3, 9, 51: *eductosque pares silvestri ex ubere reges*; and *Virg. Aen.* 8, 631-632 (of which the *Schol. Danielis* remark: *totus hic locus Ennianus est*), to indicate that the word *silvestris* (and probably also *uberibus*) is a reminiscence of Ennius. If these words, then possibly more also, and one might suspect the phrase *vitalis*

rore rigabat. The word *hic* evidently refers to the Capitol.

Liv. 10, 3, 12: *codem anno (295 B.C.) Cn. et Q. Ogulnii acdiles curules aliquot faenatoribus diem dixerunt; quorum donis nullatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea vasa in cella Iovis Iovemque in culmine cum quadrigis et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt*. With this wolf of the Ogulnii there has often been identified the famous bronze wolf now preserved, with twins perhaps added in the sixteenth century (but cf. Michaelis in *Röm. Mittheilungen*, 6 (1891), 13), in the Museo dei Conservatori in Rome, yet the idea has been often expressed that this extant work cannot be that of which Cicero writes because his was destroyed by lightning and was a gilded statue. That these assumptions are both incorrect has been maintained by Petersen (*Klio*, 8(1908), 440-456; 9(1909), 29-47), who reverts to the earlier belief of Marliani (1543), Winckelmann, and others, that the bronze wolf of the Capitol is that of which Cicero speaks as cast down (but not destroyed), and of which the gilding (in *Cat.* 3, 19) was found, not on the statue itself, but on the accompanying twins (Petersen, *op. cit.* 450 ff.). Most significant seemed to Petersen the examination of the extant statue made by an electrical engineer, G. Mengarini, who concluded that the damage to the hind legs, already observed by others, was in all probability due to lightning (Petersen, *op. cit.* 453-456). The style of the wolf is further noted by Petersen (in his second article) to be far older than the time of the Ogulnii, and he concludes it to be the work of an Ionian or Chalcidian artist settled in Italy. Dieterich, however, (*Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900), 204-207), followed by Soltau (*Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12(1909), 122-

Martia, quae parvos Mavortis semine natos
 Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat;
 Quae tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu
 Concidit atque avolsa pedum vestigia liquit.

124), though identifying the extant wolf with that addressed by Propertius (4, 1, 55-56), yet distinguishes carefully between the wolf on the Capitoline, of which Cicero speaks, in a group of which the twins were an essential part, and that near the *focus Ruminalis*, where he thinks that the Ogulnii merely placed figures of the twins under an already existing wolf. The wolf of the Museo dei Conservatori, if it be identified with that which once stood on the Capitol, should show (1) traces of the damage done by lightning, and (2) evidence by its position of the earlier presence of the twins. The former might be the traces found by Mengarini (of which, of course, Dieterich had not had the knowledge), but the position of the wolf is not that suited to a beast giving suck but rather to the more often represented type of the wolf threatening an enemy, so that, as he believes, we are probably not justified in identifying this statue with that of which Cicero speaks.

Into the arguments of Petersen upon the effect of the work on the development of the Romulus legend, and the attacks upon this theory by De Sanctis (in *Rivist. di Filol.* 38 (1910), 72) we need not here go. The later history of the extant wolf is treated by Petersen, *op. cit.* 440 ff., and a good bibliography of representations of the wolf and works upon its identity is given by Helbig-Amelung, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen . . . in Rom*, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 564. For representations in art see also Carter in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Romulus* (1909), 202-207; Soltat, *op. cit.* 119, n.; cf. the inscriptions in *C.I.L.* II, 2156; 5063; VIII, 958; Suppl. 12220. The legend is discussed by Carter (*op. cit.* 176-178), and close parallels for the suckling by the wolf are given by Roscher in his *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v.

Apollon (1884), 439; cf. Justin, 1, 4, 2-14; 44, 4, 8-12. On the lines here under discussion cf. Byron, *Child Harold*, 4, 88.

[114]2. *altrix*: cf. 2, 45: *altrice belua*.

1. *Martia*: the wolf was sacred to Mars and apparently a totem; cf. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, 1(1907), 213, and n.4; Virg. *Aen.* 9, 566: *Martius . . . lupus* (where Servius remarks: *aut cruentus aut Marti dedicatus*); Liv. 10, 27, 9: *Martius lupus, integer et intactus, gentis nos Martiae et conditoris nostri admonuit*; Manil. 4, 26: *lupa . . . Martia* (cf. Propert. 4, 1, 55); Auct. *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 20, 4: *lupum picumque Martiae tutelae esse*; Plut. *Rom.* 4: *ρουλτέρα δ' Ἄπειρος λέγεται τὰ ἴψα*; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2(1906), 1380, n. 2.

1. *Mavortis*: Cicero uses the name in prose only twice, and then to make clearer a supposed etymology (*N.D.* 2, 67; 3, 62), and it is perhaps borrowed from Ennius (Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 3-4).

2. *rore*: only here used of milk, but elsewhere of tears, blood, myrrh, etc., as well as of water.

3. *flammato*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*flammatus*).

3. *fulminis ictu*: so in Lucr. 3, 488 (in which there are other traces of Ennius); 5, 399; Ov. *ex Pont.* 3, 1, 51; cf. Lucr. 6, 386; Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 55, who derives the phrase from Ennius.

4. *concidit*: in the same position in the verse in 1, 19. Displacement rather than destruction of the statue is here meant.

4. *avolsa*: probably nominative, modifying *altrix*; possibly by poetic transfer of adjectives accusative = *avolsorum pedum vestigia*.

4. *vestigia liquit*: cf. Lucr. 3, 320; *vestigia linqui*; Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 55, again suggests Ennius as a source. The word *vestigia* in this position in the verse is

Tum quis non artis scripta ac monumenta volutans
 Voces tristificas chartis promebat Etruscis?
 Omnes civilem generosa a stirpe profectam
 Vitare ingentem cladem pestemque monebant,
 Vel legum exitium constanti voce ferebant,
 Templa deumque adeo flammis urbemque iuebant

3. *generosa a Müller, generosa ab O, generosa B¹, Christi, generosam C.*

4-5. *v. inverso ordine sequitur in C, necnon in adiunctionibus vetustioribus.*

4. *Uire (corr. Uitare) ingentem B (litterae eia in ras.), Uir ingentem AV, Uiri ingentem E, Volvire in quatuor Plasberg in Rhoin. Mus. 53 (1898), 95-97.*

5. *Vel legum V⁷, Uolunt legum ABV¹, sed prior vox A in ras., Vultum legum E, Tum legum Plasberg, Lc.*

6. *urbemque cod. Balliolensis Davriti, urbiaque C.*

frequent in Cicero (in Müller's ed. 4, 3, p. 351, 28; p. 352, 31; p. 361, 89; p. 370, 339; p. 371, 367; 382; p. 372, 425; p. 374, 472; p. 380, 703). Bases of statues from which the figures have been so removed as to leave only the 'foot-prints' are too familiar to archaeologists to require illustration.

1. *tum quis*: cf. 2, 45.

1. *scripta ac monumenta*: hendiadys.

1. *volutans*: cf. Lucr. 6, 375-377: *non Tyrrhena retro volventem carmina frustra / indicia occultaë divum perquirere mentis, / quidve monere queat de caelo fulminis ictus.*

2. *voces tristificas*: cf. 1, 13, n. (*tristificas*).

2. *chartis . . . Etruscis*: cf. 1, 72, and nn.; 1, 100; and for lists of the different phrases employed to describe these writings see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 7, n. 2; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 1 (1906), 1-12; *id. in P.-W. s.v. Etrusca disciplina* (1909), 725.

3. *civilium*: cf. Lydus, *de Ostent.* 47: *αὶ δὲ ἐν πολιτικῇ ἢ δημοσίῳ κατανεχθελῆ τῶν τε (sc. ὁ κεραυνός), ἐμφυλίου τε πολέμου καὶ στάσεως καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνατροπὴν δηλοῖ.*

3. *generosa a stirpe*: probably of Catiline (*nobilis genere natus*, according to Sall. *Cat.* 5, 1) and his associates, of whom those of senatorial and equestrian rank are enumerated by Sall. *Cat.* 17, 3-4; though Büdinger (*Denkschr. d.k. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 36 (1888), 91) would apparently apply the expression to the whole patriciate as the source from which

the trouble arose; cf. Schwartz in *Hermes*, 32 (1897), 566-567. For the phrase cf. Lucr. 4, 1222: *ab stirpe profecta*; Wresch-niok, *op. cit.* 54.

4ff. *monebant . . . ferebant . . . iuebant . . . vereri . . . teneri*: an unusual case of rhyme. A little beyond we find *ortus . . . senatus, morata . . . locata, hora . . . columna . . . parata*. Cf. *Arat.* 165-166: *feretur . . . tuelur; Tusc.* 1, 68, where Cicero quotes Ennius, *Sc.* 151-153 *Vahlen: frondescere . . . pubescere . . . incurrescere*; see also *Sc.* 58-61 (quoted in 1, 66 infra): *ciet . . . pudet . . . piget . . . dolet*; 97-99: *inflammari . . . evitari . . . turpari*; Froben, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (1910), 146-150. There seems little reason for supposing that the rhymes in our passage are not intentional, though some scholars, like Wölflin, have regarded them as mere identities in inflexional endings. On this whole question cf. Usener in *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.* 107 (1873), 174-176 = *Kl. Schr.* 2 (1913), 255-257; Wölflin in *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 1 (1884), 389; Dingeldein, *Das Reim bei den Gr. u. Römern* (1892), especially 106-107 on Cicero; Lundström in *Eranos*, 2 (1897), 81-116; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 2, 2 ed. (1909), 810-908, especially 839, who thinks Cicero the only poet of his time who would have ventured upon so bold a rhyme.

5. *legum exitium*: typified by the throwing down of the tables of the law (1, 19), as the *stragem horribilem* below perhaps corresponds to the *nocturna strage* of 1, 18.

Eripere et stragem horribilem caedemque vereri;
 Atque haec fixa gravi fato ac fundata teneri,
 Ni prius excelsum ad columnen formata decore
 Sancta Iovis species claros spectaret in ortus.
 Tum fore ut occultos populus sanctusque senatus

3. *ni prius Gualdimus*, Ne post *AV*¹, Ne post *BV*², Ni post *HO*.

3. *excelsum B*, *excelsum ABV*, *excelsum H*.

[116]6. -que: postponed in position (cf. Munro on Lucr. 2, 1050), possibly to bring it into juxtaposition with *adro*. For the phrase -que adeo cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 613, 42 ff.

1. *eripere*, etc.: cf. in *Cat.* 3, 19: *quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedis atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperi occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.*

2. *fundata*: cf. Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 56.

3. *ad columnen*: cf. 1, 18.

4. *sancta Iovis species*: cf. in *Cat.* 3, 20: *idemque iusserunt simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso conlocare et contra atque antea fuerat ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt si illud signum quod videlicet solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret fore ut ea consilia quae etiam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperi inlustrarentur ut a senatu populoque Romano perspicere possent;* Dio Cass. 37, 9, 2: *τά τε οὐν ἄλλα ἐξέθουον τοῖς μάττοι πευθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα μείζον, πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον, ὅπως αἰ στυμμοσίαι ὑφ' ὧν ἐταράττοντο κεραιεῖν ἰδρυθῆναι ἐνηφίσταον;* Obseq. 61: *signumque Iovis cum columna disiectum auspicum responso in foro repositum;* Arnob. 7, 38: *quotiens vatum iussis haruspicumque responsis postquam divina res facta est et ex gentibus transmarinis acciti dii . . . et in altioribus columnis signa quaedam et simulacra sunt constituta et imminensium aversi sunt periculorum metus et gravissimi hostes pulsi;* 7, 40: *ictum cum esset Capitolium fulmine multaque in hoc alia, Iovis etiam simulacrum, sublimi quod*

in culmine stabat, suis esse ab sedibus revolutum, responsum deinde ab haruspibus editum res scaras tristissimasque portendi ab incendiis, caedibus, ab legum interitu et ab iuris occasu, maxime tamen ab domesticis hostibus atque ab impia coniuratorum manu. sed flecti haec posse, immo aliter publicari scelerata non posse consilia nisi Iuppiter rursus altiore in culmine figeretur orientale conversus ad cardinem radiisque oppositus solis. adfuisse dicto fidenti; nam subrecto culmine conversoque ad solem signo patuisse res abditas et reserata in maleficia vindicatum. This statue of Jupiter must be included in the *divom simulacra* of 1, 19 (= *simulacra deorum* of in *Cat.* 3, 19); and for statues of Jupiter on the Capitoline temple cf. 1, 16, n. (*Summanus*), and works there cited. It may perhaps be inferred that this statue had originally been at the west and that it was now transferred to the east.

4. *species*: cf. 1, 19, n. (*species*).

4. *claros . . . in ortus*: cf. 1, 106: *nitidos convertit ad ortus.* Ammon (in Bayer. *Blätter f. d. Gymnas.-Schulwesen*, 53 (1917), 295-301; see also *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 38 (1918), 565) suggests that the east is prominent as the place where the generalissimo, Pompey, was deciding the fate of Rome. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 23, n., would explain the orientation on religious grounds.

5. *tum fore*, etc.: cf. the statue of Justinian (?) on a pillar at Constantinople facing east and with hand uplifted as though to avert the Persians (to the full references for which collected by Reinach in *Rev. des Études grecques*, 9 (1896), 82-85 add *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1905 ed.), 7). See also the description by

Cernere conatus posset, si solis ad ortum
 Conversa inde patrum sedes populi que videret.

21. Haec tardata diu species multumque morata
 Consule te tandem celsa est in sede locata,
 Atque una fixi ac signati temporis hora
 Iuppiter excelsa clarabat sceptrum columna,
 Et clades patriae flamma ferroque parata

7. Et *Hollinger*, At *BBV*, Ad *A*, Ac *Morus*.

Alexander Neckam of the inventions of the wizard Virgil (Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, 2, 2 ed. (1896). 193), who *Romae item construxit mobile palatium, in quo cuiuslibet regionis imago lignea campanam manu tenebat. quotiens vero aliqua regio maiestatis Romani imperii insidias moliri ausu est, incontinenti proditricis icona campanulam pulsare coepit. miles vero aeneus, equo insidens aeneo, in summitate fastigii praediti palatii hastam vibrans, in illam se vertit partem quae regionem illam respiciebat.* Zonaras 8, 1 says that before the approach of the Gauls a statue of Victory at Rome descended from its pedestal and faced the direction from which the invaders were coming. Cf. also 1, 74, n. (*arma sonuerunt*) infra. The idea of deity resident in statues and consequent powers of observation and reaction on the part of images is partly the basis of various ancient tales of statues sweating (1, 74; 1, 98), weeping, turning around, etc. See in this connection the curious story in Dio Cass. 60, 13, 3. For the setting of a statue in a loftier position cf. Gell. 4, 5, 1-4; and for the restoration of fallen statues Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 546, n. 6.

[117]5. *sanctusque senatus*: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 238: *sanctoque senatu*; *Virg. Aen.* 1, 426: *sanctumque senatum*; also *in Cat.* 1, 9. With the unusual order *populus sanctusque senatus* cf. *C.I.L.* 11, 5041 (= Dessau 15): *populus senatusque*.

2. *patrum sedes populi que*: cf. *in Cat.* 3, 20: *forum curiamque conspiceret*.

3. *tardata diu*: cf. 2, 46-47; *in Cat.* 3, 20: *atque illud signum collocandum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis*

tarditas ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur; 3, 21: *illud vero nonne ita praesens est ut nulu Iovis optimi maximi factum esse videatur ut cum hodierno die mane per forum meo iussu et coniurati ei eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur eo ipso tempore signum stateretur? quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso omnia et senatus et vos quae erant contra salutem omnium cogitata illustrata et patefacta vidistis*; Dio Cass. 37, 34, 3-4: τὸ Κυκέρωνος δημηγοροῦντος τι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργαμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἔστι τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνδρῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τῶν μάρτυρων πρὸς τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον ἀνετίθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοί τε συννομῶσαι τιὰ ἐξελεγχθῆσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος στάσεως (αἱ πτώσεως) εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθεῖσι συνέβαινε, τὸ τε θεῖον ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ τοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι' ὀργῆς μάλλον ἐποιούοντο; Quintil. 5, 11, 42: *Cicero . . . in contione contra Catilinam cum signum Iovis columnae impositum populo ostendit*.

4. *locata*: cf. *Wreschniok, op. cit.* 52, for the influence of Ennius.

5ff. *atque . . . et*: note the rapid fulfilment of the predictions.

6. *clarabat*: cf. *Ara.* 273; 410; *Tim.* 40, and *Plasberg's* n. Here it probably means 'revealed,' i.e., 'stretched out'; possibly, however, the sceptre may have been gilded, so that an idea of its flashing is here implied.

7. *et clades . . . patebat*: for the metrical effect of these lines, the first heavily spondaic, dealing with the danger to Rome, the second largely dactylic, representing the escape from these dan-

Vocibus Allobrogum patribus populoque patebat.

- XIII. Rite igitur veteres, quorum monumenta tenetis,
 Qui populos urbisque modo ac virtute regebant,
 Rite etiam vestri, quorum pietasque fidesque
 Praestitit et longe vicit sapientia cunctos,
 Praecipue coluere vigenti numine divos.
 Haec adeo penitus cura videre sagaci
 Otia qui studiis laeti tenere decoris,

22. Inque Academia umbrifera nitidoque Lyceo

1. populoque *vulg.*, populusque *ABV*, populusque *BBV*.

gers, cf. Guendel, *De Ciceronis Poetae Arte* (1907), 11.

1. *Allobrogum*: for the facts cf. in *Cat.* 3, *passim*; *Sall. Cat.* 40-41.

2. *rite*, etc.: note the similar beginnings of lines: *rite . . . rite . . . ; praestitit . . . praecipue*.

2. *rite*: on this word cf. Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis . . . des ciceronischen Stils*, 2 (1912), 30.

2. *veteres*: evidently contrasted with *vestri* below, and therefore, on the principle of *exempla externa* and *exempla domestica* (cf. 1, 29, n. (ut *P. Claudius*) *infra*), probably referring to the Greeks. Thoresen (ad loc.) well suggests Homer, on the basis of the remarks of *Hor. Ep.* 1, 2, 1-4.

3. *modo ac virtute*: cf. *de Sen.* 77: *virtae modo atque constantia*.

5. *sapientia*: this as an ancient Roman ideal appears in many places, e.g., in the epitaphs of the Scipios (*C.I.L.* I, 30; 34), and in Cicero's account of Cato (*de Sen.* 4; 6).

6. *vigenti numine*: Hottinger (ad loc.) well notes that the gods, in contrast to the *otium* of men, are active and intent upon human affairs. It is by the study of the signs sent by them that men learn the future. The variants proposed (*ingenti, viginti*; also *numine* in place of *numine*), though palaeographically easy are in meaning so difficult as to be unworthy of acceptance. With the phrase *vigenti numine* cf. *Lucr.* 1, 925: *instinctus mente vigenti*; and Cicero frequently uses

vigeo with *animus* or *mens* (e.g., 1, 63; 1, 115; 2, 139; cf. *Merguet's lexica s.v.*).

7. *haec adeo*, etc.: on the metrical *hōr* of this and the next two lines cf. *Guendel, op. cit.* 11.

8. *otia*: for the plural of this word cf. *Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre der lat. Spr.* 1, 3 ed. (1901), 632; *Maas, Stud. s. poet. Plural bei den Römern* (1902), 545-546; *Stangl in Rhein. Mus.* 70 (1915), 238-239.

8. *tenuere*: Thoresen, in *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser., 2 (1894), 26-27, objects to this word and emends to *trivere* (or perhaps the rare form *tenerere*), and in his edition (1894), compares *de Amic.* 104: *in quibus (studiis) . . . omne otiosum tempus contrivimus*. But *otium teneo* is not a harsh expression, and a partial parallel may be found in *de Leg. agr.* 2, 103: *quam vos fortunati eritis, si in hoc statu quam habetis vestra non ignavia quaesitum sed virtute partum otium tenueritis*.

9. *Academia*: shall we read *Academia*, *umbriferā* (keeping the Greek quantity of the penult of *Academia* and losing the caesura in the line) or *Acadēmiā* / *umbriferā* (with hiatus and shortening of the final *a* of *Academia*, as Lachmann in a long and learned note on *Lucr.* 3, 374 would hold)? Moser, to avoid the awkward elision, suggested a change of order to *umbrifera inque Academia*, but for this we have no manuscript evidence. Perhaps we may infer whether Cicero said *Academia* or *Acadēmiā* from a verse in *Plin. N.H.* 31, 8, by *Laurea Tullius*, a freedman of our author, describing a Ciceronian villa: *atque Academiae cele-*

Fuderunt claras fecundi pectoris artis.

E quibus ereptum primo iam a flore iuventae

bratam nomine villam. A freedman sufficiently educated to write verse would probably have known the pronunciation in use for such a word by his master when speaking of part of his estates. I should incline, therefore, to the former of the two scansiones suggested above, awkward as the result may appear (and for other harsh features in this poem cf. Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 297-303). For similar elisions cf. Guendel, *op. cit.* 35; and on the omission of the caesura *id.* 23. Further, certain evidence for *Academia* in verse is not found until Claudian (*Paneg. Manl. Theod.* 94) and Sidonius (*Carm.* 2, 169), that in Anon. *de Figuris* 122 (*Poet. Lat. Min.* 3, 281; *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., 16) being based upon an uncertain text.

[119]9. *umbrifera*: cf. *Ar. Nub.* 1005; ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορφαῖς καταβύβησ'; *Diog. L.* 3, 7: ἐκαστῶν δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας (sc. ὁ Πλάτων) διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον πρόστατον ἄλωδες . . . καὶ Ἐστωλὶς ἐν Ἀστυλάτοις φησὶν: Ἐν ἐσείοις δρόμοισιν Ἐκαδήμου θεοῦ; *Plut. Cim.* 13: τῆν δ' Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀχιμηρῶν κἀτάρτυτον ἀποδείξας ἄλωος, ἡσημέρον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ σκελεῖς περιτάτοις. The grove was cut down by Sulla, according to *Plut. Sull.* 12: καὶ τῆν τε Ἀκαδήμειαν ἔπειρε δευροφορωτάτην προαστείων οὖσαν, but it apparently later recovered some of its charm; cf. *de Fin.* 5, 1; *Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 45: *inter silvas Academi*; *Plin. N.H.* 12, 9 (on plane trees there); *Paus.* 1, 30, 1, and Frazer's note; *Judeich, Topogr. von Athen* (1905), 363-365. See also *Milton, Parad. Lost*, 4, 244 ff.

For the adjective *umbrifera* cf. 2, 63. The word is used by Varro, Virgil, and later writers, and may be Ennian. A pleasant picture of such philosophical discussions in the shade is found in *de Leg.* 1, 15, imitating *Plat. Leg.* 1, p. 625b-c.

[119]9. *nitidoque Lyceo*: for a description and history of the Lyceum, including its

use as a gymnasium, see Frazer on *Paus.* 1, 19, 3; *Judeich, op. cit.* 365-366. The adjective *nitido* has reference to the oil used by the gymnasts, the unctuous and shining appearance being by an easy figure transferred from the persons to the place which they frequented. So *Theocr.* 2, 51: λιπαρῆς ἐκτοσθε παλαίστρας; [*Luc.*] *Amores*, 3: λιπαρὰ παλαίστρα; (again in 45); *Ov. Her.* 15 (16), 149-150: *nitida dum nuda palaestra / Iulius*; 18 (19), 11: *unctae dona palaestrae*; *Met.* 6, 241: *opus nitidae iuvenole palaestras*; *Fast.* 5, 667: *nitida quoque lute palaestra*; *Mart.* 4, 8, 5: *nitidis . . . palaestris*.

The two words *Academia* and *Lyceo* are not to be considered as limiting Cicero's philosophical studies in Athens to acquaintance with those schools alone. He says (*Brut.* 315): *cum venissem Athenas sex mensis cum Antiocho veteris Academiae nobilissimo et prudentissimo philosopho sui, studiumque philosophiae, numquam intermissum a primaque adolescentia cultum et semper aurulum, hoc rursus summo auctore et doctore renovavi*; *de Fin.* 1, 16: *Phaedrum . . . cum Zenonem . . . quorum utrumque audivi . . . atque eos quos nominavi cum Attico nostro frequenter audivi*; *N.D.* 1, 59: *Zenonem . . . cum Athenis essem audiebam frequenter*. Doubtless the two schools here mentioned are merely types of philosophy in general, in the study of which Cicero was engaged during his Greek trip of 79-77 B.C.

1. *fuderunt*: perhaps intentionally similar to 1, 18: *vates oracula furentis / pectore fundebant*, the philosophers and seers being thought of as alike sharing in inspiration and pouring forth their message from within (*pectore, pectoris*), but the message of the one set being indefinite and terrible, while that of the other is open and logical (*claras*).

2. *e quibus*, etc.: cf. *ad Att.* 2, 3, 4: *sed me κατὰ κλεις μεα illa commovet quae est in libro tertio: Interea cursus, quos prima*

Te patria in media virtutum mole locavit.

Tu tamen anxiferas curas requiete relaxans

Quod patriae vacat id studiis nobisque sacrasti.

Tu igitur animum poteris inducere contra ea quae a me disputantur de divinatione dicere, qui et gesseris ea quae gessisti, et ea quae pronuntiavi accuratissime scripseris? 23. Quid? quaeris, Carneades, cur haec ita

2. relaxans, Quod patriae vacat id *Madwig*, relaxans, Quod patriae uocatis C (*sed V uocis ex correct.*), relaxans, Quod patria vacat his studiis *Dovies*, relaxans, Quam patriae vocis *Schwab*, relaxans, Quod patriae voci studium *Foerisch*, relaxans, Quod patriae vocis O.

4. de deli. aliquot, et de C.

a parte iuventae / quosque adeo consul
virtute animoque petisti, / hos retine atque
auge famam laudesque bonorum. haec mihi
cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta
ἀποστολατικῶν Calliope ipsa praescripserit,
non opinor esse dubilandum quin semper
nobis videatur eis ὁλοῦς ἀπὸτος ἀβροῦθα
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα.

[120]2. *ereptum*: to express the sudden transition from a life of study to one of practical politics. Patin (*Études sur la Poésie lat.* 2, 2 ed. (1875), 438-439) compares the experience of Horace as shown in *Ep.* 2, 2, 46-48.

[120]2. *primo . . . flore iuventae*: Drackendorch on *Sil. Ital.* 1, 376 (*primaevo flore iuventae*) has collected many similar phrases, including *Virg. Aen.* 7, 162: *primaevo flore iuventus*; *Sen. Phaedr.* 620: *iuventae flore primaevo*; *Quintil. Decl.* 9, 9: *primo iuventae flore*; *Sil. Ital.* 16, 405: *primaevae flore iuventae*.

1. *te patria, etc.*: the widely accepted interpretation of these lines by Hottinger (ad loc.) may well be quoted: *te vocavit ad res gerendas, atque amplissimam tibi dedit materiam, in qua vires tuae exerceri, virtusque tua spectari posset.* Giese (ad loc.) suggests that the occasion here described is Cicero's quaestorship in Sicily (cf. *2 Verr.* 5, 35: *sic obtinui quaesturam in Sicilia provincia ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos esse arbitrarer, ut me quaesturamque meam quasi in aliquo terrarum orbis theatro versuri existimarem, etc.*) in 75 B.C., but there seems no need to limit the line to that one

year, rather than to the general course of events after his entering public life.

2. *anxiferas*: used only by Cicero, the only other passage being in a translation from Sophocles in *Tusc.* 2, 21.

3. *quod patriae vacat*: cf. 2, 7; *Rep.* 1, 8: *neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educavit ut nulla quasi alimenta exspectaret a nobis . . . sed ut plurimas et maximas nostri animi, ingeni, consilii partis ipsa sibi ad utilitatem suam pigneraretur tantumque nobis in nostrum privatum usum quantum ipsi superesse posset remitteret; de Or.* 1, 3: *in his asperitatibus rerum vel angustiis temporis obsequar studiis nostris et quantum mihi vel fraus inimicorum vel causae amicorum vel res publica tribuet otii ad scribendum potissimum conferam; Off.* 2, 4: *postea quam honoribus inservire coepi meque totum rei publicae tradidi, tantum erat philosophiae loci quantum superfuerae amicorum et rei publicae temporibus; cf. in Caecil.* 41; *Quintil.* 3, 10, 26.

4. *poteris*: cf. 1, 33; 1, 72; 2, 46. The appeal to Marcus on the ground of his own record recalls that of Balbus to Cotta in *N.D.* 2, 168. See also below 1, 25, n. (*vestra*); 1, 58; 1, 68; 1, 103; 1, 106.

6. *accuratissime scripseris*: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 1.

6. *Carneades*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*Carneade*); the objections of Carneades appear in full in 2, 9 ff. For apostrophe of a philosopher who is regarded as the inspirer of one's opponent cf. *N.D.* 1, 87-88; *Tusc.* 2, 29.

fiant aut qua arte perspicui possint? Nescire me fateor, evenire autem te ipsum dico videre. Casu, inquis. Itane vero? quicquam potest casu esse factum quod omnes habet in se numeros veritatis? Quattuor tali iacti casu Venerium efficiunt; num etiam centum Venerios, si quadringentos

1. *nescire*: for the thought cf. 1, 12, n. (*eventa*); 1, 16.

2. *casu*: in several passages in the second book, doubtless following Carneades, the argument from the possibility of chance is employed to refute divination; cf. 2, 21; 2, 27; 2, 39; 2, 47; 2, 48; 2, 52; 2, 62; 2, 66; 2, 67; 2, 75; 2, 83; 2, 121; 2, 141.

2. *itane vero*: ironical, as in 2, 68; 2, 83; *N.D.* 2, 11.

3. *omnes . . . numeros*: this use of *numerus* corresponds to a Greek use of *ἀριθμὸς*, as in Isocr. *Busir.* p. 224d; Diog. L. 7, 100; Stob. *Ecl.* 2, 7, 11a (2, p. 93 Wachsmuth). With these cf. *Off.* 3, 14: *perfectum atque absolutum est, et, ut idem dicunt, omnes numeros habet*; *Fin.* 3, 24: *omnes numeros virtutis*; 4, 56: *pauciores quasi numeros officii*; *N.D.* 2, 37: *expletum omnibus suis numeris et partibus*; *Ov. Met.* 1, 427-428: *imperfecta suisque / Irunca vident numeris*; 7, 126: *perque suos intus numeros componitur infans* (sc. in alvo); *Sen. Ep.* 71, 16: *virtus habet numeros suos, plena est* (and so perhaps *Ep.* 95, 5; *Plin. Paneg.* 71; *Quintil.* 10, 1, 91); *Aug. C.D.* 22, 30: *omnes . . . harmoniae . . . numeri*. Certain passages (e.g., *Sen. de Benef.* 7, 1, 4; *Quintil.* 10, 1, 4; 12, 2, 12) in which *numeri* clearly refer to positions or attitudes in wrestling have led some scholars to trace this idiom to that source. But as Ernesti (*Clavis Ciceroniana*, various ed., s.v. *numerus*) points out, the word may well be taken in the sense of *partes*, which seems to agree better with its static meaning than a figure drawn from the active motions of wrestling.

3. *veritatis*: cf. 1, 125, n. (*ex omni aeternitate . . . veritas*).

3. *quattuor tali*: cf. 2, 48; 2, 121. The use of astragals or ivory or metal likenesses of them was common for games

of various kinds (Heydemann, *Die Knöchelspieler in Palasso Colonna* (1877), 8-9; Mau in *P.-W.* s.v. 'Ἀστράγαλος (1896), 1793) and in gambling and divination (*astragalomania*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1(1879), 191; 3(1880), 310; Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astragalomania* (1896); Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 213-215). With the important description of Schol. Plat. *Lys.* p. 206 cf. Eustath. *Il.* 23, 88; Suet. ed. Reifferscheid, pp. 326-328; Mau, *op. cit.* 1794. Various numbers of *tali* might be used, but the usual number was four and is thus often represented in art (Heydemann, *op. cit.* 9). Only a few of the 35 combinations possible with the four thrown at once are known to us by name, but the most favorable was the 'Ἀφροδίτη or *Venus*, in which all the upper faces were different (Mart. 14, 14-15: *cum steterit nullus vultu tibi talus eodem / munera me dices magna dedisse tibi*; [Luc.] *Amores*, 16: *εἰ ποτε τὴν θεοῦ αὐτῆν ἐββόλησει, μὲνδὲς Ἀστραγάλου πρῶτος ἰσὺ σχήματι, κτλ.*), which is not infrequently mentioned, e.g., *Plaut. Asin.* 905; *Hor. Carm.* 2, 7, 25-26; *Propert.* 5(4), 8, 45; *Suet. Aug.* 71; Heinevetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland u. Kleinasien* (1912), 25; also Frazer on *Paus.* 7, 25, 10 (on dice in general). The name of *Venus* appears in other connections as well, associated with good luck; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2(1906), 1366.

4. *Venerium*: sc. *iactum*; but cf. *Plaut. Asin.* 905: *hoc Veneriumst*.

4. *num etiam centum*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 93: *hoc* (i.e., the creation of the universe by chance) *qui existimal fieri potuisse non intellego cur non idem putet si innumerabilis unius et viginti formae litterarum vel aureae vel qualeslibet aliquo coiciantur posse ex iis in terram excussis annales Enni, ut deinceps legi possint, effici: quod*

talos ieceris, casu futuros putas? Aspersa temere pigmenta in tabula oris liniamenta efficere possunt; num etiam Veneris Coae pulchritudinem effici posse aspersione fortuita putas? Sus rostro si humi A litteram inpresserit, num propterea suspicari poteris Andromacham Enni ab ea posse describi? Fingebat Carneades in Chiorum lapidinis saxo diffuso caput

1. ieceris *cod. Reg. Cantab.*, eieceris *ABV*, eieceris *H*.
2. Coae *Victorius*, coaeque *V*, coeque *B*, quoque *A*, cohe *F*, Cnidiae *Consequo Marus*.
3. lapidinis *V*, lapidinis *A B V*, lapidi cini *B*, Ipicidinis *H teste Deitro*.

nescio an ne in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere fortuna; also *Arist. de Caelo*, 2, 12, p. 292 a 29: ολον μυριον αστραγάλου χλωι βαλειν ἀμήχανον, ἀλλ' ἕνα ἢ δύο ῥῶον.

1. *aspersa*: cf. 2, 48; *Plut. de Fortuna*, 4: Νεάλην μέντοι φασὶν Ἴππον ζωγραφούτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κατορθοῦν εἴδει καὶ χρώμασι, τοῦ δ' ἀφροῦ τὴν περὶ τῷ χαλιῷ ποτιμένην χαιρότητα καὶ τὸ συνεπιπτον ἄσθημα μὴ κατορθοῦντα γράφειν τε πολλάκις καὶ ἐξελείφειν, τέλος δ' ὅπ' ὀργῆς προσβαλεῖν τῷ νιναικί τῶν σπύγγων ὥσπερ εἶχε τῶν φαρμάκων ἀνάπλωμα, τὸν δὲ προσπεσόντα θαυμαστῶς ἐναπομάζει καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ δῖον.

If. *oris liniamenta*: cf. 2, 48.

2. *Veneris Coae*: this painting is mentioned as a typical masterpiece in *N.D.* 1, 75; *Orat.* 5: *Coae Veneris pulchritudinem*. It is more fully treated by *Plin. N.H.* 35, 91-92: *Venerem exeuntem e mari diuus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae anadyomene vocatur, versibus Graecis tali opere dum laudatur victo sed inlustrato, cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non potuit reperiri verum ipsa iniuria cessit in gloriam artificis. consenuit haec tabula carie, aliamque pro ea substituit Nero principato suo Dorothei manu. Apelles inchoaverat et aliam Venerem Coi, superaturus famam illam suam priorem; invidit mors peracta parte nec qui succederet operi ad praescripta liniamenta inventus est; cf. *Off.* 3, 10: *ut nemo pictor esset inventus qui in Coa Veneri eam partem quam Apelles inchoatam reliquisset absolveret*—*oris enim pulchritudo reliqui corporis imitandi spem auferebat; ad Fam.* 1, 9, 15. On the history of the former painting see *Strab.* 14, p. 657: ἐν δὲ τῷ προσατέλει (at Cos)*

τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἔστι, σφόδρα ἐνδοξον καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν, ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ ὁ Ἀπέλλου Ἀντίγονος. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀναδυομένη Ἀφροδίτη, ἣ νῦν ἀνάκειται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀναθῆντος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀρχηγίειν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ. φασὶ δὲ τοῖς Κίωσις ἀντὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἑκατὸν ταλάντων εἶφειν γέρισθαι τοῦ προσταχθέντος φόρου. *Or. Tr.* 2, 527-528 also mentions the statue at Rome.

3. *sus*: in the two previous examples and the following pure chance is involved, free from volition; in the case of the pig we have an animal thought of as so stupid as to be practically without reason. Cf. the proverbs from the stupidity of the pig collected by Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 336-337, and 224 (the familiar *sus Minervam*).

3. *A litteram*: the letter is perhaps chosen at random or perhaps as the initial of the play to be mentioned.

4. *Andromacham Enni*: of this play, apparently also called *Andromache Aechmalotis*, we have 33 complete or partial lines, many of them quoted by Cicero. On the making of words and sentences by chance cf. *N.D.* 2, 93 (quoted above), and the excellent note of Mayor; also *Plut. de Pyth. Orac.* 11: *τι κωλπει λέγων ἕτερον, ὡς οὐχ ἔγραψε τὰς κυρίας ἡμῖν Ἐπίκουρος, ὡ βήθη, δέξαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτως οὕτω πρὸς ἄλλα τῶν γραμμάτων συνεπεσόντων, ἀπετελείσθη τὸ βιβλίον.*

5. *in Chiorum lapidinis*: the quarries and marbles of Chios are frequently mentioned: e. g., *Theophr. de Lapid.* 6: *λιθοτομίαι Παρίων τε καὶ Περτελικῶν καὶ Χίων τε καὶ Θηβαϊκῶν*; *Strab.* 14, p. 645: *ἔχει δ' ἡ νῆσος καὶ λατομίαν μαρμάρου λίθου;*

extitisse Panisci; credo aliquam non dissimilem figuram, sed certe non talem ut eam factam a Scopas diceres. Sic enim se profecto res habet ut numquam perfecte veritatem casus imitetur.

Plin. *N.H.* 5, 136: (*habet Chios*) *marmor Chium*; 36, 46: *primum, ut arbitror, versicolores istas maculas Chiorum lapidinae ostenderunt*; 36, 132: *Theophrastus auclor est et translucidi lapidis in Aegypto quem Chio similem ait.*

In Plin. *N.H.* 36, 14, however, the scene of our story is laid in a different island: *sed in Pariorum mirabile proditur, glaeba lapidis unius cuneis dividendum soluta, imaginem Sileni intus extitisse.* Osann (in *Rhein. Mus.* 4 (1833), 419-422) attempted to identify the *imaginem* here mentioned with a figure of Pan or Silenus in the Adamas relief at the entrance of a quarry-shaft in Paros (*I.G.* XII, 5, 1 (1903), no. 245, with bibliography; Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, 2 (1912), 360), stating that the group in question showed traces of different dates in its carving, and suggesting that an irregularly broken surface was the original head (which may have been later improved by art), and that the rest of the figures were afterwards added. The original central figure may have been variously interpreted by the sources of Carneades and Pliny as Pan or Silenus, and the story in the telling have changed its scene, so that it is not necessary to emend, as did Osann, the *Chiorum* of our passage to *Pariorum*.

The appearance of heads underground, perhaps sometimes fossils (for which see Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, 1, 2 ed. (1903), 132; 437-438; Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 41), is noted in other instances, particularly in the aetiological tale of the *caput Oli* (*Liv.* 1, 55, 5; *Dion. Hal.* 4, 59; *Auct. de Vir. ill.* 8, 4; *Serv. Aen.* 8, 345; *Chronogr. a.* 354, p. 144 Mommsen; *Arnob.* 6, 7; *Et. Mag.* 490, 44; *Isid. Etym.* 15, 2, 3) and the story of the head of Orpheus as an underground oracle (*Philostr. Her.* p. 306). One may also compare the origin of the lots at Praeneste (2, 85); the Tages story

(2, 50); and an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander (Michel, *Rec. d'Inscr. grecques* (1900), no. 856 and literature there cited): δ $\theta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ δ Μαγνήτιω $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\eta$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\eta\upsilon$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega$ $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma$ $\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}$ δ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\iota\theta\eta$ $\epsilon\kappa$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\rho\mu\alpha$ $\Delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\tau\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\upsilon$.

The argument from the case here mentioned is answered at length in 2, 48-49.

1. *extitisse*: the same word is used of the similar appearance of Tages in 2, 50.

1. *Panisci*: on the form of the word see Petersen, *The Greek Diminutive Suffix -ακο-, -ακη* (*Trans. Connect. Acad. Sci.* 18(1913), 139-207; cf. additions by Sturtevant in *Class. Philol.* 11(1916), 113-117). One of Petersen's classes (p. 161) is images, including those of gods, and he cites *Ἀπολλωνίακος*, *Σαυρίακος* (cf. 1, 39 *infra*), and *Παλακος*. The last named occurs also in *N.D.* 3, 43 (plural); Plin. *N.H.* 35, 144; *Suet. Tib.* 43; *Clem. Protr.* 4, 61; *C.I.L.* VIII, 2632; XIV, 4098. Cf. also the men's names thus formed, e.g., *Heraiacus*, *Hermiscus*.

Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2(1906), 1389, n. 1, observes that Pan became pluralized into families of Pans, with Pan children (*Panisci*), and the representation of such in Hellenistic and Roman art is discussed by Wernicke in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s. v. *Pan* (1909), 1436-1439. In the present case *Paniscus* may be such a young Pan or simply a small figure of the mature Pan, rather than an 'attendant of Pan,' as Petersen, *op. cit.* 187, suggests.

2. *Scopas*: as a type of the great sculptor mentioned by Cicero only here, and in the reply in 2, 48 it is Praxiteles with whose work the head is contrasted. Scopas is, however, used as a type by *Hor. Carm.* 4, 8, 6. Possibly some *Paniscus* by Scopas may have been known to

XIV. 24. At non numquam ea quae praedicta sunt minus eveniunt. Quae tandem id ars non habet? earum dico artium quae coniectura continentur et sunt opinabiles. An medicina ars non putanda est? quam

Cicero; in fact Plin. *N.H.* 36, 29, in rather close connection with his account of Scopas, mentions a statue of Pan in the Saepta at Rome, but is in doubt as to its artist.

[124]2. sic enim se . . . res habet: cf. *N.D.* 3, 89: sic enim res se habet; *Leg.* 1, 56: ita res se habet; 1, 58: profecto ita se res habet; and many other instances; cf. Merguet, *Lex. s. d. phil. Schr.* 2, s.v. habeo, p. 122.

[124]3. veritatem: cf. 2, 49.

1. at: as often in Cicero, introducing the argument of an opponent; cf. 1, 60; 2, 45; 2, 81; 2, 105; 2, 112; 2, 146; al.

1. minus eveniunt: cf. *N.D.* 2, 12 (in part quoted by Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 14): *at forlasse non omnia eveniunt quae praedicta sunt. ne aegri quidem quia non omnes convalescunt idcirco ars nulla medicina est. signa ostenduntur a dis rerum futurarum. in his si qui erraverunt non deorum natura sed hominum coniectura peccavit*; 3, 15: *at medici quoque (ita enim dicebas) saepe falluntur. quid simile medicina, cuius ego rationem video, et divinatio, quae unde oritur non intellego?* Tac. *Ann.* 6, 22, 5: *plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinantur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere, fallacis ignara dicentium, ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulcriti*; [Luc.] *de Astrol.* 2: *οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀμαθῆ καὶ βαθυμῆ καὶ προσιτὶ μισοπονίῃ κελνοῖσι τε ἀντίφρα φρονέουσι καὶ εὐτ' ἂν ἀνδράσι ἐπικυρίωσι ψεύδεα μαρτυρομένοιαι, δαστρῶν τε κατηγοροῦσι καὶ αἰτῆρ δαστρολογίῃν μισίουσιν, οὐδέ μιν οὐτε βῆμα οὐτε ἀληθία νομίζουσιν ἀλλὰ λόγον ψεύδεα καὶ ἀνεμῶλιον, οὐ δικαίως, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φρονιότες: οὐτε γὰρ τεκτονὸς αἰδρήν τεκτοσύνης αἰτῆρ ἀδικίῃ οὐτε αἰλητῆρ ἀμουσίῃ μουσικῆς ἀσορίῃ, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀμαθῆς τῶν τεχνῶν, ταύτη δ' ἐν ἐπιτηρ σοφῆ*; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 13: *ei quia vanities aliquotiens plebeia strepit, haec imperite mussando, si esset*

praesentiendi notitia quaedam, cur illo se casurum in bello, vel alius hoc se passurum ignoravit aut illud, sufficere dici, quod et grammaticus locutus interdum est barbare, et absurde cecinit musicus, et ignoravit remedium medicus; set non ideo nec grammatica nec musica nec medicina subsistit. Similarly Aug. *de Div. Daem.* 10 argues that prophetic demons are often deceived, *sicut medici et nautae et agricolae*; cf. *C.D.* 10, 32. For the support of a principle frequently ineffective by comparison with the fallibility or the abuses of other principles cf. *N.D.* 3, 70; *Leg.* 2, 13.

1. minus: this word softens for the speaker the admission of a fact somewhat damaging to his contention. The admission again appears in 1, 124, and, in a form with most extreme concessions, in 1, 128, and the argument is answered in 2, 16.

2. earum: cf. *Ac.* 2, 107: *eisne (sc. artibus) quae ipsae fallentur coniectura se plus uti quam scientia, an eis quae tantum id quod videtur secuntur, etc.*

3. opinabiles: the subject of opinion; so the adjective *δοξαστός* in Greek.

3. an medicina: the parallels here alleged (physician, pilot, general, and statesman) appear frequently in other connections, especially the first three forming a triad; cf. 1, 3, n. (*Pythio*). Of such groups (cf. Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 564) may be cited 1, 112 (physicians, pilots, farmers); 2, 12 and 2, 13 (pilot, physician, general); 2, 16 (physician, general, pilot); *Off.* 1, 60 (physicians, generals, orators); *Rep.* 5, 8 (pilot, physician, general); *Demetr. de Eloc.* 78 (general, pilot, charioteer); *Max. Tyr.* 14, 7 (physician, pilot, traveler); 19, 3 (physician, general, pilot); 19, 4; 20, 4; 38, 5 (physician, pilot, farmer); *Euseb. Pr. Ev.* 14, 20 (physician, pilot, general); *Aug. de Div. Daem.* 10; *Amm. Marc.* 21,

tamen multa fallunt. Quid? gubernatores nonne falluntur? An Achivorum exercitus et tot navium rectores non ita profecti sunt ab Ilio ut 'profectione laeti piscium lasciviam intuerentur,' ut ait Pacuvius, 'nec

1, 13 (grammarian, musician, physician). In the following cases two only are cited: *N.D.* 3, 76; *Rep.* 1, 62; 5, 5; *Off.* 1, 60; *Plat. Rep.* 1, p. 346a; *Max. Tyr.* 21, 5; 21, 8; 40, 5; *Quintil.* 2, 17, 24-25; *Curt.* 5, 9, 3; *Orig. c. Cels.* 4, 96; *Stob. Flor.* 103, 27. On the use of examples drawn from trades and professions cf. *Plat. Gorg.* p. 491a.

Points of resemblance between divination and medicine were observed by Hippocrates (*Med. Gr.* ed. Kühn, 23, 790): ἰητρικὴ δὲ καὶ μαρτυκὴ καὶ πάνυ συγγενεῖ εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν δύο τεχνῶν πατὴρ εἰς Ἀπόλλων (so *Ar. Plut.* 11), ὁ καὶ πρόβουλος ἡμῶν, ἰώσας καὶ ἰσομίνας νόσους προαγορεύειν καὶ νοσῶντας καὶ νοσήσοντας ἴαμενος. Cf. *Aug. C.D.* 10, 32, p. 509 Hoffmann; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 47-48; *Eustath. Il.* p. 48, 37 (*Trag. Gr. Frag.* ed. Nauck, 2 ed., p. 127, no. 460): Ἀσχυλῶς . . . τὸν ἰατρὸν μάντιν ὀνομάζει; also the use of the word *λατρώμαντις*. The essential differences, however, between these specialists and diviners are insisted upon in 1, 112; 2, 13-16; *Luc. Diss. cum Hesiodo*, 7-8; *Sext. Emp.* 5, 1-2; *Iambl. de Myster.* 3, 26, p. 163 Parthey; *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 3, 11; *Aug. de Div. Daem.* 9; *Suid. s.v. προφητεία*.

3. *profectione, etc.*: by slight changes two additional lines may be won for this quotation, as Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom. Frag.*, 3 ed. (1897), 153), following the suggestions of others, has done:

• *profectione laeti piscium lasciviam.*

intuentur, nec tuendi satietas capier potest.

Other emendations for the last clause are: *satias capere possiet* Gruter, *capere possiet satietas* Davies, *capere satietas potest* Hermann, *satias capere nos potest* Usener, *capere potis est satietas* Stieglitz. Cicero might easily have modified *intuentur* to *intuerentur* and *capier* to *capere* to adapt the quotation to the context (the conjunction *ut* and the mention of the army).

The quotation can be further lengthened by the addition of lines found in *de Or.* 3, 157, beginning with the words *inhorrescit mare* and continuing for three and a half lines beyond the end of the part here quoted; cf. Ribbeck, *l.c.* In *Non.* p. 423 M. the line beginning *interea prope* is ascribed to *Varro epistula ad Caesarem*, but Ribbeck well suggests a lacuna between the words *Varro* and *epistula* containing the name of the play and of Pacuvius.

From what play this fragment is taken Ribbeck does not decide, but notes that in fr. 14 and 15 of the *Teucer* of Pacuvius we also have descriptions of a shipwreck. Zillinger (*Cic. u. d. allröm. Dichter* (1911), 130) without question ascribes our lines to the *Teucer*, though some earlier scholars, perhaps on the basis of a reference to shipwreck in fr. 16 of the *Dulorestes*, assigned it to that play. The lines quoted in 1, 29 below have been also placed in the same play as the present lines; cf. Ribbeck, *op. cit.* 286.

Without sure knowledge of the identity of the Latin play we can hardly name its Greek source, but the subject is the great storm familiar from the third book of the *Odyssey* and the fourteenth book of Quintus Smyrnaeus, described in *Aesch. Agam.* 626 ff., and predicted in *Eur. Tr.* 77-97. The introductory words suggest somewhat two lines in the *Aegisthus* of Livius Andronicus (Ribbeck, *op. cit.* 1, no. 2): *tum aulem lascivum Nerei simum pecus / ludens ad cantum classem lustratur* (cf. Patin, *Études sur la Poésie latine*, 2 (1883), 150-151), with which compare fr. 44 of Pacuvius, placed by Ribbeck just before our lines. It may well be that all are derived from one original.

3. *lasciviam*: cf. *Rutil.* 1, 379; *lascivos . . . pisces*.

3. *Pacuvius*: for Cicero's estimate of Pacuvius see Zillinger, *op. cit.* 31-34,

tuendi satietas capere posset?'

Interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare,

Tenebrae conduplicantur noctisque et nimbum occaecat nigror.

Num igitur tot clarissimorum ducum regumque naufragium sustulit artem gubernandi? aut num imperatorum scientia nihil est quia summus imperator nuper fugit amisso exercitu? aut num propterea nulla est rei publicae gerendae ratio atque prudentia quia multa Cn. Pompeium, quaedam M. Catonem, non nulla etiam te ipsum fefellerunt? Similis est haruspicum responsio omnisque opinabilis divinatio; coniectura enim nititur, ultra quam progredi non potest. 25. Ea fallit fortasse non numquam, sed tamen ad veritatem saepissime dirigit; est enim ab omni aeternitate repetita, in qua cum paene innumerabiliter res eodem modo evenirent isdem signis antegressis, ars est effecta eadem saepe animadvertendo ac notando.

1. posset O, possit C; vide infra.

11. dirigit codd. et add., dirigit Müller; cf. annotationem eius criticam.

and for his quotations from him the same work, 124-131.

2. *inhorrescit mare*: cf. Sisenna, *Hist.* 4, 104 (ap. Non. p. 423 M.): *subito mare subhorrere caecosque fluctus in se provolvere*; Cic. *Rep.* 1, 63: *cum subito mare coepit horrescere*; Virg. *Aen.* 5, 11: *inhorruit unda tenebris*; Curt. 4, 3, 17: *inhorrescens mare*.

3. *noctis . . . nigror*: cf. Lucil. 209 Marx: *noctis nigrore*.

3. *occaeat*: cf. Liv. 33, 7, 2: *densa caligo occaecaverat diem*.

5. *nihil*: for similar predicate uses cf. Merguet, *Lexikon s. d. phil. Schr.* s.v., 700.

5. *summus imperator*: Pompey is thus described in *pro Font. exc. Cusana* 8: *Cn. Pompei, summi imperatoris et fortissimi viri*, and, by implication, in *Imp. Pomp.* 28; 36. Cicero uses the expression freely of other generals as well, both past and present.

6. *nuper*: 48 B.C. For the use of *nuper* in introducing *exempla* see Schoenberger, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte* (1911), 59; also 2, 55; 2, 59 infra.

8. *non nulla etiam*: the climax contributes to the effect of an indirect boast hardly again equalled until Plin. *F.p.* 9, 23, 6. Similar citation by Cicero of him-

self in a list of instances is noted by Schoenberger, *op. cit.* 28, in *pro Planc.* 20.

9. *opinabilis*: Davies observes that the art of physicians, generals, etc., is also dependent upon opinion, and he would take this word as a gloss, while Christ would explain: *omnisque divinatio opinabilis est*. But it is unnecessary to make any change; *opinabilis* probably has primary reference to the forms of artificial divination, as distinguished from natural (which, although it may at times mislead, Cicero does not consider as so largely involved in interpretation); cf. 1, 72.

9. *coniectura . . . nititur*: cf. 1, 124; 2, 55; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 12: *somniorum autem rata fides et indubitabilis foret nisi ratiocinantes coniectura fallerentur interdum*.

9f. *ultra quam progredi*: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 38: *modum quendam quem ultra progredi non oporteat*.

11. *ab omni aeternitate*: cf. 1, 115; 1, 125; 2, 19; *de Har. Resp.* 29: *caerimonias ab omni vetustate acceptas*; also 1, 125, n. (*ex omni aeternitate . . . veritas*) infra.

12. *evenirent, etc.*: cf. 1, 12.

13. *isdem signis antegressis*: cf. 1, 127; Hippoc. *de Victu*, 1, 12 (Diels, *Frag.*

XV. Auspicia vero vestra quam constant! quae quidem nunc a Romanis auguribus ignorantur (bona hoc tua venia dixerim), a Cilicibus, Pamphylis, Pisidis, Lyciis tenentur. 26. Nam quid ego hospitem nostrum, clarissimum atque optimum virum, Deiotarum regem, commemorem? qui nihil umquam nisi auspiciato gerit. Qui cum ex itinere quodam

J. Lyciis *πυλ.*, Lucius A, Liciiis *ΒΒΥ*.

d. *Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 83): *μαντική τοιάυτη τοῖσι μὲν φανεροῖσι τὰ ἀφανία γινώσκει καὶ τοῖσιν ἀφανῖσι τὰ φανερά. καὶ τοῖσιν τοῖσι τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ τοῖσιν ἀποθανοῖσι τὰ ζῶντα καὶ τῷ ἀσύντην αὐτῶν δὲ μὲν εἰδῶσι ἀεὶ ὁρθῶς ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδῶσι ἄλλοτε ἄλλως;* and, for dreams, Synes. *de Insomn.* 11: *τοῖσι εἰδώλοισι ἐκάστοτε σημαϊκόμθε τῆν τῶν ἑσπόμενων ἐέργειαν. πρόδρομα γάρ ἐστι ταῦτα τῶν αἰτῶν καὶ θμοια τῶν ὁμοίων.*

[127]13. *ars est effecta*: cf. 1, 1; 2, 146; *N.D.* 2, 166: *multa praeterita ostentis, multa extis admonemur, multisque rebus aliis quas diuturnus usus ita notavit ut artem divinationis efficeret.*

[12:]13f. *animadvertendo ac notando*: cf. 1, 12.

1. *vestra*: an indirect appeal to Cicero on the ground of his official connection with divination; cf. *N.D.* 1, 14. Similar cases are found in 1, 30; 1, 72; 1, 105; *N.D.* 2, 168: *tu autem Colla . . . te . . . pontificem esse cogites*; *Rep.* 1, 20: *pergisse eam, Laeli, artem includere in qua . . . excellis ipse?* cf. *de Har. Resp.* 26-27; also 1, 22, n. (*poteris*).

1f. *nunc . . . ignorantur*: cf. 1, 28; *N.D.* 2, 9: *negligentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omisa, veritas auspiciozum spreata est, species tantum retenta*; *Leg.* 2, 33: *sed dubium non est quin haec disciplina et ars augurum evanuerit iam et vetustate et negligentia. ita neque illi adsentior qui hanc scientiam negat umquam in nostro collegio fuisse, neque illi qui esse etiam nunc putat*; *Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 71; 1, 72, n. (*augurales*) infra. In 2, 70 the reason for keeping up the forms of divination is explained.

2. *bona*, etc.: cf. *Leg.* 3, 34: *bona tua venia dixerim*; *N.D.* 1, 59: *bona venia me audies*; *Tusc.* 4, 12: *pace tua dixerim* (so in *Leg.* 3, 29).

2. *Cilicibus*, etc.: cf. 1, 2; 1, 92; 1, 94; 2, 80; *Leg.* 2, 33; *Reitzenstein, Drei Vermutungen s. Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* (1894), 29.

3. *Lyciis*: of peculiarly Lycian augury I find no remnants, but Virgil mentions (*Aen.* 4, 346; 4, 377) Lycian *sortes* (doubtless the utterances of the oracle of Apollo at Patara), and Paus. 7, 21, 13 notes an oracular spring of Apollo in Lycia.

3ff. *quid . . . commemorem*: cf. 2, 52; *de Sen.* 52; *Tusc.* 1, 100; in *Cal.* 4, 16.

4. *Deiotarum*: tetrarch of the Tolis-toboi in Galatia, who, because of his aid to Roman governors and generals, had had his territory increased and had been given the title of king (*pro Reg. Deiot.* 10). Cicero speaks in various places of aid received from him in Cilicia (e.g., *pro Reg. Deiot.* 39: *labore equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque coniunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna eius officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt*; for other evidence cf. *Niese in P.-W.* s.v. *Deiotarus* (1901), 2401), and describes his assistance to other generals (*pro Reg. Deiot.* 27; 37; *Phil.* 11, 33), everywhere in terms of high praise. His scruples in religious matters are set forth in detail in *de Har. Resp.* 29; for his knowledge of augury cf. 2, 76-79 infra. On divination among Celtic races see Dottin in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 788; 1, 90, nn. (*Druidae, auguriis*) infra.

5. *nihil umquam*, etc.: cf. 1, 28; also 1, 3, n. (*auspiciato . . . condidisse*).

5. *ex itinere*: cf. 2, 20; *Val. Max.* 1, 4, 2: *Deiotaro vero regi omnia fere auspiciato gerenti salutaris aquilae conspectus*

proposito et constituto revertisset aquilae admonitus volatu, conclave

ἦναι, qua visa abstinuit se ab eius lecti usu quod nocte insequenti ruina solo aequalium est. For similar tales cf. Pherocydes ap. Schol. Hom. Od. 11, 287: Μελάμπουσι ἁλοῖσι ἑπερθῆν τιμῶν σκολήκων διαλεγομένων οἱ καταβεβρώκοιεν τὴν δοκὸν καὶ τοῦτο ἁλοῖσας καλεῖ τοῦτ' διακόρου καὶ κελύει αὐτὸν ἐκφέρειν, τῆς κλίτης λαμβανομένου τῆρ μὲν γυναῖκα πρὸς ποδῶν, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα πρὸς κεφαλῆς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναλαβόντες ἐκφέρουσιν. ἐν νοσοῦντ' δὲ καὶ ἡ δοκὸς κατακλάται καὶ ἐπιπίπτει τῇ γυναίκ' καὶ κτείνει αὐτήν; *de Or.* 2, 353 (after Simonides had recited in the house of Scopas at Crannon a poem in praise of Castor and Pollux): paulo post esse fetenti nuntiatum Simonidi ut prodiret: iuvenis stare ad ianua[m] duo quosdam qui eum magno opere evocarent; surrexisse illum, prodisse, vidisse neminem. hoc interim spatio conclave illud ubi epularetur Scopas concidisse; ea ruina ipsum cum cognatis oppressum suis interisse. This tale is also found in Quintil. 11, 2, 12-13, and—told of Pindar instead of Simonides—in Solin. 1, 120. Herod is also said to have providentially escaped from a house just before it fell, according to Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 1, 17, 4. Somewhat similar are the cases of escape from shipwreck on the part of Simonides (1, 56; 2, 134-135; 2, 143) and Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 5, 18). The falling of roofs due to the breaking of roof-timbers is discussed by Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 5, 6, 1; and cf. the story in Hdt. 6, 27; also the remarks of Juv. 3, 190-196 on the dangers from falling roofs.

The omen here described belongs to the general class known as ἐνόδια, mentioned by Aesch. *Prom. V.* 487, and defined by Suid. s.v. ὀνώσιμα (so also in *Anecd. Gr.* ed. Cramer, 4, 241): τὸ δὲ ἐνόδιον ὡς ἔστιν ἐξηγησθαι τις τὰ ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ ἀπαυτίττα, οἱ τὰν ἀπαυτίτησιν οἱ τις τὸδε βαστάζων, τὸδε συμβήσεται σοι. It is further illustrated by Ar. *Ecl.* 792; Theophr. *Char.* 16; Chrysost. in *Ephes.* 4, Hom. 12, 3; and cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3, 27, 5-8.

1. aquilae: the attribute and special messenger of Zeus (1, 106; Hom. *Il.* 8, 247 ff., and Schol. Townl.; Aesch. *Choeph.* 258-259; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 133; Sittl. in *Fleck. Jahrb.* Supplbd. 14 (1885), 3-42; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 793-794; Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 164, n. 4), appearing in divination in instances too frequent to mention (but cf. Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Aberglaube* (1894), 68; Oder in *P.-W.* s.v. *Ädler* (1894), 373; Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895), 5), and often interpreted as bringing from the king of the gods omens to be applied to a king among men; cf. 1, 106, n. (*hic Iovis*). On this symbolism by which the eagle represents the king see Oder, *op. cit.* 374-375; Cook in *Folk-Lore*, 15 (1904), 390-391; and the collections of Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 415-417; 487-488; to which add Aesch. *Agam.* 111 (and Süskand in *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 32 (1915), 496 ff.); Nic. *Damasc.* in *F.H.G.* 3, 384 (for Gyges); for Tarquinius Priscus Cic. *Leg.* 1, 4; Liv. 1, 34, 8; Dion. Hal. 4, 63; Apul. *de Deo Sacr.* 7; Auct. *de Vir. illustr.* 6, 2; for Alexander Arr. *Anab.* 1, 18 (cf. 2, 3); Curt. 4, 15, 26; Jul. Val. 164, 7; for Caesar Petron. 122, line 177; in general Theocr. 17, 72-73; Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 3, 6; also Sen. *N.Q.* 2, 32, 5. Dreams of eagles were also associated with royalty (Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 20; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 205); the eagle appears on sceptres (Thompson, *op. cit.* 9-10; Cook, *Zeus*, 1, index s.v. *Eagle*); and the soul of a ruler might be imagined as embodied in an eagle (cf. that rising from the pyre of Augustus mentioned by Dio Cass. 56, 42; and see Cumont, *L'Aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'Apothéose des Empereurs* in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.* 62 (1910), 119-164; Strong, *Apotheosis and after Life* (1915), 181 ff.).

For omens from eagles see also Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere* (1888), 87-92. As a sign the eagle might be either

illud, ubi erat mansurus, si ire perrexisset, proxima nocte corruit. 27. Itaque, ut ex ipso audiebam, persaepe revertit ex itinere, cum iam progressus esset multorum dierum viam. Cuius quidem hoc praeclarissimum est, quod, posteaquam a Caesare tetrarchia et regno pecuniaque multatus est, negat se tamen eorum auspiciorum quae sibi ad Pompeium proficiscenti secunda evenerint paenitere; senatus enim auctoritatem et populi Romani libertatem atque imperi dignitatem suis armis esse defensam, sibi quae eas aves quibus auctoribus officium et fidem secutus esset bene consuluisse;

4. tetrarchia et regno *Davies*, tetrarchiae regno *C*, tetrarchia, regno *Klots*.
7. Imperii *C*, *Müller*.

favorable or unfavorable. On the basis of what Deiotarus considered this case unfavorable does not appear.

1. *mansurus*: as in 1, 59 of a stop for the night; cf. the noun *mansio*.

1. *ire perrexisset*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 1: *ire perreximus*.

3. *hoc praeclarissimum*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 86: *iam illa praeclara, quanto . . .*; *Tusc.* 3, 73: *praeclarum illud est, ut . . .*; *Leg.* 1, 23; *Off.* 1, 63: *praeclarum illud Catonis*; *Nep. Thrasymb.* 3. Also 1, 124: *illud . . . paene divinum quod . . .*

4. *posteaquam*: in the philosophical works commoner than *postquam*.

4. a *Caesare tetrarchia*, etc.: Deiotarus sided with Pompey but after Pharsalus made peace with Caesar and aided him and his legate Domitius Calvinus. During a long period he attempted to oust the other Galatian princes and to control the whole country. By murder and other means he had thus acquired the tetrarchates of the Tectosages and Trocmi, but the deposed princes appealed to Caesar, and after the battle of Zela the question was decided at Nicaea, Deiotarus, who was defended by Brutus, losing all power outside Galatia, especially Little Armenia (the *regno* here mentioned), which, with the tetrarchate of the Trocmi (*tetrarchia*; cf. 2, 79), was given to Mithridates of Pergamum (the *adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui* of 2, 79), but retaining the Tectosages and, in general, Galatia west of the Halys. After the fall of Mithridates in 46/5, Deiotarus by an embassy to Rome tried to acquire his

territory. But enemies were also active and preferred various charges against him, including an alleged attempt to murder Caesar in 47, and in his defence Cicero delivered the oration *pro Rege Deiotaro*. The case was not decided before Caesar's death, and after that event Deiotarus seized the territory of Mithridates, which Antony allowed him to retain. After supporting the murderers of Caesar he later went over to the side of the triumvirs; cf. Niese in *P.-W.* s.v. *Deiotarus* (1901), 2402-2403.

With the present passage cf. 2, 78-79; *Phil.* 2, 94: *compellarat* (sc. *Caesar*) *hospitem praesens, compularat, pecuniam imperarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis conlocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam*.

5. *negat*, etc.: cf. 2, 78.

5. *ad Pompeium*: it probably better served the purpose of Deiotarus (and of Cicero) to represent the hostility to the king as arising from his faithful support of Pompey, rather than from the more probable cause of the unscrupulous and menacing methods which he had employed in the enlargement of his domains.

8. *auctoribus*: the word *auctrix* is of late occurrence, *auctor* being used in earlier Latin even with feminines, as here; cf. *Plaut. Trin.* 107: *rem tibi auctorem dabo*; *Virg. Aen.* 12, 159: *auctor ego* (sc. *Iuno*); *Macrob. Somn. Scip.* 1, 11, 7: *quin ipsa sit . . . et auctor et conditrix*; *Cramer, Ueber die Verbalsubstantiva auf -tor und -trix bei Cicero* (1848), 20; *Schömann, Opusc.* 3(1858), 409.

antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse possessionibus suis gloriam. Ille mihi videtur igitur vere augurari. Nam nostri quidem magistratus auspiciis utuntur coactis; necesse est enim offa obiecta cadere frustum ex pulli ore cum

1. *antiquiorem*: Fronto p. 162, 9 Naber: *vulgo dicitur quod potius sit antiquius esse*. This use is frequent in Cicero (e.g., 2, 78; *ad Fam.* 11, 29, 1: *antiquius tibi officium meum quam illius voluntas fuit*). So in Greek *ἁρσθρεπος*, of which this idiom is perhaps an imitation.

2. *igitur*: for the deferred position of this word cf. 2, 8; 2, 15; Merguet, *Lex. s.d. phil. Schr.* 2, 205; Plasberg on *Ac.* 1, 26.

2. *augurari*: Valeton (in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 423) distinguishes, partly on the basis of this passage, between *augurari*, of the observation of *auspicia oblativa*, and *auspicari*, of the deliberate search for *auspicia impetrativa*; cf. 1, 3, n. (*auspiciis*). But as our passage probably refers, not to the eagle above mentioned (an *auspicium oblativum*), but to the observation of birds before Deiotarus set out to join Pompey (whether oblativum or impetrativum we do not know), the conclusion must rest upon other cases than this.

3. *coactis*: this admitted weakness in contemporary auspices is further developed in 2, 71-74.

3. *necesse*, etc.: the subject of auspices from the sacred chickens has been discussed at length by Valeton in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 211-215, whose argument, with some additions, is briefly this. There are two important kinds of signs to be considered (1) those from feeding animals, such as a wolf, in *Plin. N.H.* 8, 83; *Virg. Aen.* 6, 199, where Servius remarks *hinc optimum significatur augurium quod pascebant*; other quadrupeds (*Plut. de Def. Orac.* 49); birds, according to *Curt.* 4, 8, 6; a snake, in *Hdt.* 8, 41 (and other references in *Frazer, Golden Bough*, 4, 3 ed. (1912), 86, n. 5; with which cf. *Halliday, Greek Divination* (1913), 90, n. 1); fishes, according to *Plin. N.H.* 32, 17 (cf. *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la*

Div. 1 (1879), 152); the bull Apis, in *Plin. N.H.* 8, 46; *Solin.* 32, 19 (and for Russian parallels cf. *Schrader* in *Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 815); and (2) the *tripudium solistimum* (2, 72; *Plin. N.H.* 10, 49; *Fest.* p. 298 M.; *Serv. Aen.* 3, 90), when an object fell to the ground of its own accord, without human aid (cf. the *auspicium caducum* and 1, 19 *supra*), a variety of which, when a sound was made by the fall, was called the *tripudium solistimum* (for which see *Serv. Aen.* 3, 90; *Plin. N.H.* 15, 86; cf. *ad Fam.* 6, 6, 7; *Fest.* pp. 290; 297 M.; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 291 M.). Moreover Cicero remarks (2, 72): *terripavium primo, post terripudium dictum est; hoc quidem iam tripudium dicitur*, and *Festus* says (p. 245 M.; more completely in *Paul.* p. 244 M.): *quod tripudium faceret, id est terripavium. pavire enim ferire est*; cf. p. 363 M. These explanations are etymologically incorrect (cf. *Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 92 for various views), but perhaps well represent the significance of the word to the popular mind. Now it is the combination of these two distinct kinds of *auspicia oblativa*, according to Valeton, *op. cit.* 212, that produced the *tripudium sollistimum*, the most perfect *tripudium* (cf. 1, 28, n. (*solidum*) *infra*), in which the animals used for the auspices ate their food so greedily that bits fell to the ground in the process, as described here and in 2, 72; cf. *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 244 M.: *bonum enim augurium esse putabant si pulli per quos auspicabantur comedissent, praesertim si eis edentibus aliquid ab ore decidisset. sin autem omnino non edissent arbitrabantur periculum imminere*; cf. *Dio Cass. ap. Tzetz. ad II.* p. 108 *Hermann* (fr. 43, 33 *Boissevain*).

According to old augural practice (2, 73), *omnem avem tripudium facere posse*. For the view that such augural

pascitur. 28. Quod autem scriptum habetis † aut tripodium fieri, si ex ea

1. aut (hinc †) tripodium C, avi tripodium Turnebus, Christ, Boiter, Thoresen, fortasse solistimum avi tripodium Christ, tripodium O cum Ernestio.

animals were originally totemic see Reinach, *Orpheus*, Engl. tr. (1909), 98; 116. But chickens proved especially available for this purpose, both for private use in the country (Varr. *R.R.* 3, 3, 5) and more particularly for generals at the moment before battle (Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 84-85), when the observation of birds at large was time-consuming and uncertain. Rossfeld, to be sure, in *Antiq. Rom.* (1743), 205, followed by Zoega (*Bassirelievi antichi di Roma*, 1 (1808), 65-66), suggested a significance in the choice of the chicken as (when grown) a fighting animal and as sacred to Mars, for which he gives citations; and for the sound of the cock as ominous see also 1, 74, n. (*avis illa*). By carrying along a coop of chickens, under the care of an official *pullarius* (see 2, 72; also 1, 77; 2, 74; *C.I.L.* VI, 1008; 1897; 2198-2200; Mommsen, *op. cit.* 1, 85, n. 2; etc.), who fed them, observed their feeding, and reported it to the general, the holders of military *imperium* (according to *de Leg. agr.* 2, 32) converted this originally oblativ form of auspices into an impetrative one, and, as Cicero charges, a *coactum auspicium*. This stage had been reached as early as 325 B.C. (Liv. 8, 30, 2). The ritual for the consultation of the chickens is given in 2, 71-72, and, with independent details, by Schol. Veron. in Virg. *Aen.* 10, 241 (in the formula of which Valetton, *op. cit.* 213, detects traces of the old oblativ origin of the rite). After a time the process became further formalized and the only point noticed was the eating, without reference to the falling of food to the ground (*id.* 214, and n. 6).

For a Roman relief found at Tusculum and now in the Palazzo Albani, showing the sacred chickens in their cage, and set up by a *liberius* who was a *pullarius* in memory of his former master, see

Zoega, *op. cit.* 1, 65 ff., and pl. 16; its inscription is in *C.I.L.* XIV, 2523; a portion of the relief with the cage and the chickens alone is shown in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), opp. p. 322, and copied in Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (1895), pl. 19, no. 13, and other recent works. A relief on an Etruscan cinerary urn at Volterra (Inghirami, *Monum. Etrusc.* 1(1821), 308, and pl. 36) shows a *lectus* with two feeding birds beneath it, no cage appearing. Inghirami explained these as augural chickens, but they may be some other kind of bird. Cf. also the feeding chickens in a relief of Augustus as augur (now at Florence) described in *C.I.L.* VI, 448, and figured in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *liluus*, fig. 4504. For the whole question of allectryonmancy cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 144-145.

[131]3. *offa*: cf. Fest. p. 242 M.: *penitam offam* (cf. p. 230 M.) *Naevius* (*fab. inc. fr.* 16 Ribb.) *appellat absegmen carnis cum coda; antiqui autem offam vocabant abscisum globi forma, ut manu glomeratam pullem*; p. 245 M. (more completely in Paul. p. 244 M.): *puls potissimum dabatur pullis in auspiciis, quia ex ea necesse erat aliquid decidere quod tripodium faceret, id est terripavium*; also 2, 73 *infra*. For *offa* as a term for the food used for fattening birds see Varr. *R.R.* 3, 5; Columell. 8, 9, 2; al. Part of the compulsion of this form of auspices evidently consisted in giving to the chickens food in such a form that they could not well eat it without dropping fragments.

[131]3. *obiecta*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6, 420-421: *offam / obicit*; Val. Max. 2, 5, 5: *exta farre sparguntur et pullis quibus auspicia petuntur puls obicitur*.

1. *pascitur*: middle voice as in 2, 72; *N.D.* 2, 7; Liv. 6, 41, 8; Virg. *Ed.* 1, 60.

quid in solidum ceciderit, hoc quoque, quod dixi, coactum tripudium solistimum dicitis. Itaque multa auguria, multa auspicia, quod Cato ille

[132]1. *scriptum habetis*: on the question of the written form of the *libri augurales* cf. Regell, *De Augurum publicorum Libris* (1878), 16-18, and for the fragments *id.*, *Fragmenta auguralia* (1882), and, more fully, his *Commentarii in Lib. aug. Frag. Specimen* (1893). Cicero perhaps here thinks of these books as known to Quintus through the medium of the work of Ap. Claudius Pulcher on the *auguralis disciplina*. This Appius, the son of the Caecilia of 1, 4 *supra*, and brother of P. Clodius, was M. Cicero's predecessor as governor of Cilicia, and was well known to him, being mentioned in 1, 29-30; 1, 105; 1, 132 (cf. *Tusc.* 1, 37); 2, 75; in *Brut.* 267 called *cum auguralis tum omnis publici iuris antiquitatisque nostrae bene peritus*; in *Leg.* 2, 32 considered as an excellent augur; and addressed in *ad Fam.* 3, 1-13. On his relations with Cicero see Büdinger in *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* 31 (1881), 249-250. He also appears in *Varr. R. R.* 3, 2, 2; 3, 7, 1. In *ad Fam.* 3, 4, 1 (June, 51) Cicero writes to him: . . . *illo libro augurali, quem ad me amantissimum scriptum suarissimum misisti*; 3, 9, 3 (Feb., 50): *et velim reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris tui mihi persolvas. cum ipsam cognitionem iuris auguri consequi cupio tum mehercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector*; 3, 11, 4 (June, 50): *nunc tamen, ut ipse polliceris, pro auguralibus libris orationes tuas confectas omnis exspectabo*. Fragments of the work are found in *Fest.* pp. 197; 297; 298 M., and other traces of borrowing Zingler (*De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 24-25) would detect in our present work; cf. 1, 29, n. (P. Claudius); 1, 46. The tendencies of Appius were reactionary and superstitious (cf. 1, 105; 1, 132; 2, 75) and opposed to the more rationalistic school as represented by his colleagues Marcellus and Cicero; cf. Zingler, *op. cit.* 19 ff.

[132]1. *aut*: the emendation *avi i^h* palaeographically easy here, but the sense is incomplete; some modifying adjective seems needed for it.

1. *solidum*: the form of the clause implies an etymological connection between *solistimum* and *solidum*. Cf. *Fest.* p. 293 M.: *sollum Osce totum et soldum significat. unde . . . quae nulla parte laxata cavuque sunt solida nominantur* (cf. *Paul.* p. 292); *Fest.* p. 298 M.: *sollo Osce dicitur id quod nos totum vocamus* (so Paulus); *ibid.*: *sollistimum Ap. Pulcher in auguralis disciplinae lib. I. ait esse tripudium, quod taut^h excidit ex eo, quod illa fert: saxumve solidum, aut arbor viviradix ruit, quae nec prae vitio thumanit^h cadanturve iacianturve pelluntur* (emended by Müller to read: . . . *tripudium quom avi excidit ex ore . . . vitio humanave vi caedantur*, etc.). For modern derivations see Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 674, s.v. *salvus*; 721-722, s.vv. *solidus, sollus*. But granted the etymological kinship of *solistimum* and *solidum*, it does not follow that the explanation above given (*si quid in solidum ceciderit*) is correct. Rather *solistimum* would be a strong, illogical, but not unrhetoical expression meaning 'most complete.' For *solidum* in the sense of 'ground' cf. *Flor.* 1, 18, 9.

1. *quoque*: not only pure oblique *tripudia* but even forced, impetrative ones might constitute a *tripudium solistimum*; cf. Valeton in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 214, n. 3. Schiche (in *Hermes*, 10 (1876), 382) would remove *quoque* by emendation.

2. *auguria . . . auspicia*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*auspiciis*).

2. *Cato*: the remark is assigned by Peter (*Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), 95) to the uncertain works of Cato. For Cicero's use of Cato (with list of citations) see Zingler, *op. cit.* 11-12.

sapiens queritur, negligentia collegi amissa plane et deserta sunt.

XVI. Nihil fere quondam maioris rei nisi auspiciato ne privatim quidem gerebatur, quod etiam nunc nuptiarum auspices declarant, qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent. Nam ut nunc extis (quamquam id ipsum aliquanto minus quam olim), sic tum avibus magnae res inpetri sole-

1. collegi C. Müller.

3. auspices Turnebus, auspiciis AV¹, auspiciis BHV²; forma auspiciis carus nom. iis addenda est quas Lachmannus ad Lucr. p. 56 recognovit; eandem codd. nostri non omnes praebent 1, 18 terribilis, 1, 81 virginis, 1, 100 uentis, 2, 20 classis, 2, 24 haruspicia, 2, 52 omnia.

5. inpetrii Gruter, add. rccc., inpetrii AV (imp- V), impetrii B, Impetrii H teste Baiero, sed impetrii teste Daitoro.

[133]2f. ille sapiens: cf. Leg. 2, 5: *sapientis illi Catoni*; Off. 3, 16; de Sen. 5; de Amic. 9; in Caecil. 66. This use of *ille* is frequent in Cicero; e.g., 1, 46; 1, 51; 1, 78; cf. Ullman in *Class. Philol.* 14 (1919), 416-417.

1. queritur: Cato apparently distinguished in point of respectability and importance between augurs and haruspices, and between consultation for public and political purposes and that for private curiosity; cf. 2, 51; *N.D.* 1, 71; *Cat. de Agr.* 5, 4: *haruspicem, augurem, hariolum, Chaldaeum nequem consuluisse veli*; Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Lat. Lit.* (1916), 27. For the complaint here made cf. 1, 90; 1, 105; *N.D.* 2, 9: *negligentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omissa veritas auspiciorum spreata est, species tantum retenta*; Leg. 2, 33: *sed dubium non est quin haec disciplina et ars augurum evanuerit iam et velustate et negligentia*; Dion. Hal. 2, 6: *περὶ αὐτῶν δ' ὡ τοῖς καὶ ἡμῶν χρόνους, πλὴν ὅλον εἰκὼν τῆς ἀποῦ λατρεῖαι τῆς ὁσίας ἀποῦ ἵερα γινόμεται*; Liv. 43, 13: *non enim nescius ab eadem negligentia quia nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant neque numiari admodum ulla prodigia in publicum neque in annales referri*; Tac. Ann. 11, 15, 1: *quod nunc segnius fieri publica circa bonas artes socordia*; Plin. *N.H.* 10, 20; Valeton in *Mnemos.* 19 (1891), 416.

1. amissa . . . et deserta: perhaps synonymous, or possibly a distinction is intended between oral traditions which have been allowed to lapse and the augural books which have simply been neglected but not lost.

2. nihil fere: cf. 1, 3, n. (*auspiciis*); 1, 95; Val. Max. 2, 1, 1: *apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur nisi auspicio prius sumpto. quo ex more nuptiis etiam nunc auspices interponunt, qui, quamvis auspicia petere desierint, ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurpant*; Serv. Aen. 1, 346: *nihil nisi captatis faciebant auguriis, et praecipue nuptias*; also Liv. 6, 41, 4 ff.

2. maioris rei: cf. *magnae res* infra; 1, 95; 1, 122; *Rep.* 1, 20; al.

2. privatim: for *auspiciis privatim* see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 89, n. 1; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Auspiciis* (1896), 2581-2582. Nigidius Figulus wrote a work on the subject, according to Gell. 7, 6, 10.

3. nuptiarum auspices: their use is very fully discussed by Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die röm. Ehe* (1853), 294-307; cf. Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 436; Hotman in the same work, 8 (1698), 1112-1114; Bouché-Lercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 166, and n. 7; De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, 1 (1896), 154-155; Wissowa, *l.c.* Similar observation of signs at weddings was found among the Greeks (cf. Hes. *Opera*, 800-801), and was recognized in the *Etrusca disciplina* (Serv. Aen. 4, 166; cf. 4, 339). For numerous other superstitious rites at weddings cf. Rossbach, *op. cit.*; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911); also 1, 104 infra.

3f. re . . . nomen: cf. 1, 17, n. (*verbo . . . falsis . . . vocibus . . . re vera*).

4. at nunc extis: for the gradual encroachment of haruspicine on augury see

bant. Itaque sinistra dum non exquirimus in dira et in vitiosa incurrimus. 29. Ut P. Claudius, Appi Cacci filius, eiusque collega L. Iunius classis

1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*); Valetón in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 447, and n. 7; Carter in *Röm. Mittheilungen*, 25 (1910), 87; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 533; 548.

[134]5. *inpetriri*: cf. 1, 3; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 77, n. 4.

1. *sinistra*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*a lucta*); 2, 82.

1. *dira . . . vitiosa*: technical terms of the augurs. So *Leg.* 2, 21: *quaeque augur iniusta nefusta, vitiosa dira defixerit*. Valetón (in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 288) notes that unfavorable signs are not called *dextra*, but have other technical names; cf. *Fest.* p. 7 M.: *ut in auguriis altera cum appellatur avis quae utique prospera non est*; Paul. ex *Fest.* p. 276 M.: *remores aves in auspicio dicuntur quae acturum aliquid remorari compellunt*.

2. *ut P. Claudius*: the use of instances or *exempla* from Roman history has been treated, for Cicero, by Schoenberger, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte, ein rhetorisches Kunstmittel in Ciceros Reden* (1911); cf. also Plöton, *Die typische Beispiele aus der röm. Geschichte* (1906); Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 151; and, especially in so far as the instances have a distinct moral character, by Litchfield in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 25 (1914), 1-71 (for Cicero particularly pp. 6; 65). Since the Stoic defence of divination rested upon establishment of effect rather than inquiry into cause (1, 12; 1, 16; al.), it is not surprising that this book abounds in *exempla*. These are usually divided (cf. 1, 21, n. (*veteres*); Schoenberger, *op. cit.* 13-41) into foreign (*Graecorum* in 1, 55; cf. *Tusc.* 5, 105; *externa* in 1, 46; 1, 95; *N.D.* 2, 8; *Tusc.* 1, 33; *Off.* 2, 26; 3, 99) and native (*nostra* in 1, 55; 1, 97; 2, 8; *N.D.* 2, 8; *Tusc.* 5, 105; *Off.* 3, 99; *domestica* in *N.D.* 2, 7; *Parad.* 12; *Off.* 2, 26; 2 *Verr.* 4, 73; *propiora* in 1, 4; 2, 22; Zingler, *De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 23; cf. the division of Val. Max. 1,

praef.: *urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna*; Demosth. 13, 21: *ού γάρ άλλοτρίοις ύμιν παραδείγμασι χρησημέοις, άλλ' οικείοις έξεσθ' & προσήκει πράττειν ειδίναι*); or, again, into those of mythology (*fabulae* in 1, 40; 1, 43; 1, 63), those of long ago (*vetera* in 1, 29; 1, 58; *Tusc.* 1, 33; 2 *Verr.* 3, 182), and the more vivid modern instances, especially appeals to the personal experience of participants in the dialogue (as in 1, 17; 1, 58; 1, 68; al.). That mythological instances and others so ancient as to be incapable of verification should have been admitted as testimony along with modern ones and personal experience is due to the failure to distinguish between their moral and ideal worth (largely independent of their historicity) and their value as evidence for facts, which is what is here demanded. Their admission into the conventional canon of instances of the former sort undoubtedly facilitated their intrusion into the none too strictly defined category of the latter. As to their comparative cogency cf. Apsines in *Rhet. Gr.* ed. Spengel, 1, 2, 281: *χρή δέ τά παραδείγματα γνώριμα είναι καί σαφή καί μή πάνυ άρχαία μηδέ μυθώδη, κτλ.*; cf. Schoenberger, *op. cit.* 13-14. Litchfield notes (*op. cit.* 62 ff.) the formation of a somewhat indefinite canon of *exempla*, through the influence in part, perhaps, of Roman books of examples such as that of Valerius Maximus (cf. the list of such in Litchfield, *op. cit.* 62-63), but still more through the authority of great writers, especially Ennius in his *Annales*.

In the present passage we have the following *exempla* in order: Claudius, Junius, Crassus, Attus Navius, Ti. Gracchus; in *N.D.* 2, 7-8: Claudius, Junius, Flaminius, Attus Navius, Ti. Gracchus; in Val. Max. 1, 4, 1-12: Attus Navius, Claudius, Junius, Metellus, Cicero, Ti. Gracchus; in Min. Fel. Oct. 7, 4: Claudius, Junius, Flaminius, Crassus. Flaminius is

maximas perdiderunt, cum vitio navigassent. Quod eodem modo evenit Agamemnoni; qui, cum Achivi coepissent inter se strepere aperteque artem obterere extispicum,

J. . . . *inter se Ribbeck, Butler, Müller, inter se CO, illi inter se Stieglist, inter sese Davies, Christ, inter se strepitare Moser.*

not treated in the present passage but is discussed at length in 1, 77-78. The source from which these *exempla* are drawn Zingler (*op. cit.* 18-25) thinks to be the work of Appius Claudius Pulcher on the *auguralis disciplina* (cf. 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) supra).

[135]2. **Claudius**: his full name (*Fast. Capit.* a. 505, in *C.I.L.* I, 2 ed., p. 24) was P. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Pulcher, and he was consul in 249 B.C. If the son of Appius Claudius Caecus, as Cicero and the Schol. Bob. p. 337 (p. 90 Stangl) say, he could not have been a young man at the time of the battle (Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Claudius* (1899), 2857), which took place off the Sicilian coast and is best described by Polyb. 1, 49, 3-51. 2. Claudius seems to have escaped with thirty ships, losing ninety-three. The explanation of his defeat as due to his irreligious disregard of auspices may perhaps show a religious radicalism inherited from his father, whose blindness was ascribed to his religious innovations; cf. Liv. 9, 29, 9-11; Val. Max. 1, 1, 17. It is told by many authors and is a stock *exemplum* of the lack of piety towards the gods (cf. Litchfield, *op. cit.* 29). See also *N.D.* 2, 7: *nihil nos P. Claudii bello Punico primo temeritas movebit? qui etiam per iocum deos invidens, cum caeca liberati pulli non pascerentur, mergi eos in aquam iussit, ut biberent quoniam esse nolent, qui risus classe devicta multas ipsi lacrimas, magnam populo Romano cladem attulit. quid? collega eius Iunius eodem bello nonne tempestate classem amisit, cum auspiciis non paruisset? itaque Claudius a populo condemnatus est, Iunius necem sibi ipse conscivit*; Liv. per. 19: *Claudius Pulcher consul contra auspicia profectus—iussit mergi pullos, qui cibari volebant—infeliciter adversus Carthaginienses classe pugnavit*; cf. 22, 42, 9; Flor. 1, 18, 29; Eutrop. 2, 26, 1;

Val. Max. 1, 4, 3; 8, 1, Abs. 4; Suet. *Tib.* 2; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7, 4; Jordanes, *Rom.* 174; also Serv. *Aen.* 6, 198, where Claudius is said to have thrown the chickens into the Tiber before starting on his cruise, although most authorities suppose, as Florus clearly states, that they were thrown overboard from the fleet. The rationalistic Polybius does not mention the chickens. This passage is answered in 2, 71. For another case in which the rejection of divination is followed by the loss of a fleet cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 8, 3, and for similar disregard of the omens from the chickens cf. the case of Flaminius (1, 77; Liv. 41, 18, 14; Curt. 9, 4, 27-29; Oros. 3, 22, 3; also cf. Liv. 6, 41, 6 ff.).

[135]2. **L. Iunius**: his full name is given in the *Fast. Capit.* (*C.I.L.* I, 2 ed., p. 24 a. 505) as L. Iunius C. f. L. n. Pullus, and his cognomen is also attested by Censor. *de Die nat.* 17, 11. His failure is described by Polyb. 1, 52 ff.; Diod. 24, 1, 8-11; Oros. 4, 10; and by Cicero here and in 2, 71. In *N.D.* 2, 7 (followed by Val. Max. 1, 4, 4) his disregard of auspices is mentioned. Since he was in conditions not dissimilar to those of Claudius may we perhaps infer that the form of auspices was that by the sacred chickens, and that his cognomen may have been given, after his defeat, from that fact, like the title *Uticensis* applied to Cato?

1. **vitio**: a technical term, used also in 1, 33; 2, 74; *N.D.* 2, 11; cf. Bouché-Leclercq. *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 249 ff.; Valetton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 288; 18 (1890), 234-235; 424, and n. 1; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2334.

1. **eodem modo**: cf. Reid on *N.D.* 1, 84 (in Mayor's ed.).

3. **inter se, etc.**: anonymous lines (Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 286), for the combination of which with

Solvere imperat secundo rumore adversaque avi.
Sed quid vetera? M. Crasso quid acciderit videmus, dirarum obnun-

those of Pacuvius in 1, 24 see the note on that passage.

[136]3. atrepere: of the disturbance made by soldiers; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 25, 2.

[136]3. obterere: cf. *Vitr.* 5, 1, 2: *obleri laudem imperatoriam*.

1. solvere: sc. *navem* or *classem*.

2. vetera: see n. on *ut P. Claudius supra*.

2. M. Crasso: to the omens preceding the defeat of Crassus allusion is made in 2, 22; 2, 84; 2, 99; cf. *Vell.* 2, 46, 3: *hinc proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni pl. frustra retinere conati; quorum execrationes si in ipsi tantummodo valuissent, vile imperatoris dampnum saluo exercitu suisset rei publicae*; *App. B.C.* 2, 18: ἀλλὰ τῷδε μὲν ἐξιώντι τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπαίσια ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ θήμαρχοι προσηγόρευον μὴ πολεμεῖν Παρθυαίοις οὐδὲν ἀδικούσιν, οὐ πειθομένῳ δὲ δημοσίᾳς ἀράς ἐτηρῶντο, ὧν ὁ Κράσσοι οὐ φροντίσας ἀπέπετο ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ σὺν τε παιδὶ ὀμωρῶν καὶ αὐτῷ στρατῷ; *Dio Cass.* 39, 39-40: οἱ οὖν θήμαρχοι . . . ἐπεφύμισον . . . αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοσα, ὥσπερ οὐ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ δι' ἐκείνου καταρῶμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τὰς εἰχὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς κομιζομένας ἐπὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ ποιουμένου καὶ διοσημίας τινὰς καὶ τάρατα διεθρόουσιν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐξορμωμένη μὲν πολλὰ καὶ θεινὰ ἐτηρᾶσαντο. ἐτεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀτέϊος καὶ ἐν τῷ δεσποτήριον αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν: ἀντιστάτων δὲ ἐτέρων θήμαρχων μάχη τε αὐτῶν καὶ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο, κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Κράσσοι ξέω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐξῆλθε. καὶ ὁ μὲν, εἴτε ἐκ συντυχίας εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐν μακρὰν ἐσφάλη; *Plut. Crass.* 16 (the first part agreeing, with added details, with *Dio Cassius*): ἄλλων δὲ θήμαρχων οὐκ ὄντων, ὁ μὲν ὑπέρτης ἀφῆκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δ' Ἀτίσιος προδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔθηκεν ἑσχαρίδα καιομένην καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γυνομένου κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ κατασπένδων ἀράς ἐτηρᾶτο θεινὰς μὲν αὐτὰς καὶ φρικώδεις, θεοῦ δὲ τινὰς θεοῦ καὶ ἀλλοκότους ἐπ' αὐταῖς καλῶν καὶ ὀνομάζων. ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαῖοι

τὰς ἀράς ὀνομάζουσι καὶ παλαιὰς τοιαύτην εἶχειν δύναμιν, ὡς περιφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν ἐσχεθῆντων αὐταῖς, κακῶς δὲ πράσσειν τὸν χρῆσάμενον, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν αὐτὰς οὐδ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀρᾶσθαι. καὶ τὸτ' οὖν ἐμίμνοντο τὸν Ἀτίσιον, εἰ δὲ ἦν ἐχαλίπτασε τῷ Κράσσῳ πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἀράς ἀφῆκε καὶ θεισθαιμονίαν τοσαύτην; *Flor.* 1, 46, 3: *et tribunus plebi Metellus* (apparently a slip of the memory) *excutim ducem hostilibus diris deoserat*. For other bad signs to Crassus cf. *Regling in Klio*, 7 (1907), 364, n. 2; 369, n. 5; 374, n. 9; who detects in their number and the frequency with which they are mentioned the favorite methods of the optimates used against Crassus. It will be noticed that *Velleius*, *Appian*, *Dio Cassius*, *Plutarch*, and probably *Florus* introduce into the story an element lacking in *Cicero's* account, namely, in addition to the report of bad omens (*dirarum obnuntiatio*), positive curses (*execrationes*, ἀράι) directed against Crassus. If we combine the accounts we shall get a series of events somewhat as follows: the proposed campaign against the Parthians, undertaken by Crassus from variously interpreted motives (*Regling. op. cit.* 362, n. 1), was unpopular, and when public opinion failed to restrain Crassus, the political use of auspices (*obnuntiatio*) was employed, but in vain; next *Ateius* attempted the arrest of Crassus (a purely secular method), but was frustrated by the action of his fellow-tribunes, who had the arrested man released. As a last resort, perhaps rather to vent his personal feeling than to prevent the expedition, *Ateius* at the very gateway, i.e., at the pomerium, with its significance as an augural boundary, uttered, not predictions, but imprecations of evil. Of these curses *Cicero* makes no mention, and why? Perhaps because *Ateius Capito* and his colleague *P. Aquilius Gallus* were the only two tribunes of the year 55 who

tiatione neglecta. In quo Appius, collega tuus, bonus augur, ut ex te audire soleo, non satis scienter virum bonum et civem egregium censor C. Ateium notavit quod ementitum auspicia subscriberet. Esto; fuerit hoc

supported the politics of the senatorial party, consequently the less said about any act of spite upon the part of Ateius, which might be construed as having brought disaster upon the state, the better. That this may be the correct interpretation is further indicated by the fact that Cicero in the second book, when speaking of Crassus, fails to employ the very evident opportunity open to him to shift the responsibility for the fate of Crassus from the observer of auguries to the utterer of curses. Appius, on the other hand, whatever may have been his feeling in regard to the curses, was, as Cicero here admits, a *bonus augur*, and one whose faith in the details of his art led him to be considered as ultra-conservative (cf. 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) supra), and the reasons for his action were, according to the judgment of Valetton (in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 440-443), quite different from what Cicero would have us think, namely, that Ateius had taken and reported auspices when he had no right to do so (cf. *Mnemos.* 19 (1891), 109, n. 2), the right belonging to Pompeius who was present with Crassus as an augur and who had found no auspices unfavorable to his going (Plut. *Crass.* 16), and that Ateius had thereby deceived Crassus, who could not know that these auspices of Ateius had any reference to him. Valetton finally (p. 442) remarks: *hanc ob causam Ateius certe nunquam condemnari potuit neque a iudicibus neque a populo, quia eius culpa etiam post interitum Crassi eis solis manifesta erat qui fidem haberent auspiciis; sed recte eum notare potuit censor qui idem augur erat et scientiam auguralem esse credebatur, postquam exitus illa confirmasse videbatur, primum quod auspiciando quaesita (facta) nuntiasset, deinde quod ob eam causam Crassus inauspicato in bellum profectus esset.*

[137]2. *dirarum*: often in the sense of

'curses,' though evidently not so here or in Plin. *N. H.* 28, 17; 28, 26; see also just below (n. on *dirae*) and Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 185, n. 4.

[137]2. *obnuntiatione*: on *obnuntiatio*, whether by magistrates or by augurs, see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 107, n. 2; Valetton in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 417-456; 19 (1891), 75-113; 229-270.

1. *Appius*: Ziegler (*De Cicerone Historico Quaest.* (1900), 19 ff.) remarks that in this work Appius and Q. Cicero are contrasted with Marcellus and Marcus Cicero. On former political differences between Cicero and Appius see Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Claudius* (1899), 2850.

2. *non satis scienter*: in 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) I have indicated that Appius had a knowledge of the details, and probably of the theory, of augury superior to that of Cicero; in the light of these passages and of the explanation of Valetton given in the note on *M. Crasso* above it seems that Cicero's criticism is here unjustified.

2. *virum . . . civem*: cf. 1, 36; Giese (ad h. loc.) cites from Wytttenbach and other sources many Ciceronian examples of couplets made from the words *homo, vir, and civis*.

2. *censor*: for his acts as censor (50 b.c.) see Münzer, *op. cit.* 2852.

3f. *C. Ateium*: he later joined the party of Caesar (cf. *ad Fam.* 13, 29, 6, written in 46 b.c.). In 45 he visited Cicero at Tusculum (*ad Att.* 13, 33a, 1), and to him were addressed (in 44) the letters *ad Att.* 16, 16c; 16, 16 f.

3. *quod . . . subscriberet*: either Quintus Cicero is quoting the explanation of Marcus and so uses the subjunctive (contrast the indicative for his own reason in *adscriptis* below), or we may accept the explanation of Giese (ad h. loc.) that the clause = *quod ementitum esset auspicia*

ensoris, si iudicabat ementitum; at illud minime auguris quod adscriptis ob eam causam populum Romanum calamitatem maximam cepisse. Si enim ea causa calamitatis fuit, non in eo est culpa qui obnuntiavit, sed in eo qui non paruit. Veram enim fuisse obnuntiationem, ut ait idem augur et censor, exitus adprobavit; quae si falsa fuisset nullam adferre potuisset causam calamitatis. Etenim dirae, sicut cetera auspicia, ut omina, ut signa, non causas adferunt cur quid eveniat, sed nuntiant eventura nisi

5. fuisset *codd. dett. Davisii*, fuisset C.

6. dirae Turnebus, dira C.

6. sicut V(f)O, sicut et ABB, sicuti Klots, Christ, sicuti Kayser.

ut subscripsit (Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.* 5 ed. (1826), sect. 551; Madvig, *Lat. Gr.* (Eng. tr. 3 ed. (1857)), sect. 357a, obs. 2; Roby, *Lat. Gr.* 2 (1874), sect. 1746; cf. *Off.* 1, 40: quod . . . diccret; *Fin.* 1, 24: quod . . . arguerent; *Phil.* 2, 88: quod . . . putares; etc.). On the use of *subscriptio*nes in which the reason for the censorial *nota* was explained see *pro Cluent.* 118 ff.; Gell. 17, 21, 39.

[138]3. *ementitum auspicia*: cf. Liv. 10, 40, 11: *qui auspicio adest, si quid falsi nuntiat, in semetipsum religionem recipit*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 210.

[138]3. *esto*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 61; 2, 75; 2, 92; *Tusc.* 1, 102; *Rep.* 4, 11.

2. *calamitatem . . . cepisse*: cf. *Off.* 3, 99: *calamitatem accepisset*.

3f. *in eo qui non paruit*: cf. *Phil.* 2, 88: *quod me de ementitis auspiciis quibus iamen parere necesse erat putares esse dicturum*.

4. *veram, etc.*: Zingler (*De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 20-21) understands these as the words of Appius, not in his *scriptio*, but in his work on the *auguralis disciplina* (cf. 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) supra), from which Zingler would derive much of the present account. If so, the source must lie in one of the later books, for the first book had appeared in or before 51 (*ad Fam.* 3, 4, 2), before Appius had been censor. But it is quite as simple to understand the phrase *ut ait*, etc. of the explanation given by Appius in the *scriptio* (so Valetan in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 441, n. 2).

6. *dirae*: Paul. ex Fest. p. 260 M.

distinguishes these from other augural signs: *quinque genera signorum observant augures, ex caelo, ex avibus, ex iripudiis, ex quadrupedibus, ex diris*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 185, n. 4.

6. *omina*: cf. 1. 102, n. (*omina*).

7. *non causas adferunt*: this distinction between the cause of an effect and a mere sign which is the concomitant of that cause (and hence a prediction of the effect) is frequently made; cf. 1, 34, n. (*ratione*); 1, 109; 1, 127; 1, 131; *de Fat.* 34. The matter is treated, in so far as it relates to dreams, by Aristotle (*de Div. per Somn.* p. 462 b 26 ff.): *ἀνάγκη δ' οὐν τὰ ἐνύπνια ἢ αἰτία εἶναι ἢ σημεῖα τῶν γυρομένων ἢ συμπτώματα, ἢ πάντα ἢ ἕνα τούτων ἢ ἐν μόνον*. After discussing various cases he continues: *ὁπω μὲν οὖν ἐδέχεται τῶν ἐνύπνιων ἕνα καὶ σημεῖα καὶ αἰτία εἶναι. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ συμπτώμασιν ὁμοία, κτλ.* For astrology the subject is treated by Plotinus (*Enp.* 2, 3, 1): *ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἀστρῶν φορὰ σημαίνει περὶ ἕκαστον τὰ ἐσόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὴ πάντα ποιεῖ, ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς δοξάζεται, εἰρηται μὲν πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ πλείους τιμὰς παρελθετο ὁ λόγος; cf. Porphyg. ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 2, 8, 42: *σημαίνειν μὲν οὖν τὰ ποιὰ σχήματα τοὺς βίους τίθεται Πλάτων ἀναγκάζειν ἐὰν οὐκ εἴη, κτλ.*; Aug. *C.D.* 5, 1; and, in general, Orig. *c. Cels.* 2, 20: *ὁ μὲν Κίλισος οἰεταὶ διὰ τοῦτο γίνεσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τινος προγνώσεως θεοπισθῆν, ἐπεὶ ἰσοπισθῆ: ἡμεῖς δὲ, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐδόντες, φημὲν τὸν θεοπισθῆν αἰτίων εἶναι τοῦ ἰσομῆρου, ἐπεὶ προείπεν αὐτὸ γενησόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐσόμενον, ἐσόμενον ἂν καὶ μὴ θεοπισθῆν, τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ προγινώσκοντι παρεσχημέναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ προείπειν, κτλ.* The popular con-*

provideris. 30. Non igitur obnuntiatio Atei causam finxit calamitatis, sed signo obiecto monuit Crassum quid eventurum esset nisi cavisset. Ita aut illa obnuntiatio nihil valuit, aut si, ut Appius iudicat, valuit, id valuit ut peccatum haereat, non in eo qui monuerit, sed in eo qui non obtemperarit.

XVII. Quid? lituus iste vester, quod clarissimum est insigne augura-

1. Atei *Christi*, aetei *B*, etei *ABV*, Ateii *vulg.*

fusion between cause and sign, to which these passages bear testimony, was perhaps partly due to the fallacy of *post hoc propter hoc*, and partly to the frequent intermingling of magic elements in which the diviner by magic means (as in the cases of Ateius) attempted to cause results. For the relations of divination to magic cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), ch. 4; Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Lat. Lit.* (1916), 10.

2. *cavisset*: the verb is perhaps chosen with especial reference to the story told in 2, 84.

3. *id valuit*: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 24: *quar dicit idem valent*.

4. *peccatum haereat*: cf. *pro Q. Rosc.* 17: *potest hoc homini huic haerere peccatum?*

4. *obtemperarit*: several times in Cicero of compliance with predictions; 1, 92; 2, 20; 2, 21; *post Red. in Sen.* 11.

6. *lituus*: for its form cf. *Liv.* 1, 18, 7: *augur . . . baculum sine nodo* (for the taboo upon knots cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 293-317) *aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt*; Hygin. ap. Gell. 5, 8, 2 (= Macrobi. *Sat.* 6, 8, 1): *cum lituus sit virga brevis in parte qua robustior est incurva, qua augures utuntur*; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 187: *lituus est incurvum augurum baculum quo utebantur ad designanda caeli spatia, nam manu non licebat . . . vel lituum, id est regium baculum in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium* (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 116 M.: *lituus appellatus quod litis sit testis*); 7, 190: *Circe . . . eum (sc. Picum) in avem, picum Martium, convertit . . . hoc autem ideo fingitur quia augur fuit et domi habuit picum per quem futura noscebat; quod pontificales indicant*

libri. bene vultem supra ei lituum dedit, quod est augurum proprium; etc.; Plut. *Camill.* 32: τούτο (sc. τὸ μαγικὸν εἶδος) δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐκ καμπίης ἐκ θατέρου τέρατος, καλεῖται δὲ λίτωνος χρωῖται δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλιθίων ὑπογράφει ὅταν ἐκ' ὄρεισι διαμαρτυρούμενοι καθίζωνται, ὡς κάκεινος (sc. Ῥωμύλος) ἐχρήτο μαγικώτατος ὢν; *Rom.* 22: ἔτι δὲ μαγικὸν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι (sc. Ῥωμύλου), καὶ φορεῖν ἐπὶ μαγικῇ τὸ καλούμενον λίτωνος. ἔστι δὲ καμπύλη βάρβος, ἣ τὰ πλιθία καθεζομένου ἐκ' ὀρειῶν διαγράφει; and cf. the description of Dion. Hal. 14, 2, 5 (quoted in the note on *de flagruis* infra).

The *lituus* is frequently shown in wall paintings, upon reliefs, coins, gems, etc., both Etruscan and Roman; cf. Thédénat in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *lituus* (1904), 1277, and nn. 11-15; 1278, and nn. 1-13; also Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 19, n. 1. It appears to be of Etruscan origin (Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*; Thédénat, *op. cit.* 1277; Carter in *Rom. Mittheilungen*, 25 (1910), 83-84), and in its beginning only a staff. In fact, in Plin. *N. H.* 28, 15 we find a *scipio* used by the Etruscan diviner, Olenus Calenus, in laying out the Capitoline temple, and the passages from Servius and Paulus above quoted suggest its identity with the king's sceptre. Its uselessness in surveying, as compared with the more accurate *groma*, is noted by Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*, who holds it to have been a symbolic rather than a practical instrument. It appears as a symbol of Romulus in Virg. *Aen.* 7, 187; Ov. *Fast.* 6, 375, and as the distinguishing mark of the augurs (as here) in Apul. *Apol.* 22. On its use in augury see especially Valetton in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 256-263.

tus, unde vobis est traditus? Nempe eo Romulus regiones direxit tum cum urbem condidit. Qui quidem Romuli lituus [id est incurvum et leviter a summo inflexum bacillum, quod ab eius litui quo canitur similitudine

2-3. id est . . . invenit pro *glossemate habuerunt Lambinus aliique; in textum tamen recepit Miller.*

A more comprehensive treatment is needed of the various forms and uses of rod and stick symbols, to which the *lituus* doubtless belongs, and which include such different types as the thyrsus (cf. von Papen, *Der Thyrsos* (1905), especially p. 40 for magic uses), the spear (Deubner in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 8, Beiheft (1905), 72 ff.), the sceptre, the crozier, the shepherd's crook (cf. Saglio in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *pedum*), the caduceus (Samter in *P.-W.* s.v. *Caduceus* (1897), 1170-1171; Legrand in Daremb. et Saglio, *op. cit.* s.v. *Mercurius* (1904), 1807-1808; Waser in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 16 (1913), 367; and the works cited by them); the rod of Delian Apollo (Mart. Cap. 1, 7), the mace, the magic wand (cf. the rods of Jacob (*Gen.* 30, 37-41), Moses (*Exod.* 4, 4; 14, 16; 17, 5-6; 17, 9; *Num.* 20, 11), Aaron (*Exod.* 7, 9; 7, 19-20; *Num.* 17, 8-10; *Heb.* 9, 4), and Jonathan (*I Sam.* 14, 27)); also the large number of cases of rod symbolism from the Bible cited by Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* 86; Wilpert, *Roma Sotteranea* (1903), 41 for the rod as shown in miracle scenes in catacomb paintings (for non-Biblical cases of which cf. Rawlinson on *Hdt.* 4, 67-68; Hesych. s.v. *ἰωνθήριον*; Cic. *Off.* 1, 158; Tzetz. *Alleg.* II. 1, 28; Schol. Nicand. *Ther.* 613); the *perca arsmaliam* of *Tab. Igur.* VI b, 49-50, the staff as the symbol of judges (Hirzel, *Themis, Dike, u. Verwandler* (1907), 71 ff.), the peeled stick of dowisers (see the full bibliography in Ellis, *The Divining Rod* (1917), 26-53), the blooming rod (cf. Barry, *The Blossoming Rod*, in *Open Court*, 31 (1917), 620-633; *Is.* 11, 1; also the legends of the Virgilian *virga*). For rhabdomancy as a whole cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 226-228; also *id.* 67 ff.; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 177; Amm. Marc. 31, 2, 24; Theophyl. ad

Oseam, 4, 12. And for much varied material see Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, (Wilkin's ed. 2 (1852), 5, 24, 6-7; Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, 2 ed. (1906), 55-92; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed., 346; also index s.v. *Stick*, and the abundant but uncritical collection of material in Réal, trans. by Hurlbert, *The Story of the Stick* (1892). Beaven, *Tales of the Divining Rod*, has not been accessible to me.

[140]6. *iste vester*: cf. 1, 25, n. (*vestra*). For the combination of these two adjectives Thoresen (ad b. loc.) compares *N.D.* 1, 107; 3, 78; *Fin.* 1, 42.

[140]6. *quod*: attracted to the gender of the predicate. For many examples of this from Cicero cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 37.

1. *regiones direxit*: for the terms used for marking out the parts of the heavens see Valetton in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 262-263; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2340; also 1, 31 infra: *regionum . . . descriptio*, in . . . *partes divisisset*.

2. *cum urbem condidit*: cf. Lydus, *de Mens.* 4, 73: τῆ πρό δεκαμῆς Καλενθῶ Μαίων ὁ Ῥωμῖλος τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπόλισε . . . ταύτη πάσης χώρας δεσπῆσαι τὴν Ῥώμην οἰωνιζόμενοι αὐτὸς τε λερατικῆν σάλπιγγα ἀναλαβῶν—λίτουον δ' αὐτὴν πατριῶς Ῥωμαίους ἴθου καλεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς λιτῆς—ἐξεφώνησε τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα, πάσης ἱερατικῆς τελετῆς ἡγησάμενος.

2ff. *id est . . . invenit*: the phrase *id est* not infrequently introduces glosses; moreover, it is unlikely that Cicero would have felt it necessary to describe the object.

3. *quod ab eius, etc.*: cf. Gell. 5, 8, 8-10: *quoniam facta litui mentio est non praetermittendum est quod posse quaerit animadvertimus utrum lituus auguralis a tuba quae lituus appellatur an tuba a lituo augurum lituus dicta sit; utrumque enim*

nomen invenit], cum situs esset in curia Saliorum quae est in Palatio eaque deflagrasset, inventus est integer. 31. Quid? multis annis post Romu-

pari forma et pariter incurvum est. sed si, ut quidam putant, tuba a sonitu lituus appellata est ex illo Homericο λῆξε βίβις, necesse est ita accipi ut virga auguralis a tubae similitudine lituus vocetur; cf. passages quoted in the note on lituus above for a supposed connection of lituus and lis. For modern derivations cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 437; 533 (s.v. obliquus), who traces the name from the bent shape of the instrument.

1. *nomen invenit*: cf. 2, 69; *N.D.* 2, 104; *Leg.* 1, 58; also 1, 16 supra: *nomen repperit*.

1. *curia*: the exact site of this *curia* of the Palatine college of Salii is unknown; cf. Jordan-Hülsem, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1, 3, 2 ed. (1907), 44. On the use of the term *curia* see Varr. *L.L.* 5, 155: *curiae duorum generum: nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut curiae veteres, et ubi senatus humanas, ut curia Hostilia*. Six *curiae* are known at Rome (Hülsem in *P.-W.* s.v. *Curia* (1901), 1821-1826).

2. *deflagrasset*: cf. *Fastis Praenestini*, 23 Mar. (*C.I.L.* I, 2 ed., p. 234 = Dessau 8844a; Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.* p. 126): *Lutatius quidem claram eam ait esse in ruina Palatii incensi a Gallis reperlatai qua Romulus urbem inauguraverit*; Dion. Hal. 14, 2, 5: *ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καλίας τις Ἄρεος ἱερὰ περὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἰδρυμένη τοῦ Παλατίου συγκαταφλεγείσα ταῖς πέριξ οἰκίαις ἕως ἐδάφους, ἀνακαθαρισμένων τῶν οἰκοπέδων Ἰνεκα τῆς ἐπισκευῆς, ἐν μέσῃ τῇ περιουσίῳ σποδῶ, τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ αυτοκτισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως διασωρεν ἀπαθῆς, ῥόπαλον ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἑκρων ἑκτάμκιον, οἷα φέρουσι βουκόλοι καὶ νομαῖς οἱ μὲν καλαύρονας οἱ δὲ λαγωβόλα καλοῦντες, ᾧ Ῥωμῖλος ὀρνυθεύμενος διεγράφε τῶν οἰωνῶν τὰς χώρας, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν οἰκίσειν ἔμελλεν*; Plut. *Rom.* 22: *τοῦτο (sc. τὸ λίττων) δ' ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλαττόμενον ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀλώσεως* εἶτα μέτροι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεσόντων εὐρεθῆναι κατὰ τέφρας βαθείας ἀπαθῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ

πυρός ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις; *Camill.* 32: *οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὄρσαι ταχύντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμύλλου, συγκεχυμένων ἀπάντων, ὡς ἔχον ἐπὶ τὴν καλιὰδα τοῦ Ἄρεως περιουθέντες τὸ Παλάτιον, αὐτὴν μὲν, ὡς τὰ ἄλλα, διεφθαρμένην καὶ κατακαυμένην εὗρον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, σκευωρούμενοι δὲ καὶ καθαιρούτες τὸ χωρίον ἔτυγχάνουσι τῷ μαρτικῶ ξύλῳ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου κατὰ τέφρας πολλῆς καὶ βαθείας καταδοκούσι*; Val. Max. 1, 8, 11: *supi et illa miraculorum loco, quod deusto sacrario Saliorum nihil in eo praeter lituum Romuli integrum repperit est*.

2. *integer*: such escapes of a single holy object from destruction were considered as miraculose. Val. Max. (*l.c.*) continues: *quod Servi Tulli statua, cum aedis Fortunae conflagrasset, inviolata mansit* (cf. Dion. Hal. 4, 40); *quod Quintae Claudiae statua in vestibulo templi Matris deum posita bis ea aede incendio consumpta . . . in sua basi flammis intacta stetit*; Obseq. 19: *vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolatae steterunt*; cf. Liv. per. 50 in *Oxyrhynch. Pap.* 4 (1904), 99. In the case of images the preservation of the Palladium in the siege of Ilium (App. *Mithr.* 53), of a statue of Zeus (Paus. 3, 26, 6), and of one of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 4, 64, 3-4) may be noted. So also a pillar of the house of Oenomaus (Paus. 5, 20, 6-7), attesting in verses quoted by Pausanias the tale of its preservation; two posts associated with the death of Christian saints (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 10; 3, 17); the church of the Novatians at Constantinople (Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 7, 39); houses of bishops (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 1, 19; 2, 7); a finger of St. John the Baptist (*Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1905 ed.), 72); and a copy of a prized Protestant book thrown into the fire by a Catholic soldier in 1624 (Schreiner in *Hess. Bl. f. Volkskunde*, 12 (1913), 143-146; cf. *Current Anthropol. Lit.* 2 (1913).

lum Prisco regnante Tarquinio quis veterum scriptorum non loquitur quae sit ab Atto Navio per lituum regionum facta discriptio? Qui cum

2. Atto *Orall. onom.*, *Bailei*, *Müller*, *al.*, attio *B*, attio *ABV*, accio *E*; alibi lectis inter Att- et Atti- variat, sed formam Att- ubique adhibuimus.

2. discriptio *Balm*, descriptio *CO*.

113) are among the many and varied instances of this sort; cf. *The Chicago Tribune*, 30 May, 1914, 7, for the preservation in a fire of a room containing religious emblems. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3 throws light on the attitude toward such miracles: λέγεται δὲ τοῦ πυρός ἐκείνου (i.e., of Pyrrhus) τὸν μείζονα δάκρυλον ἔχειν δύναμιν θέλειν, ὥστε μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος κατακαίοντος ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀθικτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός ἐσθῆναι. A connection may well exist between the instances cited and the often described rite of the ordeal of fire-walking, so far as in either case escape from harm may constitute a testimony to the sanctity or purity of the thing or person spared. For fire-walking in general cf. Lang, *Magic and Religion* (1901), 270-294 (Greek and Roman cases pp. 288-289); Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 877, n. 11; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 11, 3 ed. (1913), 1-20 (Greek and Roman cases pp. 14-15); Hopkins in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 6 (1914), 30-31. For the taking of an image through the fire, analogous to the unintended passage of such through a conflagration described above, cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* 4-5; 23-24.

In his reply in 2, 80 Cicero considers this story and the next as *fabellae commenticiae*; but contrast *N.D.* 3, 14: *quibus ego credo, nec possum Atti Navi quem commemorabas lituum contemnerc.*

1. Prisco . . . Tarquinio: so most accounts. But *N.D.* 2, 9 speaks of Attus as an augur employed by Tullus Hostilius. Plasberg (on *N.D.* 2, 9) considers this a slip of the memory, mentioning other errors of Cicero as to names (e.g., 2, 63; 2, 82), and points out that in *N.D.* 2, 9 Cicero has further confused the story by the words *ad investigandum suam regiones rince terminavit*, instead of *ad inv. uram*; Pais: *Storia di Roma*, 1 (1898), 315, n. 5) gives reasons for the confusion.

1. *quis veterum scriptorum*: the story is told, entire or in part, by many authors. Bardt, *Die Legende von dem Augur Attus Navius* (1883), cites the following passages: 2, 80; *N.D.* 2, 9; 3, 14; *Rep.* 2, 36; *Leg.* 2, 33; *Liv.* 1, 36, 3-6; *Dion. Hal.* 3, 70-72; *Val. Max.* 1, 4, 1 (Nepotian.); *Plin. N.H.* 34, 21-22; 34, 29; *Flor.* 1, 1, 5, 2-4; *Fest.* p. 169M.; *Auct. de Vir. ill.* 6, 7; to which add *Apul. de Deo Socr.* 7; *Lact. Inst.* 2, 6, 8; *Jordanes, Rom.* 1, 99; *Zonar.* 7, 8. Doubtless Cicero may have read the story in various authors, but for the present account that he consulted more than one there is no need to suppose. Bardt, who has studied in detail the different versions, considers the source used by Cicero as the oldest (*op. cit.* 7), and Zingler (*De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 25) would find that source in the *auguralis disciplina* of Appius Claudius (see 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) supra); yet cf. Harless (*De Fabiis et Aufidiis* (1853), 36), who suggests Fabius Pictor or others as the source. In the attempt to follow the story further back Bardt (*op. cit.* 9-10) thinks it has no augural origin but is the invention of the *ciceroni* of the Forum to explain the *puteal* and some statue of Attus standing near it, while Pais (*op. cit.* 315; cf. 1, 33, n. (*defossam*) infra) considers it of comparatively late sacerdotal origin, and makes an unconvincing comparison with the story of Epimenides and the loss of his flock (*Theopompus*, fr. 69, in *F.H.G.* 1, 288).

2. Atto: a Sabine praenomen, with a byform *Attius*, the MSS. varying between the two in many of the places in which the name appears. The name is equivalent to the Latin *Appius*; cf. Klebs in *P.-W.* s.v. *Attus* (1896), 2259. For the name *Navius* cf. Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 197.

propter paupertatem sues puer pasceret, una ex iis amissa vovisse dicitur si recuperasset uvam se deo daturum quae maxima esset in vinea; itaque sue inventa ad meridiem spectans in vinea media dicitur constitisse,

[143]2f. qui, etc.: the first incident, probably on account of its slighter public interest, appears in few accounts; cf. 1, 32, n. (*Allum*); *N.D.* 2, 9: *an Allii Navi Ilium ille quo ad investigandum suam regiones vineae terminavit contemnendus est? crederem nisi eius augurio rex Hostilius maxima bello gessisset* (cf. also the n. on *Prisco* . . . *Tarquinius* above); *Dion. Hal.* 3, 70 (who tells the story at great length): *πένη αὐτῷ πατήρ ἔγλυτο χωρίον εἰσέλθεις γεωργῶν, ᾧ τὰ τε ἄλλα συνεργάζετο παῖς ὧν ὁ Νέβιος . . . καὶ τὰς ὕψι ἐξελαιῶν ἔβσκεν. ἀποκοιμηθεὶς δὲ ποτε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐξέγερσιν οὐχ εὐρίσκων τινὰς τῶν ὕψιν . . . ἔλθῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καλλιὰδα τὴν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καθύπευθε μὲν ἥρωα ἤξειλον τοὺς φράσας συνεξευρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰς ὕψιν γεωμέτρῳ δὲ τούτου θύσειν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου βοτρίων. εὐρῶν δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰς ὕψιν ἐβόλευτο μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἥρωσι τὴν εὐχὴν, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δὲ ἦν πολλῇ τὸν μέγιστον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξευρεῖν βότριν. ἀθημονῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι τοὺς θεοὺς ἤξειλον δι' οἰωνῶν φαρερὸν αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τὸ ζητούμενον. ἔπειτ' ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ κατὰ δαίμονα διχῆ νίμειν τὸν ἀμπελώνα, θάτερα μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν ἐκ δεξιᾶς, θάτερα δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἔπειτ' ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου τῶν μερῶν τοὺς παρακειμένους οἰωνοὺς ἰσκόπει. φανέντων δ' ἐπὶ θατέρου μέρους ὄρνιθων, οἷων αὐτὸς ἐβόλευτο, πάλιν ἐκείνο διχῆ διήρει τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς ὄρνιθας διεκρίνε τοὺς παραγινομένους κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. ταύτη χρώμενος τῇ διαίρισει τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπὸ τῶν ὄρνιθων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἀμπελον ὑπελθὼν εὐρίσκει βότρινος ἀπιστὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ αὐτὸν φέρων ἐπὶ τὴν καλλιὰδα τῶν ἥρωων ὁρᾶται πρὸς τοῦ πατρός, κτλ. His father, seeing his gift of augury, took him to the city and had him taught the art.*

1. *una*: plural in the account of Dionysius.

2. *uvam*: on grapes as votive offerings cf. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902), 221; 304.

2. *deo*: Dionysius speaks of heroes rather than a god. *Deo* is probably here

not indefinite (since the offering could hardly have been promised or paid to an indefinite deity) but refers to some particular god, perhaps Mercury, whom Cicero is unable or disinclined to mention.

3. *ad meridiem*: cf. *Fest.* p. 339 M.: *Varro lib. V epistoliarum quaestionum ad: a deorum sede cum in meridiem spectes, ad sinistram sunt parte< > mundi exorientes, ad dexteram occidentes; factum arbitror ut sinistra meliora auspicia quam dextra esse existimantur*; *Varr. L.L.* 7, 7: *templi partes quattuor dicuntur, sinistra ab oriente, dextra ab occasu, antica ad meridiem, postica ad septentrionem*; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 220 M. It will be noted that Dionysius makes Attus divide the heaven into but two parts each time, Cicero into four; that in Dionysius the birds each time select the favorable side and in Cicero each time reject the three unfavorable quarters; thus the two opposite methods attain the same end (cf. *Bardt, op. cit.* 9). Dionysius has evidently adapted the Roman story in so far as its augural details are concerned to the methods of augury more familiar to the Greeks, and the differences in his account may be accordingly disregarded. More difficult is the question of orientation in Cicero's account, for chiefly upon it and the passages quoted from Varro and Festus depends our evidence for an augur's having faced south in his observations; cf. *Wissowa in P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2340-2342. In the famous account in *Liv.* 1, 18, 7, and in *Servius (Aen.* 2, 693) and *Isidore (Etym.* 15, 4, 7), the augur faces east. For theories of Regell and Valetton attempting to reconcile these orientations see *Wissowa, l.c.*, and, more satisfactorily, the view of Körte (in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, 20 (1905), 361, n.) that facing south belonged to the Etruscan rite, facing east to the Roman. Körte notes the orientation of Etruscan temples (and the consequent facing of

cumque in quattuor partis vineam divisisset trisque partis aves abdixissent, quarta parte quae erat reliqua in regiones distributa, mirabili magnitudine uvam, ut scriptum videmus, invenit. Qua re celebrata cum vicini omnes ad eum de rebus suis referrent, erat in magno nomine et gloria. 32. Ex quo

2. regiones Lombius (as uno codice), regione C, Christ.

their gods) to the south, and in Liv. *l.c.* distinguishes between the south-facing position of the king (as representative of the god?) and the east-facing pose of the augur. Cf. also 1, 12, n. (*a laeva*).

[144]3. *spectans*: with a suggestion, at least, of augural language; cf. the augural use of the term *spectio* (Fest. p. 333 M.; etc.). On augury as applied to vineyards and country districts see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 191-194, and the passage quoted by him from Cic. *Leg.* 2, 21.

[144]3. *constituere*: the posture in augury is often represented as a seated one; cf. Liv. 1, 18, 7: *augur . . . sedem capit*; Serv. *Aen.* 9, 4: *secundum augures 'sedere' est augurium captare; namque post designatas caeli partes a sedentibus captantur auguria*; but cf. *id.*, *Aen.* 6, 197: *ad captanda auguria post preces immobiles vel sedere vel stare consueverant*. For sitting during augury among the Greeks cf. Soph. *Ant.* 999; Eur. *Bacch.* 347. A seated augur is perhaps shown in a Roman relief described in *C.I.L.* VI, 22219 and the works there cited.

1. *in quattuor partis*: the fourfold division of the heaven which here appears bears many resemblances to the surveying division by means of the *cardo* and *decumanus*, which was itself, according to Varro (ap. Frontin. *de Limit.* in *Corp. Agrimens. Rom.* ed. Thulin, 1, 1, pp. 10-11; cf. Hyginus, *Constit. Limit.* in the same work, 1, 1, p. 130), derived from the *Etrusca disciplina*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 18. Traces of an eight-fold or a sixteen-fold division (cf. 2, 42 *infra*) are not free from the suspicion of astrological influence; cf. Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella u. die Bronzeler von Piacenza* (1906), who treats of the meaning of the 16 regions in Mart.

Cap. 1, 41-61; Boll in *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 30 (1913), 123-124. On the augural divisions in general see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 187-189; Valeton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 275 ff.; 20 (1892), 370 ff.; 381 ff.; Dorigny in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Templum*, 108. Pais (*Ancient Italy*, tr. by Curtis (1908), 315, and n. 2) sees in this division of the vineyard only the ordinary method of arranging vineyards with two main alleys, one north and south, the other east and west, and compares the analogies drawn by Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte*, 8 ed. (1911), 71, from similar modern practices in Colchis and Armenia. A suggestion of this is perhaps to be seen in Virg. *Georg.* 2, 277-278. If we assume such a division here we may imagine Attus as standing at the intersection of these main alleys which themselves readily formed for him the four regions described, and the subsequent subdivisions might easily have been formed by side alleys parallel to the main ones.

1. *abdixissent*: an augural term, found only here, but corresponding to *addico*; cf. Liv. 1, 36, 3: *nisi aves addixissent*; 1, 55, 3; 22, 42, 8; 27, 16, 15; Fest. p. 241 M.; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 14; Sen. *Dial.* 10, 13, 8; Auct. *de Vir. ill.* 3, 1.

3. *ut scriptum videmus*: cf. 1, 72; *Fin.* 4, 15; *Ac.* 2, 129; *de Sen.* 69; *N.D.* 1, 72: *ut videmus in scriptis*; *Off.* 2, 25: *ut scriptum legimus*; al.

4. *referrent*: often used of bringing a matter to a diviner for interpretation; cf. 1, 79; 2, 62; 2, 115; 2, 145; *N.D.* 2, 10. It is used absolutely in 1, 32; 1, 122; *Leg.* 3, 42; *de Or.* 3, 133; 3, 134.

4f. *ex quo factum est ut*: cf. 1, 81: *ex quo factum est ut*; 1, 129: *ex quo fit ut*; and so in *N.D.* 1, 101; *Rep.* 1, 67; *Fin.* 3, 64;

factum est ut eum ad se rex Priscus arcesseret. Cuius cum temptaret scientiam auguratus, dixit ei cogitare se quiddam; id possetne fieri consuluit. Ille augurio acto posse respondit. Tarquinius autem dixit se cogitasse cotem novacula posse praecidi. Tum Attum iussisse experiri.

Tusc. 3, 19; 4, 19; *Off.* 1, 21: 1, 64; *de Sen.* 72.

1. Priscus: cf. 1, 31, n. (*Prisco . . . Tarquinio*).

1. cum temptaret: the motive for this test Cicero does not give, but other authors supply one; cf. Liv. 1, 36, 2-4: *Tarquinius equilem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes Titienses Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suoque insignes relinquere nomine. id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ul ferunt, 'agedum,' inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura feline possit quod nunc ego mente concipio.' cum ille in augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, 'atqui hoc animo agitavi,' inquit, 'te novacula cotem discissurum; cape haec et perage quid aves tuae fieri posse portenderunt.' tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt.* This same motive appears in the versions of Dionysius, Valerius Maximus, Festus, Florus, the Auct. *de Vir. ill.*, and Lactantius, and is recognized by Cicero himself in *Rep.* 2, 36, probably following a different source. In our passage it appears as though Tarquin were here testing Attus before making him an official augur—*cuius . . . scientiam auguratus*—and there is here no indication that Tarquin had any contempt for the art as such. If Zingler's theory (*De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 25) be correct that Appius Claudius is here Cicero's source, it is not surprising that no mention is found of the king's scepticism as to the art. The whole story was well adapted to justify the abuse of augural powers by the optimates of Cicero's time.

For such testing of prophets or oracles before they were accorded credence cf. the famous story of Croesus and Delphi

(Hdt. 1, 47-49; Luc. *Charon*, 11; Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1463), the tests made by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 6, 21; cf. 1, 132, n. (*qui sibi, etc.*) infra), and that of Persian magi before the birth of Sapor II (Agath. *Hist.* 4, 25). See also Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 45.

3. augurio acto: a technical phrase; cf. *Off.* 3, 66: *cum in arce augurium augures acturi essent*; Varr. *L.L.* 6, 42: *augures augurium agere dicuntur, quom in eo plura dicant quam faciunt*; Plin. *N.H.* 18, 14: *augurio canario agendo*; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 20: *auspicari enim cuius etiam peregre licet; augurium agere nisi in patriis sedibus non licet*; Valeton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 421-423; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2330; *id.*, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 524, n. 1.

4. Attum: by some (e.g., Thoresen ad h. loc.) taken as object. In Dionysius, however, it is the king who cuts the stone (and so Aug. *C.D.* 10, 16: *quod cotem Tarquinius novacula secuit*), and in our passage the ambiguity of this sentence and the indefiniteness of the next leave the agent uncertain. Bardt (*op. cit.* 10) presents an elaborate scheme showing the gradual reduction in the number of scenes in the story, and the change in tradition from an anonymous cutter of the stone, such as he believes the Ciceronian account shows, to a definite ascription of this miracle to the king, on the one hand, or, in most accounts, to Attus. The latter form of the legend is also shown on a coin of Antoninus Pius (Cohen-Feuardent, *Descr. hist. des Monnaies*, 2 (1882), 326, and fig.), the reverse of which shows an augur (labelled *NAVIVS*) on his knees cutting a large stone, and Tarquin standing, with another stone behind him.

For the transition here to indirect discourse cf. 1, 55, n. (*iussum esse*).

Ita cotem in comitium allatam inspectante et rege et populo novacula esse discissam. Ex eo evenit ut et Tarquinius augure Atto Navio uteretur et populus de suis rebus ad eum referret. 33. Cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in comitio supraque inpositum puteal accepimus. Nege-

1. *inspectante*: cf. 1, 72; 2, 23.

2. *ex eo evenit ut*: cf. *Off.* 1, 85: *ex quo evenit ut*.

2. *augure . . . uteretur*: Attus became, next to Romulus, the especial type of the Roman augur, and, in keeping with his revered character, was described as having, like Aeneas, Latinus, and Romulus, escaped ordinary death; cf. Dion. Hal. 3, 72; Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* 1 (1883), 673, n. 2.

4. *defossam*: the explanation of Schwegler, *op. cit.* 701-702, has been widely accepted, and is, with some additions, this. In the comitium there was a *puteal* and by it a sacred fig-tree (Fest. p. 169 M.: *figus quoque in comitio appellatur Navia ab Atto Navio augure*), near which was a bronze statue of a man *capite velato*, still in existence at the time of Dionysius, who in 3, 71 says it stood *πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου*. This statue was called that of Attus Navius. Tradition said that under the *puteal* were buried a stone and a razor. The real origin of this buried stone is to be sought in some thunderbolt which had been formally buried. That this was the case may be gathered from Plin. *N.H.* 15, 77: *colitur ficus arbor in foro ipso ac comitio nata, sacra fulguribus ibi conditis*. The formal burial of thunderbolts, for which we have much ancient evidence, is discussed in detail by Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 92-107. Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 12 remarks: *hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri*, and for this reason they were commonly enclosed within a circular curb (*puteal*). Of such there were at least two in the Forum, namely this and the *puteal Scribonianum* (Fest. p. 333 M.), the latter shown on coins as an altar within a circular enclosure; cf. Frothingham in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 2 ser. 18 (1914), 314.

Another link in the explanation comes from the scholiast on Pers. 2, 26: *in usu fuit ut augures vel aruspices adducti de Etruria certis temporibus fulmina transfigurata in lapides infra terram absconderent, cuius in paratione rei oves immolabantur*; hence the ancient etymology of *bidens*, another term for a spot struck by lightning, discussed by Schol. Pers. 2, 27. Usener, however, in *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 60 (1905), 22, thinks the *bidens* not a sheep but merely the name of a Roman symbol of the thunderbolt. For the association or even the identification of sacred stones with the god of thunder himself cf. Usener, *op. cit.* 18, and, with a rich collection of material on the 'thunderstone' from various lands and periods, Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* (1911), of which pp. 28-31 deal with Italic customs. Blinkenberg finds as the primitive basis for these customs a belief that lightning and thunder were produced by the descent of a stone to earth. This stone and what it struck became taboo, and, in Italy, at least, its remains were carefully sought, collected, and buried. This explanation well accounts for the burial of the whetstone. As for the razor no good explanation has yet been offered. Schwegler, following Hartung (*Relig. der Römer.* 1 (1836), 127) suggests that it was a piece of steel, buried with the (flint) stone to constitute the two symbols of fire, and that its original purpose, like that of the stone, was forgotten or misinterpreted. But ancient razors were regularly of bronze (cf. Lafaye in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Novacula*), and the use of flint and iron as the means of kindling fire was rare, and that of flint and steel apparently unknown (Morgan in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 1 (1890), 38), so that this explanation fails. Yet that for the whetstone appears in its

mus omnia, comburamus annales, ficta haec esse dicamus, quidvis denique potius quam deos res humanas curare fateamur; quid? quod scriptum apud

general outlines so probable as to command acceptance; cf. Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1 (1898), 315, n. 3; Petersen in *Klio*, 8 (1908), 447. As to the possible origin of the whole tale, given three neighboring relics, the *figus Navia*, the statue *capite velato*, and the *puteal*, see 1, 31, n. (*quis veterum scriptorum*). The puzzling legend of the *figus Navia* having been miraculously transferred to the comitium by Attus Navius (Plin. *N. H.* 15, 77) is discussed in detail by Petersen in the article cited. For the entire question, of such early relics at Rome cf. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, 2 (1912), especially pp. 599; 602.

[147]4. *puteal*: cf. Dion. Hal. 3, 71: ὄλιγον δὲ ἀπώσθη αὐτῆς ἢ τε ἀκόνη κεκρήσθαι λέγεται κατὰ γῆς καὶ τὸ ξυρὸν ὑπὸ βωμῶν τινι: καλεῖται δὲ Φτέρια ὁ τόπος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

[147]4. *accepimus*: the use of this expression in Cicero is discussed by Schoenberger, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte* (1910), 57. It so appears in 1, 34; 1, 92; 1, 111; 1, 122; 1, 130; 2, 80; 2, 98.

[147]4. *negemus*: cf. 1, 36; *N. D.* 1, 97.

2ff. *scriptum apud te*: *N. D.* 2, 10-11: quos (i.e., P. Scipio Nasica and C. Figulus) cum Ti. Gracchus consul iterum crearet, prius rogator ut eos rettulit ibidem est repente mortuus . . . haruspices introducti responderunt non fuisse iustum comitiorum rogatorem (sc. Gracchum) . . . post autem e provincia litteras ad collegium misit (sc. Gracchus), se, cum legeret libros, recordatum esse vitio sibi tabernaculum captum fuisse [hortos Scipionis], quod cum pomerium postea intrasset habendis enatus causa, in redeundo, cum idem pomerium transiret, auspicari esset oblitus; itaque vitio creatos consules esse. augures rem ad senatum; senatus ut abdicarent consules; abdicaverunt. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 103, n. 4) sees no reason to doubt, as did Müller, the reading *hortos Scipionis*, and supposes the oversight had reference to the crossing of the *Petronia*

amnis, of which Fest. p. 250 M. says: *Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspicato transeunt cum in Campo quid agere volunt; quod genus auspicii peremne vocatur* (cf. 2, 77 infra). For the story of this incident see also 2, 74 infra; ad *Q. Fr.* 2, 2, 1: *Gracchus augur posteaquam in istam provinciam venit recordatus est quid sibi in campo Martio comitia consulium habenti contra auspicia accidisset*; Plut. *Marc.* 5: Τιβέριος ὁλο Σαμπρόπιος . . . ἀπίδειξε μὲν ὑπατίων διαδόχου Σκιπίωνα Νασικῶν καὶ Γάϊου Μάρκιου, ἥδη δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα ἱερατικοῖς δομημασιν ἐτυχῶν εὖρεν ἠγρομητόν ὑφ' αὐτοῦ τι τῶν πατρίων. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον· ἔσαν ἄρχων ἐπ' ὄρωσι καθεζόμενοι ἐξ ὧν πόλιος οἶκον ἢ σπηρην μεμισθωμένοι ὑπ' αἰτίας τινὸς ἀναγκασθῆ μήκω γεγορθῶτων σημείων βεβαίον ἐπαρθεῖν εἰς πόλιον, ἀφείναι χρῆν τὸ προμεμισθωμένον οἰκεῖον καὶ λαβεῖν ἕτερον, ἐξ οὗ κοιήσεται τὴν θίαν αἰδῆς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς. τοῦτο ἔλαθον, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ δις τῷ αὐτῷ χρησάμενοι ἀπίδειξε τοῦ εἰρημένου ἔσθρας ὑδάτους. ἕτερον δὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀήνεγκε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον. ἢ δὲ . . . ἔγραψε τοῖς ἀνόμοις καὶ ἑτέροις τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀπολιπόντες ἐπαγγέλλον εἰς Ῥώμην ταχὺ καὶ κατέθεντο τὴν ἀρχήν. In the account in Val. Max. 1, 1, 3 it is stated that Figulus returned from Gaul and Nasica from Corsica for their abdication. Further cf. Auct. de Vir. ill. 44, 2; Gran. Licin. 28, pp. 8-9 Flemisch (on which see Domaszewski in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 69, and n. 1); *Fest. Capit. ann.* 592 (C. I. L. I, 2 ed., p. 25): *P. Cornelius P. f. Cn. n. Scipio Nasica C. Marcus C. f. Q. n. Figulus vitio facti ***** abdicarunt. in eorum loc. facti sunt P. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Lentulus Cn. Domitius Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarb.* For the general interpretation of the passage cf. Mommsen, *l.c.*; Domaszewski, *l.c.*

The abdication of officials declared by augurs or haruspices to be *vitio creati* is several times attested; cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2,

te est de Ti. Graccho, nonne et augurum et haruspicum conprobat disciplinam? qui cum tabernaculum vitio cepisset imprudens, quod inauspicato pomerium transgressus esset, comitia consulibus rogandis habuit. Nota res est et a te ipso mandata monumentis. Sed et ipse augur Ti. Gracchus auspicio auctoritatem confessione errati sui conprobavit, et haruspicum

1. Ti. vulg., liberio C, et sic plerumque.

31: *quid magnificentius quam posse (sc. augures) decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules?* and the list of cases in Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 250, n. 5.

1. **Ti Graccho:** Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, twice consul (177, 163 B.C.; cf. 1, 36 infra). This event was in his second consulship when M. Juventus Thalna was also consul (*Fast. Capit. l.c.*).

1. **augurum et haruspicum:** both are mentioned since it was the haruspices who in this case detected the transgression of augural rules.

2. **tabernaculum . . . cepisset:** on this technical phrase cf. Valeton in *Mnemos.* 18 (1890), 243-246; Paul. ex Fest. p. 46 M.: *captus locus dicitur ad sacrificandum legitime constitutus*; cf. also Valeton, *op. cit.* 240; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 531, n. 2.

2. **vitio:** cf. 1, 29, n. (vitio). Varro (*L.L.* 6, 30) maintains: *magistratus vitio creatus nihilo scilicet magistratus.*

2. **inauspicato:** cf. 1, 3, n. (auspicato . . . condidisse).

3. **pomerium:** on the augural significance of this boundary see Valeton in *Mnemos.* 23 (1895), 72 ff.; 25 (1897), 93 ff.; also Mommsen in *Hermes*, 10 (1876), 40-50; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 190, n. 3; 225-235; Besnier in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Pomerium*; Carter in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 12 (1908), 172-184; *id.* in *Proc. Brit. and Amer. arch. Soc. of Rome*, 4 (1908), 129-136; Merrill in *Class. Philol.* 4 (1909), 420-430; Wide, *Pomerium och Pelargikon* (1911); Kent in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 44 (1913), 19-24 (who derives the word from **pro-moiriom*), and the works cited by these authors. Most of the numerous questions raised in regard to the

pomerium do not here concern us. The important thing to be noted is that it was the boundary between the regions of the urban and the military auspices, so that, as the account in *N.D.* 2, 11 shows, the auspices first taken by Gracchus on going out of the city to hold the elections were cancelled by his subsequent entrance into the city. Cicero distinctly says that on his return outside the *pomerium* he forgot to take the auspices, so that all that was done thereafter was done *inauspicato*; Plutarch, perhaps not quite understanding this point, insists that he should have taken a second *tabernaculum*, rather than the same one. Plutarch may have confused the idea with that in *Serv. Arn.* 2, 178: *in constituendo tabernaculo si primum vitio captum esset secundum eligeatur; quod si et secundum vitio captum esset ad primum reverti mos erat.*

3. **comitia consulibus rogandis:** cf. *Leg.* 3, 10: *cum populo patribusque agendis ius esto consuli, praetori, magistro populi equitumque eique quem patres prodent consulium rogandorum ergo*; Liv. 38, 42, 2: *comitia consulibus rogandis fuerunt*; cf. 3, 19, 2; 22, 35, 2; 23, 31, 12; also the use of *rogator* infra.

3f. **nota res est et:** cf. *Rep.* 2, 63: *nota scilicet illa res et celebrata monumentis.*

4. **a te ipso:** cf. 1, 22, n. (*poteris*).

4. **mandata monumentis:** so in *Ac.* 1, 3; 2, 2.

4. **ipse augur:** cf. 1, 36; *N.D.* 2, 11; Liv. 29, 38, 7: (*suffectus est*) *augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus admodum adolescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis sacerdotiis erat.*

5. **auctoritatem, etc.:** cf. *N.D.* 2, 11: *vir sapientissimus . . . peccatum suum quod celari posset confiteri maluit quam haerere in re publica religionem, consules*

disciplinae magna accessit auctoritas, qui recentibus comitiis in senatum introducti negaverunt iustum comitiorum rogatorem fuisse.

XVIII. 34. Iis igitur adsentior qui duo genera divinationum esse dixerunt, unum quod particeps esset artis, alterum quod arte careret. Est enim ars in iis qui novas res coniectura persequuntur, veteres observatione didicerunt. Carent autem arte ii qui non ratione aut coniectura observatis ac notatis signis sed concitatione quadam animi aut soluto liberoque motu futura praesentiunt, quod et somniantibus saepe contingit et non numquam vaticinantibus per furorem, ut Bacis Boeotius, ut Epi-

3. *iis vulg.*, *his C.*

5. in *iis vulg.*, *in his C.*

5. *persequuntur O*, *persecuntur C.*

6. *arte ii vulg.*, *arte hii AV*, *arte hi BH*, *sed in B add. altera manu.*

9. *Bacis vulg.*, *bacchin A'BV*, *bacchi A'*, *bachus B.*

summum imperium statim deponere quam id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem. magna augurum auctoritas; quid? haruspicum ars nonne divina?

1. *accessit auctoritas*: cf. *de Am.* 94.

1. *recentibus comitiis*: cf. 1, 139: *recenti re*; 2 *Verr.* 1, 101: *recenti negotio*.

2. *introducti*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 10-11: *haruspices introducti responderunt non fuisse iustum comitiorum rogatorem. tum Gracchus, ut e patre audiebam, incensus ira, 'utane vero? ego non iustus, qui et consul rogavi et augur et auspicato? an vos Tusci ac barbari auspiciorum populi Romani ius tenetis et interpretes esse comitiorum potestis?' Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 109, for the dislike of the Roman augur for being corrected by an Etruscan haruspex; also 1, 36, n. (*haruspices convocavit*).*

2. *rogatorem*: one must distinguish in the use of this word between the magistrate presiding over the whole election, as here, and an election clerk (as the *rogator centuriae* of 1, 75, and the *primus rogator* of *N.D.* 2, 10), the latter meaning being the more frequent; cf. Mayor on *N.D.* 2, 10.

3. *iis igitur*: the argument is resumed from the middle of 1, 12, the intervening sections having been occupied with instances intended to justify the

Stoic insistence on *causae* as opposed to the search for causes.

3. *duo genera divinationum*: cf. 1, 12. The plural of *divinatio* occurs also in 1, 78; 1, 90; 1, 93; though usually, even with the word *genera*, the singular is employed.

5. *novas res*: cf. 2, 50.

6. *carent . . . arte*: cf. 1, 70.

6. *ratione*: possibly the mantic use of analogy, or, more likely, scientific prediction of effects based on a knowledge of their causes, as opposed to mantic prediction based on supposed concomitants or signs of their causes; cf. 1, 29, n. (*non causas adferunt*).

7. *concitatione*: cf. 1, 80; 2, 27. The two methods of natural divination are here contrasted: *concitatione . . . animi et soluto liberoque motu*. For similar antitheses of these cf. 1, 128; *Tusc.* 5, 43: *tam gravibus concitationibus . . . quem vacuum, solum, liberum videris, hunc dubitabis beatum dicere?*

7f. *soluto liberoque motu*: cf. 1, 4, n. (*soluto et libero*); 1, 113.

8. *quod somniantibus . . . contingit*: cf. 1, 113; 1, 115; 1, 129.

8f. *contingit . . . vaticinantibus . . . ut Bacis*: for such *caecolutha* in Cicero cf. Plasberg on *Parad.* 44; also 1, 72 *infra*.

9. *per furorem*: cf. 1, 126.

menides Cres, ut Sibylla Erythraea. Cuius generis oracula etiam habenda

1. Sibylla Erythraea O, sibylla erythraea V, sibylla aerythraea (aerythraea corr.) A, sibyllae (sibyllae corr.) aerythraea B, sibyllae erythraea H.

[150]9. ut Bacis, etc.: Creutzer well compares Aristid. *Orat.* 45, 12 (vol. 2, p. 13 Dind.): ἔσοι δ' αὖ καὶ καθάπαξ ὑποδύνας θεῶν καὶ τέχνης οὐδὲ μίσην μετασχόντες οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐφ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑστερον πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θαυμάσια προεῖπαι, οἷον εἰ βούλεις, Βάκισ, Σιβύλλα, ἔτερον μετὰ τούτων, εἰ δὲ μὴ πολλοί, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου· τὰ γὰρ μέγιστα ἐπιπέφυγε τοῖς πολλοῖς· τίς οὖν τεχνίτης τοῦ ἐακῶν λέγειν ἔστιν ὄντι καὶ τούτους κατέσωκε ἄν;

[150]9. Bacis: like the word Sibyl (1, 4, n. (Sibyllinis . . . versibus) supra), this word had an appellative sense; cf. [Arist.] *Probl.* 20, 1, p. 954 a 36. Its derivation is uncertain; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 105, n. 3, and Schultz in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. Bakis (1884), 2801-2802, derive it from βάξω, 'speak.' Various writers, including Herodotus, Aristophanes, Plato, Pausanias, and Cicero himself, use the word in the singular, but Rohde (*Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 64, n.) thinks it may be a generic rather than an individual appellation. Clem. *Strom.* 1, 21, p. 333, knows of two, one Boeotian and one Arcadian, whom he places at the head of a long list of χρησμολόγοι, including Epimenides and the Sibyl, as here. Several other writers, noted by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 105-106, and Schultz, *l.c.*, name three, the additional one being Attic. On the period of development of these χρησμολόγοι, from the eighth to the seventh century B.C., see Rohde, *op. cit.* 2, 63-69. The oracular sayings ascribed to Bacis are collected by Alexandre, *Excursus ad Sibyll. Libros* (1856), 134-136, and Goettling, *Opusc. Acad.* (1869), 203-205. The Boeotian is the best known, and was associated with Eleon near Tanagra (cf. Kern in *P.-W.* s.v. Bakis (1896), 2802). He was especially famous for his prophecies fulfilled at the time of the Persian Wars, as described by Hdt. 8, 20; 8, 77;

8, 96; 9, 43; Paus. 10, 14, 6. His prophetic power was closely connected with nymph-olepsy; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 106 (who cites Paus. 4, 27, 4; 10, 12, 11); also 1, 80, n. (*lymphata*).

[150]9f. Epimenides: this man, for a real character undoubtedly lies behind the traditions associated with the name (Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 98, n.), appears to have been a Cretan priest from Cnossus or Phaestus, who at Athens, before the Persian Wars (the exact date is much disputed), perhaps identified himself in name with an old Attic deme-hero Epimenides (Kern in *P.-W.* s.v. *Epimenides* (1907), 174), and played a prominent part in a purification of Athens (Rohde, *op. cit.* 96 ff.; Kern, *op. cit.* 175; cf. *Leg.* 2, 28), as a poet and a prophet. For the fragments of his writings see Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 2, 3 ed. (1912), 188-194; for his prophecies cf. Diog. L. 1, 114; Apul. *Flor.* 15; Schol. Luc. *Timon*, 6, p. 110 Rabe; Hier. in *Titum*, pp. 706; 708 Vall. (who ascribes to him a book of oracles); Schultess, *De Epimenide Creta* (1877), 43 ff. Aristotle says (*Rhet.* 3, 17, p. 148 a 22 ff.): ἐκείνος γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἑσομένων οὐκ ἔμαρτετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν γενομένων μὲν ἀθέλων δέ, which perhaps points rather to his profession of purifier than to that of diviner. To his biography there was later added a large mass of legendary material, found in greatest detail in Diog. L. 1, 109 ff. (cf. Diels, *op. cit.* 2, 185-188), of which the most noted incident was one of his childhood, when, having been sent to tend flocks, he fell asleep and slept in a cave for 50, 57, or 60 years (for this sleep and many parallels, including Hermetimus of Clazomenae and Rip Van Winkle, see Frazer on Paus. 1, 14, 4; Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 91 ff.), being fed by nymphs. He was reputed to have reached great age; cf. Kern, *op. cit.* 175. For a bibliography of works on Epimenides see

sunt, non ea quae aequalis sortibus ducuntur, sed illa quae instinctu divino adflatuque funduntur; etsi ipsa sors contemnenda non est, si [et] auctoritatem habet vetustatis, ut eae sunt sortes quas e terra editas accepimus; quae tamen ductae ut in rem apte cadant fieri credo posse divinitus.

2. contemnenda vulg., contempnenda C.

2. si Schuets, si et C.

Kern, *op. cit.* 178; and cf. the account in Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 94; 99-102.

[151]l. Sibylla Erythraea: cf. Lact. *Inst.* 4, 15, 27: qui Ciceronem Varronemque legerit aliosque veteres qui Erythraeam Sibyllam ceterasque commemorant. On the Sibyls in general cf. 1, 3, n. (*Sibyllinis . . . versibus*), and for this Sibyl in particular see also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 154-157; 167-170; Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 64-67; Buchholz in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. Sibylla (1910) 797-798; Corsen in *Athen. Mittheilungen*, 38 (1913), 1-22, and the literature there cited. Her name was commonly held to be *Herophile* (sometimes *Artemis* or *Symmachia*; cf. Buchholz, *op. cit.* 798), and Pausanias says (10, 12, 7): Ἐρυθραῖοι δέ, ἀμφισβητοῦσι γάρ τῆς Ἡροφίλης προθυμότητα Ἐλλήνων, Κῦρικόν τε καλούμενον δρῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ βρεῖ σπήλαιον ἀποφαίρουσι, τεχθῆναι τὴν Ἡροφίλην ἐν αὐτῷ λέγοντες, Θεοδώρου δὲ ἐπιχωρίου ποιμένος καὶ νύμφης παῖδα εἶναι. By Aristotle (*de mirab. Ausc.* 95, p. 838 a 5 ff.) she is identified with the Cumaeae Sibyl; for her reputed great age see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 168-169; Rohde, *op. cit.* 67, n. 1; Buchholz, *op. cit.* 798. The attitude of Posidonius toward the Sibyl is noted by Geffcken in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 338, n. 3. A curious attempt to connect the Sibyl with other forms of divination is found in Phlegon, *Macrobian* (in *Paradoxogr. Gr.* 202), who quotes a Sibylline oracle and gives this paraphrase: τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς (i.e., of the Sibyl) κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα φερομένης καὶ προσπιπτούσης τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλούμενοις παρασκευάσει τὰς γινομένας κληθόντος διὰ τῶν λόγων, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἀτάφου γενομένου τὰ μὲν βρεα τῶν σαρκῶν φαγόντα τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀρειθροσκοτίας μαρτεῖαν διασημαίνειν, τοῦ δὲ

ὑπολοιπῶν μέρους εἰς τὴν γῆν σαπίεντος καὶ τὰ κτήνη φαγόντα τῆς ἑκ τῆς φουμένης πύας τῆς ψατασκοτικῆς αἰς βίον εἰσάξειν τέχνην.

1. non ea quae: cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*).

1. aequalis sortibus ducuntur: the verb applies more exactly to lots than to oracles in the narrower sense of the term; cf. 2, 70; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 269: sortes modo abusive pro oraculis posuit; nam ducuntur sortes et hic a Fauno oraculum, non sortes acceperat. The phrase *aequalis sortibus* doubtless means that the lots are so arranged that the mathematical chances in the drawing are equalized, and the notion of the divine inspiration of the consultant most completely reduced to a matter of mere chance.

1. instinctu: cf. 1, 12, n. (*instinctu inflatuque*).

2. funduntur: cf. 1, 18, n. (*fundebant*).

2. si: the MS. reading *si et* is defended by Christ, who thinks the *et* due to a correlation which Cicero began but abandoned, and he compares Madvig, 3 ed. of the *De Finibus* (1876), 785 ff.; see also Baiter and Halm in *Fleckeisens Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 618.

3. e terra editas: cf. 2, 85.

3. accepimus: frequent in introducing *exempla*; cf. 1, 92; 1, 111; 1, 122; 1, 130; Schoenberger, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte* (1911), 57.

4. apte cadant: cf. 2, 83; *N.D.* 1, 19.

4. divinitus: the whole theory of lots used in divination rested upon the belief that the deity guided the inquirer to the selection of the proper lot, just as to the choice of a suitable victim for sacrifice; cf. 1, 118. See Marcus Cicero's answer in 2, 85-87; and, for the antithesis of divine agency to chance, 2, 67. Also 1, 23, n. (*casus*).

Quorum omnium interpretes, ut grammatici poetarum, proxime ad eorum quos interpretantur divinationem videntur accedere. 35. Quae est igitur ista calliditas res vetustate robustas calumniando velle pervertere? Non reperio causam. Latet fortasse obscuritate involuta naturae; non enim me deus ista scire sed his tantum modo uti voluit. Utar igitur nec adducar aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare aut eandem gentem in fulgoribus errare aut fallaciter portenta interpretari, cum terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus, saepe motus multa nostrae rei publicae, multa ceteris civitatibus gravia et vera praedixerint. 36. Quid? qui inridetur partus

1. ut grammatici poetarum: cf. the gloss inserted in the text at 1, 116: *sunt enim explanatores, ut grammatici poetarum; Orat. 72: grammatici in poësis (sc. solent tractare); de Or. 1, 187: in grammaticis poetarum pertractatio; Suet. de Gram. 4: Nepos . . . ait . . . proprie sic (i.e., litteratos) appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Graecis grammatici nominentur.* For the whole subject cf. Plat. *Ion*, pp. 533 ff., and for the comparison of the art of the grammarian to that of the diviner Athen. p. 634c-d: Ἀριστάρχος ὁ γραμματικῶς δὲ μάντιν ἐκάλεε Παναθηναῖος τὸν Ῥόδιος φιλόσοφος, διὰ τὸ βιβλίω καταμαρτυρεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν ποιημάτων διανοίας. May Cicero's comparison perhaps go back through Posidonius to this saying of Panaetius?

It. proxime . . . accedere: cf. 1, 1: *proxime ad deorum vim . . . accedere.* For the thought cf. Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 422.

2. divinationem: a difficult use of the word, for which Hottinger proposed to read *divinitatem*. But the approach of the professional diviners is less to the deity of the gods than to that knowledge of the future as a result of which they send signs to men. And the argument of Hottinger that men are either completely prophetic or not at all so is refuted by such a passage as 1, 63: *adpropinquante morte multo est divinior* (sc. *animus*), as well as by the views of demonic divination held by the patristic writers; cf. 1, 64, n. (*plenus . . . animorum*).

3. calliditas: cf. 1, 105; *N.D.* 3, 75: *istam calliditatem hominibus di ne dedissent; Off.* 1, 63: *scientia quae est remota ab*

iustitia calliditas potius quam sapientia es appellanda.

3. vetustate robustas: cf. 2, 114.

4. obscuritate involuta naturae: cf. *Ac.* 1, 15: *a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis; Tim.* 1: *earum rerum quae a natura involutae videntur; Fin.* 5, 51: *eorum omnium quae naturae obscuritate occultantur*; also 5, 58; *Ac.* 2, 147.

6. adducar: for this use, equivalent to *adducar ut rear*, and found in *Fin.* 1, 14; 4, 55; *Leg.* 2, 6; *ad Alt.* 11, 16, 2; *pro Cluent.* 104; and for similar brachylogies cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 14.

6. in extis totam Etruriam: cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*); 1, 16, n. (*issum in extis*).

6. delirare: cf. 1, 53; *N.D.* 1, 92; 1, 94. With the series *delirare . . . errare . . . fallaciter* cf. *Off.* 1, 94: *falli, errare, labi, decipi tam dedecet quam delirare et mente esse captum.*

6f. in fulgoribus: cf. 1, 92, n. (*Etruria*).

7f. terrae . . . fremitus: cf. 1, 18, n. (*se . . . tremefecit*).

8. mugitus: the *Addit. Prosp. Hann.* p. 299 Mommsen say that just before the invasion of Alaric *per dies VII Romae in foro Pacis terra mugitum dedit significans captivitatis exitium quem post biennium experta persolvit.*

8. motus: cf. 1, 18, n. (*se . . . tremefecit*); 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*).

8f. nostrae rei publicae . . . ceteris civitatibus: a trace of the division into *exempla domestica* and *exempla externa*; cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

hic mulae nonne, quia fetus extitit in sterilitate naturae, praedictus est

[153]9. *quid? qui:* for the form of sentence cf. 2, 11.

[153]9f. *partus . . . mulae:* for the history of mules, mentioned as early as Homer and in the early period coming especially from Ionia and the non-Hellenic parts of Asia Minor, see Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 1 (1909), 259, and n. 179. The especial Roman market for them was Reate; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 8, 167; also Varr. *R. R.* 2, 6, 1. Many ancient writers mention or discuss the sterility of mules; e.g., Alcmaeon ap. Plut. *Plac.* 5, 14, 1 = Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 104, no. 3; Empedocles ap. Plut. *ibid.* = Diels, *op. cit.* 167, no. 82; Democritus ap. Ael. *N.A.* 12, 16 = Diels, *op. cit.* 380, no. 151; Arist. *H.A.* 6, 24, p. 577 b 20; *de Anim. Gen.* 2, 7, p. 746 b 20; 2, 8, p. 747 a 25 ff.; 3, 1, p. 749 a 10; 3, 4, p. 755 b 18; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 12; Varr. *R.R.* 2, 8, 2; Plin. *N.H.* 8, 173; Plut. *de Soll. Animal.* 4; *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., p. 231, no. 37; *C.I.L.* IV, 2203(?); Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtöfen* (1912), 23; Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (in *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* Suppl. 19 (1893), 488, no. 91; 493, no. 101); *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 704, no. 70; Schol. Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 25, p. 130 Rabe; Schol. Luc. 1, 591; Just. Mart. *de Resurrect.* 3; *Elym. Mag.* p. 630, 6; for other late instances cf. Capelli's ed. of Petrarch, *de sui ipsius et multorum Ignorantia* (1906), 24; 102, n. In certain districts the foaling of mules was considered not uncommon, e.g., Cappadocia (Arist. *de mirab. Ausc.* 69, p. 835 b 1; Plin. *l.c.*, following Theophrastus), Syria (Arist. *H.A.* 6, 24, p. 577 b 20), and Africa (Varr. *R.R.* 2, 1, 27, followed by Columella, 6, 37, 3). Modern cases are cited by Mitchell in *Encycl. Brit.* 14, 11 ed. (1910), 28; cf. the bibliography by Lloyd-Jones in *Journ. of Heredity*, 7 (1916), 502; also the sceptical view of Mumford, *Breeding of Animals* (1917), 251. These cases fall under the general question of the sterility of hybrids (cf. Plin. *N.H.* 8, 173), not yet

completely understood (Mitchell, *l.c.*), but recognized as varying greatly in degree with different species and under different conditions. Foaling was at least so rare as to become proverbial; cf. Hdt. 3, 151: *ἔρεδρ ἡμυλονος ῥιζωσι*; Suet. *Galb.* 4: *cum mula pepererit*; Juv. 13, 66; Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 232. In India it was a popular belief that she-mules died if they foaled; cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, 35, 236, and n. 2.

The theory that the event was ominous is due in part to its unusual occurrence (cf. 2, 49), and in part, perhaps, to the ideas of taboo associated with intermixtures of species; cf. Reinach, *Orpheus*, Eng. tr. (1909), 145. That the latter cause is at least partly responsible may perhaps be indicated by some cases in which the mule itself (even the male) is ill-omened; cf. Plut. *Timol.* 26; Polyæn. 5, *Timol.* 1; Joan. Saresb. *Policrat.* 1, 13: *mulus infaustus est*. Columella, 6, 27, remarks: *mula pariens discordiam, bonorum interitum, mutacionem legum, turpes matronarum partus* (sc. *significat*). Such ominous foaling, though seldom mentioned in Greece (Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien-glaube . . . der Griechen* (1911), 30 cites only Hdt. 3, 154; 7, 57), is found in Vedic beliefs (Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1858, 328), and frequently among the Romans; cf. Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 15; to which add: Obseq. 65; App. *B.C.* 2, 36; Dio Cass. 64, 1; 78, 25; Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* 2, 36. See also on this subject *Sacred Books of the East, l.c.*; Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (1892), 159; Dames and Seeman in *Folk-Lore*, 14 (1903), 136.

Marcus Cicero's answer to this instance is found in 2, 49-50; 2, 61.

1. *naturae:* the word *natura* here = *αἰθεῖον*, as in 2, 145. So also *φύσις* in Greek (Ar. *Lysistr.* 91; Hesych. s.v. *λοχαπαί φύσις*; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 5, 63). Cf. *N.D.* 2, 128, and Mayor on *N.D.* 3, 56.

ab haruspibus incredibilis partus malorum? Quid? Ti. Gracchus P.f., qui bis consul et censor fuit, idemque et summus augur et vir sapiens civisque praestans, nonne, ut C. Gracchus, filius eius, scriptum reliquit, duobus anguibus domi conprehensis haruspices convocavit? qui cum

1. Ti. *mulg.*, tibi C.

1. P.f. *mulg.*, p. filius C, Publii filius *Christi, Pastor.*

3. C. Gracchus *mulg.*, G. Gracchus C.

1. *partus malorum*: doubtless paronomasia is intended between *partus mulae* (suggesting *partus mularum*) and *partus malorum*. Giese (ad h. loc.) cites other cases from Cicero.

2. *consul . . . augur*: cf. 1, 33, nn. (*Ti. Graccho, ipse augur*).

2f. *vir civisque*: cf. 1, 29, n. (*virum . . . civem*). For Cicero's praise of Gracchus the father cf. *Off.* 2, 43; *Fin.* 4, 65; *de Am.* 101; *de Or.* 1, 38; 1, 211.

3. *scriptum reliquit*: cf. 2, 62: C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit duobus anguibus domi conprehensis haruspices a patre convocatos. The remarkable loyalty of this Pomponius to Gracchus is described by Vell. 2, 6, 6; Val. Max. 4, 7, 2; *Auct. de Vir. ill.* 65, 5. Cf. Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8: ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάϊος ἐν τινι βιβλίῳ γέγραφε εἰς Νοματίαν πορευόμενον διὰ τῆς Τυρρηρίας τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ τὴν Ἰσημίαν τῆς χάριτος ὀρώμενα καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ἠπέμοντας οἰέτας ἐπεισάκτους καὶ βαρβάρους τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦν βαλίσσθαι τὴν μυρίων κακῶν ἄρξασαν αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν. Whether this work is identical with the one mentioned by Cicero has been much discussed, it being urged, on the one hand, that the phrase ad M. Pomponium suggests a letter while the subject matter of the passage in Plutarch is more appropriate for a political tract, and, on the other, that ad may refer merely to the dedication of the work by C. Gracchus to his friend Pomponius. For a bibliography of the discussion see especially Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 286; Meyer, *Kl. Schriften zur Gesch.* (1910), 386, n. 2; Riecken, *Die Quellen zur Gesch. des Tib. Gracchus* (1911), 13-16; Cardinali, *Studi Graccani* (1912), 6, n. 1; cf. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), 119. For the phrase *scriptum reliquit* cf. 2, 87; *Rep.* 1, 36.

4. *duobus anguibus*: cf. Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 1: λέγεται δὲ ποτε συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλήτης ζεύγος δρακόντων, τοῦτ' ἐδὲ μάρτυρις σκεψαμένου τοῦ τέρας ἄμφω μὲν οὐκ εἶν ἀνελεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφείναι, περὶ δὲ θατίρου διαίρειν, ὡς ὁ μὲν ἄρρηγ τῷ Τιβερίῳ φέροι θάνατον ἀναίρεθείς, ἡ δὲ θήλεια τῇ Κορηλίῳ τὸν οὖν Τιβέριον καὶ φιλοῦντα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ προσήκειν ὅτι προεβυτίον τελευτᾶν ἠγούμενον ἐτι νέας οὔσης ἐκέλευε τὸν μὲν ἄρρηγα κτείνειν τῶν δρακόντων, ἀφείναι δὲ τὴν θήλειαν. εἶτα ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τελευτήσασα δεκάδιό παιδας ἐκ τῆς Κορηλίας αὐτῷ γεγονότας καταλιπόντα; Val. Max. 4, 6, 1: *Ti. Gracchus anguibus domi suae mare <ac> femina deprehensis, certior factus ab aruspice mare dimisso uxori eius, femina ipsi celerem obitum instare, salutarem coniugi potius quam sibi peritem augurii secutus mare necari, feminam dimitti iussit sustinuitque in conspectu suo se ipsum interitum serpentis occidi*; *Auct. de Vir. ill.* 57, 4: *cum in domo Tiberi duo angues e geniali loro repressissent, responso dato eum de dominis periturum cuius sexus anguis fuisset occisus, amore Corneliae coniugis mare iussit interfici*; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 122: *Gracchorum pater anguibus prehensis in domo cum responderetur ipsum victurum alterius sexus interempto, 'immo vero,' inquit, 'meum necate, Cornelia enim iuvenis est et parere adhuc potest.' hoc erat uxori parcere et rei publicae consulere; idque mox consecutum est.* Riecken, *op. cit.* 15, notes that Plutarch's account is not by him ascribed to C. Gracchus, but merely introduced by the word λέγεται, and that it and that of the *Auct. de Vir. ill.* differ from the others in that the snakes appear on (or from) the bed of Gracchus, not merely in his house. He also thinks that the expression ἄμφω μὲν οὐκ εἶν ἀνελεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφείναι was added by Plutarch

respondissent, si marem emisisset, uxori brevi tempore esse moriendum, si

to meet the question found in 2, 62 infra: *miror . . . cur alteram uirum emisisset*, etc. For the two related accounts he would seek a source in some biographical work. Cf. also Cardinali, *op. cit.* 29, n. 2.

These snakes, with their exact correspondence to husband and wife, are apparently thought of as containing the *genius* and the *Iuno* of Gracchus and Cornelia (Jevons, introd. to his ed. of Plut. *Romane Questions* (1892), xlviii, and n.; De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, 1 (1896), 77-78), and probably have a totemic origin (Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* 2 ed. (1902), 186-187). For the *genius* represented in art in the form of a snake see Birt in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Genius* (1886), 1624; De Marchi, *l.c.*, and p. 67, tav. III. Such snakes were frequently kept by Romans in the house; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 29, 72: *anguis Aesculapius Epidaurum Romam advectus est vulgoque pascitur et in domibus, ac nisi incendiis semina exurerentur non esset fecunditati eorum resistere in orbe terrarum*; Sen. *de Ira*, 2, 31, 6 (for similar cases in Greece see 2, 135; Suid. s.v. Ἐρακλειδῆς Εὐφρονος). Harm to such pets might be interpreted as premonitory of harm to the owner; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 72: *rediit . . . ostento territus. erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco quem ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus cum consumptum a formicis invenisset, monitus est ut vim multitudinis caveret. rediens ergo prope Campaniam Asturæ in languorem incidit*; also perhaps cf. Obseq. 58; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 11, 5; Suet. *Ner.* 6. Instances of the same idea among other nations (a part of the widespread belief in an external soul) are given by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 11, 3 ed. (1913), 200-201, 209-210; 212, n.; cf. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and ancient Greek Religion* (1910), 259-260; 328.

Although there here appears to be the idea of sympathy between man and *genius*,

as already stated, it should also be noted that snakes were, in general, considered as ominous animals, on account of their appearance from the earth (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 147; 2 (1880), 254 (on the Pytho); Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 3 (1907), 10; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresh.* 37 (1908), 378; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 82-91; also 1, 72, n. (*ab infima ara*) infra and their connection with the spirits of the dead (Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 2 ed. (1908), 325-331; Frazer, *op. cit.* 5, 3 ed. (1914), 82-88). For their general ominous character see 1, 72; 1, 79; 2, 62; 2, 66; Bulenger in Grævius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 467-469; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelhiere* (1888), 182 ff.; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 807, n. 2. For the ill-luck of seeing snakes mating cf. Frazer on Paus. 9, 19, 3; its effect upon Tiresias is noted by Eustath. *Od.* 10, 41-42; Schol. Lycophr. 682-683; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 6, 7; Phleg. *Mirab.* 4.

A third belief is that in the ominous character of the appearance in a house or temple of an animal not naturally coming indoors; cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), 534-535; Halliday, *op. cit.* 167, n. 1. This was known by the special name of οἰκοσκοπιῶν (cf. Schol. A Hom. *Il.* 2, 308: ἔστι δὲ σῆμα μὲν τὸ παρὰ τόπον γινόμενον, ὡς μέλισσαι ἢ κτηνὸν μύρμηκες ἐν οἴκῳ, κτλ.; Suid. s.v. οἰκῶσιμα . . . τὸ δὲ οἰκοσκοπιῶν, ὅταν τὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ συμβαίνοντα ὅλον εἴη τῆ στέγῃ ἐφάνη γαλῆ ἢ ὄφης . . . τότε προμηνίει δὲ συνέγραψε Ξενοκράτης; Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* 4, 241). For further instances see Theophr. *Char.* 16; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1, 9, 15, 2; Plaut. *Amphitr.* 1107 ff.; Ter. *Phorm.* 707; Zonar. 7, 11; and the cases of snakes entering temples collected by Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigenwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 16; Schwartz, *Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglaube* (1888), 43-44.

feminam, ipsi, aequius esse censuit se maturam oppetere mortem quam P. Africani filiam adulescentem; feminam emisit, ipse paucis post diebus est mortuus. XIX. Inrideamus haruspices, vanos, futtiles esse dicamus, quorumque disciplinam et sapientissimus vir et eventus ac res conprobavit contemnamus, condemnemus etiam Babylonem et eos qui e Caucaso caeli signa servantes numeris [et motibus] stellarum cursus persequuntur. con-

3. futtiles *Müller*, futiles *C*, *Christ*, futtilis *Baier*.

5. contemnamus, condemnemus *Vahlen*, *Müller*, contemnamus *B*, contempnamus *ABV*, contemnamus, contemnamus *Christ*, *Baier*.

6. [et motibus] stellarum cursus *Christ* (qui et motibus loco eius quod est et motus ex 2, 17 ad eodem interpolare additum esse putat a quo illo loco ex hoc et cursus adiectum est), *Baier*, *Thoresen*, et motibus stellarum cursus *C*, et motus stellarum cursusque *O cum Goerensio*, stellarum cursus et motus *Davies*, et modis stellarum cursus *Pelster*, *Müller*, ex motibus stellarum harum cursus *Allen*.

[155]4. **haruspices convocavit**: the opinion held by Gracchus of the haruspices had apparently improved since (and perhaps as a result of) his experience with them narrated in 1, 33. For the consultation of haruspices in similar cases cf. 1, 79.

[156]1. **emisisset**: the implication is that the one not allowed to go was to be killed; if the male snake were killed it would typify or foreshadow the death of Gracchus himself.

1. **maturam . . . mortem**: his age and the date of his death are unknown. But he was already *admodum adulescens* in 204 B.C. (I.iv. 29, 38, 7), was married ca. 183 (Polyb. 31, 27, 2 ff.), and had twelve children (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 1; Sen. *ad Helv.* 16, 6; Plin. *N.H.* 7, 57). The number of years, then, between his *adulescentia* and that of Cornelia, which might equal the approximate difference between their ages, was perhaps about twenty one (204-183). *Davies* suggested for *maturam* the emendation *maturum*, but the change seems unnecessary.

2. **Africani**: the question was not merely one of the relative standing of the Sempronii and the Cornelii but also concerned the daughter of so famous a man as Africanus.

3. **inrideamus**: for the sarcastic expression cf. 1, 33, n. (*negemus*).

3. **vanos**: cf. 1, 37; *Fin.* 3, 38: *quis non odit sordidos, vanos, leves, futtiles?*

3. **futtiles**: for the spelling cf. *Brambach*, *Hilfsbüchlein f. lat. Rechtschreibung*, 3 ed. (1884), 39.

5. **condemnemus**: this word, early lost through the influence of the preceding and similar *contemnamus*, must, with *Vahlen* (*Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 27 (1872), 186), be supplied from and because of its occurrence below. For such repetition of a word with an enforcing *inquam* cf. 1, 105; *Fin.* 2, 72.

5. **Babylonem et**: from a comparison with 2, 97 *Christ* thinks these works an interpolation and *Baier* brackets them, while *Hottinger* suggests *Babylonios, eos*.

5. **e Caucaso**: *Thoresen* (ad h. loc.) well suggests that this is not the Caucasus proper but the range called Paropamisus (or Parapamisus), the modern Hindu Kush, of which *Arrian* (*Anab.* 5, 5, 3) says: *κατὰ δὲ Βακτρῖους συμβάλλει τῷ Παραμισῷ θρεῖ δὲ δὴ Καύκασον ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιστρατεύσαντες Μακεδόνες*; cf. Polyb. 10, 48, 4; 11, 34, 11; *Strab.* 11, pp. 505-506; 511. That this is the sense in which *Cicero* uses the name is further suggested by *Tusc.* 2, 52: *Calanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus, in radicibus Caucasi natus*.

5. **caeli signa**: cf. *Non.* p. 402 M.: *M. Tullius in Hortensio: caeli signorum admirabilem ordinem*.

6. **servantes**: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6, 338: *dum sidera servat*. Although this passage deals with astrology there is doubtless a suggestion of the technical use of this word by the augurs, as in 1, 107; 1, 130; 2, 74; *Serv. Aen.* 6, 198: *servare . . . et de caelo et de avibus verbo augurum dicitur*.

6. **numerus [et motibus]**: cf. 2, 17; *Tusc.* 5, 10: *ab antiqua philosophia . . .*

demnemus, inquam, hos aut stultitiae aut vanitatis aut inprudenciae, qui quadringenta septuaginta milia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis comprehensa continent, et mentiri iudicemus nec saeculorum reliquorum iudicium quod de ipsis futurum sit pertimescere. 37. Age, barbari vani atque fallaces; num etiam Graiorum historia mentita est? Quae Croeso Pythius Apollo, ut de naturali divinatione dicam, quae Atheniensibus,

1. inprudenciae *Christ, Baier, Müller, inprudenciae Lombinus, inprudenciae (vel imp-) C.*

numeri motusque tractabantur et unda omnia orerentur; Tim. 33: ceterorum autem siderum ambitus ignorantes homines . . . neque nomen appellant neque inter se numero commisituntur. On the strength of such passages as these it is likely that the phrase *et motibus* has been intruded into the text. The words look, however, surprisingly like a corruption of *ex montibus* (*montibus*), which may well have been a marginal gloss on *e Caucasos*, later inserted in the wrong place in the line.

1. *stultitiae*, etc.: cf. 1, 132: *levitate, vanitate, malitia exclusa.*

2. *quadringenta*: cf. 2, 97; also 1, 2, n. (*ultimis*). This tradition was due to Berosus, but differs in its exact numbers in the different accounts based on his, as noted by Bouché-Leclercq, (*L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 39, n. 1), there being mention of 480,000 years (Jul. Afric. *Chronogr. fr.* 1, quoted in note on 1, 2 (*longinquitate temporum*), overlooked by Bouché-Leclercq), 473,000 (Diod. 2, 31, 9; cf. 19, 55, 8), and 432,000 (Syncell. in *F.H.G.* 2, 499). Epigenes of Byzantium raised the number to 720,000 (Plin. *N.H.* 7, 193: *Epigenes apud Babylonios DCCXX annorum observationes siderum coccilibus laterculis inscriptas docet, gravis auctor in primis; qui minimum, Berosus et Critodemus CCCCXC*; cf. Müller in *F.H.G.* 2, 510, n. 22), and Simplicius (ad Arist. *de Caelo*, p. 475 b) to 1,440,000.

Our passage is quoted by Lact. *Inst.* 7, 14, 4: *Chaldaeos, qui ut Cicero tradit in libro de divinatione primo, quadringenta septuaginta milia annorum monumentis comprehensa se habere delirant.*

4. *barbari*: the argument has wandered. In 1, 34 it appeared as though Quintus were about to give a series of

illustrations of natural divination, beginning with prophecy (Bacis, Epimenides, the Sibyl), and passing to dreams and oracles. But sections 35-36 represent an injection of instances of artificial divination (properly belonging at 1, 72 ff.), after which, at this point, he resumes, not in the order of dreams and oracles (as in 1, 34), but in the reverse, 37-38 dealing with oracles, 39-63 with dreams, and 64-69 with prophecy again.

The relatively small space given to oracles and the fact that the examples are all Greek is, of course, due to the lack of such among the Romans. The following series of persons and states represented as consulting Delphi is probably (by Cicero's source) made up from Herodotus.

5. *Croeso*: on the testing of Delphi by Croesus cf. 1, 32, n. (*cum templatet*). Hdt. 1, 46-53; 1, 55; 1, 85; 1, 90-91 deals with Delphic predictions to Croesus, for which see also Xen. *Cyrop.* 7, 2, 15-26. One of these oracles is quoted in 2, 115 infra. The presents given by Croesus to Delphi are described by Hdt. 1, 50-51; Diod. 16, 56, 6; Lucian, *Charon*, 11. The last mentioned passage characterizes Croesus as φιλόμαρτις . . . ἀπὸρ ἐπιτόσις, and Tertullian says (ad *Nat.* 2, 17): *liberalem cultorem suum Croesum ambiguis sortibus fallendo perdidit* (sc. *Apollo*). Croesus consulted many other oracles as well as Delphi; cf. Hdt. 1, 46. The relation of other kings of Lydia to Delphi is discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 119, n. 5.

6. *naturali divinatione*: cf. 1, 110; 1, 127; 2, 70.

6. *Atheniensibus*: many such are recorded, e.g., *Leg.* 2, 40; Hdt. 5, 89;

quae Lacedaemoniis, quae Tegeatis, quae Argivis, quae Corinthiis responderit, quis ignorat? Collegit innumerabilia oracula Chrysippus nec ullum sine locuplete auctore atque teste; quae, quia nota tibi sunt, relinquo; defendo unum hoc: numquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre et tam clarum fuisset neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum a quo regum, nisi omnis aetas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta. 38. Idem iam diu non facit. Ut igitur nunc minore gloria est, quia minus

1. Tegeatis Turnebus, taygetis V, thaygetis A, targetis B, tagreatis B.

7. minore CO, in minore Davies, Christ, Müller.

7, 140-143; 7, 189; F.H.G. 1, 545; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 101.

1. Lacedaemoniis: cf. 1, 95-96; Hdt. 1, 66-67; 7, 220; 8, 114; F.H.G. 1, 398; 2, 110; 3, 603; Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*

1. Tegeatis: Hdt. 1, 66-67 contains oracular references to Tegea, and is perhaps what is in Cicero's mind.

1. Argivis: cf. Hdt. 6, 18; 6, 77; 7, 148; Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*

1. Corinthiis: cf. Hdt. 5, 92; Plut. *smat. Narrat.* 2.

2. quis ignorat: cf. *Fin.* 4, 64; *Off.* 2, 19.

2. collegit: in his book on oracles; cf. 1, 6, n. (*de oraculis*).

3. locuplete auctore: cf. 2, 119; *Rep.* 1, 16; *Off.* 3, 100.

3. teste: cf. *Off.* 3, 10; *testis locuples Posidonius*; 3, 105.

3. quia nota tibi sunt: cf. 1, 123; *N.D.* 1, 113; *Rep.* 1, 66; *Fin.* 3, 6; *de Am.* 11.

4. oraculum: here of the oracular seat, but repeated, somewhat awkwardly, a little below, in the sense of the oracular utterance.

4f. celebre . . . clarum: cf. Accius, *trag.* 521 Ribbeck.

5. donis: cf. Strab. 9, p. 419: ὀλιγώρηται δ' ἰκανῶς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, πρότερον δ' ὑπερβαλλόντως (sc. ἐτιμήθη). θελοῦσι δ' οἱ τε θησαυροὶ οὗς καὶ δῆμοι καὶ διγάζσται κατεσκεύασαν, εἰς οὓς καὶ χρήματα ἀνετίθεντο καθιερωμένα καὶ ἔργα τῶν ἀρίστων δημιουργῶν, κτλ.; Justin, 24, 6, 10: nulla igitur ibi et opulentia regum ac populorum visuntur munera, quaeque magnificencia sui reddent-

ium vota gratam voluntatem et deorum responsa manifestant. For the wealth of Delphi, a constant temptation to plunderers (as in 1, 81), cf. Paus. 1, 9, 3; Athen. 6, p. 231. The votives are also enumerated by Pausanias in detail (10, 8, 1-10, 19, 3); of the offerings of the Lydian kings little remained in his time (10, 16, 1).

7. iam diu non facit: cf. 2, 116-117. So Orosius says (6, 15, 11): *Ap. Claudius Censorinus* (in the time of Pompey) iam abolitam Pythici oraculi fidem voluit experiri, and he tells of the response which he received. In 6, 15, 12 he remarks: *cur ergo longe ante imperium Caesaris nativitatemque Christi, sicut ipsorum auctores attestantur, abolita fuerat Pythici oraculi fides? abolita autem ideo quia contempti*, etc. For the feebleness of all the oracles during the late republic and early empire (ascribed at times by Christian writers to the fear of the resident demons for Christ, for Christians, or for the sign of the cross, the neighboring graves of martyrs, etc.), see Wolff, *De novissima Oraculorum Aetate* (1854), 52 ff.; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 52, n. 1. So Strabo remarks (7, p. 327): ἐκλείπει δὲ πῶς καὶ τὸ μαρτεῖον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ καθάπερ τὰλλα; 17, p. 813: τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἡ μαρτυρῆ καθόλου καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια, συνὶ δ' ὀλιγῶρα κατέχει πολλή, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρκουμένων τοῖς Σιβύλλης χρησμοῖς καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς θεοσκοπίαις διὰ τε σπλάγγων καὶ ὀριθίας καὶ δυσσημῶν. διότερ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀμμωνί σχεδόν τι ἐκλείπεται χρηστήριον, πρότερον δὲ ἐτε-

oraculorum veritas excellit, sic tum nisi summa veritate in tanta gloria non fuisset. Potest autem vis illa terrae, quae mentem Pythiae divino

μῆτρο; Luc. 5, 111-114: *non ullo saecula dono / nostra carent maiore deum, quam Delphica sedes / quod siluit, postquam reges timuere futura / et superos veluere loqui*; Juv. 6, 554-556: *credent a fonte relatum / Hammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant / et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri*. Yet there was a revival under Trajan and Hadrian (Wolff, *l.c.*; Jaeger, *l.c.*), followed by another decline with the growing influence of Christianity. A sporadic revival came under Julian; cf. Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 18; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 16; Amm. Marc. 22, 12, 8: *Iulianus novam consilii viam ingressus est, vanas fatidicas Castalii recludere cogitans fontis, quem obstruxisse Caesar dicitur Hadrianus mole saxorum ingenti, veritus ne (ut ipse praecinentibus aquis capessendam rem publicam conperit) etiam alii similia docerentur*. The final closing came under Theodosius. Wolff gives for the various oracles the last dates at which they are known to have been consulted. Cf. also the material in van Dale, *De Oraculis* (1700), 425-559, on the duration and cessation of the oracles. The classic ancient work on the subject is, of course, Plut. *de Defectu Oraculorum*. From Porphyry Eusebius (*Pr. Ev.* 5, 16, p. 204 d) quotes: Πυθῶν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναρῶσαι λέλον βροφῆν / ἥδη γὰρ βολιχοῖσιν ἀμαυρωθεῖσα χρόνοις / βέβληται ἐληΐδας ἀμαντεύτου σιωπῆς.

[159]7. *minore gloria*: Allen (ad h. loc.) compares *de Or.* 2, 75: *eius nomen erat magna apud omnis gloria*.

2. *potest*: explanations offered for the failure of oracles are: (1) the wickedness of men, from whom this divine favor had been withdrawn (Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 7; Schol. Lucan. 5, 133); (2) depopulation of the neighborhood of the oracles, such that the gods were unwilling to waste their favors where there were none to receive (Plut. *op. cit.* 8); (3) the failure of the Pythia to go to the proper spot for inspira-

tion (Plut. *cur Pyth.* 17); (4) cessation of prophetic exhalations from the earth (as here and in 2, 117; Plut. *cur Pyth.* 17; *de Def. Orac.* 42; 48; 50-51); (5) the closing of the prophetic cavern at the time of the attack by Brennus (Schol. Lucan. 5, 133); (6) absence of the god from his oracular seat (*ibid.*; cf. Claud. *de sext. Cons. Honoris*, 25-29); (7) departure of resident demons through whose agency prophecies had been given (Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 15; 38; Schol. Lucan. 5, 133; and so, probably, most of the Christian writers; cf. note on *iam diu non facit supra*); (8) the sufficiency for present mantic purposes of the Sibylline Books (Strab. 17, p. 813; Schol. Lucan. 5, 133), etc.

2. *vis illa terrae*: Aeschylus well speaks (*Eum.* 2) of τῆν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν, and upon the chthonic character of large parts of divination emphasis is very properly laid. This appears in various ways, such as in distinct earth oracles, of Gaea, etc. (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 251-260; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States.* 3 (1907), 9 ff.); in divination at sacred springs, in which the drinking of the water by the priestess or consultant brings about a direct relation with the chthonic power (Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 116-144 for instances); in omens from snakes or other chthonic animals (cf. 1, 36, n. (*duobus anguibus*) supra); in earthquakes and other movements of the ground (cf. 1, 18, n. (*se . . . tremefecit*); 1, 35, n. (*mutigitis*), etc.); in the mantic importance attached to contact with the earth, as in incubation (cf. 1, 96, n. (*excubabant*) infra); and in other manners. Cf. 1, 79; 1, 115; 2, 117.

The method in which this *vis terrae* was thought to affect the mind of the Delphic priestess may be best gathered from Strab. 9, p. 419: *φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄτρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους οὐ μάλᾳ ἐρύσσομον, ἀναφῆρσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐθουσιαστικῶν, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου*

adflatu concitabat, evanuisse vetustate, ut quosdam evanuisse et exaruisse amnes aut in alium cursum contortos et deflexos videmus. Sed ut vis acciderit; magna enim quaestio est; modo maneat id, quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus, multis saeculis verax fuisse id oraculum.

XX. 39. Sed omittamus oracula; veniamus ad somnia. De quibus disputans Chrysippus multis et minutis somniis colligendis facit idem quod

7. idem V^o, idem ABV^oB.

τρίποδα ἰσθλόν; ἐφ' ὅν τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναβαίνουσαν δεχομένη τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθεσπιζειν ἡμετέρας τε καὶ ἀμέτρα ἐντείνειν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέτρον ποιητάς τινάς ὑπουργούοντας τῷ ἱερῷ; cf. Arist. *de Mund.* 4, p. 395 b 26-29; Diod. 16, 26; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 208; Justin, 24, 6, 9. For a late theory (commonly mentioned by Christian writers) as to how the divine afflatus affected the priestess see Febrle, *Kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (1910), 7-8.

But Wilamowitz (in *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 579) suggested that the whole tradition was fabulous, and this subject has been developed in detail by Oppé (in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 24 (1904), 214-238), who shows that the literary evidence for the mephitic chasm is late and untrustworthy, and that the geological evidence is quite against it, for the temple rests, not upon a volcanic soil nor even upon a cavernous limestone, but upon a schist free from such cracks (of which, moreover, excavations at Delphi have shown no trace). From such a soil no mephitic odors could be expected, and Oppé suggests (pp. 237-238) that this part of the tradition was circulated by Aristotle and Ephorus. For acceptance, and some criticism of Oppé's view, see Hoefler in Roscher, *Ausfuhr. Lexikon*, s.v. *Pythios* (1907), 3382-3383; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 137 (1908), 243-244; Nilsson in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 578; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 40, n. 1; cf. Farnell in *Encycl. Brit.* 20, 11 ed. (1911), 143. Heidel in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 22 (1911), 125, n. 7 is not convinced.

[160]2f. mentem . . . concitabat: cf. 1 128; 2, 127; also 1, 66.

[160]2f. divino adflatu: cf. 1, 12, n. (*instinctu infatuque*); Hiller von Gaertringen in *P.-W.* s.v. *Delphoi* (1901), 2533.

1. evanuisse vetustate: cf. the answer in 2, 117.

If. ut quosdam . . . amnes: this comparison is found also in Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 5: τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔνεκα χρηστηρίων πολύφωνον ὄσαν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις νῦν ἐπιλείπει κομιδῇ καθάπερ νάματα, καὶ πολὺς ἐπέσχεκε μαρτυκῆς ἀχμῶς; id. 8: νῦν δὲ τοῦτον ἔδει θαυμάζειν τὸν θεόν, εἰ περίωρα τὴν μαρτυκὴν ἀχρηστῶς διήνη ὕδατος ἀπορρίουσαν; id. 43: λιμνῶν τε γὰρ γεγόνασι καὶ ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους νεμάτων θερμῶν ὅπου μὲν ἐκλείψει καὶ φθοραὶ παντάπασιν, ὅπου δ' ὄλον ἀποδράσει καὶ καταβύσει: εἶτα πάλιν ἕκει διὰ χρόνων ἐπιφανόμενα τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἢ πλεονάζοντα; cf. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 5, 16, p. 205c. And for such disappearance of rivers cf. Arist. *Meteor.* 1, 14, p. 351 b 2; Hier. *Commi. in Abacuc*, 2, p. 648 Val. In many cases in Greece it was due to volcanic causes as well as perhaps to increasing dryness of climate.

3. magna enim quaestio est: cf. 1, 117; *N. D.* 2, 52; *Fin.* 2, 34; *Tusc.* 1, 23; *Off.* 3, 70.

6. somnia: on this subject cf. 1, 60-63, and notes; 1, 96, n. (*excubant*); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 277-329. The classification of dreams by the ancients is treated by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 299 ff.; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 1-4; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 930, n. 2.

Antipater ea conquirens quae Antiphontis interpretatione explicata declarant illa quidem acumen interpretis, sed exemplis grandioribus deccuit uti. Dionysi mater, eius qui Syracosiorum tyrannus fuit, ut scriptum apud Philistum est, et doctum hominem et diligentem et aequalem

J. Dionysii C. Maller.

[161]7. **Chrysippus**: cf. 1, 6, n. (*uno de somniis*).

1. **Antipater**: cf. 1, 6, n. (*duo Antipater*).

1. **Antiphontis**: on Antiphon, the Athenian sophist, a contemporary of Socrates, see Sauppe, *De Antiphonte Sophista* (1867) = *Ausgew. Schriften* (1896), 508-526, especially pp. 524-526 for his work on dreams (cf. 1, 116; 2, 144), which is mentioned by several other writers; cf. Wolff, ed. of Porphy. *de Phil. ex Orac. haur.* (1856), 59-60; Sauppe, *op. cit.* 525; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 1472, n. 3; to which add Tert. *de Anim.* 46; Fulg. *Myth.* 1, 13; also cf. Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 2, 3 ed. (1912), 305-306. Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 2 (1880), 84) well suggests that such popularizing treatises as this probably tended to spread the knowledge of divination and at the same time to prevent it from becoming the monopoly of specialists.

2. **illa quidem**: this pleonastic use of *ille*, usually accompanied by *quidem*, and often followed by *sed*, is most fully discussed by Samuelson in *Eranos*, 8 (1908), 49-76; cf. also Lejay in *Rev. Crit.* N.S. 68 (1909), 397-399. It is a usage infrequent outside Cicero and apparently unknown before him. Few instances have been found later than his time. Another case occurs in this work (2, 16), and in Cicero's other works abundant material is to be found.

2. **acumen**: cf. 2, 145.

2. **exemplis grandioribus**: cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1, 3, 25: *si licet exemplis in parvis grandibus uti*.

3. **Dionysi**: the First; born ca. 430 B.C., began to reign in 406/5, and reigned for 38 years (*N.D.* 3, 81; *Tusc.* 5, 57). His father was Hermocrates; the name of his

mother is not known. For stories about him cf. 1, 73; *N.D.* 3, 81-84; *Tusc.* 5, 57-63.

3. **mater**: cf. 2, 136.

3. **tyrannus**: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 57: *tyrannus Syracusanorum fuit Dionysius*. The illegitimacy of his power is also noted by Cicero in *N.D.* 3, 84.

4. **Philistum**: Plut. *Nic.* 19 calls him Φιλιστος, ἄνθρωπος Συρακοσίων, and Suid. s.v. Φιλιστος says: ἡ Φιλιστος, Συρακοσίων ἱστορικὸς. ἦν δὲ συγγενὴς Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου Σικελίας, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καρχηδόνιους ναυμαχίᾳ ἐτελεύτησε . . . ἔγραψε Σικελικὰ (ἔστι δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἕλληνας αὐτοῖς πραχθέντα διαφόρων), καὶ γεωλογίαν, περὶ Φωνίας, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ περὶ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας; id. s.v. Φιλιστος: Ναυκρατίτης ἢ Συρακοσίων, Ἀρχωνίδου υἱὸς . . . συνέταξε δὲ Τέχνην ῥητορικῆν, Ἀλυπτικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ἱβ', Σικελικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ια' . . . περὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου βιβλία δ', κτλ. In the two preceding entries there is evidently some confusion. A further account of his life is found in Plut. *Dio.* 11: Φιλιστος, ἀνὴρ καὶ πεπαιδευμένον περὶ λόγους καὶ τυραννικῶν ἡθῶν ἐμπειρότατον, ὡς ἀντίταγμα πρὸς Πλάτωνα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἐκεῖνον ἔχοντας. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Φιλιστος ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῇ τυραννίδι καθισταμένη προθυμώτατον αὐτὸν παρέσχε, καὶ τὴν ἔκραν διεφύλαξε φρουραρχῶν ἐπὶ κολῖν χρόνον. ἦν δὲ λόγος ὡς καὶ τῇ μητρὶ πλησιάζου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Διονυσίου, τοῦ τυράννου μὴ παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦτος. Later Dionysius banished him and he went to Adria, ὅπου καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ πλείεστα συνθεῖναι τῆς ἱστορίας σχολάζων. οὗ γὰρ ἐπαῆλθε τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνου τελευτήν, ὡς περ εἰρηται, κατήγαγε αὐτὸν ὁ πρὸς Δίωνα τῶν ἄλλων φθόνος, κτλ. For other details see Giambelli in *Rivista di Filologia*, 17 (1888), 243-245; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* 1, 5 ed. (1908), 496-497. Of his works Diodorus speaks (13, 103, 3):

temporum illorum, cum praegnans hunc ipsum Dionysium alvo contineret, somniavit se peperisse Satyriscum. Huic interpretes portentorum, qui Galeotae tum in Sicilia nominabantur, responderunt, ut ait Philistus, eum

2. Satyriscum O, Müller, Satiuriscum C, Christ, Boilar.

3. Galeotae 'vesis codex,' teste Urrino, galeotae B, gallotae ABV.

τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Φίλιστος τὴν πρώτην σύνταξιν τῶν Σικελικῶν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστρεφεν, εἰς τὴν Ἀκράγατος ἀλωσιν, ἐν βίβλοις ἐπὶ διελθῶν χρόνων ἔτων πλείω τῶν καταπολιῶν, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας συντάξεως τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ <τῆς> τῆς προτέρας τελευτῆς πεποιήται, γίγραφε δὲ βίβλους τέσσαρας; cf. 15, 89, 3: Φίλιστος δὲ τὰ περὶ Διονύσιον τῶν νεώτερον ὡς κατέστροφος, διελθῶν ἔτη πάντα ἐν βίβλοις διῶν. Of his style Cicero remarks (*ad Q. Fr.* 2, 11 (13), 4): *Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis; saepe pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros—duo enim sunt corpora—an utrosque nescio. me magis de Dionysio delectat. ipse est enim velerator magnus et per familiaris Philisto; de Or.* 2, 57: *consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui cum Dionysi tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda maximeque Thucydidem esse, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus;* cf. *Brut.* 66; 294; *Quintil.* 10, 1, 74. For the fragments see Müller, *F.H.G.* 1, 185-192; cf. also 1, 73 and 2, 67 *infra*.

[162]4 f. *aequalem temporum illorum:* cf. Vell. 1, 7, 1: *huius temporis aequalis.*

If. *praegnans . . . somniavit:* cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 7: *tulioris somni mater eiusdem Dionysi. quae cum eum conceptum utero haberet, parere visa est Satyriscum consuloque prodigiorum interprete clarissimum ac potentissimum Grai sanguinis iuvenum certo cum eventu cognovit.* The dreams of pregnant women in regard to the children to be born (the reverse, in a way, of the theory of prenatal influence) are not infrequently mentioned; e.g., 1, 121; Nic. Damasc. in *F.H.G.* 3, 399 (of the mother of Cyrus); Hdt. 6, 131; Plut. *Pericl.* 3 (of the mother of Pericles bearing a lion); 1, 42, n. (*mater, etc.*) *infra* (Hecuba bearing the firebrand); 1, 46 (the mother of Phalaris); Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 18; 1, 20; 4, 67; 4, 83; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1,

4 (the mother of Apollonius dreams of bearing Proteus); Fulgent. *Virgil. Continent.* p. 754 St.; Phocas, *Vit. Virg.* p. 38 Diehl; Philargyrius in *Ecl. prooem.*; 3, 61 (of Virgil's mother); Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 866, n. 1 (for the mother of Alexander bearing a snake); Lamprid. *Commod.* 1, 3-4 (the mother of Commodus dreams of bearing snakes); cf. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 14, 1 (of the mother of Alexander Severus); also *The Spectator*, no. 1 (1710); Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 70, n. 2. Sometimes the dream is not that of the mother but of the father (Artemid. *Onirocr.* 5, 8; Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* 5, 21), or even of a slave of a pregnant woman (Artemid. *Onirocr.* 5, 85).

For other dreams about Dionysius see Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* 10; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 6; Tert. *de Anim.* 46; Phot. *Lex. s.v. lepelas ἐρυνιον; Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 421, no. 25; *Oxyrhynch. Pap.* 7, 88 and 98 (fr. 9).

2. *Satyriscum:* cf. 1, 23, n. (*Panisci*). Artemidorus says (*Onirocr.* 2, 37): *ὁ θεὸς χορὸς ὁ περὶ τὸν Δίονυσον, οἶον Βάκχοι καὶ Βάκχαι καὶ Βασσάροι καὶ Σάτυροι καὶ Πάνες καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν ὁμοία ὀνόματα καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος μεγάλας παραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους καὶ περιβοήσεις σημαίνουσι πλὴν τοῦ Σειληνοῦ.*

3. *Galeotae:* also called *Galeoi*. Ael. *V.H.* 12, 46 mentions them in connection with Dionysius (cf. 1, 73, n. (*facta coniectura*) *infra*), and Hesych. s.v. *Γαλεοί* says: *μάντις. οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὤφισαν. καὶ γίνονται, ὡς φασι Φανόδημος (F.H.G. 1, 369, 23) καὶ Ῥίνων Ταραντίνος (Com. Gr. Frag. 188, 17 Kaibel); Steph. Byz. s.v. Γαλεῶται: ἔθνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἀπὸ Γαλεῶτος υἱοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς (cf. Clem. *Sirac.* 1, 21, p. 134 Stählin), τῆς θυγατρὸς Ζαβίου, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἱππεροβόρων, ὡς εἰρήσεται ἐν τῷ περὶ Τελμησοῦ. τιμὴς δὲ ἐστὶν Γαλεῶται μάντεων εἶδος*

quem illa peperisset clarissimum Graeciae diuturna cum fortuna fore. 40. Num te ad fabulas revoco vel nostrorum vel Graecorum poetarum? Nar-
rat enim et apud Ennium Vestalis illa:

Et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen,

4. et cita *ABV*, *Vahlen*, excita *HYO*, *Boiler*, eccita *Klotz*, *Christ*, *Müller*.

Σικελῶν γαλεός δὲ καὶ ὀσκαλαβώτης . . .
καὶ Ἄρχιππος Ἰχθύσιον ἴτι λέγει σὺ; μάντις
εἶσι γὰρ θαλάττιοι: γαλεός γε πάντων μάντιων
σφώτατοι." φασὶ δὲ τὸν Γαλεώτην ἐξ
Ἐπερβορκῶν Τελμησσὸν <δὲ ἐκ . . . ἰλθεῖν>
οἷς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀνατο-
λάτ τὸν δ' ἐπὶ δυσμὰτ πλεῖν . . . Γαλεώτης
οὖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Τελμησσός ἐν Καρίᾳ ἦλθεν
(cf. 1, 91 infra), ἔσθα Ἀπόλλωνος Τελμησ-
σιου ἱερόν; id. s.v. Ἰβλαί: τρεῖς πόλεις
Σικελίας, ἡ μείζων ἦν οἱ πολῖται Ἰβλαῖοι
<Μεγαρεῖς>, ἡ μικρὰ ἦν οἱ πολῖται Ἰβλαῖοι
Γαλεῶται [Μεγαρεῖς], κτλ. Thuc. 6, 82 also
mentions Hybla Geleatis; cf. Paus. 5, 23,
6: αἱ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις αἱ Ἰβλαί
<ἡ μὲν> Γερεῶτις ἐπιλήθει, τὴν δὲ . . . ἡ
δὲ κώμη τε Καταναίων ἡ Γερεῶτις καὶ ἱερόν
σφισιν Ἰβλαίας ἐστὶ θεοῦ, παρὰ Σικελιωτῶν
ἔχον τιμὰς. παρὰ τοῖσι τὼν δὲ κομισθῆναι τὸ
ἔγαλμα ἐκ Ὀλυμπίων ἠγοῦμαι (cf. Wolff,
ed. of Porphyry. *de Phil. ex Orac. hausr.*
(1856), 200-201). τεράτων γὰρ σφᾶτ καὶ
ἐκτυτῶν Φόλιστος ὁ Ἀρχομενίδου φησὶν
ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι καὶ μάλιστα εὐσεβεῖα τῶν ἐν
Σικελίᾳ βαρβάρων προσκεῖσθαι. See Kjell-
berg in *P.-W.* s.v. *Galeoi* (1910), 592;
Ciaceri, *Culti e miti nella Storia dell'*
antica Sicilia (1911), 15-23; Pareti, *Studi*
Siciliani ed Italiani (1911), 331-347.

The origin of the name *Galeotae* has
been much disputed. It is very likely
not Greek, though attempts have been
made to connect it with γαλεός and
γαλεώτης in the sense of 'lizard,' and to
infer (what the literary evidence does not
indicate) that their method of divination
was by the observation of lizards; cf.
Wolff, *op. cit.* 201-202 (who would trace
this divination by lizards to Olympia, on
the authority of Paus. 6, 2, 4-5); Kjell-
berg, *op. cit.* 593. The attempt to assume
an eponymous *Galeus* is too similar to
other such explanations of the names of

seers (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la*
Div. 2 (1880), 55-59), while that of Ciaceri
(*op. cit.* 18) to connect the name with the
word γάρρα seems unsuccessful. For the
power of divination as inherited in a family
or clan see also 1, 91; Halliday, *Greek*
Divination (1913), 79-81.

[163]3. responderant: in accounts of the
answers of interpreters formal mention of
the putting of the question is often
omitted; the dream or portent itself
seems to constitute a question demanding
an answer; e.g., 1, 37; 1, 98; 2, 66.

1. clarissimum Graeciae: an unusual
idiom; cf. *pro Rabir.* 23: *virum unum*
totius Graeciae facile doctissimum.

2. fabulas . . . vel nostrorum vel
Graecorum: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

3. et: according to Madvig, 3 ed. of
de Finibus (1876), 791, this is intended to
be correlative with another *et* introducing
the quotation in 1, 42, but the second
member of the correlation is forgotten;
cf. 1, 63, n. (*nam et*); 1, 111, n. (*nam et*); 1,
121: *mittit et signa*, etc.

3. apud Ennium: *Ann.* 1, 35-51
Vahlen. For the way in which Cicero in
his accounts of the foundation of Rome
follows Ennius see Zingler, *De Cicerone*
Historico Quaest. (1900), 9, n. 2; also 1,
107 infra, and for Cicero's quotations from
Ennius see Schollmeyer, *Quid Cic. de*
Portis Roman. iudicaverit (1884), 3-5;
Zillinger, *Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911),
97-124.

3. Vestalis: that is, Ilia. Similar
situations of a woman representing her
dream to her sister are found in Apollon.
Rhod. 3, 636 ff.; *Virg. Aen.* 4, 8 ff.

3. illa: on the use of this word in
introducing *exempla* see Schoenberger,
Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1911), 58-59;
also 1, 42; 1, 80; 1, 114; 1, 131, n. (*ille*).

Talia tum memorat lacrimans exterrita somno:
 "Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit,
 Vires vitaeque corpus meum nunc deserit omne.
 Nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta

Colonna's emendation to *Iliad*, though palaeographically easy, is unnecessary.

[164]4. *anus attulit artubus*: note the alliterations in this passage: *prognata pater, vires vita, pulcher per, ripas ruptare, corde capessere, voce videtur, fluvio fortuna, conspectu corde cupitus, multa manus, caeli caerula, voce vocabam*; also in the next: *mentis metu, sumplus suspirantibus, postulat petens, sortes somnium, Apollo puerum primus Priamo, temperaret tollere*; cf. 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeterni*).

[164]4. *anus*: probably an older Vestal, perhaps the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima*. On the duration of service of the Vestals (Tac. *Ann.* 2, 86 speaks of 57 years in one case) cf. Giannelli, *Il Sacerdotio delle Vestali Romane* (1913), 57-59. Against the view that the *anus* is the nurse of *Iliad*, or that *soror* was applied by Vestals to one another as in later times by nuns (so Roos, *Symb. exeg.-crit. ad M. T. Cic. de Div.* (1799), 9) may be set the definite expression *prognata*. Here the Vestals are probably thought of as the daughters of the monarch.

[164]4. *artubus*: for the failure of the final *s* to make position cf. *corpus*, just below; 1, 41: *ecfatus, sompnus*; 1, 66, n. (*virginalis modestia*); 1, 114: *versibus*; *Orat.* 161: *quin etiam, quod iam subrusticum videtur, olim autem politius, eorum verborum, quorum eadem erant postremae duae litterae quae sunt in 'optumus,' postremam litteram detrahebant, nisi vocalis insequeretur. ita non erat eo offensio in versibus quam nunc fugiunt poetae novi*.

[164]4. *lumen*: cf. 1, 79, n. (*lumine*).

1. *talia*, etc.: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 3, 344: *talia fundebat lacrimans*.

2. *Eurydica*: cf. *Paus.* 10, 26, 1: *Ἀρχαῖος δὲ καὶ ἐπη τὰ Κίπρια διδάσκει Ἐβρυδίκη γυναῖκα Αἰνεία*; *Serv. Aen.* 777: *secundum Ennium referetur inter deos*

cum Aenea: dicit namque Iliam fuisse filiam Aeneae. quod si est, Aeneas anus est Romuli; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 273: *Naeuius et Ennius Aeneae ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis iradunt*; *Pascal in Rivista di Filologia*, 25 (1897), 94.

3. *deserit*: for the singular verb *Giese compares Tusc.* 3, 5: *cum . . . corpora et natura valeat*.

4. *nam me*, etc.: cf. *Ov. Tr.* 2, 259-260: *sumpserit Annales—nihil est hirsutius illis—/ facta sit unde parens Iliad, nempe leget*. The story is also told in detail by *Ov. Fast.* 3, 9 ff.

4. *homo pulcher*: *Mars*; cf. *Liv.* 1, 4, 2: *Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat*; *Virg. Aen.* 1, 273-274: *regina sacerdos / Marte gravis geminat partu dabit Iliad prolem*. His beauty is probably a divine attribute, as in the account in *Dion. Hal.* 1, 77: *τετάρτη δ' ἄστερον ἔτει τὴν Ἰλιάδ ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἄρειος ὄδατος ἄγρου κομιδῆς ἔνεκα ᾧ πρὸς τὰς θεοῖας ἐμελλε χρῆσασθαι, βιάζεται τις ἐν τῷ τεμένει. τοῦτον δὲ τινας μὲν ἀποφαίρουσι τῶν μνηστῆρων εἶνα γαστῆρας ἐρῶντα τῆς περὶ Ἰσάκης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀμόλιον . . . οἱ δὲ πλείστοι μυθολογοῦσι τοῦ δαιμονοῦ εἰδῶλον, οὗ τὸ χωρίον ἦν . . . ὅβρι δὲ ἦν τὸ εἰδῶλον εἶχε θαυμασιωτέραν μακρῶν δὴ τι κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ἀνθρώπων, κτλ.* So in 1, 44 the flock is *eximia pulchritudine*; cf. 1, 52: *pulchritudine eximia feminam*; 1, 53: *egregia facie iuvenem*; *Liv.* 21, 22, 6: *iuvenem divina specie*; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 330 D: *ἄνθρωπος τις τίλειος, εὐσχήμων*; and many other examples are collected by Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 12-13.

Divine apparitions were also remarkable for their great stature; cf. *Morley, Greek and Roman Ghost Stories* (1912), 72 ff.; *Suet. Jul.* 32. So also in dreams, as in *Liv.* 8, 6, 9; *Tac. Hist.* 4, 83; *Val. Max.* 1, 7, ext. 1; *Deubner, op. cit.* 12; *Merrill on Plin. Ep.* 7, 27, 2.

Et ripas raptare locosque novos; ita sola
 Postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
 Tardaue vestigare et quaerere te neque posse
 Corde capessere; semita nulla pedem stabilibat.

41. Exin compellare pater me voce videtur
 His verbis: 'O gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
 Aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet.'
 Haec eclatus pater, germana, repente recessit,
 Nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
 Quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerulea templa

6. o gnata etc. *Plāk*, cognata *AB*, cognita *BY*.

7-8. *verius aerumnae*, etc. et haec eclatus, etc. *inverso ordine in codd. leguntur*.

8. eclatus *Müller*, eclatus *VVO*, *Vahlen*, elatus *AV*, latus *B*, pater eclatus *B*, sed in *ras*.

[165]4. *salicta*: cf. *Ov. Fast.* 3, 17-18: *dum sedet, umbrosae salices volucresque canorae / fecerunt somnos et leve murmur aquae*; also *Virg. Aen.* 6, 638: *devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta*; and, for *locosque novos*, see *Virg. Aen.* 1, 306-307.

1. *ripas*: cf. *Artemid. Onirocr.* 2, 26: *παρ' αἰγιαλῶ ἀποναεῖν . . . καὶ παρὰ ποταμῶ . . . λωιτελὲς δὲ*.

1. *locos*: for the masculine plural cf. 1, 93.

1f. *sola*, etc.: *Virg. Aen.* 4, 465-468: *agit ipse furem / in somnis ferus Aeneas; semperque relinqui / sola sibi semper longam incomitata videtur / ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra*.

2. *postilla*: cf. 1, 42.

2. *germana*: so *Dido*, just after the passage quoted, in *Aen.* 4, 478, addresses her sister *Anna*.

3. *tarda*: cf. the use of *languida* in *Ov. Fast.* 3, 25.

4. *stabilibat*: for *stabiliebat*; cf. 1, 65: *praesagibat*; *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausfüh- Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 724-725 for many examples from old Latin. For the word cf. 1, 108.

7. *ex fluvio*: cf. *Liv.* 1, 4, 3-6; *Dion. Hal.* 1, 78-79; *Plut. Rom.* 2. The reason for placing the twins in the river is given by *Dion. Hal.* 1, 78: *χρησθαὶ τῷ νόμῳ αελεῖοντι τὴν μὲν ἀσχύνασαν τὸ σῶμα βάρβοις κλισθεῖσαν ἀποναεῖν, τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάλλεσθαι βέλθρον*.

7. *resistet*: a rare use, here equiva-

lent to *resurget*, and apparently paralleled only by *pro Mur.* 84: *nihil est . . . ubi lapsi resistamus*.

8. *eclatus*: cf. 1, 81: *eclatam*; 1, 106: *ecflantem*. For such cases of *ecf-* (more often assimilated to *eff-*) see *Kühner-Holzweissig, op. cit.* 1, 930. The word is archaic, according to *de Or.* 3, 153.

8. *recessit*: *Thoresen* compares *Virg. Aen.* 2, 790-793: *haec ubi dicta dedisset, lacrimantem et multa volentem / dicere d'eservuit tenuisq; recessit in auras. / ter comatus sibi collo dare brachchia circum, / ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago*, etc.

10. *multa*: an adverbial use found also in *Virg. Georg.* 4, 301: *multa reluctantis*; *Aen.* 3, 610: *multa moratus*; 5, 869: *multa gemens*; cf. the use of *πολλά* in Greek, e.g. *Hom. Il.* 1, 35; 6, 458; *Od.* 13, 277; *Apollon. Rhod.* 1, 248-250: *αὶ δὲ γυναῖκες / πολλά μάλ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπ' αἰθέρα χεῖρας βειρον / εὐχόμεναι*.

10. *caeli caerulea templa*: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 65-66 *Vahlen*: *unus erit quom tu tolles in caerulea caeli / templa*; 541: *contremuit templum magnum Iovis altisonantis*; *Sc.* 196: *O magna templa caelium commixta stellis splendidis*; 380: *qui templa caeli summa sonitu concussit*. The expression may perhaps be modelled after *Aesch. Pers.* 365: *κρέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβη*, but is more probably derived from the augural use of the word *templum*; cf. *Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusker*, 2, 2 ed. (1877), 129. For the imitation of the

Tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam.

Vix aegro tum corde meo me somnus reliquit."

XXI. 42. Haec, etiamsi ficta sunt a poeta, non absunt tamen a consuetudine somniorum. Sit sane etiam illud commenticium quo Priamus est conturbatus, quia

mater gravida parere ex se ardentem facem

5-6. quia mater O, quia *εστρα ενωσθη* posuit Ribbeck.

6. ex *αδιδιτι* Bücheler.

expression by other authors cf. Wresch-niok, *De Ciceroe Lutretioque Enni Imitatoribus* (1907), 41.

1. *lacrumans*: cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 60: *δακρύνειν και ὀδύρεσθαι και ἐπὶ νεκρῶν και ἐπὶ ἀλλῶν ψυγιῶν και αὐτὸ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι χαρᾶν ἐπὶ τινι και ἥδονῆν ἐπὶ κατορθώματι κοσμημένην προαγορεύει* (and he gives a fanciful reason therefor); Astrampsychus, *Onirocr.* p. 5 Rigalt.: *ελαίων καθ' ὕπνου παχαρῆς πάντως ἔσθ.* Perhaps the real principle is that dreams are interpreted by their opposites, for which cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1, 18, 2; Lucan, 7, 21-22, and schol.; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1 (Am. ed. 1874), 121-122.

1. *blanda voce*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1, 670-671: *blandisque moratur / vocibus.*

4. *commenticium*: cf. 2, 113.

5. *quia*: Zillinger (*Cicero u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 109, n. 4) treats this word as the beginning of the first line of the quotation, which otherwise is deficient one syllable, and thinks that after the expression *illud commenticium quo Priamus est conturbatus* there is no place, in the prose, for a causal clause. But there is nothing impossible in the use of two different kinds of causal expression, and in 1, 29; 1, 131 (and perhaps in 1, 107) we have good parallels for the omission of a word or two at the beginning of a verse which would probably, if included, have disturbed the course of the sentence in which the quotation is inserted.

6. *mater, etc.*: there is no clear attribution of these lines by Cicero, but they have been commonly assigned to the Alexander of Ennius; cf. Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 273; also *id., Die röm. Trag.* (1875), 81-94 (with a dis-

cussion of the plot of the play); they are included by Valen as *Sc.* 35-46. That Ennius wrote an Alexander is well attested; see Vahlen's ed., *l.c.* His play was probably based on the Alexander of Euripides; cf. Varr. *L.L.* 7, 82. For other quotations from the Alexander of Ennius see 1, 66-67; 1, 114.

Pind. fr. *Paeon.* 8, 30 (*Oxyrhynch. Pap.* 5, 65): *ἔοξε δὲ τεκεῖν πυρφόρον Ἐρινύν; Eur. Tr.* 920-922: *δέτερον δ' ἀπώλεσε / Τροίαν τε κἀμ' ὁ πρίσβυς οὐ κτανῶν βρέφος, / δαλοῦ κικρὸν μίμημ', Ἀλιεαθρόν ποτε; cf. Schol. Eur. Andr.* 294; Hygin. *Fab.* 91: *Priamus, Laomedontis filius, cum complures liberos haberet ex concubitu Hecubae, Cissei sive Dymantis filiae, uxor eius praegrans in quiete vidit se facem ardentem parere, ex qua serpentes plurimos exisse. id visum omnibus coniectoribus cum narratum esset, imperant quicquid pareret necaret, ne id patriae exilio foret. postquam Hecuba peperit Alexandrum datur interficiendus; quem satellites misericordia exposuerunt; Apollod. Bibl.* 3, 12, 5, 2-4: *γενῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῆ πρώτος μὲν Ἐκτωρ δευτέρου δὲ γενῆσθαι μέλλοντος βρέφους ἔδοξε Ἐκάβη καθ' ὕπνου δαλὸν τεκεῖν διάκυρον, τοῦτον δὲ πᾶσαν ἐτινέμεσθαι τὴν πόλιν και καίειν. μαθὼν δὲ Πριάμος παρ' Ἐκάβης τὸν δεικρον, Αἰσάκρον τὸν υἱὸν μετεπέμψατο ἦν γὰρ ἀνεροκρίτης . . . οὗτος εἰπὼν τῆς πατρὸς γενέσθαι τὸν παῖδα ἀπώλειαν, ἐπέειναι τὸ βρέφος ἐκέλευσε. Πριάμος δὲ, ὡς ἐγενήθη τὸ βρέφος, δίδωσιν ἐπέειναι οὐκείτη κομίσουσι εἰς Ἴδην; Dict. Cret.* 3, 26: *Hecubam fetu eo gravidam facem per quietem edidisse visam, cuius ignibus conflagravit Idam, ac mox continuante flamma deorum delubra concremari, omnemque demum ad cineres collapsam civitatem,*

Visa est in somnis Hecuba; quo facto pater
 Rex ipse Priamus somnio mentis metu
 Perculsus curis sumptus suspirantibus
 Exsacrificabat hostiis balantibus.
 Tum coniecturam postulat pacem petens,
 Ut se edoceret obsecrans Apollinem
 Quo sese vertant tantae sortes somnium.
 Ibi ex oraclo voce divina edidit
 Apollo, puerum, primus Priamo qui foret
 Postilla natus, temperaret tollere;
 Eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo.

43. Sint haec, ut dixi, somnia fabularum, hisque adiungatur etiam Aeneae

1. *visa est C, vixit Maller.*

intactis inviolatisque Antenoris et Anchisae domibus. quae denuntiata cum ad perniciem publicam spectare aruspices praecinerent, internecandum editum placuisse. sed Hecubam more femineae miserationis, clam alendum pastoribus in Idam tradidisse; Virg. Aen. 7, 320; 10, 704-705; Ov. Her. 17, 237-240: fax quoque me terret quam se peperisse cruentam / ante diem partus est tua visa parens, / et vatum timeo monitus, quos igne Pelasgo / Ilion arsurum praemonuisse ferunt; Schol. A Hom. Il. 3, 325; 12, 93; Tryphiod. 379-380; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1 (1906), 665, n. 7; Türk in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Paris (1909), 1582-1585. For such dreams see 1, 39, n. (praegnans . . . somniavit); and for the further appearance of this torch 1, 67, n. (fax).

1. *visa est:* for the omission of *sibi* cf. 1, 46: *matrem Phalaridis . . . visam esse videre in somnis.*

2. *mentis:* perhaps used with *percussus* in the analogy of the locative *animi* with such words as *confusus*, *incertus*, *turbidus*, etc. (Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 446-447); or, more probably, depending upon *meis*. The emendations *mentem* (by Lambinus) and *moris* (by Bothe) are unnecessary.

3. *sumptus:* for the simple verb used in the sense of *consumo* cf. Plaut. *M. G.* 673; *Trin.* 411; 414.

4. *exsacrificabat:* only here; cf. the Greek *εθθωμαι* in the sense of the Latin *expio* (Stephanus, *Thes. Gr. Ling.* s.v. *εθθω*).

4. *balantibus:* that is, sheep. The word is used as an adjective in *Juv.* 13, 233; as a noun in *Lucr.* 2, 369; *Virg. Georg.* 1, 272; 3, 457. For the rhyme cf. 1, 20, n. (*moncbant . . . ferebant . . . iubebant . . . vereri . . . teneri*).

5. *coniecturam:* applied to the interpretation of signs, and, specifically, of dreams, in 1, 58; 2, 129; 2, 144; 2, 147. Cf. the use of *conjector*.

5. *pacem petens:* for this formula in prayers cf. Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 121.

8. *ibi:* temporal.

12f. *temperaret:* for this verb (= *caeret*) with the infinitive cf. *Plaut. Poen.* 22; 33; 1036; *Gell.* 4, 9, 5; 16, 19, 11.

10. *tollere:* used by Cicero in this sense in *Rep.* 2, 4.

12. *fabularum:* cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

12f. *Aeneae somnium:* cf. *Diod.* 7, 5, 4-5: *περι δε της προσηγοριας ταυτης θαβιος ε της Ρωμαιοων πραξεις αναγραφας ελλως μαιμολογηκε. φησι γαρ Διειρα γωισθαι λογιω, τετραπουν αυτω καθηγησθαι προς κτισω πολεισ: μλλοντος δ' αυτου θειω εν εγκουσ τη χρωματι λευκτη εκφυγειν εκ των χειρων και διαχθηναι προς τινα λοβου προς η κομοθεισασ ταειν τριακοστα χοιρουσ. τον δε Διειρα το τε*

somnium quod nimirum in Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus eius modi est ut omnia quae ab Aenea gesta sunt quaeque illi acciderunt ea fuerint quae ei secundum quietem visa sunt.

XXII. Sed propiora videamus. Cuiusnam modi est Superbi Tarquini somnium de quo in Bruto Acci loquitur ipse?

1. nimirum in *Dederich, Peter*, numerum *C*, nostri *Hertz, Müller*, Numeri *Sigonius et O*, in *veterrumis Plüss*, inclusum *van den Bergh; del. non Gutschmid*.

4. propiora *vulg.*, propiora *ABV*, propria *II*, *Baier*.

4. Tarquinii *C, Müller*.

5. Acci *Comenarius* (Accii) accius *ABV*, actius *H*, Attii *O*, Atti *Christ*.

παράδοξον θαυμάσαντα καὶ τὸ λόγιον ἀνα-
σώμενον ἐπιχειρήσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶσαι τὸν τόπον,
ἰδέσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἔτρον ὅτιν ἐπαργῆς δια-
καλλούσαν καὶ συμβουλεύουσαν μετὰ τριάκοντα
ἔτη κτίξαι ἕσσοπερ ὁ τῶν τεχθέντων ἀριθμὸς
ἦν, ἀποστῆναι τῆς προπίσεως; *Dion. Hal. 1, 56*. A dream of Aeneas is also described by *Virg. Aen. 3, 147-171*.

1. *nimirum in*: the MSS. here clearly read *numerum*, which was by *Sigonius* changed to *Numeri*, a suggestion which has been rather generally replaced by the *nostri* of *Hertz* (*Philol.-klin. Streifzug* (1849), 33). But *Plüss* (in *Fleckeis. Jahrb. 99* (1869), 239-242) objects that this contrasts, not Greek and Roman *exempla*, as is customary, but Greek and Roman sources, and accordingly proposes *in veterrumis*, contrasting *Fabius's* Greek and his Latin *Annales* (see the next note). Other conjectures are *inclusum* of *van den Bergh* (*De antiq. Annal. Script.* (1859), 33); *nimirum in* of *Dederich* (*Quaest. philol.* (1852), 3-5). *Von Gutschmid* (*Kl. Schr. 5* (1894), 513) thinks *numerum* was expanded from *N* which was itself written by dittography after the final *n* of *in*, and he would accordingly delete the word *numerum*, while *Wachsmuth* (according to *Bader, De Diodori Rerum Roman. Auctoribus* (1890), 32, n. 38) suspected that *nimirum Fabi* was a gloss (yet *Fabius* is apparently cited by ancient writers by his *nomen* rather than by his *praenomen*). For a good review of the question see *Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, 2 ed.* (1914), lxxix, n. 1, who accepts the reading *nimirum in*.

1. *Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus*: cf. *Dion. Hal. 1, 6*: 'Ρωμαίων δσοι τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα τῆς πόλεως Ἑλληνικῆ διαλέκτῳ συνέγραψαν, ὧν εἰσι πρεσβύτατοι Κόνυρτι τε Φάβιος καὶ Λεύκιος Κίλικιος, ἀμφότεροι κατὰ τοὺς Φουρικκοὺς ἀμύσαντες πολέμους. On the contents and date of this work see *Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 1, 3 ed.* (1907), 232; *Peter, op. cit. lxxii ff.* But several passages cite Latin words or phrases from the works of *Pictor* (*Schanz, op. cit. 233*; *Peter, op. cit. lxxvii ff.*), from which it appears that he wrote Latin annals as well, with which *Cicero* is doubtless here contrasting his *Graecis annalibus*. Different views as to the relation of the Latin to the Greek work are summarized by *von Gutschmid, op. cit. 512-517*; *Schanz, op. cit. 233-234*; *Peter, op. cit. lxxx ff.* The fragments are found in *Peter, op. cit. 5-39*; cf. 1, 55 *infra*; and for the use of *Fabius* by *Cicero* cf. *Zingler, De Cicerone Historico Quaest.* (1900), 10.

3. *secundum quietem*: cf. 1, 48; 1, 53, n. (*in quiete*); 2, 124; 2, 126; 2, 135.

4. *propiora*: cf. 2, 22; also 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

4. *Superbi Tarquini*: for the order cf. *Axtell in Class. Philol. 10* (1915), 395, and n. 4. In *de Am. 28* *Cicero* uses the reverse order. For another instance in which *Cicero* employs now one order and now another cf. *Axtell, op. cit. 396, n. 5*.

5. *Bruto*: the two *praetextae* of *Accius* are the *Aeneadae sive Decius* and the *Brutus*, and of the latter the two chief fragments are those that follow, with others, are to be found in *Ribbeck*,

44. Quoniam quieti corpus nocturno inpetu
 Dedi sopore placans artus languidos,
 Visust in somnis pastor ad me appellere
 Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine;
 Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi
 Praeclarioremque alterum immolare me;

3. visust *Lambinus* (visu'st), uisus est *B.*, uisum est *ABI'* (uisum est . . . pastorem *O.*, visus't *vulg.*, *Beiler*.
 4-5. *Versus* pecus . . . pulchritudine et duos . . . eligi *inverso ordine leguntur in C.* *rectum ordinem restituit*

Muretus.

Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 328-331; English verse translation of this fragment in Bennett, *Across the Years* (1917), 52-53. This play evidently dealt with the period of the downfall of the Tarquin dynasty. Camerarius suggested that it was perhaps produced at the expense of Brutus as city praetor at the *Ludi Apollinares*, 6 July, 44 B.C.; cf. *Phil.* 1, 36: *nisi forte Accio tum plaudī et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absentī, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.* If this be the case, these two passages of verse may have been inserted by Cicero, like certain other portions, after the death of Caesar, when the play had been freshly recalled to his mind. The use of the word *redeamus* in 1, 46 recognizes this passage as a digression. For a list of Cicero's quotations from Accius see Zillinger, *Cicero u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 131-140.

[169]5. *Acci*: that the name is to be spelled *Accius* rather than *Athius* is indicated by the weight of MS. evidence as summarized by Müller in his edition of Lucilius (1872), 320.

1. *quoniam*: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) well compares Fest. p. 261 M. (more complete in Paul. p. 260 M.): *quoniam significat non solum id quod quia, sed etiam quod postquam; hac de causa quod Graecum bre utriusque significationem oblinet.* See also Plaut. *Trin.* 112; 149; Virg. *Georg.* 4, 437; etc.

1. *inpetu*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 97: *impetus caeli* (see Mayor's note); Lucr. 5, 200: *caeli . . . impetus ingens*; Virg. *Aen.* 2, 8-

9: *nox umida caelo / praecipitat*; 2, 250: *ruit Oceano nox*; Ov. *Met.* 9, 486: *nox . . . praecipit* (cf. 2, 70-73); Min. Fel. *Oct.* 5, 10: *quibus . . . rerum omnium impetus volutatur.*

3. *pastor*: should we here and in similar cases spell the word *paastor*? For the spelling reforms of Accius cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 183. This very word appears with doubled vowel (*paastores*) on the milestone of Popilius (*C.I.L.* I, 551 = X, 6950 = Dessau 23).

4. *pecus lanigerum*: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3, 287: *lanigeros . . . greges.* The significance of the dream is made more clear by Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 12: *εοικε δε τα πρόβατα ανθρώτοις διά τὸ πεθεσθαι τῷ ποιμένι . . . ἀριστον οὖν καὶ ἴδια ἔχειν πολλὰ πρόβατα . . . μάλιστα τοῖς ὄχλου προΐστασθαι βουλομένοις καὶ σοφισταῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κριὸν πρὸς δεσπότην ἐστὶ ληπτίον καὶ πρὸς ἀρχοντα καὶ βασιλῆα: κρείων γάρ τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί.*

4. *eximia pulchritudine*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*homo pulcher*).

5. *duos . . . eligi*: there is here a shift from the construction with *visust* to dependence upon an implied *uisum est*. For the form *duos* cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 635; and for the synzesis of the word *id.* 1, 149.

6. *praeclariorem*: this typifies the brother of Brutus; cf. Liv. 1, 56, 7: *is (sc. L. Iunius Brutus) cum primores civitatis in quibus fratrem suum ab ovunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque lulus esse ubi in iure parum praesidiū*

Deinde eius germanum cornibus conitier,
 In me arietare, eoque ictu me ad casum dari;
 Exin prostratum terra, graviter saucium,
 Resupinum in caelo contueri maximum ac
 Mirificum facinus: dextrorsum orbem flammeum
 Radiatum solis liquier cursu novo.

6. liquier *cod. Ballialensis teste Davisio*, liquier C, *sed H corr. m. 1 ex* linquere.

*essel. ergo ex industria factus ad imitatio-
 nem stultitiae cum se suaque praedae esse
 regi sineret, Bruli quoque haud abnuis
 cognomen, etc.;* Dion. Hal. 4, 68: *ἔπειθ' ὁ
 Τύλλιον ἀποκτείνας Ταρκύνιος σὺν ἄλλοις
 ἀνδράσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τὸν κέλου
 πατέρα διεχρήσατο ἀφανῆ θανάτῳ δι' οὐδὲν
 μὲν ἄδικημα, τοῦ δὲ πλοῦτου προαχθεὶς εἰς
 ἐπιθύμιαν . . . καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον
 υἱὸν εὐχεῖται τι φρόνημα διαφαίροντα καὶ τὸ μὴ
 τιμωρῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν ὑπο-
 μείναντα, νεὸς ὢν ὁ Βρούτος . . . ἐπεχείρησε
 ποιῆσαι πάντων φρονιμώτατον, κτλ.;* Val.
 Max. 7, 2, 1: *cum a rege Tarquinio
 amiculo suo omnem nobilitatis indolem
 exciperi interque ceteros etiam fratrem suum,
 quod vegetioris ingenii erat, interfectum
 animadverteret, oblusi se cordis esse simula-
 rit eaque fallacia maximas virtutes suas
 lexit;* for a comparison of Brutus and
 Hamlet see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, 3 ed.
 (1911), 291, and n. 4.

1. *cornibus conitier*: for dreams of
 being butted or goaded by animals cf. Diod.
 22, 7, 1: *ὅτι Φιντίας ὁ Φιντιάδος κτίστωρ, Ἄ-
 παράγατος τύραννος, εἶδεν ὄναρ δηλοῦν τὴν τοῦ
 βίου καταστροφὴν, ἢν ἄγριον κυνηγοῦντος ὀρμησαὶ
 κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἦν καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τοῖς
 ὀδοῦσι πατάξαι καὶ διελάσαντα τὴν πληγὴν
 κτεῖναι;* *Chron. Pasch.* pp. 330-331 P. (the
 chamberlain of King Anastasius speaking):
*Ἠεασμένη ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ὅτι ὡς Ἰσταμαί
 ἐραστῶν τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους, ἐπισθῆν μου
 ἰθὺν χοῖρος μέγας δραξάμενος τῷ στόματι τὴν
 ἀρχὴν τῆς χλαμύδος μου καὶ τινάξας κατήγαγέ
 με εἰς τὸ ἄβαφος, καὶ ἀνήλισκέ με κατεσθίωσιν καὶ
 πατῶν.* An interpreter explains this dream
 as portending the end of the king's power.
 The king soon afterward fell ill, καὶ
 ἀστραπῆς γενομένης καὶ βροντῆς μεγάλης πάνυ
 ὀρηθεὶς ἀπέθικεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

2. *ad casum dari*: Thoresen (ad h.
 loc.) compares the phrase (Liv. 31, 37,
 9; al.): *ad terram datus.*

3. *prostratum terra*: for the omission
 of the preposition cf. Val. Flacc. 6, 508:
latis prosternitur arvis.

3. *graviter saucium*: so *graviter ac-*
gum in 1, 53; *Tusc.* 2, 61.

5. *dextrorsum*: from the insistence
 on the miraculous nature of this event
 (*cursu novo*), we must probably under-
 stand it of the sun going in a reversed
 course. The orientation of the observer
 is not clear; perhaps the king is thought
 of as facing north, as a *homo Graecus* (ac-
 cording to the view of Bothe), or perhaps
 the right and left of the stage (as Thoresen,
 edition, p. 221, suggests) may have given
 to the spectators a clue which we lack.
 On this subject see Valeton in *Mnemos.*
 17 (1889), 316-317; also 1, 12, n. (*a laeva*)
 supra.

6. *radiatum*: "cf. the verse in *de Or.*
 3, 162: *oculis postremum lumen radiatum
 rapē.*

6. *liquier*: for real eclipses as the
 precursors of the death of rulers cf. Boll
 in *P.-W.* s.v. *Finsternisse* (1909), 2336-
 2337; also 1, 18, n. (*abdidit*) supra,
 to which add the omens from eclipses before
 the capture of Babylon (Xen. *Anab.* 3,
 4, 8), and those to Cleombrotus (Hdt. 9,
 10), Pelopidas (Plut. *Pelop.* 31), Hannibal
 (Zonar. 9, 14), before the death of Caesar
 (Dio Cass. 45, 17), to Nero (*id.* 61, 16),
 Gordian III (Jul. Capit. *Gordiani*, 23, 2),
 and the case narrated by Bede (*Hist.*
Ecll. 5, 24) of the year 664. Other cases
 will be found in Wülker, *Die geschichtl.*
*Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den
 Römern* (1903), 7.

45. Eius igitur somni a coniecturibus quae sit interpretatio facta videamus:

Rex, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident,
Quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt
Minus mirandum est; di rem tantam haud temere inprovisio
offerunt

Proin vide ne quem tu esse hebetem deputes aequae ac pecus
Is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat
Teque regno expellat; nam id quod de sole ostentumst tibi
Populo commutationem rerum portendit fore

1. somnii C, Müller.

5. minus mirandum est, di rem tantam Christ, minus mirandum est sed in re tanta CO, minus mirum est, sed di rem tantam Ribbeck cum Neukirchio, Baier.

8. egregie Bothe, Ribbeck, egregium C, rule.

Dreams of eclipses are discussed by Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 2: ἡλίου δὲ καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν ἀφανισμόν ἢ τελεῖαν ἐκλείψιν γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης ἀκόσμου ἀνατροπὰς πάνθ' ἡμῶν προαγορεύειν κοσμικά, καλεῖσθαι δὲ κυρίως ὄνειρατα κοσμικά; 2, 36: ἡλιος ἀφανιζόμενος πᾶσι κομηρὸς πλὴν τῶν λαθάρων πειρωμένων καὶ τὰ ἀπόρητα ἐργαζομένων; Achmet, *Onirocr.* 167: ὁ ἡλιος ἐν προσώποις βασιλέως κρύβεται ἀπαρράλλωτος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δευτέρου ἔξουσιαστοῦ; and the rest of the chapter has much on this subject. For the connection of the sun and sovereignty cf. 1, 46; Hdt. 8, 137; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 4, 3 ed. (1911), 73; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 48, and n. 1.

3. usurpant: cf. Lucr. 4, 975-977: cum iam destiterunt ea sensibus usurpare, / relicuas tamen esse vias in mente patentis, / qua possint eodem rerum simulacra venire.

4. quaeque agunt vigilantes: cf. 2, 128; 2, 140; Hdt. 7, 16: περλαρῆσθαι αὐτὰ μάλιστα ἐῶσαι αἱ θῆναι τῶν ὀνειράτων τὰ τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει; Ps.-Hipp. *de Insomn.* 88: ἡ ψυχὴ παραμένει ἐν τοῖσιν ἡμεροῖσι βουλευμασιν; Arist. *de Insomn.* 3; Chalcid. *in Tim.* (F.P.G. 2, 234); Menand. 734-735 K.: ἄ γὰρ μὲθ' ἡμέραν τις ἐποῦδασε / ταῦτ' εἶδε νύκτωρ; Ter. *Andr.* 971-972: num ille somniat / ea quae vigilans voluit; Lucr. 4, 962-966: et quo quisque fere studio devinctus adhaeret / aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati / atque in ea

ratione fuit contenta magis mens, / in somnis eadem plerumque videtur obire; / causidici causas agere et componere leges, etc.; Petron. fr. 30 Bücheler: somnia quae mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris / non delubra deum nec ab aethere numina mitunt, / sed sibi quisque facit. nam cum prostrata sopore / urguet membra quies et mens sine pondere ludit, / quicquid luce fuit tenebris agit. oppida bello / qui quatit et flammis miserandas eruit urbes / tela videt versasque acies et funera regum, etc.; Sen. Oct. 740-742: quaecumque mentis agitat intentus vigor / ea per quietem sacer et arcanus refert / veloxque sensus; Claud. *de sext. Cous. Honorii*, praef. 1 ff.: omnia quae sensu voluntur vota diurno / pectore sopito reddit amica quies. / venator defessa loro cum membra reponit / mens tamen ad silvas et sua lustra redit. / iudicibus lites, aurigae somnia currus / vanaque nocturnis meta cavetur equis, etc.; cf. several other passages cited by Preston in *Class. Philol.* 9 (1914), 201. See also Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 2 ed. (1909), 3-6, for a review of ancient and modern views.

4. ea si cui in somno ac-: best read *ea si cui in somno ac-* in spite of the rarity of elided -ui.

5. di, etc.: note the abrupt transition from the ordinary non-prophetic dream to the interpretation of this highly ominous one.

probavit. Quid ego quae magi Cyro illi principi interpretati sint ex Dinonis Persicis proferam? Nam cum dormienti ei sol ad pedes visus esset, ter eum scribit frustra adpetivisse manibus, cum se convolvens sol elaberetur et abiret; ei magos dixisse, quod genus sapientium et doctorum habebatur in

1. Dinonis Persicis *Gulidmus*, dinonis persicis libris *B*, dinonisi (dionisii *H*) persicis libris *ABEH*.

[173]7. *simulacra* . . . *consecravisset*: cf. *N.D.* 3, 61; Cic. ap. Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20.

[173]8. *Mercurium e patera*: on representations of divinities holding *paterae* see Pottier in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Phiala*, who considers it an emblem of felicity, recalling the offerings of wine, milk, etc., presented to them. With Mercury this posture is rare, the *prochus* as a sign of his attendance upon the gods being more frequent (Scherer in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Hermes* (1889), 2420), but one possible case is found in Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire gr. et rom.* 4 (1910), 83, no. 8; cf. also 1, 54, n. (*in somnis*) infra. The sight of Hermes in dreams, according to Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 37, although to men of certain definite occupations a good omen, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀκαταστασίας καὶ θορύβου προκαροῦει.

[173]8. *sanguinem*: cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 3, 63: δ τι ἐν οὖν δρῶσις ἢ πάσχοσι (sc. ἀνδριάντες) τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἡγούμενοις τῆς πόλεως δρᾶσαι ἢ παθεῖν προσημάλουσιν. For the ominous significance of blood cf. 1, 67; 1, 98, and nn.; 1, 99; 2, 58.

[173]9. *qui* . . . *videretur*: the subjunctive used where the infinitive might be expected (since *qui = ei eum*); cf. Mayor's note on *N.D.* 1, 12.

[173]10 *f. somnium* . . . *conprobavit*: cf. 1, 50.

[173]10. *crudelitas*: his cruelty became proverbial; cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 277-278. Cicero also mentions it in *Rep.* 1, 44: *crudelissimus ille Phalaris*; *Off.* 3, 29: *Phalarim, crudelem tyrannum et inmanem*; 2 *Verr.* 5, 145.

1. *principi*: perhaps applied to him as the first of his dynasty, in the same way in which Cicero often employs it of the founder of a philosophic school. In 2,

136, referring to this passage, he is called *Cyri superioris*.

1f. *Dinonis Persicis*: this work was in at least three *συντάξεις*, each of several books; cf. Müller, *F.H.G.* 2 (1848), 88; Schwartz in *P.-W.* s.v. *Dinon* (1903), 654. The fragments are found in *F.H.G.* 2, 88-94, and no less than four of them (nos. 5; 8; 9; 10) deal with the magi.

2. *proferam*: cf. 2, 34; 2, 49; 2, 112; 2, 136.

2. *sol*: cf. 1, 44, n. (*liquier*); Achmet, *Onirocr.* 167: ἐὰν ἴδῃ τις ὅτι ἐπλησίασε τῷ ἡλιακῷ δίσκῳ ἢ ὅτι κατίσχεν αὐτὸν εὐρήσει χαρὰν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείως ἀναλόγως τῆς ἐγγύτητος γυνῆ ἐὰν ἴδῃ τοῦτο αὐγοῦστα γενήσεται. It is possible that the name *Cyrus* is connected with the dream, for Strabo says (15, p. 729): ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κύρος ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς κώλης καλομένης Περσίδος βίων . . . οὐ μετέλαβε τὸ ὄνομα βασιλεῦς ἀπὸ Ἀγραδάτου μετονομασθεὶς Κύρος, and to the fact that *Cyrus* was not his original name Herodotus (1, 113-114) bears witness. But different is the explanation of Plut. *Atias* 1: ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύρος ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τοῦνομα ἔσχεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου γενέσθαι φασὶ Κύρον γὰρ καλεῖν Πέρσας τὸν ἥλιον· ὁ δὲ Ἀροξέρξης Ἀρσίκας πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο· καίτοι Δελῶν φησὶν ὅτι Ὀάρεσις. It is not impossible that Dino, cited at the end of this passage, may have been the authority for the first part as well, and may have given this etymology in connection with the story which is here quoted from him. For the real derivation of *Cyros* see Bartholomae, *Alliranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), 474, s.v. *kāruv*: "Die Perser sollen in dem Namen die Bedeutung 'Sonne' gefunden haben; s. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (1895), 168; *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* 2, 417, wo a(lt)n(ordiach) *hyrr*

Persis, ex triplici adpetitione solis triginta annos Cyrum regnaturum esse portendi. Quod ita contigit; nam ad septuagesimum pervenit, cum quadraginta natus annos regnare coepisset. 47. Est profecto quiddam etiam in barbaris gentibus praesentens atque divinans, siquidem ad mortem proficiscens Callanus Indus, cum inscenderet in rogam ardentem, 'O

'Feuer' verglichen wird; . . . vielleicht nichtiranischer Name."

[174]4. *magos*: the word is taken by the Greek from the Persian, but as to its etymology in that language there is great doubt, cf. Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 1111, s.v. *magav*-; also the works cited by Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (1916), 1, n. 3. Apuleius remarks (*Apol.* 25): *nam si, quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua magus est qui nostra sacerdos*; cf. Hdt. 1, 132: *ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ θύσας ποιέσθαι*; Philostr. *Epist. Apollon.* 17: *μάγου ἐνομάζουσι τοὺς θελοῦσι αὐτὴν Πέρσαι*.

Originally only a tribe (Hdt. 1, 101), and still in the time of Ammianus (23, 6, 32 ff.) appearing as such, the magi had, like the tribe of Levi, an especially religious development and retained the priesthood within their own ranks, like the later Parsees (cf. How and Wells on Hdt. *l.c.*), becoming a priestly caste, to which frequent reference is found in classical authors (for the passages see especially Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura* (1908), 106-107; Tavenner, *op. cit.* 1, and n. 5; and for references to their leading figure, Zoroaster, cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster* (1899), *passim*), where the magi are described as expert in astrology and divination in general (Tavenner, *op. cit.* 2; to which add 1, 90-91 *infra*; Ael. *V.H.* 2, 17; Diog. L. *prooem.* 6-7; 11; Amm. Marc. 26, 6, 33; Hier. *in Dan.* p. 627 Vallarsi). Herodotus frequently speaks of them as consulted for the interpretation of dreams (e.g., 1, 107; 1, 108; 1, 120). Various Greeks were said by tradition to have visited them in search of wisdom (cf. Jackson, *op. cit.* 90; *append.* 5), e.g., Pythagoras (*Fin.* 5, 87; Diog. L. 8, 3), Democritus (Diog. L. 9, 34-35;

Orig. *c. Haeres.* 1, 13), Pyrrho (Diog. L. 9, 61), and Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1, 26); Plato was prevented from so doing, according to Diog. L. 3, 6-7. From the fifth century on the word *μάγος* was used by the Greeks in the sense of 'trickster,' and by the time of Plato and Euripides in its later meaning of 'magician'; cf. Abt, *op. cit.* 108 ff.; Tavenner, *op. cit.* 2.

[174]4f. *quod genus . . . in Persis*: Hottinger and Baiter hold this clause to be a gloss.

1. *triginta*: by what principle the three *adpetitiones* corresponded to decades rather than to years (as did the number of the sparrows in 1, 72 (see note) and 2, 63) is not explained; cf. the objection raised to such interpretations by Marcus Cicero in 2, 65.

2. *quod ita contigit*: so 1, 47; cf. 1, 52. Thoresen (on 2, 21) regards *ita* as pleonastic, but it is really justified by the insistence on the exact fulfilment of the prediction.

2. *ad septuagesimum*: accounts of the death of Cyrus vary a good deal. Ps.-Luc. *Macrob.* 14: *Κύρος δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαιὸς . . . ἑκατοντούτης γερόμενος . . . ἐτελεύτη τὸν βίον*. In the number of years of his reign Justin, 1, 8, 14 and Phot. *Bibl.* 72 agree with Cicero, but Hdt. 1, 214, says: *Κύρος τελευτῆ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς διούτα τριήκοντα ἔτεα*, and Sulp. *Chron.* 2, 9, 5 says: *Cyrus uno et triginta annis rerum politus est*.

3. *est profecto quiddam*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 16: *est igitur profecto deus*; 2, 162: *est enim profecto divinito*; *de Sen.* 43: *esse profecto aliquid*; Plaut. *Capt.* 313: *est profecto deus*; also 1, 122 *infra*.

4. *barbaris*: cf. 1, 90. In his use of this term Cicero, though knowing the

praeclarum discessum,' inquit, 'e vita, cum, ut Herculi contigit, mortali

Greek usage (*Rep.* 1, 58), seems to divide men into three classes: Greeks, Romans, and barbarians; cf. 1, 84: *si Graeci, si barbari, si maiores etiam nostri*; 2, 82: *nobis . . . Graiis et barbaris*. In *Tusc.* 2, 52 he speaks of *Callanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus*; cf. 5, 77.

[175]4. *praesentiens*: on presentiments of death cf. 1, 63, n. (*adpropinquante morte*).

[175]5. *Callanus*: on the derivation of the name *Plut. Alex.* 65 says: *καλεῖτο δὲ Σφίης: ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ' Ἰνδίων γλώττων τῷ καλὸ προσσηγορεύων ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλεπῶ τοῖς ἑτυμολόγοις ἠσπάζετο Καλαρός ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάσθη*. This greeting is thought to have been probably the epic form of address in India, *kalyāṅga*, 'good,' transliterated into Greek with one λ, but into Latin, in most instances, as *Callanus*.

Callanus attached himself to the army of Alexander at Taxila (*Arr. Anab.* 7, 3, 2 ff.; *Plut. Alex.* 65), being regarded by his fellow sages as a renegade for so doing (*Arr. Anab.* 7, 2, 4; *Strab.* 15, p. 718; *Orig. c. Haeres.* 1, 24). On the return of the army to Persia (*ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ προσηλείῃ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος*, according to *Ael. V. H.* 5, 6; *ἐν Πασαργάδαις*, according to *Strab.* 15, p. 717) he fell ill (*Arr. Anab.* 7, 3, 1), and insisted upon being burned alive upon a pyre, according to the custom ascribed to his sect; cf. *Tusc.* 5, 77: *cumque ad flammam se adplicaverunt* (sc. *gymnosophistae*) *sine gemitu aduruntur*; *Curt.* 8, 9, 32: *apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum et vivos se cremari iubent quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda valetudo est. expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent nec ullus corporibus quae senectus solvit honos redditur; inquirari putant ignem nisi qui spirantes recipit*; *Mela*, 3, 65: *prudenciores et quibus ars studiumque sapientiae contingit non expectant eam* (sc. *mortem*) *sed ingerendo semel ignibus laeti et cum gloria arcessunt*; *Schol. Lucian, Peregr.* 25; *Schol. Luc.* 3, 240; and see the case in the year 20 B.C.

narrated by *Dio Cass.* 54, 9, 10; cf. *Strab.* 15, pp. 719-720; *Plut. Alex.* 69; *Clark in Class. Philol.* 15 (1920), 14-15.

This story made a great impression upon the historians of Alexander's expedition, and is frequently described; e.g., *Tusc.* 2, 52; *Arr. Anab.* 7, 3, 1-6; *Ael. V. H.* 2, 41; 5, 6; *Plut. Alex.* 69; *Strab.* 15, pp. 686; 715-718; *Diod.* 17, 107; *Chares ap. Athen.* 10, p. 437a; *Lucian, Peregr.* 25; 39 (cf. *Fugit.* 1; 6-7); *Solin.* 52, 9; *Ambros. Ep.* 37, 34; *Suid.* s.v. *Κάλανος*; see also the spurious letter to Alexander ascribed to Callanus (*Epistologr. Gr.* p. 192 *Hercher*); *Ambros. Ep.* 37, 35. The account in *Val. Max.* 1, 8, ext. 10 is perhaps taken from Cicero: *Callanus Indus sua sponte se ardenti rogo superiecturus interpellatus ab eo equid aut mandare aut dicere vellet, 'brevis te,' inquit, 'videbo.' nec id sine causa, quia voluntarium eius e vita excessum rapida mors Alexandri subsecuta est*. On these various accounts see *Becker, Die Brachmanen in der Alexanderzeit* (1889).

The name Callanus seems later to have become a generic one; cf. *Suid.* s.v. *Κάλανος* Ἰνδῶν ἐκ τῶν Βραχμάνων· οὗτοι δὲ πάντα σοφῶν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ προσσηγορεύουσιν; cf. *Joseph. c. Apion.* 1, 22. He also appears as a more or less fabulous type of the oriental sage, e.g., in an astronomical inscription from Miletus (*Diels in Sitz. Berl. Akad. Wiss.* 1904, 1, 108, and n. 1 (in the form *Καλλαρῆς*); cf. *Hultsch in Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 36 (1904), 404), and in *Athenaeus mechän.* (in *Poliorctica*, p. 5 *Wescher*). He is not known to us from Indic sources (*Diels, l.c.*).

The reason for the insertion of this incident here, interrupting as it does, the account of dreams, is thought by *Schiche (De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875), 17) to be the preceding oriental reference. Its proper place seems to be in 1, 65.

[175]5. *rogum ardentem*: according to the usual form of the story the pyre was

corpore cremato in lucem animus excesserit.' Cumque Alexander eum rogaret si quid vellet ut diceret, 'Optime,' inquit; 'propediem te videbo.' Quod ita contigit; nam Babylone paucis post diebus Alexander est mortuus. Discedo parumper a somniis, ad quae mox revertar. Qua nocte

not lighted until he had taken his place upon it.

[175]5f. o *praeclarum*, etc.: this speech seems not to be elsewhere attested. The comparison to Hercules seems a little out of place in the mouth of this Hindu, but is doubtless to be accounted for by the conscious comparison by Alexander of his own deeds to those of Hercules; e.g., in Curt. 3, 10, 5; 4, 2, 3; 8, 5, 8; 8, 5, 11; 8, 10, 1; 8, 11, 2; 9, 2, 29; 9, 4, 21.

1. *in lucem*: cf. Porphyr. *de Abst.* 4, 18: *αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτω πρὸς θάνατον διακείμενοι ὡς τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὡς περ ἀναγκαίαν τιὰ τῆ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἀκουσῶς ὑπομένειν, σπειόμενοι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολύσαι τῶν σωματῶν. καὶ πολλὰκις, ὅταν εἴ ἔχειν σφῆνται, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπείγοντος κακοῦ ἐξίασι τοῦ βίου, κτλ.*

On the question of suicide see the elaborate discussion of Hirzel in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1908), 75-104; 243-284; 417-476; who emphasizes (459, n. 1) the spectacular element in the death of Callanus.

For kings, queens, and others committing suicide by fire see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 176-177. Such burning might lead to apotheosis (*id.* 5, 179-180), and was therefore sought by Empedocles (cf. Wellmann in *P.-W.* s.v. *Empedokles* (1905), 2507). So Buddhist monks in China seek to attain Nirvana by a fiery death (Frazer, *op. cit.* 4, 3 ed. (1912), 42 ff.), and similar forms of suicide appear in Russia (*id.* 4, 45).

For the phrase *in lucem* cf. especially *Tusc.* 1, 43; *Sen. Dial.* 6, 24, 5; 6, 25, 2.

2. *si quid vellet*: perhaps a favorite question of Alexander to those to whom he condescended; cf. his interview with Diogenes (Arr. *Anab.* 7, 2, 1: *ἔρομενος εἰ τοῦ δέουτο*).

2. *optime*: probably the adverb, used in an expression of thanks, with the verb omitted, as in *Tusc.* 1, 119; *Brut.* 52;

cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 25. Possibly, however, it is the vocative, as an attempt to render the greeting Καλέ (cf. the note on *Callanus* above). It is hardly ironical, as Creuzer and other editors have supposed. Moser supposed it to mean 'no, thank you,' as *bene* is employed in comedy.

2. *propediem te videbo*: cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7, 18, 6: *τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἰταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτὸν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἠελθῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀλλὰ φάναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐτυχῶν ἀσπάζεται. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἀμεληθῆναι· ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐτελείησεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἐκ μήτην ἔλθειν τῶν ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄρα τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου θειάσθη; Plut. *Alex.* 69: *αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνον ἔφη μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θῆεσθαι*. On predictions of the dying see 1, 63, n. (*adpropinquante morte*); 1, 64, n. (*dixisse*).*

3. *paucis post diebus*: cf. 1, 68, n. (*brevis*). The date is probably 13 June, 323; cf. Kaerst in *P.-W.* s.v. *Alexandros* (1894), 1434.

4. *discedo parumper a somniis*: Frenzel (in a program of the gymnasium at Eisenach (1828), 19) wished to reject these words or else to place them at the end of 1, 46. But Quintus, by the use of the word *discedo*, merely recognizes that he is wandering from the subject, and is not warning, as he would do by the use of the future tense, that he is about to make a digression.

4. *qua nocte*: cf. Plut. *Alex.* 3: *ἔγενθη δ' οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρος ἱσταμένου μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Λῶον καλοῦσιν, ἔκτη (356 B.C.), καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνεπρόσθη νέας ᾧ γ' Ἠγησίας ὁ Μάγνης ἐπιεφώθησε ἐπιφώσημα κατασθῆσαι τὴν πυρκαϊάν ὑπὸ ψυχρίας διαμέμον' εἰκότως γὰρ ἔφη καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν νέων τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαίωσιν. δοσε δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἐφῶσιν διατρέβοιτες ἐτυχον, τὸ περὶ τῶν νεῶν πάθος ἠγοούμενοι*

templum Ephesiae Dianae deflagravit, eadem constat ex Olympiade natum esse Alexandrum, atque, ubi lucere coepisset, clamitasse magos pestem ac perniciem Asiae proxima nocte natam. Haec de Indis et magis. XXIV.48. Redeamus ad somnia. Hannibalem Coelius scribit cum columnam

πάθους ἑτέρου σημεῖον εἶναι, διόθεν τὰ πρόσωπα τυττόμενοι καὶ βοῶντες ἄτην ἔμα καὶ συμφορὰν μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τεροκίνας. The rest of this account gives other events synchronized with his birth. Cf. Justin, 12, 16, 4-6; Solin. 40, 4. Cicero also tells the story in *N.D.* 2, 69: *concinneque, ut multa, Timaeus qui cum in historia dixisset qua nocte natus Alexander esset eodem Dianae Ephesiae templum deflagrasset, adiunxit minime id esse mirandum quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, afuisset domo*; cf. Arnob. 6, 23. Whether Cicero's source in these two accounts was really Timaeus has been doubted; cf. Plaumann in *P.-W.* s.v. *Herostratos* (1913), 1146; but see below.

There were several temples of Artemis succeeding one another at Ephesus, the details and remains of which are discussed by Büchner in *P.-W.* s.v. *Ephesos* (1905), 2806-2813, and in the *Forschungen in Ephesos* of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (1 (1906); 2 (1912)). The one here mentioned was the temple of Chirocrates (Strab. 14, p. 641), and it was set on fire by Herostratus to win a name for himself; cf. the passages cited by Plaumann, *op. cit.* 1145; Cibber, *Rich. III*, 3, 1: *The aspiring youth that fired the Ephesian dome / Oullives in fame the pious fool that rais'd it*. Burning had been the fate of previous temples there; cf. Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1618=398 a.c.: *templum rursus Ephesi incensum*.

The date of the birth of Alexander is commonly put at 6 Hecatomb., 356, following Plut. *Alex.* 3, but from Arr. *Anab.* 7, 28, 1, it appears that it should perhaps be placed in the autumn of that year. Plutarch's account also synchronizes certain other events with this birth (cf. Kaerst in *P.-W.* s.v. *Alexandros* (1894), 1412), and this might indicate Timaeus as a source, since his fondness for synchron-

ism is well known; cf. Wachsmuth, *Eimleitung in das Stud. d. alt. Gesch.* (1895), 552.

1. **Olympiade**: for her other names cf. Plut. *cur Pythia*, 14.

2. **magos**: Reinach in *Rev. Epigr.* N.S. 2 (1914), 321, n. 1, remarks that there could here be no question of *magi*, but rather of *galli* and other such priests; yet—in spite of Plut. *Alex.* 3—it is by no means certain that the *magi* are by Cicero thought of as being at Ephesus or as drawing their omens from the fire, and the words *haec de Indis et magis* seem to show that Cicero has the *magi* definitely in mind. Indeed it is quite likely that the conclusions of these diviners were astrological, and drawn from a conjunction of planets at this time; cf. Kritzinger, *Der Stern der Weisen* (1911), 70-71, who notes other conjunctions at the birth of Christ and at that of Mohammed, as well as that at the birth of Horace (*Carm.* 2, 17, 22-23), and observes (p. 97) that in oriental thought such conjunctions are believed to herald the birth of great rulers. See also Usener, *Vorträge u. Aufsätze* (1907), 184; 1, 18, n. (*concursum*) supra; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 13, 5 (for a *stella primae magnitudinis* seen at the birth of that emperor). For the dreams of Olympias before the birth of Alexander see Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 866, n. 1.

2f. **pestem ac perniciem**: this alliterative phrase is proverbial; for other instances see Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 277.

3. **perniciem Asiae**: so Diod. 19, 2, 3 says the oracle foretold of Agathocles *μεγάλων ἀτυχμάτων ὁ γεννηθεὶς αἰτίας ἔσται Καρχηδονίους καὶ πάσῃ Σικελίᾳ*. For the various ways in which details of the stories of the birth of Alexander were repeated in the Roman empire, especially in the case of Alexander Severus, see Lamprid.

auream, quae esset in fano Iunonis Laciniae, auferre vellet, dubitaretque utrum ea solida esset an extrinsecus inaurata, perterebrauisse, cumque

1. Laciniae *Marsus*, lucine *B* (sed ne ex corr.), lucinae *ABV*.

Alex. Sev. 13, 1—14, 6; Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.* 4 ed. (1905), 850, n. 5.

[178]4 redeamus: cf. 1, 47.

[178]4. *Coelius*: L. Coelius Antipater; on his life and work see Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 2 ed. (1914), ccxi-ccxxxvii. For the probability that Cicero here uses Coelius, if not through the medium of Appius Claudius (1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) supra), at least in the abridgement by Brutus, see Zingler, *De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 24-25; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 368; Laurand in *Mus. Belge*, 15 (1911), 10, n. 1. This fragment is found in Peter, *op. cit.* 169-170 (from Book V of Coelius).

[178]4f. *columnam auream*: Liv. 24, 3, 6: *magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti, columnaque inde aurea solida facta et sacrata est.*

1. *fano Iunonis Laciniae*: about six miles southeast of Croton (Nissen *Ital. Landeskunde*, 2, 2 ed. (1902), 943), on the *promunturium Lacinium*. The temple was conspicuous from the sea and the place is still known as *Capocolonna* (Abatino in *Mé. d' Arch. et d' Hist.* 23 (1903), 353); for excavations see *Notiz. degli Scavi*, 1911, Suppl. (1912), 77-124. The ruins were badly plundered about 1520 for buildings in Cotrone, and only a single column now remains standing (figured in Abatino, *op. cit.* 356). Hera had dispossessed a former native divinity, and her temple was much frequented and decorated with works of art; cf. *de Inv.* 2, 1: *Crotoniatae quondam, cum florent omnibus copiis et in Italia cum primis beati numerarentur, templum Iunonis quod religiosissime colebant egregiis picturis locupletare voluerunt. itaque Heracleoten Zeuxin . . . adhibuerunt, etc.*; Arist. *de mirab. Ausc.* 96, p. 838 a 15 ff.; Athen. 12, p. 541 a; App. *B. C.* 5, 133: *τὸ ἱερὸν Ἦρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασι*; also Liv. 24, 3, 6: *inclitumque templum divitiis etiam,*

non tantum sanctitate fuit; Strab. 6, p. 261; Müller, *Geogr. Gr.* 1, 22.

1. *auferre vellet*: this incident is not elsewhere told, but of Hannibal's stay near the temple we have other evidence: Polyb. 3, 33, 17-18; 3, 56, 4 (who had seen a bronze inscription set up there by Hannibal); Liv. 28, 46, 16: *propter Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem* (205 B. C.) *Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicavitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo, Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto.* This rich temple in a lonely situation was especially exposed to thefts. Q. Fulvius Flaccus carried its marble tiles to Rome (Liv. 42, 3, 2-3; Val. Max. 1, 1, 20, who says that Flaccus was subsequently troubled by mental disturbance; cf. *Lact. Inst.* 2, 7, 16); the pirates plundered it before they were checked by Pompey (Plut. *Pomp.* 24); and Sextus Pompey stripped it of its votives (App. *B. C.* 5, 133). With such vandalism Liv. (42, 3, 6) contrasts the restraint of Pyrrhus and Hannibal.

For a similar case of a divinity threatening a temple robber in a dream cf. App. *Mith.* 27. Other accounts of temple-robbery—all too common an occurrence—are found in 1, 54; 1, 81; *N.D.* 3, 83-84, and Mayor's notes; Val. Max. 1, 1, 20 ff.; also Plat. *Leg.* 9, pp. 853-856; Polyb. 9, 34, 8 ff.; App. *Samn.* 12; *Illyr.* 5; *Syr.* 66; Diod. 16, 61; Plut. *Pomp.* 24; *Lucull.* 13; *Aetia Gr.* 47; *de Garrul.* 14; Strab. 9, p. 420; 14, p. 641; 16, p. 744; Juv. 13, 150-151, and schol.; Suet. *Iul.* 54; Ael. *V.H.* 11, 5; Lucian, *Phal.* 1, 6; 2, 2; *Icaromenip.* 24; *Toxar.* 28; *Iupit. Confut.* 9; 25; *Deor. Concil.* 12; *Timon*, 9; *Arnob.* 6, 20-23; Justin, 39, 2, 5-6; cf. *Artemid. Onirocr.* 3, 3. Strabo well remarks (9, p. 420): *ἐπιθρονοὶ δ' ὄν δ πλουτοὶ δυσφιλὰκτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἱερὸς ἦ.* The punishments among the Greeks for such acts are discussed by Schömann, *Gr.*

solidam invenisset, statuisset tollere; ei secundum quietem visam esse Iunonem praedicere ne id faceret, minarique si fecisset se curaturam ut eum quoque oculum quo bene videret amitteret, idque ab homine acuto non esse neglectum; itaque ex eo auro quod exterebratum esset buculam curasse faciendam et eam in summa columna conlocavisse. 49. Hoc

Allert. 2, 3 ed. (1873), 159. See also, 1, 54, n. (*Arium pagum*) infra.

[179]l. *dubitaretque*: cf. the doubt of Brennus as to the gold statues at Delphi; Ptolemaeus, 7, 35, 2.

1. *secundum quietem*: cf. 1, 43, n. (*secundum quietem*); Apul. *de Deo. Socr.* 7: *horum* (sc. *daemonum*) *enim munus atque cura est ut Hannibali somnia orbitalem oculi comminarentur.*

2. *praedicere ne*: cf. Nep. *Them.* 7, 3: *praedixit ut*; Caes. *B.C.* 3, 92, 1.

3. *eum quoque oculum*: his left eye. Nep. *Hann.* 4, 2-3: *per Ligures Apenninum transit petens Etruriam. hoc in itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur oculorum ut postea numquam dextro aequae bene usus sit*; cf. Polyb. 3, 79, 12; Liv. 22, 2, 10; Juv. 10, 158, and schol.; etc. For divine displeasure vented in the form of blindness see the tradition concerning Appius Claudius Caecus (Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Claudius* (1899), 2681).

3. *homine acuto*: in *N.D.* 3, 83 the same expression is applied to Dionysius, the successful temple-robber. In *Off.* 1, 108 Cicero calls Hannibal *callidus*. The phrase *homo acutus* is especially frequent in Cicero as applied to philosophers; cf. Merguet, *Lexikon v. d. philos. Schr.* 1, 36.

4. *buculam*: probably a translation of *βοῦλον*. Of such statues of cows the most famous was that of Myron; cf. 2 *Verr.* 4, 135; Plin. *N.H.* 34, 57; *Anthol. Pal.* 9, 713-742; 9, 793-798; Auson. *Epigr.* 68-75. The cow is often associated with Hera; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1(1906), 183, and n. 12; 466, and n. 3, who cites the metamorphosis of Hera into a cow (*Ov. Met.* 5, 330-331), the epithet *βοῦριν* (*Hom. Il.* 1, 551; al.),

the herd sacred to her at Nemea (*Hypoth.* 3 *Pind. Nem.*: *βοῦν . . . ἀτ ἱεῶν Ἥρας ἱερά*)—that at the temple of Juno Lacinia (*Liv.* 24, 3, 4 says was *omnis generis . . . pecus*), and the offering of white cows to her at Mycenae (*Sen. Agam.* 364-365); also the abundant material collected by Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 444-447. For votive bulls, cows, etc., at the Argive Heraeum see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902), 298, and n. 11. Cf. also Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1 (1896), 243. The figure of a bull on a pedestal is found on coins of Selinus (cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2 ed. (1911), 168), but it cannot properly be connected with our passage, as Moser in the *Additamenta* to his edition, p. 691, has tried to do. Reinach (in *Neapolis*, 2 (1915), 242-243) remarks that the goddess of the Lacinian Cape may herself have been originally worshipped in the form of a cow, and Professor Oldfather suggests to me the appropriateness of such a form for a goddess of *Italia* which is itself possibly cognate with *vitulus*; but cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 395.

5. *in summa columna*: the column, then, was evidently free-standing, and not a part of the structure of the temple. This is a good case of the dedication *ex visu*; cf. 1, 16, n. (*ex somnio*). This dream (or the next) is referred to in 2, 136.

5. *hoc*: Müller (*F.H.G.* 3, 100) believes the preceding incident to be from Coelius, and thinks that the following dream may be from the same source. No doubt *hoc* and *haec* often refer to what has gone before (e.g., 1, 42; 1, 43; 1, 58; 1, 122; etc.), but they may also anticipate what follows (as in 1, 37; 1, 55; etc.), and

item in Sileni, quem Coelius sequitur, Graeca historia est (is autem diligentissime res Hannibalis persecutus est): Hannibalem, cum cepisset Saguntum, visum esse in somnis a Iove in deorum concilium vocari; quo cum venisset Iovem imperavisse ut Italiae bellum inferret, ducemque ei unum e concilio datum, quo illum utentem cum exercitu progredi coepisset;

1 item *Lambinus*, item *CO*, sed *AH* idem.

in the present instance the accusative and infinitive that follow leave no doubt that *hoc* is anticipatory. Possibly Coelius got both dreams from Silenus, since they appear here in such close connection.

1. *Sileni*: of Calacte (Athen. 12, p. 542a). *Nep. Hann.* 13, 3: *huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex his duo, qui cum eo (sc. Hannibale) in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt quamdiu fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosilus Lacedaemonius*. In addition to his work on the war with Hannibal he wrote one called *Συκελικά*. For the fragments of his books see Müller, *F. H. G.* 3, 100-101. See also Bujack, *De Sileno Scriptore Hannibalis* (1859).

2. *Hannibalem*: cf. *Liv.* 21, 22, 6-9: *ibi (near the Ebro River) fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se defleceret oculos. pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum quidnam id esset quod respicere velitus esset agitur et animo, temperare oculis nequissime; tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbium. tum quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset quaerentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse; pergeret porro iri nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 1: *Hannibulis quoque ut detestandum Romano sanguine ita certae praedictionis somnium cuius non vigiliae tantum sed etiam ipsa quietis hostilis imperio nostro fuit; hausit enim proposito et volis suis convenientem imaginem existimavitque missum sibi ab Iove mortali specie excel-**

siorem iuvenem invadendae Italiae ducem, etc., the rest of the account being similar to that of Livy. Cf. also *Sil. Ital.* 3, 163-214, of which lines 180-182 may be here quoted: *fer gressus agiles mecum et comitare vocantem; / respexisse velo—monet hoc pater ille deorum— / victorem ante altae statuum te moenia Romae*; and 204-207: *bella vides optata tibi, te maxima bella, / te strages nemorum, te moto turbida caelo / tempestas caedesque virum magnaeque ruinae / Idari generis lacrimosaque fata secuntur*, *Dio Cass. ap. Zonar.* 8, 22: τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ . . . ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐφάνη. Ἴδοξε γὰρ ποτε τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθημένους μεταπίψασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ στρατεύουσι διὰ τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προτάξαι καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνα, καὶ ἀμεταστρεπτοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελυσθῆναι ἔπειθαι μεταστραφῆναι δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν χειμῶνα μέγαν χωροῦντα καὶ δράκοντα αὐτῷ ἑπακολουθοῦντα ἀμύχανον, καὶ θαυμάσαι ἐπίσθαι τε τὸν ἀγωγὸν τί ταῦτα εἶεν καὶ τὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς Ἀννίβᾳ, ταῦτα συμπορθήσοτά σοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔρχεται."

3. *in deorum concilium*: cf. *Off.* 3, 25: *in concilio caelestium*; *N. D.* 1, 18: *ex deorum concilio* (and the parallels in Mayor's note); *Quintil.* 11, 1, 24: *in carminibus utinam pepercisset* (sc. *Cicero*) *quae non desierunt carpere maligni . . . Iovem illum a quo in concilium deorum advocatur* (see 1, 17, n. (*de consulatu*) supra) . . . *quae sibi ille secutus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat*. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (1915), 118, n. 1, derives Cicero's use of this motive in his poem on his consulship from his reading of Coelius; and he suggests (*id.* 117-118) that in *Polyb.* 3, 47, 8 there is an unfavorable criticism of Silenus for introducing such a feature into serious historical writing.

tum ei ducem illum praecepisse ne respiceret; illum autem id diutius

[181]5. *unum e concilio*: according to Sil. Ital. 3, 168-169 it was Mercury: *iamque per humentem noctis Cyllenius umbram / aliger lapsu portabat iussa parentis*; cf. 3, 180: *fer gressus agiles mecum et comitare vocantem*.

1. *ne respiceret*: this prohibition appears in many rites; cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 98-99: καθάρμαθ' ὥς τις ἐκπίψας πάλιν / δικούσα τεύχος, ἀστρόφοισιν δμμασιν (and see the schol.); Soph. *O. C.* 490 (after prayer to the Eumenides): ἔπειτ' ἀφίρτων ἀστροφος (see Hom. *Od.* 5, 348-350; 10, 528); Theocr. 24, 91-94: ἤρι δὲ συλλήεσσα κόνιν πυρὸς ἀμφιπόλων τις / βιάται εὐ μάλα πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο φέροισα, / βωγάδας ἐς πέτρας, ὑπερούριον· ἂψ δὲ νῆσθαι / ἀστρεττος; Virg. *Ecl.* 8, 102-103: *fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti / transque caput iace, nec respexeris* (see Eur. *Androm.* 293); Ov. *Fast.* 5, 439 (of the Lemuria): *hoc novies digit nec respicit*; 6, 164 (of the festival of Carna): *quique adsint sacris respicere illa vetat*; Plin. *N. H.* 21, 176; 29, 91; Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 15; Marc. Emp. 1, 54.

Turning back when one had started upon a journey or a new task, or had abandoned an old and entered upon a new course of life might be considered ill-omened; cf. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-Lore* (1903), 105 (where it is said to be unlucky to go back after leaving the house, with which cf. *1 Kings*, 13, 9); Gen. 19, 17: "He said 'Escape for thy life; look not behind thee neither stay thou in all the plain'"; 19, 26: "But his wife looked back from behind him and she became a pillar of salt"; so in Ov. *Met.* 8, 696 ff. Philemon and Baucis do not look back until well away from the scene of destruction; Luke, 17, 31-32: καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὁμοίως μὴ ἐπιστρέψατω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. μνημονεύετε τῆς γυναῖκος Λῶγ; *id.* 9, 62: οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλῶν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εἰσθῆς ἔστω τῆ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ; [Joann. Damasc.] *Barlaam et Ioasaph*, 127: ἀκολουθήσεις αὐτῷ (sc. Χριστῷ) ἀμεταστρεπτι; and the same idea is found in Plat. *Leg.* 9,

p. 854c: δεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια πάντα ἄνδρα τιμᾶν· τὰς δὲ τῶν κακῶν συνοουσίας φεῦγε ἀμεταστρεπτι. See also the story of Orpheus and Eurydice: Virg. *Georg.* 4, 486-491: *redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras, / pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem), / cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem, / ignoscenda quidem, scirensi ignoscere Mares; / restitit, Eurydicenque suam, iam luce sub ipsa, / immemor, heul victusque animi respexit*, etc.; Boeth. *Cons.* 3, 12, 52-58: *vos haec fabula respicit / quicumque in superum diem / mentem ducere quacrilis; / nam qui Tartareum in specus / victus lumina steterit / quidquid praecipuum trahit / perdit dum videt inferos*.

A clue to the interpretation of some, at least, of these customs is found in the prescription of Pythagoras as given by Iambli. *Protrept.* 21: ἀποδημῶν τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ἐπιστρέφου. Ἐρωτες γὰρ μετέρχονται; cf. Hippolyt. *Refut.* 6, 26: Πυθαγόρας οὖν καὶ τοῦτων τῶν λόγων γενόμενος μαθητῆς, ἐν οἷς λέγει δι' αἰνιγμάτων . . . ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας, ἰδὼν ἀποδηῆναι, μὴ ἐπιστρέφου· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρωτες Διὸς ἐπίκουροι σε μετελεύσανται· ἰδὼν καλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, Ἐρωτες δὲ τὰ πάθη, κτλ.; Plut. *de Lib. educ.* 17: μὴ ἐπιστρέφουσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρονοὺς ἐλθόντας, τοῦτέστι μέλλοντας ἀποθήσκειν καὶ τὸν θρονό τοῦ βίου πληροῦν ὄντα ὀρώστας φέρειν εὐκόλως καὶ μὴ ἀδυμεῖν; Diog. L. 8, 17; Porphyr. *Vit. Pyth.* 42; Hier. *adv. Rufin.* 3, 39: *cum profectus fueris, inquit, ne redeas; id est, post mortem vitam istam ne desideres*. In these cases, in spite of the later allegorizings, one can perhaps still see the underlying fear of confronting evil or chthonic spirits, as in the first passage quoted from Ovid, and in the Eurydice story, where Eurydice continues to be a spirit until reaching the upper world. So the scholiast on Ar. *Av.* 1492 says: οἱ ἐπιτυχάνοντες νυκτὸς ἤρωσι δειστροφον<το> τὰς ἑβείας; and for other instances of this belief, from widely different cultures, see Dorsey in *3 Ann. Rep. of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology* (1884), 369; Frazer in *Folk-Lore*, 1 (1890), 155; the

facere non potuisse elatumque cupiditate respexisse; tum visam beluam vastam et immanem circumplicatam serpentibus, quacumque incederet omnia arbusta, virgulta, tecta pervertere, et eum admiratum quaesisse de deo quodnam illud esset tale monstrum; et deum respondisse vastitatem esse Italiae, praecepisseque ut pergeret protinus, quid retro atque a tergo fieret ne laboraret. 50. Apud Agathoclem scriptum in historia est

3. praecepisseque *cod. Salisb.*, praecepissetque C.

important note of Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 3 ed. (1903), 85, n. 2; and the material collected by Samter in *Beilage s. Allgem. Zeitung*, 1903, no. 116, 347; *id.*, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 147-150; also Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 157; Janiewitsch in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 14 (1911), 317; Rose in *Class. Rev.* 28 (1914), 262; "Aeron" in *Folk-Lore*, 25 (1914), 372.

[182]1. *id.* refers to the negative phrase, *ne respiceret*.

1. *facere*: cf. 1, 127.

1f. *beluam vastam et immanem*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 67: *immani et vastae insidens beluae*; *Ac.* 2, 108: *ut feram et immanem beluam*; *Tusc.* 4, 45: *ut laetram et immanem beluam*. As to the significance of such a dream cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 64: *φάρμακον θανάσιμον τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ θανάτῳ σημαίνει. ὁμοίως * * * καὶ περὶ τῶν κινδάλων καὶ κινωπίων θηρίων, ὅσα ταχέως ἀναίρει*. Does the great beast entwined with serpents perhaps suggest the winding course of Hannibal in his Italian campaigns, destroying all with which he came in contact? Perhaps the practical purpose typified by the dream was this, that his course should be determined without any attempt to keep open a long and vulnerable line of communications and of retreat. It is tempting to find a reminiscence of this hydra-like beast in the speech of Hannibal after the battle of the Metaurus as expressed by Horace, *Carm.* 4, 4, 61 ff.: *non hydra secto corpore firmior / vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem*, etc.; (cf. *Rutil.* 1, 128-130), although the editors of Horace commonly refer that passage to a remark of Cineas to King Pyrrhus; cf. *Plut. Pyrrh.* 19; *Flor.* 1, 18.

Professor Oldfather suggests that the

original motif of this story of Hannibal perhaps was that the conquest of Italy would have been complete, had Hannibal not looked back, while as it was his success was only partial; cf. the story of Joash in *2 Kings*, 13, 15 ff.

2. *circumplicatam serpentibus*: cf. 1, 79; 2, 62.

5. *pergeret protinus*: cf. *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 3, 4: *protinus pergas*.

6. *Agathoclem*: not the Ionic historian (of Cyzicus or Babylon), who would have had no natural occasion to tell this story, but an historian of Sicily; cf. Schwartz in *P.-W.* s.v. *Agathokles* (1894), 759, no. 25; Schol. Apollon. *Rhod.* 4, 761: *Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱστορίαις περὶ τῶν χαλκεῶν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱστορῶν, φησὶ κατὰ Σικελίαν δύο εἶναι νῆσους, κτλ.* It is perhaps this Agathocles who was the Stoic successor of Zenodotus; cf. Suid, s.v. *Πτολεμαῖος γραμματικῆς*. We need not resort to the ingenious theory of Schiche (*De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875), 18; cf. Heeringa, *Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Libros* (1906), 16) that Cicero confused Agathocles the subject of the history in question with Agathocles the historian, for this view still leaves the scholium to Apollonius to be explained. The fragments are to be found in Müller, *F. H. G.* 4, 290.

6. *scriptum in historia est*: cf. *Diod.* 20, 29, 3: *τοῦ μάντεως εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἱερῶν ὅτι τῇ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμέρᾳ πάντως ἐν Συρακοῦσσις θαπτήσῃ*; *id.* 20, 30, 2: *οἱ δὲ Συρακοῖσι . . . τῶν Ἀμύλων παρέδωσαν τοῖς βουλευμένοις λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν· ἀνεμιμησκορτο δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μάντεως φωνῆς, δι' ἐφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπεραίαν εἰς Συρακοῦσσις θαπτήσῃ, τοῦ*

Hamilcarem Karthaginiensem, cum oppugnaret Syracusas, visum esse audire vocem se postridie cenaturum Syracusis; cum autem is dies inluxisset, magnam seditionem in castris eius inter Poenos et Siculos milites esse factam; quod cum sensissent Syracusani inproviso eos in castra inrupisse, Hamilcaremque ab iis vivum esse sublatum. Ita res somnium conprobavit. Plena exemplorum est historia, tum referta vita communis. 51. At vero P. Decius ille Q. f., qui primus e Deciis consul fuit, cum esset tribu-

1. Karthaginiensem vulg., Kartaginensem H, cartaginiensem AV, carthaginensem B.
7. Q. f. Davius, Müller (Q. F.), aliique, Quinti filius codt., vulg.

δαμνίου παραγώντος τάληθης; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 8: *at Karthaginiensium dux Hamilcar, cum obsideret Syracusas, inter somnum exaudisse vocem credidit nuntiantem futurum ut proximo die in ea urbe cenaret. laetus igitur perinde ac divinitus promissa victoria exercitum pugnae comparabat. in quo inter Siculos et Poenos orta dissensione, castris eius Syracusani subita irruptione oppressis, ipsum intra moenia sua vinculum pertraxerunt. ita magis spe quam somnio deceptus cenavit Syracusis captivus, non, ut animo praesumpserat, victor.*

1. **Hamilcarem:** son of Gisco. The date of this occurrence is 309 B.C.

II. **visum esse audire:** in a dream, as is clear from Valerius Maximus, and from the phrases *postridie* and *cum . . . dies inluxisset*; also from 2, 136: *somnia . . . matris Dionysi, Poeni Hamilcaris*, etc.

5f. **conprobavit:** cf. 1, 46.

6. **plena exemplorum:** cf. 1, 16: *horum quidem plena vita est*; *Tusc.* 5, 79: *plena vita exemplorum est*; *Leg.* 2, 33: *exemplorum . . . plena res publica*; *Off.* 3, 47; *N. D.* 3, 69.

6. **vita communis:** cf. 1, 86; 2, 86; *N. D.* 3, 69; al.

7. **Decius ille:** for the use of *ille* in introducing *exempla* cf. Schoenberger, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte* (1911), 58-59; and for the Decii as Roman examples of patriotism cf. Litchfield in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 25 (1914), 48, n. 4.

The regulations in regard to *devotio* are given by Liv. 8, 10, 11-12: *licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium devoverat, non ulique se sed quem*

velit ex legione Romana scripta civem devovere. si is homo qui devotus est moritur probe factum videri; ni moritur tum signum septem pedes altum aut maius in terram defodi et piaculum hostiam caedi; and the formula of the *devotio* in 8, 9, 4-8: *Decius consul M. Valerium magna voce inlclamat: "deorum," inquit, "ope, M. Valeri, opus est; aegedum pontifex publicus populi Romani praei verba quibus me pro legionibus devoeam." pontifex eum legam praeextat sumere iussit et velato capite manu subter legam ad mentum exserta super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere: "Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, diique manes, vos precor veneror veniam peto feroque ut populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriamque prosperetis hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore, formidine, morteque adficiatis. sicut verbis nuncupavi ita pro re publica Quiritium, exercitum, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium legiones auxiliisque hostium mecum deis manibus Tellurique devoeo." haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet matureque collegae se devotum pro exercitu nuntiare. ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino armatus in equum insilivit ac se in medios hostes inmisit. conspectus ab utraque acie aliquanto augustior <habitu> humano visus, sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae, qui pestem ab suis aversam in hostes ferret, etc.; and for the *devotio* of the son at Sentinum in 295 B.C. cf. Liv. 10, 28, 12-18: *patrem P. Decius nomine compellans: "quid ultra moror," inquit, "familiare**

nus militum M. Valerio A. Cornelio consulibus a Samnitibusque premeretur

1. A. Cornelio Davies, Baier, Müller, aliique, aulo codd. (aulo V), Christ.

fatum? datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus. iam ego mecum hostium legiones maclandas Telluri ac diis manibus dabo." haec locutus M. Livium pontificem . . . praecire iussit verba quibus se legionesque hostium pro exercitu populi Romani Quiritium devoveret. devotus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu quo pater P. Decius ad Vesperim bello Latino se iusserat devoveri, cum secundum sollemnes precationes adiecisset prae se egere sese formidinem ac fugam caedemque ac cruorem, caelestium inferorum iras, contacturum funebribus diris signa tela arma hostium, locumque eundem suae pestis ac Gallorum ac Samnitium fore—haec executus in se hostesque, qua confertissimum cernebat Gallorum aciem concitat equum, inferensque se ipse infestis telis est interfectus. For other accounts of the deaths of the first two Decii see the collections of Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 2 ed. (1899), 261, n.; cf. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Devotio* (1892), 113-119; Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Decius* (1901), 2279-2286; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Devotio* (1903), 277-280; Deubner in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 8, Beiheft (1905), 66-81; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 384-385. Münzer, followed by Deubner, considers the *devotio* of the second Decius as probably historical and that of the first as a doublet later added to it (*op. cit.* 227^o). The formula of devotion is also preserved in Macrobius *Sat.* 3, 9, 9-10, on which see Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Devotio*, 278-279; cf. *N. D.* 2, 10; 3, 15; and for an interpretation of the meaning of the details of the rite see especially Deubner, *op. cit.* 68-78.

Soltau, however, points out (*Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* 30 (1910), 1461-1464) that neither Livy nor Macrobius imply in the formula any death to the Roman general. While, then, the courageous deaths of the two Decii may very likely

be historic, they were not necessarily due to the fulfilment of a *devotio*, but, as Cicero says (*N. D.* 3, 15): *consilium illud imperatorum fuit, quod Graeci σπαρτήριον appellant, sed eorum imperatorum qui patriae consulerent, vitae non parcerent; rebantur enim fore ut exercitus imperatorem equo incitato se in hostem inmillentem persequeretur, id quod evenit.* The tradition of the *devotio* is, however, at least as old as Accius (*Aeneadae sive Decius*, fr. 11 Ribbeck: *patrio exemplo et me dicabo atque animam deoro hostibus*), and Soltau conjectures that Ennius, who was fond of relating dreams, may be responsible for the incident of the *devotio* in this case (on the analogy of Codrus), and that from Ennius the story was taken up by the annalists. At some point in this process the word *mecum* has been introduced into the formula (*Liv.* 8, 9, 8; 10, 28, 13). The connection by Vahlen of *Enn. Ann.* 208-210 with the Decii is somewhat uncertain; cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* 2285.

For the question of the *devotio* of the third Decius at Asculum in 279 B.C., see Pais, *l.c.*; also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 118; Münzer, *l.c.* The indications are that this *devotio*, if it took place, did not lead to the death of Decius. Cicero speaks in *Fin.* 2, 61 and *Tusc.* 1, 89 of the *devotiones* of three Decii, but elsewhere (the passages in Münzer, *op. cit.* 2281) of only two.

Instances of similar devotion are discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*; Audolent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904), xxxviii; Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 15; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 9, 3 ed. (1913), "The Scape Goat." The most notable instance was that of Codrus (*Tusc.* 1, 116), described by many authors, which resulted from the command of an oracle. Note also those of Macaria (*Paus.* 1, 32, 6; *Zenob.* 2, 61); Marathus (*Plut. Thes.* 32); Bombus the Theban (*Zenob.* 2, 84); Leonidas (*Hdt.* 7, 220; *Justin.* 2, 11, 8 ff.); Vibius Accus (*Liv.*

noster exercitus, cum pericula proeliorum iniret audacius monereturque ut cautior esset, dixit, quod extat in annalibus, se sibi in somnis visum esse, cum in mediis hostibus versaretur, occidere cum maxuma gloria. Et tum quidem incolumis exercitum obsidione liberavit; post triennium autem, cum consul esset, devovit se et in aciem Latinorum inrupit armatus. Quo eius facto superati sunt et deleti Latini. Cuius mors ita gloriosa fuit ut eandem concupisceret filius. 52. Sed veniamus nunc, si placet, ad somnia philosophorum.

Est apud Platonem Socrates, cum esset in custodia publica, dicens Critoni, suo familiari, sibi post tertium diem esse moriendum; vidisse se in

2. *se addidit Müller.*

25, 14, 4-5); also the cases from the Roman empire noted by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 119 (to which add *Aur. Vict.* 34, 1-5; *Jordanes, Get.* 40, 209); and the somewhat kindred instances of *devotio* on the occasion of the appearance of a chasm in the earth, as told of the son of Midas (*Apostol.* 1, 58b, in *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 255), and the parallel case of Curtius (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 118). The devotion of private citizens in place of kings in Java is discussed by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 4, 3 ed. (1912), 53-54. The magic element is ever prominent in the *devotio* (Deubner, *op. cit.* 79), and these cases differ from other types largely by the addition of the person of the pronouncer of the charm.

[184]ff. *cum . . . cum*: for the repetition Vahlen (*Gesamm. philol. Schriften*, 1 (1911), 567-568) compares *N. D.* 2, 6; *Parad.* 1, 8.

[184]ff. *cum esset tribunus militum*: in 343 B.C. His holding this office and his deeds in it are described by Liv. 7, 34, 3 ff.

[185]l. *premeretur*: cf. Liv. 7, 34, 1-2: *ab Saticula profectus Cornelius consul exercitum incaute in saltum cava valle pervium circaque insessum ab hoste induxit, nec prius quam recipi tuto signa non poterant imminentem capiti hostem vidit.*

2. *quod extat in annalibus*: cf. 1, 100; *Rep.* 2, 18: *id quod Graecorum investigator annalibus; Tusc.* 1, 38.

2. *in somnis*: cf. Liv. 8, 6, 9-10: *ibi in quiete utrique consuli eadem dicitur visa species viri maioris quam pro humano*

habitu angustiorisque, dicentis ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum deis manibus matricque Terrae deberi. utrius exercitus imperator legiones hostium superque eas se devovisset, eius populi partisque victoriam fore, etc.; cf. *Val. Max.* 1, 7, 3; also 2, 136 *infra*.

3. *in . . . hostibus versaretur*: cf. *Off.* 1, 81.

4. *quidem . . . autem*: cf. *μόν . . . δέ*.

4. *post triennium*: cf. 1, 52: *post tertium diem*. On such phrases see Conrad in *Class. Philol.* 9 (1914), 78-83; Rolfe in *Class. Philol.* 10 (1915), 82-84.

9. *est . . . Socrates . . . dicens*: cf. *Or.* 41: *est enim, ut scis, quasi in extrema pagina Phaedri his ipsis verbis loquens Socrates.*

9. *apud Platonem*: cf. *Plat. Crit.* p. 44a-b: *ΣΩ. ού τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιόσης ἡμέρας οἶμαι αὐτό ἤξειν ἀλλά τῆς ἐτέρας. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἐκ τινος ἐντύπιον ὁ κώρακα ὄλιγον πρότερον ταύτης τῆς νυκτός· καί κεν οὐκ ἐπιόσης ἐν καιρῷ τινε οὐκ ἐγγεῖραί με. ΚΡ. ἦν δὲ δὴ τί τὸ ἐντύπιον; ΣΩ. ἰδοὺ τίς μοι γυνή προσελθοῦσα καλή καὶ εὐεΐδης, λευκὰ ἰμάτια ἔχουσα, καλέσαι με καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡματὶ κεν τριτάτῃ φθίην ἐπιβῶλον ἰκοιο. ΚΡ. ἀποπον τὸ ἐντύπιον, ὦ Σώκρατες. ΣΩ. ἀπαργέτι μὲν οὖν, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Κρίτων. Cf. *Diog. L.* 2, 35: *ὄναρ δόξας τῷ αὐτῷ λέγων, ἡματὶ κεν τριτάτῃ φθίην ἐπιβῶλον ἰκοιο, πρὸς Ἀλοχίτην εἶπεν, εἰ τρίτην ἀποκαοῦμαι.**

9. *custodia*: in this sense also in *Tusc.* 1, 71; 1, 118; 2, 48; *de Am.* 14; *Fin.* 5, 53.

somnis pulchritudine eximia feminam, quae se nomine appellans diceret Homericum quendam eius modi versum:

Tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit.

Quod, ut est dictum, sic scribitur contigisse. Xenophon Socraticus (qui vir et quantus!) in ea militia qua cum Cyro minore perfunctus est sua scribit

3. Phthiae *πύθια*, phthiae B, pythiae AV, pythele B.

4. ut est V², est ABV¹, eius H.

1. *pulchritudine eximia*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*homo pulcher*).

2. *Homericum . . . versum*: II, 9, 362-363 (said by Achilles): *εἰ δὲ κεν ἐπλοῖην δῶν κλυτὸς ἐνοσίχθων / ἤματι κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐπιβόλον ἰοκίμην*. The Latin translation is doubtless by Cicero himself; for a list of lines translated by him from Homer and inserted by him in his works see Lange in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, 4 (1880), 255, n. 66; cf. also 1, 88; 2, 63-64; 2, 82 infra. A different Latin version appears in Chalcidius in *Plat. Tim.* 252 (in Mullach, *F. P. G.* 2 (1867), 235): *τερνα luce peles Phthiae praefertilis arva*. For dream oracles in verse cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 59: *τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις λεγομένων ἐπῶν ἢ ἰάμβων ἢ ἐπιγραμμάτων ἢ ἄλλων ῥήσεων τὰ μὲν αὐτὰ παρέχει τὴν ἀπόβασιν, ὅσα γε αὐτοτελῆ διάροιαν παρέχει*. A large collection of such is found in Wolff's edition of Porphy. *de Phil. ex Orac. haur.* (1856), 90-97.

The meaning of the verse as quoted by Socrates has been explained in two different ways: (1) that *Φθίην* suggests *φθι(ν)ειν*, such puns upon the names of places being, of course, frequent, especially in the ambiguous language of oracles, e.g., the prediction of Cambyses' death at Agbatana (it occurred at a different place of this name than he had supposed; Hdt. 3, 64), the prediction that Cleomenes would take Argos, fulfilled by his taking the grove of Argos (Hdt. 6, 80), the death of Epaminondas, who had-been warned against the sea, in a grove called Πέλαγος (Paus. 8, 11, 10), the foretelling of the place of Hannibal's death (Paus. 8, 11, 11-12, and Frazer's note for other passages), the curious story of the consul Petilius and his remark in an attack upon Mt. Letum, *hodie ego Letum utique*

capiam, which was literally fulfilled (Val. Max. 1, 5, 9), Julian's warning as to the place of his death (Amm. Marc. 23, 3, 9; *Chron. Pasch.* P. 298, a-b), that of Valens (Amm. Marc. 31, 14, 8-9), of Alexander the Molossian (Strab. 6, p. 256), and the cases cited by Pais, *Ancient Italy* (Eng. trans., 1908), 108, and n. 1; to which add the case of the death of King Henry IV of England, which was foretold to occur at Jerusalem, but which took place in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey (Shakesp. *2 Henry IV*, Act 4, Sc. 4); or (2) the return to one's home may be interpreted as equivalent to death, as in 1, 53 infra.

3. *tertia*, etc.: note the alliteration of *t* and *l*.

3. *tempestas*: equivalent to *dies*; so Plaut. *Most.* 18-19: *cis hercle paucas tempestates, Tranio, / augebis ruri numerum*; but there seems to be no other certain instance in Latin (although perhaps cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 96); probably the usage is archaic.

4f. *qui vir et quantus*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 67: *quos et quantos viros*; *Leg.* 3, 20.

5. *in ea militia*, etc.: an awkward paraphrase for the title of the work (*Expeditio Cyri*?). And in the sentence we perhaps have, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests, a mingling of two constructions: (1) *in ea militia qua cum Cyro minore perfunctus est*, and (2) *in expeditione Cyri sua scribit somnia*.

5. *Cyro minore*: so called also in *de Sen.* 59.

5. *perfunctus est*: cf. *pro Marc.* 31: *perfuncta respublica est hoc . . . bello*.

5f. *sua scribit somnia*: cf. Xen. *Anab.* 3, 1, 11-13: *μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξε αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σηκῆτος πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν οἶκον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπουσθαι*

somnia, quorum eventus mirabiles extiterunt. 53. Mentiri Xenophonem an delirare dicemus? Quid? singulari vir ingenio Aristoteles et paene divino ipsene errat an alios vult errare, cum scribit Eudemum Cyprium, familiarem suum, iter in Macedoniam facientem Pheras venisse, quae erat urbs in Thessalia tum admodum nobilis, ab Alexandro autem tyranno crudeli dominatu tenebatur; in eo igitur oppido ita graviter aegrum Eudemum fuisse ut omnes medici diffiderent; ei visum in quiete egregia facie iuvenem dicere fore ut perbrevis convalesceret, paucisque diebus interituum Alexandrum tyrannum, ipsum autem Eudemum quinquennio post domum esse rediturum. Atque ita quidem prima statim scribit Aristoteles consecuta, et convaluisse Eudemum, et ab uxoris fratribus interfectum tyrannum; quinto

πᾶσα, περιφοβὸς δ' εὐθύς ἀνηγήθη, καὶ τὸ θναρ τῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοισι ὡς καὶ κωδύλοισι φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἔφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλείῳ τὸ θναρ ἔδοκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἔδοκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείῳ, ἀλλ' εἰργαίτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν. ὁποῖόν τι μὲν ὅθ' ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον θναρ ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ θναρ, κτλ.; 4, 3, 8: Ξενοφῶν δὲ θναρ ἰδεῖν ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδεδῆσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόματα περιρρηγῆναι, ὥστε λιθῆναι καὶ διαβαλεῖν ὄσσοσιν ἐβόηλοτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ θρῶσοι ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσσοφον καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγείταί αὐτῷ τὸ θναρ, κτλ. Cf. also Lucian, *Somn.* 17: οὐδὲ γὰρ Ξενοφῶν ποτε διηγοῦμενος τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὡς ἔδοκει αὐτῷ καλεσθαι ἢ πατρῶα οἰκία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,—ἴστε γὰρ—οὐκ ὑπόκρισιν τὴν θῆν οὐδ' ὡς φλυαρεῖν ἔγνωκώς αὐτὰ διεῖξεν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἀπογνώσει πραγμάτων, παρωστῶτων πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ χρήσιμον εἶχεν ἢ διήγησις.

1. **mentiri**: cf. 1, 37; 1, 79.

2. **delirare**: cf. 1, 35, n. (*delirare*).

2. **singulari**: cf. *Ac.* 2, 132: *Aristotelem, meo iudicio in philosophia prope singularem*; *Fin.* 3, 6: *avunculo tuo, divino ac singulari viro*; 2, 97 *infra*. Thiaucourt (*Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic.* (1885), 263) remarks on the appreciation of Aristotle as the sign of a degree of toleration of the views of others characteristic of the encyclopedic Posidonius

rather than of Stoics in general. Cf. the introduction, n. 99.

3. **scribit**: cf. *Plut. Dion.* 22: *συνπραττων δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὅ τε Κύπριος Εὐδήμος, εἰς ὃν Ἀριστοτέλης ἀποθανόντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς διάλογον ἐποίησε*. The fragments of this dialogue, the *Eudēmos ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς*, appear in the Berlin edition of Aristotle, 5, 1479-1483; in Rose's ed. (1886), 44-45. It apparently dealt, like Plato's *Phaedo*, with the immortality of the soul.

5. **Alexandro . . . tyranno crudeli**: for passages in which he appears as a type of the cruel ruler see Kaerst in *P.-W.* s.v. *Alexandros* (1894), 1409; cf. *Off.* 2, 25.

6. **dominatu . . . tenebatur**: cf. *Off.* 2, 2; 2, 81.

6. **oppido**: here of the same place that two lines above was called an *urbs*; cf. Tyrrell and Purser, *Correspond. of Cic.* 1, 3 ed. (1904), 366 (on *ad Att.* 3, 7). In *Rcp.* 1, 41 there seems to be little distinction of meaning: *eiusmodi coniunctionem tectorum oppidum vel urbem appellaverunt*.

7. **in quiete**: cf. 1, 58; 1, 126; 2, 145; *de Am.* 14; also 1, 43, n. (*secundum quietem*) supra.

7. **egregia facie**: cf. 1, 40, n. (*homo pulcher*).

8. **perbrevis**: cf. *ad Fam.* 6, 12, 3: *id erit perbrevis*.

8. **interituum Alexandrum**: after a reign of eleven years (*Diod.* 15, 61, 2) he was killed about the year 359 B.C. (Kaerst, *l.c.*; cf. the next note.

autem anno exeunte, cum esset spes ex illo somnio in Cyprum illum ex Sicilia esse rediturum, proliantem eum ad Syracusas occidisse; ex quo ita illud somnium esse interpretatum ut cum animus Eudemi e corpore excesserit tum domum revertisse videatur. 54. Adiungamus philosophis doctissimum hominem, poetam quidem divinum, Sophoclem; qui, cum ex aede Herculis

[188]11. **ab uxoris fratribus interfectum:** cf. Xen. *Hell.* 6, 4, 35: τοιοῦτοι δ' ὦν καὶ αὐτοῖς (sc. Ἀλέξανδρος) αὐ ἀποθνήσκει, ἀποχειρίσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναίκος ἀδελφῶν, βουλῆ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης, κτλ.; Diod. 16, 14, 1: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναίκος Θήβης καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Λυκόφρονος καὶ Τισιφῶνου ἠλοφορήθη; also *de Inv.* 2, 144; Plut. *Pelop.* 35, who adds a third brother, Pytholaus, to those mentioned by Diodorus; Val. Max. 9, 13, ext. 3.

1. **ex Sicilia:** for his activities as a supporter of Dion see Plut. *Dion.* 22.

2. **ad Syracusas:** cf. Diod. 16, 36, 5: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Συρακοῦσαις στάσεως γενομένης τοῖς Δίωρος φίλοις πρὸς Κάλλιππον οἱ μὲν τοῦ Δίωρος φίλοι ἠγτηθέντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοὺς Ἀσυντίους.

3. **esse interpretatum:** cf. Gell. 15, 13, 7: *testata sitidem et interpretata eadem ratione dixit M. Tullius in primo libro de divinatione, ut 'testor,' 'interpretor' que verba communia videri debeant.* The word *interpretor* is used as a passive in 1, 118; *Leg.* 2, 29; Sall. *Jug.* 17, 7; Amm. Marc. 24, 6, 1; and often in patristic Latin. Cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 111; also 1, 87, n. (*testata*) infra.

3. **cum animus . . . e corpore excesserit:** a frequent phrase in Cicero; cf. 1, 47; 1, 63; and many examples in Merquet, *Lexikon z. d. phil. Schriften*, 1 (1887), 904.

4. **domum:** cf. [Plat.] *Asiotech.* p. 365b: τὸ κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς πάντων θρυλούμενον, παρεπιδημία τίς ἐστιν ὁ βίος; Menand. *Myrrholim.* 2, 9 (vol. 4, 211 Mein.). Conversely, according to Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 49, ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖν . . . τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ξήνης ὄντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπανάγει· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀποθανὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατατίθεται,

ἥτις ἐστὶ κοινὴ πάντων πατρῶς. Lucian, *V. H.* 2, 34 speaks of dreams that ἀπῆγον ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἐπεδίκνυον, but says nothing of their significance; Marc. Aurel. 2, 17, 2: ὁ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ξίνου ἐπιδημία; 2 *Cor.* 5, 8: εἰδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον; Clem. *Strom.* 7, 63, 3: φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἠσθῆναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς (cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 39); Bernard, *de Considerat.* 5, 1, 2: *repatriasse erit hoc: exisse de patria corporum in regionem spirituum;* and see the other passages collected by Gataker on Marc. Aurel. 2, 17, 2.

4. **videatur:** with this present tense introduced by *interpretatum* esse cf. 1, 71: *ita divinatum ut . . . videatur.* Ernesti's emendation *videretur* is, accordingly, unnecessary.

5. **poetam, etc.:** the high esteem in which Cicero held Sophocles may be seen from *Orat.* 4, where he is classed with Homer, Archilochus, and Pindar, the leading Greek representatives of different genera of poetry. Cf. Lange in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, 4 (1880), 275 ff.

5. **qui, etc.:** cf. *Vit. Soph.* 12: γέγονε δὲ καὶ θεοφιλῆς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος, καθὰ φησιν Ἰερώνυμος . . . περὶ τῆς χρυσοῦς στεφάνης. ταύτης γὰρ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως κλακείσθαι κατ' ἄναρ Ἰρακλῆς ἠήλωσε Σοφοκλεῖ, λίγων τὴν ἴμην οἰκίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσόντι ἐρευθῆσαι, ἔμβα ἐκέρυκτο. ἐμήνησε δ' αὐτὴν τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ τάλαντον ἐδέξατο· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν προκηρυχθῆναι. λαβῶν οὖν τὸ τάλαντον ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Μηνηυτοῦ Ἰρακλεῦς; Hesyeh. s.v. Μηνηυτής: Ἰρακλῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις; Tert. *de An.* 46: *coronam auream cum ex arce Athenaei perdidissent, Sophocles tragicus somniansando redinvenit.*

patera aurea gravis subrepta esset, in somnis vidit ipsum deum dicentem qui id fecisset. Quod semel ille iterumque neglexit. Ubi idem saepius, ascendit in Arium pagum, detulit rem; Areopagitae comprehendi iubent eum qui a Sophocle erat nominatus; is quaestione adhibita confessus est pateramque rettulit. Quo facto fanum illud Indicis Herculis nominatum est.

XXVI. 55. Sed quid ego Graecorum? nescio quo modo me magis nostra delectant. Omnes hoc historici, Fabii, Gellii, sed proxime Coelius:

3. arium pagum *BY*, ariopagum *A*, areopagum *B*.
5. rettulit *Christ*, retulit *CO*.

[189]5. **Herculis:** Cicero alone says that the theft was from his temple.

1. **patera aurea:** for such in temples cf. *N.D.* 3, 84. It may perhaps have been in the hand of the cult statue; cf. 1 46, n. (*Mercurium e patera*).

1. **subrepta:** on thefts from temples cf. 1, 48, n. (*auferre vellet*).

1. **in somnis:** cf. 1, 4, n. (*ex . . . somnio*); 1, 16, n. (*ex somnio*). The appearance of Hercules in dreams is mentioned by Diog. L. 1, 117; Tac. *Ann.* 12, 13, 3; *C.I.L.* XI, 1449 = Dessau 7320; and see the cases noted by Peter in Roscher, *Ausfuhr. Lexikon*. s.v. *Hercules* (1890), 2962.

2. **semel . . . iterumque neglexit:** the thrice appearing vision is also found in 1, 55; cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 27: τοὺς πολλὰς ὀρωμένους ὀνειροῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐκ μικρῶν διασημάτων βλέποντο, ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει νόμιζε, τοῦτου δὲ ἕνεκα ὀραῖσθαι πολλὰς τοῦ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς προσέχειν καὶ πιστεῖν; Amm. Marc. 21, 2, 2, where a ghost prophesies *eadem saepius replicando*. See also the repeated dream of Pharaoh in *Gen.* 41, 1-7; and Walton, *Life of Sir Henry Walton*, init.; 1, 55, n. (*iterum*).

2. **ubi:** on this use of the word (approaching a causal sense) cf. Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue . . . de Cic.* (1901), 418, n.

3. **Arium pagum:** cf. Plasberg's reading in *N.D.* 2, 74: *Arii pagi*. The act probably falls in the category of *ἱεροσυλία*, which was not regularly under the jurisdiction of the Areopagus; cf. Schömann-Lipsius, *Der attische Process*, 1, 2 ed. (1887), 376, and n. 511; 458-459. It will be noticed that in the account in

the *Vita Sophoclis* quoted above the information is given not to the Areopagus but to the Ecclesia, and Schömann (*op. cit.* 1, 376, and n. 512) observes that other evidence from the fifth and fourth centuries points to other courts as competent in such cases; cf. *id.* 1, 458-459.

4. **quaestione adhibita:** cf. *Off.* 3, 39: *tormenta quaedam adhibemus*.

6. **Graecorum:** cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); *Tusc.* 1, 74: *sed haec vetera et a Graecis*; *Cato aulem*, etc. On the interruption caused by sections 55-56 cf. Heeringa, *Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes* (1906), 22, and n. 5.

6f. **me magis nostra delectant:** cf. 2, 8; *Tusc.* 1, 1 ff.

7. **hoc:** sc. *tradunt*; cf. 1, 49, n. (*hoc*).

7. **Fabii, Gellii:** the plurals probably mean only "such men as Fabius and Gellius." To be sure, other Fabii are known, such as the one mentioned in Cic. *Brut.* 81: *Ser. Fabius Piclor et iuris et litterarum et antiquitatis bene peritus*, and also Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, consul in 142 B.C.; for whom see Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), clxxiv-clxxviii; and Peter (*op. cit.* 26-28; 113) places our story among the fragments of these, but admits (*op. cit.* cciv-ccv) that only one Gellius is meant. A similar list, in which the names (including *Gellius* restored by emendation) occur in the singular, is found in *Leg.* 1, 6. Important is Dion. Hal. 1, 7: τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναλεξάμενοι ὡς οἱ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἑταυρόμενοι Ῥωμαίων συντέγραψαν Πόρκιός τε καὶ Κάτων καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Οὐαλέριος ὁ Ἀργεῖος καὶ Λικίνιος Μάκερ Αἰλιός τε καὶ Γέλλιος καὶ Καλποθρόνιος καὶ ἕτεροι συνηροὶ πρὸς τούτου ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἀφανεῖς. This

cum bello Latino ludi votivi maximi primum fierent, civitas ad arma repente est excitata, itaque ludis intermissis instaurativi constituti sunt. Qui ante quam fierent cumque iam populus consedisset, servus per circum,

passage, in connection with ours, some scholars take as an indication of more than one annalist named Gellius (cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 274-275; Peter, *op. cit.* cciv), but it is more probable that both there and here the plural is rhetorical, and that the reference is to Cn. Gellius, the author of *Annales*, the fragments of which are in Peter, *op. cit.* 148-157, this fragment (p. 154) being from Book IV.

[190]7. *Coelius*: cf. 1, 48, n. (*Coelius*). Zingler (*De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 24-25) points out the inappropriateness of such a story in Coelius's history of the Second Punic War, unless, as he conjectures, it came in a digression on the subject of divination.

1. *cum, etc.*: cf. 2, 136. The story appears in several authors: Liv. 2, 36, 1 ff.: *ludi forte ex instaurazione magni Romae parabantur. instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidem pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. coepti inde ludi velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. haud ita multo post Tito Latino de plebe homini somnium fuit. visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultantorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus verecundia tamen maiestatis magistratum timorem vicit ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit.* The rest of the story agrees in all important details with Cicero. Dion. Hal. 7, 68: *ἔπειτα ἤκε τις ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῆς βουλῆς ἀρρωστος ἐπὶ κλισιδίου κομίζομενος, Τίτος Λατίνιος ὄνομα, πρεσβύτερος τε ἀνὴρ καὶ σφίλιας ἰκατῆς κέρως, αἰτουργὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πλεῶν χρόνον τοῦ βίου ζῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ. οὗτος εἰς τῆς βουλῆς ἐνεχθεὶς ἐφη δόξαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιτάγματα τῶν Καπιτωλίων Δία λέγειν αὐτῷ,*

Ἔσι, Λατίνιε, καὶ λέγε τοῖς πολίταις ὅτι μοι τῆ νεωστὶ τομπῆ τὸν ἠγούμενον ὄρηχστην οὐ καλὸν ἔδοκασ, ἵνα ἀναθῶνται τὰς ἰορτὰς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἑτέρας ἐπιτελέσωσω· οὐ γὰρ δίδεγμαί ταύτας. In the rest of this story are told the details of his son's death, his own illness, the disclosure, and the cure; in 7, 69 the (antecedent) account of the games. Of the slave's punishment Dionysius says, *ὁ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ κρατούμενος ἔββα τε φωνὰς δυσφήμους, ἅς ἡ ἀληθῶν ἐβόλοιο, καὶ κινήσεις διὰ τὴν αἰκίαν ἀσχημονας ἐκνεῖτο. τοῦτον δὲ πάντες ἐκόμισαν εἶναι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μνημόμενον ὄρηχστην οὐ καλόν.* Here it is the sounds and gestures of ill-omen which are the reason for the renewal of the games. Important also is Macrobi. *Sat.* 1, 11, 3-5: *anno enim post Romam conditam quadringentesimo septuagesimo quarto Aulronius quidam Maximus servum suum verberatum patibuloque constructum ante spectaculi commissionem per circum egit. ob quam causam indignatus Iuppiter Annio cuidam per quietem imperavit ut senatus nuntiaret non sibi placuisse plenum crudelitatis admissum.* These follow the other details, and at section 5: *ex senatus itaque consulto et Maenia lege ad propitiandum Iovem additus est illis Circensibus dies. isque instauraticius dicitur est, non a patibulo, ut quidam putant, Graeco nomine ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, sed a redintegratione, ut Varroni placet, qui instaurare ait esse instar novare.* The story is also told or mentioned by Plut. *Coriol.* 24-25; Val. Max. 1, 7, 4; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7, 3; 27, 4; Arnob. 7, 38 ff.; Lact. *Inst.* 2, 7, 20; Aug. *C.D.* 4, 26; 8, 13. Oldfather notes (*Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 63, n. 2) that the older versions (the sources of Cicero and Macrobius) do not speak of the slave as put to death, this being a later development of the story. For the different names given for the man to whom the

cum virgis caederetur, furcam ferens ductus est. Exin cuidam rustico Romano dormienti visus est venire qui diceret praesulem sibi non placuisse ludis, idque ab eodem iussum esse eum senatui nuntiare; illum non esse ausum. Iterum esse idem iussum et monitum ne vini suam experiri vellet;

4 idem iussum etc., idem visum C.

dream appeared--T. Latinius, T. Atinius, Annii--see Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 2 (1899), 367, n. 1. The date of the occurrence varies from the time of Coriolanus to the latter half of the fourth century, or even as late as about 279 (Macrobius); cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Forschungen*, 2 (1879), 146, n. 68; Pais, *op. cit.* 367, and n. 2, who decides in favor of the second half of the fourth century. Again, the games vary, most accounts giving the *Ludi Romani*, but Dion. Hal. 6, 95 the *Ludi Latini*, and Val. Max. 1, 7, 4 the *Ludi Plebei*; cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* 146, n. 68; also 48, n. 12. Misfortunes following the harsh punishment of a slave are a feature of the fate of the people of Sybaris, according to Timaeus (*F. H. G.* 1, 206, no. 60).

[191]1. *ludi votivi maximi primum*: cf. Dion. Hal. 6, 10: καὶ ὁ Ποστώμιος (before the battle of Lake Regillus) ἔπεισας τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξέδμενος, ἐὰν εὐτυχὲς καὶ καλὸν τέλος ἀκολουθήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, θυσίας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσειν χρημάτων καὶ ἀγῶνας καταστήσασθαι πολυτελεῖς, οὓς ἄξει ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἀπέλυσε ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. For other accounts of the founding of these games see Mommsen, *op. cit.* 48, n. 12; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 452, n. 7.

[191]2. *instaurativi*: the account of the version in Macrobius, quoted above, that this is derived from the *furca* or *σταυρός* is based on more than mere popular etymology; cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 650, s.v. *restaurō*. Also, on the facts, Mommsen, *op. cit.* 2, 145, and n. 67.

[191]3. *per circum*: doubtless the Circus Maximus, for the Circus of Flaminius, in which Valerius Maximus locates the event, was not built until 221 B.C.

1. *cum virgis caederetur*: a clause used to supply the lack of a present passive participle. Dionysius has μαστιγομένους; the Latin accounts the perfect participle; cf. Stolz-Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.* 3 ed. (1900), 307.

1. *caederetur, furcam ferens*: that this was considered an excessive punishment at a period when Roman slaves were treated with great kindness is indicated by Plut. *Coriol.* 24. For the form of punishment here described see Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 1 (1879), 182; Blanchet in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Furca* (1896), 1409; Oldfather, *l.c.*; Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer* (1911), 293.

2. *visus est venire qui*: Livy (*l.c.*) puts it more definitely as Jupiter, and so most of the other accounts. But there is an effective mystery in Cicero's vagueness of expression; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 7, 27, 13: *venerunt . . . in tunicis albis duo*.

2. *praesulem*: also called a *praesultor* or a *praesultator*, and in Greek ὄρχηστής. Not merely did he come before the procession, but according to Plutarch he was overtaken by the procession in the games and appeared as it were its leader (τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . στρεφόμενον καὶ κινήσει ἄλλας ἀερεαίς τῷ περιπαθεῖν κινούμενον ἢ πομπῇ κατὰ τύχην ἠκολούθηκει), thus making a bad omen; cf. 1, 102, n. (*quod bonum, etc.*).

3. *iussum esse*: the narrative here slips into indirect discourse; cf. 1, 32: *Attum iussisse*; 1, 56: *Simonidem redisse*; 1, 74.

3f. *non esse ausum*: on account of modesty and an unwillingness to be ridiculed, as the accounts make clear.

4. *iterum*: on repeated dreams cf. 1, 54, n. (*scmel . . . iterumque neglexit*); 2, 85; Ov. *Met.* 15, 21 ff.: *hunc* (sc. *Mysce-*

ne tum quidem esse ausum. Exin filium eius esse mortuum, eandem in somnis admonitionem fuisse tertiam. Tum illum etiam debilem factum rem ad amicos detulisse, quorum de sententia lecticula in curiam esse delatum, cumque senatui somnium enarravisset pedibus suis salvum domum revertisse. Itaque somnio comprobato a senatu ludos illos iterum instauratos memoriae proditum est. 56. C. vero Gracchus multis dixit, ut scriptum apud eundem Coelium est, sibi in somnis quaesturam petenti Tiberium fratrem visum esse dicere quam vellet cunctaretur tamen

6. C. O., Gaius C.

6. C. O., Gaius C., def. Zöschbauer, Usener, Thuresen, om. V., petere dubitanti Halm, Christ, Baizer, Müller, non petenti Klots.

8. Tiberium codd. et edd., Ti. Müller.

lum) super incumbens pressum gravitate soporis / claviger adloquitur . . . (24) et nisi paruerit nulla ac metuenda minatur. He delays; the next night (32-33) visus adesse idem deus est eademque monere / et, nisi paruerit, plura et graviora minari.

[192]4. monitum: often used of commands in dreams. Many inscriptions were set up *ex monitu (dei)*; cf. 1, 4, n. (ex . . . somnio).

[192]4. ne . . . vellet: representing *noli* in direct discourse.

2. debilem: with this part of the story cf. Luc. de Dra Syr. 19: ἦδε δὴ ὦν ἡ Στρατοκίη ἐτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ συνοικέουσα θναρ τοιαῦδε θεάσατο, ὡς μὴ ἡ Ἥρη ἐκέλευε ἰγυραὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἰσῆ πόλει κτῆν, εἰ δὲ ἀπειθείοι πολλὰ οἱ καὶ κακὰ ἀπέλειεν. ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐδέμην ὤρην ἐποιετο, μετὰ δὲ ὡς μὴ μεγάλη πούσος ἔλαβε, τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τὴν θῆν ἀπηγγέσατο καὶ τὴν Ἥρην ἰλάσατο καὶ στήσεν τὸν κτῆν ὑπεδέξατο. καὶ αὐτίκα ὑγία γασομένην ὁ θναρ ἐς τὴν ἰσῆν πόλιν ἔπεμπε, κτλ.

3. rem . . . detulisse: cf. 1, 54.

3. de sententia: cf. 1, 4.

6. instauratos: for the splendor of the restoration see Dion. Hal. 7, 73.

6. memoriae proditum est: cf. N.D. 2, 6; Rep. 1, 16; 2, 28; 2, 54; Leg. 1, 4; 2, 58; de Sen. 63; de Am. 39; also 1, 2 supra.

7. Coelium: cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, 2 ed. (1914), 174; Plut. C. Gracch. 1: τοικαὶ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινοῦς μᾶλλον ὅστος ἢ προαιρέσεως ἐμπροσθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Κικέρων ὁ βῆτωρ ὡς ἄρα φείγοντι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἤρημένῳ ἴπῳ ὁ ἀδελφεὸς θναρ φασκεῖ καὶ προσαγορεύσας,

τι δῆτα, φαίη, Γαίε, βραδύνευς; οὐκ ἴστω ἀπόδρασις, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέρους βίος, εἰς δὲ θάνατος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευομένους πέπτωται; Val. Max. 1, 7, 6: C. autem Graccho inminentis casus atrocitas palam atque aperte per quietem denuntiata est; somno enim pressus Tiberii fratris effugiem vidit dicentis sibi nulla ratione eum vitare posse ne eo jato periret quon ipse occidisset. id ex Gracchio prius quam tribunatum in quo fraternum exitum habuit iniret multi audierunt. Coelius etiam certus Romanae historiae auctor sermonum de ea re ad suas aures illo adhuc vivo pervenisse scribit. The dream is also noted in 2, 56 infra.

7. quaesturam: he was quaestor in Sardinia with the consul Aurelius Orestes (Plut. C. Gracch. 1) in 126/125 B.C.

8. petenti: though the dream might seem to have been a suitable one to lead Gracchus to break his period of six years or so of private life (and hence Halm's emendation to *petere dubitanti*), yet it is far more likely, as Usener (*Fleckeiss. Jahrb.* 139 (1889), 392) points out, that such a dream should have come in the excitement and uncertainty of mind which would naturally attend his having already decided to run for office. Zöschbauer (*Zu Cicero's Buchern "De Divinatione"* (1877), 17) offered another defence of the MS. reading, namely, that, to carry out the reforms of Ti. Gracchus, Caius should have been a candidate for the tribunate rather than the quaestorship, and that the dream accordingly represents a repri-

eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pereundum. Hoc, ante quam tribunus plebi C. Gracchus factus esset, et se audisse scribit Coelius et dixisse eum multis. Quo somnio quid inveniri potest certius?

XXVII. Quid? illa duo somnia quae creberrime commemorantur a Stoicis quis tandem potest contemnere? unum de Simonide: qui, cum ignotum quendam proiectum mortuum vidisset eumque humavisset

3. dixisse eum multis *Müller*, dixisse multis *CO*, illum dixisse multis *Christ*, *Boier*, dixisse multos *Hofinger*.

mand from the older brother on the ground on desertion of ideals common to them both. In view of these two possible ways of explaining the text emendation seems inadvisable.

[193]8. *quam vellet*: indirect discourse for *quamvis*.

1. *eodem sibi leto*: on the death of Ti. Gracchus cf. Vell. 2, 3, 1-2; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19; for that of C. Gracchus Vell. 2, 6, 4-7; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17. The identity is noted by Velleius (2, 6, 7): *ut Ti. Gracchi antea corpus ita Gaii mira crudelitate in Tiberim deiectum est*.

1. *esse pereundum*: for the impersonal construction cf. 2, 22; *Fal.* 5.

2. *tribunus plebi*: 123 B.C.

3. *dixisse eum*: the improbability that the subject of *dixisse* is also Coelius (in whose having told the story there would be no significance) makes necessary the insertion of a pronoun at this point

5. *Stoicis*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*uno de somniis*).

5. *Simonide*: cf. 2, 134-135; 2, 143; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 3: *longe indulgentius dii in poeta Simonide, cuius salutarem inter quietem admonitionem consilii firmitate roborarunt: is enim, cum ad litus navem appulisset inhumatumque corpus iacens sepulturae mandasset, admonitus ab eo ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit, qui inde solverant fluctibus et procellis in conspectu eius obruti sunt; ipse laetatus est quod vitam suam somnio quam navi credere maluisset. memor autem beneficii elegantissimo carmine * aeternitati consecravit, melius illi et diuturnius in animis hominum sepulcrum constituens quam in desertis et ignotis harenis struxerat; [Liban.] *Narrat.* 13 (IV, p. 1101): *ἄχρῳε μὲν ἐπὶ Τάραντα Σιμωνίδης ὁ Κείος ὁ Λευκέρωντος ὁ ποιητῆς,**

*νεκρῶν δὲ ἀταφῶν ὡς εἶδεν ἑρμιμῆτος ἡλέησέ τε καὶ θάπτει. μίλλῳ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μετὰ τῆς ταφῆς πλεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν ὄνειρατι εἰργεταί μὴ πλεῖν. ἀγνοῶν δὲ τίς ἦν ὁ αὐτῶν ὄνειρατι κωλῶν πείθεται μὲν ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ μένει, πλεῖ δὲ ἡ ναῦς καὶ βαπτίζεται. ἄλλου δὲ εἰς Τάραντα κομισαντος τὸ πάθος ἐγίνετο ὅσα εἰκὸς τοιοῦτου κακοῦ. Σιμωνίδης δὲ στεφάνου τῇ στήλῃ περιέθηκε καὶ ἐραγίστας τῷ νεκρῷ σωτήρα αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄεμερον ἄχρῳε ἐπιγράμματι. καὶ τοῦτο ἡ στήλῃ δέκασται. An epigram in the *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 77, ascribed to Simonides, reads: οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Κείου Σιμωνίδου ἐστὶ σωτήρ, / ὅτι καὶ τεθνηκόσι γῶντ' ἀπέδωκε χάριν. Cf. 7, 516 (also ascribed to him): οἱ μὲν ἐμὲ κτείναντες ὁμοίῳ ἀπαιτύχοιεν, / Ζεῦ ἔτι· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ γᾶν θύκτες, ὄναυτο βλοῦ. This story and the following one of the Arcadians are used by Chaucer in the *Nonne Prestes Tale*, B, 4257-4294; 4173-4252, respectively (but see introduction, 16, supra); cf. Wundt, *Volkerpsychologie*, 2, 1 (1905), 360-361; Gerould, *The grateful Dead* (1908), 8; Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.* 1 (1913), 188 (on *Tobit*, 2, 3-8; 12, 12-13). With the parallels mentioned by Gerould may be compared the idea implied in *Hor. Carm.* 1, 28, especially lines 23-29; cf. *Suid.* s.v. ἀγνόης. On Cicero and Simonides cf. Lange in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, 4 (1880), 264-265. Our account = von Arnim, *S. V. F.* 2, no. 1200.*

6. *ignotum quendam proiectum mortuum*: for the series of adjectives, made less harsh by the almost substantival character of *ignotum*, cf. Seyffert on *de Am.* 54.

6. *proiectum*: a regular word applied to corpses; cf. 2, 143; *Tusc.* 1, 104; *Leg.* 2, 57; *vo πρόβλητος* in *Soph. Ai.* 830.

haberetque in animo navem conscendere, moneri visus est ne id faceret ab eo quem sepultura adfecerat; si navigavisset eum naufragio esse periturum; itaque Simonidem redisse, perisse ceteros qui tum navigassent. 57. Alterum ita traditum clarum admodum somnium: cum duo quidam Arcades familiares iter una facerent et Megaram venissent, alterum ad cauponem devertisse, ad hospitem alterum. Qui ut cenati quiescerent, concubia nocte visum esse in somnis ei qui erat in hospitio illum alterum orare ut subveniret, quod sibi a caupone interitus pararetur; eum primo

1. navem conscendere: cf. 1, 69; Ac. 2, 100; Off. 3, 48.

3. Simonidem redisse, perisse ceteros: cf. the story of Socrates in 1, 123. For the chiasmus cf. 1, 57: alterum ad cauponem . . . ad hospitem alterum; 1, 72: inprobantur a Peripateticis, a Stoicis defenduntur.

4. alterum, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 10: duo familiares Arcades iter una facientes Megaram venerunt, quorum alter se ad hospitem contulit, alter in tabernam meritoriam devertit. is qui in hospitio erat vidit in somnis comitem suum orantem ut sibi cauponis insidias circumvento subveniret; posse enim celeri eius adcursum se imminenti periculo subtrahi. quo viso excitatus prosiluit tabernamque in qua is deversabatur petere conatus est. pestifero deinde fato eius humanissimum propositum latroam supervacuam damnavit et lectum ac somnum repeliit. tunc idem ei saucius oblatus obsecravit ut quoniam vitae suae auxilium ferre neglexisset neci saltem ultionem non negaret; corpus enim suum a caupone trucidatum tum maxime plastro ferri ad portam stercore coopertum. iam constantibus familiaris precibus compulsus prolinus ad portam cucurrit et plastrum quod in quiete demonstratum erat comprehendit cauponemque ad capitale supplicium perduxit; Suid. s. v. τιμωρῶντος . . . Αλιανός . . . ἀποθανόντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ θῶς τίθεται πρόδικα καὶ ὕρα καὶ τιμωρεῖ τοὺς ἀδίκους ἀνηρημένοις. λέγει γοῦν Χρῆσιππος (S.V.F. 2, no. 1205) ἐν Μεγάρῳ καταχθῆναι τινα χρυσοῦ ζώνην πεπληρωμένην καταγόμενον. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ βρα αὐτὸν πανδοκεὺς ὁ ὑποδείξαμενος ὀφισθέντα, ἐποφθαλμίσας τῷ χρυσῷ: εἶτα ἐμῆλλον ἐκαομίζεν ἐφ' ἀμάξει

ἀγούσης κόπρον, ὑποκρίνας ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν πεφοροεμένον. ἢ τοίνυν ψυχὴ τοῦ τεθνεώτος ἐφίσταται Μεγαρεῖ τιμῆ, καὶ λέγει βρα τε ἐπαθε καὶ ὑφ' οὗτου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκαομίζεσθαι μέλλοι καὶ κατὰ ποίας τίλας. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤκουσε βράθυμος τὰ λεχθέντα κρεφαῖος δὲ διαναστάς καὶ παραφυλάξας τοῦ ζέγγουσι ἐπελάβετο, καὶ ἀνίχνευσε τὸν νεκρὸν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτάφη, ὁ δὲ ἐκολάσθη. Cf. Suid. s. v. ζῶνη, κρεφαῖος; also 2, 135 infra. Our passage = von Arnim, S.V.F. 2, no. 1204, from Chrysippus' work on dreams; cf. Thiaucourt, *Essai sur les Traités philosoph. de Cic.* (1885), 258-259. For another tale of the murder of a guest by an innkeeper cf. de Inv. 2, 14-15.

5. Megaram: in Greek the word is plural and so usually in Latin (including 2, 135). For other cases of the singular in Latin cf. Madvig, *Emendat. Livian. 2* ed. (1877), 341-342.

6. devertiase, ad hospitem: cf. *Fin.* 5, 4: ad hospitem . . . devertisse.

7. concubia nocte: cf. Liv. 25, 9, 8; Flor. 2, 13, 37; in Cicero only here. The adjective is used only with the noun *nox*. For its meaning cf. Censor. *de Die nat.* 24, 6: antiqui prima face dicebant; deinde concubium, cum ilium est cubitum; exinde intempesta, id est multa nox . . . tunc ad mediam noctem dicitur, etc.; Non. p. 91 M.: concubia nocte, primi somni, etc. In Varr. *L.L.* 6, 7 we read: intempestatam Aelius dicebat cum tempus agendi est nullum, quod alii concubium appellarunt, quod omnes fere tunc cubarent; 7, 78. On phrases used by Cicero for the different parts of the day cf. Landgraf on *pro Rosc. Amer.* 19.

perterritum somnio surrexisse; dein cum se conlegisset idque visum pro nihilo habendum esse duxisset recubuisse; tum ei dormienti eundem illum visum esse rogare ut, quoniam sibi vivo non subvenisset, mortem suam ne inultam esse pateretur; se interfectum in plaustrum a caupone esse coniectum et supra stercus iniectum; petere ut mane ad portam adesset prius quam plaustrum ex oppido exiret. Hoc vero eum somnio commotum mane bubulco praesto ad portam fuisse, quaesisse ex eo quid esset in plastro; illum perterritum fugisse, mortuum erutum esse, cauponem re patefacta poenas dedisse.

XXVIII. 58. Quid hoc somnio dici divinius potest? Sed quid aut plura aut vetera quaerimus? Saepe tibi meum narraui, saepe ex te audivimus tuum somnium: me, cum Asiae pro cos. praessem, vidisse in quiete cum tu

10. divinius potest C. Christ, Baier, potest divinius O, Müller.

12. pro cos. Müller, procos B, procos AV, prouinciis HO, exc. Pith., pro consule Christ, Baier, proconsul codd. dell. Gruter, aliique.

1. **cum se conlegisset:** cf. *Tusc.* 4, 78: *dum se ipsi colligant—quid est autem se ipsum colligere nisi dissipatas animi partis rursus in suum locum cogere?*

2. **recubuisse:** the idea of renewed action is still kept in the prefix, as in *Suet. Tib.* 72.

3. **ut . . . ne:** frequent in Cicero, especially with the two conjunctions separated by one or more words.

5. **stercus:** cf. the *Lex Iulia municipalis* (*C.I.L.* 1, 206 = *Dessau* 6085), vv. 66-67: *quae plostra noctu in urbem inducta erunt quo minus ea plostra inania aut stercoris exportandae causa post solem ortum h<oris> X diei bubus iumentisve iuncta in u<rbe> R<oma> et ab u<rbe> R<oma> p<assus> M. esse liceat e<ius> h<ac> l<egc> n<ihil> r<ogatur>.*

7. **bubulco praesto:** for *praesto* with the dative cf. *ad Att.* 3, 8, 2: *mihī praesto fuit.*

7. **fuisse, quaesisse, etc.:** the asyndeton indicates the quick succession of events.

10. **quid . . . potest:** cf. 1, 56; 1, 59; 1, 81; 1, 106; al.

11. **vetera:** cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

12. **tuum:** cf. 1, 22, n. (*poteris*).

12. **me:** roughly corresponding to 1, 59: *venio nunc ad tuum.*

12. **Asiae pro cos. praessem:** Q. Cicero was praetor in 62 B.C., when the case of Archias was tried before him (*Schol. Bob.* p. 175 Stangl). Probably the next year, 61, he went as governor to Asia, for *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1 1 (written at the end of 60 or the beginning of 59) says: *non dubitabam quin . . . ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo;* cf. 1, 1, 8: *praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium, etc.* He left Asia before the first of May, 58 (*ad Att.* 3, 9, 1). In another place (*ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1, 22: *quam incunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse*) his rank is not recognized as proconsular, and some editors object that *pro cos.* in our passage is opposed to the facts, and needs emendation. But for the advancement of an ex-praetor to the title of proconsul evidence is so abundant as to require no argument; cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 1 (1873), 379, and n. 5. For the expression *Asiae . . . praessem* cf. 1, 2: *quibus nationibus praefuimus.*

12. **vidisse . . . cum:** Thoresen (in his edition, 221) compares *de Or.* 3, 87: *virum . . . videbamus, philosopho cum operam daret, Q. Tuberonem;* *Ov. Am.* 3, 11, 13: *vidi cum . . . prodiret amator;* cf. the phrases *audisse cum* (*N.D.* 1, 58) and *memini cum* (*ad Fam.* 7, 28, 1).

equo advectus ad quandam magni fluminis ripam provectus subito atque delapsus in flumen nusquam apparuisses, me contremuisse timore perterritum; tum te repente laetum exstitisse eodemque equo adversam ascendisse ripam, nosque inter nos esse complexos. Facilis coniectura huius somni, mihi que a peritis in Asia praedictum est fore eos eventus rerum qui acciderunt. 59. Venio nunc ad tuum. Audivi equidem ex te ipso, sed mihi saepius noster Sallustius narravit, cum in illa fuga, nobis gloriosa, patriae calamitosa, in villa quadam campi Atinatis maneres magnamque

S. somnii C. Müller.

[196]12. τα: cf. Arist. *de Div. per Somn.*

2 p. 464 a 27 fl.: τὸ δὲ τινὰς ἐβουνοῦρους εἶναι καὶ τὸ τοῖς γυρωμίωσι περὶ τῶν γυρωμίωσι μάλιστα προορᾶν συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ μάλιστα τοῖς γυρωμίωσι ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων φροντίζειν: ὥσπερ γὰρ πόρρω ὄντων τάχιστα γυρωρίζουσι καὶ αἰσθάνονται, οὕτως καὶ τῶν κινήσεων· αἱ γὰρ τῶν γυρωμίωσι γυρωμιώτεροι κινήσεις.

2. *delapsus in flumen*: cf. Ps.-Hippocr. *de Insomn.* 93 (of dreams): ποταμῶν διαβάσεις καὶ ὄψιται . . . νοῦσον σημαίνει ἢ μανίην; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 27: ποτηρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν ποταμῷ ἐστάναι καὶ περιελάττωσθαι καὶ μὴ ὑπνοῦσθαι ἐξελεθεῖν.

2. *nusquam apparuisses*: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 66; 3, 2. With the temporary submersion and reappearance of the horse cf. the story in 1, 73, in which, as here, the words *exstitit* and *laetus* are used.

4. *nos . . . inter nos*: cf. *ad Att.* 10, 4, 10; also *N. D.* 1, 71: *vos inter vos*.

4. *inter nos esse complexos*: cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 2: ἀσπάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς συνήθειος καὶ προσαγορεύειν καὶ καταφιλεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἡδεῖς γὰρ λόγου καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι σημαίνει; 4, 6: ὅσοι συναντῶσι καὶ ὅσοι βλέπονται, ἀνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, οἱ μὲν φίλοι τε καὶ ἐνεργεῖται καὶ τὸ ὄλον οἱ μὴ βλάπτοντες ἢ μὴ βλάψαντες, ζῶντες τε καὶ νεκροί, ἀγαθοί, οἱ δὲ βλάπτοντες ἢ βλάψαντες ποτηροί: εἰκόνας γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς ὀρωμιῶνους χρῆ λογίζεσθαι, ἀγαθῶν μὲν τοὺς φίλους, κακῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς; Astrampsych. *Onirocr.* p. 4 Rigalt.: ἐχρηστον ἀνδρὶ συμπλακῆναι φιλήτατα.

4f. *coniectura . . . somni*: cf. 2, 129.

5. *eos eventus*: Cicero's exile and return.

6. *audivi, etc.*: cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, 5: *ac ne illud quidem involvendum silentio.*

*inimicorum conspiratione urbe pulsus M. Cicero, cum in villa quadam campi Atinatis deversaretur, animo in somnum profuso per loca deserta et invidiosas regiones vaganti sibi C. Marium consulatus ornatum insignibus pulvis obvium factum, interrogantem eum quid ita tam tristis vultu incerto itinere ferretur. audito deinde casu quo conficiabatur, comprehendisse dexteram suam ac se proximo lictori in monumentum ipsius duendum tradidisse, quod diceret ibi esse ei laetioris status spem repositam. nec aliter evenit; in aede Iovis Mariano senatus consultum de reditu est eius factum; cf. 2, 136-137; 2, 140 infra. For other noteworthy dreams of Cicero cf. Suet. *Aug.* 94; Zonar. 10, 13.*

7. *Sallustius*: as to his identity there is doubt. Cicero's letters contain rather numerous references to Sallustius, but it is by no means certain that all are to the same man. It seems most likely that this was a freedman of Cicero, and to him there may be a reference in *ad Fam.* 14, 4, 6: *Sallustius officio vincit omnes*. For the companions of Cicero on his journey into exile see Smith in *Harv. Study in Class. Philol.* 7 (1896), 79, and nn. 3-4.

7f. *nobis gloriosa, patriae calamitosa*: cf. *Parad.* 29: *reditum gloriosum . . . non exitum calamitosum*; Plut. *de Exilio*, 15: οὐδεὶς ἐστιν οὕτως ἀφιλότιμος οὐδ' ἀγενής, ὅς μᾶλλον ἢν ἐβούλετο . . . εἶναι . . . Κλώδιος ὁ ἐκβαλὼν ἢ Κικέρων ὁ ἐκβληθεὶς; Giesecke, *De Philos. vel. quae ad Exilium spectant Sentent.* (1891), 51-52. With *gloriosa* contrast *pro Sest.* 53: *illo ipso die qui mihi funestus fuit, omnibus bonis luctuosus, cum ego me e complexu patriae . . . eripuissem*; cf. in *Vat.* 6.

partem noctis vigilasses, ad lucem denique arte et graviter dormire te coepisse; itaque, quamquam iter instaret, tamen silentium fieri iussisse se neque esse passum te excitari; cum autem expectatus esses hora secunda fere, te sibi somnium narravisse: visum tibi esse, cum in locis solis maestus errares, C. Marium cum fascibus laureatis quaerere ex te quid tristis esses, cumque tu te patria vi pulsum esse dixisses, prehensisse eum dextram tuam et bono animo te iussisse esse lictorique proximo tradidisse, ut te in monumentum suum deduceret, et dixisse in eo tibi salutem fore. Tum et

1. dormire te Müller, dormirete codd. et add., arte te et graviter dormirete F. A. Wolf.

2. tamen Müller, te tamen CO, se tamen F. A. Wolf et Dobree, Christ, Baier.

3. iussisse se Müller, iussisse codd. et add.

5. C. Marium vulg., Gaium Marium V, G. Marium ABH.

6. tu te patria Moser, aliique, te tu patria ABV, tu patria te H, tu te tua patria Manuinus; an te tua patria P

[197]8. *campi Atinatis*: one of two districts is here in mind: (1) that about the Volscian town of Atina, ten miles east of Arpinum, near the river Melpa, but not on any direct road; (2) that near a Lucanian town (the modern Atena) on the Via Popilia, about twenty-five miles south of Nares Lucanae (from which *ad Alt.* 3, 2 was written on 8 April, 58), and directly on the course which his letters indicate that he took; cf. Smith, *op. cit.* 80-84. Furthermore, the former region he calls (*pro Planc.* 19) the *praefectura Atinas*, whereas Plin. *N.H.* 2, 225 uses the term *campus Atinas* (cf. 2, 137 *infra* for the neighborhood of the Lucanian town. And as Smith (*op. cit.* 80) well notes, at the time when Cicero was in Lucania the journey was pressing (*quamquam iter instaret*) in a way in which it was not at the time when he might have been near the Volscian town.

[197]8. *manere*: of an overnight stay; cf. 1, 26, n. (*mansurus*).

1. *arte*: cf. *Rep.* 6, 10: *me . . . artior quam solebat sompnus complexus est.*

4f. *in locis solis . . . errares*: cf. 1, 40: *sola . . . errare videbar*; Ps.-Hippocr. *de Insomn.* p. 16 Kühn: *πλάνοι καὶ ἀναβάσαις ἢ φαντασμάτων χαλεπὰ ταῦτα σηματοῦσι.* For *solis* in the sense of *solitariis* cf. Ter. *Andr.* 406; Sall. *Jug.* 103, 1; Nep. *Eum.* 8, 6; Sil. *Ital.* 3, 429.

5. *Marium*: cf. 2, 140; *post Red. ad Quir.* 9-10; *pro Sest.* 50: *memineram,*

iudices, divinum illum virum atque ex isdem quibus nos radicibus natum ad salutem huius imperi, C. Marium, etc.; Patin, *Études sur la Poésie lat.* 2 (1883), 422-426.

5. *cum fascibus*: cf. 1, 119 (and note): *cum purpurea veste*; 2, 136.

5. *fascibus laureatis*: insignia of the triumphing general, later extended to consuls on other occasions; cf. Hilberg in *Wiener Stud.* 25 (1903), 329-330. The purpose of the laurel was probably at first purificatory and then prophylactic (Ogle in *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* 31 (1910), 290 ff.; the doubts of Reid in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 2 (1912), 45-46 seem hardly justified). Thus the *triumphator* wore a laurel crown, carried a branch in his hand, had his fasces decorated with it, and it appears on his chariot, his horses, and worn by his soldiers. For the evidence for these uses cf. Ogle, *op. cit.* 292, n. 1, and to his collection of cases of laurel on the fasces add: *in Pison.* 97; *pro Lig.* 7 (cf. Priscian in *G.L.K.* 3, 498); Caes. *B.C.* 3, 71, 3; *Mon. Ancyr.* 1, 4; Dio Cass. 41, 52, 1; 54, 25, 4; Plut. *Lucull.* 36; *Pomp.* 31; Cassiod. *Var.* 9, 23.

5f. *quid tristis esses*: cf. 1, 103: *quid tristis es?*

7. *bono animo . . . esse*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 87; *Rep.* 1, 29.

7. *iussisse esse*: an unusual cacophony.

se exclamasse Sallustius narrat reditum tibi celerem et gloriosum paratum, et te ipsum visum somnio delectari. Nam illud mihi ipsi celeriter nuntiatum est ut audivisses in monumento Mari de tuo reditu magnificentissimum illud senatus consultum esse factum referente optumo et clarissimo viro consule, idque frequentissimo theatro incredibili clamore et plausu comprobatum, dixisse te nihil illo Atinati somnio fieri posse divinius.

XXIX. 60. At multa falsa. Immo obscura fortasse nobis. Sed sint falsa quaedam; contra vera quid dicimus? Quae quidem multo plura evenirent si ad quietem integri iremus. Nunc onusti cibo et vino perturbata et confusa cernimus. Vide quid Socrates in Platonis Politia loquatur.

[198]8. **monumentum**: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 138 M.: *monumentum est quod et mortui causa aedificatum est et quicquid ob memoriam alicuius factum est, ut fana, porticus, etc.* Thus we have mentioned (Tac. Ann. 3, 72, 1) the *basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta*; and (id. 4, 7, 3): *monumentis Cn. Pompei* (cf. Sen. Dial. 6, 22, 5); also *pro Mil.* 17: *is* (sc. Clodius) *in monumentis maiorum suorum sit interfectus*, i.e., on the Appian Way.

The *Mariana monumenta* are mentioned by Val. Max. 2, 5, 6; 4, 4, 8; who in telling this story (1, 7, 5) says that the senate met in *aede Iovis Mariana*. But Festus p. 344 M. says: *summissionem aliis aedem Honoris et Virtutis C. Marius fecit, ne is forte officeret auspiciis publicis, augures eam demoliri cogerent*; cf. Vitruv. 7, praef. 17; C.I.L. I, p. 290; VI, 1315; XI, 1831 (=Dessau 59): *de manubiis Cimbric. et Teuton. aedem Honori et Virtuti victor fecit*. Further Cicero clearly states (*pro Sest.* 116): *semel, inquam, se ludis homo popularis commisit omnino, cum in templo Virtutis honos habitus esset virtuti, Gaique Mari, conservatoris huius imperi, monumentum municipi eius et reipublicae defensori sedem ad salutem praebuisset*; cf. *pro Planc.* 78: *senatus consulto quod in monumento Mari factum est, quo mea salus omnibus est gentibus commendata*. On the complicated question of the site of this temple see Jordan, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1, 2 (1885), 44, n., who thinks that it was probably on the side of the Arx toward the Forum.

1. **reditum . . . celerem et gloriosum**: cf. *ad Fam.* 6, 6, 2: *memini me ex multis hospitibus qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire te de glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare*.

3f. **magnificentissimum, etc.**: cf. in *Pison.* 34: *me Kalendis Ianuariis, qui dies post obitum occasumque nostrum rei publicae primus inluxit, frequentissimum senatus, concursu Italiae, referente clarissimo ac fortissimo viro, P. Lentulo, consentiente atque una voce revocavit*; *pro Sest.* 117; 128; *post Red. in Sen.* 27; *post Red. ad Quir.* 11; *de Dom.* 75.

4f. **clarissimo viro**: P. Cornelius Lentulus, frequently praised in the accounts cited above.

5. **theatro**: cf. *pro Sest.* 117: *cum vero ipse qui ludos faciebat consul adsedit, stantes ei manibus passis gratias agentes et lacrimantes gaudio suam erga me benivolentiam ac misericordiam declararunt*.

5. **clamore et plausu**: for uses of this phrase cf. Gudeman's 2nd edition of Tac. *Dial.* (1914), 492.

7. **at**: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).

9. **integri**: as opposed to *onustis cibo et vino*; cf. 1, 81, n. (*animi . . . integri . . . vitiosus . . . corporis*). For the effects of food on dreams see 1, 62 and notes.

10. **Platonis Politia**: 9, pp. 571c-572b: *ἵσταν τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδη, ὅσον λογιστικὸν καὶ ἡμερον καὶ ἄρχον ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ θηριώδες τε καὶ ἀγριον ἢ σίτων ἢ μέθης πλησθέν, σκιρτᾷ τε καὶ ἀπώσασκενος τὸν ὕπνον ζητῆναι καὶ ἀποσιμῆλαι τὰ αὐτοῦ ἕθη. οἷσθ' ὅτι πάντα ἐν τῷ τοιαύτῳ τοῦμᾳ ποιεῖν, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης λελυμένων τε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένων αἰσχυρῆς*

Dicit enim: 'Cum dormientibus ea pars animi quae mentis et rationis sit particeps sopita langueat, illa autem in qua feritas, quaedam sit atque agrestis inmanitas, cum sit inmoderato obstupefacta potu atque pastu, exsultare eam in somno inmoderateque iactari. Itaque huic omnia visa obiciuntur a mente ac ratione vacua, ut aut cum matre corpus miscere videatur aut cum quovis alio vel homine vel deo, saepe belua, atque etiam trucidare aliquem et impie cruentari multaque facere impure atque taetrum cum temeritate et impudentia. 61. At qui salubri et moderato cultu

καὶ φρονήσεως. μητρὶ τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν μίγνυσθαι, ὡς οἴεται, οὐδὲ δανεῖ ἄλλω τε ὄψεσιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν καὶ θηρίων, μισαιφονεῖν τε δειούν, βρώματός τε ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός· καὶ ἐπὶ λόγῳ οὔτε ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει οὐτ' ἀναισχυντίας. ἀληθέστατα, ἴφη, λέγεις. ὅταν δέ γε, οἶμαι, ἰγυειῶς τις ἔχη αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕπρον ἴη τὸ λογιστικῶν μὲν ἡγεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰστιάσας λόγων καλῶν καὶ σφέτων, εἰς σύννοιαν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἀφιέμενος, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν δὲ μήτε ὠδὲρ δοῖν μήτε πλησμονῆ, ὅπως ἂν κοιμηθῆ καὶ μὴ παρὶχρ θόρυβον τῷ βελτίστῳ χαῖρον ἢ λυπούμενον, ἀλλ' ἔφ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μόνον καθαρὸν σκοπεῖν καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι τοῦ καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι ὃ μὴ οἶδεν, ἢ τι τῶν γενομένων ἢ ὄντων ἢ καὶ μελλόντων, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς πρᾶσις καὶ μὴ τισιν εἰς ὄργας ἐλθῶν κεκνημένῳ τῷ θυμῷ καθεύδῃ, ἀλλ' ἠσυχάσας μὲν τῷ βίῳ εἶδη, τὸ τρίτον δὲ κινήσας, ἐν ᾧ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐγγίγνεται, οὕτω ἀναπαύεται, οἶσθ' ὅτι τῆς τ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπτεται. It will be seen that the translation is extremely free, being indeed hardly more than a paraphrase. Another long translation from the *Republic* of Plato is found in Cic. *Rep.* 1, 66-67. The present passage is quoted by Stob. *Anthol.* 3, 1, 57 Wachsmuth, and translated by Chalcidius.

1. *ea pars*, etc.: for the psychology cf. 1, 70, n. (*eam partem*, etc.), and with the passage here quoted from Plato cf. Synes. *de Insomn.* 7; Terzaghi in *Stud. ital. di Filol. class.* 12 (1904), 182.

2. *feritas*, etc.: cf. *Off.* 1, 157: *feritas . . . quaedam et immanitas*; 3, 32: *feritas et immanitas*; *Tusc.* 4, 66: *immanitate et feritate*. Similarly Cicero often couples *ferus* and *immanis*; cf. Merguet, *Lexikon s. d. philol. Schriften*, 2 (1892), 44.

3f. *inmoderato . . . inmoderate*: probably not a careless but an intentional repetition, to show the exact correspondence of cause and effect.

3. *obstupescit*: cf. Val. Max. 3, 8, ext. 6: *ex nimio haustu frigoris obstupescit nervis*. Christ, however, combining the *πλησθῆν* of Plato, the *επιπυεῖσθαι* of B, and the *ιυμεῖσθαι* of cod. *Eliensis*, emended to *επιυμεῖσθαι*.

4. *exsultare*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 68; 3, fr. 1; *Tusc.* 4, 13; al.

5. *a . . . vacua*: cf. *Fal.* 2; *Fin.* 5, 1.

5. *cum matre*: the Greek of this passage is quoted by Plut. *de Virt. et Vit.* 2. On this subject cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 79; 4, 20; for instances see Soph. *O. T.* 981-982: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦδη κὰν δειρασιν βροτῶν / μητρὶ συνηνώσθησαν (also Jebb's note); Hdt. 6, 107; Dio Cass. 37, 52, 2; 41, 24, 2; Suet. *Iul.* 7; Plut. *Caes.* 32; Paus. 4, 26, 3; Shakesp. *As you like it*, 1, 2, 187 ff.; Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 2 ed. (1909), 181-187; Rank, *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung u. Sage* (1912), esp. 417, n. 3; Robert, *Oedipus*, 1 (1915), 45; 2 (1915), 15. See also Agathias, 2, 24; 2, 31.

6. *homine vel deo*: with no reference to gender; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2, 632, and the note of Servius, who considers this an imitation of the Greek *θεός*. So Plato has here *ὄψεσιν*, κτλ.

6. *belua*: for such dreams cf. Achmet, *Onirocr.* 132.

7. *cruentari*: the Greek *βρώματος . . . ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός* may refer to cannibalism. As examples Adam well compares Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* 7, 6, p. 1148 b 20 ff.

8ff. *at qui . . . tum eveniet*: *ana-coluthon*.

atque victu quieti se tradiderit, ea parte animi quae mentis et consili est agitata et erecta saturataque bonarum cogitationum epulis, eaque parte animi quae voluptate alitur nec inopia enecta nec satietate affluenti

1. consilii C, Müller.

[200]8f. *salubri et moderato cultu atque victu*: not only is the effect of overeating upon the mental processes in general often noted (e.g., *N.D.* 2, 43: *cibo quo uisare interesse aliquid ad mentis aciem pulant*; *Com. Gr.* 3, 613, no. 1234 Kock: *παχεία γαστήρ λεπτόν οὐ τρεπεῖ νόον*; *Hier. Ep.* 22, 17, 2: *illico mens repleta torpescit*; 52, 11, 4: *pinguis venter non gignit sensum tenuem*), but its effect upon dreams in particular was frequently remarked, e.g., 1, 115; 2, 119; *Pers.* 2, 57, and schol.; *Tert. de An.* 43: *quid si et esum et potum de naturae sortibus eximas? nam et in his plurima somni praeparatura est*; 48. Not only does gluttony produce bad or false dreams (e.g., *Artemid. Onirocr.* 1, 7: *εἰ γε ἐμετροὶ τροφαὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἐφ' παρήκουσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές*; *Max. Tyr.* 16, 1: *ὡτίππον γὰρ τί ἐστιν ἀτεχνῶς οὐτοσί ὁ θεῦρο βίος, καθ' ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ κατορωρυγμένη ἐν σώματι ὑπὸ κόρου καὶ πλεθμονῆς μόλις πως ονειρώττει τὰ ὄντα, ἔρχονται δὲ ταῖς μὲν τῶν πολλῶν ψυχαῖς ὄνειροι δι' ἠλεφαντίνων πυλῶν· εἰ δὲ πού τις ἐστί καθαρά ψυχὴ καὶ ἠφάλιος, καὶ ὀλίγα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῦρο κόρου καὶ τῆς πλεθμονῆς ἠπιταραττομένη, εἰσὶ πού ταύτῃ δι' ἐτέρων ἰσῶτα ἀπαντῶν ὄνειρα σαφῆ καὶ διακεκριμένα καὶ ἐγγύτατα τῷ ἀληθεῖ*; *Basil. Ep.* 22, 3; *Nicephor.* p. 10 Rigalt.; and cf. the prescriptions of diet in *Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomniis*), but the effect of normal food and drink is such that dreams are reliable only after midnight, or, according to some, towards morning, when the digestive processes have quieted down. Cf. *Arist. de Div. per Somn.* 1, p. 463 a 7; *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 286; *Everett in Class. Rev.* 14 (1900), 153-154; *Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 4-5; 15; *Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 930, n. 2; to which add *Hor. Sat.* 1, 10, 33, and *Porphyrus's* note; *Tert. de An.* 45; 48; *Tennyson, Morle d' Arithur*, fin.: "to dawn, when dreams / Begin to feel the truth and stir of day.

Certain kinds of food are also unfavorable for true dreams (*Plut. M. Cato*, 23; *Quaest. Conv.* 8, 10, 1: *οἱ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν βρωμάτων ἕνια δυσόνειρα καὶ παρακτικά τῶν καθ' ἑπνον ὄνων, μαρτυροῖσι ἔχρῶντο τοῖς τε πύμοις* (cf. 1, 62 *infra*, and notes) *καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ πολυπόδοι, ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύουσι τοὺς θεομένους τῆς διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων μαρτυρίας*), as certain others might be conducive to divination, e.g., the diet prescribed for the Pythia before she prophesied, and the regimen prescribed for those practising incubation (*Deubner, op. cit.* 14-17). Even the autumn season, on account of its fresh fruits, might be productive of false dreams; cf. *Plut. Quaest. Conv.* 8, 10, 2-3; *Serv. Aen.* 6, 284; *Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.* 1, 287.

In general, true dreams come to those who live *κατ' ἀρετὴν* (*Synes. de Insomn.* 19; cf. *Strab.* 16, p. 761), and *Philostratus (Vit. Apollon.* 3, 42) notes that purity and health are requisites for the correct presaging of events; cf. *id.* 8, 7, 9. According to *Callaway (Relig. Syst. of the Amazulu* (1868/70), 387, n. 1), the Amazulu say that 'the continually stuffed body cannot see secret things,' and so put no faith in a fat diviner.

The theory of the effect of food upon mental action may date from the primitive conception of the liver as the seat of intelligence; cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); 1, 131, n. (*Democritus*).

2. *agitata*: cf. 2, 129; *Rep.* 6, 29: *agitatus et exercitatus animus*.

2. *erecta*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 71: *animo erecto*; *de Sen.* 75.

2. *bonarum cogitationum*: cf. 1, 121.

2. *epulis*: an unusual metaphor in Latin, translating one more familiar in Greek; cf. the passages collected by *Moser ad h. loc.*

3. *nec inopia*: cf. *Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomn.* p. 3 Kühn: *ψυχὴ παραμένει . . . οὐτε πλεθμονῇ τιμὴ κραθηδία οὐτε κενώσει.*

(quorum utrumque praestringere aciem mentis solet, sive deest naturae quippiam sive abundat atque affluit), illa etiam tertia parte animi in qua irarum existit ardor sedata atque restincta, tum eveniet duabus animi temerariis partibus compressis ut illa tertia pars rationis et mentis eluceat et se vegetam ad somniandum acremque praebeat, tum ei visa quietis occurrent tranquilla atque veracia.' Haec verba ipsa Platonis expressi.

XXX. 62. Epicurum igitur audiemus potius? Namque Carneades concertationis studio modo hoc modo illud ait; ille quod sentit, sentit autem nihil umquam elegans, nihil decorum. Hunc ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? qui ut rationem non redderent auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Iubet igitur Plato sic ad somnum pro-

2. affluit *codd. dett.*, O. *edd.*, effluit C. diffluit *Marsus*, afluat *Christ.*

8. modo hoc modo illud ait *Madrig, Müller*, modo ait (aut H) hoc modo at C, *Baüer*, modo ait hoc modo illud ait *Christ.*

Yet fasting is often enjoined to make the soul acquire supernatural powers and prophetic ability; cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Develop. of the moral Ideas*, 2 (1908), 292-293; also Lecky, *Hist. of Europ. Morals*, 1, 3 ed. (1888), 368, n. 2, who remarks that prescience of the soul has been principally sought in either one of two ways, ascetic attenuation of the body or magic stimulation (cf. 1, 80 infra).

1. praestringere aciem mentis: cf. *Fin.* 4, 37: *aciem animorum nostrorum virtutis splendore praestringitis.*

4. pars rationis et mentis: cf. *Ac.* 1, 11: *illam partem bene vivendi; Fin.* 3, 9: *una pars est naturae, disserendi altera, vivendi tertia.*

5. vegetam: in *Tusc.* 1, 41 this word is applied to the *mens*; cf. 1, 115 infra; Adam on *Plat. Rep.* 9, p. 572a.

7. Epicurum: for his views upon dreams see Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 224-225; also 1, 99 infra.

7. Carneades: his methods are described by *Lact. Inst.* 5, 14, 3-4 (quoting *Cic. Rep.* 3, 9): *cum legatus ab Atheniensibus Romam missus esset disputavit de iustitia copiose audiente Galba et Catone Censorio, maximis tunc oratoribus. sed idem disputationem suam postridie contraria disputatione subvertit et iustitiam quam pridie laudaverat sustulit non quidem philosophi gravitate, cuius firma et stabilis debet esse sententia, sed quasi oratorio*

exercitii genere in utramque partem disserendi, quod ille facere solebat ut alios quidlibet adserentes posset refutare; cf. Ritter and Preller, Hist. Philos. Gr. 9 ed. (1913), 446, n.c.

8. modo hoc modo illud: cf. *N.D.* 1, 47: *vos quidem, Lucili, soletis (nam Cotta meus modo hoc modo illud);* and the numerous parallels collected by Reid on *Ac.* 2, 121.

10. ut . . . tamen: cf. *Fat.* 43; al.

10. auctoritate: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 39: *errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam cum istis vera sentire (cf. Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. 24); 1, 49: ut enim rationem Plato nullam adferret—vide quid homini tribuam—, ipsa auctoritate me frangeret.* So in *N.D.* 2, 32 Plato is called *quasi quendam deum philosophorum*, and in *Tusc.* 1, 79: *Panaetius Platonem omnibus locis divinum, sapientissimum, sanctissimum, Homerum philosophorum appellat.* On the other hand, against reliance upon auctoritas, cf. *N.D.* 1, 10: *obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur . . . tantum opinio praedjudicata poterat ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas.* And cf. 2, 119 infra against the reliance upon Plato and Pythagoras.

11. minutos: cf. *Orat.* 94: *abusionem quam κάρχησιον vocant, ut cum minutum dicimus animum pro parvo; de Or.* 3, 169; *de Sen.* 85: *ut quidam minuti philosophi censent (probably of the Epicureans);*

ficisci corporibus adfectis ut nihil sit quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat. Ex quo etiam Pythagoriis interdictum putatur ne faba vescerentur, quod habet inflationem magnam is cibus tranquillitati mentis

2. Pythagoris Boier, Müller, pythagoricis C. Christ, Pythagoreis Gellius.

Fin. 1, 61: *alii minuti et angusti*; Reid on *Ac.* 2, 75. In *Tusc.* 1, 55 the philosophers opposed to Plato and Socrates are called *plebei*.

[202]11. *iubet*: cf. Gell. 4, 11, 3-4: *ex eadem item opinione M. Cicero in libro de divinatione primo haec verba posuit: iubet igitur Plato . . . ne faba vescerentur, quae res habet inflationem magnam tranquillitatem [sic] mentis quaerentibus contrariam. haec quidem M. Cicero.*

1. *corporibus adfectis*: cf. *Off.* 1, 79: *exercendum tamen et ita afficiendum est ut oboedire consilio rationique possit.*

2. *Pythagoriis, etc.*: on taboos affecting various kinds of food, both animal and vegetable, cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Develop. of the moral Ideas*, 2 (1908), 290-345; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 117-119; Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 254; 260. Prominent among such foods were beans, being on certain occasions avoided by Hindus (von Schröder, *Pythag. u. d. Inder* (1884), 35) and generally by the Egyptians (Hdt. 2, 37; Plut. *Symp.* 8, 8, 2; *Is. et Osir.* 5), rejected by Eleusinian and Orphic initiates (Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis* (1905), 14), in rites of incubation (Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 15-16), by Empedocles (cf. Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 214, no. 141), and, most prominently, by Pythagoras, who in his *Symbola* laid down several other sorts of food taboo (Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 317, nn. 4-5; Boehm, *op. cit.* 17-27). These *symbola*, as is generally known (Diels in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos.* 3 (1890), 466), contain much that is borrowed from contemporaneous folk-lore, and many superstitious beliefs were fathered upon Pythagoras; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 213-214. At Rome beans were taboo to the *flamen Dialis* (Gell. 10, 15, 12). That the insis-

tence here laid by Cicero upon the flatulence caused by beans (cf. the passages collected by Roscher in *Abh. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 20 (1903), 27, n. 65; Boehm, *op. cit.* 16; to which add Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 95; Athen. 3, p. 73a; 9, p. 407f-408b; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 68; Tert. *de An.* 48; Hier. in *Ezech.* 1, p. 44 Vallarsi; cf. Cels. 2, 26, init.; Heidel in *Harb. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 22 (1911), 127) is part of the correct explanation of the advice against eating them is the view of Boehm (*op. cit.* 16). For not only were beans constantly associated with the spirits of the dead, as at the *Lemuria*, etc. (Plin. *N.H.* 18, 118; Roscher, *op. cit.* 27-28; Boehm, *op. cit.* 14-15), but, as a corollary, by eating them one would run the risk either of injuring the souls of the departed or else of being possessed by them; cf. Wunsch, *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta* (1902), 40; Boehm, *op. cit.* 16, who inclines to the latter theory.

Other explanations of the prohibition were numerous, e.g., (1) that beans were the *κεφαλαί τοκήων* (Luc. *Dial. Mort.* 20, 3, and schol. (pp. 253-254 Rabe)); (2) that they contained life (Orig. *c. Cels.* 5, 41); (3) that they caused sterility (Clem. *Strom.* 3, 3); (4) because of a curious tale as to their creation (Orig. *c. Haeres.* 1, 2; cf. Hippol. *Refut.* 1, 2); (5) that the expression is figurative and means not to engage in public life, where beans were used in elections to office (Plut. *de Lib. educ.* 17; Orig. *c. Haeres.* 6, 27; Hippol. *Refut.* 6, 22); or (6) that similarly it means not to engage in jury duty (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 421, no. 27, and n.; 2, 630-631, no. 11). These varied views are parodied by Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 6. For yet other theories see Göttling, *Gesamm. Abhandl.* 1 (1851), 308-310; Jevons, *introd. to Holland's trans. of Plut. Romane Questions* (1892), lxxxvi-xciv, especially lxxxix, n.; Frazer on Paus 8, 15, 4.

quaerenti vera contrariam. 63. Cum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate et a contagione corporis, tum meminit praeteritorum, praesentia

[203]3. **habet:** cf. 2, 96: *dissimilitudo locorum nonne dissimilis hominum procreationes habet?*

[203]3f. **tranquillitati mentis quaerenti vera:** for the hypallage of the adjective cf. *N.D.* 1, 9: *animi aegritudo fortunae magna et gravi commola iniuria*; 2, 98: *fontium gelidas perennitates*; and numerous examples of the figure, more common in verse than in prose, collected by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 220-221. It will be noted that the reading of Gellius at this point is quite different from ours; cf. 1, 6, n. (*iubet*).

1. **sevocatus:** cf. 1, 113-115 (especially 1, 114, n. (*evolans atque excurrunt*) *infra*); 1, 128-129; *Tusc.* 1, 72: *quibusque (sc. animis) suisset minima cum corporibus contagio seseque ab iis semper sevocavissent*; 1, 75: *cum a negotio omni sevocatus animum, quid, inquam, tum agimus, nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus? secessere autem a corpore animum, nec quicquam aliud, est mori discere*; Plat. *Phaed.* p. 67d: τὸ μελέτημα αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν φιλοσόφων, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος (also *id.* p. 81a). Further compare Aesch. *Eum.* 104-105: εὐδουσα γὰρ φῆρ' ὀμμασι λαμπρύνεται, / ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν; Pind. *fr.* 131 Christ: σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ παρῆθεν, / ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εὐδωλον· τὸ γὰρ ἔστι μόνον / ἐκ θεῶν· εὐδὲ δὲ πρᾶσσόντων μελῶν, ἀτὰρ εὐδόντων ἐν πολλοῖς ὄνειροις / δεικνυσι τεργῶν ἐτέρουσαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσειν (on this passage cf. Smyth, *Greek melic Poets* (1906), 376); Ps.-Hippocr. *de Insomn.* p. 1 Kühn: ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐτηγορῶσι μὲν τῷ σώματι ὑπερόντουσα, ἐπὶ πολλὰ μεριζομένη, οὐ γίγνεται αὐτῆ ἐκωτῆς . . . ἀκόταν δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἡσυχάσῃ ἡ ψυχὴ κενωμένη καὶ ὑπερόντουσα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος διακίεσι τὸν ἐκωτῆς οἶκον . . . τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα καθεῖδον οὐκ ἀσθάνεται, ἡ δ' ἐτηγοροῦσα γινώσκει, καθορῆ τε τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ διακοβεῖ τὰ ἀκουστά, βαδίζει, ψαβεῖ, λυπέεται,

ἐθυμῆται, ἐν ὀλίγῳ εὐδουσα, ἀκόσαι τοῦ σώματος ὑπερόσαι ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς, ταῦτα πάντα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ ἔκπῳ διαπρόσεται; Arist. *fr.* 10 Rose: ὅταν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ἕκπῳ καθ' ἑαυτὴν γίνηται ἡ ψυχὴ, τότε τὴν ἴδιον ἀπολαβοῦσα φύσιν προμαρτεβεται τε καὶ προαγορεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα. τοιαύτη δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον χωρίζεσθαι τῶν σωμάτων. ἀποδίδεται γούν καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ὅμηρον ὡς τοῦτο παρατηρήσαστα· πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸν μὲν Πάτροκλον ἐν τῷ ἀναρῆσθαι προαγορεύοντα περὶ τῆς Ἑκτορος ἀναρῆσεως, τὸν δ' Ἑκτορα περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλεύου τελευτῆς; Ael. *V.H.* 3, 11: οἱ περιπατητικοὶ φασὶ μὲν ἡμέραν θητεύουσαν τῆν ψυχὴν τῷ σώματι περιτλέεσθαι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι καθαρῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν θεωρεῖν· νικτωρ δὲ διαλυθεῖσαν τῆς περὶ τοῦτο λειτουργίας καὶ σφαιρωθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸν θώρακα τόπῳ μακροτέρην γίνεσθαι, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐπίπνια; Philo, *de Somn.* 2, 1: συνίσταται δὲ τὸ τρίτω εἶδος (sc. τῶν θεοπέμπτων ὄνειρων) ὅσῳταν ἐν τοῖς ἔκπῳ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κενωμένη καὶ ἀναδοῦσα ἑαυτὴν κορυβατικῆ καὶ ἐθουσιῶσα δύναμι προγνωστικῆ τὰ μέλλοντα θεοπέμπῃ; Iamb. *de Myster.* 3, 3: ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ καθεῖδον ἀπολυόμεθα παρτελῶσι ὡς περ ἀπὸ τιμῶν παρακειμένων ἡμῶν δεσμών, καὶ τῇ κενωρισμένη τῆς γενήσεως ζωῆς χρώμεθα· τότε δὴ οἷον εἶπε ποερὸν εἶπε θεῖον ταῖτον ὑπάρχον εἶπε καὶ ἐν, ἰδίᾳ ἐκάτερον καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἂν τὸ τῆς ζωῆς εἶδος ἀνεγέρεται ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ἢ πέφικω; Tert. *de An.* 45: *cum quies corporibus evenit . . . vacans illa a solacio alieno non quiescit et si caret operis membrorum corporaliu suis usitur*; cf. *id.* 43 fin.; [Clem.] *Recognit.* 2, 13; Eustath. *ad Il.* 16, 854: ὅταν ἀβροσθῆ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐξ ἴδιου τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὸ ἐκκριθῆναι μακροκωτῆ γίνηται; cf. also 1, 110, n. (*vinculis corporis*) *infra*.

2. **societate . . . corporis:** cf. *Fin.* 2, 106.

2. **contagione corporis:** cf. *Tusc.* 1, 72 (quoted in the note on *sevocatus* supra); Macrobi. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 11, 11.

2. **meminit, etc.:** the power of the dreamer is not limited to the future, but to his inspired vision (and, of course, to

cernit, futura providet; iacet enim corpus dormientis ut mortui, viget autem et vivit animus. Quod multo magis faciet post mortem, cum omnino

that of the prophet) all time may lie open, as to the scientific inquiry of the student of cause and effect. So Calchas is described by Homer (*Il.* 1, 70) as one *ὅς ᾄδει τὰ τ' ὄντα τὰ τ' ἔσόμενα πρό τ' ὄντα*; cf. *Il.* 18, 250, and van Leeuwen's note; Hes. *Theog.* 38; Virg. *Georg.* 4, 392-393 (of Proteus): *novit namque omnia vultes / quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura irakantur*; Ov. *Met.* 1, 517-518 (said by Apollo): *per me quod eritque fuitque / estque patet*; Lambl. *de Myster.* 3, 3: *δύναμις ἀπ' αὐτῶν* (sc. τῶν θεῶν) *προσλαμβάνει καὶ γινώσκει ἀναλογισμένη ὅσα τε ἦν καὶ ὅσα ἔσται, θεωρίαν τε παυτῶς χρόνου τοιεῖται καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συμβαινόντων ἰσισκοῦσι τὰ ἔργα*. See also Arist. *de Memor.* 1, p. 449 b 27-28: *τοῦ μὲν παρόντος αἰσθησις, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἐλπίσις, τοῦ δὲ γασομένου μνήμη*; cf. *id.* p. 449 b 10 ff.: *ὅτε γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐνδέχεται μνημονεύειν, ἀλλ' ἔστι δοξαστὸν καὶ ἐπιστὸν (ἐπὶ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐπιστήμη τις ἐπιστιχίη, καθάπερ τινεῖς φασὶ τὴν ματιαν), κτλ.*; Plut. *de Def. Osac.* 39: *ὁ δὲ θεὸς θαυμάζειν οὐδ' ἀπιστεῖν ὀρώσας, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς ματιαν δύναμις, ἣν μνήμην καλοῦμεν, ἤλικον ἔργον ἀποδείκνυται τῷ σῶματι τὰ παρῳχημένα καὶ φυλάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ μὴδὲ δυνάτα: τῶν γὰρ γεγονότων οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὐδ' ὑφέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα γίνεταί πάντα καὶ φέρεται, καὶ πράξει καὶ λόγῳ καὶ παθήματι, τοῦ χρόνου καθάπερ βέματος ἕκαστα παραφέροντος, κτλ.*; Lasaulx, *L'èber die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele* (1858), 38, n. 107; 40, n. 114 (for patristic parallels); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 44; 3 (1880), 147. Late writers (see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 91, n. 2) explained the three legs of the Delphic tripod as symbolizing past, present, and future. For ancient views of the continuity of past, present, and future cf. 1, 128; Aug. *Conf.* 11, 18; Lasaulx, *op. cit.* 33, n. 89. In the prophetic field Epimenides (according to Arist. *Rhet.* 3, p. 1418 a 23 ff.) dealt only with the dark things of the past.

1. *dormientis ut mortui*: cf. 1, 115. The comparison between sleep and death is a commonplace; e.g., Hom. *Il.* 14, 231: *Ἰππῶ . . . κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτῳ*; Od. 13, 79-80: *ὑπὸς . . . θανάτῳ ἀγχιτὰ βουκίης*; Hes. *Theog.* 758-759: *Νυκτὸς παῖδες . . . / Ἰππῶς καὶ Θάνατος*; Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 92: *qui leviores faciunt (sc. mortem) somni simillimam volunt esse*; *ibid.*: *habes somnium imaginem mortis*; Virg. *Aen.* 6, 278: *consanguineus Leti Somnos*; 6, 522: *dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima mortis*; Sil. Ital. 15, 180: *nox similes mori dederat . . . somnos*; *Anthol. Lat. ed.* Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 716, 19: *mortis imago iuvat somnus*. A close parallel is found in Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 7, 21: *ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων θανάτῳ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὑπνοῦ ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς τότε δῆπου θεοτάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ: τότε γὰρ, ὡς δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται (a passage paraphrased in *de Sen.* 81); cf. Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 3, p. 57: *ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀσύγχυτος μένει, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τρόπον τινὰ χωριζομένην τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ, καὶ ὥσπερ νεκρὸν αὐτὸ εἶσθαι καταλείπουσαν, μόνον δὲ ἐξαμύζουσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ζωὴν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς ἀπόληται, καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄντοισι ἐπεργεῖν, θεοπέζουσαν τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τοῖς ποσῆτοῖς πλησιάζουσαν*.*

1. *viget*: cf. 1, 70; Amm. Marc. 14, 11, 18: *solutius enim corporis nexibus animus semper vigens motibus indefessis ex cogitationibus subiectis et curis quae mortalium sollicitant mentes colligit visa nocturna quas phantasias nos appellamus*.

2. *multo magis*, etc.: cf. Diod. 18, 1, 1: *Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος καὶ τινες ἕτεροι τῶν παλαιῶν φυσικῶν ἀπεφῆκαν τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἀθανάτους, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ δόγματι τοῦτω καὶ προηνώσκειν αὐτὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ' ὅσον ἂν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευταίῃ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποῦνται*; Phot. *Biblioth.* p. 439 Bekker (=Suid. s.v. *Ἀθροῦτος*): *ἔλεγον δὲ (sc. οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι) τὸν ἀθροῦτον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ βελτίως κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους γίνεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ τῇ*

corpore excesserit. Itaque adpropinquante morte multo est divinius. Nam et id ipsum vident qui sunt morbo gravi et mortifero adfecti, instare

πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς (ἀνάγκη γὰρ προσίωσται αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ χωρίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς πάσης κακίας, εἰς δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ), δεύτερον ἐν τῷ εὐ ποιεῖν . . . τρίτον ἐν τῷ ἀποθῆσκειν· εἰ γὰρ κατὰ ποσὸν τι ἢ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ ζῆν τὸ ζῶον χωρισμῆν βελτίων γίνεται ἑαυτῆς, ἐν τε τοῖς ἔντροις κατὰ τοὺς ὀνειρούς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκστάσεσι τῶν νόσων μαρτυρῆται, πολλῶν μᾶλλον βελτιοῦται ὅταν τίλειον χωρισθῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.

1. *adpropinquante morte*: cf. 1, 47; 1, 64-65; 1, 80, n. (*dicit Plato*). The belief in the prescience of those about to die is widespread, and doubtless due to a feeling that the soul in *articulo mortis*, and, by extension, even before that time, is in a borderland between the physical and the spiritual worlds, and while still possessing the ability of those in the former state to communicate with their kind, already partakes of the completer knowledge generally ascribed to spirits of the other world (cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 202-203), and is perhaps beginning to associate with such. The belief appears as early as Homer, who describes the dying prophecies of Patroclus to Hector (*Il.* 16, 851-854, and cf. schol. on 854) and Hector to Achilles (*Il.* 22, 356-360; 1, 65 *infra*); cf. the statements about this feature in Homer in Arist. fr. 10 Rose (quoted in note on *senocatus* supra); Xen. *Apol.* 30: ἀνέθηκε μὲν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔστιν οἷς τῶν ἐν καταλόσει τοῦ βίου προγιγνώσκειν τὰ μέλλοντα, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ χρησμοφῆσαι τι; Diod. 18, 1, 2; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 613: *Homerus qui mortuos divinantur frequenter inducit*. Virgil follows Homer in the combined prophecy and curse of Dido (*Aen.* 4, 614 ff.) and the prophecy of the dying Orodes to Moxentius (*Aen.* 10, 739-741), as does Lucan, 7, 610-615, in the prophecy of Domitius. A famous instance is the case of Socrates; cf. Plat. *Apol.* 39c: ἐπιθυμῶ ἡμῖν χρησμοφῆσαι, ὡ καταψήφισαμενοί μου. καὶ γὰρ εἰμι

ἤδη ἐσταῖθα ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησμοφῶσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθαιεῖσθαι; Xen. *Apol.* 30 (quoted above). In general cf. also Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 40: τῶν ὄντων ἔχουσι τὴν δύναμιν αἱ ψυχαὶ σύμφυτον μὲν ἀλλ' ἀμυδρὰν καὶ δυσφάνταστον, ὅμως ἐξαθροῦσι πολλάκις καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τε τοῖς ἐντροίοις καὶ περὶ τὰς τελευταῖς ἡμερας, καθαροῦ γιγνομένου τοῦ σώματος ἢ τινὰ κρᾶσιν οἰκίαν πρὸς τοῦτο λαμβάνοντος, ἢ τῷ λογιστικῶν καὶ φροτιστικῶν ἀνελεσθαι καὶ ἀπολεσθαι τῶν παρόντων τῷ ἄλλῳ καὶ φαντασιαστικῷ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιστροφόμεναι; a passage in Arct. *de Caus. et Sign. acm. Morb.* 2, 4 (too long to be here quoted); Tert. *de An.* 53 fin.: *evenit saepe animam in ipso divorlio potentius agitari sollicitiore obtutu, extraordinaria loquacitate, dum ex maiore suggestu iam in libero constituta per superfluum quod adhuc cunctatur in corpore enuntiat quae videt, quae audit, quae incipit nosse, etc.*; Lact. *ad Stat. Theb.* 7, 701: *aiunt enim futura sentire morituros*; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 775: *sequitur etiam divinatio quae animis liberatis corpore conceditur. unde etiam morientibus datur, ut Orodes Moxentio*; Geffcken in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 337, n. 1. Cicero's view also appears in *de Sen.* 77: *non enim video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor quo ab ea propius absum*.

Among numerous instances of such prophecies may be cited Gen. 48-49 (Jacob's blessing of his sons); 2 Kings, 13, 4-19 (Elisha's prophecy to Joash); Margoliouth in Hastings, *Encyclopf. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 818, for the belief among the Moslems; Diod. 18, 1, 3-5 (Alexander the Great); 19, 11, 9 (Antipater καθάρω χρησμοφῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευταῖης); Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 7, 25; Sozom. 6, 2: αἱ δὲ ἀληθῶς μέλλων τελευτᾶν (sc. ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς) οὐκ ἔλαβον συμβαλεῖν, τῆς ψυχῆς ἤδη χωρισμένης τοῦ σώματος καὶ θεοτέρα ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον θεωρεῖν δυναμένης, τὸν Χριστὸν ἰδέσαστο οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν; 8, 15; 8, 28.

mortem; itaque iis occurrunt plerumque imagines mortuorum, tumque vel maxime laudi student, eosque qui secus quam decuit vixerunt peccatorum suorum tum maxime paenitet. 64. Divinare autem morientes illo etiam exemplo confirmat Posidonius, quod adfert, Rhodium quendam morientem sex aequales nominasse et dixisse qui primus eorum, qui secun-

For later instances cf. Shakespeare, *Rich. II*, 2, 1, 31 ff. (Gaunt's speech); M. Casaubon, *Treatise concerning Enthusiasme* (1655), 42; Browne, *Religio Medici*, part 2, 11 fin.; Sir H. Davy, *Remains* (1858), 311: 'looking into futurity with the prophetic aspirations belonging to the last moments of existence'; Byron, *Childe Harold*, 3, 23: 'death's prophetic ear'; Dyer on Plat. *Apol.* p. 39c; Halliday, *op. cit.* 203, who compares the north British notion of persons as 'fey,' and notes the frequent death-bed prophecies in the pious literature of an earlier generation. See also Rohde, *Psyche*, 1, 4 ed. (1907), 55, n. 1.

For the possible connection of the theory of liver divination with this belief cf. 1, 16, n. (*Assum in extis*). With the prophecies of the dying Plato (*Phaed.* p. 85a) and others connect the song of the dying swan; cf. the passages collected by Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895), 106-107; Hier. *Ep.* 52, 3, 5. Elephants were also credited with the power of foreseeing their approaching death; Opp. *Cyneg.* 2, 544.

[206]2. *nam et*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*et*); Schuppe, *De Anacoluthis Ciceronianis* (1860), 47; Madvig, 3 ed. of *de Finibus* (1876), 787.

[206]2. *morbo . . . mortifero*: the prophetic spirit was often especially associated with pathological physical or mental states; cf. Plat. *Tim.* p. 71e: οὐδέ τις γὰρ ἔνθους ἐφάπτεται μαρτυκῆς ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀλλοῦς, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ ἕνθον . . . ἢ διὰ νόσον ἢ διὰ τινα ἐθνουσιασμόν παραλλάξας; *Phaedr.* p. 244 d: ἀλλὰ μὴν νόσων γε καὶ πόνων τῶν μεγίστων . . . ἢ μαρία ἰγγομομένη καὶ προφητεύσασα οἷς ἴδει, ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρατο, κτλ.; 1, 80-81 infra; Lucr. 1, 133 (quoted below).

[206]2f. *instare mortem*: among many cases of such presentiments of death may

be mentioned those of Nicholas and Thomas Wotton, who, being men of holy lives, foresaw and foretold the exact day of their own death (Walton, *Life of Sir Henry Wotton*, init.).

1. *imagines mortuorum*: cf. Lucr. 1, 132-135: *et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentes / terrificis morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis, / cernere uis videatur eos audireque coram / morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa*; 4, 757-761.

2. *eosque, etc.*: cf. Plat. *Rep.* 1, p. 330d-e: εὐ γὰρ Ἰσθί, Ἰφθ, ὦ Σώκρατες, δεῖ, ἐπειδὴν τις ἐγγύς ἢ τοῦ οἰεσθαι τελευτήσῃν, εἰσέρχεται αὐτῷ βίος καὶ φροντίς περὶ ὧν ἔμπροσθεν οὐκ εἰσῆει. οἱ τε γὰρ λεγόμενοι μῦθοι περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου, ὡς τὸν ἐνθάδε ἀδικήσαντα δεῖ ἐκεῖ δίδόναι δίκην, καταγελῶμενοι τῶς, τότε δὴ στρέφονται αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὦσιν· καὶ αὐτὸς—ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γήρωτος ἀσθενείας ἢ καὶ ὡς περ ἦδη ἐγγυτέρω ὧν τῶν ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον τι καθορᾶ αὐτὰ—ὀφθαλμῶν δ' οὐκ καὶ δέματος μεστὸς γίνεται καὶ ἀναλογίζεται ἦδη καὶ σκοπεῖ εἰ τινα τι ἠδίκησεν, κτλ.

4. *etiam*: this may imply that the argument which precedes is also taken from Posidonius. The punctuation of Giese (*divinare autem morientes etiam, illo exemplo*) is hardly justifiable. That Posidonius has not been cited as a source for the previous part is no reason why he might not be so cited here, and so sharp a distinction as *etiam*, thus punctuated, would make between *adpropinquante morte* and *morientes* seems uncalled for.

4. *Rhodium*: an example, then, which Posidonius might have drawn from his own observation or else from the tradition of his town.

5. *dixisse*: for predictions of this sort by the dying cf. the story of Callanus (1, 47); Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 4, 8.

du, qui deinde deinceps moriturus esset. Sed tribus modis censet deorum adpulsu homines somnare: uno quod provideat animus ipse per sese, quippe qui deorum cognatione teneatur, altero quod plenus aër sit immortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae notae veritatis appareant,

1. deinde deinceps: so in *Leg.* 3, 4; 3, 43. As in *inde deinceps* (Liv. 1, 44, 3), the two words seem to emphasize the two ideas of time and order.

1. *tribus modis*: cf. Tert. *de An.* 46-47: *Stoici deum malunt . . . somnia quoque nobis indidisse . . . nam de oraculis etiam ceteris, apud quae nemo dormitat, quid aliud pronuntiabimus quam daemonicam esse rationem eorum spirituum qui iam tunc in ipsis hominibus habitaverint vel memorias eorum affectaverint ad omnem militiae suae scaenam in ista aequa specie divinitatem mentientes . . . quo nemo dubitaverit domus quoque daemoniis patere nec tantum in adytis sed in cubiculis hominum imaginibus circumvenire . . . tertia species erunt somnia quae sibi mel ipsa anima videtur inducere ex intentione circumstantiarum.*

If. *deorum adpulsu*: cf. 1, 66.

3. *deorum cognatione*: a philosophical and religious commonplace; cf. 1, 110; *N.D.* 1, 91; *Leg.* 1, 24-25: *ex quo vere vel agnatio nobis cum caelestibus vel genus vel stirps appellari potest . . . est igitur homini cum deo similitudo. quod quom ita sit, quae tandem esse potest prior certiorne cognatio?* So Arat. *Phaen.* 5: τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν (and the parallels cited by Maass ad loc.); Mayor on *N.D.* 1, 1; 3, 28; Diod. 37, 20, 2: αἱ ἀνθρώπινα ψυχὰ μετέχουσι θείας τυτῆς φύσεως ἐνίστη προκαταμαντευόμενα τὰ μέλλοντα; Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen* (1860), 19, n. 22; Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 256, n. 4, q.v., who compares the τῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς δαίμονι συγγενεῖ τε ὄντι καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν φύσιν ἔχοντι τῶ τὸν δλον κόσμον διοικοῦντι in which Galen, *de Plac. Hippocr. et Plat.* p. 449 Müller, says Posidonius believed. On the connection between the human soul and the world-soul cf. 1, 70 infra; Lasaulx, *Die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele* (1858), 31, n. 85.

3. *teneatur* = *contineatur* or *sustineatur*; cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 28.

3. *aër*: for the gradual gaining of this word in Cicero over the native Latin *anima* see Fries in *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 55 (1900), 26.

3f. *plenus . . . animorum*: cf. 2, 119; 2, 129; 2, 137; this belief is absent in Homer (cf. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* 30), but appears as early as Hesiod, *Erge*, 122-126: τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς / ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, / [οἱ ἄρα φυλάσσοσιν τε θεῶν καὶ σέχνη ἔργα / ἥερα ἐσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.] / πλουτοδῶται (cf. Rzach's notes). See also Diog. L. 8, 32 (of Pythagoras): εἶναι τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἑμπλεῶν· καὶ ταῦτας δαίμονας τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι. καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τέμπεσθαι ἐν θρώποις τοῖς τ' ὄνειροις καὶ τὰ σημεῖα νόσου τε καὶ ὑγίειας. For their presence in the air see a fragment of Democritus (in Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 366, no. 78); [Plat.] *Epinom.* p. 984c: δαίμονας, ἀέριον δὲ γένος, ἔχον ἕδραν τρίτην καὶ μέσην, τῆς ἐρμηνείας αἰτίων; *Sympos.* pp. 202e-203a: ἐρμηνεῖον καὶ διαπορομείων (sc. πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον) θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς δεξιῶν καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέρω συμπληροῖ, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν αὐτῶ συνδεδέσθαι. διὰ τούτου καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ τᾶσα χωρεῖ (cf. *Apul. Apol.* 43; *de Dro Socr.* 6); Fries in *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 55 (1900), 28-29; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 9, 3 ed. (1913), 104-105. When this doctrine of demons was adopted into the Stoic belief is not certain; Heinze (*Xenocrates* (1892), 98, n. 2; 103) thinks that it was perhaps added by Posidonius, or at any rate later than Chrysippus, whose similar descriptions (in 2, 130 infra) mention no demons, but only gods; cf. Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 41. Develop-

tertio quod ipsi di cum dormientibus conloquantur. Idque, ut modo dixi, facilius event adpropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur. 65. Ex quo et illud est Callani de quo ante dixi, et Homerici Hectoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem denuntiat. XXXI. Neque enim illud verbum temere consuetudo adprobavisset, si ea res nulla esset omnino: Praesagibat animus frustra me ire, cum exirem domo.

ments in the theory of demonism are discussed by Bonhöffer, *Epiktet u. die Stoa*, 1 (1890), 81-86. Dobson (in *Class. Quart.* 12 (1918), 183) observes that our passage and Sext. Emp. 9, 71 are the only certain references to the beliefs of Posidonius in regard to the life after death. The influence of demons on divination was also often pointed out in connection with oracles (Plut. *de Fac. in Orb. Lun.* 30, init.) and prophets (Tambornino, *De Antiquorum Daemonismo* (1909), 59-60), and such explanations of the phenomena of pagan divination are found abundantly in Christian writers, who, for obvious reasons, did not undertake to discredit the possibility of all divination (including prophecy). For the Christian view see Tambornino, *op. cit.* 27-54. The widespread belief in Celtic lands as to divination at Hallowe'en (Frazer, *op. cit.* 10, 3 ed. (1913), 228-245) is doubtless a relic of this idea.

[208]4. *tamquam insignitae notae veritatis*: it is impossible and perhaps unnecessary to decide whether *insignitae* modifies *notae* or *veritatis*. The word is a strong one, however, and is perhaps intended to assert that the truth thus gained is almost (*tamquam*) as clear as that through the Stoic *καταληπτική φαντασία* cf. Diog. L. 7, 54; Sext. Emp. 7, 253; Plut. *de Plac. Phil.* 4, 8; Cic. *Ac.* 1, 41. On this use of *nota* (= *σημείον*) cf. 2, 128; *N.D.* 1, 12; *Ac.* 2, 33; 2, 84, and Reid's note.

1. *di . . . conloquantur*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7, 88-91: *pellibus incubuit stratis somnoscos peliviv, / multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris / et varias audit vices fruiturque deorum / conloquio*; Weinreich (*Antike Heilungswunder* (1909), 76) compares Iambl. *de Myster.* 3, 2: *αὐτῶν*

ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις διετηγερμέναι τυγχάνουσι καὶ συναίσθανονται πῶς εἰς τὸ φῶς οἱ θεοὶ ἐκβαίνονται, ὅσα τε λέγουσιν ἀκούουσι, κτλ.; 3, 3: *ὁκότεν γε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνωθῆ κατὰ τῆν τοιαύτην ἀπόλυτον ἐνέργειαν, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀληθεύσαστα δέχεται τῆνκαῦτα πηλῶματα τῶν νοήσεων*. Plut. says (*de Gen. Socr.* 24): *τὸ θεῖον δόλιγος ἐντυγχάνει δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ σπανίως, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς σημεῖα δίδωσιν ἐξ ὧν ἡ λεγομένη μαντικὴ συνίσταται*; cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* 7, 35: *ὁ Κέλσος φησὶ περὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἀνθρωποειδῶν κατ' αὐτὸν θεῶν, ὅτι ἐβγῆται τις αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἀπαξ παραρρήτασ . . . ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ὁμιλοῦντας*; also the various Biblical cases of talking with God.

1. *ut modo dixi*: 1, 63.

2. *augurentur*: a clear case of the loss of literal meaning in the word.

3. *ex quo*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 9, and Mayor's note.

3. *Callani de quo ante dixi*: 1, 47.

3. *Homerici Hectoris*: cf. *Il.* 22, 355-360: *τὸν δὲ καταθήσκων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ / "ἦ σ' εὐ γινώσκων προτιόσσομαι, οὐδ' ἀρ' ἐμελλον / πεισόμεν": ἦ γὰρ σοὶ γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς, / φράξω τῶν μὴ τοῖ τε θεῶν μήνιμα γένουμαι / ἤματι τῷ δε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων / ἰσθλὸν ἔων' ὀλίωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαίῳσι πύλῃσι."* See also 1, 63, n. (*adpropinquante morte*).

4f. *illud verbum: praesagibat in the quotation*.

5. *nulla*: cf. 1, 81, n. (*nullae*).

6. *praesagibat, etc.*: from Plaut. *Aul.* 178, where the Plautine text reads: *praesagibat mi animus frustra me ire quom exibam domo*. On Cicero's loose quotation of such verses from memory cf. Zillinger, *Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 73 ff. For the shortened form *praesagibat* cf. 1, 40, n. (*stabilibat*).

Sagire enim sentire acute est; ex quo sagae anus, quia multa scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes. Is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est futura ante sentire.

66. Inest igitur in animis praesagatio extrinsecus iniecta atque inclusa divinitus. Ea si exarsit acrius furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur.

H. Sed quid oculis rabere visa es derepente ardentibus?

7. rabere *Muretus*, rapere *C.*

7. visa es *Lambinus*, visa est *CO.*

[209]6. cum exirem domo: beginnings of enterprises and especially the leaving of one's house were significant times for omens and signs, and probably also for forebodings

1. sagire: this definition is quoted by Festus, p. 254 M. in very fragmentary form but is well preserved by Paul. p. 255 M.: praesagatio dicta quod praesagire est acute sentire. unde sagae dictae anus, quae multa sciunt, et sagaces canes, qui ferarum cubilia praesentiunt; cf. Paul. p. 223 M.: praesagire est praedivinare, praesipere. sagax enim est acutus et sollers; p. 176 M. (in very corrupt form in Fest. p. 177 M.): nictit canis in odorandis ferarum vestigiis leviter ganniens. Ennius [Ann. 341-342 Vahlen] nare sagaci sensit, voce sua nictit. The noun praesagium does not appear in our work; praesagio (also in 1, 81) and praesagatio (1, 66; 1, 123) seem to be used of a more private, informal, and intuitive sort of foreknowledge than divinatio as a whole. Yet cf. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius* (1908), 239, n. 5. Sagire is used only in this passage.

Hottinger (ad h. loc.) suspected this sentence and the next of being glosses. But, as Rath and others have shown, Cicero is here simply following the Stoic custom in regard to derivations; cf. *N.D.* 2, 7; 2, 64-69; 3, 62-63; *Off.* 1, 23: quamquam hoc videbitur fortasse cuiuspiam durius, tamen audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt unde verba sint ducta, credamusque quia fiat, quod dictum est, appellatam fidem.

1. sagae: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 320 M.: saga quoque dicitur mulier perita

sacrorum, et vir sapiens, producta prima syllaba propter ambiguitatem evitandam [sagax has a short penult]; Non. pp. 22-23 M.: sagae mulieres dicuntur feminae ad lubidinem virorum indagatrices; unde et sagaces canes dicuntur, ferarum vel animalium quaesitores; he then quotes Lucil. 271 Marx; also Hor. *Carm.* 1, 27, 21.

1. volunt: with this use of the word cf. *N.D.* 1, 72: sunt qui putent audisse; ipse non vult.

2. sagaces . . . canes: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 320 M.: sagaces appellantur sollertes acuminis unde etiam canes indagatores sagaces sunt appellati. For the word as applied to dogs cf. Ov. *Remed.* 201; Sen. *Phaedr.* 40; Hier. in *Is.* 1, p. 12 Vall.; It is also much used of mental keenness, though Cicero (*Fin.* 2, 45) seems still to feel that it is rather a bold metaphor. *Sagacitas* is, however, used in *N.D.* 2, 151; 2, 158 (applied to dogs). For the disputed derivation of these words see Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 670.

4. iniecta: cf. *Rep.* 2, 26: amorem . . . eis oli . . . iniicit.

5. inclusa: cf. 1, 67.

5. furor: cf. 1, 1.

6. divino instinctu: cf. 1, 12, n. (*instinctu inflatuque*). On such ecstasy see Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 3 ed. (1903), 20; 21, and n. 1; 56-69.

7. sed quid, etc.: the three following passages are probably from the Alexander of Ennius (cf. Vahlen's 2 ed. (1903), 128-129), and in that edition are numbered lines 54-62 (54-55 spoken by Hecuba, 56-62 by Cassandra), 63-64 (by Cassandra), and 65-68 (by Cassandra), respectively. Cf. 1, 114 infra, which

Ubi paulo ante sapiens illa virginalis modestia?

C. Mater, optumarum multo mulier melior mulierum,

Missa sum superstitiosis hariolationibus;

Namque Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet.

Virgines vereor aequalis, patris mei meum factum pudet,

1. ubi paulo ante sapiens illa *Auratus*, ubi illa paulo ante sapiens *CO*, ubi illa tua paulo ante sapiens *Reis*, aut ubi illa paulo ante sapiens *Lachmann*.

1. virginalis *Müller*, virginali' *Bothe*, *Christ*, *Boiser*, virginali *CO*.

2. optumarum *M. Haupt*, optuma tum *AV*, optima *B*, optumatum *BO*, optima optumarum mater matrum mulier mulierum *Dobree*, optuma tu *Vahlen*.

4. namque *Ribbeck*, neque me *CO*, namque me *Hollinger*, meque *Grotius*.

5. vereor aequalis *Machly*, aequalis vereor *Ribbeck*, uero aequalis *C*.

quotes lines 69-71 of the same play (spoken by Cassandra; cf. 2, 112). In *Ribbeck*, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), these passages are found on pp. 23-25. For another possible quotation from this play see 1, 42, n. (*mater*, etc.). *Cic. Orat.* 155 makes clear that the line ending *patris mei meum factum pudet* and that in 1, 67: *exilium examen rapit* are by the same author.

1. paulo ante: for this hiatus cf. *Zillinger*, *Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 110, n. 1

1. sapiens: apparently in the sense of 'sane'; in 1, 85 *Cassandra furens* is contrasted with *Priamus sapiens*.

1. virginalis modestia: cf. *pro Quinct.* 39: *virginalis verecundia*. For the failure of final *s* to make position cf. *patris* below; 1, 67: *navibus* and *manus*; also 1, 40, n. (*artubus*); 1, 132: *quibus*.

2. mater, optumarum, etc.: this line, with its remarkable alliteration of *m*, *r*, and *l* (cf. *Frobenius*, *Die Syntax des Ennius* (1910), 126-144), is in part the result of the emendation of *Haupt* (in *Philologus*, 2 (1847), 279), who has changed the MS reading *optumatum* (*optuma tum*), which might be defended on the basis of *Enn. Med. fr.* 5 *Vahlen*: *matronae opulentae, optimates*. With either reading the use of the comparative *melior* with a partitive genitive, where one would expect a superlative, is noteworthy. Doubtless it is due, as *Wölfflin* thinks (*Lat. u. rumanische Comparison* (1879), 69), to the desire for alliteration, yet it is not without parallel in *Varr.*

R. R. 2, 5, 10: *Epirotici non solum meliores totius Graeciae sed etiam quam Italiae*; and *Moser* (ad h. loc.) cites similar instances from *Apuleius* and the patristic writers. For analogous cases in Greek, of which our line may be an imitation, see *Kühner-Gerth*, *Ausführ. Gram. d. gr. Sprache*, 2, 1, 3 ed. (1898), 22. Against the view that this is a genitive of comparison, in imitation of Greek usage, see *Frobenius*, *op. cit.* 37-38, and the works there cited. For other possible readings cf. *Vahlen's* second ed. of *Ennius*, 127.

2. optumarum: awkwardly used three times in six lines.

3. superstitiosis: here, as in 2, 115, in the sense of 'prophetic,' or 'clairvoyant.' For passages in *Plautus* in which it has a similar meaning see *Gulick* in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 7 (1896), 238.

3. hariolationibus: *semel dictum*.

4. Apollo: for his part in endowing *Cassandra* with the gift of prophecy see *Engelmann* in *Roscher*, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Kassandra*, 975. With the frenzy of *Cassandra* the divinatory methods of her brother *Helenus* stand contrasted (1, 89).

4. fatis fandis: = *ad fata fanda*.

4. invitam: so *Virgil* describes the effects of inspiration upon the Sibyl (*Aen.* 6, 77-80, and the important note in the 2 ed. (1916), of *Norden's* commentary): *at Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro / bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat / os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premedo*; cf. 6, 100-101. *Toy* (*Intro. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 408) com-

Optumi viri; mea mater, tui me miseret, mei piget.

Optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti extra me; hoc dolet.

Men obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi!

O poëma tenerum et moratum atque molle! Sed hoc minus ad rem; 67. illud quod volumus expressum est ut vaticinari furor vera soleat.

Adest, adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio!

2. peperisti *cod. Eliensis*, reperisti *C (sod B reperisti)*.

ments on the tendency of more advanced thought to make the prophet more independent and thoughtful, less abnormal and passive.

[211]4ff. *ciet . . . pudet . . . piget . . . dolet*: for the rhyme cf. 1, 20, n. (*monebant . . . ferebant . . . iubebant . . . vereri . . . teneri*); Frobenius, *op. cit.* 150; also Quintil. 9, 3, 77: *ut clausula similiter cadat, syllabis isdem ultima in parte conlocatis: δυοσθητων † similem duarum sententiarum vel plurium finem . . . fit etiam singulis verbis: Hecuba hoc dolet, pudet, piget* (Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 274, no. 9); strongly suggesting, but with difficulty to be connected with our passage.

[211]5. *patris mei meum factum*: cf. *Orat.* 155: *idem poeta qui inusitatus contraxerat 'patris mei meum factum pudet' pro 'meorum factorum,' et 'lexitur; exilium examen rapit'* (1, 67 *infra pro 'exitiorum,'* etc. The verb *pudet* may be accompanied by a genitive of the thing which causes shame, as very commonly, or by a genitive of the person before whom shame is felt (Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 469-470). This is the only instance, apparently, of the combination of the two genitives in one sentence (Frobenius, *op. cit.* 37), but it is perhaps not illogical after the precedent of two accusatives, in zeugma, with verbs of teaching, concealing, etc.

[211]5. *mei meum*: each with synizesis, as in the case of *tui* and *mei* in the next line. For polyptoton in Ennius cf. Frobenius, *op. cit.* 146.

3. *obesse . . . prodesse*: cf. *Ter. Heaut.* 643: *melius peius, prosit obsit*. Note also the alliterative pair *obstare . . . obsequi*. With the three compounds

of *ob* in one line cf. *Enn. Sat.* 5 Vahlen: *resistant, occurrunt, obstant, obstringillant, obigitant*.

4. *moratum*: elsewhere in Cicero usually modified by an adverb. But in *Top.* 97 he says: *itemque narrationes ut ad suos fines spectent, id est ut planae sint, ut breves, ut evidentes, ut credibiles, ut moratae, ut cum dignitate*; cf. Quintil. 4, 2, 64. This is probably in the same sense as *Hor. Ep.* 2, 3, 319-320: *morataque recte / fabula*, upon which *Ps.-Acro* remarks: *in qua mores singularum personarum optime exprimuntur*.

4. *minus ad*: cf. the use of *nihil ad* in 2, 78; also *N. D.* 1, 67: *quid ad rem*; *Reid on Ac.* 1, 15.

6. *adest*, etc.: cf. *Non. p.* 112 *M.*: *idem (sc. Varro) Sexagesi, "adest fax involuta incendio,"* and on p. 328 *M.* he makes the same ascription. Perhaps the line was copied by Varro from Ennius. For the prophecies by Cassandra of the ruin of Troy see Engelmann, *op. cit.* 976. Cassandra does not appear in Homer as a prophetess, but Aeschylus, who thus represents her, probably got the idea from the cyclic poets; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 49-50. It may have been through the influence of her figure and that of Manto that the idea of the Sibyl developed; cf. *id.* 50-51. The expression here used recalls *Enn. Alc.* 28-30 Vahlen: *adsunt . . . fer mi auxilium . . . flammiferam hanc vim . . . ardentibus taedis*.

6. *adest*: cf. 2, 30: *quod est*.

6. *fax*: as Vahlen (2 ed. of Ennius (1903), ccii, n.) points out, this is probably thought of as the same torch which in 1, 42 Hecuba dreamed of bearing, now seen in its full significance by the clairvoyant Cassandra.

Multos annos latuit; cives, ferte opem et restinguite.

Deus inclusus corpore humano iam, non Cassandra loquitur.

Iamque mari magno classis cita

Texitur; exitium examen rapit;

Adveniet, fera velivolantibus

Navibus complebit manus litora.

XXXII. 68. Tragoedias loqui videor et fabulas. At ex te ipso non commenticiam rem sed factam eiusdem generis audiui: C. Coponium ad te venisse Dyrrachium, cum praetorio imperio classi Rhodiae praesesset, cum primo hominem prudentem atque doctum, eumque dixisse remigem

6. complebit *Herdius et deii. aliquot*, complevit C.

9. Dyrrachium *Creverius*, dyrrachio C.

10. cum primo C. *Christ, Baier*, cum primis *Lambinus, O*, cumprime *Davies, Müller*.

1. **multos annos latuit**: Hottinger (ad h. loc.) well explains: *expositus atque inter pastores educatus*.

2. **iam**: for its position cf. *Ac.* 2, 66, and Plasberg's note.

3. **iamque, etc.**: cf. *ad Att.* 8, 11, 3: *προθεσπίσω ἰgitur, noster Allice, non hario-lans ut illa cui nemo credidit sed coniectura prospiciens, "iamque mari magno,"—non multo, inquam, secus possum vaticinari: tanta malorum impendet 'Ἰλιάς. For the change of metre cf. 1, 114, n. (eheu videre).*

3. **mari magno**: with the phrase cf. *Enn. Ann.* 445; *Sota*, fr. 3; *Lucr.* 2, 1. Note the alliterations: *mari magno, classis cita, texitur exitium examen*.

4. **texitur**: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 11, 326: *bis denas Italo texamus robore naves*.

4. **exitium**: genitive; cf. 1, 66, n. (*patris mei meum factum*).

5. **velivolantibus**: only here, but cf. *Androm.* 79: *naves velivolae*; *Ann.* 388: *navibus velivolis*. The adjective *velivolus* is also used by the imitators of Ennius.

6. **navibus . . . manus**: cf. 1, 66, n. (*virginalis modestia*).

7. **tragoedias . . . fabulas**: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

7. **ex te ipso**: with this appeal to personal experience in contrast to mere literary tradition cf. 1, 22, n. (*poteris*).

7f. **non commenticiam rem**: forestalling certain complaints of M. Cicero; cf. 2, 27; 2, 80; 2, 113.

8. **C. Coponium**: praetor in 49 B. C. He inclined to the side of Pompey and

joined his party in Greece; cf. *ad Att.* 8, 12A, 4. At Dyrrachium he and C. Marcellus commanded the Rhodian portion of the fleet (*Caes. B. C.* 3, 5, 3). Later Caesar says (*B. C.* 3, 26, 2): *C. Coponium qui Dyrrachi classi Rhodiae praerati*. For his relationships and subsequent history cf. Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Coponius* (1900), 1215. This story is also treated in some detail in 2, 114.

8. **ad te**: as to Cicero's participation in this campaign see *ad Fam.* 9, 18, 2: *in acie non fui*; *Liv. per.* 111: *Cicero in castris remansit, vir nihil minus quam ad bella natus*; *Plut. Cic.* 39: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάραλον μάχης, ἧς οὐ μετέσχε δι' ἄρρωστίαν, καὶ Πομπηίου φυγῆτος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων καὶ στράτευμα συχρὸν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ καὶ στόλον ἔχων μέγαν ἐκείνου ἤξιου στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα προβουonta. διωθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ὄλων φεύγων τὸ συστρατεύεσθαι παρ' οὐδὲν ἤλθεν ἀναισθηθῆναι, κτλ.*

10. **cum primo hominem prudentem**: for a collection of examples of this order of adverbial modification see Müller in *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 55 (1900), 636-637. Possibly we should here adopt the emendation of Davies *cumprime*; cf. *Gell.* 17, 2, 14 (who cites an instance from M. Manlius and says: *'adprime' crebrius est, 'cumprime' rarius traductumque ex eo est quod 'cumprimis' dicebant pro quod est 'inprimis'*). *Varr. L. L.* 7, 2, employs the phrase in *primo*. *Vell.* 2, 83, 3 speaks of Coponius as a *vir ex praeletoriis gravissimus*.

quendam e quinqueremi Rhodiorum vaticinatum madefactum iri minus xxx diebus Graeciam sanguine, rapinas Dyrrachi et conscensionem in naves cum fuga fugientibusque miserabilem respectum incendiorem fore, sed Rhodiorum classi propinquum reditum ac domum itionem dari; tum neque te ipsum non esse commotum Marcumque Varronem et M. Catonem, qui tum ibi erant, doctos homines, vehementer esse perterritos; paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalia fuga venisse Labienum; qui cum interitum exercitus nuntiavisset reliqua vaticinationis brevi esse confecta. 69. Nam et ex horreis direptum effusumque frumentum vias omnis angiportusque

2. sanguine vulg., sanguinem C.

7. Pharsalia AII, pharsilia I', pharsalia B, Pharsalica O.

[213]10. **doctum**: here, as in the case of *doctos homines* below, in contrast to the presumably unlettered credulity of the rower.

[213]10f. **remigem quandam**: cf. the title of Gell. 15, 18: *quod pugna belli civilis victoriae Gaii Caesaris, quam vicit in Pharsaliis campis, nuntiata praedictaque est per cuiuspiam remigis vaticinium eodem ipso die in Italia Patavi*, what follows being an instance of second sight in the knowledge of the occurrence of the battle by a priest at Padua. Pompey was himself apprehensive (according to Plut. *Pomp.* 68), as a result of a dream before the battle. Such predictions by soldiers, etc., before engagements are well illustrated by the account in Sil. Ital. 8, 656-676 (before the battle of Cannae), and justify the remark of Seneca (*N. Q.* 6, 29, 3): *nec usquam plura exempla vaticinantium invenies quam ubi formido mentes religione mixta percussit*.

If. **minus xxx diebus**: cf. 2 *Verr.* 2, 140; Plaut. *Trin.* 402: *minus quindecim dies sunt*. The number thirty has here no significance save as equal to a month.

2. **conscensionem**: in classical Latin only here.

4. **domum itionem**: the verbal idea is still so strong in *itionem* that the accusative is retained with it; cf. Pacuv. 172 Ribbeck: *nam solus Danaus hic domum itionem dedit*; Incert. Trag. (Ribbeck, 3 ed. (1897), 275, line 26): *iam domum itionem reges Atridae parant*; Lucil. 607 Marx: *domum itionis cupidi imperium*

regis paene inminuimus (cf. the parallels in Marx's note); Caes. *B. G.* 1, 5, 3: *domum reditionis spe*; Hygin. *Fab.* 118: *quando domum repetitionem haberet*; Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* 4 ed. (1910), 357, sect. 61. For different but somewhat analogous cases cf. Caes. *B. C.* 1, 53, 2: *magni domum concursus*; ad *Att.* 11, 16, 1; 13, 50, 4.

5. **neque . . . -que**: cf. 2, 91; Merquet, *Lexikon v. d. philos. Schriften*, 2 (1892), 679.

5. **Marcumque**: praenomina when supporting enclitics are regularly written in full; cf. 2, 22: *Marcone Crasso*.

7. **Pharsalia fuga**: it will be noticed that the MS evidence favors this form; the same phrase occurs in *Phil.* 2, 39, where the manuscripts vary in reading.

7. **Labienum**: T. Atilius Labienus, formerly the faithful lieutenant of Caesar in Gaul and as such often alluded to in the *De Bello Gallico*, had joined the side of Pompey, and is several times mentioned in the *De Bello civili*, especially in Book III, as a prominent supporter of Pompey. He continued as one of the irreconcilables in that party, and met his death at the battle of Munda (*de Bell. Hisp.* 31, 9).

8. **reliqua vaticinationis**: with this phrase Bain (in *Class. Philol.* 10 (1915), 220) compares Plin. *Ep.* 1, 3, 4: *reliqua rerum tuarum*.

8. **brevi**: prompt fulfilment of a prediction or omen seemed, of course, especially significant; cf. 1, 47, n. (*paucis post diebus*); 1, 104.

constraverat, et naves subito perterriti metu conscendistis et noctu ad oppidum respicientes flagrantis onerarias, quas incenderant milites quia sequi noluerant, videbatis; postremo a Rhodia classe deserti verum vatem fuisse sensitis.

70. Exposui quam brevissime potui somni et furoris oracula, quae carere arte dixeram. Quorum amborum generum una ratio est, quae Cratippus noster uti solet, animos hominum quadam ex parte extrinsecus esse tractos et haustos (ex quo intellegitur esse extra divinum animum humanus unde ducatur), humani autem animi eam partem quae sensum,

5. somnii C. Müller.

[214]9. *angiportus*: cf. Non. p. 190 M.: *angiportus* generis masculini ut apud mullos neutri. Plautus *Cistellaria* (384): quae quasi carnificis *angiporta* purgicans. M. Tullius de *Divinatione angiporta dixit*. But the MSS here show only the reading *angiportus*, and though the neuter is much more frequent, yet Vollmer in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *angustiportum* cites several other instances from the fourth declension; cf. Landgraf in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* 5 (1888), 139-140; 191. On the use of the word see Mau in *P.-W.* s.v. *angiportus* (1894), 2190-2191.

If. *conscendistis* . . . *respicentes* . . . *incenderant*: a sufficiently close fulfilment of *conscensionem* . . . *respectum* . . . *incendiorum* above.

3. *noluerant*: the subject of this verb is somewhat awkwardly omitted.

5. *exposui*: cf. *N.D.* 1, 42; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 20, 1.

5. *quam brevissime potui*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 3; *Fin.* 5, 9.

6. *dixeram*: 1, 34; cf. 1, 12.

7. *Cratippus noster*: cf. 1, 5. n. (*Cratippus*).

7. *animos hominum*, etc.: cf. *N.D.* 1, 27: *Pythagoras* . . . *conscuit unum esse per naturam rerum omnium inientum et commeantem ex quo nostri animi carperentur; de Sen.* 78: *audiebim Pythagoram Pythagoreosque* . . . *numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus; Tusc.* 5, 38: *humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina; Virg. Georg.* 4, 220-227; *Sen. Ep.* 66, 12: *ratio autem nihil aliud est quam in corpus*

humanum pars divini spiritus mersa; Sext. Emp. 9, 127: *οι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλήα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἰταλῶν πλεῖσθι φασι μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι τῶα κοινῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων. ἐν γὰρ ὑπάρχει πνεῦμα τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου διήκον ψυχῆς τρέπον, τὸ καὶ ἐσοῦν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα; Alex. Polyh. ap. Diog. L.* 8, 27: *καὶ ἀνθρώποι εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγενῶνα, κατὰ τὸ μετῆχειν ἀνθρώπων θερμῶ . . . εἶναι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόστασμα αἰθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμῶ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ . . . ἀθάνατον τ' εἶναι αὐτῆν, ἐπειδὴ περ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσταται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι; for some patristic parallels cf. Lasaulx, *Die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele* (1858), 42, n. 119. As Zeller points out (*Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 416, n. 3; 417, n. 1), this belief is not to be ascribed to Pythagoras himself but is to be traced to later Stoic pantheistic infusions in Pythagoreanism. The doctrine as here set forth is for the most part in accord with the teaching of Aristotle (cf. Zeller-Wellmann, *op. cit.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 651, n. 3), and we may compare *Arist. de Gen. Anim.* p. 736 b 27 ff.: *λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισείναι καὶ θεῶν εἶναι μόνον; cf. also 2, 119 infra.**

7. *quadam ex parte*: cf. *Rep.* 6, 26.

8. *tractos et haustos*: cf. 1, 110; 2, 26.

8. *ex quo intellegitur*: cf. 1, 126; 2, 97; and many other cases of this favorite phrase in Merguet, *Lexikon s. d. philos. Schriften*, 1 (1887), 893-894.

9. *eam partem*, etc.: this dual division is elsewhere noted by Cicero: *Off.* 1,

quae motum, quae adpetitum habeat, non esse ab actione corporis seiugatam; quae autem pars animi rationis atque intellegentiae sit particeps, eam tum maxime vigere cum plurimum absit a corpore. 71. Itaque expositis exemplis verarum vaticinationum et somniorum Cratippus solet rationem concludere hoc modo: 'Si sine oculis non potest exstare officium et munus oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi non fungi suo munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis ut vera cerneret, is habet sensum oculorum vera cernentium. Item igitur si sine divinatione non potest officium et munus divinationis exstare, potest autem quis, cum divinationem habeat, errare aliquando nec vera cernere, satis est ad confirmandam divinationem semel aliquid esse ita divinatum ut nihil fortuito cecidisse videatur. Sunt autem eius generis innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem confitendum est.'

XXXIII. 72. Quae vero aut coniectura explicantur aut eventis ani-

8. potest officium vulg., potest et officium C; cf. 2, 107.

101: *duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura: una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est ὀρεή Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat quid faciendum fugiendumque sit; Tusc. 2, 47: est enim animus in partis tribulus duas, quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers; Fin. 2, 115; Rep. 1, 60; Bonhöffer, Epiktet u. d. Stoa, 1 (1890), 86 ff.; Goedeckemeyer, Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus (1905), 154, and nn. 7 and 10. In Tusc. 4, 10 this view is ascribed to Plato: veterem illam equidem Pythagorae primum dein Platonis descriptionem sequar qui animum in duas partes dividunt: alteram rationis participem faciunt: alteram expertem, etc., with which should be contrasted Tusc. 1. 20: Plato triplicem finxit animum, cuius principatum, id est rationem, in capite sicut in arce posuit et duas partes ei parere voluit, iram et cupiditatem, etc.; cf. 1, 61 supra. For a brief summary of Plato's division into τὸ λογιστικόν and τὸ ἀλογον, and his subdivision of the latter into τὸ θυμικόν and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, see the passages noted in Ritter and Preller, Hist. Philos. Gr. 8 ed. (1898), 263-265, and, in more detail, in Zeller, op. cit. 2, 1, 4 ed. (1889), 843-851. For a résumé of divisions of the soul into parts see Tert. de An. 14; and on this subject cf. also 1, 129, n. (mente).*

[215]9f. *sensum . . . motum . . . adpetitum*: cf. N.D. 2, 34: *bestiis autem*

sensum et motum vis quodam appetitu accessum ad res salubres.

1f. *seiugatam*: only here in Cicero, and apparently elsewhere only in Apuleius.

2. *rationis atque intellegentiae*: Mayor on N.D. 3, 38 collects Ciceronian passages in which this couplet is used to express the pure intellect, though there is, of course, a distinction in use between the two words; cf. Goedeckemeyer, op. cit. 155.

2. *intellegentiae sit particeps*: cf. 1, 60.

3. *tum maxime vigere*: cf. 1, 63, and nn.

5. *si sine oculis, etc.*: this passage is repeated almost exactly in 2, 107. A somewhat similar comparison of the functions of the eye and of the mind is found in Tusc. 3. 15.

5. *officium et munus*: cf. Fin. 4, 36; Rep. 2, 57; Tusc. 3, 15; pro Font. 25.

6. *possunt autem aliquando, etc.*: for the reasoning cf. 1, 124-126; also the very modest claims made for the accuracy of divination in 1, 128 and, especially, 1, 126, n. (*etiamsi non semper*).

11. *fortuito cecidisse*: cf. 2, 66; 2, 108.

11. *videatur*: for the present tense cf. 1, 53, n. (*videatur*).

11f. *sunt . . . esse*: both emphatic; for several other such cases, especially

madversa ac notata sunt, ea genera divinandi, ut supra dixi, non naturalia sed artificiosa dicuntur; in quo haruspices, augures. coniectoresque numerantur. Haec inprobantur a Peripateticis, a Stoicis defenduntur. Quorum alia sunt posita in monumentis et disciplina, quod Etruscorum declarant et haruspici et fulgurales et rituales libri, vestri etiam augurales, alia autem

5. rituales *BPV*, tritiales *ABV* tonitruales aliquot *deu.* (ut Erlang.) et *O.*

with *confitendum est*, cf. Merguet, *Lexikon s. d. philos. Schriften*, 1, s.v. *confiteor*.

[216]13. *quae vero*, etc.: after discussing in sections 34-71 the subject of natural divination Cicero now passes to that of artificial; but cf. Schiche, *De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875), 20-21; Hartfelder, *Die Quellen von Cic. xxi Bäckern de div.* (1878), 7, n.

[216]13f. *animadversa ac notata*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*animadversa et notata*).

1. *supra dixi*: 1, 12; 1, 34.

2. *quo*: doubtless *genere* may be understood. yet for other examples of such loose transitions from plural to singular or vice versa cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 2, 61; Spengel, *Emendat. Varron.* (1830), 7. See also, 1, 34, n. (*contingit . . . raticinantis . . . ut Bacis*).

2. *haruspices*, etc.: in 1, 12 the *haruspices* are represented by *extispicum aut monstra aut fulgora interpretantium*; the *augures* appear as such, and the rest of the group is made up of *astrologorum* and *sortium*. In 2, 26 artificial divination includes *extispicum eorumque qui ex fulgoribus ostentisque praedicerent, tum augurum eorumque qui signis aut ominibus uerentur, omneque genus coniecturale in hoc fere genere ponebas*, not mentioning astrology. But in neither book does Cicero confine himself closely to the program laid out in any one of these groupings.

3. *inprobantur a Peripateticis*: cf. 1, 5, n. (*Peripateticis*).

3. *a Stoicis defenduntur*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*Stoici omnia fere*).

5. *haruspici*: as an adjective apparently only here. On this triple division of haruspicine and the contents of the three parts cf. 2, 49; Thulin in *P.-W.* s.v. *Etrusca disciplina* (1907), 727-728.

5. *fulgurales: semel dictum*; cf. 1, 20, n. (*chartis . . . Etruscis*).

5. *rituales*: cf. Fest. p. 285 M.: *rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri in quibus perscriptum est quo ritu condantur urbes, arae, aedes sacrentur, qua sanctitate muri, quo iure portae, quomodo tribus, curiae, centuriae distribuantur, exercitus constituentur, ordinentur, ceteraque eiusmodi ad bellum ac pacem pertinentia*; Censor. *de Die nat.* 11, 6; 17, 5. Against the reading *tonitruales* are (1) its inferior MS authority; (2) the fact that we know nothing of such books as distinguished from *libri fulgurales*; (3) the consideration that the form *tritiales*, which might seem to suggest *tonitruales*, is really far closer to *rituales*, its initial *t* being due to dittography of the final *t* of the preceding *et*. Though the contents of the *libri rituales* as described by Festus may seem not quite in place, as Bergk (*Kl. philol. Schriften*, 1 (1884), 653, n.) objects, yet the books were doubtless inclusive enough in their general character to belong here (cf. Christ's critical note ad h. loc.), and in connection with all the points here mentioned divination might be employed; cf., for example, Liv. 1, 36, 2-3; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 9-10; and, especially, Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 2, n. 3; 8-12, who includes in the *rituales libri* the *libri Acherontici*, *libri fatales*, and *Ostentaria*.

Fries (in *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 55 (1900), 31-32) would accept the reading *tonitruales*, and accedes to the view of Hertz (*De Nigidii Studiis* (1845), 33) that Nigidius wrote a book of the same name, thinking that in various parts of this and other works Cicero may have used it as a source for his knowledge of the *Etru-*

subito ex tempore coniectura explicantur, ut apud Homerum Calchas, qui ex passerum numero belli Troiani annos auguratus est, et ut in Sullae scriptum historia videmus, quod te inspectante factum est, ut, cum ille in

sca disciplina. Bergk (*op. cit.* 494-495) sees in the *Diarium tonitruale* which Joannes Lydus took from Nigidius a descendant of the *tonitruales libri* which he supposes are here mentioned.

[217]5. *vestri*: cf. 1, 25, n. (*vestra*).

[217]5. *augurales*: on the *libri augurales* and their history see Regell, *De Augurum publicorum Libris* (1878), who considers them identical with the *commentarii* of the augurs (2, 42); also Regell's other works cited in 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*). Regell suggests (*op. cit.* 19) that the committing of the rules of the augural art to writing was prompted by the danger of their being lost through increasing neglect and disbelief; cf. 1, 25, n. (*nunc . . . ignorantur*).

1. *subito ex tempore*: not tautological as some editors suppose; *subito* meaning 'without preparation,' and *ex tempore* 'in accordance with the situation'; cf. the use of *ex re*. The recurrence of *subito* (five times in sections 72-75) is noteworthy; cf. 1, 99, n. (*disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat*).

1. *apud Homerum Calchas*: sc. *fecit*; such omissions are especially frequent in relative clauses containing examples; cf. Sorof on *de Or.* 2, 38. The Homeric passage here instanced is *Il.* 2, 299-330 (translated in full by Cicero in 2, 63-64 *infra*, and imitated by Ov. *Met.* 12, 11-21); cf. Schol. A *Il.* 2, 308: ὁ δὲ δράκων Ἀθηναίων ἰερὸς, οἱ στρωτοὶ Ἀφροδίτης, χρόνον τε δηλοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ πτηνὸς ὁ χρόνος; Serv. *Aen.* 5, 85.

Animals are elsewhere typical of years; e.g., the litter of thirty pigs seen by Aeneas (Cato ap. Auct. *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 12, 5; Dion. Hal. 1, 56, 4-5; 1, 66, 1; Diod. 7, 3, 5; Dio Cass. fr. 4, 5-6 Boiss.; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 391); the fifteen doves killed by the hawk which typify the fifteen years during which Carthage is success-

ful against Rome (Sil. Ital. 4, 101-130); the lioness and eight cubs symbolizing to Apollonius of Tyana a year and eight months (Philostr. *Vid. Apollon.* 1, 22); the fat and lean kine of *Gen.* 41, 18-29; cf. also 1, 46, n. (*triginta*). For Calchas see 1, 87, n. (*Calchantem, etc.*).

2f. in *Sullae scriptum historia*: cf. 2, 65. The title of this work appears in varied forms (cf. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), cclxxii), Cicero alone calling it *historia*. Peter thinks the real title was *Commentarii Rerum gestarum*. It contained 22 books (Plut. *Sull.* 37). Our passage is fr. 9 in Peter, *op. cit.* 198-199.

3. *scriptum . . . videmus*: cf. 1, 31, n. (*ut scriptum videmus*).

3. *te inspectante*: cf. 1, 22, n. (*propteris*).

3. *cum ille, etc.*: Appian (*B.C.* 1, 50) puts Sulla before Nola in 89 B.C., but Plut. *Sull.* 9 ascribes the event to the year 88, in his campaign against Marius: ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἄγων ἐξτάγματα τέλεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀπὸ Νώλης κείνου, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ὄρων πρόθυμον ὄντα χωρεῖν εἰς ἐπὶ τῆν πόλιν, ἐπιβοᾶσιν δὲ τῇ γκῶμῃ παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ θεοσιῶς τὸν κίνδυνον. ὁ δὲ μάρτυς Ποστούμιοι θύσαντος αὐτοῦ καταμαθῶν τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀμοτίρας τῷ Σύλλῃ προτείνας ἤξειο δεθῆναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι μέχρι τῆς μάχης, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πάντα ταχὺ καὶ καλῶς αὐτῷ συνετελεσθεῖν, τὴν ἰσχυρὴν δίκην ὑποσχέειν βουλόμενος; cf. Liv. ap. Aug. *C.D.* 2, 24. Sulla cum primum ad urbem contra Marium castra movisset adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius ut custodiri se Postumius haruspex voluerit capitis supplicium subiturus nisi ea quae in animo Sulla haberet deis iuvantibus implevisset; Val. Max. 1, 6, 4: L. Sulla consul sociali bello cum in agro Noluno ante praetorium immolaret subito ab ima parte arae prolapsam anquem prospexit. qua visa Postumi

agro Nolano inmolaret ante praetorium, ab infima ara subito anguis emergeret, cum quidem C. Postumius haruspex oraret illum ut in expeditionem exercitum educeret; id cum Sulla fecisset tum ante oppidum Nola florentissima Samnitium castra cepit. 73. Facta coniectura etiam in Dionysio est paulo ante quam regnare coepit; qui cum per agrum Leontinum iter faciens equum ipse demisisset in flumen, submersus equus voraginibus non exstitit; quem cum maxima contentione non potuisset extrahere discessit, ut ait Philistus, aegre ferens. Cum autem aliquantum progressus esset subito exaudivit hinnitum respexitque et equum alacrem laetus aspexit, cuius

2. C. vulg., G. C.

6 demisisset vulg., dimisisset C.

auspiciis hortatu continuo exercitum in expeditionem eduxit ac fortissima Samnitium castra cepit.

1. **ante praetorium**: for its position see the plan in Cagnat et Chapot, *Manuel d' Arch. rom.* (1916), 253, but literary evidence as to the position of such an altar seems elsewhere lacking.

1. **ab infima ara**: in the Homeric passage just cited (*Il.* 2, 310) the snake appears *βωμοῦ ὑπαιφας*, which perhaps suggested to Cicero the transition to this story. For snakes appearing at altars cf. *Obseq.* 47. In *Liv.* 1, 56, 4 a portentous snake comes out of a wooden column; in *Dio Cass.* 58, 7, 1 from a statue; in *Virg. Aen.* 5, 84-93 from a tomb. Cf. also *Liv.* 25, 16, 1-4; *Val. Max.* 1, 6, 8; and 1, 36, n. (*duobus anguibus*); 1, 79, n. (*puerum . . . amplexu*). On the snake as a lucky sign to Sulla cf. 1, 106, n. (*faustaque signa*).

2. **Postumius haruspex**: so Caesar employed Spurinna as an haruspex.

2f. **expeditionem exercitum educeret**: note the repetition of the prefix. The coming out of the snake symbolizes the sally of the army.

3f. **florentissima**: Valerius Maximus here reads (though the text has been much emended) *fortissima*. But the doubts felt by some editors as to *florentissima* in our passage are unjustified in view of *de Or.* 1, 38: *civitatem . . . avitis armis florentissimam*; *Phil.* 12, 16: *exercitus florentissimum*.

4. **facta coniectura**: cf. *Ael. V. H.* 12, 46: *Διονύσιον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμοκράτους λέγουσι ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν· ἔφερε δὲ αὐτὸν ἵππος. καὶ*

*ὁ μὲν ἵππος κατὰ τοῦ τέλματος ὤλισθεν, ὁ δὲ ἀποκηδύσας τῆς δρχῆς ἐλάβετο καὶ ἀνήκει, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι τὸν ἵππον δεῖα αὐτοῦ ἀπολιπών. ὁ δὲ ἠκολούθησε καὶ χρεμετίσας ἐπέστρεψε αὐτόν. καὶ κείνος ἐλάβετο αὐτοῦ τῆς χαίτης καὶ ἐμελλεν ἀναβαίνειν καὶ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ περιεπίπτε μελιτῶν πλῆθος. ἔφασαν οὖν οἱ Γαλεῶται πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον ἐρῶμενον ὑπὲρ τούτων δεῖ ταῦτα μοναρχίαν δηλοῖ; *Plin. N. H.* 8, 158: *Philistus a Dionysio (sc. equum) relictum in caeno haerentem ut se evellisset secutum vestigia domini examine aprium iubaе inhaerente, eoque ostentio tyrannidem a Dionysio occupatam*; cf. 2, 67 infra.*

4. **facta coniectura . . . est**: for the phrase cf. 1, 78; 2, 65; 2, 129.

4. **Dionysio**: cf. 1, 39, n. (*Dionysi*). The date of this incident would be before 406/5 B. C.

6. **equum . . . demisisset**: so *Liv.* 23, 47, 5.

6. **flumen**: the principal rivers of the region are the Terias and its branch the Lissus, both near the town of Leontini.

6. **voraginibus**: of the eddies of a river also in *Curt.* 8, 14, 8.

6. **non exstitit**: for an omen from the falling of a horse cf. 1, 77.

8. **Philistus**: cf. 1, 39, n. (*Philistum*).

9. **hinnitum**: the Persians made much of omens from the neighing of horses; cf. *Hdt.* 3, 84-86; *Justin.* 1, 10, 4-8; 1, 10, 17; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 18, 6; *Amm. Marc.* 23, 6, 36; *Procop.* 2, 5, 9. So too the Germans, according to *Tacitus*

in iuba examen apium consererat. Quod ostentum habuit hanc vim, ut Dionysius paucis post diebus regnare coeperit. XXXIV. 74. Quid? Lace-

(*Germ.* 10, and see Baumstark's note), *hinnitusque ac fremilus observant*. According to Ussani's interpretation the same belief is to be found in *Hor. Epod.* 9, 17. Before the fall of Constantinople a bronze horse neighed twice at night; cf. Bulenger in *Graevius, Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 470. Further, *Serv. Aen.* 3, 537, remarks: *in libris Etruscis invenitur etiam equos bona auspicia dare*.

Horses are also represented as speaking (*Hom. Il.* 19, 404-418), and presages might be drawn from their sadness or joy (*Il.* 17, 426; *Suet. Iul.* 81; *Isid. Etym.* 12, 1, 44, quoted in the next note). For the oracular uses of horses in many lands cf. *Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 68-75. Speaking asses are also mentioned, e.g., that of Baalam (*Numbers*, 22, 28-30), and the Rabbinical cases cited by Marmorstein in *Archiv. Religionswiss.* 16 (1913), 171; and speaking cattle are often noted by Roman authors; cf. *Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 19-20, to which add *Tibull.* 2, 5, 78; *Tac. Hist.* 1, 86; *Plut. Marc.* 28; *Dio Cass.* 48, 21; *Claud. in Eutrop.* 2, 43-44; *Zonar.* 8, 22. Again mention is made of speaking sheep (*Virg. Georg.* 1, 478, and *Serv. ad loc.*; *Claud. in Eutrop.* 1, 3; *Suid. s.v. ἀρνιον σοι λαλάηκεν*), or dogs (*Obseq.* 43; *Bulenger in Graev. Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 483), or fowls (*Plin. N.H.* 10, 50; *Lucian, Somn.* 2). And cf. 1, 121, n. (*scribit Herodotus*). *Jastrow (in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 14, 5 (1914), 79) would connect with these traditions of speaking animals the beast fables of the east; but cf. *Schultz in Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol.* 33 (1916), 77-78.

[219]9. *alacrem*: cf. *Isid. Etym.* 12, 1, 44: *solent etiam ex equorum vel maestitia vel alacritate eventum futurum dimicaturi colligere*.

1. *examen apium*: from the abundant literature on the ominous significance

of bees mention may be made of *Hopf, op. cit.* 204-208; *Robert-Tornow, De Apium Mellisque apud veteres Significatione* (1893), with bibliography on p. 8; *Cook in Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 15 (1895), 1-24; *Weniger in Roscher, Ausfuhr. Lexikon, s.v. Melissa*, especially 2641-2642; *Sikes and Allen on Hom. Hymn. Herm.* (1904), 559; *Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 801-802, especially 801, n. 8; *id. in Burs. Jahreshb.* 137 (1908), 376-377; and the works cited by *Dietrich, Collectanea zu Artemid. Dald.* 1 (1911), 11-12; also 1, 78, n. (*Platoni*), *infra*.

Bees were commonly regarded as chthonic and as embodying the souls of the dead; cf. especially *Cook, op. cit.*; *Weniger, op. cit.* 2641. As such they often appear in connection with prophecy. Further, as symbolic of obedience to monarchic rule, their swarms are to rulers a favorable sign, as is shown by *Artemid. Onirocr.* 2, 22: *ἐπικαθεζόμενα δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ὄραντος στρατηγούντι μὲν καὶ δημιουργούντι ἀγαθὰ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις πονηρὰ*; cf. *Achmet, Onirocr.* 284. So in *de Har. Resp.* 25 *Cicero* draws a parallel between swarms of bees and *examina sertorum*; cf. 1, 78, n. (*Platoni*). And to the examples from other races noted in the works above cited add, for the Vedic period, *Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1858, 324; for the British Isles *Folk-Lore Record*, 1 (1878), 33; 58-59; 181; 3 (1880), 136; 4 (1881), 97; *Folk-Lore Journ.* 3 (1885), 281; 379; 5 (1887), 192-193; 6 (1888), 146; *Folk-Lore*, 5 (1894), 336; 7 (1896), 385; for the United States, *Whittier, Telling the Bees*; *Fogel, Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1915), 130; 132; 216-217; see also *Skeat, Malay Magic* (1900), 535.

1. *habuit hanc vim ut*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 45; *Fin.* 1, 62; 3, 49; *Tusc.* 3, 55; *Off.* 1, 112; 3, 75; also 2, 67 *infra vim habuit ostenti*.

daemoniis paulo ante Leuetricam calamitatem quae significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit! At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo

[220]2. paucis post diebus: cf. 1, 36; 1, 47; 1, 68.

1. paulo ante: cf. 1, 73; 1, 75.

1. ante Leuetricam calamitatem, etc.:

cf. 2, 54; 2, 67; the former of these passages may make Callisthenes the authority for the first of our sentences as well as for the one in which his name appears. Cf. also Bock, *Untersuchungen z. Plutarchs Schrift περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου* (1910), 61; 62, n. 1, who compares Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 8: πρὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις αὐτῶ (sc. Ἴερωνι) γενομένης τελευταῖας ἐξέπεσον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρίαντος, οἱ δ' ἀστέρες ἠφανίσθησαν οὐκ ἴσως ἀνθρώπος ἀνέθηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγῶς ποταμοῦ τῆς ναυμαχίας. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ Λυσάνδρου λίθινος ἀστέρας ἐξήρθησεν ἀγρίαν λῆχην καὶ πᾶσαν τσαλίτην τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε κατακρῆναι τὸ πρόσωπον (cf. 1, 75 infra); Plut. *Ages.* 28: πολλῶν δὲ σημείων μοχηθῶν γενομένων . . . οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος; *Pelop.* 20-21 for favorable dreams and omens to Pelopidas; *Apat. Narrat.* 3; Paus. 9, 14, 3; Xen. *Hell.* 6, 4, 7: ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς, ὡς οἱ τε νεφ' πάντες αὐτόματι ἀνεώγωντο αἱ τε ἱερεῖαι λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἔβασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρημημένοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ τινες λέγουσιν ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προστηκόντων. See also Diod. 15, 53, 4: ὁ δὲ Ἑπταμεινῶνας ὄρων τοῖς στρατιώταις δεισιδαιμονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι σημείοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας μεταβεῖναι τὰς τοῦ πλῆθους ἐλθαβείας. διόπερ τῶν προσφάτως παραγεγονότων ἐκ Θηβῶν ἔπεσον εἰπεῖν ὅτι κατὰ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἄλλα παραδόξως ἀφανῆ γέγονε καὶ λόγος ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις διαδέδοται ὡς τῶν ἠρώων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνεληφθῶν αὐτὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἀπεληλυθόντων. ἄλλον δὲ κατέστησεν ὡς ἀπὸ Τροφωνίου προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότα καὶ λίγοντα διότι προστέταχεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἐν Δεύκτροις κηφύσωσι, ἀγῶνα τῶναι Διὶ βασιλεῖ στεφανίτην, κτλ.

1. Leuetricam calamitatem: cf. *Off.* 2, 26: *Leuetricae calamitatis*; 3, 47: *Cannensi calamitate*; 1, 75, infra: *Leuetricae pugnae calamitas*.

2. Herculis fano: for the cult of Heracles at Sparta cf. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (1893), 298-300. It is noticeable that three of the manifestations here noted are connected with Heracles or his shrines.

2. arma sonuerunt: the mention of the falling of arms from the walls at Thebes and of the fall of the golden stars at Delphi seems clearly to suggest a simultaneous seismic disturbance at those places and at Sparta; cf. Chatelain in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 29 (1909), 88, who treats the movements of *ancilia* (e.g., *C.I.L.* I, 2 ed., p. 260, 9 March) and *hastae Martis* (cf. Luterbacher, *Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer* (1880), 33; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung d. Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 19; cf. Gell. 4, 6, 1-2. The case in Procop. 3, 7, 10 is clearly due to an earthquake.

Under this class of seismic phenomena fall also the ringing sounds of metal objects (cf. Wülker, *l.c.*); the falling of various articles (cf. 1, 19, n. (*concidit*) supra), especially those in temples (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64 M.: *caduca auspicia dicunt cum aliquid in templo exidit, veluti virga e manu*; Wülker, *op. cit.* 19; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien-glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 34-35; 1, 20, n. (*tum fore, etc.*) supra), or any automatic motion of an inanimate object (Wülker, *l.c.*; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 34, and n. 5; Athen. p. 521).

2. Herculisque simulacrum: for portents from images cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 224, n. 1.

3. sudore: cf. 1, 20, n. (*tum fore, etc.*); 1, 98, n. (*sudavit*).

3. sudore manavit: this use of *mano* is paralleled in Liv. 1, 59, 1 (*culltrum . . .*

Herculis valvae clausae repagulis subito se ipsae aperuerunt, armae quae fixa in parietibus fuerant ea sunt humi inventa. Cumque eodem tempore apud Lebadiam Trophonio res divina fieret gallos gallinaceos in eo loco sic adsidue canere coepisse ut nihil intermitterent; tum augures

3. Lebadiam vulg., thebaidam C, qui error 2, 56 recurrit.

manantem cruore), though the reading is there uncertain.

[221]3. *at*: for this slight degree of contrast—'on the other side'—cf. *de Or.* 2, 193.

[221]3. *Callisthenes*: of Olynthus, nephew and pupil of Aristotle and fellow-pupil of Alexander the Great, an account of whose achievements he wrote. The present fragments are from his *Ἑλλητικά*, which in ten books covered the years from the Peace of Antalcidas (387/6) to the beginning of the Phocian War (356/5). For a discussion of the work and its author see Schwartz in *Hermes*, 35 (1900), 106-130; and for Cicero's criticism of the style of Callisthenes see *de Or.* 2, 58.

1. *repagulis*: cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 66.

1. *se ipsae aperuerunt*: to the many instances cited by Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 504-505, and Krepelka (in *Philologus*, 37 (1877), 508; 522) should be added Apollon. Rhod. 4, 41; Quint. Smyrn. 12, 511; Virg. *Aen.* 6, 81-82; Obseq. 42; 67; Tac. *Hist.* 5, 13; Suet. *Ner.* 46; Dio Cass. 43, 17; 45, 20; 60, 35; 63, 26; 65, 8; Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 6, 5, 3; Vopisc. *Tac.* 17, 4; Macrobi. *Sat.* 1, 9, 17; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 82 ff.; Sozom. 1, 14; cf. Ov. *Met.* 9, 783-784; *Acts*, 5, 19. Hero Alex. *Pneumat.* 1, 38-39 describes a mechanical device by means of which doors of temples may automatically open at sacrificing upon an altar before them—doubtless a bit of pious fraud more or less practiced in his day. The significance of the opening doors is varied; the divinity may be coming in person to bring aid or he may be thought of as abandoning a place which he has ceased to favor or protect.

2. *fixa in parietibus . . . humi inventa*: note the chiasmus.

2. *fixa in parietibus*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 28, 11 for an instance of the custom of thus displaying arms.

2. *ea*: for this somewhat redundant but emphatic use after a relative clause cf. *Off.* 1, 126; Madvig on *Fin.* 5, 22.

2. *cumque eodem*, etc.: see note on *ante Leuctricam calumitatem* supra.

3. *apud Lebadiam Trophonio*: the shrine of Trophonius (also called Zeus Trophonius, and by some identified with Hermes Chthonius) at Lebadea is most fully described by Paus. 9, 39 (on which see Frazer's ample notes); cf. Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 506 ff.; Plut. *de Gen. Socr.* 21-22; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 8, 19; Max. Tyr. 14, 2. It was perhaps the most frequented shrine of all those of Greek heroes, being known from the time of Croesus (Hdt. 1, 46) to that of Celsus (Orig. *c. Cels.* 7, 35) and Tertullian (*de An.* 46). Dicaearchus wrote a work called *αἱ Τροφονίου κατάβασις* (used by Cic. *ad Att.* 6, 2, 3; fragments in *F. H. G.* 2, 266-268; cf. Fuhr, *Dicaearchi Messenii quae supersunt* (1851), 130-135; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 329-330). For an account of the history and rites of the shrine, situated in Boeotia, a region thickly haunted by heroes, see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 321-332; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 8, n.; Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906), 88-93. The superstition there prevalent seems to have been a favorite subject for ridicule in the New Comedy, for Alexis, Cephisodorus, Cratinus, and Menander wrote plays entitled *Trophonius*; cf. 1, 88, n. (*Amphiarum*); 1, 91, n. (*Telmessus*); Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 3; *Menipp.* 22.

3. *res divina fieret*: cf. 1, 102; 2 *Verr.* 4, 18. For the consultation of

dixisse Boeotios Thebanorum esse victoriam, propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere si vicisset. 75. Eademque tempestate multis signis Lacedaemoniis Leuctricae pugnae calamitas denuntiabatur. Namque et in Lysandri qui Lacedaemoniorum clarissimus fuerat statua, quae Delphis stabat, in capite corona subito exstitit ex asperis herbis et agresti-

1. Boeotios vulg., boeotios B, boeotio A, boeotio BV, sed cf. 2, 56.

Trophonius by the Thebans upon this particular occasion cf. Paus. 4, 32, 5.

[222]3. gallos gallinaceos: cf. 2, 56; Lucil. 300-301 Marx: *gallinaceus cum victor se gallus honeste / altius in digitos primoresque erigit unguis*. Note the change at this point from direct to indirect discourse; cf. 1, 55, n. (*iussum esse*).

[222]4. nihil intermitterent: cf. *Tusc.* 3, 6: *nihil . . . intermissimus . . . disputare*.

1. avis illa: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 10, 47: *quod si palma contingit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur. victus occultatur silens aegreque servitium patitur*; 10, 49: *habent ostenta ex se et praeposteri eorum vespertinique cantus. namque totis noctibus canendo Boeotiis nobilem illam adversus Lacedaemonios praesagivire victoriam, ita coniecta interpretatione, quoniam victa ales illa non caneret*; 11, 268: *aliis in pugna vox . . . aliis cum vicere, ut gallinaceis*; Ael. *N. A.* 4, 29. See also Lucil. 300-301 Marx (quoted in note on *gallos gallinaceos* supra); Joann. Saresb. *Polier.* 1, 13; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 161 ff.; 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*) supra.

2. silere soleret: note the alliteration.

2. tempestate: in the sense of *tempe* in Cicero only here (Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 83); cf. *de Or.* 3, 153, and Wilkins's note.

3. calamitas: cf. 1, 74, n. (*Leuctricam calamitatem*).

4. qui . . . clarissimus fuerat: cf. *Off.* 1, 109: *versutissimum et patientissimum Lacedaemonium Lysandrum accepimus*; *de Sen.* 59: *Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis*.

4f. quae Delphis stabat: cf. Plut. *Lys.* 18: *ὃ δὲ Δίωανδρος ἔστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῆς Δελφοῦς αὐτοῦ χαλεπὴν ἀέθρα καὶ τῶν*

νευάρων ἀέθρου καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀστὴρας τῶν Διοσκουρίων, οἱ πρὸ τῶν Λευκτριῶν ἠφαλίσθησαν; Paus. 10, 9, 7: *Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀπαυτιὰρ τοῦτω ἀπαθήματα ἔστω ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Δίωανδρου καὶ Ζεῦς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἀθωνδρος ὁ Ἀριστοκρίτου στεφανοῦμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος*; 10, 9, 9, where he says that the other generals with Lysander at Aegospotami were also honored here with statues. For the remains of these works see Frazer on Paus. 10, 9, 7; Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 761-762, and the works cited by them. Another statue of him at Olympia is mentioned by Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 1 (= F. H. G. 2, 183, no. 264).

5. corona: cf. Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 8, (quoted in 1, 74, n. (*ante Leuctricam calamitatem, etc.*) supra). Such growths were obviously due to the sprouting of seeds, carried by the wind or birds (cf. 2, 68 infra), in the dust on the neglected tops of statues; cf. Propert. 2, 6, 36: *et mala desertos occupat herba deos*; Plut. *de Superstit.* 8; Kuhnert in *Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol.* 1 (1884), 343; also 1, 93, n. (*ex terra*) infra. The word *herbis* is doubtless here used in an extended sense (= 'weeds'); cf. Conington on Virg. *Georg.* 2, 411. Plin. *N. H.* 24, 170 and Marc. Emp. 1, 43 speak of such *herbae* from statues as being used as remedies for headache. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 17, 244 (speaking of trees): *sunt prodigia et cum alienis locis enascuntur, ut in capitibus statuarum vel aris et cum in arboribus ipsis alienae*; Bulenger in Graevius, *Theat. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 481-483; 506; Bötticher, *Baumkult der Hellenen* (1856), 163 ff.; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 20-21; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 33-34.

bus, stellaeque aureae, quae Delphis erant a Lacedaemoniis positae post navalem illam victoriam Lysandri, qua Athenienses coniderunt, qua in pugna quia Castor et Pollux cum Lacedaemoniorum classe visi esse dicebantur eorum insignia deorum, stellae aureae quas dixi, Delphis positae paulo ante Leuetricam pugnam deciderunt neque repertae sunt. 76. Maximum vero illud portentum isdem Spartiatis fuit quod, cum oraculum ab Iove Dodonaeo petivissent de victoria sciscitantes legatique vas illud

7. vas illud *Ernesti, Christ, Boiler, Müller*, illud CO, sitellam in qua comi. *Orelli*, quasilium *Thoreson (Nord. Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1895), 29)*.

[223]5f. *asperis . . . et agrestibus*: also combined in 2, 133.

1. *stellaeque*: the Dioscuri were often associated by the Greeks and Romans on the one hand with stars (Cook, *Zeus*, 1, 763-764), and, on the other, at least from the Hellenistic age and probably long before, with the electrical phenomenon known as St. Elmo's Fire; cf. 1, 121, n. (*caput arsisse*); 2, 77 (*ex acuminibus*); Schmitz, *De Dioscuris* (1869), 31; Mayor on *N.D.* 2, 9 (and numerous passages there cited, to which add *Doxogr. Gr.* 625, 18); Stephanides in *ΑΘΗΝΑ*, 14 (1902), 136-137 (who cites other names for the phenomenon); Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 49, n. 4; Cook, *Zeus*, 1, 771-772; also, on the meteorological side, Hann, *Lehrbuch der Meteorologie*, 2 ed. (1906), 487-488; Börnstein, *Leitfaden der Welterkunde*, 2 ed. (1906), 138 (with illustrations of St. Elmo's Fire). It was perhaps in the latter form, appearing on the tops of masts, that their epiphany took place, not merely at Aegospotami (405 B.C.), but also at Salamis, after which battle the people of Aegina dedicated at Delphi golden stars on a mast of bronze; cf. *Hdt.* 8, 122; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902), 135; Cook, *op. cit.* 761-762; also 764-770 for the Dioscuri with star emblems in Hellenistic art. Another view is that of A. Mommsen (in *Philologus*, 11 (1856), 706-714), who compares similar epiphanies of Castor and Pollux (e.g., *N.D.* 2, 6), all occurring at or near the summer solstice, from which the conclusion might be drawn (cf. Frazer on *Paus.* 10, 9, 7) that they represent the morning and the evening star.

For further mention of these golden stars see *Plut. Lys.* 18 (quoted above). Pomtow (in *Athen. Mithel.* 31 (1906), 563) conjectures that they were placed on the heads of the statues of the Dioscuri, as frequently in Hellenistic art, but nowhere else, so far as we know, in the classical period; cf. Cook, *op. cit.* 764, and n. 6. Their fall (cf. 1, 19, n. (*concidit*) supra) symbolizes the fall of the star of Spartan greatness; cf. Frazer, *l.c.*

2. *coniderunt*: cf. 1, 77: *concisus*.

2ff. *qua in pugna . . . positae*: on account of its repetition held by some editors to be an interpolation, but more probably explained as in part due to a desire to separate *coniderunt* from the following *deciderunt*.

3. *cum Lacedaemoniorum classe*: cf. *Plut. Lys.* 12: ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ τοῦ Διοσκουρίου ἐπὶ τῆς Λασιπλοῦν νῆος ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅτε τοῦ λιμένος ἔξίτλει πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ πολεμίου, ἄστρα τοῖς οἰαζῶ ἐπιλάμψαι λέγουσται. On the assistance of the Dioscuri to Greeks and Romans in battles see Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See* (1907), 3-4; also Furtwängler in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Dioskuren* (1886), 1163-1164; Bethe in *P.-W. s.v. Dioskuren* (1903), 1094-1095.

5. *paulo ante Leuetricam pugnam*: cf. 1, 74.

5. *neque repertae sunt*: cf. 1, 16.

6. *isdem*: probably used to show that the following incident also preceded the battle of Leuctra.

6. *cum oraculum, etc.*: cf. 2, 69.

7. *ab Iove Dodonaeo*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*Dodonaeo*); 1, 95.

7. *vas illud*: some word for urn is here needed (though Giese thinks the

in quo inerant sortes collocavissent, simia quam rex Molossorum in deliciis habebat et sortes ipsas et cetera quae erant ad sortem parata disturbavit et aliud alio dissipavit. Tum ea quae praeposita erat oraculo sacerdos dixisse dicitur de salute Lacedaemoniis esse, non de victoria cogitandum. XXXV. 77. Quid? bello Punico secundo nonne C. Flaminius consul

S. C. vulg., G. C.

sense complete without), to correspond to 2, 69: *urnam everlisse*. For this reason the conjecture of Ernesti (*vas illud*) is to be preferred to the *quasillum* of Thoresen. A not impossible emendation might perhaps be *catillum*; cf. Suid. s.v. Πυθώ, speaking of Delphi: *φιάλη ἢ τὰς μαρτυρίας εἶχε ὑψοῦς*; Robbins in *Class. Phil.* 11 (1916), 278-292.

1. *sortes*: on the metal tablets here used as *sortes* cf. 1, 3, n. (*Dodonaeo*); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* (1880), 305, n. 1. The method of consulting the oracle and the use of these tablets is made much more clear by the doubtless very similar practice at the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus in Thessaly, as known from an important inscription published by Lolling in *Athen. Mittheil.* 7 (1882), 69-76 (= Dittenberger, *Sylog. Inscr. Graec.* 2, 2 ed. (1900), no. 790; cf. Robert in *Hermes*, 18 (1883), 466-472). The term there used for the receptacle of the lots (*πυθία*) is ἀγγεῖον.

1. *simia*: on the ape as a household pet see Oder in *P.-W.* s.v. *Affe* (1894), 707; Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (1909), 4. Its sudden appearance was, however, considered a bad omen; cf. *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 424, no. 40; Oder, l.c.; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 52.

1. *rex Molossorum*: whether at this time he was Alcetas or Neoptolemus is uncertain, since the exact date of the death of the one and the accession of the other is unknown; cf. Klotzsch, *Epirotische Gesch.* (1911), 57

1f. *in deliciis habebat*: cf. *de Har. Resp.* 50; 2 *Verr.* 4, 3; in *Val.* 20.

2. *sortes . . . sortem*: in two senses, the first of the inscribed *πυθία*, the second of the drawing (*sortitio*). Thoresen

(ad h. loc.) compares the variation in the next section in the use of *signum*.

2. *disturbavit*: so before the battle of Actium, according to Dio Cass. 50, 8, 1, *πυθίος τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ Δημήτριον ἐν ἱεροουργίᾳ τῷ ἐσθλῶν πάντα τὰ ἔθρον συνέχευε*, which was similarly interpreted as ominous. Pomtow (in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 127 (1883), 349) attempts to explain the topography of the shrine at Dodona, and suggests that the ape may have leaped down from the trees of the sacred ἄστρος upon the vessel containing the lots. For the coupling of *disturbavit* and *dissipavit* cf. *N. D.* 2, 41.

4. *dixisse dicitur*: for this form of polyptoton cf. 1, 100; Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des ciceron. Stils* (1910), 51.

4. *esse . . . cogitandum*: a somewhat unusual separation of these words.

5. *bello Punico, etc.*: this is taken from Coelius (or the abridgement by Brutus; cf. 1, 48, n. (*Coelius*) supra), as is shown by 1, 78 below, and is found in Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), 163-164, where it is assigned to the first book; cf. also 2, 21; 2, 67; 2, 71; *N. D.* 2, 8. Polybius in his account of the battle (3, 82-85), omits the portents here mentioned. But cf. Liv. 22, 3, 11-13: *haec simul increpans cum ocuis signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insilisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. territis omnibus qui circa erant velut foedo omine incipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. conversus ad nuntium, 'num litteras quoque,' inquit, 'ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere velent? abi, nuntia effodiant signum si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerunt'; Plut. *Fab.* 3: *αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῶν**

iterum neglexit signa rerum futurarum magna cum clade rei publicae? Qui exercitu lustrato cum Arretium versus castra movisset et contra Hannibalem legiones duceret et ipse et equus eius ante signum Iovis Statoris sine causa repente concidit nec eam rem habuit religioni obiecto signo, ut

ἴππον ἀλλόμενος ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προδήλου παραλόγως ἐπρόβου τοῦ ἴππου γινόμενου καὶ πτυρίντος ἐξίπεσε καὶ κατεσχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλῇν δμῶν οὐδὲν ἔσπεψε τῆς γῶμης; Flor. 1, 22, 14: *imminentem temerario duci cladem praedixerant insidentia signis examina et aquilae prodire nolentes et commissam aciem secutus ingens terrae tremor*; Sil. Ital. 5, 54-55: *ocius interea propelli signa iubebat / excussus consul fatorum turbine mentem*; 5, 59-62: *tunc ales, priscum populis de more Latinis / auspiciis, cum bella parant mentesque deorum / explorant super euentu, ceu praescia luctus, / damnavit vesci planctique alimenta refugit*; 5, 66-69: *signa etiam affusa certant dum vellere mole, / taeter humo lacera nitentum erupit in ora / exultans cruor, et caedis documenta futurae / ipsa parens miseris gremio dedit atra cruento*, etc.; Val. Max. 1, 6, 6: *C. autem Flaminius inauspicato consul creatus cum apud lacum Trasimennum cum Hannibale conflictorum convelli signa videret, lapsus equo super caput eius humi prostratus est nihilque eo prodigio inhibitus, signiferis megantibus signa moveri sua sede posse, malum, ni eu continuo effodissent, minatus est*; also Ov. *Fast.* 6, 765-766; Apul. *de Deo Socr.* 7; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7, 4.

[225]Sf. **consul iterum**: 217 B. C.

1. **signa rerum futurarum**: cf. 1, 130; *N.D.* 2, 12; *Leg.* 2, 32.

2. **rei publicae**: either dative (cf. 1, 21: *clades patriae . . . parata*; 2, 63: *Priamo cladem . . . ferebant*; *N.D.* 2, 7: *magnam populo Romano cladem attulit*), or, more likely, genitive (cf. *Rep.* 1, 6: *C. Mari clades*; *Off.* 2, 20: *clades imperatorum*; *de Prov. cons.* 13: *militum cladis*; *pro Mil.* 68: *sine Milonis clade*). Moser (ad h. loc.) also compares 2 *Verr.* 1, 63: *cum magna calamitate et prope pernicie civitatis*; and Giese (ad h. loc.) cites *N.D.*

2, 8: *C. Flaminius Coelius religione neglecta cecidisse apud Trasimenum scribit cum magno rei publicae vulnere*, where the same ambiguity of case exists.

3. **exercitu lustrato**: cf. 1, 102. On the lustration of armies cf. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Lustratio* (1904), 1428-1429 (with plate of a part of the column of Trajan showing the lustration of his army with the *suovetaurilia*); Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen s. röm. Relig.* (1909), 16-18; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 142.

4. **Arretium versus**: a similar case of this prepositional use (rare in Cicero) is 2 *Verr.* 5, 90. For the topography and tactics of these moves see Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, 3 (1912), 148-213 (with bibliography on pp. 148-150).

5. **Iovis Statoris**: on this form of Jupiter see Aust in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Iuppiter*, 682-686; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 122. His worship was carried on, not only at two temples in Rome, one in the Nova Via (whose foundation is ascribed by Liv. 1, 12, 6 to Romulus), and one near the Circus of Flaminius, dating from later than the time of this story, but also at other places in Italy (e.g., Alba Fucens, *C. I. L.* IX, 3923), Nursia (*C. I. L.* IX, 4534), and Anagnia (*C. I. L.* X, 5904)) and outside Italy as well (Wissowa, *op. cit.* 122, n. 10). Our passage leaves it uncertain where this statue was located.

The ominous significance of falling before the statue of the god who stays the rout is obvious. For omens from stumbling and falling see 2, 84.

6. **concidit**: with this singular verb with plural subject Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares the corresponding account in 2, 67, where the singular is also used.

peritis videbatur, ne committeret proelium. Idem cum tripudio auspicaretur pullarius diem proeli committendi differebat. Tum Flaminius ex eo quaesivit si ne postea quidem pulli pascerentur quid faciendum censeret. Cum ille quiescendum respondisset, Flaminius: 'Praeclara vero auspicia, si esurientibus pullis res geri poterit, saturis nihil geretur.' itaque signa convelli et se sequi iussit. Quo tempore cum signifer primi hastati signum non posset movere loco nec quicquam proficeretur plures cum accederent, Flaminius re nuntiata suo more neglexit. Itaque tribus iis horis concisus exercitus atque ipse interfectus est. 78. Magnum illud etiam, quod addidit Coelius, eo tempore ipso cum hoc calamitosum proelium fieret tantos terrae motus in Liguribus, Gallia, compluribusque insulis totaque in

2. proeli C. Müller.

3. censeret Salisib., censerent ABV, censeret . . . quiescendum om. II.

8. tribus iis horis ad. Iuntina, tribus his horis ABI, tribus horis HO.

[226]4. **habuit religioni:** cf. *Off.* 2, 51: *item est habendum religioni nocentem . . . defendere.*

[226]4. **obieto signo:** cf. 1, 30.

1. **tripudio:** cf. 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*)

2. **diem . . . differebat:** cf. *ad Fam.* 10, 1, 3, for a postponement of business to the next day *pullariorum admonitu*. The verb *differebat* is here evidently conative.

2. **Flaminius, etc.:** for his disregard of the *tripudia* cf. 1, 29, n. (*P. Claudius*), and for the irregularity of his beginning office see *Liv.* 22, 1, 5-7.

4. **praeclara:** for this ironical use see Landgraf on *pro Rosc. Amer.* 23; 101.

4. **vero:** ironical, as in 2, 56.

6. **primi hastati:** with this substantive use of *hastati* cf. 2, 67; *Liv.* 26, 5, 15: *secundi hastati signum.*

6f. **signum non posset movere:** cf. note on *bello Punico, etc.*, supra; *Jordanes, Rom.* 1, 187. *Servius* says (*Aen.* 11, 19): *vellere signa adnuerint superi ne in mora sitis cum captatis auguriis ad bellum exire coeperimus. 'vellere' autem proprie dixit, quia Romana signa figebantur in castris et cum ad bellum eundem fuisset captatis auguriis avellebantur e terra; nam alibi ea figi non licebat. sed inter auguria etiam hoc habebatur si avellentem facile sequerentur, adeo ut cum filio in Orodidis bello sit Crassus occisus qui iturus ad proelium*

avellere signa vix potuit. quod etiam Flaminio contigit qui cum imperasset signa tolli eaque non possent moveri, effosso solo in quo erant fixa, vi magna extrahi praecepit, et infeliciter apud Trasmennum pugnavit. See also the instances collected by Bulenger in *Graevius, Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 469-470; *Krepelka in Philologus*, 37 (1877), 520, n. lxiii; *Val. Max.* 1, 6, 11; *Oros.* 7, 6, 7. Exactly the reverse of this omen is told by *Val. Max.* 1, 5, 1; cf. also *Procop.* 2, 10, 1, where standards turn around of themselves. See also *Virg. Aen.* 6, 146-148, where the golden bough readily yields to some but resists others.

8. **tribus iis horis:** cf. *Liv.* 22, 6, 1: *tris ferme horas pugnatum est.* The expression probably refers to the duration of the battle, rather than, as some editors have supposed, to the time from the incident here related to the death of *Flaminius*.

10. **Coelius:** cf. 1, 77, n. (*bello Punico, etc.*); *N. D.* 2, 8: *C. Flaminium Coelius religione neglecta cecidisse apud Trasumennum scribit cum magno rei publicae vulnere.*

10. **eo tempore ipso:** for such contemporary reports of battles at a distance cf. 1, 101 n. (*voce ex occulto.*)

11. **terrae motus:** in addition to the passages cited in 1, 77, n. (*bello Punico, etc.*), cf. *Plin. N. H.* 2, 200: *creberrimus (sc. terrae motus) Punico bello intra eundem annum septies ac quinquagies nuntiatas*

Italia factos esse ut multa oppida conruerint, multis locis labes factae sint terraeque desederint fluminaque in contrarias partes fluxerint atque in amnes mare influxerint.

XXXVI. Fiunt certae divinationum coniecturae a peritis. Midae illi Phrygi, cum puer esset, dormienti formicae in os tritici grana congeserunt. Divitissimum fore praedictum est; quod evenit. At Platoni cum

4. certae *Marsus*, certe *C. Christ*.

Romam quo quidem anno ad Trasimenum lacum dimicantes maximum molum neque Roeni sensere nec Romani; Sil. Ital. 5, 610 ff.; Plut. *Fab.* 3: τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλλόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἅμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πόλις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ βρέματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἕδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημῶν ὑπὸ ῥαίαι περιερράγησαν; Zonar. 8, 25: τοσοῦτος δ' ἐγένετο θόρυβος καὶ τοιαύτη παραχρόνως ἐκπληξίς κατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὥς μὴδὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν τότε γενομένων αἰσθῆσθαι, καίτερ πολλὰ μὲν οἰκοδομήματα κατερράγη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄρων τὰ μὲν διέσχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνέπεσον, ὡς καὶ τὰς φάραγγας ἐμφράξαι καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐξόδου ἀπολεισθέντες ἄλλην ἐπάραυον. τοιοῦτοι μὲν σειμοὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίδα κατέσχον, οὐ μόνον καὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι ἐν ἐνοσίφων ἤγειοντο; Jordanes, *Rom.* 1, 187. On the portentous nature of earthquakes see 1, 18, n. (see . . . *tremc-fecit*).

1. oppida conruerint: cf. 1, 112.

2. desederint: cf. 1, 97, n. (*labes*).

This is the technical term used for such phenomena; cf. Luterbacher, *Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer* (1880), 33.

2. in contrarias partes: cf. Sil. Ital. 5, 624-625: *ac super hacc refui pugnarunt montibus amnes, / et retro fluctus torsit mare*; for other cases of this omen see Dion. Hal. 7, 3, 2-3; Plin. *N.H.* 2, 232: *amnes retro fluere et nostra vidit aetas Neronis principis supremis*; and perhaps Obseq. 68 fin. It is also a Vedic omen; cf. Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 336; 340. The power to turn streams backward is ascribed by Martianus Capella (9, 907) to the song of Orpheus (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 12, 8), and by others to Medea (Eur. *Med.* 410; Apollon. *Rhod.* 3, 528 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 7,

199-200), and later became proverbial for the unexpected; cf. Julian, *Orat.* 6, init.; Suid. s.v. ἄνω ποταμῶν, κτλ.; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 747, no. 20. At other times rivers, either by magic or by miracle, stand still; e.g., Virg. *Georg.* 1, 479; Isid. *Etym.* 16, 11, 1. On ominous floods cf. 1, 100, n. (*lacus Albanus*).

2f. fluxerint . . . influxerint: for the careless repetition see Mayor on *N.D.* 1, 12.

4. *Midae*: cf. 2, 66; Ael. *V.H.* 12, 45: Φρύγιος καὶ ταῦτα ββουσι λόγοι. Μίδου τοῦ Φρυγῆος ἐτι κητιου καθείδοντος μύρμηκας ἐσέρταν ἐς τὸ στόμα, καὶ πάνου φιλοπόνησι καὶ φιλιέργως ἐσφέρειν τοῖς πυροῖσι. Πλάτωνος δὲ μελιττας ἐς τὸ στόμα κητιου ἐργάζεσθαι. καὶ Πυθάρῳ τῆς πατρῶας οἰκίας ἐκθεθέντι μελιττας τροφῶν ἐτίγοντο, ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάλακτος παραπθεῖσαι μέλι; Val. Max. 1, 6, ext. 2: *Midae vero . . . puero dormienti formicae in os grana tritici congesserunt. parentibus deinde eius corsus prodigium tenderet explorantibus augures responderunt omnium illum mortalium futurum ditissimum. nec vana praedictio extitit; nam Midas cum totum paene regum opes abundantia pecuniae antecessit infantiaequae incunabula vili decorum munere donata onustis auro atque argento gassis pensavit*; Joannes Saresb. *Poligr.* 1, 13.

5. *formicae*: Artemidorus (*Onirocr.* 3, 6) remarks that in dreams ants are ἀγαθὸν γεωργοῖς· εὐφορίας γὰρ μαρτυροῦνται, ἐπειδὴ οὐτοι μὴ ἔστι σπέρματα οὐκ ἔν βῆσι τις μύρμηκας.

6. *quod evenit*: Midas becoming the type of the rich man; cf. Diogenian. 8, 53: τὸν Μίδα πλοῦτον καὶ Κροῖσου καὶ Κυνήρου· ἢ ὑπερβολῆ ταῦτα; Kuhnert in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Midas* (1897), 2957.

in cunis parvulo dormienti apes in labellis consedissent responsum est singulari illum suavitate orationis fore. Ita futura eloquentia provisa in infante est. 79. Quid? amores ac deliciae tuae, Roscium, num aut ipse

[228]6. **Platoni:** cf. Olympiod. *Vit. Plat.* (Βιογράφοι, ed. Westermann (1845), 382-383): καὶ γοσηθητα τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οἱ γοῦεῖς βρίφοι ὄντα τεθείκασι ἐν τῷ Ἱμνητῶ, βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Νομῶ ὄψαι, καὶ καμίσου αὐτοῦ μέλιτται προσελθούσαι πεπληρώσασιν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα ἐπύρων μέλιτος, ἵνα ἄλφεις περὶ αὐτοῦ γένηται· τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων βίην ἀβή. Cf. also Ael. V. H. 10, 21: ἐν Ἱμνητῶ . . . καθέδουσι δὲ ἐσμός μελιττῶν ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτοῦ καθίσασαι ἵππιδον, τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐγγλωττίαν μαρτυρούμεναι ἐπέειν; 12, 45 (quoted in the note on *Midae* above); Plin. N. H. 11, 55: *sedere* (sc. *apes*) *in ore infantis tum etiam Platonis suavitatem illum praedulcis eloquii portendentes*; Val. Max. 1, 6, ext. 3: *formicis Midae iure meritoque apes Platonis praetulserim; illae enim caducae ac fragilis, hae solidae et aeternae felicitatis indices extiterunt, dormientis in cunis parvuli labellis mel inserendo. qua re audita prodigiorum interpretes singularem eloquii suavitatem ore eius emanatam dixerunt*, etc.; Focas, *Vit. Virg.* 28-32 (of Virgil): *praeterea si vera fides (sed vera probatur) / lata cohors apium dulces per rura iacentis / labra favis lexit dulces fusura loquelas. / hoc quondam in sacro tantum mirata Platone / indicium linguae memorat famosa vetustas*; Joann. Saresb. *Policr.* 1, 13. For the locality of the incident cf. Frazer on Paus. 1, 32, 1 (pp 425-426). Panofka (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 7(1835), 247-249) noted a suggestion of this story on an ancient scarab (*id.* pl. H, no. 3).

Tales of infants miraculously fed by bees are found, not only in connection with mythological characters such as Zeus (Robert-Tornow, *De Apium Melisque apud veteres Significatione* (1893), 89-96), Bacchus and Aristaeus (*id.* 96-97; Cook in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 15 (1895), 6-7), Beroe (Cook, *op. cit.* 8), and Meliteus (Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* 97-98; Panofka,

op. cit. 246-247, and pl. H, no. 2), but also with reference to poets, philosophers, and other noted men, as Homer (*Anthol. Pal.* 2, 342-343), Hesiod (*Vit. Lucani*, in Reifferscheid, *Suctonii Reliquiae* (1860), 76-77), Pindar (Paus. 9, 23, 2; Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 64, vol. 2, 213 Dindorf; Philostr. *Imag.* 2, 12; Eustath. *Vit. Pind.*, in Βιογράφοι, ed. Westermann (1845), 93; cf. 97; also Ael. V. H. 12, 45, quoted above), Hiero (Justin, 23, 4, 7; Joann. Saresb. *Policr.* 1, 13, p. 409c), possibly Sophocles (Philostr. *Imag.* 14, 1) and Menander (*Anthol. Pal.* 9, 187), Virgil (Focas, *Vit. Virg.*, quoted above), Lucan (*Vit. Lucani*, cited above), St. John the Baptist (James in *Class. Rev.* 31 (1917), 3; M(urray) in *Class. Rev.* 31 (1917), 64), St. Ambrose (Paulinus, *Vit. Ambr.* 3, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 14, 28; cf. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* 117-118); see also Tennyson, *Eleanore*, 2. A story of snakes who fed the infant Iamus with honey is found in Pind. *Ol.* 6, 45-47, and schol. On the whole question see Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* 89-103; 114-118; Glock, *Die Symbolik der Bienen u. ihrer Produkte*, etc. (1900); Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* 57 (1902), 179-180 (= *Kl. Schriften*, 4 (1913), 400-401); Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 3 (1909), 98-101; also 1, 73, n. (*examen apium*) supra. Important also is the discussion of Cook (*op. cit.*, especially 3-8), who emphasizes the chthonic character of bees. If then, bees typify souls, either of the dead or of the unborn, there will be seen a peculiar appropriateness in these supposed contributions made by them to poets and philosophers in their infancy. On the significance of bees seen in dreams cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 22.

2. *suavitate:* cf. *Orat.* 62: *longe omnium quicumque scripserunt aut locuti sunt exstitit et gravitate et suavitate princeps Plato.*

3. *amores, etc.:* cf. 2, 66; and, for the phrase, *Phil.* 6, 12: *amores delicinsque*

aut pro eo Lanuvium totum mentiebatur? Qui cum esset in cunabulis educareturque in Solonio, [qui est campus agri Lanuvini,] noctu lumine appposito experrecta nutrix animadvertit puerum dormientem circumplica-

2. Solonio O cum Grutero; cf. 2, 66; Solonio C. Christ.

2. qui est campus agri Lanuvini del. Frenzel, Kreuzer.

L. Antonium; 13, 26: *deliciae atque amores populi Romani* L. Antonius; ad Att. 2, 19, 2: *Pompeius nostri amores*; 16, 6, 4: *Allicae delictis atque amoribus meis*. For the passive sense Thoresen (ad h. loc.) well compares Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*, 8 ed. (1888), 79.

[229]3. *Roscus*: cf. Cicero's estimates of him in his speech of 68 B. C. *pro Rosc. Comoedo*; *pro Arch.* 17; *pro Quinct.* 78; *de Or.* 1, 130; also see *Leg.* 1, 11, and the poem in his praise in *N. D.* 1, 79. Cf. also Henry in *Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philology*, 16 (1919), 343-352.

1. *Lanuvium*: on this town cf. Colburn in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 18 (1914), 18-31; 185-198; 363-380; also 1, 4, n. (*Iunonia Sospitae*).

1. *mentiebatur*: cf. 1, 53, n. (*mentis*). The verb is past, since Roscius had died in 62 B. C.; cf. *pro Arch.* 17.

2. *Solonio*: with the exception of a reference in Dion. Hal. 2, 37, 2: *ἐν Σολωνίῳ πόλει*, in which the word *πόλει* may perhaps be a gloss, no ancient author refers to this place as a town. Liv. 8, 12, 2: *Antiales in agrum Ostiensem Ardelem Solonium incursiones fecerunt*; Cicero speaks of *Solonium* without a modifier (ad Att. 2, 3, 3; 2, 9, 1), and in the former of these references mentions having a villa there. The most definite information as to its site is in Fest. p. 250 M.: *Pomonal est in agro Solonio via Ostiensi ad duodecimum lapidem deverticulo a miliario octavo*. This lies far from any site in the neighborhood of Lanuvium, and, coupled with the fact that Plut. *Mar.* 35 says of Marius that he εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰταλιῶν αὐτοῦ Σολώνιον κατέβηκε, and from there later took ship at Ostia, leads one to accept the suggestion of Frenzel (cf. Moser ad loc.; his citation of Frenzel I have been unable to verify) that the phrase *qui est campus agri Lanuvini* is a gloss. To this phrase

Kreuzer also objects on the ground that Cicero's readers did not need to be told where the place was. On the name *Solonium* see Dieterich in *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 55 (1900), 201; Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 563.

2. *lumine*: = *lucerna*; cf. 1, 40; *de Sen.* 36; *Off.* 1, 51.

3f. *puerum . . . amplexu*: on the ominous character of snakes, particularly in houses, see 1, 36, n. (*duobus anguibus*); 1, 72, n. (*ab infima ara*); Niceph. *Onirocr.* p. 16 Rigalt.: *ὄφεις θεαθεῖς ἐν κλιμαῖς εὐπραγία*. Snakes as guardians of children appear in Eur. *Ion*, 21-26: *κείρω* (sc. *Ἐριχθονίω*) γὰρ ἢ Διὸς κόρη / φρουρῶ παραστῆσασα φύλακε σώματος / διασῶν δράκοντε, παρθένους Ἄγλαυρίαι / δίδωσι σφῆρι· ὅθεν Ἐρεχθίδαις ἐκεῖ / νόμος τις ἔστιν ὄφεις ἐν χρυσήλατοις / τρέφειν τέκν' (cf. 1427-1431; Riess in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 27 (1896), 27; Hesych., Pollux, and Moeris s.v. *ὄφεις*; Clem. *Paed.* 2, 12, p. 245 P.; Saglio in *Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Armilla* (1877), 436, for many bracelets found in this form, called *ὄφεις* and *δράκοντες*). On Erichthonius further cf. Aug. *C. D.* 18, 12: *expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum*; the same idea may be seen in the familiar story of the infant Heracles and the snakes (cf. especially Theocr. 24; Philostr. *Imag.* 6 for the interpretation of the portent by Tiresias so as to foretell the future greatness of the child); also in the story of Helenus and Cassandra, quoted in 1, 89, n. (*Helenum . . . et Cassandram*) infra. Others of whom such tales were told were P. Scipio (Auct. *de Vir. ill.* 49, 1), Nero (Dio Cass. 61, 2, 4), Severus (Spart. *Sever.* 1, 10), Maximin (Jul. Capit. *Maximini*, 30, 1), and Aurelian (Vopisc. *Aurel.* 4, 4). On children under the protection of snakes which represent the tribal gods see

tum serpentis amplexu. Quo aspectu exterrita clamorem sustulit. Pater autem Rosci ad haruspices rettulit, qui responderunt nihil illo puero clarius, nihil nobilius fore. Atque hanc speciem Pasiteles caelavit argento et noster expressit Archias versibus. Quid igitur expectamus? an dum in foro nobiscum di immortales, dum in viis versentur, dum domi? qui quidem ipsi se nobis non offerunt, vim autem suam longe lateque diffundunt,

3. Pasiteles Winckelmann, *coll. Plin. N. H. 33, 156; 36, 39; Christ, Baiter, Müller; praxiteles A. praxitelis V. praxitheles B. praxitales B.*

Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 8, 3 ed. (1912), 174-175. For interesting Babylonian parallels cf. Jastrow, *Relig. Babyl. u. Assyr.* 2 (1912), 782-783; 942, n. 3; *id.*, *Babylonian-Assyrian Birth-Omens* (in *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuch. u. Vorarb.* 14, 5 (1914), 55, n. 1). In the former work (p. 776) Jastrow emphasizes the connection between snakes and life, and notes their appearance in the cult of Aesculapius; cf. also Frothingham in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 20 (1916), 195. The *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1905 ed., 37) describe a kind of snake in Sicily which twines around children and does them no harm if they are legitimate, but bites and poisons bastards.

The serpent appearing on certain coins of the gens Roscia (Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the Brit. Mus.* 1 (1910), 422 ff.; 3, pl. 43-44) has reference not to this incident, but to the sacred snake at Lanuvium (cf. 2, 66 *infra*), for whose mantic significance see Galieti in *Bull. Comm. arch. comunale.* 44 (1916), 12-13.

2. *ad haruspices rettulit*: cf. 1, 36, n. (*haruspices convocavit*).

2. *nihil*: = *neminem*; cf. Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 281, and n. 1; but our passage seems to disprove his statement that Cicero abandoned this idiom in the latter years of his life.

2f. *clarius* . . . *nobilius*: coupled also in *Parad.* 41; *de Har. Resp.* 35; 2 *Verr.* 1, 63; *Phil.* 2, 71.

3. *hanc speciem*: the infrequency of representations of prodigies in art is remarked by Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien-*

glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 22, n. 11. Whether this representation included both child and nurse, as Winckelmann supposed, or only the child and the snake, cannot be determined.

3. *Pasiteles*: this emendation of Winckelmann (*Gesch. der Kunst* (1764), 343-344) has been generally received. Pasiteles is mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* 35, 156, following Varro): *laudat* (sc. *M. Varro*) *et Pasitelen qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit et, cum esset in omnibus iis summus, nihil umquam fecit ante quam finxit*; 36, 39-40: *Romanus Iunius Pisciculus, ut tradit Varro, admirator et Pasitelis, qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe. natus hic in Graeca Italiae ora et civitate Romana donatus cum iis oppidis, Iovem fecit eboreum in Metelli aede qua campus petitur . . . fecisse opera complura dicitur; quae fecerit nominatim non refertur*. On his versatility and his work from actual life cf. Waldstein in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 3 (1887), 6-7; Brunn, *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler*, 1 (1889), 415-416. Gardner (*Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 2 (1897), 509) draws an interesting comparison between what we know of his work and that of Boethus. The Pasiteles of Paus. 5, 20, 2, must, as Frazer (*ad loc.*) notes, not be confused with this sculptor, as is done by Thoresen (*ad h. loc.*).

3f. *noster* . . . *Archias*: on Cicero's fondness for Archias cf. *pro Arch.* 12 ff. In that speech (17-18) Archias and Roscius are brought into connection with one another.

4. *expressit* . . . *versibus*: cf. *in Pison.* 70.

quam tum terrae cavernis includunt, tum hominum naturis implicant. Nam terrae vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturae Sibyllam. Quid enim? non videmus quam sint varia terrarum genera? ex quibus et morti-

[231]4. quid . . . expectamus: cf. 1, 84.

[231]6. longe lateque diffundunt: cf. *Fin.* 2, 115: *longe lateque diffusi*; *Lex.* 1, 34: *late longeque diffusam*. For the thought see 2, 29.

1. *terrae cavernis*: chthonic power, as opposed to that which is (1, 17) *aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis*.

2. *terrae vis*: cf. 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*).

2. *Sibyllam*: on the Sibyls see 1, 4, n. (*Sibyllinis . . . versibus*); for the Delphic one Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 179-182; Buchholz in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Sibylla* (1910), 798-799.

3f. *mortifera*: cf. Arist. *de Mund.* 4 p. 395 b 26-30: *καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων πολλὰ πολλοῦ γῆς στόμα ἀνέκταται ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐθουσιᾶν κοιεῖ τοὺς ἐμπελάζοντας, τὰ δὲ ἀτροφεῖν, τὰ δὲ χρησμοδεῖν, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Λεβαδίᾳ: τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάκασιν ἀραιεῖ, καθάπερ τὸ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ*; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 207-208: *spiritus letales aliubi aut scrobibus emissi aut ipso loci situ mortiferi, aliubi volucribus tantum, ut Soracte vicino urbi tractu, aliubi praeter hominem ceteris animantibus, nonnumquam et homini, ut in Sinuessano agro et Puteolano. spiracula vocant, alii Charonea, scrobes mortiferum spiritum exhalantes, item in Hirpinis Ampsancti ad Mephitis aedem locum qui intravere moriuntur; simili modo Hierapoli in Asia, Matris tantum Magnae sacerdoti innoxium* (the last part of this is taken from Varro, according to Isid. *Etym.* 14, 9, 2); Sen. *N. Q.* 3, 21, 1: *in quosdam specus qui despexere moriuntur; tam velox malum est ut transvolantes aves deiciat; talis est aer, talis locus, ex quo letalis aqua distillat*; cf. Galen, *de Usu Part.* 7 (vol. 3, 540); *Comm. I in Hippocr. Epidem.* 1 (vol. 17, 1, 10): *ἐπιτορε δὲ ἐκ βαρῶν τῶν καλουμένων χαρωνέων πνευμάτων πλοσσαζώται. ταῦτα μὲν ὅν τῷ θλάπτει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐργάζεται*; Paus. 5, 5, 9:

τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ἕδρασι τὸ ἀπὸ αἰτίων, ὀσέων ἢ ἀτυμὸς ἀλεθρίος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. On such *δωρα* or *Αἰερνα* see Lucr. 6, 738-768; also the numerous passages dealing with Lake Avernus, e.g., Plin. *N. H.* 31, 21; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 442.

For vents by which chthonic influences were supposed to reach the upper world see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 370-377; 3 (1880), 366; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 815, who mentions (in addition to Italian instances) eleven such entrances to Hades (*Plutonia, Charonia*). See also the list of Waser, Büchner, and Ruge in *P.-W.* s.v. *Charoneia, Charonion* (1899), 2183-2184, and especially that of Rohde, *Psyche*, 1, 4 ed. (1907), 213, n. 1; 214, who treats their connection with *psychopompeia* (cf. 1, 132, n. (*psychomantia*) infra) and chthonic worship; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 364. Greek *katabothra* were also thus regarded; cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 120. Of all these spots the most famous (as noted by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 373-376) were in Asia Minor, where three, Acharaca, Limon(?), and Hierapolis, are all found in or near the valley of the Maeander, within a radius of about fifty miles. It was probably of two or all three of these that Q. Cicero says *quae vidimus*, for we know from the letters of Marcus that the route by which he himself went to the province of Cilicia in 51 B. C. passed close by them; cf. especially *ad Att.* 5, 20, 1: *Ephesum ut venerim nosti . . . Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sext. venimus, ibi morati biduum . . . idem dein Apameae*, etc.; cf. *ad Att.* 5, 13 (from Ephesus); 5, 14 (from Tralles); *ad Fam.* 3, 5, 1: *Tralles veni a.d. VI Kal. Sextilis*; 5, 15, 1: *Laodiceam veni pridie Kal. Sext.*; and for this journey in general see Hunter in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 3 (1913), 73-97 (with map). Quintus was with his

fera quaedam pars est, ut et Ampsancti in Hirpinis et in Asia Plutonia,

brother in Cilicia, and if he did not actually accompany him on this trip he probably reached that province by the same route, and a glance at the map will show that the course here outlined passes close to the *Plutonia* of the Maeander valley. Cf. 1, 2, n. (*praefuimus*).

For the *Plutonia* near Hierapolis cf. Strab. 12, p. 579; 13, pp. 629-630: 'Ἱερὰ πόλις ὄτου . . . τὸ Πλουτώνιον . . . τὸ δὲ Πλουτώνιον ὅτ' ὄρησι μικρῇ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης ὄρεινῆς στόμιόν ἐστι σύμμετρον ὄσον ἀνθρώπων βιάσθαι δυνάμενον, μεβάθονται δ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ πρόκειται δὲ τούτου δρυφάκτωμα τετράγωνον ὄσον ἡμιπλήθρου τῆν περιμετρον: τοῦτο δὲ πλήρης ἔστιν ὀμιχλώδοις παχείας ἀχλὺος ὡστε μῶγίς τοδάφος καθορᾶν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν κύκλῳ κλησιάζουσι πρὸς τὸν δρυφάκτον ἀλυκίς ἔστιν ὁ ἀήρ, καθαρῶν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀχλὺος ἐν ταῖς σπηλαιῖαις: συμμίει γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβάλλου: τῷ δ' εἰσω παριόντι ζῶν θάνατος παραχρῆμα ἀπαρτῶ: ταῦροι γοῦν εἰσαχθίντες πίπτουσι καὶ ἐξίλλονται νεκροί, ἡμεῖς δὲ στροιβία κτεμάμεν καὶ ἔπειεν εἰθὶς ἐκπνέουσαν: οἱ δ' ἀπόκοποι Γάλλοι παρῆσιον ἀπαθεῖς, κτλ.; Dio Cass. 68, 27, 3: εἶδον ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον ἔτερον ἐν 'Ἱερῇ πόλει τῆς 'Ἀσίας, καὶ ἑπειράθην αὐτοῦ δι' ὄρηων, αὐτὸς τε ὑπεκίνας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν τὸ πνεῦμα κατακίχεται γὰρ ἐν βασιμαρῇ τιμῇ, καὶ θέατρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ψαδόδητο, φθίρει τε πάντα τὰ ἔμπνευχα πλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτεμμημένων (cf. Suid. s.v. 'Ἀδριαβήθη); Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 18. Chandler (*Journeys in Asia Minor and Greece* (1817), 272) says that though he did not see the *Plutonium* near Hierapolis an old Turk assured him that it was still often fatal to goats which approached it. Cf. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1 (1895), 86; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 203-216, especially 204, n. 4.

On incubation as practised at *Plutonia* see Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906), 94-96.

1. *Ampsancti*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7, 563-571: *est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis, / nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris, / Ampsancti valles; densis hunc fron-*

dibus atrum / urguet utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus / dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens. / hic specus horrendum et sacri spiracula Diis / monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronie vorago / pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys, / invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat. The derivation of the name is explained by Serv. *Aen.* 7, 125: *hoc est apud nos 'ac' quod apud Graecos ἀμ. hinc est Ampsancti valles id est undique sancti* (cf. 7, 565; Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (1915), 23, and n. 3), and in 7, 563 he gives a further description: *hunc locum umbilicum* (cf. 2, 115 *infra*) *Italiae chorographi dicunt, est autem in latere Campaniae et Apuliae, ubi Hirpini sunt, et habet aquas sulphureas, ideo graviores quia ambitur silvis. ideo autem ibi aditus esse dicitur inferiorum quod gravis odor iuxta accedentes necat, adeo ut victimae circa hunc locum non immolarentur sed odore perirent ad aquam adplicatas. sciendum sane Varronem enumerare quot loca in Italia sint huiusmodi, etc.; Plin. *N.H.* 2, 208 (quoted in the preceding note). The lake is noted also by Claud. *de Rapt. Proserp.* 2, 350; Vib. *Seq.* p. 153 Riese: *Ampsanctus Lucaniae cuius halitus volucres necat*; and it comes to be proverbial for the ill-smelling, as in Sid. *Ep.* 3, 13, 8; Aug. *op. imperf. c. Iul.* 1, 48; Mar. *Merc. in Verba Iuliani* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 48, 127). Cf. Mommsen in *C.I.L.* IX, p. 91.*

For modern accounts of the spot see Hamilton in *Lond. Geogr. Journ.* 2, 62 (extracted by Conington on Virg. *Aen.* 7, 563); Hülsen in *P.-W.* s.v. *Ampsanctus* (1894), 1980-1981; Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 2 (1899), 405, n. 1; Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, 1 (1883), 271; 2 (1902), 819-820. The pond lies near the Appian Way, between Aeclanum and Compsa; it is now called *le Muste*, between Rocca S. Felice and Villamagna, and is about 20x30 paces in size. "The water bubbles up with an explosion resembling distant thunder. . . . On one side . . . is a constant and

quae vidimus, et sunt partes agrorum aliae pestilentes, aliae salubres, aliae quae acuta ingenia gignant, aliae quae retunsa; quae omnia fiunt et

1. vidimus *Pearce*, videmus *C.*

rapid stream of the same blackish water rushing into it from under . . . a barren rocky hill," under which the pond is, "but the fall is not more than a few feet. . . . A little above are apertures in the ground [in a wooded ravine, according to Nissen], through which warm blasts of sulphuretted hydrogen gas are constantly issuing with more or less noise" (Hamilton, *l.c.*). This gas is poisonous at close range (Nissen, *op. cit.* 2, 820); and here are the most powerful gas-springs in Italy (*id.* 1, 271, in an important chapter on volcanic phenomena in Campania). A temple of Mephitis near by is now replaced by a shrine of S. Felicità (*id.* 2, 820).

Norden (*op. cit.* 24, n. 1) remarks that the phrase *lacus Ampsanctus* is nowhere used and that classical writers prefer the plural form *Ampsancti* (cf. *Gabii, Labici, Corioli, Cirrei*, etc.).

1. *pestilentes . . . salubres*: often contrasted, e.g., 1, 130; *Off.* 3, 54; *de Fat.* 7; *Rep.* 2, 11; cf. the contrast of *pestilentia* and *salubritas* in 1, 131; 2, 30.

2. *aliae quae acuta*, etc.: cf. *N.D.* 2, 17: *an ne hoc quidem intellegimus omnia supera esse meliora, terram autem esse infimam, quam crassissimum circumfundat aër; ut ob eam ipsam causam, quod etiam quibusdam regionibus atque urbibus contingere videmus, hebetiora ut sint hominum ingenia propter caeli pleniorum naturam, hoc idem generi humano evenerit, quod in terra, hoc est, in crassissima regione mundi, conlocali sunt?* 2, 42: *licet videre acutiora ingenia et ad intelligendum aptiora eorum qui terras incolant eas in quibus aër sit purus ac tenuis quam illorum qui utantur crasso caelo atque concreto*; cf. 2, 93-94 *infra* for the effect of temporary weather conditions on children being born; *de Fat.* 7: *inter locorum naturas quantum intersit videmus; alios esse salubris, alios pestilentis, in aliis esse pituitosos et quasi redundantis, in aliis exsiccatos atque*

aridos. . . . Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores pulantur Allici, crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes. The remark of Mayor (on *N.D.* 2, 17) that this theory probably originated with Heraclitus rests, unfortunately, solely upon emendation, for the reading of Heracl. fr. 118 Diels (= 76 Bywater) is, in the MSS., not οὐ γῆ ξηρῆ ψυχῆ σοφοτάτη καὶ ἀρσθη, but ἀργῆ (or ἀρη) κτλ. Hippocr. *de Aëre, Aquis, et Locis* deals in detail with the effects of climate upon the physical character of man, mentioning, for example, the differences between the residents of Asia and those of Europe (pp. 547; 553 Kühn), the differences in diverse parts of Asia (pp. 554-555), the husky voices of those living in the thick atmosphere near the Phasis (p. 552), and giving a good summary of such physical effects (pp. 566-568): *δκου μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ κίθρα καὶ μαλακῆ καὶ εὐδρος . . . ἐσταῖθα καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι σαρκώδεις εἰσι καὶ ἀναρροὶ καὶ ὑγροὶ καὶ ἀταλαίπωροι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. τὸ τε βῆθμον καὶ τὸ ὑπερβῶτον ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖσιν· ἔστι τε τὰς τέχνας φαχέες, ἀλεπτοὶ οὐδ' ὀξείες. δκου δ' ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα ψιλὴ τε καὶ ἀνώχυρος καὶ τρηχέη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος πιεζομένη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κεκαυμένη, ἐσταῖθα δὲ σαληροὺς τε καὶ ἰσχυροὺς καὶ διηρθρωμένους καὶ ἐπτόνους καὶ δασεῖς. τὸ τε ἐργατικὸν ὀξὺ ἐνθε ἐν τῇ φύσει τῇ τοιαύτῃ καὶ τὸ ἀγρυπνον, τὰ τε φθῆ καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς ἀλόθιδεας καὶ ἰδιογνώμονας, τοῦ τε ἀγρίου μᾶλλον, μετέχοντας ἢ τοῦ ἡμέρου, ἔστι τε τὰς τέχνας ὀξυτέρους τε καὶ συνευωτέρους καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀμείρους εὐρήσεις, καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ φύμενα πάντα ἀκόλουθα οὗτα τῇ γῆ; cf. Pöhlmann, *Hellenische Anschauungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen Natur u. Geist* (1879), 10 ff., who cites Hdt. 9, 122 (φιλέω γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χωρῶν μαλακοὺς ἀνδρας γίνεσθαι); Plat. *Leg.* 5, p. 747 d-e (μηδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς λαθρανίτω περὶ τόπων, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄλλοι τυτῆ διαφέροντες ἄλλων τόπων πρὸς τὸ γενεᾶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμείρους καὶ χείρους . . . οἱ δὲ διδῶντα, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς*

ex caeli varietate et ex disparili adspiratione terrarum.

τροφήν ἀναδιδούσαν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἀμείνω καὶ χεῖρω, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς οὐχ ἦττον δυναμένην πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμοποιεῖν, κτλ.); *Tim.* p. 24 c (ἡ θεὸς προτέρους ὑμᾶς διακομήσασα κατέκτισεν, ἐλεξαμένη τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ γεγίσησε, τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὠρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδούσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτους ἀνδρας ὄσοι); *Critius*, p. 109 c; cf. also *Eur. Med.* 829-830 (of the Athenians): αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου / βαινοῦτες ἀβρώς αἰθίους; *Megasthenes ap. Diod.* 2, 36 (= *F. H. G.* 2, 402): εἶναι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ (sc. the inhabitants of India) συμβαίνει καὶ πρὸς τὰς τέχνας ἐπιστήμονας, ὡς ἂν ἀέρα μὲν ἑλωστας καθαρὸν, ὕδωρ δὲ λεπτομερῆστατον τίνοντας; *Arist. Pol.* 4, p. 1327 b 23; *Physiogn.* 2, p. 806 b 15; *Probl.* 14, 1; 14, 8; 14, 15; 14, 16; *Polyb.* 4, 21. The theory also appears very definitely in the teaching of Panaetius; cf. *Procl. ad Plat. Tim.* p. 50 b: τὴν δὲ εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὠρῶν τὴν τῶν φρονιμῶν οὐσιαστικὴν Παναίτιος μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ἐπὶ τῶν φαινομένων ἤκουσαν, ὡς τῆς Ἀττικῆς διὰ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ θένου εὐ κεκραμένης ἐπιτηδείως ἐχούσης πρὸς τὴν τῶν φρονιμῶν ἀσθῶν ἀπογίννησιν. From Panaetius the idea doubtless made its way through Posidonius to our passage, for Strabo (2, pp. 102-103) attacks Posidonius for such a view (cf. Corssen, *De Posidonio Rhodio* (1878), 31-32), and says: αὐτὰρ τοιαῦτα διατάξει οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας γίνονται, καθάπερ οἰδὲ αἱ κατὰ τὰ θῆνη διαφοραὶ, οὐδ' αἱ διάλεκτοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίπτωσιν καὶ συντυχίαν καὶ τέχνην δὲ καὶ συνάμεινον καὶ ἐπιτηδείους ἀξάντων τιμῶν κρατοῦσιν αἱ ἐλεῖται ἐν ὅποιον κλίματι. ἔστι δὲ τι καὶ παρὰ τὰ κλίματα, ὥστε τὰ μὲν φύσει ἔστιν ἐπιχωρία τισὶ τὰ δ' ἔθει καὶ ἀσκήσει. οὐ γὰρ φύσει Ἀθηναῖοι φιλόλογοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οὐ καὶ οἱ ἑγγυτέρω Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἔθει, κτλ.; *Galen, Hipp. Plac.* p. 464 Kühn (= *F. H. G.* 3, 288): συνάπτει δ' εἰκότως τοῖς λόγοις ταύτοις ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τὰ κατὰ φυσιογνώμων φαινόμενα . . . καὶ κατὰ τὰς χώρας οὐ σμικρῶ τιμὴ διατηροῦνται τοῖς ἔθου τοῖς ἀσθῶν τοῖς εἰς θαλίαν καὶ τὸ λυμῶν ἢ τὸ φιλόφρονος τε καὶ φιλόστονον, ὡς τῶν παθητικῶν

εὐφῶων τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπομένων ἀεὶ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ σώματος ἦν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ περίχρον κρᾶσεως οὐ κατ' ὄλιγον ἀλλοιοῦσθαι; *id.*, *quod Animi Mores*, 8-11 (pp. 798-822 Kühn) with a long discussion. So *Hor. Ep.* 2, 1, 244: *Boeotum in crasso iurares aëre natum*; cf. *Pind. Ol.* 6, 90; *Plut. de Esu Carn.* 1, 6 (who lays the Athenian charge of Boeotian density to the large appetites of the Boeotians); *Roberts, The Ancient Boeotians* (1895), 1-9; but the theory is perhaps parodied in *Hor. Sat.* 2, 8, 6-7. For further illustrations of this belief cf. *Vitruv.* 6, 1, 9: *item propter tenuitatem caeli meridianae nationes ex acuta fervore mente expeditius celerisque moventur ad consilium cogitationes. septentrionales autem gentes infusae crassitudine caeli propter obstantiam aëris umore refrigeratae stupentes habent mentes, etc.*; *Sen. de Ira*, 2, 15, 5: *ferre itaque imperia penes eos fuere populos qui miliore caelo utuntur. in frigora septentrionemque vergentibus inmansueta ingenia sunt, ut ait poeta* [*Frag. Poet. Rom.* 359, no. 25 Baehrens] *suoque simillima caelo*; *Curt.* 7, 3, 6: *locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat*; 8, 9, 20: *ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos* (sc. *Indos*) *locorum quoque situs format*; *Juv.* 10, 50: *ovrecum in patria crassoque sub aëre nasci*; cf. *Hor. Ep.* 2, 1, 244 quoted above; the place which Juvenal here has in mind is Abdera (cf. *N. D.* 1, 120); *Serv. Aen.* 6, 724: *Afros persipelles, Graecos leves, Gallos pigrioris videmus ingenii: quod natura climatum facit, sicut Ptolomaeus deprehendit, etc.*; *Veget. Mil.* 1, 2 (contrasting the temperaments of northern and southern peoples); *Cassiod. Var.* 12, 15: *frusitur* (sc. *Scyllacium*) *luce perspicua; aëris quoque temperatione dotata, apricas hiemes, refrigeratas sensibus aestates . . . hinc et homo sensu liberior est, quia temperies cuncta moderatur. patria siquidem fervens leves efficit et acerbos, frigida tardos et subdolos; sola temperata est quae mores hominum suo*

80. Fit etiam saepe specie quadam, saepe vocum gravitate et cantibus ut pellantur animi vehementius, saepe etiam cura et timore, qualis est illa

Flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris

4. aut *Anaxus*, ut C.

4. Bacchi *Palatinus* unus teste *Grutero*, baccha C, sed in B posterior a in ras.

qualitate componit. hinc est quod antiqui Athenas sedem sapientium esse dixerunt, quae aëris puritate peruncta lucidissimos sensus ad contemplativam partem felicitate praeparavit. See also several selections in Stob. *Flor.* 101, 16 ff.; other passages noted by Wendland, *Philo's Schrift über die Vorsehung* (1892), 81, nn. 3-4; and Newman on Arist. *Pol.* 4 (1902), p. 1327 b 23 ff.; Adam on Plat. *Rep.* 4 (1905), p. 435e; Roger Bacon, *Op. maius* (Bridges' ed. 1, 138; 250; 2, 216). For the views of Bodin on the relation of climate to national temperament see Renz in *Geschicht. Unters. herausg. von Lamprecht*, 3, 1 (1905), 47-61; cf. Mme. de Staël, *De la Littérature* (1800), ch. 11.

Modern treatments are those of Sempé, *Influences of geogr. Environment* (1911; based on the works of Fr. Ratzel), especially 620-622; Huntington, *Civilization and Climate* (1915), who, however, notes (pp. 121 ff.) that unbroken clear weather is less conducive to efficiency than changeable weather with the stimuli from storms. See also Koller, *The Theory of Environment*, 1 (1918), esp. 7 ff.; 80 ff.

[234]2. *retumna*: a figurative use found also in Claud. in *Eutrop.* 2, 47; Hier. *Ep.* 69, 4, 5.

[235]1. *disparili*: in Republican Latin only here and in Varr. *R. R.* 2, 11, 4.

[235]1. *aspiratione*: elsewhere in Cicero of the sky (1, 130 infra) or the air (*N. D.* 2, 83). On the Stoic view of the effects upon life of the exhalation of the *spiritus* in the earth, see Sen. *N. Q.* 6, 16.

1. *fit*: seldom in so emphatic a position, and usually introduced by *ex quo* or *ita* (cf. 1, 126), yet in *Off.* 1, 146 we find the same use as here; cf. *Rep.* 6, 10.

1. *specie quadam*: cf. 1, 81.

If. *vocum gravitate et cantibus*: cf. 1, 114, and there, as here, not by hendiadys (as some editors suppose), but of two distinct things, whether *cantibus* here refer to instrumental music (as in *Tusc.* 5, 104; *N. D.* 2, 146) or to vocal music as distinct from ominous spoken words (cf. 1, 102). On such *ὑπονοήματα* see Iambl. *de Myster.* 3, 9, p. 117 Parthey; cf. Diels in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1915, 7 (1916), 78, n. 3.

2. *pellantur animi*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 32; *N. D.* 1, 106; *Off.* 3, 41; *Parad.* 27.

2. *cura et timore*: cf. 2, 114.

3. *illa*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*illa*).

4. *flexanima*, etc.: cf. Varr. *L. L.* 7, 87: *apud Pacium* [lines 422-423 Ribbeck]: '*flexanima tamquam lymphata & aut Bacchi sacris commota.*' *lymphata* < *aula* *Bacchi sacris commota.* *lymphata* < *dicta* *a lymphā*; < *lymphā* > *a Nymphā* . . . in *Graecia commota mente quos νυμφολήτρους* appellat, ab eo *lymphatos* dixerunt nostri. The fragment is probably from the *Teucer* (Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 1 (1887), 169), from which a fragment already quoted may come; cf. 1, 24, n. (*profectione*, etc.); Zillinger, *Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 130-131 for Cicero's other quotations from that play.

The words *Teucreum* . . . *sumum* indicate either the mother or the wife of Teucer as here represented. The latter, Eune or Eue, daughter of Cyprus, is mentioned but once in literature (Tzets. ad Lycophr. 450), and it is far more probable that, as Ribbeck supposes, we have here a reference to the former, Hesione, and that the moment described is that in which she is frantically trying to induce Telamon to allow Teucer to remain. The interpretation of Ernesti

Commota in tumulis Teucrum commemorans suum.

XXXVII. Atque etiam illa concitatio declarat vim in animis esse divinam. Negat enim sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse

and some other editors that this refers to Tecmessa, wife of Ajax, lamenting the death of Ajax, appears impossible.

The word *sexanimia* is clearly here used in a passive sense, although in Pacuv. *Hermiona*, 177 Ribbeck (quoted in *de Or.* 2, 187), it is active in meaning; cf. Friedrich on Catull. 64, 330.

[236]4. *lymphata*: cf. the passage from Varro quoted in the preceding note; Paul. ex Fest. p. 120 M.: *lymphae dictae sunt a nymphis. vulgo aulem memoriae proditum est quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem nymphae, viderint furendi non fecisse finem; quos Graeci νυμφολήπτου vocant. Latini lymphaticos appellant.* Nympholepsy is one of the forms of *ἰθουσιασμός* or ecstatic possession (cf. Hesych. s.v. *νυμφολήπτοι: οἱ κατεχόμενοι Νύμφαις. μάρτυς δὲ εἰσι, καὶ ἰθυσιαστικοί*), and that caused by the Nymphs seems akin to that caused by Bacchus with which it is here coupled; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 356-357; 2 (1880), 263; 3 (1880), 85 (on inspiration by the Muses); Rohde, *Psych.* 2, 4 ed. (1907), 68, n. 2; 374, n. 2. The prophecies of the Boeotian Bacis seem to have been of this sort; cf. 1, 34, n. (*Bacis*). For *lymphatus* used in connection with the worship of Bacchus cf. Catull. 64, 254-255: *quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant / Euhoe bacchantes.* The connection of inspired prophecy with the power of Bacchus is also noted by Eur. *Bacch.* 298-301: τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον / καὶ τὸ μανιώδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει: / ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐς τὸ σῶμ' ἔδῃ πολλῶς, / λέγειν τὸ μῆλλον τοῖς μεμνῶτας τοῖσι.

[236]4. *aacris*: it is not quite clear whether this is a noun (referring to the rites of Bacchus) or an adjective modifying *tumulis*, but since *tumulis* seems to need some modifier it is perhaps better to take it in the latter sense. The ecstatic enthu-

siasm of the Bacchic worshippers is too well known to require comment.

1. *tumulis*: in the sense of *collibus* as in 1, 18. The connection of Bacchic orgiastic rites with hills is abundantly attested, as by the localization of many such on Mt. Cithaeron (Virg. *Aen.* 4, 303; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 371; etc.) and other mountains, also by the epithets applied to Dionysus (Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poetas Graecos leguntur* (1903), 90 for epithets in *ἄρ(ε)ο-*). The romantic elements in the Greek nature seem to have found their principal outlet in connection with such orgiastic rites and the part played in them by the inspiration of natural scenery is worthy of note.

2. *illa*: pointing forward; cf. 1, 14, n. (*illa*).

2. *concitatio*: cf. 1, 34, n. (*concitatio*).

2. *vim . . . divinam*: cf. 1, 118; 2, 29; 2, 35; 2, 117; 2, 124; *N.D.* 2, 167: *nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino umquam fuit; Tusc.* 1, 64: *ne haec quidem notiora et illustriora carere vi divina videntur, ut ego aut poelum grave plenumque carmen sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu pulem fundere, aut eloquentiam sine maiore quadam vi fluere; pro Arch.* 18: *poelum natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino spiritali inflari; Sen. Ep.* 41, 2: *bonus vero vir sine deo nemo est . . . in unoquoque virorum bonorum 'quis deus incertus est, habitat deus.'*

3. *negat enim*: cf. *de Or.* 2, 194: *saepe enim audiivi poetam bonum neminem (id quod a Democrito et Platone in scriptis relictum esse dicunt) sine inflammatione animorum existere posse et sine quadam adflatu quasi furoris. Diels (Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 2, 3 ed. (1912), 66) compares Hor. Ep. 2, 3, 295-297: ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte / credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas / Democri-*

posse, quod idem dicit Plato. Quem, si placet, appellet furorem, dum modo

tus; cf. Clem. *Strom.* 6, 168: καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ὁμοίως ποιητῆς δὲ ἄσσα μὲν ἐν γράφῃ μετ' ἐκθουσιασμοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ πνεύματος, καλὰ κάρτα ἐστίν'; Dio Cass. 36, 1: ὁ μὲν Δημόκριτος περὶ Ὀμήρου φησὶν οὕτως: Ὀμηρος φύσεως λαχὼν θεαζούσης ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτήνατο παντοίων, ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν ἀνευ θέας καὶ δαιμονίας φύσεως οὕτως καλὰ καὶ σοφὰ ἔπη ἐργάζεσθαι. This view of Democritus was probably set forth in his work περὶ ποιήσεως (Diog. L. 9, 48; cf. 1, 5, n. (*Democritus*) supra). Zeller (*Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 1, 2, 5 ed. (1892), 941) suggests that this belief was perhaps connected by Democritus with his other theories by assuming that certain more favorably organized souls receiving a greater richness of εἰώλα were thrown by them into a more lively motion, and that in this lay the poetic talent. This is, of course, a very different view from that of the demonic theory of *furores*. Of the style of Democritus himself Cicero says (*Orat.* 67): *video visum esse nonnullis Platonis et Democriti locutionem, etsi absit a versu, tamen quod incitatus feratur . . . potius poema putandum quam comicorum poetarum.*

1. dicit Plato: this theme is developed at length in the *Ion*, especially pp. 533e-534a (after a simile drawn from the magnet): οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἡ Μοῦσα ἐνθεοῦ μὲν ποιεῖ ἀλήθ, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνθίων τοῦτων ἄλλων ἐκθουσιαζόντων ὁμαθὸς ἐξαρτᾶται. πάντες γὰρ οἱ τε τῶν ἐπῶν ποιητὰ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ οὐκ ἐκ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἐνθεοὶ ὄντες καὶ κατασχεόμενοι πάντα ταῦτα τὰ καλὰ λέγουσι ποιήματα, καὶ οἱ μελοποιοὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως, ὡς περ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες οὐκ ἐμφρονες ὄντες ὀρχοῦνται, οὕτως καὶ οἱ μελοποιῶν οὐκ ἐμφρονες ὄντες τὰ καλὰ μέλη ταῦτα ποιούσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἁρμονίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν ρυθμὸν, βακχεύουσι καὶ κατεχόμενοι, ὡς περ αἱ βάκχαι ἀρούσται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἐμφρονες δὲ οἷσαι οὐ, καὶ τῶν μελοποιῶν ἢ ψυχὴ τοῦτο ἐργάζεται, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κτλ.; *A pol.* p. 22b-c: ἔγνω οὖν αὐ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφία

ποιοῦν ἀ ποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐκθουσιάζοντες ὡς περ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμοφόδοι, κτλ.; *Phaedr.* p. 245a: τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοκωχῆ τε καὶ μαρία, λαβούσα ἀπὸ τῆν καὶ ἄβατον ψυχῆν, ἐγείρουσα καὶ ἐκβακχεύουσα κατὰ τε ψῶδες καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν, . . . δε δ' ἐν ἀνευ μαρίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικῆς θύρας ἀφίκεται, κεισθεῖς ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανὸς ποιητῆς ἐσόμενος, ἀτελής αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων ἢ τοῦ σφωφρονοῦντος ἠφανίσθη; *Leg.* p. 682a: θεῖον γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐκθουσιαστικὸν ἐσ γένος ὁμαφοῦν; p. 719c: παλαιὸς μῦθος . . . ὅτι ποιητῆς, ὁπόταν ἐν τῷ τρίτοδὲ τῆς Μούσης καθίστηται, τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν; cf. *Meno*, p. 99c-d; Finsler, *Platon u. die aristotel. Poetik* (1900), 172-191.

Aristotle admits the theory, at least in part; cf. *Poet.* 17, p. 1455 a 32 ff.: διὸ εὐφροῦς ἢ ποιητικὴ ἐστὶν ἢ μαρκεῖοῦ τοῦτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εὐπλαστοὶ οἱ δὲ ἐξεπαστικοὶ εἰσιν; while in *Probl.* 30, 1 melancholia is made in part responsible for poetic (as for other sorts of) talent (cf. 1, 81 infra; *Tusc.* 1, 80), and this seems to agree well with the notion of divination as associated with pathological states, especially approaching death (as in 1, 63 supra). Cf. also Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 321-322: *poemata . . . / . . . si quis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu;* *Ep.* 1, 19, 3-4: *male sanos / adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas;* *Ov. Fast.* 6, 5-6: *est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo; / impetus hic sacrae semina mentis habet;* *Sen. de Tranq.* 17, 10: *nam sive Graeco poetae credimus (cf. Anacr. 8; Hor. Carm. 4, 12, 28): 'aliquando et insanire iucundum est,' sive Platoni 'frustra poeticas fores compos sui pepulii,' sive Aristoteli 'nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit'; non potest grande aliquid et super ceteros loqui nisi mola mens;* *Isid. Etym.* 8, 7, 3: *poetae Latine vales olim et scripta eorum vaticinia dicebantur, quod si quadam et quasi vesania inscribendo commoverentur . . . etiam per furorem divini eodem etiam nomine, quia et ipsi quoque pleraque versibus efferebant.*

is furor ita laudetur ut in Phaedro Platonis laudatus est. Quid? vestra oratio in causis, quid? ipsa actio potest esse vehemens et gravis et copiosa nisi est animus ipse commotior? Equidem etiam in te saepe vidi et, ut ad leviora veniamus, in Aesopo, familiari tuo, tantum ardorem vultuum

This connection of mantic and poetic inspiration is perhaps suggested in a fragment of Strabo (7, fr. 19).

[238]1. *quem*: attracted from the gender of *conciatio*, now cut off by an intervening sentence, to that of the predicate *furorem*.

1. *laudetur*: *Phaedr.* p. 244a: τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν γίνονται διὰ μανίας, θεῖαί μὲντοι δοσεῖ διδομένης.

2. *oratio . . . actio*: the distinction between these words appears constantly in Cicero's oratorical works, e.g., *Orat.* 54: *tibi enim tantum de orationis genere quaerenti respondi etiam breviter de inveniendō et collocandō—ne nunc quidem solum de orationis modo dicam, sed etiam de actionis*; *Brut.* 239: *erat (sc. Cn. Pompeius) oratione satis amplius, rem prudenter videbat, actio vero eius habebat et in voce magnum splendorem et in motu summam dignitatem*; cf. *de Or.* 1, 17-18. *Oratio* here corresponds to 'style' and *actio* to 'delivery.'

2. *vehemens et gravis et copiosa*: of these qualities the first is occasionally, and the last two are frequently praised by Cicero in his oratorical works; cf. also the couplet *graviter et copiose* in *Tusc.* 2, 61; *Fin.* 4, 5.

3. *commotior*: on this feeling in cases in court cf. *Ac.* 2, 64, and Reid's note.

3f. *ut ad leviora veniamus*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 107: *haec leviora ponam*; also *de Or.* 1, 18: *histrionum levis ars*; 1, 129: *in artificio perquam tenuis et levi quanto plus adhibeatur diligentiae quam in hac re, quam constat esse maximam. saepe enim soleo audire Roscium*, etc. The low social status of the theatrical profession at Rome, largely recruited from slaves, but in the case of great actors like Roscius and Aesopus occasionally raised to more intimate relations with prominent men, is discussed by Navarre in Daremb. et Saglio,

Dict. des Antiq. s.v. *Histrion* (1900), 229; Warnecke in *P.-W.* s.v. *Histrion* (1913), 2117; 2125-2127; Michaut, *Hist. de la Comédie rom.* 1 (1912), 369-370.

4. *Aesopo, familiari tuo*: cf. Charis. *Inst. gram.* (G.L.K. 1, 130): *familiare ab hoc familiare si de homine, familiare si de re. familiare pro familiare . . . Cicero quoque in divinatione libro I 'in Aesopo familiari tuo.'* Claudius Aesopus, next to Roscius the greatest contemporary Roman actor, is often familiarly mentioned by Cicero; cf. Ribbeck, *Röm. Tragödie* (1875), 671-675; Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Clodius Aesopus* (1900), 67; Henry in *Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philology*, 16 (1919), 352-355.

4. *ardorem vultuum*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 107: *ardor oculorum*; *pro Bulb.* 49; *pro Lig.* 9; *Vell.* 2, 35, 3: *ardore oris*. *Hor. Ep.* 2, 1, 82 applies to Aesopus the adjective *gravis*.

4. *vultuum*: this passage appears to indicate that Aesopus, sometimes at least, played without a mask, which seems partly contradictory to the story told by Fronto (p. 147 Naber): *tragicus Aesopus fertur non prius ullam suo induisse capiti personam antequam diu ex adverso contemplaretur pro personae vultu gestum sibi capessere ac vocem*, etc. Now it appears that Roscius acted in comedy sometimes with and sometimes without a mask, according to Gow in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 2 (1912), 65-66, who cites as evidence (1) a passage in Diomed. *de Art. gram.* 3, 9, 7 (G.L.K. 1, 489, 10-13), which says: *personis vero uli primus coepit Roscius Gallus, praecipuus histrionis*; (2) *de Or.* 3, 221: *sed in ore sunt omnia, in eo aulem ipso dominatus est omnis oculorum; quo melius nostri senes, qui personatum ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant*. Cf. also Donat. *de Comoedia*, 6, 3: *personati primi egisse dicuntur*

atque motuum ut eum mentis vis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu videretur.

81. Obiciuntur etiam saepe formae quae reapse nullae sunt, speciem autem offerunt, quod contigisse Brenno dicitur eiusque Gallicis copiis, cum

1. eum mentis vis . . . a sensu videretur *Postgate* (eum vis quaedam mentis . . . a sensu videretur *Pease*), eum vis quaedam . . . a sensu mentis videretur *C* (cum vis . . . *B*), tum vis quaedam . . . a sensu mentis videretur *Darius*, eum vis quaedam . . . a statu mentis videretur *Moser*.

2. quae reapse *vulg.*, quae abse *ABB*, quae res ab se *V*.

comoediam Cincius Faliscus, tragoediam Minucius Prothymus (a reading which Gow, *op. cit.* 67-68, defends against emendation). Whatever the date of the introduction of masks, however, since Roscius sometimes did and sometimes did not employ them in comedy there seems to be no reason why Aesopus may not have sometimes acted without them in tragedy, despite the doubt of Gow, *op. cit.* 77, n. 1. Possibly differences in the rôle to be played or performance before a small group at some private gathering may have permitted the abandonment of the customary mask.

1. *eum*: Cicero's display of *animus commotior* is here put in the background by that of Aesopus. Important is Plut. *Cic.* 5, which says that Aesopus was so carried away by the part of Atreus which he was acting that he struck a slave with his sceptre with such force as to kill him.

1. *mentis vis quaedam*: the MS. reading a *sensu mentis* is a strange expression, for which the codices offer no variant. The words *sensu mentis* are not easily intelligible, and among the sixteen examples of *vis quaedam* in Cicero's philosophical works there is no case in which *vis* is not further qualified, either by an adjective or by a following relative clause. I have accordingly suggested (in *Class. Philol.* 13 (1918), 210-211) that by the simple transfer of *mentis* to another position earlier in the sentence these two difficulties might be simultaneously avoided, reading *ut eum vis quaedam mentis abstraxisse a sensu videretur*. (In the archetype the word *mentis* was probably omitted, then added in the margin, and finally inserted in the wrong place.) This order has been further improved by the suggestion of Postgate (*Class. Philol.* 13 (1918), 410

who would place *mentis* in the position which I have adopted in the text, and who explains its having dropped out of its proper place by the similarity of ending of *mentis* and *vis*. In support of the expression *mentis vis* may be cited a similar passage in *pro Arch.* 18: *poenam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino spiritu inflari*; cf. 1, 129 *infra*: *quanta sit animi vis seiuncta a corporis sensibus*.

2. *obiciuntur*: a word often used of applications; cf. 1, 60; 2, 129; 2, 143; *de Fat.* 43.

2. *formae*: see note on *quod contigisse Brenno infra*; *N.D.* 2, 6: *saepe visae formae deorum*.

2. *reapse*: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 108, 32: *reapse dici a Cicerone, id est, re ipsa, in commentarium refert (sc. grammaticus), nec minus seipse, id est se ipse*. But the real derivation of the word, which was apparently obsolescent at the time of Cicero, is *re+capse*; cf. Sommer, *Handbuch d. lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*, 3 ed. (1914), 431. For cases of its use in Cicero and for that of other similar obsolescent expressions see Parzinger, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. Entwickl. d. ciceronisch. Stils* (1910), 105. In two other cases (*Rep.* 1, 2; *de Am.* 47) *reapse* is used, as here, like the Greek ἄρα, contrasted with some other expression (*oratione, specie*; here *speciem*) suggesting the Greek ἄρα; cf. 1, 17, n. (*serbo . . . falsis . . . vocibus . . . re vera*).

2. *nullae*: for such uses of *nullus* in the predicate, with the meaning 'non-existent,' 'dead,' or 'absurd,' sometimes modified by *tam* or *quam*, see 1, 65; 1, 85; 2, 16; 2, 138; Merguet, *Lexikon z. d. phil. Schriften*, 2 (1892), 770; *de Sen.* 74; 79; *Fin.* 5, 72; Plaut. *Truc.* 197; Ter. *Andr.*

fano Apollinis Delphici nefarium bellum intulisset. Tum enim ferunt ex oraclo ecfatam esse Pythiam:

Ego providebo rem istam et albae virgines.

(608; Virg. *Aen.* 7, 51; *Catalept.* 11 (14), 7; Sen. *ad Polyb. de Cons.* 9, 3; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 17, 1; Justin, 2, 12, 10; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 10, 4; Aug. *C. D.* 5, 9; etc.

[240]3. **quod contigisse Brenno: Brennus** (not, as some have thought, a generic term, but an individual name; cf. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* (1896), 517-518), of the tribe of the Πραῦσοι (Strab. 4, p. 187), in the latter part of 279 B.C. (on the date see Stähelin, *Gesch. d. Kleinasien*. *Göttinger*, 1 ed. (1897), 4, n. 1), led a Gallic host into Greece, and there threatened Delphi. Some authors (Strab. *l.c.*; Val. Max. 1, 1, ext. 9) say that Brennus reached the shrine, but at any rate the Gauls were eventually repelled with losses, as the legendary accounts say by supernatural intervention in earthquake and storms; cf. Niese in *P.-W.* s.v. *Brennos* (1899), and the authorities there cited; also Polyb. 2, 20; 2, 35 (rationalistic in attitude); Paus. 1, 4, 4; 8, 5, 8; and especially 10, 23, 1-2: Βρέννης δὲ καὶ τῆ στρατιᾷ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐς Δελφοῦς ἀβροισθέντες ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάρους ἀντεσημαίνε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχῆ τε καὶ ὧν ἴσμεν φανερώτατα. ἦ τε γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα, ὅσην ἐκείχειν ἡ τῶν Γαλάτων στρατιά, βιαίως καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔσειετο τῆς ἡμέρας, βρονταὶ τε καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγένοντο . . . τὰ τε τῶν ἠρώων θρηκαυτὰ ὤφισιν ἐφάνη φάσματα (cf. the *fortes* mentioned by Cicero), δὲ Ἐπίροχος καὶ ὁ Λαδοκὸς τε καὶ Πύρρος: οἱ δὲ καὶ τέταρτον Φύλακον ἐπιχώριον Δελφοῖς ἀπαριθμοῦσιν ἤρωα, κτλ.; 10, 23, 4: τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολλῶ σφας κμηλλεν ἀλγευώτερα ἐπιλήφθησθαι. βίγος τε γὰρ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ νυφτός ἦν ὁμοῦ τῷ βίγει, κίτραι τε ἀπολισθάνουσαι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μεγάλαι καὶ κρημνοὶ καταρρηγνύμενοι σκοπὸν βαρβάρους εἶχον, κτλ. The incident is also mentioned by Cicero, *pro Fonti.* 30.

1. **nefarium bellum:** a phrase used seventeen times in the orations.

2. **ecfatam:** cf. 1, 41, n. (*ecfatus*).

3. **ego providebo, etc.:** cf. *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 403: ἡμὸς μὲλῃσει ταῦτα καὶ

λευκαῖς κόραις βαρβάρων τινῶν στρατευομένων ἐπὶ Δελφοῦς ἐρωτώμενος ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἐφάνη μετὰ Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἀρτεμίδος, ὧν καὶ ἱερὰ ἐστὶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, προσώπων ὑπαντῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις. Suidas (s.v. ἡμὸς μὲλῃσει) has almost verbally the same account, and the verse appears in Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 144 (cf. Pomtow, *Quaest. de Orac. Carpat selectum* (1881), 7, n. 2); Aristid. *Or.* 4, p. 338 fin.; Tzetz. *Chil.* 11, 394 (who notes expressly that it is in iambic verse; for oracles in iambics cf. Pomtow, *l.c.*). The substance is also given by Diod. 22, 9: ἡ δὲ Πιεθία τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἀποκρίσιν ἔδωκε: προστάττει τὸν θεόν, εἶν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν ἀθήκοντα κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῷ μαντεῖω φυλάξειν γὰρ ἅπαντα τὸν θεόν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰς λευκὰς κόρας; cf. Wolff, ed. of Porphyry, *de Phil. ex Orac. haur.* (1856), 70-71; Hendess, *Oracula Graeca* (1877), 13-14; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 192-194; Pomtow, *l.c.*; Weniger in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 10 (1907), 243-245.

Similar accounts describe the attack upon Delphi by the forces of Xerxes; cf. Hdt. 8, 36: οἱ Δελφοὶ . . . ἱμαντίοντο περὶ τῶν ἰρῶν χρημάτων . . . ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφέας οὐκ ἔα κινεῖν, φᾶς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν κωντοῦ προκατήσθαι; Diod. 11, 14, 3; cf. Joann. Saresb. *Poligr.* 6, 17. Again, in 370-369 B.C., when Delphi was threatened by Jason of Pherae, according to Xen. *Hell.* 6, 4, 30: λέγεται δὲ ἑτερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τί χρῆ ποιεῖν . . . ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲλῃσει; cf. Crusius in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Hyperboreer* (1890), 2810; Hendess, *l.c.* Cf. the destruction by a sand-storm of the army sent by Cambyses against Ammon (Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 30, 2). These stories are doubtless part of a more or less conventionalized priestly tradition. Delphi presented, of course, a rich bait to spoilers, and fragments are preserved of two works on objects pillaged

Ex quo factum ut viderentur virgines ferre arma contra et nive Gallorum obrueretur exercitus.

XXXVIII. Aristoteles quidem eos etiam qui valetudinis vitio furerent et melancholici dicerentur censebat habere aliquid in animis praesagiens

thence (Theopompus in *F. H. G.* 1, 308-309; Alexandrides in *F. H. G.* 3, 106-107).

[241]3. *providebo rem*: cf. 2, 70: *in providendis rebus*.

[241]3. *albae virgines*: several explanations of this oracle (doubtless composed *post eventum*; cf. Crusius, *l.c.*; *id.*, *Die delphischen Hymnen* (1894), 86, n. 119) have been offered. That of Cicero, that the *albae virgines* are snowflakes, is in harmony with the *grandine et frigore* of Justin, 24, 8, 10; the *νεφέτος* of Paus. 10, 23, 4; with Schol. Callim. in *Del.* 175: ὁ Ἀπόλλων χαλάσῃ χρησάμενος ἀπέλασε τοὺς πλείους αὐτῶν; and especially with a Delphic hymn to Apollo (Weil in *Bull. Corresp. Hell.* 18 (1894), 355; Crusius, *Die delphischen Hymnen* (1894), 85, whose restoration I here quote): <Ἔγνω> δὲ Γαλ<ατῶν> στρατὸς εὐθεὸν τ>ὸ μ<αν>τοσύ<ναις κλυτῶν, συγκυφθεῖς δ> τ>ὸ ὠλοθ' ὕγρῳ χί<λωνι, καὶ μετ' Ἀρτέμιδος φρι>κτὸν Παλλάδος <ἔγχεος, >κτλ. For the comparison between snow-flakes (by their purity suggesting virginity) and maidens see the Chione story told by Serv. *Aen.* 4, 250, and his remark: *nives, repraesentantes virginis vitam priorem*.

Another interpretation, probably due to Timaeus (Crusius in Roscher, *l.c.*), is found in Justin, 24, 8, 5 ff.: *dum omnes opem dei suppliciter implorant iuvenem supra humanum modum insignis pulchritudinis comitesque ei duas armatasque virgines ex propinquis duabus Dianae Minervaeque aedibus occurrisse*, etc.; Diod. 22, 9, 5: *ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει διεὶν νεῶν παρτελῶς ἀρχαίων Ἀθηναῖς προναίου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ταύτας τὰς θεοῦν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τὰς διὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ προσαγορευόμενας λευκὰς κόρας* (cf. Paus. 10, 15, 2); see also the mention of Pallas and Artemis in the Delphic hymn above quoted. Crusius (*l.c.*) suggests a combination in one

legend of several elements: (1) the Hyperborean heroes Hyperochus and Laodocus (of the version of Pausanias); (2) the connection of the Hyperboeans with Chione and Boreas; and (3) a possible identification of the snow-flakes with Hyperoche and Laodice, Hyperborean maidens described in *Hdt.* 4, 33-35. For another explanation see Herzog in *Comptes Rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions, 1904, 170-171. Weniger (*l.c.*) holds them to have been κῆρες. For still other less probable views see Wolff, *op. cit.* 71; Pomtow, *op. cit.* 19, n. 38.

1. *ex quo factum*: cf. 1, 32, n. (*ex quo factum est ut*).

3. *Aristoteles*: *Probl.* 30, 1, p. 954 a 34 ff. (the composite and non-Aristotelian character of the *Problematia* need not have been known to Cicero, who might well have quoted from them): πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔγγυς εἶναι τοῦ νοσηροῦ τόπου τῆν θερμότητα ταύτην νοσήμασιν ἀλλίσκορται μπιτικοῖς ἢ ἐθουσιαστικοῖς, ὅθεν Σίβυλλαι καὶ Βάκιδες καὶ οἱ ἔθιοι γίνονται πάντες, ὅταν μὴ νοσήματι γίνωρται ἀλλὰ φυσικῇ κρᾶσει; 30, 14, p. 957 a 32 ff.: οἱ δὲ μελαγχολικοὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐξάττουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, ὅτι πλείους τῆς θερμασίας οὐσης μᾶλλον τοῦ μετρίου ἢ ψυχῆ ἐν κινήσει, σφοδρότερας δὲ τῆς κινήσεως οὐσης οὐ δύνανται καθεῖναι; *Eth. Eud.* 7, 14, p. 1248 a 39-40: διὸ οἱ μελαγχολικοὶ καὶ εὐθύνεροι; *de Div. per Somn.* 2, p. 463 b 15 ff.: πάντ γὰρ εὐτελεῖς ἀνθρώποι προρατικοὶ εἰσι καὶ εὐθύνεροι, ὡς οὐ θεοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλ' ὅσων ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ λάλος ἢ φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ μελαγχολικῆ, παρτοπαρὰς ἐξείσι δρῶσιν. Zeller (*Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 2, 2, 3 ed. (1879), 551, n. 4) thinks that Cicero's quotation is not from the two passages last quoted, and may not be the view of Aristotle himself but his report of the explanation given by others for the phenomenon; if, however, it is his own view it shows the

atque divinum. Ego autem haud scio an nec cardiacis hoc tribuendum sit nec phreneticis; animi enim integri, non vitiosi est corporis divinatio. 82. Quam quidem esse re vera hac Stoicorum ratione concluditur: 'Si sunt di neque ante declarant hominibus quae futura sint, aut non diligunt homines,

1. haud $\epsilon\omega\delta\epsilon$, haud A^1V^1 , aut $A^1B^1V^1$.

strength of Platonic doctrines still influencing him. Cf. also 1, 5, n. (*Peripateticis*). With the statements of Aristotle cf. Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 50: $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha \delta' \eta \kappa\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma, \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho \alpha\upsilon \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu \eta \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi\omicron\lambda\iota\omega\acute{\nu} \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\delta\eta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma, \xi \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron \epsilon\iota\delta\upsilon\delta\eta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu \alpha\iota\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$; *adv. Colot.* 28: $\tau\iota \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \epsilon\nu\alpha\rho\gamma\epsilon\varsigma \omicron\iota\tau\omega\varsigma \beta\omicron\tau\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\nu, \acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\omicron \pi\alpha\rho\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu \epsilon\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu \epsilon\kappa\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma \delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha, \kappa\tau\lambda.$ For criticism of the theory see Iamb. *de Myster.* 3, 25, p. 158 Parthey.

[242]3. *valetudinis vitio*: cf. *de Sen.* 35.

[242]4. *melancholici*: cf. *Tusc.* 3, 11: *quem nos furorem melagcholam illi (sc. Graeci) vocant. quasi vero atra bili solum mens ac non saepe vel iracundia graviore vel timore vel dolore movetur.* For the Latin adjective here used see *Tusc.* 1, 80.

1. *divinum*: cf. 1, 58, n. (*divinius*).

1f. *cardiacis . . . phreneticis*: sometimes mentioned together, as in Tert. *de An.* 43; Firm. *Math.* 3, 5, 29; but separated by medical writers. So Cels. 3, 18 distinguishes three kinds of insanity: (1) delirium (*phrenesis*), (2) melancholy (*tristitia quam videtur bilis atra contrahere*), and (3) insanity proper, itself of two sorts: *quidam imaginibus . . . falluntur . . . quidam animo desipiunt.* But he continues (3, 19): *his morbis praecipue contrarium est id genus quod cardiacum a Graecis nominatur; quamvis saepe ad eum phrenetici transeunt . . . id autem nihil aliud est quam nimia imbecillitas corporis quod stomacho languente immodico sudore digeritur.* As to the nature of this disease views differed; e.g., Cass. Fel. 64: *est autem cardiaca passio distensio membranae cordis; Corp. Gloss.* 3, 598, 38: *passio cordis, non stomachi*; with which contrast Celsus, as quoted above, and Chalcid. in Plat. *Tim.* 224: *cum constet illam*

passionem non cordis esse sed stomachi; cf. Greg. Nyss. *de Hom. Opif.* 12: $\omicron\upsilon \gamma\acute{\alpha\rho} \tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma \delta\rho\iota\mu\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\nu, \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\nu \tau\omicron \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma \upsilon\pi' \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ (and see the passage just before this, on phrenesis). The reason why Cicero (or his source) here combined *cardiacis* and *phreneticis* with *melancholici* is doubtless this: liver, heart, and midriff had at one time or another been regarded as especial seats of life and intelligence (cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*) supra), and the explanation of prophecy as due to a disorder of one of these seats is denied by Quintus, who couples with his denial an assertion that it is also not due to disorders of either of the others.

2. *animi . . . integri . . . vitiosi . . . corporis*: note the chiasmic antithesis. For the insistence on the *integritas* of the mind in divination cf. 1, 60. Christ unnecessarily brackets *corporis*.

3. *ratione concluditur*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 32: *dialecticae disciplina, id est, orationis ratione conclusae*; also Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 30, who defines *conclusio rationis* as *sylogismus et argumentatio per syllogismos procedens*; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 89.

3. *si sunt di, etc.*: = *S. V. F.* 2, no. 1192. This argument is answered at length in 2, 101-102; 104-106, and what may be said in refutation of the individual points here raised will be there discussed. For such involved reasoning, which was a good deal employed by the Stoics, see *N. D.* 2, 16; 2, 21-22. With the thought cf. also *Leg.* 2, 32-33: *si enim deos esse concedimus, eorumque mente mundum regi, et eorum numen hominum consulere generi et posse nobis signa rerum futurarum ostendere, non video cur esse divinationem negem. sunt autem ea quae posui; <ex> quibus id quod volumus efficitur et cogitur.*

aut quod eventurum sit ignorant, aut existumant nihil interesse hominum scire quid sit futurum, aut non censent esse suae maiestatis praesignificare hominibus quae sunt futura, aut ea ne ipsi quidem di significare possunt; at neque non diligunt nos (sunt enim benefici generique hominum amici), neque ignorant ea quae ab ipsis constituta et designata sunt, neque nostra nihil interest scire ea quae eventura sint (erimus enim cautiore si sciemus),

6. eventura sint *ABV* Christ, ventura sint *H* (este *Deiters*), eventura sunt *O*, *Boiler*, *Müller*.

For similar passages see *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 1187-1195.

[243]4. quae futura sint: cf. 1, 127; *N.D.* 2, 153.

[243]4. non diligunt homines: cf. *Tert. de An.* 46: *Stoici deum malunt providentissimum humanae institutioni inter cetera praesidia divinatorum artium et disciplinarum somnia quoque nobis indidisse, peculiare solacium naturalis oraculi.* *Galen (de nat. Facult. 1, 12)* speaks of some who think that τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἡμῶν μέλει. καταφρονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναιρέτων καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῶν συμβῶν καὶ πάσης ἀστρολογίας.

1. ignorant: cf. the interesting chapter in which Augustine (*C. D.* 5, 9) attacks Marcus Cicero's views on divination, and says: *nam confiteri esse Deum et negare praescium futurorum apertissima insania est*, and, again, *qui enim non est praescius omnium futurorum non est utique Deus.* The belief in the omniscience of the gods is expressed from as early as the time of *Homer, Od.* 4, 379: θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα ἴσασιν (but see Merry and Riddell's note for instances of the apparent ignorance of the Homeric gods; also Nägelsbach-Autenrieth, *Homer. Theologie*, 3 ed. (1884), 26-28; Moore, *Religious Thought of the Greeks* (1916), 10-11). Cf. *Alex. Aphrod. de Fat.* 30: ἀπορον γὰρ τὸ λέγειν ἐκείνου (sc. τοῖς θεοῖς) ἀγνοεῖν τι τῶν κοσμήων. Yet for contrary views of *Chrysippus* see *Arnold, Roman Stoicism* (1911), 208.

1. existumant nihil interesse: cf. *Ps.-Luc. de Astrol.* 28-29: ἄλλοι δὲ ἀστρολογῶν ἀψευδία μὲν, ἀμφελέα δ' εἶναι λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ μαρτυρίῃ ἀλλάσσοσθαί θεόσα τῆσι μοῖρασι δοκίοντα ἐπίρχειται. . . ἀλλὰ τοῖς χροσμήτοις τὰδε ὠφελίμ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλά εἰδότες ἀπιζέμωα πολλῶν ἀτόκροσθεν εὐφρανία, τὰ δὲ

φαῦλα εὐμαρέως δέχονται· οὐ γὰρ σφισιν ἀγροοῦσιν ἐπίρχειται ἀλλ' ἐν μελήτῃ καὶ προσδοκίῃ βήθια καὶ πρῆγία ἄγεται. In *N. D.* 3, 14 *Cotta* maintains: *saepe autem ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit; miserum est enim nihil proficientem angere nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tamen commune solacium*; cf. *Aesch. Prom. V.* 624: τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν σοι κρεῖσσον ἢ μαθεῖν τὰδε.

2. non . . . esse suae maiestatis: cf. 1, 118. The word *maiestas* is several times used by Cicero, as here, in connection with the divine dignity.

2. praesignificare: in classical Latin only here, but (like *praesignificatio*) also found in the patristic writers.

4. sunt enim benefici: cf. *Amm. Marc.* 21, 1, 9: *amat enim benignitas numinis, seu quod merentur homines seu quod tangitur eorum adfectione his quoque artibus (sc. auspiciis, etc.) proderet quae independent*; *Clem. Strom.* 1, 17, p. 55 *Stählin* (= *S.V.F.* 2, 1184): τῆς γὰρ θελας σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δυνάμειος ἔργον ἐστίν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀγαθοποιεῖν (φίσις γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτῆ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ θερμαλεῖν καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ φωτίζειν), κτλ. On beneficence as a Stoic virtue see *Arnold, Roman Stoicism* (1911), 307.

5. neque ignorant: foreknowledge of the future, therefore, is naturally followed by revelation of it. So *Mart. Cap.* 1, 6, speaks of *Mantice* as the eldest daughter of *Promoea*.

5. designata: cf. 2, 127; *Tim.* 46, and *Plasberg's* note.

6. eventura sint: for the subjunctive see *Frank in Amer. Journ. of Philol.* 25 (1904), 428-446; *Brünlich in Class. Philol.* 13 (1918), 70-71, who is undecided between 'attraction' by the infinitive and a con-

neque hoc alienum ducunt maiestate sua (nihil est enim beneficentia praestantius), neque non possunt futura praenoscere. 83. Non igitur sunt di nec significant futura; sunt autem di; significant ergo; et non, si significant, nullas vias dant nobis ad significationis scientiam (frustra enim significant), nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio.'

XXXIX. 84. Hac ratione et Chrysippus et Diogenes et Antipater utitur. Quid est igitur cur dubitandum sit quin sint ea quae disputavi verissima, si ratio mecum facit, si eventa, si populi, si nationes, si Graeci, si barbari, si maiores etiam nostri, si denique hoc semper ita putatum est, si summi philosophi, si poetae, si sapientissimi viri, qui res publicas constituerunt, qui urbes conderunt? An dum bestiae loquantur expecta-

3. et non, si *Lambinus*, et si non C.

fusion between relative clause and indirect question as the explanation.

[244]6. *erimus . . . cautiores*: cf. note on *existunt nihil interesse* above; 1, 119, n. (*ut videret . . . non ut caveret*); 2, 21; *N. D.* 2, 163: *nulla etiam pericula depulsa sunt* (that is, by means of divination).

1. *alienum . . . maiestate*: for the distinction in meaning of the different idioms used with *alienus* see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 371-372.

2. *praenoscere*: as editors have noted (see Christ ad h. loc.; Thoresen, ed. (1894), append. 222), we should here expect a verb of foretelling rather than one of foreknowing, but there is no reason to suspect the MS. reading, supported as it is by 2, 102; 2, 105.

2f. *non igitur sunt di nec significant*: cf. Madvig, 3 ed. of *de Finibus* (1876), 810, n. 1.

3. *sunt autem di*, etc.: on such forms of argument cf. *Top.* 53 ff. The following passage is in 2, 41 compressed: *si di sunt est divinatio; sunt autem di; est ergo divinatio*; cf. 1, 10, n. (*ut et si divinatio sit*).

4. *vias . . . ad significationis scientiam*: cf. 2, 55.

6. *Chrysippus et Diogenes et Antipater*: cf. 1, 6, nn. (*duobus libris; quem subsequens; duo Antipater*). As Heeringa well remarks (*Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Libros duos pertin.* (1906), 13), Cicero is

doubtless here following Posidonius, but has forgotten to add his name to the list of those whose ideas Posidonius was probably citing.

7. *utitur*: for the singular verb, cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 43; Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic.* (1901), 20-21.

7. *quid est igitur cur dubitandum sit*: cf. *Fin.* 1, 46: *quid est cur dubitemus*; Merguet, *Lexikon z. d. phil. Schriften*, 1 (1887), 591.

8f. *si . . . si . . . si . . . qui . . . qui*: cf. the thirteen times repeated *cum* in *pro Rab.* 21, and the repetition of *num* in *de Sen.* 23.

8. *ratio . . . eventa*: for this antithesis cf. 1, 5; 2, 27; also 1, 12, n. (*eventa*).

8. *mecum facit*: cf. 2, 118: *cum Philippo facere*; *Fin.* 2, 44: *populus cum illis facit*.

8. *populi . . . nationes*: cf. 2, 81; *Off.* 2, 26: *regum, populorum, nationum*.

9. *barbari*: cf. 1, 47, n. (*barbaris*).

9. *semper*: cf. 1, 1, n. (*consensu*).

10f. *constituerunt . . . conderunt*: for such homoeoteleuta cf. Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 122-125.

11. *dum bestiae loquantur*: cf. *Fin.* 71: *si infantes pueri mulae etiam bestiae paene loquantur . . . nihil esse prosperum nisi voluptatem*; 2, 18: *quam etiam pecudes, si loqui possent, appellarent voluptatem*;

mus, hominum consentiente auctoritate contenti non sumus? 85. Nec vero quicquam aliud adfertur cur ea quae dico divinandi genera nulla sint, nisi quod difficile dictu videtur quae cuiusque divinationis ratio, quae causa sit. Quid enim habet haruspex cur pulmo incisus etiam in bonis extis dirimat tempus et proferat diem? quid augur cur a dextra corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum? quid astrologus cur stella Iovis aut Veneris coniuncta

Filastr. *Div. Haeres.* 88, 7: *signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut et pecudes et canes et bestiae loquerentur.* 'Dumb animals' were proverbial; cf. *Rep.* 3, 19: *mutis . . . beluis*; *N. D.* 2, 133; also the portents from speaking animals (1, 73, n. (*hinnitum*) supra), and perhaps the use of the Greek word *ἄλογον* (possibly associated with *λόγω* as well as with *λόγος*). For the expression of impatience here used cf. 1, 79.

2. *quicquam aliud adfertur cur*: cf. 2, 52; *de Fat.* 43; *Tusc.* 1, 30.

2. *nulla*: cf. 1, 81, n. (*nullae*).

3. *difficile dictu*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 138; *Tusc.* 2, 19; *de Am.* 12; and, for the subject, 1, 12, n. (*eventa*).

4. *pulmo incisus*: the earliest mention of the consultation of the lungs among other *exta* (Jastrow in *Encycl. Brit.* 20, 11 ed. (1911), 103; cf. 2, 29 infra; also 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 2 (1906), 45). The incision here mentioned is not one caused by the sacrificial knife, but is, as Thulin (*op. cit.* 32) remarks of the analogous *caput iocineris . . . caesum*, a natural division between lobes; cf. Thulin, *op. cit.* 45, n. 1. See also Lucan, 1, 622-623: *pulmonis anhelii / fibra latet parvusque secat vitalis limes*—an unfavorable sign.

4. *bonis extis*: cf. 2, 38.

5. *dirimat tempus*: a phrase found only here, yet cf. *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 29: *quo dies nuptiarum dirimatur.* The verb is usually employed with *rem* (e.g., *Leg.* 2, 31) or some similar word as an object, and is perhaps a technical term; so Ammianus speaks of *dirimentibus auspiciis* (14, 10, 9; 21, 13, 8).

5. *proferat diem*: cf. *ad Att.* 13, 13, 4: *si . . . volent proferre diem.*

5. *a dextra corvus, etc.*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*a Iurva*). This passage is perhaps the one meant by Probus in *Virg. Ecl.* 9, 13: *bonum augurium erat si corvus dextra cornix sinistra volaret, ut Cicero divinarum [sic]: quorum a dextra corvus a sinistra cornix facit augurium.*

6. *faciat ratum*: cf. 2, 80.

6. *stella Iovis, etc.*: cf. Manetho, *Apotheosm.* 2, 446-458: *ἦν μὲν Ζηρι συνάπτη (sc. Μῆνη) ἡ ἄβροκόμω Κυβερεῖη, / ἐσθλή καὶ δάττειρα βλου πλοῦτοῦ τε πολλοῦ, / . . . ἦν δὲ Κρόνον προλιπούσα κενὸν δρόμον ἐξαίρειω, / ἡ καὶ Ἄρη μετέπειτα συνάπτη, πάγχυ καίστη, / αὐχμηροῖτε τεύχεα γὰρ ἀναγκαῖου βίβωτοιο, / . . . πολλὰκι δ' ὠκυμόρου τε καὶ ἐν νεότητι θανόντας*; Firm. *Mathes.* 4, 1, 8: *geniturae dominus et viae dator ex lunae coniunctionibus invenitur*; *id.* 4, 2-6 deals with prognostics from the conjunction of the moon with Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Venus. As a sample may be quoted 4, 3, 1: *si luna se Iovis adplicaverit stellae et crescens lumine ista se societate coniunxerit vel ad Iovem feratur, faciet felices, gloriosos, divites, multorum et magnorum fundamentorum et latissimarum possessionum dominos, etc.*, and 4, 4, 1, *init.*: *si se luna Martis applicaverit stellae et crescens lumine Martis se societate coniunxerit vel ad Martem feratur et sit nocturna genitura, facit calidos, periculosos, violentos, sed qui frequentibus soleant rationibus decipi et quorum vita sit maximis periculis mancipata, etc.*; Schol. Lucan, 1, 660: *misem autem Iovem dixit et salubrem Venerem secundum mathesis disciplinam. nam Iovis et Veneris planetae benignae sunt, Martis et Saturni malignae, etc.* These common-places of astrology are often incidentally alluded to, e.g., *Virg. Georg.* 1, 336: *frigida Saturni . . . stella*; *Hor. Carm.* 2, 17, 22-

cum luna ad ortus puerorum salutaris sit, Saturni Martisque contraria? Cur autem deus dormientes nos moneat, vigilantes negligat? Quid deinde causae est cur Cassandra furens futura prospiciat, Priamus sapiens hoc idem facere non queat? 86. Cur fiat quidque quaeris. Recte omnino; sed non nunc id agitur; fiat necne fiat, id quaeritur. Ut si magnetem lapidem

J. est P. Victorius, sit C.

24: *te Iovis impio / tutela Saturno refulgens / eripuit*; Lucan, 1, 661-662: *Veneris salubre / sidus*; Juv. 6, 569-570: *quid sidus triste minetur / Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro*; thus *salutaris* is a title of Jupiter in *Fin.* 3, 66.

Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 404-457, discusses the prognostics of the different planets as to length of life, bodily form, temperament, social status, and family relations of those being born.

1. *ad*: cf. *de Or.* 3, 227: *illud ad firmandam est vocem salutare*; Plin. *N. H.* 31, 65: *ad ictus venenatos salutaris intelligitur*; so also with *salubris*: Cato, *R. R.* 156, 1: *ad omnes res salubre est*; cf. the uses of *ad* in expressions stating the properties of drugs (*Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. ad*, 543-544).

2. *cur autem*, etc.: cf. 2, 110; 2, 126; and, for a somewhat similar spirit, 2, 114.

2f. *quid . . . causae est*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 10; *Tusc.* 5, 32.

3. *Cassandra*: cf. 1, 67, n. (*adest*, etc.); 1, 89.

3. *furens . . . sapiens*: cf. 1, 66, n. (*sapiens*); so in 2, 110 *sapiens* is offset to *insanus*.

4. *cur fiat quidque*: cf. 1, 109; 2, 46.

5. *non nunc id agitur*: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 3; 5, 12: *nec id nunc agitur*; *Ac.* 2, 88.

5. *fiat necne fiat*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 17: *sint necne sint*; *Fin.* 4, 29; 4, 31; 5, 16.

5. *ut*: 'for example'; cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 4, 30; Reid on *Ac.* 2, 33.

5. *magnetem lapidem*: *lapidem* is here either subject (modified by *magnetem*) or predicate. Plin. *N. H.* 20, 1; 34, 147; 36, 127, uses the expression *magnes lapis*.

In Greek the magnet is known as μάγνη λίθος, μαγνήτης λίθος, Μαγνησία λίθος, Ἡρακλεία λίθος, Ἡρακλεῶνιτις σίδηριτις, and simply λίθος (cf. Plin. 36, 127); see

Lucr. 6, 908-909: *quem* (sc. *lapidem*) *Magneta vocant patrio de nomine Grai, / Magnetum quia fil patriis in finibus ortus*. But Plin. *l.c.* says: *magnes appellatus est ab inventore, ut auctor est Nicander*. Of the five sorts, however, which Pliny (*N. H.* 36, 128) mentions, one is from the Thessalian Magnesia and one from Magnesia on the Maeander.

On the numerous ancient speculations as to the power of the magnet see the article of Fritzsche in *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 57 (1902), 363-391, and the works there cited. Among the scientists and philosophers interested in the magnet were Thales (Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 6, no. 3), Empedocles (*id.* 1, 221, no. 89), Democritus (*id.* 2, 3 ed. (1912), 53, no. 165; cf. *Diog. L.* 9, 47, who speaks of a work of Democritus *περὶ τῆς λίθου*), Plato (*Tim.* p. 80c; cf. *Ion*, p. 533e), Aristotle (*de Anim.* 1, 2, p. 405 a 20-21), Theophrastus (*de Lapid.* 5, 29; *Hist. Pl.* 9, 18, 2), Epicurus (Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 208-211), Lucretius (6, 906-1089), Pliny (*ll. cc.*), and Isidore (*Etym.* 16, 4, 1; 16, 13, 3; 16, 21, 4). Numerous allusions to it and comparisons with it occur in other writers as well; e.g., Claudian's poem on the magnet (*Carm. Min.* 29). Ps.-Alex. Aphrod. (cited by Fritzsche, *op. cit.* 365) considers magnets among the *ἄλυτα παρτελῶς*, as being *θεῶ μόνῃ γνώριμα, τῷ καὶ τὴν τοῦτων οὐσίαν ὑποστήσαντι*, and Augustine (*C. D.* 21, 4) tells of his surprise at first seeing a magnet, and says in regard to another marvel, *hinc miraculum si de aliquo Indico lapide legeremus aut audiremus et in nostrum experimentum venire non posset, profecto aut mendacium putaremus aut certe granditer miraremur*. In *C. D.* 21, 5 he draws a comparison similar to that of

esse dicam, qui ferrum ad se adiciat et attrahat, rationem cur id fiat adferre nequeam, fieri omnino neges. Quod idem facis in divinatione, quam et cernimus ipsi et audimus et legimus et a patribus accepimus. Neque ante philosophiam patefactam, quae nuper inventa est, hac de re communis vita dubitavit, et, posteaquam philosophia processit, nemo aliter philosophus sensit in quo modo esset auctoritas. 87. Dixi de Pythagora, de Democrito, de Socrate, excepi de antiquis praeter Xenophanem neminem, adiunxi veterem Academiam, Peripateticos, Stoicos; unus dissentit Epicurus. Quid vero hoc turpius quam quod idem nullam censet gratuitam esse virtutem?

1: attrahat exc. Pith. et O, trahat ABH, trahat at V, sed at supra lin.

Cicero: homines infideles, qui cum divina vel praeterita vel futura miracula praedicamus, quae illis experienda non valeamus ostendere, rationem a nobis flagitant rerum, quam quoniam non possumus reddere (excidunt enim vires mentis humanae) existimant falsa esse quae dicimus, etc.

1. adiciat et attrahat: cf. *de Am.* 50: nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo. Pliny, in the three places cited, uses, not *attraho*, but *traho*, and the simple verb is more common in Cicero than the compound, but the passage quoted from the *de Amicitia* seems to justify the retention of the compound verb here.

4. nuper: cf. *N. D.* 2, 126: *ea quae nuper, id est paucis ante saeculis, medicorum ingeniis reperta sunt*, where Plasberg compares Tac. *Dial.* 16, 9: *quod spatium temporis . . . si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum immensi huius aevi perquam breve et in proximo est* (cf. Gudeman's note); *Tusc.* 5, 7: *quam rem (sc. philosophiam) antiquissimam quom videamus nomen tamen esse conflatem recens*, etc. See also Just. Mart. *Cohort. ad Graecos*, 12: ἀναγκαῖον δὲ οἷμαι καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις σκοπεῖν καθ' ὅτι οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγῶσσι φιλοσοφοί, ὅπως γνῶτε διὰ νέος σφόδρα καὶ βραχύς καιρὸς ὁ τούτου ἡμῶν ἀναγκῶν χρόνος, κτλ. Cf. 1, 99, n. (*modo*); *Off.* 1, 25.

4f. communis vita: cf. 1, 50, n. (*vita communis*).

5f. nemo . . . philosophus: cf. 2, 132; *N. D.* 1, 78; 2, 96.

6. dixi: 1, 5-6; but it will be noted that the account there given is in the mouth not of Quintus but of Marcus, in his introductory sketch. Such evidences of haste in composition appear also in *N. D.* 2, 73: *hesterno die dictum est*; 3, 18: *nudius tertius dicta sunt* (although elsewhere the three books of the *de Natura Deorum* are represented as the dialogue of but a single day); and a case of the confusion of speakers, exactly analogous to our passage, is noted by Plasberg in *Ac.* 1, 46 (*exposui*).

9. hoc turpius quam: similar cases of double comparison in Cicero are collected by Jeep in *Neue Jahrb.* 81 (1860), 616; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 2 ed. (1914), 469. Cf. *de Or.* 1, 169: *quid ergo hoc fieri turpius aut dici potest, quam*, etc.; 2, 38; 2, 302; *N. D.* 1, 38 (and Mayor's note); *Fin.* 1, 19: *quo nihil turpius physico quam . . . dicere* (and see Madvig's note). Greek parallels will be found in Plat. *Crit.* p. 44c; *Phaedo*, p. 89d; *Gorg.* p. 500c. For the ruling of Epicurus out of court on the basis of beliefs distasteful to the speaker, cf. 1, 5, n. (*balbulientem*); *Fin.* 2, 70.

9. idem nullam censet: cf. Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 312 ff. The word *gratuitam* means 'disinterested,' as opposed to utilitarian; cf. *Fin.* 2, 99: *innatam . . . homini probitatem gratuitam, non invitata voluptatibus nec praemiorum mercedibus evocata*. The view of Epicurus is briefly expressed by Diog. L. 10, 138:

XL. Quis est autem quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas? Calchantem augurem scribit Homerus longe optimum eumque ducem classium fuisse ad Ilium, auspicioꝝ credoscienza, non locorum. 88. Amphiloꝝ et Mopsus Argivorum reges fuerunt,

3. ad Ilium *Gwielmus* (ex *Hom. Il. I, 71*), ad illum *B*, at illum *ABV*, at dillum *B*.

καὶ δὲ τὴν ἠδορὴν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀπεισθαί, οὐ δὲ αὐτὰς.

1. **quis est, etc.:** cf. *Fin.* 5, 62: *quis est . . . qui non moveatur*; 2 *Verr.* 1, 74: *quis enim esset . . . qui . . . non moveretur*.

1. **monumentis:** cf. 1, 12.

1. **testata:** cf. *Gell.* 15, 13, 7: *testata istidem et interpretata eadem ratione dixit M. Tullius in primo libro de divinatione, ut testor interpretorque verba communia videri debeat*. Other cases of *testor* with a passive meaning are found in *ad Att.* 1, 16, 2, and in several places in the orations (*Merguet, Lexikon v. d. Reden des Cic.* 4 (1884), 743); cf. 1, 53, n. (*esse interpretatum*).

2. **consignata:** cf. *Rep.* 1, 25: *die quem apud Ennium et in maximis annalibus consignatum videmus*. The figurative use is not found outside Cicero until the time of the patristic writers who frequently employ it; cf. the Greek *σφραγίζω* and compounds.

2. **Calchantem, etc.:** similar lists of diviners are found in *Leg.* 2, 33 (Polyidus, Melampus, Mopsus, Amphiarus, Calchas, Helenus); *N. D.* 2, 7 (Mopsus, Tiresias, Amphiarus, Calchas, Helenus; all called *augures*); and in many other writers, perhaps the most elaborate being that in *Clem. Strom.* 1, 21.

Calchas is described by *Hom. Il.* 1, 68-72: τοῖσι δ' ἀνίστη / Κάλχας θεστορίης, ὠλωστολόων ὄχ' ἄριστος, δε εἶδει τὰ τ' ἰόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἰόντα, / καὶ νήεσσ' ἠγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἰσω / ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τὴν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων; 13, 701: Κάλχας . . . θεσπρότος οἰωνιστής; *Eur. I. T.* 662-663: τὸν τ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι σοφὸν / Κάλχαντ'. According to *Quint. Smyrn.* 9, 330-332 he dealt also in haruspicine (καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐτεφράσατ' οἰωνοῖσιν, / ἦλ καὶ ἐν σπλάγχχνουσιν ἐπέδρακεν' οὐ γὰρ εἰδούς / μαντοσύνης ἐτέκνυτο: θεός δ' ὡς βῆε πάντα),

or even in astrology (according to 12, 4-6: εὐ εἰδὼς ἀπὰ θυμὸν ὄπ' ἐννεσίης Ἐκάτοιο / πτήσιας οἰωνῶν ἠδ' ἀστέρας ἄλλα τε πάντα / σημάθ', δε' ἀνθρώποισι θεῶν ἰότητι πέλομαι; cf. *Sen. Tr.* 354-357: *arte qui reseras polum, / cui viscerum secreta, cui mundi fragor / et stella longa semitam flamma trahens / dant signa fati*); also an Etruscan mirror shows a winged Calchas holding the liver of a victim; cf. *Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel* (1840), pl. 223; *Lenormant in Gaz. Arch.* 6 (1880), 112; *Blecher, De Extispicio* (1905), pl. 2, fig. 3. These traditions are probably not early, however. On the various legends connected with Calchas see *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1860), 41-44; 3 (1880), 345-346; *Stoll and Immisch in Roscher, Ausfuhr. Lexikon, s.v. Calchas*.

3. **classium:** plural perhaps because of the different units constituting the Greek fleet; cf. 2, 63, where Cicero translates *νῆες* by *Argolicis . . . classibus*; *Fin.* 2, 112: *Xerxes cum tantis classibus tantisque equestribus et pedestribus copiis*; *Virg. Aen.* 2, 30: *classibus hic locus*.

4. **Amphiloꝝ:** the son of Amphiarus and Eriphyle, and according to *Bethe (Theban. Heldenlieder* (1891), 57, n.), probably a doublet of the former, being worshipped in Asia Minor as Amphiarus in Greece, and the two coinciding at Oropus. After various experiences (for which see *Stoll in Roscher, Ausfuhr. Lexikon, s.v. Amphiloꝝ* (1884), 305), he took part in the Trojan expedition, but after it, foreseeing trouble, he did not return with the Greeks, according to *Quint. Smyrn.* 14, 365-369: μούσος δὲ θεοπροπίας εὐ εἰδὼς / Ἀμφίλοꝝος, θεός υἱὸς ἀμύμονος Ἀμφιαράου, / μίμνεν ὁμῶς Κάλχαντι περίφρονι: τοῖσι γὰρ ἦεν / αἰσιμον ἀμφοτέρουσιν εἴης ἀπὸ τῆλῶσι γαίης / Παμφύλων Κίλικων τε ποτὶ πτολίεθρα νέεσθαι. They went to

sed iidem augures, iique urbis in ora maritima Ciliciae Graecas condiderunt; atque etiam ante hos Amphiarus et Tiresias, non humiles et obscuri neque eorum similes, ut apud Ennium est,

Clarus, where Calchas died from shame at a defeat in the art of prophecy at the hands of Mopsus. Strabo says (14, p. 668): φησι δ' Ἡρόδοτος (7, 91) τοὺς Παμφίλους τῶν μετὰ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Κάλχαντος εἶναι λαῶν μεγάλων τινῶν ἐκ Τροίας συνακολουθησάντων· τοὺς μὲν δὴ πολλοὺς ἐθάδε καταμείναι, τινὰς δὲ σκεδασθῆναι πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς. Καλλίσιος δὲ τὸν μὲν Κάλχαντα ἐν Κλάρῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίωσ φησί, τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς μετὰ Μόφου τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερθίντας τοὺς μὲν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ μέναι τοὺς δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μερασθῆναι καὶ Συρίᾳ μέχρι καὶ Φοινίκης. Cf. Hdt. 3, 91: Ποσειδῆίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφιλόχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἶκισε ἐπ' οὐροῖσι τοῖσι Κιλικῶν τε καὶ Σύρων; but especially connected with him is an oracle at Mallus in Cilicia, of which Pausanias says (1, 34, 2): μαντιῶν ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἡμοῦ. Of Mallus Strabo remarks (14, p. 675): κλισμα Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Μόφου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦ. περὶ ὧν πολλὰ μυθολογεῖται, πλ., and for other evidence as to the connection with Mallus see Bethe in *P.-W.* s.v. *Amphilochos* (1894), 1938; also Wolff, *De novissima Orac. Aetate* (1854), 30; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 341-345, who discusses the history of the oracle. For the later life of Amphilochus, including his death struggle with Mopsus (see Höfer in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Mopsos*, 3209), and for his connection with other sites see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 28-29; 3 (1880), 341-345; Stoll, *op. cit.* 306. The Argive descent of the population of Mallus is noted by Arrian, *Anab.* 2, 5; for similar Argive influence in other towns of the coast of Asia Minor cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 329-330.

[249]4. **Mopsus**: probably not Semitic in derivation, as Preller thought (Höfer in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Mopsos* (1897), 3210). This Mopsus was the son of Manto (daughter of Tiresias), and,

according to one tradition, of Apollo, and is probably to be distinguished from the homonymous Argonaut, who was also noted as an augur (Apollon. Rhod. 1, 65-66; 1, 1086-1087; 3, 543; 3, 918; etc.; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 37, n. 3). He appears as a seer at Clarus, where he defeated Calchas in prophecy (see the preceding note). For his colonization see Callinus ap. Strab. 14, p. 668 (quoted above). Associated with him were Mopsuestia, Mopsucrene, Mopsopia (a name for Pamphylia), Aspendus, Rhodia, and Phaselis (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 343, and n. 2; Höfer, *op. cit.* 3209; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 1, 328); an epigram on one of his towns is found in *Anthol. Pal.* 9, 698. For his oracular powers see the works above cited; also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 36-38. Only Cicero appears to connect him with Argos.

[249]4. **reges**: cf. Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 829: *Mopsus regnavit in Cilicia*. For the combination in one person of the functions of prophet and king, as in the case of Melampus, Amphiarus, and Helenus, cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1 (1829), 265; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 67 ff.; also Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1913), 44-51; 332-372 (on priestly kings and magicians as kings).

2. **ante hos**: the priority of Amphiarus is inferred from his having been the father of Amphilochus; that of Tiresias from his being the grandfather of Mopsus.

2. **Amphiarus**: cf. note on *Amphiarusum* infra.

2. **Tiresias**: cf. note on *de altero* . . . *Homerus* infra.

3. **apud Ennium**: cf. 1, 40, n. (*apud Ennium*). The line has been placed by Zillinger (*Cic. u. die altröm. Dichter* (1911), 119) and others in the *Telamon*, following directly the quotation from that play

Qui sui quaestus causa fictas suscitant sententias,
sed clari et praestantes viri qui avibus et signis admoniti futura dicebant;
quorum de altero etiam apud inferos Homerus ait 'solum sapere, ceteros
umbrarum vagari modo'; Amphiarum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae

given in 1, 132. By Vahlen (second edition of Ennius (1903), 195, line 394) it is listed among the fragments of uncertain Ennian plays, because the subject appears to have been a commonplace; cf. Soph. *O. T.* 387-389: ὄφεις μάγον τοιάυδε μηχανορ-
ράφον, / δόλιον ἀγύρτην, ὅστις ἐν τοῖς κέρθεσιν / μόνον δίδωρκε, τὴν τέχνην δ' ἔφου τυφλός; *Antig.* 1055: τὸ μαντικὸν γὰρ πᾶν φιλάργυρον γένοι; Acc. 169-170 Ribbeck: *nil credo auguribus qui aures verbis divulant / alienas, iuas ut auro locupletent domos*; also 1, 132, n. (*sed superstitiosus, etc.*) infra.

1. qui . . . quaestus causa: cf. 1, 92; 1, 132; 2, 85.

2. futura dicebant: cf. 2, 70.

3. de altero . . . Homerus: *Od.* 10, 492-495: ψυχῇ χρησαμένου Ἰθθαίου Τειρεσίας, / μάντιος Ἀλαοῦ, τοῦ τε φρίνης ἔμπροσθεν / αἰεὶ / τῷ καὶ παθηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηα / οἴω πεπνύσθαι: τοὶ δὲ σικαὶ ἀίσσουσιν; cf. 1, 52, n. (*Homericum . . . versum*). On Tiresias see Schell in *Neue Jahrb. Supplementb.* 17 (1851), 54-100; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 29-34. Three derivations for the name are: (1) from τείρος, τέρας (rejected by Boisacq, *Dict. Étym. de la Lang. gr.* (1916), 948; yet cf. Stein, *Téras* (1909), 48-49); (2) from τέρω, 'wear out' (with hunger, old age, etc.); (3) from τηρέω (Schell, *op. cit.* 96).

For his origin see Apollonid. *Bibl.* 3, 6, 7, 1-2: ἦν δὲ παρὰ Ἰθθαίου μάντις Τειρεσίας, Εὐήρου καὶ Χαριελοῦς νύμφης, ἐπὶ γένουσι Οὐδαίου τοῦ Σπάρτου, γενόμενος τυφλὸς τὰς ὁράσεις. οὐ περὶ τῆς κτηνώσεως καὶ μαντικῆς λέγονται λόγοι διάφοροι (the symbolism of this myth is discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 29-30). His blindness, long life, etc., are treated by Schell, *op. cit.* 94. Though blind (cf. 2, 9) like the diviners Phineus and Euenius (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 40; 2, 93-94), he practiced divination in many forms, by observation of the stars (*Ps.-Luc. de*

Astrol. 11), extispicine (*Stat. Theb.* 10, 667), interpretation of portents (*Eur. Bacch.* 248-249), by sacrifices (*Soph. Antig.* 1005-1015; *Eur. Bacch.* 257; *Stat. Theb.* 10, 589 ff.), but especially by augury (*Aesch. Sept.* 24-26; *Soph. Antig.* 998-1004; *Eur. Phoen.* 767; 834-840; *Bacch.* 257; *Ael. Hist. An.* 8, 5). For the divine sources of his mantic powers see Schell, *op. cit.* 94-95. His daughter was Manto (cf. μάντις), mother of Mopsus (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 34-36), and herself with prophetic endowment.

4. Amphiarum: on the derivation of this name see Wolff in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Amphiaros* (1884), 303. He was the son of Oecles (or according to later myths of Apollo) and Hypermnestra; connected in race with the seer Melampus (cf. 1, 91, n. (*familias duas*) infra); the husband of Eriphyle and father of Amphilocheus, whose doublet he at times appears (Bethe in *P.-W.* s.v. *Amphiaros* (1894), 1887). His gift of prophecy he acquired by incubation at Phlius (*Paus.* 2, 13, 7). He took part in the Argonautic expedition, Calydonian Hunt, and the campaign of the Seven against Thebes, during which he was swallowed up by the earth; cf. Wolff, *op. cit.* 298; for representations in art see Bethe, *op. cit.* 1892-1893. Note also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 24-28.

Later he was considered as a divine prophet (Wolff, *op. cit.* 298); cf. *Soph. El.* 839-841: νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας / . . . / πᾶμψυχος ἀνάσσει (and cf. the schol.), that is, he was a chthonic deity. He was worshipped at various places including Thebes (the Theban stories relating to him are noted in Bethe, *op. cit.* 1890-1891), Argos (*id.* 1888-1890), and especially at Oropus (Wolff, *op. cit.* 300-301; Bethe, *op. cit. passim*), where he was called Zeus Amphiarus. For incubation (1, 96, n.

deus ut haberetur, atque ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracla peterentur. 89. Quid? Asiae rex Priamus nonne et Helenum filium et Cas-

1. in quo est humatus *del. Hottinger*, ab eius solo in quo est humatus *Palser*, ab solo in quo est humatus *Moser*.

(*excubabant*) infra) in his worship there see Wolff, *op. cit.* 301; Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906), 80-87. This shrine, recognized by Croesus (Hdt. 1, 52; 1, 92), and active till the time of Constantine (Wolff, *De novissima Orac. Aetate* (1854), 30-31; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 334-339), is described by various ancient authors, notably Strabo (9, 1, 22; 9, 2, 10-11), Pausanias (1, 34), and Philostratus (*Heroic.* 3, 16; *Imag.* 1, 26, 1), and an account of the excavations there is given by Bethe in *P.-W.* s.v. *Amphiareion* (1894), 1893-1897; to which add Frazer on Paus. 1, 34, 1 (1898), with bibliography on p. 473; Versace in *Athen. Mittheil.* 33 (1908), 247-272; Lattermann in *Athen. Mittheil.* 35 (1910), 81-102. The credulity of the worshippers there was perhaps parodied in a comedy of Aristophanes called *Amphiaraus* (Athen. p. 158c); cf. 1, 74, n. (*apud Lebadiam Trophonio*); *N. D.* 3, 49.

1. *deus ut haberetur*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 7; 3, 49: *an Amphiaraus erit deus et Trophonius*.

1. *ab eius solo in quo est humatus*: troublesome words, explained in various ways, namely (1) by changing *eius* to *eo* (as Hottinger, without MS. authority, suggested); (2) by omitting *eius* (so Moser advised); (3) by assuming a noun such as *loci* to have dropped out after *eius*; (4) by considering, as did Hottinger, that the words *in quo est humatus* are a redundant expression simplifying and explaining the unusual phrase *eius solo*, which must then refer either to the soil in which he was buried or to that consecrated (and thus belonging) to him. With the last explanation we might well consider the relative clause as a gloss; yet cf. Val. Max. 8, 15, ext. 3, quoted in the next note.

1. *humatus*: cf. Val. Max. 8, 15, ext. 3: *eadem gens summo consensu ad Amphiaraum decorandum incubuit, locum in quo humatus est in formam condicionemque*

templi redigendo atque inde oracula capi instituendo. No objection need be felt to *humatus* on the ground that Amphiaraus did not receive regular burial, for from the manner of his death the term receives its own appropriateness. But cf. also *Leg.* 2, 57.

1f. *oracla peterentur*: cf. 1, 76; 1, 95.

2. *Asiae*: for this word as applied to the realm of Priam cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2, 557: *regnatorem Asiae*; cf. *id.* 2, 193; 3, 1; Sen. *Agam.* 203; 788; Juv. 10, 266.

2. *nonne*: on the deferred position see Reid on *Ac.* 2, 86. It so occurs in the second sentence below, and in 2, 51; 2, 96; 2, 114; 2, 144.

2f. *Helenum . . . et Cassandram*: of the numerous household of Priam (cf. *Tusc.* 1, 85) at least four had prophetic power: Helenus, Cassandra, Aesacus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 12, 5, 1; Lycophr. 224-225, and schol.; Knaack in *P.-W.* s.v. *Aisakos* (1894), 1047), and Oenone (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 285, n. 3; 2 (1880), 52, n. 1). The twins Helenus and Cassandra received their gift of prophecy when children, by incubation in the temple of Apollo. There the attendants of Priam (according to Tzet. ad Lycophr. hypoth. p. 5 Scheer): τῆ ἐπαύριον . . . τῷ ναῷ προσελθόντες β' ὄψεαι ἐπρωρημέου τοῖς καισίν εὖρον καὶ τὰ αἰσθητήρια τοῦτων καθαίροντας, μηδὲν δὲ λυμαιομένου αὐτοῖς. Ἀπόλλων δὲ τις χρησμολόγος καὶ μάντις ὑπάρχων ἐν τῷ βῆντι ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἥλιου μαντικοῦ εἶπε γενέσθαι τοῖς παῖδας, θς καὶ λαβῶν αἰζοντας εἶδασκε τὴν μαντικὴν, κτλ. So also Eustath. and Schol. A on Hom. *Il.* 7, 44; cf. 1, 79, n. (*puerum . . . amplexu*). On Helenus see further Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 45-48; Engelmann in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Helenos* (1890); Süß in *P.-W.* s.v. *Helenos* (1912). Homer describes him (*Il.* 6, 76) as Πριάμῳ Ἑλενος, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3, 360-362: *qui tripodas Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis, / et volucrum linguas et*

sandram filiam divinantes habebat, alterum auguriis, alteram mentis incitatione et permotione divina? Quo in genere Marcios quosdam fratres nobili loco natos, apud maiores nostros fuisse scriptum videmus. Quid? Polyidum Corinthium nonne Homerus et aliis multa et filio ad Troiam proficiscenti mortem praedixisse commemorat? Omnino apud veteres,

4. Polyidum *Marsus*, polybum C.

praepetis omina pinnuae, / fare age; and many writers mention him as a diviner. For Cassandra cf. 1, 67, n. (adest, etc.).

1. *alterum . . . alteram*: they represent artificial and natural divination, respectively; cf. 1, 12, n. (*duo sunt enim*).

2. *incitatione*: cf. 2, 111.

2. *permotione*: cf. 2, 9.

2. *Marcios quosdam fratres*: cf. Liv. 25, 12, 2 (of 212 B.C.): *religio deinde nova obiecta est ex carminibus Marcianis. vates hic Marcius inlustri fuerat, et cum conquisitio priore anno ex senatus consulto talium librorum feret in M. Aemili praetoris urbani, qui eam rem agebat, manus venerant. is protinus novo praetori Sullae tradiderat. ex huius Marci duobus carminibus alterius post rem factam editi comprobata auctoritas eventu alteri quoque cuius nondum tempus venerat adferebat fidem.* There follows a prediction of the battle of Cannae, and an utterance advising the establishment of games in honor of Apollo (restored from Livy's prose to Saturnian verse by Havet, *De Saturnio Lat. Versu* (1880), 415; cf. Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie u. Prosa* (1906), 64-66). Festus (p. 165 M.) cites the *carmine Cn. Marci vatis* as evidence for an archaic form, and most writers speak of but a single Marcius (see the references in Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 536, n. 6; to which add Amm. Marc. 14, 1, 7; Zonar. 9, 1), as does Cicero in 1, 115 infra; but in 2, 113 he again uses the plural; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 70, says *ex responso Marciorum fratrum, quorum extabant, ut Sibyllina, responsa* (cf. *id. Aen.* 6, 72); and Symm. *Ep.* 4, 34 remarks: *Martiorum quidem vatum divinatio caducis corticibus inculcata est.* The pluralizing of Marcius is explained by Schanz (*Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 27) as probably suggested

by two prophetic utterances ascribed to him. No date is assigned for his life, and, as Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 129-130, well points out, he belongs in the legendary period, and was probably created under the influence of Hellenism, as is shown by his connection with the Sibylline books and by his zeal for the cult of Apollo. The word *quosdam* which Cicero uses in describing the brothers is in recognition of their somewhat shadowy character. The fragments of the *Carmina Marciana* (including *vaticinia* and *praecepta*) will be found in Baehrens, *Frag. Poet. Rom.* (1886), 36; 294-295. These *carmina* Wissowa (in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 821) thinks are not native Italic compositions but rather Greek Sibylline verses in a Latin translation.

3. *nobili loco natos*: cf. *pro Arch.* 4; 2 *Verr.* 5, 111.

4. *Polyidum*: one of the race of Melampus (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 12-29), the pedigree being given in Eustath. on *Il.* 13, 663: *Μελάμπος σάκρατε υἱὸς ὁ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα Μάντιος. οὐ Κλείτος, οὐ Κοίρανος, οὐ Πολύειδος, οὐ Εὐχῆνωρ καὶ Κλείτος, οἱ Θῆβας ἰλύντες σὶν τοῖς ἐπιγόνους εἶτα εἰς Τροίαν ἔρχονται, καὶ θύρακι μὲν Εὐχῆνωρ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου.* For traditions connected with him (the most famous being his restoration to life of Glaucus, son of Minos) see Stoll in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Polyeidus*, 2646-2647. The Homeric passage here cited is *Il.* 13, 663 ff.: *ἦν δὲ τις Εὐχῆνωρ, Πολυίδου μάντιος υἱός, / ἀφνειός τ' ἀγαθός τε, Κορυθῶσι οἶκτα ναίων, / δε δ' ἐν εἰδῶς κῆρ' ὄλοην ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε. / πολλὰκι γάρ οἱ ἔειπε γέρον ἀγαθὸς Πολυίδος / νοῖσιν ὑπ' ἀργαλίῃ φθίσθαι οἶσ' ἐν μεγάροις / ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιῶν νηυσὶν ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι, κτλ.* The name *Polyidus*,

qui rerum potiebantur idem auguria tenebant; ut enim sapere sic divinare regale ducebant. Testis est nostra civitas, in qua et reges augures et postea privati eodem sacerdotio praediti rem publicam religionum auctoritate rexerunt. **XLI. 90.** Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus

1. idem *ABV*, *Christ*, *Boiler*, i. *B*, iudem *O*, *Müller*.

2. ducebant. testis *Hottinger*, ducebant (tenebant *A*) ut testis *C*, ducebatur testis *Auratus*, *Christ*.

like *Mantius*, *Mantu*, etc., was probably suggested by his powers of divination; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 140, n. 2. According to Ael. *Hist. An.* 8, 5, his predictions were made from the observation of birds. He is mentioned by Cicero in *Leg.* 2, 33 with others of the group of diviners here named; cf. Reitzenstein, *Drei Vermutungen zur Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* (1894), 29. For further information see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2, 21-24.

[253]4. **ad Troiam**: for the use of the preposition cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 477-478; 1, 95, n. (*a Dodona*) infra. The preposition here expresses motion toward rather than arrival at the city.

1. **rerum potiebantur**: cf. *Rep.* 1, 49; 3, 46.

1. **auguria tenebant**: cf. Cato ap. Gell. 1, 12, 17: *si volo augurium optime tenere*.

1. **sapere . . . divinare**: knowledge of the present (or the past) and of the future are here united.

2. **testis est**: cf. *Off.* 2, 26: *testis est Phalaris*; *Leg. Manil.* 30.

2. **et reges augures**: cf. Valeton in *Mnemos.* 19 (1891), 410, and n. 5 on kings as augurs and the use of augurs by the kings; also 1, 3 supra.

3. **eodem sacerdotio praediti**: cf. *de Sen.* 61: *M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum*; *de Dom.* 136; *Phil.* 2, 80.

3f. **religionum auctoritate**: different in meaning from 1, 92: *religionis auctoritate*, the plural here referring to the rites of religion.

4. **rexerunt**: not by the coincidence of magistracy and augurate in the same hands (otherwise *privati* would not be mentioned), but by the influence which

these *privati* by virtue of their mantic office had upon the conduct of public affairs.

4. **divinationum**: for the plural cf. 1, 34, n. (*duo genera divinationum*).

4. **ratio**: i.e., the principle of the combination of regal and augural power, as with Diviciacus and the Persian kings, or that of the strong influence of augurs on political affairs.

4. **ne in barbaris, etc.**: cf. 1, 2; 1, 47.

5. **Druidae**: the numerous derivations proposed for this word are discussed by Holder, *Allceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1 (1896), 1321-1322; Callegari, *Il Druidismo nell' antica Gallia* (1904), 15, n. 1; Ihm in *P.-W.* s.v. *Druidae* (1905), 1736-1737; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, 3 ed. (1914), 363, n. 2; 11, 3 ed. (1913), 76, n. 1.

The most important passages dealing with the Druids (especially to be noted is Caes. *B. G.* 6, 13-14) are quoted by Holder, *op. cit.* 1321-1330, and Callegari, *op. cit.* For a bibliography of modern works see Callegari, *op. cit.* 109-113; Ihm, *op. cit.* 1737-1738; to which add Reinach, *Orpheus* (Eng. tr. 1909), 121-122; Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (1911), 32-36; 523-525; Jullian in *Rev. des Études anc.* 21 (1919), 102-110.

Diod. 5, 31, 2-3 makes three divisions among the Gauls: ποιηται μελῶν, οὗς βάρβους ὀνομάζουσιν . . . φιλόσοφοι τὲ τινας εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι . . . οὗς δρουίδαις ὀνομάζουσιν. χρωῖνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν, ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς: οὗτοι δὲ διὰ τε τῆς ὀλιγοσπορίας καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν θυσίας τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγουσι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπέθεον (cf. Strab. 4, p. 197; Amm. Marc. 15, 9, 8). On their history (Caes. *B. G.* 6, 13, 11: *disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata*

ipse Diviciacum Haeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam *φυσιολογίαν* Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura dicebat, et in Persis augurantur et divinant magi, qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se conloquendi, quod etiam idem vos

2. *φυσιολογίαν* *nat. g.* physiologiam *nat.* phisiologiam C.

esse existimatur), organization, beliefs, control of education, and influence on public affairs, see the works cited. For their interest in divination see 1, 26, n. (*Deiolarum*) supra; Tac. *Ann.* 14, 30: *hominum sibi consulere deos fas habebant*; Strab. 4, p. 198: *ἔκαστων αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεραντίων τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν νομίμοις. ἄνθρωπον γὰρ κατεσκευασμένον παλαιότες εἰς τῶν μαχαίρα ἐμαρτεῖοντο ἐκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ.* Also Diod. 5, 31, 3 (quoted above); Mela, 3, 19: *quid dii velint scire profitentur*; Luc. 1, 452-453: *solis nosse deos et caeli numina vobis / aut solis nescire datum*; Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 49, 8 (p. 95 von Arnim): *Κέλτοί δ' οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι δρυΐδας καὶ τούτους παρὶ μαντικῆς ὄντας*; Hippolyt. *Philosophum.* 25 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 574): *τούτους Κέλτοί ὡς προφήτας καὶ προγνωστικοὺς δοξάζουσι διὰ τὸ ἐκ ψήφων καὶ ἀρβῶν Πυθαγορικῆ τέχνη προαγορεύειν αὐτοῖς τινα . . . χρῶνται δὲ Δρυΐδας καὶ μαγείαις.* And cf. Plin. *N. H.* 30, 13; Tac. *Hist.* 4, 54; Vopisc. *Aurel.* 44, 4; *Numer.* 14, 1-15, 5.

On the interest of Posidonius in the Druids (resulting from his visit to Gaul) and his influence upon Greek and Roman accounts of them see Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus* (1875), 526 (cf. Reinach in *Rev. arch.* 22 (1913), 109); Patsch in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 23 (1903), 809; Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913), 92, n. 1 (and works there cited); Geffcken in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 330-331.

1. *Diviciacum*: on the spelling and derivation of the name see Holder, *op. cit.* 1, 1260-1262, who holds that the Celtic form was *Deiviciacos*. This man was the brother of Dumnorix and was a prince of the Haedui, mentioned by Cicero only here but frequently appearing in Caesar's *Gallie War* as a supporter of the Romans.

For a discussion as to his possible influence upon Caesar's account of the Druids see Holmes, *op. cit.* 525-526.

1. *Haeduum*: on the spelling and derivation see Holder, *op. cit.* 1, 65-70, who thinks *Aiduos* was the Celtic form. But the Latin spelling may well have been with an initial *h*; cf. Holmes, *op. cit.* 843-844, and works there cited.

1. *hospitem tuum*: doubtless on the occasion of his visit to Rome in 61 b.c. (Caes. *B. G.* 6, 12, 5). The appeal is made to Marcus Cicero upon much the same ground as in the case of the other Celt, *Deiolarus*, in 1, 26.

2. *naturae rationem*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 20: *physiologiam, id est, naturae rationem* (and see Mayor's note). *Physiologia* also occurs in 2, 37 infra. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* 6, 14, 6: *multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt*; Mela, 3, 19; Strab. 4, p. 197: *δρυΐδας δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἠθικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἀκούσι*; Diod. 5, 31, 2 (quoted in note on *Druidae* supra); and Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 49, 8; Amm. Marc. 15, 9, 8: *ingeniis celsiores quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti*; Callegari, *op. cit.* 71 ff.

2. *quam . . . Graeci appellant*: cf. 1, 1, n. (*μαντικῆν*).

3. *auguriis*: cf. Justin, 24, 4, 3: *augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent*; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 23-25 for augury among the Celts (also Ael. *V. H.* 2, 31); de la Ville de Mirmont, *L'Astrologie chez les Gallo-Romains* (1904), 13-14.

4. *magi*: cf. 1, 46, n. (*magos*).

4f. *in fano*: in a consecrated place (as in Liv. 10, 37, 15: *fanum tantum, id*

quondam facere Nonis solebatis. 91. Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse qui non ante magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit. Licet autem videre et genera quaedam et nationes huic scientiae deditas. Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina; itemque

3-4. *Telmessus O, Müller (cf. 1, 94), telmesus A BV, Christ, Boiur, tedmesius vel tedmesius B.*

est, locus templo effatus), for the Persians did not have temple buildings (Hdt. 1, 131; Cic. *Rep.* 3, 14; *Leg.* 2, 26; etc.).

[255]5. *commentandi causa*: cf. *de Am.* 7: *proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D. Brutii auguris commentandi causa ut adsolet venissemus, tu non adjuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.* These gatherings of the augurs were, of course, quite distinct from their public functions on the *arx* (Valeton in *Mnemos.* 19 (1891), 408). See also Regell, *De Augurum publicorum Libris* (1878), 24.

[255]5. *vos*: of the augurs; cf. 1, 25: *vestra*.

1. *solebatis*: the custom had evidently been abandoned; cf. 1, 25, n. (*πισυς . . . ignorantur*).

1. *nec quisquam rex, etc.*: Davies well compares Philo, *de special. Leg.* 3, 18: *τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθῆ μαγίαν, ὀπτικὴν ἐπιστήμην οὖσαν, ἣ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα τραποῦραϊς φαντασιαίς αὐτᾶζεται, σεμνὴν καὶ περιμάχτην δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, οὐκ ἰδιώται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ βασιλείων οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Περσῶν διαπονοῦσιν οὕτως ὥστ' οὐδένα φασὶν ἐπὶ βασιλείαν δύνασθαι παρατεμῆθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰ μὴ πρότερον τοῦ μάγων γένους κεκοινωνηκώς τυγχάνει* (cf. Plat. *Alcib.* 1, p. 121e, quoted by Apul. *Apol.* 26, who notes that magic *inter prima regalia docetur, nec ulli temere inter Persas concessum est magum esse, haud magis quam regnare*).

2. *disciplinam . . . perceperit*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 11; Val. *Max.* 1, 1, 1.

3. *genera*: here in the sense of 'families' (cf. 2, 116: *genus Aecidarum*, and numerous other passages in Cicero for the singular, though the plural in this sense is rare) or possibly in the sense of 'classes' (cf. 1, 46: *magos . . . quod genus sapientium . . . habebatur in Persis*).

3f. *Telmessus*: on the spelling (variants are *Telmessus, Telmesus, Telemessus*, etc.) see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 59, n. 1; Hicks in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 14 (1894), 380. This Carian community or κοινόν, rather than a distinct town (cf. Hicks, *op. cit.* 379; Cicero who says *quo in urbe* had doubtless never seen the place), is to be distinguished from a Lycian city of the same name, which perhaps also had an oracle; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 931, n. 4. Its site has been fixed by an inscription published by Hicks (*op. cit.* 377-380; cf. Paton and Myres in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 14, 373-377) as near the village of Ghiöl, in the peninsula of Myndus (see the map in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 16 (1896), 236), about seven miles N.W. of Halicarnassus (cf. Suid. s.v. *Τελμισσεῖς*: οὗτοι οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Καρίᾳ, ἀπέχοντες ἑξ' στάδια Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ὡς Πολέμων; also *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 663, no. 24, quoted below, for a different statement). It was already famous in the time of Croesus, who consulted its seers (Hdt. 1, 78; 1, 84). Pliny (*N. H.* 30, 6) calls it *religiosissimam urbem*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 292, and n. 5; 2 (1880), 75-78.

The forms of divination ascribed to the Telmessians are (1) extispicine, as Cicero here says; cf. Hesych. s.v. *πόλαι*: Ἀριστοφάνης Τελμισσεῦσιν (540 Koch) † ἀπὸ τῶν θυτῶν λέγει· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐπισκίπτωνται τὰς ἐκτροπὰς τοῦ ἥπατος καὶ τὰς φλέβας; Arr. *Anab.* 4, 4, 3; (2) augury, according to Arr. *Telmis.* 537 Kock (ap. Athen. 7, p. 308-309): *μελασποτερύγων κορακίων*; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 2, 26, 4 ff.; (3) according to the Christian writers they practiced or even invented divination by dreams (the evidence is given by Myres in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 14 (1894), 378, n. 1; to which add Schol. Greg. Naz. *Or. I c. Iulian.* 71, in

Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet, Iamidarum unam, alteram

1. Iamidarum *ρωε.*, iam indarum C.

Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 36, 1022); (4) if we may judge from the accounts of the Telmessian Aristander, who accompanied Alexander the Great, the interpretation of portents was the form most employed (cf. 1, 94 infra); Arr. *Anab.* 1, 11, 2; 1, 25, 8; 2, 18, 1; 3, 2, 2; 3, 7, 6; 3, 15, 7; 4, 15, 8; but cf. Körte in *Jahrb. des kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 5 Ergänzungsheft (1904), 14. Arrian further remarks (2, 3, 3): εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσάσις σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ σφαιρῶν ἀπὸ γίνους δεδῶσθαι αὐτοῖσι καὶ γυναῖξιν καὶ παῖσι τῆν μαντείαν, and in 2, 3, 4 he says of a Telmessian girl: εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικῶ γίνουσι. From this and the inscription cited above Hicks, *op. cit.* 379, reasons that 'it is probable that only those who belonged to the ancient γίνος founded by the prophetic god had the franchise of the κοινὸν, but that all members of that γίνος, men, women, and children (if we are to trust Arrian), claimed the gift of prophecy.'

For the eponymous Telmessus cf. 1, 39, n. (*Galatiae*); *Paroemiochr. Gr.* 2, 663, no. 24: Τελμισσάσις οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Καρίᾳ ἀντὶ τοῦ δούλου παροικουῖσι δούλους καὶ κτήνη κτήνητες ἀπέχοντες στάδιον Ἀλιαρράσου, ὡς Πολέμων. Τελμισσός δὲ πόλις ἐν Λυκίᾳ ἀπὸ Τελμισσοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μῆτρ τῶν Ἀνθρόρος θυγατέρων, ἧ ἑμίγη εἰς κύλικα μεταβαλὼν διὰ καὶ τερατοσκοπὸν αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν, ὡς Διονύσιος ἐν Κτίσει. This statement is perhaps a mistake, ascribing to the Lycian Telmessus an origin belonging to the Carian, for the connection of Apollo with Telmessus is attested by the inscription in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 14 (1894), 378, e.g., lines 3-4: τὸν Ἀρχαγιτὴν τοῦ γίνουσι Ἀπόλλωνα Τελμισσῆ, and by that in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 16 (1896), 234, lines 7-8: Ἀπόλλωνα Τελμισσοῦ μεδόντα, and cf. lines 36-37. Further see Clem. *Protrept.* 3, pp. 34-35 Stählin: τὸν ἐν τῷ Τελμισσοῦ βωμῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μῆγμα εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον Τελμισσοῦ τοῦ μάντεως ἱστοροῦσιν (cf. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 2, 6, p. 71d; Arnob. 6, 6). The play of Aristophanes entitled *Tel-*

messes (Kock 528-541) perhaps parodied the superstitions associated with the place and its people; cf. 1, 74, n. (*Trophanio*).

[256]4. in Caria est: the place being known for nothing save its mantic reputation and being in danger of confusion with the Lycian city this explanatory phrase is added.

[256]4. qua in urbe: see the note on *Telmessus* supra.

1. Elis: Halliday (*Greek Divination* (1913), 95) observes that the soothsayers of historic Greece are not from the larger states, but usually from the less highly civilized ones of western Greece.

1. familias duas: important for the history of these families is the article of Weniger in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 18 (1915), 53-115; cf. also Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 62-70; 335-336. Philostratus says (*Vit. Apollon.* 5, 25): ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οἱ δὲ Ἰαμίδιαί," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Τελλιάδαί καὶ οἱ Κλυτιάδαί καὶ τὸ τῶν Μελαμποδίων μαντεῖον ἐλήρησαν, ὡ λῶστε, τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ πυρὸς εἰδόντες, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συλλεξάμενοι φήμας," κτλ. The family of the Telliadae, however, are little known, and apparently not regularly coupled with the other two; cf. Weniger, *op. cit.* 66; 79-82. The history of the Iamids (*id.* 67-76) is treated by Pindar in the sixth Olympian ode (addressed to the Iamid Agesias), who tells (43 ff.) of the birth of its eponymous hero Iamus and the prediction (50-51) that he περὶ θανάτων δ' ἔσοσθαι μάντιν ἐπιχθονίους ἔξοχον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐλείψειν γενεάν. The pedigree of the Clytidae (Weniger, *op. cit.* 77-79) is given by Paus. 6, 17, 6: Μελαμπος γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἀμφιάου Μάντιος, τοῦ δὲ Ὀϊκλή, Κλυτίος δὲ Ἀλκαμείωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Ὀϊκλείου· ἐγγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἀλκαμείωνι ὁ Κλυτίος ἐκ τῆς Φηγίως θυγατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τῆν Ἥλιω μετῴκησε, κτλ. (but cf. Frazer's note on this passage).

From the numerous inscriptions found at Olympia and published by Dittenberger and Purgold (*Die Inschriften von*

Clutidarum, haruspicinae nobilitate praestantes. In Syria Chaldaei cognitione astrorum sollertiaque ingeniorum antecellunt. 92. Etruria autem de caelo tacta scientissime animadvertit eademque interpretatur,

1. Clutidarum *Lambinus*, glutidarum C, Clytidarum *O cum Ur sine*.

Olympia (1896), nos. 58-141) there can be reconstructed (Weniger, *op. cit.* 53-59) the succession of the Iamids and Clytids at Olympia from the middle of the first century B.C. to 5 A.D.; from 61-93; and from 113-265 A.D. During the earlier period the names of one Iamid and one Clytid appear in the inscriptions of the sacrificial priests; later usually two of each family. A list of the names of known members of the families is given by Weniger, *op. cit.* 114-115, who also (82-104) discusses their forms of divination, of which empyromancy was the most usual; cf. Philostr. *l.c.*; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6, 7: δὲ ἑμπύρων ἐν Ἡλίδι Ἰαμίδια ἑμαντεύοντο. With the hereditary principle appearing in the Iamidae and Clytidae compare the Telliadae (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 70-71), and the custom at the oracle of Clarus, where Tacitus (*Ann.* 2, 54) says that the priest was *certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus*, or that at the shrine of the Paphian Venus (Tac. *Hist.* 2, 3), where *ita pactum ut familiae utriusque posterii caerimoniis praesiderent*. Many instances of inherited mantic power among the Greeks are cited by Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 79-81. A tendency in this direction in the Roman augurate is perhaps to be seen in Tac. *Ann.* 2, 83. So in Scotland second sight is said to be hereditary; cf. Defoe, *Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell* (1720), *passim*.

[257]1. *unam, alteram*: note the chiasmus.

1. *Clutidarum*: this form does not appear in the Elean inscriptions (Weniger, *op. cit.* 59), although attested for the unrelated Clytidae of Chios (Frazer on Paus. 6, 17, 6; cf. Weniger, *op. cit.* 59, n. 3). The form customary at Olympia is Κλυτιάδης, which also appears in Hdt. 9, 33. The MSS. in our passage agree in the spelling with *u*, although the usual

transcription of the Greek *u* was at this time *y* (Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 10); cf. *Syria* immediately below.

1. *Syria*: here = *Assyria*; cf. Hdt. 7, 63: οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσυριοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, in a note on which Rawlinson calls attention to the entirely different derivation of the two words (from *Tsur* and *Asshur* respectively), and notes that they are carelessly used by both Greek writers (cf. Stephanus, *Thes. Gr. Ling.* s.v. Σύριοι) and Roman (e.g., *Tusc.* 1, 101; *Fin.* 2, 106; Mela, 1, 62; Suet. *Jul.* 22).

1. *Chaldaei*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*Chaldaei non ex artis*). For the hereditary character of their divination cf. Diod. 2, 29, 4: παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Καλδαίοις ἐκ γένους ἢ τοῦτων φιλοσοφία παραδίδοται, καὶ ταῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδέχεται . . . διὸ καὶ γυνεῖς ἔχοντες διδασκάλου ἕμα μὲν ἀφθνήσι ἔπαιτα μαθάνουσιν, ἕμα δὲ τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις προσέχουσι πιστεῖοντες βεβαιότερον; Jastrow, *Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, 2 (1912), 969, n.; Moore, *Hist. of Relig.* 1 (1913), 228.

2. *antecellunt*: cf. Diomed. *Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 374, 19): *idem* (sc. Cicero) *de divinatione primo antecellunt*. A favorite word in Cicero, many examples being cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v.

2. *Etruria*: cf. 1, 3; 1, 35; Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 32: *Tuscos quibus summa est fulgurum persequendorum scientia*; Diod. 5, 40, 2: τὰ περὶ τὴν κεραυροσκοπία μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐξεργάσαντο; Dion. Hal. 9, 6, 4: οἱ τε μάντιες ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλοιῶν δοκοῦντες ἐξητακίνα τὰ μεταρσια, πόθεν τε αἱ τῶν κεραυνῶν γίνονται βολαὶ καὶ τίνας αὐτοῦ ὑποδέχονται μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἀπώνας τόποι, θεῶν τε οἱς ἕκαστος ἀποδίδονται καὶ τίνων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν μηνυται. The large subject of Etruscan fulgural interpretation has been most fully treated by Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, 1 (1906). 13-128.

quid quibusque ostendatur monstris atque portentis. Quocirca bene apud maiores nostros senatus tum cum florebat imperium decrevit ut de principum filiis X ex singulis Etruriae populis in disciplinam traderentur,

3. X ex *Christ, Boiter, Müller, sex CO, seni malabat Orelli, X singulis Davies, ut deni principum filii ex singulis Madvig, Thoresen.*

[258]3. de caelo tacta: cf. 2, 47; 2, 149; also 1, 93: de caelo fiebant.

[258]3. scientiasume: cf. *Fin.* 4, 21; *Rep.* 1, 22.

1. monstris . . . portentia: cf. 1, 3, n. (*monstris*).

2. cum florebat imperium: probably written before the death of Caesar. The date to which Cicero refers is thought by Thulin (in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices* (1912), 2437) to be the second century B. C.

2. decrevit, etc.: cf. *Val. Max.* 1, 1, 1: maiores . . . portentorum depulsiones Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt . . . tantum autem studium antiquis non solum servandae sed etiam amplificandae religionis fuit ut florentissima tum et opulentissima civitate decem principum filii senatus consulto singulis Etruriae populis percipiendae sacrorum disciplinae gratia traderentur; *Leg.* 2, 21: prodigia, portenta ad Etruscos haruspices, si senatus iussit, deferunt, Etruriaque principes disciplinam doceto. Some have tried to connect with this *Iiv.* 9, 36, 3-4: habeo auctores vulgo tum Romanos pueros sicut nunc Graecis ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos, sed propius est vero praecipuum aliquid fuisse in eo (sc. *M. Fabio*) qui se tam audaci simulatione hostibus inmiscuerit, but *litteris* is hardly an appropriate term for the Etruscan discipline.

3. principum: cf. *Censor. de Die nat.* 4, 13: in agro Tarquiniensi puer dicitur divinus exaratus nomine Tages, qui disciplinam cecinerit extispicii, quam lucumones tum Etruriae potentes exscripserunt (cf. 2, 50 infra); *Comm. Bern. Luc.* 1, 636: hic duodecim principum pueris disciplinam aruspicinae dictavit. And Cicero writes (*ad Fam.* 6, 6, 3) to A. Caecina, who came from Volterra, . . . ratio quaedam Tuscae disciplinae quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, accepas. Cf. *Tac. Ann.* 11, 15: rettulit deinde ad senatum super collegio

haruspicum, ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiam exolesceret; saepe adversis rei publicae temporibus accitos, quorum monitu redintegratas caeremonias . . . primoresque Etruriae sponte aut patrum Romanorum impulsu retinuisse scientiam et in familias propagasse, etc. On the aristocratic tendencies of the art see also Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 100-101; 107, n. 1; Thulin in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices* (1912), 2437; and for the habit of passing instruction in it from father to son cf. *C. I. L.* XIII, 3694 (from Trier); XIV, 164 (from Ostia).

3. filii: these were, of course, Etruscans, not Romans (Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3 (1909), 143, n. 2; *id.* in *P.-W.* s.v. *Haruspices* (1912), 2441); in the empire Etruscan birth was no longer essential.

3. X ex: the MSS. here agree in the reading *sex*, which has found little favor among editors. The most elaborate reviews of the different suggestions made will be found in Moser's edition (ad h. loc.) and in the first work of Thulin just cited; cf. *id.* in Ruggiero, *Dissionario epigrafico*, s.v. *Haruspex*.

The number of principal Etruscan cities, and, in particular, the number associated with haruspices, being twelve (cf. *I'est.* p. 359 M.: *Tages* . . . puer dicitur disciplinam aruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruriae; *Comm. Bern. Luc.* 1, 636, quoted in the note on *principum* supra), the question is as to the number of boys by which this number is to be multiplied. Since we know of an *ordo LX haruspicum*, first mentioned in *C. I. L.* VI, 32439 (of the end of the Republic or beginning of the empire), scholars have been tempted to emend with some reference to that. So Traube (in *Furtwängler, Antik. Gemmen*, 3 (1900), 271) thinks that the real number has been lost and wrong

ne ars tanta propter tenuitatem hominum a religionis auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem atque quaestum. Phryges autem et Pisidae et Cilices et Arabum natio avium significationibus plurimum obtemperant, quod idem factitatum in Umbria accepimus.

restorations made in Cicero (*(s) ex*) and Valerius Maximus (*de(cem)*), and he would restore *V* as the proper numeral ($5 \times 12 =$ the 60 of the *ordo*). Thulin (in Ruggiero, *l.c.*) would find some relation to the *ordo*, of which he here sees the beginning, whether the number was later reduced from 120 to 60 (but additions, rather than reductions, in the number of priesthoods are the rule!), or whether the correct reading is *V*, as Traube suggested. It should, however, be noted, that this action of the senate is not the appointment of the members of the *ordo*, but merely a measure to insure a supply of eligible candidates (and it is noteworthy that Cicero does not state whether this is a selection made once for all or one to recur at regular intervals). Even granted, then, that the establishment of an *ordo* of sixty was contemplated, it would not be surprising if the number put in training had considerably exceeded that total, and might, with allowance for deaths, physical disqualifications, and choice of other careers, have been as large as 120 (*X ex singulis*). This latter number is easily explained palaeographically (Schenkell ap. Bormann in *Jahresh. d. österr. arch. Inst.* 2 (1899), 134, n. 5), and agrees most closely with the testimony of Valerius Maximus, which, though far from infallible, is: he best guide that we here have. Fowler (*Relig. Experience of the Rom. People* (1911), 308) remarks: "This was the last service that the degenerate Etruscan people rendered to its conquerors, and a more degrading one it is impossible to imagine."

1. *ars tanta*: cf. *Fin.* 1, 72.

1. *tenuitatem hominum*: cf. *pro Sex. Rosc.* 86: *tenuitas hominis eius modi est ut dissimulari non queat*; and Cicero often, especially in the orations, uses *tenuis* of those of slender means.

2. *ad mercedem atque quaestum*: cf. 1, 132; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 62.

2. *Phryges*: cf. Clem. *Strom.* 1, 74, p. 48 Stählin: *πηγσεις δὲ ὀρνίθων παραφυλάξαντο πρώτοι Φρύγες*; Greg. Naz. *Or. I in Iulian.* 109: *τὴν οὐρανιστικὴν δὲ τίνων; οὐκ ἄλλων ἢ Φρυγῶν, τῶν πρώτων περιεργασμένων ὀρνίθων πηγήν τε καὶ κινήματα*; Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 1: *Ἀραβὲς τε καὶ Φρύγες οὐρανιστικὴν ἐπέθεσαν πρώτοι* (cf. Georg. Monach. *Chron.* 2, 18, p. 74 de Boor); Suid. s.v. *οὐρανισμα καὶ οὐρανισμοί*: *αἱ δὲ τῶν πτηνῶν περιεργαίαι. διαφρασίς οὐρανιστικῆς. ταύτην εὐρον πρώτοι Φρύγες*; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 9, 32: *auguria autem avium Phryges primi invenerunt*; Hugo de S. Vict. *Erudit. Didascal.* 6, 15: *auguria Phryges invenerunt*; Joann. Saresb. *Poligr.* 1, 13, p. 409b. Cf. also *Juv.* 6, 585: *divitibus responsa dabunt Phryx augur et Indue*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 132, n. 5.

Pliny, however, ascribes (*N.H.* 7, 203) the invention of augury to Car the Carian, and Suid. s.v. *Τηλέγονος* to Telegonus; cf. Aesch. *Prom.* V. 488-492, where Prometheus claims the distinction of being its revealer to mortals.

2. *Pisidae et Cilices*: cf. 1, 2, nn. (*Cilicum, Pisidarum*); 1, 94.

3. *Arabum natio*: important is a fragment of Appian published by Miller in *Rev. arch.* 19 (1869), 102-103 (=fr. 19 Mendelssohn), entitled *περὶ Ἀράβων μαγείας*, and describing the meeting with an Arab and his predictions from the cawing of a crow. Cf. Porphyr. *de Abst.* 3, 4: *Ἀραβὲς μὲν κοράκων ἀκούουσι*; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1, 20: *ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων ἥδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀκούειν μαγτευομένων, ὅσῃσ' αἱ χρησμοί, ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτοίμενοι τῶν δραπέτων οἱ μὲν καρβίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ*; Clem. *Strom.* 1, 74, p. 48 Stählin: *Ἴσαυροι δὲ καὶ Ἀραβὲς ἐπέθεσαν τὴν οὐρανιστικὴν*; Euseb. *adv.*

XLII. 93. Ac mihi quidem videntur e locis quoque ipsis qui a quibusque incolebantur divinationum oportunitates esse ductae. Etenim Aegyptii et Babylonii in camporum patentium aequoribus habitantes, cum ex terra nihil emereret quod contemplationi caeli officere posset, omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt, Etrusci autem, quod religione inbuti studiosius et crebrius hostias immolabant, extorum cognitioni se maxime dedide-

2. etenim *Manilius*, ut enim C.

2. *Aegyptii et Manilius*, Aegyptii ut C.

4. *posset talis*, *passit* C.

Hierocl. 10: *ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοῖς καταλελεγμένοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀραβίων σοφοῖς διδασκάλου τῆς κατὰ τὴν οὐρανιστικῆν τὰνδρὸς ἐπιστήμης*, *ετλ.*; Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 1 (quoted in note on *Phryges* supra); Georg. Monach. *l.c.*; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 132, and n. 3; Miller, *op. cit.* 106, n. 1; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 246.

[260]3. *significationibus . . . obtemperant*: cf. 2, 20; 2, 21.

[260]4. *factitatum*: cf. 2, 97.

[260]4. *Umbria*: cf. 1, 94. References to the observation of birds are found abundantly in nos. I and VI of the Eugubian Tablets; e.g., 1a1: *aves anzeriales = avisibus observatis* (cf. 2a16; 6a1; etc.); 1b8: *avis anzeriatu = avis observato* (cf. 1b10; etc.); cf. Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines* (1875), followed by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 169-174; Bücheler, *Umbria* (1883), *passim*. A Latin inscription from Gubbio (*C. I. L.* XI, 5824) reads: *L. Veturius Rufio avispe x estispicus sacerdos publicus et privatus*. For non-Roman Italic augurs cf. 1, 105; 1, 132; 2, 70.

1. *ac mihi*: the following two sections parallel very largely 1, 2-3 supra, astrology, augury, and haruspicine being mentioned in each, and the Egyptians, Babylonians, Etruscans, Cilicians, and Pisidians appearing in each. Omission, however, of reference to oracles in the present catalogue, of the names of the Arabs, Phrygians, Umbrians, and Carians in 1, 2-3, and of Pamphylians, Greeks, and Romans in this list, as well as the differing order of citation and different emphasis laid, show that the two, though perhaps drawn from a common author,

are probably from two different passages in his works. These sections also parallel not a little in 1, 90-92; cf. Heeringa, *Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinet.* (1906), 19-20.

1. *locis . . . qui*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*locos*).

2. *divinationum*: for the plural cf. 1, 34, n. (*divinationum*).

3. *in camporum*, etc.: cf. 1, 2, n. (*Assyrii*), and the passage from Favonius there quoted.

3. *aequoribus*: in this sense mostly poetical, the earliest instance being Enn. *Ann.* 137 Vahlen: *tractatus per aequora campi*, which is imitated by Lucr. 3, 1002; Virg. *Ecl.* 9, 57 (see scholium); *Aen.* 7, 781; 12, 710; *Sil. Ital.* 5, 376; *Stat. Theb.* 10, 739; *Carm. epigr.* no. 1526, A, 1; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1, 1023; cf. Non. p. 65 M.: *aequor ab aequo et plano Cicero Academicorum lib. II (fr. 3) vocabulum accepisse confirmat: quid tam planum videtur quam mare? e quo etiam aequor illud poetae vocant*. This might indicate that the word gives a poetic touch in the present passage; cf. Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 82-83.

4. *contemplationi . . . officere*: cf. *Off.* 3, 66: *demoliri ea quorum altitudo officeret auspiciis*.

4f. *curam . . . posuerunt*: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 2.

5. *religione inbuti*: cf. *N.D.* 1, 55: *tanta imbueremur superstitione*; Liv. 5, 1, 6 (of the Etruscans): *gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excellerent arte colendi eas*; Arnob. 7, 26: *genetrix et mater superstitionis Etruria*.

runt, quodque propter aëris crassitudinem de caelo apud eos multa fiebant, et quod ob eandem causam multa inusitata partim e caelo, alia ex terra oriebantur, quaedam etiam ex hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu,

2. inusitata *ABV*, *Christ*, inuisitata *B* (*sed altera i oras.*), *Beiler*, *Müller*, *Thoreson*.

[261]6. crebrius hostias immolabant: cf. Varr. ap. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 4, 22: *Tuscia autem a frequentia sacrificii et turis dicta, ἀπό τοῦ θύσαι.*

1. aëris crassitudinem: cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 30, 3-4: *si quid tale intervenit nubem fecit solidiorem et crassiorem . . . illa frangi potest et edere sonum . . . est enim, ut diximus, nubes spissitudo aëris crassi.* Also Plin. *N. H.* 2, 136: *crebra in Italia* (sc. *fulmina*), *quia mobilior aër mitiore hieme et aestate nimbose semper quodammodo vernal vel autumnat. Italiaeque partibus iis quae a septentrione descendunt ad leporem, qualis est urbis et Campaniae tractus, iuxta hieme et aestate fulgurat*; Lyd. *de Ost.* p. 96, 6 ff.: ἐπι δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς μάλιστα (sc. κερανοὶ βάλλονται): ἐκπατος γὰρ σχεδὸν παρὰ πάντων χωρίων ὁ κεραιέτην ἀήρ, κτλ.

2. de caelo: cf. 1, 92.

2. inusitata: the weight of MS. evidence is in favor of this form, rather than *invisitata*. Both words are used by Cicero; for *invisitatus* cf. 2, 138; *Off.* 3, 38; for *inuisitatus* *Ac.* 1, 24; *Fin.* 3, 5; 3, 15.

2. partim . . . alia: so in *N. D.* 1, 66; 1, 103; *Rep.* 4, 3; *Fin.* 4, 18; *de Am.* 45.

2. e caelo: for a collection of different types of such (many being already treated in these notes) see 1, 97; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 7-12; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 3 (1909), 88-93.

2. ex terra: cf. 1, 75, n. (*corona*); Wülker, *op. cit.* 20-21; Thulin, *op. cit.* 3, 94-98, for vegetable growths; on seismic and other chthonic portents see Wülker, *op. cit.* 18-19; Thulin, *op. cit.* 3, 86-88.

3. hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu: cf. 2, 60; 2, 149; in addition to the foaling of mules (1, 36, n. (*partus* . . . *mulae*) supra), the birth of hermaphrodites (1, 98, n. (*orlus androgyni*) infra), and the classes of misbirths mentioned in

1, 121, any sort of unusual or teratological birth might be significant. Thus twins (cf. von Negelein in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 5 (1902), 271-273; Spiess in the same journal, 15 (1912), 162-166), triplets (*Obseq.* 14; cf. *Dion. Hal.* 3, 22, 10), quadruplets (*Plin. N. H.* 7, 33; *Solin.* 1, 51), births of five children (*Jul. Capit. Anton. P.* 9, 3; *Phlegon, Mirab.* 28-29 *Westermann*); but this *Arist. Hist. An.* 7, 4, p. 584 b 33 ff. does not treat as portentous, even citing one case where one mother bore twenty children at four different times, for which see also *de Gen. An.* 4, 4, p. 770 a 34 ff.; *Antig. Hist. mirab.* 119; *Phlegon, Mirab.* 28; *Gell.* 10, 2, and the parallels cited in the note of *Hosius*), or of seven boys together (*Paul. Diac. de Gestis Langob.* 1, 15); six kids born at once (*Liv.* 35, 21, 3); Siamese twins (*Obseq.* 12; 14; 25; 51; *Oros.* 5, 6, 1; *Hier. Ep.* 72, 2, 2; *Aug. Enchirid.* 87; *C. D.* 16, 8; *Anthol. Lat.* 2, 2 ed. (1906), no. 791, 24-26 *Riese*; *Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 475-476); children with too many members (*Wülker, op. cit.* 14), or animals so born (e.g., *Liv.* 30, 2, 11; 31, 12, 7; 32, 1, 11; 32, 9, 3, 32, 29, 2; *Dio Cass.* 78, 25); children with too few limbs or parts (*Wülker, ibid.*), or animals similarly born (e.g., *Liv.* 40, 2, 4; 40, 45, 4; 42, 20, 5; etc.); women bearing young of a different species (1, 121; *Plin. N. H.* 7, 34; *Obseq.* 57; *App. B. C.* 1, 83; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 248 P.), or lower animals born differing from the species of the parent (*Liv.* 23, 31, 15; *Ael. V. H.* 1, 29; *Joseph. Bell. Iud.* 6, 5, 3; *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* 3, 8, 3; *Zonar.* 9, 3; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 3, 5), or hybrid animals, the hybridity usually appearing in the fact that the head is like that of one parent (often human), while the rest of the animal follows the other (*Wülker, op. cit.* 15; *Liv.* 27, 11, 5; 31, 12, 7; 32, 9, 3; *Tac. Ann.* 12, 64; compound animals

ostentorum exercitatissimi interpretes exstiterunt. Quorum quidem vim, ut tu soles dicere, verba ipsa prudenter a maioribus posita declarant. Quia enim ostendunt, portendunt, monstrant, praedicunt, ostenta, por-

such as centaurs (2, 49 infra) may perhaps owe their origin to such monstrosities; cf. Jastrow, *Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, 2, 2 (1912), 943, n. 1; Wilke, *Einfluss des Sexuallebens auf die Mythologie u. Kunst der Indoeur. Völker in Mitth. d. anthrop. Ges. in Wien* (1912), 1-48; *Current anthrop. Lit.* 1 (1912), 242;—on these and other animal misbirths of a supposedly portentous character see Obssequens, *passim*; Aug. C. D. 16, 8; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 3; Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 475-478; Wülker, *op. cit.* 15-16; Thulin, *op. cit.* 115-123; Stein, *Tépas* (1909), *passim*; Steinhäuser, *Der Prodigien Glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 13-14; also Schwalbe, *Morphologie der Missbildungen* (1906-1909; with bibliography); Creighton and Mitchell in *Encycl. Brit.* 18, 11 ed. (1911), 740-745. For astrological influences causing the birth of monsters see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 399-400. On Vedic omens from misformed animals see Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 323; 333; 341; 342; for birth omens in Babylonia see Jastrow, *op. cit.* 2, 2, (1912), 836-891 (for lower animals), and 891-946 (for human beings); *id.* in *Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 14, 5 (1914), reviewed by Schulz in *Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol.* 33 (1916), 73-80; Dennefeld, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburtsomina* (1915).

The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (10, 61) discuss the question διὰ τί τέρατα γίγνεται μάλιστα τὰ τετράποδα τὰ μὴ μεγάλα, ἄθροιστος δὲ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἦντον, οὐκ ἴσται καὶ θῆαι, κτλ. The supernatural character of such prodigies was attacked by Anaxagoras (Plut. *Pericl.* 6; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 37-38). See also 2, 60 infra; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 3, 1: *portenta esse Varro ait quae contra naturam nata videntur; sed non sunt contra naturam,*

quia divina voluntate fiunt, cum voluntas creatoris cuiusque conditae rei natura sit.

[262]3. *conceptu et satu*: an easy case of hysteron proteron; for the expression cf. *Tim.* 39: *Caeli satu Terraeque conceptu generatos ediosque.*

1. *exercitatissimi*: on the eminence of the Etruscans in divination cf. *Diod.* 5, 40; *Dion. Hal.* 9, 6; *Sidon. Carm.* 5, 261; 9, 189.

If. *vim . . . declarant*: cf. 2, 144.

2. *ut tu soles dicere*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 7: *praedictiones vero et praesensiones rerum futurarum quid aliud declarant nisi hominibus ea ostendi, monstrari, portendi, praedici? ex quo illa ostenta, monstra, portenta, prodigia dicuntur*; *Serv. Aen.* 3, 366 (= *Gram. Rom. Frag.* ed. Funaioli, fr. 440): *Varro sane ita definit: ostentum quod aliquid hominibus ostendit; portentum quod aliquid futurum portendit; prodigium quod porro dirigit; miraculum quod mirum est; monstrum quod monet*; *Aug. C.D.* 21, 8 *fin.*: *monstra sane dicta perhibent a monstrando; quod aliquid significando demonstrant, et ostenta ab ostendendo, et portenta a portendendo, id est praecostendendo, et prodigia quod porro dicant, id est futurum praedicant*; with which *Isid. Etym.* 11, 3, 3 agrees. *Dietrich, De Ciceronis Ratione etymologica* (1911), 44-45, shows that Cicero's etymologies are here in considerable part, at least, independent of Varro's (as repeated from an earlier form by Servius (or, more exactly, the *Scholia Danielis*) and from a later by Augustine). For ancient attempts to classify these words and give their etymologies see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882) 77, and n. 1 (to which add *Suet. fr.* 284 Reifferscheid), who well refuses to differentiate sharply between essentially synonymous terms.

2. *posita*: Cicero, as Thoresen remarks, apparently holds to the doctrine that the origin of words may be due to

tenta, monstra, prodigia dicuntur. 94. Arabes autem et Phryges et Cilices, quod pastu pecudum maxume utuntur campos et montes hieme et aestate peragrantes, propterea facilius cantus avium et volatus notaverunt; eademque et Pisidiae causa fuit et huic nostrae Umbriae. Tum Caria tota praecipueque Telmesses, quos ante dixi, quod agros uberrimos maximeque fertiles incolunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique possunt, in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes fuerunt.

XLIII. 95. Quis vero non videt in optima quaque re publica plurimum auspicia et reliqua divinandi genera valuisse? Quis rex umquam fuit, quis populus, qui non uteretur praedictione divina? neque solum in pace sed in bello multo etiam magis, quo maius erat certamen et discrimen salutis. Omitto nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine auspiciis domi [habent auspicia]; externa videamus. Namque et Athenienses

13. domi; externa *Schnetz, Koch, Müller, Thoresen*, domi habent auspicia externa *B*, dum habent auspicia externa *A V*, dum habent auspicia externa *B*, externa *Davies, O*, domi habent: externa *Christ, Baier*, domi, si habent auspicia; externa *Deiter (Philologus, 65 (1906), 319)*. An domi—dum habent auspicia; externa?

θεοῖς rather than to *θεοῖς*; cf. Plat. *Crat.* p. 390d; 397b-c.

[263]3f. ostendunt . . . dicuntur: cf. *N.D.* 2, 7: *declarant . . . hominibus ea ostendi monstrari portendi praedici. ex quo illa ostenta, monstra, portenta, prodigia dicuntur*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 77-78, who regards *portenta* (= *ostenta*) as inanimate, *monstra* as biological in character, and *prodigia* as the acts or movements of human beings.

[263]3f. praedicunt . . . prodigia: the real etymology (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 614-615) is from *prōd*(*pro*) + *agium*(cf. *asio*, *ad-agium*, etc.). With the etymology given by Cicero cf. *N.D.* 2, 7 (quoted in the preceding note); *Fest.* p. 138 M.: *prodigium velut praedictum et quasi praedicium*; p. 229: *prodigium quod predicunt futura, permutatione g litterae, nam quae nunc c appellatur ab antiquis g vocabatur*; *Varr. ap. Serv. Aen.* 3, 366 (quoted in note on *ut tu soles dicere supra*).

1. Arabes . . . Phryges . . . Cilices: cf. 1, 92.

2. pastu pecudum: cf. *N.D.* 2, 99; 2, 161; *de Sen.* 54. For the appeal of the free, out-of-door life of shepherds in the philosopher Posidonius see *Geffcken in Hermes*, 49 (1914), 331. Cf. also 1, 2 supra.

3. cantus . . . notaverunt: cf. *N.D.* 3, 14: *cornicis cantum notavit* (see Mayor's note), where, as here and in 2, 91, the verb means to 'note the fulfilment of.'

4. Pisidiae . . . Umbriae: cf. 1, 92.

5. Telmesses: cf. 1, 91, n. (*Telmessus*).

5. agros uberrimos: cf. *Nep. Ages.* 3, 1: *ea regio* (sc. Caria) *iis temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima*.

9. rex: cf. 1, 3; 1, 26-27; 1, 32; 1, 37; 1, 88; 1, 89; 1, 91; 2, 52; etc.

11. certamen et discrimen: cf. *de Or.* 1, 3: *devenimus in medium rerum omnium certamen atque discrimen*.

12. omitto nostros: the converse of 1, 3: *ut omittam ceteros populos, noster quam multa genera complexus est*.

12. nihil in bello, etc.: cf. 1, 3, n. (*militiae*); 1, 28; 2, 76.

13. habent auspicia: troublesome words, which cannot be retained without emendation, but which, on the other hand, are difficult to explain as a gloss. Perhaps the suggestion which I have offered in the critical note above (though without sufficient confidence to include it in the text) may meet the needs of the case, and with it should be compared 2, 76: *quam multi anni sunt cum bella a proconsulibus et a praetoribus administrantur qui auspicia non habent!* Cf. also

omnibus semper publicis consiliis divinos quosdam sacerdotes, quos μάντεις vocant, adhibuerunt, et Lacedaemonii regibus suis augurem adsessorem dederunt, itemque senibus (sic enim consilium publicum appellant) augurem interesse voluerunt, idemque de rebus maioribus semper aut Delphis oraculum aut ab Hammone aut a Dodona petebant. 96. Lycurgus quidem, qui Lacedaemoniorum rem publicam temperavit, leges

2. μάντεις πῶς., mantis C.

Leg. 3, 10: omnes magistratus auspiciū . . . habentō.

[264]13. externa videamus: cf. 1, 29, n. (ad P. Claudius).

[264]13. Athenienses: cf. Arist. *Resp. Athen.* 54, 6: κληροὶ δὲ καὶ ἱεροποιοὶς δέκα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἑθύματα καλουμένους, <οἱ> τὰ τε μ<α>ν<τεις> τευτὰ ἱερά θουοῦσι, ἀν τὶ καλλιερῆσαι δὲρ, καλλιερῶσι μετὰ τῶν μάντεων (and see Sandys' note); 1, 122 infra. Justin, 8, 2, 11 speaks of the constant use of the Delphic oracle by the Athenians.

1. publicis consiliis: cf. *consilium publicum* infra, and often in the orations.

2. Lacedaemonii: cf. Hdt. 6, 57: καὶ προξένους ἀποδεικνύει τοῖσι προκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀν ἰθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ Πυθίου ἀρξέσθαι δύο ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσι θωπρότοι ἐν Δελφοῖς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια . . . τὰς δὲ μαντίας τὰς γενομένας τοῖσι φυλάσσειν, συνείδειαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Πυθίοις; Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 15, 5: ἔδωκε (sc. Λυκούργος) δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήτους δύο ἐκατέρω προσελέσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται; Nic. *Damasc. Morum mirab. Coll.* 114, 15 (= *F. H. G.* 3, 459): συνεκτιμῶνται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ μάντεις καὶ λατοὶ καὶ ἀληταί; also the epitaph by Simonides (94): μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγίστου, ὃν ποτε Μῆβου / Σπερχεῶν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἔμειψάμενοι, / μάντιος, ὅτι τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένης σάφα εἰδύς / οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν (though whether this refers to a μάντις of this particular class may perhaps be questioned); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 218.

3. adsessorem: here first in Latin and only here in Cicero. It probably represents the Greek σπείρορος or σπάρρορος.

3. senibus: the gerusia.

4. de rebus maioribus: cf. Nep. *Lysand.* 3, 1: Lacedaemonii omnia ad oracula referre consueverant; Paus. 3, 4, 4: οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ χρηστήριον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὄσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰώθεσαν ἀνάγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα τὸ ὑπὲρ Δημαράτου. Cf. Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle* (1918), 84, n. 6. For the phrase cf. 1, 122.

5. Delphis . . . Hammone . . . Dodona: cf. 1, 3, n. (*Pythio*). Instances of consultation of Delphi by the Spartans are too numerous to be here cited; cf. Plat. *Leg.* 3, p. 686a. For the Spartans and Ammon see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 345, and n. 7; and on the oracles given from the shrine at Dodona see 1, 3, n. (*Dodonaeo*).

5. a Dodona: according to Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausfuhr. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 478, the preposition is here due to the desire for symmetry with the phrase *ab Hammone*. Cf. 1, 89, n. (*ad Troiam*).

6. Lycurgus: the legend of Lycurgus has been very fully treated by Meyer, *Forschungen z. alt. Gesch.* 1 (1892), 213-286, to which add Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* 1, 2, 2 ed. (1913), 253-258 (who holds Lycurgus to be a sun-god, and compares other instances of sun-gods as law-givers), with a bibliography (p. 253, n. 1) of other works since Meyer's. Several oracles ostensibly addressed to Lycurgus are given by Meyer (pp. 223-228), of which one (p. 223) may be here quoted: ἦξει ὦ Λυκούργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πλοῖα σῆδ' / Ζητὶ φίλος . . . / . . . / ἦξει δ' εὐνομίαν αἰετούμενος: αὐτὰρ ἔγνωγε / βῶσω, τῆρ οὐκ ἄλλη ἐπιχθονίη πόλις ἔξει. The rationalistic view appears in Ephorus (*id.* 218-219) as shown by Polyb. 10, 2, 11: Λυκούργος δὲ προσλαβανόμενος ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Πυθίας φήμην εὐπαραβεκτοτέρας καὶ

suas auctoritate Apollinis Delphici confirmavit; quas cum vellet Lysander commutare eadem est prohibitus religione. Atque etiam qui praecerant Lacedaemoniis, non contenti vigilantibus curis, in Pasiphaae fano, quod

3. Pasiphaae fano: pasiphae ΠΥ, pasiphe Β, pasife Α.

πιστοτέρως ἐπέσει τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιβολάς; cf. *N. D.* 3, 91: nec Lacedaemoniorum disciplinam dicam unquam ab Apolline potius Spartae quam a Lycurgo datam. Herodotus says (1, 65): οἱ μὲν δὴ τινας πρὸς τοῖτους λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῶν τὴν Πυθίην τὸν οὖν κατεστρωτὰ ἀσμον Σπαρτιήτησι· ὡς δ' αὖτοί Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργου . . . ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγίσθαι ταῦτα, but by the time of Xenophon (*Resp. Luc.* 8; Meyer, *op. cit.* 231) the derivation from Delphi had been officially accepted. Meyer concludes (p. 232) that the establishment of the theory of Delphic origin dates from about 400 B.C., and is due to the efforts of the Spartan conservatives (in opposition to the innovations of Lysander), who strove to prove the Spartan constitution divinely sanctioned, and hence immutable. For Plato's attitude toward such Delphic sanction see *Rep.* 4, p. 427b; *Leg.* 1, pp. 624a; 632d; 6, p. 759c; 8, p. 828a.

The purpose of Lysander is set forth by Diod. 14, 13, 2-7 (following Ephorus): διεποῖτο καταλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν βασιλείαν καὶ κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων Σπαρτιατῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν αἰρῆσιν τῶν βασιλέων· ἤλπιζε γάρ εἰς ταυτὸν τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξειν . . . θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τοῖς μαρτείοις προσέχοντας, ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖσι προφήτων διαφθεῖραι χρήμασιν· ἐνόμιζε γάρ, εἰ χρησμῶν λάβοι σύμμαχον ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς, βρόβλις ἔξειν ἐπὶ τέλος τὴν προαίρῆσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταυτηθῆ χρήματα τοῖς περὶ τὸ μαρτεῖον διατρίβουσιν ὑπισχυροῦμενος οὐκ ἔπειθε, ταῖς ἐν Δωδώνῃ περὶ τὸ μαρτεῖον ὄψασαι ἱερῆαις προσήγγεκε λόγου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν . . . οὐδὲν δὲ πρῶτα δύναμενος λέξασθαι εἰς Κυρήνην, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι Ἄμμωνι, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ διαφθεῖραι βουλόμενος τὸ μαρτεῖον . . . οὐ μόνον ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεξέπεμψαν οἱ τοῦ μαρτείου προστάταις πρῶτος τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας τοῦ Λυσάνδρου περὶ τῆς τοῦ χρηστηρίου διαφθορᾶς; cf. *Plut. Lys.* 25; *Nep. Lys.* 3, 1-2. For the political conservatism of the Delphic oracle cf.

Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3 (1880), 126, and for alleged bribery of the oracle see 2, 118 infra.

[265]6. rem publicam temperavit: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 2.

2. qui praecerant: the ephors; cf. *Plut. Cleom.* 7: συνίθη δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας κείρας καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων ἕνα κοινώμενον ἐν Πασίφαιας ὄναρ ἰδεῖν θαυμαστόν, κτλ. For this use of *praesum* cf. 1, 2; 1, 53.

3. vigilantibus curis: Moser compares *Claud. in Eutrop.* 1, 362: vigilantibus undique curis.

3. in Pasiphaae fano: cf. *Paus.* 3, 26, 1: ἐν Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οἰτύλου μήκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντά εἰσι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἱερὸν ἔστιν Ἴουσις καὶ μαρτεῖον. μαρτεῖοντα μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὅποσα δ' ἔρπιθῆσθαι δεηθῶσιν ἀνείρατα δεικνύσι σφισιν ἢ θεοῖς. χαλκὰ δὲ ἔστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε Πασίφαιας (Παθῆσι codd.) καὶ Ἑλλίου τὸ ἱερόν . . . Σελήνης δὲ ἐπιληθῆσι καὶ οὐ Θαλαμᾶταις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔστιν ἡ Πασίφαη (Παθῆσι codd.); cf. *Plut. Agis*, 9; *Cleom.* 7; *Tert. de An.* 46. It has been suggested by Welcker and Rohde (cf. *Wide, Lakonische Kulte* (1893), 247) that Ino at this shrine displaced Pasiphaë, but *Wide*, who on pp. 247-250 discusses the various ancient and modern pedigrees and identifications of Pasiphaë, considers both Ino and Pasiphaë as hypostases of Aphrodite; cf. *Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 156, n. 6.

On the site described by Pausanias cf. *Frazer's* note (1898), which mentions various attempts of modern scholars to locate it; but especially cf. *Forster in Ann. Brit. School at Athens*, 10 (1904), 161-162, who would place it near the village of Palaiochora, near which he found a dedicatory inscription to Pasiphaë, which he gives on p. 173. But, as *Wide (op. cit.* 247) notes, this region, which is about 25 miles from Sparta and separated from it

est in agro propter urbem, somniandi causa excubabant, quia vera quietis

by the Taygetus range, is not well described by Cicero's words *propter urbem*, nor would it have been a convenient place for the ephors to visit for the purpose here mentioned. Wide therefore well suggests that this oracle, like some other south-Laonian cults, may have had a branch somewhere nearer Sparta, to which Cicero's words may apply (though Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 271, n. 1, will not admit an oracle of Pasiphaë near Sparta). Wolf (*Vermischte Schriften u. Aufsätze* (1802), 407) suggested that the name of the town of Thalamae might have dropped out after the words *propter urbem*, but this view, as noted by Wide, hardly obviates the difficulty arising from the inconvenience of consultation by the ephors.

1. *excubabant*: here probably not of sleeping out-of-doors as in 1, 112, but rather outside the city. The technical words for sleeping in temples vary much in Greek (*ἄγχιουσις*, etc.), but in Latin *incubare* is the regular expression; cf. Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 6-8.

Incubation differs from ordinary dream divination (as Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1 (1879), 289, points out) in that it implies, on the part of the consultant, premeditation and a preparatory act. This simplifies the process of interpretation, since the answer given in the dream is to a clearly defined question, and is usually in a somewhat conventionalized and well understood form. The preparatory rites, including regulation of diet, chastity, special garb, prayer, and sacrifice, are described by Deubner, *op. cit.* 14-18.

The divinities granting replies to this sort of consultation are regularly chthonic, the connection of dreams and oracles with the underworld being well-recognized; cf. 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*); Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 935, etc.; see also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 2 (1880), 251; 260; for its connection with Egyp-

tian divinities see 1, 132, n. (*Isaicos coniectores*); 2, 123. Such contact with the earth in sleep is ascribed to the priests at Dodona (Hom. *Il.* 16, 235; Callim. 4, 286), and to consultants of such oracles; cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 935, n. 7. For the relation between incubation and necromancy see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, 2, 290; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 935-936.

Incubation, though sometimes used for general purposes, as in our passage, was more often medical or iatromantic in character (cf. 2, 123; *N.D.* 3, 91), and found at the shrines of gods of healing, such as Aesculapius (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 321-325; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 932, n. 6; Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906), 8-79; and especially Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (1909), 76-170; see the bibliography in Fuchs, *Gesch. d. Heilkunde bei den Griechen* (1901), 163-164, and that in Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 928, n. 3), or at the tombs or statues of heroes (1, 88, n. (*Amphiaräum*); Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 933). For the chthonic character of healing see Hamilton, *op. cit.* 3; also 1, 16, n. (*ex somnio*).

In the works above cited will be found the essential details of the practice, which had been widespread in time and place. In ancient times we have it attested for Egypt (Hdt. 2, 141; Strab. 17, p. 801; Foucart in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 795); among the Jews (*Is.* 65, 4; Strab. 16, p. 761; Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2 ed. (1894), 171; Deubner, *op. cit.* 27; Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 422); the Chaldaeans (Lenormant, *La Div. chez les Chaldéens* (1874), 130 ff.; but against its use by the Babylonians see Farnell, *Greece and Babylon* (1911), 302); on the shores of the Caspian (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀραπιαρῆ*); at many sites in Greece (see below); in southern Italy (Tzet. ad Lycophr. 1137; etc.; modern survivals in Hamilton, *op. cit.* 182-188); in the region of Rome mentioned, but at times prob-

oracla ducebant. 97. Ad nostra iam redeo. Quotiens senatus decemviro ad libros ire iussit! quantis in rebus quamque saepe responsis haruspicum paruit! Nam et cum duo visi soles essent et cum tres lunae

2. quantis in . . . paruit, quae verba coties in fine 1, 98 habent, huc reponenda esse ridit Davius.

3. soles essent C. Christ, Baillet, soles sunt Müller, Thoresen.

ably a mere reflection of Greek usage (e.g., Virg. *Aen.* 7, 86 ff.; Ov. *Fast.* 4, 649 ff.; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 12; Schol. Pers. 2, 56; etc.); in Sardinia from the time of Aristotle (*Phys. Ausc.* 4, 11, p. 218 b 23 ff.; Hamilton, *op. cit.* 188-189); and among the Celts (Tert. *de An.* 57). From later and even modern times it is known most abundantly from Greece (Schmidt, *Volkst. d. Neugriechen* (1871), 77-78; Hamilton, *op. cit.* 109-223; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and ancient Greek Relig.* (1910), 61-62), but also from Italy (Hamilton, *op. cit.* 182-188), Austria (*id.* 189-190), Ireland, north Africa, and Australia (Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 130), and China (Moore, *Hist. of Relig.* 1 (1913), 13). For many other medieval and modern instances see Deubner, *op. cit.* 56-134. The practice, though parodied by Aristophanes (e.g., *Plut.* 411 ff.; 653 ff.), and exposed to obvious charlatanism, may have served for its day and culture somewhat the same end as hypnotic cures and those of Christian Science; cf. Hamilton, *op. cit.* preface.

[267]If. quietis oracla: cf. 1, 61: *visa quietis*; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 4: *nocturnae quietis species*; 16, 1: *nocturnae quietis imaginem*.

1. nostra: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

If. decemviro: cf. 1, 4, n. (*decem interpretes*). For the method and forms of consultation of the Sibylline books cf. Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 31-34, who gives (pp. 33-34) a list of cases of such consultation. The restrictions upon the examination of the books are noted in 2, 112.

2. ad libros ire: a technical phrase, like *libros adire*; cf. Luterbacher, *Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer* (1880), 21.

2f. quantis . . . paruit: on the causes and history of the dislocation of this clause see Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (1918), 355-356.

2f. responsis haruspicum: cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*). The procedure of the haruspices in such cases is described by Wülker, *op. cit.* 34-37, with a list of instances; cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 84-119; 3 (1909), 117-130.

For the phrase see 2, 45; 2, 52; 2, 53; also Cicero's oration *de Haruspicum Responso*; cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 545, n. 4.

3. nam et, etc.: a long and very loose sentence, finding its proper completion at the end of 1, 98, but broken by parentheses and questions.

In an important passage in *N. D.* 2, 14 Cleanthes is made the authority for the statement that the belief in the existence of gods is derived, in part, from *fulminibus, tempestatibus, nimbis, nivibus, grandinibus, vastitate, pestilentia, terrae motibus et saepe fremilibus, lapideisque imbribus et guttis imbrium quasi cruentis, tum <labibus> aut repentinis terrarum hiatibus, tum praeter naturam hominum pectusque portentis, tum facibus visis caelestibus, tum stellis iis quas Graeci cometas, nostri cincinnatas vocant, quae nuper bello Octaviano magnarum fuerunt calamitatum praenuntiae, tum sole geminato, quod, ut e patre audivi, Tuditano et Aquilio consuli-bus evenerat, quo quidem anno P. Africanus sol alter extinctus est*, etc.; cf. *Rep.* 1, 15; 1, 17; 1, 19; 1, 20; 1, 31-32. This is doubtless taken by Cicero from Cleanthes through the medium of Posidonius; cf. Bywater in *Journ. of Philol.* 7 (1877), 77. In Sen. *N. Q.* 7, 20, 2, an interest in some of these same phenomena is ascribed to Posidonius.

et cum faces, et cum sol nocte visus esset et cum e caelo fremitus auditus,

1. visus esset C. Christ, Baier, visus est Müller, Thoresen.

[268]3. duo visi soles: on the phenomenon of the parhelion (sun-dogs) and the paraselene (mock-moons) see *Encycl. Brit.* 12, 11, ed. (1910), 864-865. It was treated by various ancient philosophers. Thus Plut. *Plac. Phil.* 3, p. 894 f: 'Αναξαγόρας ἀνάλασιν ἀπὸ φέουσι πυκνοῦ τῆς ἡλιακῆς περιφεγγελας, κατασκευῆ δὲ τοῦ κατοπτρίζοντος αὐτὴν ἀστῆρος διὰ ταυτὸς ἴστασθαι. παραλληλῶσι δὲ αἰτιολογεῖται τὰ καλούμενα παρήλια, γινόμενα δὲ κατὰ τὸν Πάστον; *id.* 2, p. 890a-b (cf. Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 25, 12; *Doxogr. Gr.* 349-350): Φιλόλαος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος ὑαλοειδῆ, δεχόμενον μὲν τοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πυρὸς τὴν ἀναύγειαν, διηρῶντα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς, ὥστε προσοικεῖται ἄλλῳ τὸ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πυρῶδες τὸ τε δὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσοπυρρῶδες: καὶ τρίτον τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσοπυρρῶτος κατ' ἀνάλασιν διασκευομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐγὴν: καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προσονομάζουσι ἥλιον, οἷον εἰδῶλον εἰδῶλου; *id.* p. 890b-c (Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 25, 13; *Doxogr. Gr.* 350): 'Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δύο ἥλιους, τὸν μὲν ἀρχίτυπον, . . . τὸν δὲ φαινόμενον ἀναύγειαν ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡμισφαίριῳ τῷ τοῦ αἴρος τοῦ θερμομηγῶτος πεκληρωμένῳ, ἀπὸ κυκλοτεροῦ τῆς αὐγῆς κατ' ἀνάλασιν γιγνομένην εἰς τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ, συμπεριελκομένην δὲ τῇ αὐγῆσι τοῦ πυρῆος: ὡς δὲ βραχίως εἰρηθεῖσαι συντεμόντι, ἀναύγειαν εἶναι τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν πυρὸς τὸν ἥλιον; Arist. *Meteor.* 3, 2, p. 372 a 10-18: παρήλιοι δὲ καὶ βάρβοι γίνονται ἐκ πλαγίας αἰεὶ καὶ οὐτ' ἔωθεν οὐτε πρὸς τῇ γῆ οὐτ' ἐξ ἐναντίας, οὐδὲ δὴ νύκτωρ, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἔτι δ' ἡ αἰρομένου ἢ καταφερομένου: τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς: μεσουρανοῦντος δὲ στενίων τε γίγονεν, οἷον ἐν Βοσπόρῳ ποτὲ συνέσειν: δι' ὅλης γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας συναρᾶσθοντες δύο παρήλιοι διετέλειαν μέχρι δυσμῶν. . . τὸ δ' αἰτίον τούτων ἀπάντων ταῦτό: πάντα γὰρ ἀνάλασις ταῦτ' ἔστιν, κτλ.; cf. *Probl.* 15, 12; Sen. *N. Q.* 1, 11, 2-3: *historici soles vocant et binos ternosque apparuisse memoriae tradunt; Graeci parhelia appellant, quia in propinquo fere a sole visuntur aut quia accedunt ad aliquam similitudinem solis . . . sunt autem imagines solis in nube spissa et vicina in*

modum speculi; Amm. Marc. 20, 3, 6: *sol autem geminus ita videri existimatur si erecta solito celsius nubes aeternorumque ignium propinquitatē conlucentes orbis alterius claritudinem tamquam e speculo puriore formaverit*; Prudent. *Hamartig.* 85-88: *nemo duos soles, nisi sub glaucomate, vidit, etc.*

For instances of two suns see Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 12; Wülker, *op. cit.* 7; to which add Dio Cass. 65, 8; Claud. in *Eutrop.* 1, 7; cf. Lydus, *de Ostent.* p. 9 Wachsmuth; Stat. *Theb.* 7, 114. According to Theophrastus (*de Sign. Tempest.* 22) they are a sign of rain; cf. *id.* 29. The two suns seen by Pentheus (Eur. *Bacch.* 918; Virg. *Aen.* 4, 470) are explained by Plutarch (*de comm. Notit.* 44) as merely due to his confused state. For three suns cf. Luterbacher, *l.c.*; Wülker, *l.c.*; to which add *Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese*, 2, 2 ed. (1906), no. 791, 6; Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1973 and 2065; *Fast. Vind.* 1, p. 275 Mommsen; for four suns Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 4, 31. For dreams of parhelia see Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 36.

[268]3. tres lunae: cf. Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 13; Wülker, *op. cit.* 8; so also two moons: *ibid.*; *Anglo-Saxon Chron. ann.* 1106.

1. faces cf. 1, 18, n. (*Phorbi fax*); 2, 60.

1. sol nocte visus: such lights at night, perhaps some form of *aurora polaris*, are frequently mentioned, and a list of occurrences is given by Wülker, *op. cit.* 7-8; cf. Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 13. Jastrow (in *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 14, 5 (1914), 51) calls this "perhaps a description of an eclipse when to a frightened populace it might appear as though night had suddenly set in." The apparent reverse is the appearance of the stars by day (e.g., Jul. Capit. *Pertinax*, 14, 3; Amm. Marc. 20, 3, 1).

1. e caelo fremitus: cf. 2, 60; Wülker, *op. cit.* 19; to which may be added: *de Hor. Resp.* 20: *in agro Latiniensi*

et cum caelum discessisse visum esset atque in eo animadversi globi, delata etiam ad senatum labe agri Privernatis, cum ad infinitam alti-

1. visum emet Moser, Christ, Baier, visum est CO, Maller, Thoresen.

2. labe Ernesti et Madvig, labe CO.

auditus est strepitus cum fremitu; Caes. B. G. 3, 105, 4; Virg. Georg. 1, 474-475; Dion. Hal. 8, 89; Diod. 38/39, 5; Obsequ. 14; 57; Tibull. 2, 5, 73; Ov. Met. 15, 783-785; Mela, 3, 95; Petron. 122, lines 134-135; Dio Cass. 47, 1; 51, 17, 5; 54, 9; 61, 14; Val. Max. 1, 6, 12; Plut. Sull. 7; Plin. N. H. 2, 148; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 13 Wachsmuth. These sounds are sometimes chanting, sometimes the sound of weapons, or again that of trumpets and other musical instruments. Is the Christian idea of the 'last trump' perhaps the survivor of this notion? Cf. also 1, 101, n. (voces ex occulto); Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, ch. 3 (quoting Marie de l'Incarnation).

1. caelum discessisse: cf. 1, 99; 2, 60; Serv. Aen. 9, 20: *in auguralibus libris inter ostenta etiam caelum discessisse dicitur*. The causes are sought by Arist. Meteor. 1, 5, p. 342 a 34 ff.: *φαίβεται δὲ ποτε συνιστάμενα νύκτωρ αἰθρῶν οὐρανόσφι πολλὰ φάσματα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς χάσματα τε καὶ βόθροι καὶ αἰματώδη χρώματα . . . τὰ δὲ χάσματα ἀναρρηγνυμένου τοῦ φωτός ἐκ κραιπῆ καὶ μέλας ποιεῖ τι βάθος ἔχειν δοκεῖν, κτλ.*; Sen. N. Q. 1, 14, 1: *sumpt chasmata cum aliquod spatium caeli desedit et flammam velut dehiscens in abdito ostentat*; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 34 Wachsmuth: *γίνεται δὲ καὶ χάσμα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, οὗ συμβαινόντος σάλαι καὶ ῥήξεις ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ διαστάσεις τῆς γῆς γίνονται*. Cf. Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien Glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 28; Wülker, *op. cit.* 8; Ov. Fast. 3, 371; Plin. N. H. 2, 96. Perhaps the miracle of the cross in the sky seen by Constantine (Euseb. Vit. Const. 1, 28, and many subsequent writers) was a phenomenon of this kind, which might well have been produced by the sun or the moon shining through rifts of clouds of unusual shape (for which cf. Wülker, *op. cit.* 11), or by lightning seen against a background of dark cloud; cf. Virg. Aen.

8, 391-392: *tonitru cum rupta corusco / ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos*.

1. globi: cf. Sen. N. Q. 1, 1, 2: *satius erit de re ipsa quaerere quam mirari quid ita Aristoteles (Meteor. 1, 4) globum ignis appellaverit capram. talis enim fuit formarius qui bellum adversus Persen Paulo gerente lunari magnitudine apparuit. vidimus <nos> quoque non semel flammam ingentis pilae specie . . . vidimus circa divi Augusti excessum simile prodigium, vidimus eo tempore quo de Seiano actum est; nec Germanici mors sine denuntiatione tali fuit*. These sometimes appear as globi; cf. Wülker, *op. cit.* 11; Plin. N. H. 2, 162; Auct. Epit. de Caesar. 43, 8; Folk-Lore, 10 (1899), 263 (for a case in the Hebrides); at other times the comparison is to a shield (Wülker, *l.c.*; Liv. 22, 1, 9; Oros. 4, 15, 1). Whether the phenomenon is to be explained as a form of aurora or as the fall of a meteorite is not clear.

2. delata: probably used not merely of reporting but also of seeking from the senate some advice or the reference of the portent to an interpreter; cf. the use of the word in 1, 54; 1, 55; 2, 129; 2, 134; 2, 144; Leg. 2, 21.

2. labe: such sinkings are often mentioned (cf. 1, 78; N. D. 2, 14; Wülker, *op. cit.* 18). A striking example is given by Obsequens, 36 (of an occurrence in 117 B.C.): *Priverni terra septem iugerum spatium in caverna desedit*. Again, *id.* 38 (of 113 B.C.): *terra in Lucanis et Privernati late hiatus. in Gallia caelum ardere visum. Cimbrum Teutonique Alpes transgressi foedam stragem Romanorum socio-rumque fecerunt*. For the tendency of such portents to be repeated at the same site see Wülker, *op. cit.* 23. Other instances of hiatus terrae are: Oros. 5, 18, 6; Jul. Capit. Gordian. 26, 1; Treb. Poll. Gallien. 5, 4; also Virg. Georg. 1, 479; cf. Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 387. These settlements are

tudinem terra desidisset Apuliaque maximis terrae motibus conquassata esset, quibus portentis magna populo Romano bella perniciosaeque seditiones denuntiabantur; inque his omnibus responsa haruspicum cum Sibyllae versibus congruebant. 98. Quid? cum Cumis Apollo sudavit, Capuae

1. desidisset AB Christ, disidisset B, desedisset V(P)O, Müller.

usually mentioned in connection with earthquakes, and were probably increased in frequency and extent in certain places by the presence of underground caverns.

[270]2f. *ad infinitam altitudinem*: cf. 2 Verr. 4, 107: *prope est spelunca quaedam conversa ad aquilonem infinita altitudine, quo Dilem patrem ferunt . . . exstitisse*; 5, 68 (of the Syracusan *lautumiae*): *saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso et . . . exciso*.

1. *desidisset*: cf. 1, 78, n. (*desederint*).

1. *Apulia*, etc.: is this perhaps the occasion in 113 B.C. described in Obseq. 38 (quoted in note on *labe supra*)?

1. *terrae motibus*: cf. 1, 18, n. (*se . . . tremefecit*).

2. *quibus portentis*: cf. 1, 78.

2f. *perniciosae seditiones*: cf. *Off.* 1, 85: *rem perniciosissimam . . . seditionem atque discordiam*.

4. *congruebant*: cf. 1, 99. The practice of verifying the truth of one form of prediction by its agreement with that of another seems to have been not infrequent; cf. *Soph. Antig.* 998-1011; *Plin. Ep.* 2, 20, 5: *adfirmat exta cum siderum significatione congruere*; the amusing example given by *Arist. Rhet.* 2, p. 1398 b 32 ff., and *Plut. Apophth. Lacon.* Ages. 10; *Reg. Apophth. Ages.* 7; also 1, 106, n. (*firmavit*) *infra*.

4. *Cumis Apollo*: cf. *Liv.* 43, 13, 4 (of 169 B.C.): *Cumis in arce Apollo triduum ac tres noctes lacrimavit*; *Flor.* 1, 24, 3: *ad hoc caelestes minae terribilant, cum umore continuo Cumanis Apollo sudaret*; *Aug. C. D.* 3, 11: *Apollo ille Cumanus, cum adversus Achaeos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quadriduo flevisse nuntiatus est; quo prodigio haruspices territis cum id simulacrum in mare putavissent esse prociendum Cumanis senes intercesserunt atque retulerunt tale prodigium et Antiochi et*

Persis bello in eodem apparuisse figmento et quia Romanis feliciter provenisset ex senatus consulto eidem Apollini suo dona esse missa testati sunt. tunc velut peritiores acciti haruspices responderunt simulacri Apollinis fletum ideo prosperum esse Romanis quoniam Cumana colonia Graeca esset, suisque terris, unde accitus esset, id est, ipsi Graeciae, luctum et cladem Apollinem significasse plorantem; *Obseq.* 54 (of 91 B.C.): *Cumis in arce simulacrum Apollinis sudavit*. Apollo at Cumae is also mentioned by *Serv. Aen.* 6, 9, as having his temple in the *arx*, and an altar inscribed *APOLLINI CVMANO* is now in the Naples Museum (*C. I. L. X*, 3683).

4. *sudavit*: cf. 1, 20, n. (*tum fore, etc.*); 1, 74. For similar expressions see *Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 365-366; *Wülker, op. cit.* 13-14; *Steinhauser, op. cit.* 35, and n. 1; to which add: *Arr. Anab.* 1, 11; *Diod.* 17, 10, 4; *Lucian, de Syr. Dea*, 10; *Oxyrh. Pap.* 10, 118; *Euseb. Pr. Ev.* 5, 24; *Liv.* 22, 36, 7; 28, 11, 4; *Virg. Georg.* 1, 480; *Aen.* 2, 173-174; *App. B. C.* 2, 36; *Plut. Ant.* 60; *Dio Cass.* 40, 17; *Val. Max.* 1, 6, 5; *Lamprid. Commod.* 16. In these instances the sweat may be that of a statue, a bust, an altar, a shield, etc., and is at times bloody. At other times statues are described as weeping: *Tibull.* 2, 5, 77; *Ov. Met.* 15, 792; *Sen. Thy.* 702; *Sil. Ital.* 8, 645-646; *Dio Cass. fr.* 83 *Boissovain*; *Quint. Smyrn.* 12, 507. For later examples see *Lecky, Rationalism in Europe*, 1 (1868 ed.), 164; 282, n. 1; *Cook in Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sci.* 15 (1909), 354-355 (on *Milton's Hymn on the Nativity*); *Tatlock in Class. Philol.* 9(1914), 443, n. 6; and, for Vedic instances, *Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1858, 336; 340. On the ominous character of the phenomenon cf. *Lydus, de Ostent.* p. 16 *Wachsmuth*:

Victoria? quid? ortus androgyni nonne fatale quoddam monstrum fuit? quid? cum fluvius Atratus sanguine fluxit? quid? cum saepe lapidum,

2. cum fluvius *Heridius*, quod (corruptum ex quom) *Buvius C.*
2. *Atratus Marsius*, atratus *C. Moser.*

ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἰδρῶν ἢ δακρύων δοκῆ ἀγάλματα ἢ ἀλάτους, ἢ ὅταν κάμμος ἢ ἰππὸς περιπεφυγμένος ἐκλάμψῃ στάσεις ἐμφυλλοῦ ἀπειλεῖ. Aristotle (*de Plant.* p. 822 a 31) remarks that stones and metals do not really sweat, and Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 5, 9, 8) says: ἀνίει δὲ τῶν ζῶων τὰ κέρυια καὶ ἀπλῶς ὡν ἠλαυδῆς ἢ ὑγρότης· δι' ὃ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα φασὶν ἰδρῶν ἕϊσθαι· ποῦοισι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, κτλ. The substances usually spoken of, however, as thus affected are metal, stone, and ivory, and the correct explanation (condensation of moisture) is hinted at in 2, 58.

[271]4f. *Capuae Victoria*: apparently not elsewhere mentioned. Reinach (*in Neapolis*, 1 (1913), 26, n. 2) conjectures that this statue may have been influenced by the Nike at Tarentum. Any uncommon manifestation in connection with a statue of Victory would for obvious reasons be especially significant (e.g., the moving or falling of such a statue, as in App. *B. C.* 4, 134; Tac. *Ann.* 14, 32; Dio Cass. 50, 8; 56, 24; Plut. *Brut.* 39; *Sull.* 11; Spart. *Sev.* 22, 3; Zonar. 8, 1).

1. *ortus androgyni*: cf. 1, 93, n. (*hominum pecudumve conceptu et salu*). For occurrences of this portent see Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 476-478; Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 15-16; Wülker, *op. cit.* 14; Stein, *Tiŕas* (1909), 59; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3 (1909), 118-121; Steinhäuser, *Der Prodigien-glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 29. Especially to be noted is Phleg. Trall. fr. 36-39 (*F. H. G.* 3, 619-621), who gives a Sibylline oracle concerning hermaphrodites; cf. Diels, *Sibyllin. Blätter* (1890), 17 ff.

On the subject cf. Plin. *N. H.* 7, 34: *gignuntur et utriusque sexus quos hermaphroditos vocamus, olim androgynos vocatos et in prodigiis habitos, nunc vero in deliciis* (cf. Gell. 9, 4, 16); 11, 262; Aug. *C. D.* 16, 8; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 3, 11. For the cause of

hermaphrodites cf. Ps.-Luc. *Philopat.* 24: ἢ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ συνοπέσει καὶ Ἑρμαφροδίτου ἀποκλήσουσιν, ἐφ' οἷς ἤθεσθε. Dreams in regard to them are discussed by Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 37. The regular expiation of such prodigies was to remove them from sight by throwing them into the sea; cases are cited by Wülker, *op. cit.* 39; Thulin, *op. cit.* 3, 120. Other confusions or changes of sex were considered significant, e.g., a beard appearing upon a priestess; cf. Hdt. 1, 75; Arist. *Hist. An.* 3, p. 518 a 33 ff.

1. *fatale . . . monstrum*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 37, 21.

2. *Atratus sanguine fluxit*: note the end of an hexameter.

2. *Atratus*: cf. 2, 58. The river is otherwise unknown, and some editors would take this word as a common adjective rather than as a proper noun, but although the adjective *ater* is frequent in connection with blood (e.g., Virg. *Georg.* 3, 221; 3, 507; Sil. Ital. 8, 644-645: *atro sanguine flumen / manavit Iovis in templis*) yet (1) *atratus* is not elsewhere used of a bloody river, but most frequently of persons wearing mourning (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v.); (2) the word, both here and in 2, 58, is used more as if it were a proper noun; (3) names applied to rivers from their dark color are frequent (e.g., the *Melas* of Hdt. 7, 198, that of Liv. 38, 40, 5, and that of Strab. 7, fr. 53; *Fosso Acqua Nera*, near Gabii; and the numerous 'Black Rivers'). The word *Atratinus* appears as a frequent cognomen in the *gens Sempronia*, but it is far from certain that there is any connection between it and the name of this stream, though for *nomina* formed from the names of streams see Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 481.

Rivers, springs, pools, or lakes flowing with blood are one of the commonest of portents; cf. Bulenger in Graevius,

sanguinis non numquam, terrae interdum, quondam etiam lactis imber

Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 465-466; Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 15; Wülker, *op. cit.* 13; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 33; to which add: Athen. p. 521 e-f; Virg. *Georg.* 1, 485; Diod. 17, 10, 4; Dio Cass. 62, 1; 63, 16; Lucan, 7, 176; Sil. Ital. 8, 644-645; Apul. *Met.* 9, 34; Paus. 4, 35, 9 (and Frazer's excellent note); Claud. in *Eutrop.* 1, 5; Ehrenberg in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1847, 366; Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 2 (ed. of 1880), 1544; Tatlock in *Class. Philol.* 9(1914), 443, n. 6 (with Biblical instances, to which add *Ps.* 78, 44, and medieval cases, to which may be added *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* ann. 1098; 1100; 1103); also, for the sudden red color in the New River in New Hampshire in 1775 (thought to have portended the American Revolution), Springer, *Forest Life and Forest Trees* (1851), 243.

Cicero in 2, 58 well explains the phenomenon: *decoloratio quaedam ex aliqua contagione terrena inaxime potest sanguini similis esse*, with which cf. Arist. *Meteor.* 2, p. 356 a 13-14: *τοῦ δὲ χυμοῦ καὶ χόρας ἰσχυρὸν τὸ ὕδωρ δι' ὅλας ἀν' ἐβχῶσαι θύρα γῆς*; and several modern instances of this sort will be found in Frazer's note on Paus. 4, 35, 9. A famous case is that of the river Adonis in Syria (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 225, n. 4). Another explanation is that of Kinahan in *Folk-Lore Record*, 4 (1881), 99-100, who says that some instances of bloody lakes in Ireland have been due to the reflection of a red *aurora polaris*; with which compare the water reddened by the reflection of the sun and thought by the Moabites to be blood, mentioned in 2 *Kings* 3, 22-23 (and see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 53, n. 1). Still another, and perhaps more common, cause is the presence in the water of plankton (cf. Steuer, *Planktonkunde* (1910), 2; 277-280; similar cases have been noted in America, due, in some instances, to blue-green algae, especially *Oscillatoria prolifica* (Greenville)

Dumont, for which see Scott, *Proc. Indiana Acad. of Sciences*, 1917 (1918), 67-71, and the works there cited). So too the stains of St. Winifrid's blood on the stones of St. Winifrid's Well, at Holywell, England, are said to be due to some sort of vegetable growth; cf. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 6 ed. (1906), 294. On the significance of red see von Duhn, *Rot und Tot*, in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 9 (1906), 1-24.

Streams flowing with other colors or substances are also mentioned, of which milk (and honey) is the most frequently found; cf. Wülker, *op. cit.* 13; Dio Cass. 47, 1, 2; Paus. 4, 35, 10 (and Frazer's note); 9, 34, 4; Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* 57 (1902), 177 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.* 4 (1913), 398 ff.); also the *Fiume Lalle* on the east side of Lake Como, and the various 'White Rivers' and 'Milk Rivers,' the term 'glacial milk,' and Jastrow in *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 14, 5 (1914), 51.

[272]2. **lapidum**: meteoric showers are often considered as ominous; cf. Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 14; Wülker, *op. cit.* 12; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 12, n. 3; 28; to which add various references to the meteoric stone at Aegospotami collected by Hirschfeld in *P.-IV. s.v. Aigos potamos* (1894), 977; also *Murm. Par.* 57 (p. 17 Jacoby); Strab. 7, fr. 56; Hier. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 1551; Liv. 1, 31, 2; Tibull. 2, 5, 72; Fest. p. 177 M.; Lucian, *Tim.* 3; Lydus, *de Ostent.* p. 14 Wachsmuth; Schol. Juv. 4, 61; Arnob. 1, 3; Solin. 2, 6; *Chron. Pasch.* ann. 367; 404 A.D.; Zonar. 8, 12; 9, 1; Tzetz. *Chil.* 1, 767-785. For their ominous character see also Liv. 28, 27, 16. Anaxagoras was believed to be able to foretell such showers; cf. Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 28. Plin. *N. H.* 2, 104, thus explains them: *ideo lapidibus plueris interim, quia vento sint rapti, et multa similiter*.

1. **sanguinis**: for rains of blood cf. Luterbacher, *op. cit.* 14-15; Wülker,

defluxit? quid? cum in Capitolio ictus Centaurus e caelo est, in Aventino

1. defluxit *dell. pauci, effluxit C.*

op. cit. 11; Steinhauser, *op. cit.* 28; to which add: App. *B.C.* 2, 24; Petron. 122, line 140; Dio Cass. 51, 17; 60, 35; 65, 11; Claud. in *Eutrop.* 2, 41; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Langob.* 4, 4; Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 2 (ed. of 1880), 1544; Clarke in the same work, 2, 2054; and especially the monumental work of Ehrenberg, *Passatstaub u. Blutregen*, in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1847, 269-460, who on pp. 327-430 gives a long catalogue (compiled in part from authors named on p. 327, n. 1) of cases of rains of blood from 1535 (?) B.C. to his own time; see also Plummer in *U. S. Forest Service Bulletin*, 117 (1912), 22, n. 1 for cases in the nineteenth century; and, further, Tatlock in *Class. Philol.* 9 (1914), 442-446; McAtee in (*U. S.*) *Monthly Weather Review*, 45 (1917), 217-224, and his bibliography on p. 218.

The causes of this phenomenon have been variously explained, from the Schol. A to Hom. *Il.* 11, 53-54 (Dindorf's ed. 1, p. 374; cf. 3, 457-458; 4, 131; Schol. Townl. 11, 54): ἐξήθηται πῶς ἐνεδέχετο αἶμα ἔχειν τὰς νεφέλας καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ λῴωτες τὸ ἀμφίβολον ὅτι ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ πολλῶν ἀναρουμένων τὸ αἶμα τοῖτων ἐπλήρου τοῖς πλεῖστον ποταμοῖς, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ νεφέλαι λαμβάνουσαι τὸ ὕδωρ αἱματώδεις δρόσους ἐπεμπον. Modern theories have usually considered that rain has fallen mixed with and colored by some atmospheric dust of a reddish hue (from the Sahara, volcanic, cosmic, or from some source not yet determined), or, as Ehrenberg (*op. cit.* 431-440) supposed, with meteoric dust. Still another explanation has laid the colored rain to the meconial fluid ejected by large numbers of lepidoptera simultaneously emerging from their chrysalides (McAtee, *op. cit.* 218), or the rapid multiplication in rain pools of algae and rotifers containing red coloring matter (*ibid.*). Cicero's reply in 2, 58 perhaps implies that he found the cause for the bloody rains, as for the rivers

flowing with blood, in some *contagio terrena*.

[273]l. *terrae*: for a list of instances see Wülker, *op. cit.* 11-12.

[273]l. *lactis*: cf. Wülker, *op. cit.* 12; also Ehrenberg, *op. cit. passim*, especially p. 343, n.; Weber in *Abh. Berl. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 330-333 (Vedic cases); Plummer, *op. cit.* 22, n. 1. Gray rains (and perhaps milky ones?) are at times due to a mixture of falling rain with the ashes of forest fires (Plummer, *op. cit.* 17; cf. *Scientific American*, 119 (1918), 453), which is often the cause of those dark days which have sometimes been interpreted as due to solar eclipses.

Other forms of rains noted are those of gold (Pind. *Ol.* 7, 49-50 tells of a famous case at Rhodes, and this is often mentioned by later writers; cf. Julian, *fr. Epist.* p. 290b, and Wright's note; also the Danaë myth); silver (Dio Cass. 76, 4); iron (Wülker, *op. cit.* 11); chalk (*ibid.* 12); bricks or tiles (*ibid.*); Dio Cass. 40, 47); ashes (doubtless volcanic; Paus. 9, 6, 6; Bulenger in Graev. *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 493); flesh (Wülker, *op. cit.* 12; Ehrenberg, *op. cit.* 331-332; Weber, *op. cit.* 345); sponges (Plin. *N. H.* 2, 147); fishes (Athen. 8, p. 333a); frogs (Athen. *l.c.*; App. *Illyr.* 4; Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 316-317; Dickerson, *The Frog Book* (1906), 71); wheat (Athen. *l.c.*); wool (Wülker, *op. cit.* 12; Oros. 7, 32, 8; Hfer. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 2385; Paul. Diac. *Hist.* 12, p. 928a-b Migne; very probably to be explained as the flowers or the fruit of some tree); oil (Obseq. 30). Several of these sorts are collected by Plin. *N. H.* 2, 147; for others, due to whirlwinds, sand, or waterspouts sucking up objects and then precipitating them at a distance, cf. Plummer, *op. cit.* 16; McAtee, *op. cit. passim*. Additional rains of honey, butter, sour milk, ghee, hot water, and salt water are noted as Vedic omens by Weber, *op. cit.* 330-333; 345;

portae et homines, Tusculi aedes Castoris et Pollucis Romaeque Pietatis: nonne et haruspices ea responderunt quae evenerunt, et in Sibyllae libris eadem repertae praedictiones sunt?

XLIV. 99. Caeciliae Q. filiae somnio modo Marsico bello templum est a senatu Iunoni Sospitae restitutum. Quod quidem somnium Sisenna cum disputavisset mirifice ad verbum cum re convenisse, tum insolenter, credo ab Epicureo aliquo inductus, disputat somniis credi non oportere. Idem contra ostenta nihil disputat exponitque initio belli Marsici et deorum

3. *Post sunt C: quotiens senatus decemviro ad libros ire iussit quantis in rebus quamque saepe responsa aruspicum paruit (vide I, 97, not. crit.).*

4. Q. filiae vulg., q.f. AB, que BV, Q. filiae e Baier.

349; cf. also some of the plagues of Egypt (*Exod.* 8-10).

[274]1. in Capitolio ictus Centaurus: cf. 1, 19, nn. (*ipse suos; Nallae*).

1. portae: the significance of thunderbolts striking city walls and gates which were regarded as holy (*N. D.* 3, 94, and other instances noted by Valeton in *Mnemos.* 23 (1895), 72, n.) is discussed by Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 75-76; cf. 1, 101, n. (*muri et portae*) infra. The safety of the city might well seem threatened by such manifestations against its defences; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 43.

1. homines: cf. 1, 18, n. (*perculsus fulmine*).

1. Castoris et Pollucis: for their worship at Tusculum cf. *Fest.* p. 313 M.: *a Tusculanis, quod in pulvinari inponatur Castoris, struppum vocari*; also several inscriptions listed by Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 269, n. 9; cf. Dessau in *C. I. L.* XIV (1887), p. 254 and p. 258 (on no. 2603); Ruggiero, *Dizion. epigrafica, s.v. Castores* (1900), 134-135.

1. Romaeque Pietatis: cf. *Obseq.* 54 (91 B.C.): *aedis Pietatis in circo Flaminio clausa fulmine icta*; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 331. This temple is mentioned also in the *Fasti Amernini* for 1 December (*C. I. L.* I, 2 ed. p. 245).

3. eadem: cf. 1, 97, n. (*congruebant*).

4. Caeciliae, etc.: cf. 1, 4. In that passage Marcus says that this event occurred *memoria nostra*. Here the account is apparently taken from Sisenna

(Peter, *Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), 277, from Sisenna, Book I, fr. 5, of the year 90 B.C.). Cf. 2, 54.

4. modo: for other instances in which this word covers a considerable interval of years see *Off.* 1, 26; 2, 75; and cf. 1, 86, n. (*nuper*).

5. Sisenna: on the life and works of L. Cornelius Sisenna (praetor in 78 B.C.) cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 115-117; Peter, *op. cit.* cccxxxiv-cccxlx. At least 23 books of *historiae* (Non. p. 468M.) are attested, of which the fragments reach from the mythical period to 82 B.C. The work was the most important source for the period of Sulla; cf. *Sall. Jug.* 95, 2. For estimates of Sisenna by Cicero cf. *Leg.* 1, 7 (*Sisenna . . . omnes adhuc nostros scriptores . . . facile superavit*); *Brut.* 228; 259-260.

6ff. disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat: cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 1, 72, n. (*subito ex tempore*); 1, 129, n. (*sentiant . . . sentiat*); for the change in sequence Thoresen compares *Tusc.* 5, 115: *quom . . . finzisset . . . facit*.

6. disputavisset: not infrequent with a dependent infinitive; cf. Merguet, *Lexikon s.d. phil. Schriften*, 1 (1887), 728; also 1, 109 infra.

6. ad verbum: cf. *Ac.* 2, 135; *Fin.* 1, 4; *Tusc.* 3, 44.

7. Epicureo: cf. 1, 62, n. (*Epicurum*).

8. initio belli Marsici: cf. 2, 54; 2, 59, where he says *ante Marsicum bellum*. This period was rich in portentous events;

simulacra sudavisse et sanguinem fluxisse et discessisse caelum et ex occulto auditas esse voces quae pericula belli nuntiarent, et Lanuvi clipeos, quod haruspibus tristissimum visum esset, a muribus esse derosos. 100.

2. Lanuvii C. Müller.

cf. de Har. Resp. 18; Wülker, *op. cit.* 90; Plin. N. H. 7, 35.

1. sudavissae: cf. 1, 98, n. (*sudavit*).

1. fluxissae: cf. 1, 98, n. (*Atratus*).

1. discessissae: cf. 1, 97, n. (*caelum discessisse*).

2. Lanuvi: a locality from which portents were with unusual frequency reported; cf. Wülker, *op. cit.* 98; Galiati in *Bull. Comm. arch. comun.* 44 (1916), 4, nn. 5-6. Whether these shields were in the temple of Juno Sospita does not appear.

2. clipea, etc.: cf. 2, 59; Plin. N. H. 8, 221: *quo in genere multi et hos incolas domum posuere mures, haud spernendum in ostentis etiam publicis animal. adrosis Lanuvi clipeis argenteis Marsicum portendere bellum*; 8, 222: *Theophrastus auctor est in Gyara insula cum incolas fugaverint ferrum quoque rosisse eos*; 8, 223: *cum candidi provenere laetum faciunt ostentum. nam soricum oculum dirimi auspicia annales refertos habemus*.

Mice were regarded as chthonic animals (the γηγῶν of Strab. 13, p. 604); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 148; Paul. ex Fest. p. 260 M.: *quinque genera signorum observant augures: ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudis, ex quadrupedibus, ex diris* (to the fourth of which mice evidently belong); Auson. p. 165, 112 Peiper: *quadrupes oscinibus quis iungitur auspiciis? mus*. For the observation of mice by the haruspices cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3 (1909), 98. Aelian (*V. H.* 1, 11) says: ἦσαν δὲ ἄρα μαστιγῶτατος τῶν ζῴων καὶ μῦες; cf. Eustath. ad Hom. *Il.* p. 1665, 47 ff. Perhaps on account of its mantic character or as the spreader of plague the mouse was sacred to Apollo; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 803; 1229. Especially portentous was their gnawing of metals, whether gold (Wülker, *op. cit.* 17; Theophr. fr. 174, 8;

Plut. *Sull.* 7; *Marc.* 28), silver (Wülker, *l.c.*), or iron (Heracl. Pont. *de Reb. publ.* 31, in *F. H. G.* 2, 222; Arist. *mirab. Ausc.* 25; Antig. *Hist. mirab.* 21; Herondas, 3, 76; Sen. *Apocol.* 7, 1; Rouse in *Folk-Lore*, 4 (1893), 106-107). Again, by nibbling clothing mice portend misfortune to the wearers (Aug. *de Doct. Christ.* 2, 31; Joann. Saresb. *Poligr.* 1, 13; Anon. in *Folk-Lore Journal*, 2 (1884), 24; Anon. in *Folk-Lore*, 15 (1904), 89; 213; 16 (1905), 71; Bergen in *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* 7 (1899), 30; Rouse, *l.c.*; *Sacred Books of the East*, 11, 196; 35, 248; Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), 533; et al.); or the gnawing of the leather parts of weapons may foretell the defeat of an army (Hdt. 2, 141; Arist. *Rhet.* 2, p. 1401 b 15-16; Strab. 13, p. 604; Serv. *Arn.* 3, 108). The nibbling of books is also mentioned (2, 59; Juv. 3, 207; *Anthol. Pal.* 6, 303, 7-8); that of food is occasionally, though naturally less often, ominous (Liv. 40, 59, 8; Obseq. 7; cf. Theophr. *Char.* 28). For other cases of the portentous meaning of this animal see Aug. *de Ordine*, 1, 3, 9; 1, 5, 14; Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 380; 474-475; 496-497; Schwartz, *Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglaube* (1888), 41; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelhiere* (1888), 64-65; Courtney in *Folk-Lore Journal*, 5 (1887), 217; Cameron in *Folk-Lore*, 14 (1903), 301; Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horseshoe* (1898), 279-284; Boese, *Superstitiones Arelatenses* (1909), 83-87; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-Lore and ancient Greek Religion* (1910), 328; Margoliouth in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 817.

3. a muribus: for the use of the preposition with the names of animals cf. Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic.* (1901), 409-410.

3. derosos: not elsewhere found until Pliny, who uses it (e.g., *N. H.* 11, 164; 17, 241) of the nibbling of animals.

Quid, quod in annalibus habemus Veienti bello, cum lacus Albanus prae-

1. **annalibus:** cf. 1, 51, n. (*quod extat in annalibus*).

1. **lacus Albanus:** cf. 2, 69; Liv. 5, 15, 2-4: *lacus in Albano nemore, sine ullis caelestibus aquis causare qua alia quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. quidnam eo di portenderent prodigio missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum. sed propior interpres fatis oblitus senior quidam Veiens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantis in modum cecinit priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret nunquam potiturum Veis Romanum.* The prophet was captured and brought to the Roman senate, and said (5, 15, 11): *sic igitur libri fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, quando aqua Albana abundasset tum si eam Romanus rite emisisset victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse.* The messengers sent to Delphi brought back the reply (5, 16, 9-11): *Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave in mare manure suo flumine sinas; emissam per agros rigabis dissipalamque rivis exstingues; tum tu insiste audax hostium muris,* etc. (for attempted restorations of the verse cf. Baehrens, *Frag. Poet. Rom.* (1886), 35; Thulin, *Italische sakrale Poesie u. Prosa* (1906), 62-63). In 5, 19, 1, Livy says: *iam ludi Latinaeque instaurati erant, iam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiosque fata adpetebant.* The story is also told by Dion. Hal. 12, 10-13; Val. Max. 1, 6, 3; Plut. *Camill.* 3; Zonar. 7, 21. The Ciceronian version differs from the others in that it is a deserter who tells the tale and that there is no consultation of the Delphic oracle.

For a description of the outlet of the Alban Lake see especially de la Blanchère in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Emissarium* (1892), 598-601 (with excellent plans), and the works there cited; Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, 2

(1910), 174-176. This emissarium, which still determines the level of the lake, is a tunnel 2234 metres long, about 2 metres high, and 1.20 metres wide, constructed mainly through peperino, and emptying into the Rio Albano, a tributary of the Tiber. It could not have been intended to reclaim agricultural land on the shores, which are too steep for cultivation, but rather for irrigation purposes (cf. 2, 69; Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, 2 (1902), 585; yet cf. Frank in *Am. econ. Rev.* 9 (1919), 271), to prevent the overflow of the lake (Nissen, *l.c.*), and to reduce its level so as to prevent an unhealthy seepage through the porous rock into the Campagna below and around the lake (de la Blanchère, *op. cit.* 599). Possibly also the desire to protect buildings or burial places at points on the sides of the lake, which might have been submerged in case of overflow, may have been a motive. For the level of the lake before this work was constructed see Ashby in *Pap. of the Brit. School at Rome*, 5 (1910), 277; Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 2, 175. Similar emissaria of the Lake of Nemi, the Fucine Lake, etc., are well discussed by de la Blanchère, *op. cit.* who also treats (p. 600) of the probable method of construction.

For this outlet, constructed for practical purposes, a cause was probably later found in the story as narrated by the historians, the ominous details being, first, the overflowing of water (see below), and secondly the fact that this overflow was not due to any apparent rains or natural causes; finally, perhaps, its threatening the old source of the Roman race (Dion. Hal. 12, 10: *ἀλμυρὴ . . . παρ' ἧ τὸ ἀρχαίων ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μητρόπολις ἔκειτο*). Cf. also the theory of Orioli (quoted by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 10, n. 1) that the prophecy in the *libri fatales* dated from a period when Veii had to fear as a rival not Rome but Alba, and that the Etruscan had substituted for the old Alba its later representative, Rome.

ter modum crevisset, Veientem quendam ad nos hominem nobilem per-
fugisse, eumque dixisse ex fatis, quae Veientes scripta haberent, Veios
capi non posse dum lacus is redundaret, et si lacus emissus lapsu et cursu
suo ad mare profluxisset perniciosum populo Romano; sin autem ita esset
eductus ut ad mare pervenire non posset tum salutare nostris fore? Ex
quo illa mirabilis a maioribus Albanæ aquae facta deductio est. Cum
autem Veientes bello fessi legatos ad senatum misissent tum ex iis quidam
dixisse dicitur non omnia illum transfugam ausum esse senatui dicere; in
isdem enim fatis scriptum Veientes habere fore ut brevi a Gallis Roma
caperetur, quod quidem sexennio post Veios captos factum esse videmus.

XLV. 101. Saepe etiam et in proeliis Fauni auditi et in rebus turbidis

6. mirabilis C, Christ, admirabilis codd. Moseri, O, Baier, Müller, Thoresen.

7. ex iis vulg., ex is B¹, ex his ABHVO.

9. isdem vulg., hisdem ABII, isdem O.

On the ominous character of over-
flows of water see also Brev. Expos. in
Virg. Georg. 1, 482: *Virgilium credibile
est Padum significasse, cuius inundatio
semper prodigiosa existimata est*; Lydus,
de Ostent. p. 16 Wachsmuth; Isid. *Elym.*
13, 22, 5: *sciendum autem flumina cum
supra modum crescunt non tantum ad
praesens inferre damna sed etiam et
aliqua significare futura*; also 1, 78, n.
(*in contrarias partes*); 1, 111; and to
the citations in Wülker, *op. cit.*, 22, add
Hor. *Carm.* 1, 2, 13-20; Plin. *N. H.* 16,
169; Dio Cass. 37, 58; 53, 20; 53, 33; 54,
1; 55, 22; 57, 14; 66, 7; 78, 25; Jul. Capit.
Anton. P. 9, 3; Tac. *Hist.* 1, 86; Sex.
Aurel. Vict. 32, 3-4; Isid. *Elym.* 13, 22, 5;
Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5(1696),
464-465.

If. *perfugisse*: so only in the Cic-
eronian account.

2. *fatis*: cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Dis-
ciplin*, 1 (1906), 9-10, for similar expres-
sions; also 1, 20, n. (*chartis . . . Etruscis*);
1, 72; 2, 50. For the places at which
such collections were preserved see Thulin
in *P.-W.* s.v. *Etrusca Disciplina* (1907),
726. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 290,
compares these books in their purpose
and use with the Sibylline books at Rome.

4. *profluxisset*: 2, 69 varies a little
in expression.

8. *dixisse dicitur*: cf. 1, 76, n.
(*dixisse dicitur*).

9. *brevi*: cf. 1, 68; 1, 104.

10. *sexennio post*: in 390 B.C.

10. *videmus*: cf. 1, 29; 1, 89.

11. *Fauni*: cf. 2, 69; *N.D.* 2, 6:
*saepe Faunorum voces exaudiat, saepe
visae formae deorum quemvis aut non
hebetem aut impium deos praesentes esse
confiteri coegerunt*; 3, 15: *Fauni vocem
equidem numquam audiivi; tibi, si audivisse
te dicis, credam, etsi Faunus omnino
quid sit nescio*.

The name is usually connected with
faveo (see Serv. *Georg.* 1, 10; Walde, *Lat.
etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 276-277),
though Nettleship (*Lectures and Essays*
(1885), 50-52) accepts the ancient deriva-
tion (to the examples which he cites add
Tert. *ad Nat.* 2, 11; Serv. *l.c.*) from *for*,
and compares the name of *Fatua*, the wife
of Faunus.

The pedigree of Faunus, king of the
Aborigines, and father of Latinus, is
treated in detail by Wissowa in Roscher,
Ausfuhr. Lexikon, s.v. *Faunus* (1886),
1454-1455, who notes that instead of being
a deified hero he was probably an old
Italic earth-divinity, who suffered the
reverse fate, and, though Greek influence,
became confused with Pan and the
Satyrs and hence, as here, pluralized; cf.
id., *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912),

veridicae voces ex occulto missae esse dicuntur; cuius generis duo sint ex multis exempla, sed maxuma. Nam non multo ante urbem captam exau-

1. sint *Mediz*, sunt *CO*, nuno *Usser* in *Neue Jahrb.* 139 (1889), 392.

212. He was a god of the country and was worshipped in the open, especially in groves. Divination is frequently spoken of as one of his gifts and various natural sounds were ascribed to him; cf. note on *voces ex occulto* infra. His mantic power in connection with battles was shown at the battle of the Silva Arsia (Dion. Hal. 5, 16: *φωνή τις ἠκούσθη . . . ὡσθ' ἔπαυται δαεῖναι εἶτε τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸ γέμενος ἦρωος εἶτε τοῦ καλούμενου Φαίλου*; Liv. 2, 7, 2: *adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam* (cf. Plut. *Poplic.* 9; Val. Max. 1, 8, 5; and for the connection of Silvanus and Faunus see Wissowa in Roscher, *op. cit.* 1455) *haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum*. That in our passage and the two just quoted Greek ideas have intruded into the native legends is clear; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 126-127; Fowler, *Roman Festivals* (1908), 262. Other material on Fauni as prophetic will be found in Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*; Nettleship, *l.c.*; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 1456; Fowler, *l.c.*; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 10; and add: Fronto, *de Eloq.* p. 146 Naber; Calp. *Ecl.* 1, 33-34; Prob. on Virg. *Georg.* 1, 10; Lact. *Inst.* 1, 22, 9; Mart. Cap. 2, 167; *Origo Gent. Rom.* 4, 4; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 45 P. On verses associated with Fauns cf. 1, 114, n. (*versibus*, etc.).

[278]11. in *rebus turbidis*: cf. *Phil.* 2, 39.

1. *voces ex occulto*: cf. 1, 99; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 154 ff.; 346. From the point of view of superstitious belief natural sounds of uncertain source were ascribed to Faunus. These may be divided (as by Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 233-234) into the speaking of images or of the god in person, and the miraculous and instantaneous circulation of news at a distance from its source (perhaps the most important passage is Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 24-25, who mentions such occur-

rences at the defeat of Perseus by Paullus, at the battles of the Sagra, Mycale, Lake Regillus, etc.; other cases are collected by Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 479-480; Halliday, *op. cit.* 234, n. 3; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 36; 2, 142; 2, 267). But in physical origin these sounds of course differ, and the class here under discussion is doubtless made up of echoes (so Lucr. 4, 580-594 explains some cases), of the sound of the wind either in the open or in the branches of trees, of the creaking or rubbing together of limbs of trees, etc. These appear especially in connection with groves; cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 56; Liv. 1, 31, 3; Virg. *Georg.* 1, 476-477; Tibull. 2, 5, 74; Ov. *Met.* 15, 792-793; Lucan, 1, 569-570; Claud. *de Bell. Get.* 545-548. For such tree-voices see also *Epist. Alexandri ad Aristol.* pp. 212-216 Kübler; also the talking oaks of Dodona (1, 3, n. (*Dodonaeo*) supra), and the numerous other cases cited by Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 355, n. 5; 2 (1906), 782-783, including the reference to speaking trees in Plin. *N. H.* 17, 243. The belief is found also in Semitic lands; cf. 2 *Sam.* 5, 24; Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 2 ed. (1894), 195-197; Marmorstein in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 17 (1914), 132-133 (with bibliography in 132, n. 4). Still other sounds emanate from the sky; cf. 1, 97, n. (*e caelo fremitus*); Diog. L. 1, 115; Plut. *Them.* 15; Wülker, *op. cit.* 19; and the Biblical voices out of Heaven. Others have their source from a tomb or shrine; Liv. 6, 33, 5; Virg. *Aen.* 3, 39 ff.; Tac. *Hist.* 5, 13; Suet. *Nero*, 46; cf. Wülker, *l.c.*; 1 *Sam.* 3, 4 ff.; Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, 1 (1868 ed.), 164. At other times the source is unnamed; Soph. *O. C.* 1623 ff.; Virg. *Aen.* 3, 93; App. *Syr.* 58; Paus. 4, 9, 3.

2. *nam non*, etc.: cf. 2, 69; Liv. 5, 32, 6: *eodem anno* (391 B.C.) *M Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae,*

dita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palati radice in novam viam devexus est, ut muri et portae reficerentur; futurum esse, nisi provisum esset, ut Roma caperetur. Quod neglectum tum cum caveri poterat post acceptam illam maximam cladem expiatum est; ara enim Aio Loquenti, quam saeptam

1. Palatii C. Müller.

3. tum cum Müller, cum H, tum AV, om. B.

4. expiatum *Daries*, expiatum C.

vozem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare; 5, 50, 5 (390 B.C.): expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset mentio inlata iussuque templum in nova via Aio Locutio fieri; 5, 52, 11; Gell. 16, 17, 2: M. Varro in libris divinarum aliam esse tradit istius nominis rationem: nam sicut Aius, inquit, deus appellatus araque ei statuta est, quae est infima nova via, quod eo in loco divinitus vox edita erat, ita Vaticanus deus nominatus, etc.; Plut. Camill. 14: ἀήρ οὐκ ἐπιφανής μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιεικής δὲ καὶ χρηστός εἶναι δοκῶν, Μάρκος Καϊδικίος, ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους πρᾶγμα φρονίως ἄξιον. ἴση γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρωχημένῃ νυκτὶ καθ' ὅδον βαδίζων ἦν Καμὴν ὀνομάζουσι, κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τιος φεγεγαμένου μεταστραφῆναι καὶ θεῶσασθαι μὲν οὐδένα, φωνῆς δὲ μείζονος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀκοῦσαι τάδε λεγομένης: "Ἄγε, Μάρκε Καϊδικίε, λίγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἔσθω ἐλθῶν ὀλίγου χρόνου Γαλάτας προσδέχεσθαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ χιλιάρχοι γέλωτα καὶ παιδιὰν ποιοῦντο, κτλ.; id. 30: αὐτοὶ δὲ (sc. ὁ Κάμμιλλος) Ἰβρίσατο νεῶν Φήμης καὶ Κληδότος, ἀνευρών ἑκείνων τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νύκτωρ ἡ καταγγέλλουσα τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατίαν ἐκ θεοῦ τῷ Καϊδικίῳ Μάρκῳ φωνὴ προσέτεσε; cf. id., de Fort. Rom. 5; Juv. 11, 111-114: *templorum quoque maiestas praesentior, et vox / nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem / litore ad oceanum Gallis venientibus et dis / officium vasis peragentibus*; and the schol.: *turbantibus Gallis Senonibus repente vox momentis audita est hostem caverent. itaque hostibus pulsus restituta urbe templum constitutum est et consecratum deae Monetae.*

1. a luco Vestae: on the perplexed question of its exact location see the

works cited by Peter in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Indigitamenta* (1890), 191; Stara-Tedde in *Bull. Comm. arch. commun.* 33 (1905), 208-210; Hülsen-Carter, *The Roman Forum* (1906), 194, 196; Platner, *Topogr. und Monum. of anc. Rome*, 2 ed. (1911), 199-200. The limits of the grove were probably gradually restricted by buildings so that it may finally have been completely built over.

1. Palati radice: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 52: *radicibus Caucasi*; de *Leg. agr.* 2, 66: *Massici radices.*

1. novam viam: this and the *Sacra Via* were the only streets within the city bearing the name of *via*; Hülsen-Carter, *op. cit.* 206; Platner, *op. cit.* 54. For its location cf. Hülsen-Carter, *l.c.*; Platner, *l.c.*

2. muri et portae: so only in the Ciceronian account. Walls and gates were perhaps in this connection of religious as well as of merely practical significance; cf. 1, 98, n. (*portar*).

4. expiatum: cf. *Liv.* 5, 50, 5: *expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae*, etc.

4. ara: for the erection of such an altar see the passages already cited; also Pascal in *Bull. Comm. arch. commun.* 22 (1894), 189-190. There have been many attempts to identify this altar with one of travertine found at the northwest corner of the Palatine, in the Vigna Nussiner, and published in *C. J. L.* 1, 632 = VI, 110 = VI, 30694 = Dessau 4015, inscribed: *SEI. DEO. SEI. DEIVAE. SAC. C. SEXTIVS. C. F. CALVINVS. PR. DE. SENATI. SENTENTIA. RESTITVIT* (illustrated in Ritschl, *Prisc. Lat. Mon. epigr.* pl. lvi, d; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (1893), 72). On account of the distance of this altar from the site mentioned by ancient author-

videmus, exadversus eum locum consecrata est. Atque etiam scriptum a multis est cum terrae motus factus esset ut sue plena procuratio fieret vocem ab aede Iunonis ex arce exitisse; quocirca Iunonem illam appellatam Monetam. Haec igitur et a dis significata et a nostris maioribus iudicata contemnimus?

102. Neque solum deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt sed

ities and for other reasons it is held by Lanciani (*Röm. Mittheil.* 9 (1894), 33) that it is not in its original location, and by Hülsen (*C. I. L.* VI, 30694) that it is not to be identified with a restoration of that of Aius Locutius. C. Sextius Calvinus was a candidate for the praetorship in 100 B.C., and the altar probably dates from about the time of Sulla; cf. Mommsen in *C. I. L.* I, 632.

[280]4. *Aio Loquenti*: cf. 2, 69. For the derivation see Peter in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Indigitamenta* (1890), 192; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 21-22; also Usener, *Götternamen* (1896), 357; Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 118. Cicero calls the god *Aius Loquens*, but other accounts indicate *Aius Locutius* as the regular form (Peter, *op. cit.* 191). Otto (*Rhein. Mus.* 64 (1909), 459) considers the double name as an imitation of the Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* in *-ius*. For similar altars in Greece to Κληδών or Φήμη cf. Bouclé-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 400; Pberg in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Pheme* (1909), 2292-2293; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 231-234.

[280]4. *saeptam*: cf. 2, 85; and for such fencing of altars see *C. I. L.* XI, 1420 = Dessau 139: <utique> locus ante eam aram . . . palcat quoque versus pedes XI stipitibusque robustis saepiatur.

1. *exadversus*: in Cicero only here.

If. *scriptum a multis est*: this particular form of the story, however, is preserved only here and in 2, 69.

2. *sue plena*: for other instances of this sacrifice (especially to Tellus and Ceres) see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 413, n. 8.

2. *procuratio*: on the expiation of portents see Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1909), 124.

3. *ab aede*, etc.: this temple on the *arx* was erected by Camillus on the site of the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus (cf. Platner, *Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome*, 2 ed. (1911), 296, and works there cited), and in it was established the Roman mint. The cult and history of the goddess are treated by Roscher in his *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Iuno* (1897), 592-594 (and her appearance in art by Vogel in the same work, 612); cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 190.

4. *Monetam*: the etymology is disputed. The ancient view derived it from *monere*; so 2, 69; Isid. *Etym.* 16, 18, 8: *Moneta appellata est quia monet ne qua fraus in metallo vel pondere fiat*; Suid. s.v. *Μονήτρα*: *Ἰπραν Μονήτραν, τούριστι σύμβουλον*. Assmann, however, in *Klio*, 6 (1906), 484, objecting to the formation of the word, would derive it from the Punic *machanath* (pronounced *manath*?), found on coins, and this view is accepted by Costanzi (in *Klio*, 7 (1907), 335-340), but rejected by Hands (*Numism. Chron.* 10 (1910), 1-12) and Wissowa (*op. cit.* 190, n. 8). A third explanation is that of Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 493) that, after the principle advanced by Otto (*Rhein. Mus.* 64 (1909), 449-468), the name may be derived from some Etruscan gentile name. The goddess is mentioned with some shade of disparagement by Cotta in *N. D.* 3, 47.

6. *voces*: two really unrelated forms of *cladonism*, the actual voice of a god and the ominous conclusions from a human speech or name, are here grouped.

etiam hominum, quae vocant omina. Quae maiores nostri quia valere censebant idcirco omnibus rebus agendis QVOD BONVM, FAVSTVM, FELIX, FORTVNATVMQVE ESSET praefabantur, rebusque divinis quae publice fierent ut FAVERENT LINGVIS imperabatur, inque feriis im-

[281]6. *Pythagorei*: cf. Diog. L. 8, 20: μαρτυρῆ τε ἐχρήστο (sc. ὁ Πυθαγόρας) τῆ διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν τε καὶ οὐρανῶν; Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 149: προσεῖχε δὲ καὶ φήμασι καὶ μαρτίαις καὶ ἀληθῶν ὅλων πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; also 1, 5, n. (*Pythagoras*).

[281]6. *observaverunt*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*observaverunt*).

1. *vocant*: the subject is probably not *Pythagorei* but indefinite.

1. *omina*: cf. Varr. *L. L.* 6, 76: *quod ex ore primum clatum est osmen dictum*; 7, 97; Paul. ex Fest. p. 195 M.: *omen velut oremen, quod fit ore augurium*. More probably, according to Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 539) from **omyismen*, connected with the Greek ὄμας. Other views connect it with *avis, auris, oculus*, etc.; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 134, n. 2; Walde, *l.c.*

2. *quod bonum. etc.*: on such formulae see Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 170 ff., especially 173-174. The variations of expression are more numerous, however, than would be gathered from Appel's collection; e.g., *C. I. L.* VI, 32367: *quod bonum faustum felix fortunatum salutare sit*; VI, 32379: *quod bonum faustum felix fortunatum salutareque sit*; Vopisc. *Tac.* 18, 2: *quod bonum faustum felix salutareque sit*; id. 4, 4: *quod bonum faustum salutareque sit*; Apul. *Met.* 2, 6: *quod bonum felix et faustum*; *C. I. L.* XII, 4333: *quod bonum faustum felixque sit*; VIII, 9796: *Q. B. F. F. S. I. T.*; III, 7437: *Q. B. F. F.*; VIII, 14683: *quod bonum faustum felicem* (sic); IV, 1354: *bonum faustum felix*; etc.; cf. 1, 45, n. (*bene verruncant*). With these phrases something like *deos quaeso* is perhaps to be supplied; cf. Appel, *op. cit.* 172. Cf. the use in Greek of ἀγαθῆ τύχη (Plut. *de Stoic. Repugn.* 9; etc.). Such expressions are found particularly at the

beginnings of actions (cf. *N. D.* 2, 67; Ov. *Fast.* 1, 178: *omina principiis, inquit, inesse solent*). So in New Year's wishes (e.g., Plin. *N. H.* 28, 22; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 70; Auson. *Domest.* 5, 10; 6, 1; *Epist.* 27, 120 Peip.; *C. I. L.* III, 6288; XIII, 10001, no. 6; XV, 6196a ff.; cf. Columell. 11, 2, 98; Cassiod. *Var.* 2, 1; Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Aberglaube* (1894), 45); at the accession of an emperor (e.g., *Chron. Pasch.* p. 299a); or at the commencement of a literary work (Liv. praef. 13); etc.

3f. *rebusque . . . fierent*: cf. 1, 74, n. (*res divina feret*).

4. *faverent linguis*: cf. 2, 57; 2, 83. For the use of the expression *favele linguis* cf. Appel, *op. cit.* 187-189; Sen. *de Vit. beat.* 26, 7: *favele linguis. hoc verbum non, ut plerique existimant, a favore trahitur, sed imperat silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla voce mala obstrepente*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 88 M.: *favenia bonam ominacionem significat. nam praecones clamantes populum sacrificiis favere iubebant. favere enim est bona fieri, at veteres poetae pro silere usi sunt favere*; p. 222 M.: *parcilo linguam in sacrificiis dicebatur, id est coercoelo, contineto, taceto*; Plin. *N. H.* 28, 11: *videmus . . . alium vero praeponi qui favere linguis iubeat, tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiat*; Serv. *Aen.* 5, 71: *ore favele apto sermone usus est et sacrificio et ludis; nam in sacris taciturnitas necessaria est, quod etiam praeco magistratu sacrificante dicebat 'favele linguis, favele vocibus,' hoc est bona omina habere aut tacete*; 8, 173. The corresponding Greek expression is εὐφημεῖν (*euphemia*), and is widely used, especially in the drama; cf. Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 263: εὐφημεῖν χρῆ ὥστα μηδὲν βλάσφημον εἰπεῖν. The avoidance of ill-omened sounds was at times effected by the use of noisy musical instruments (Plut. *Act. Rom.* 10; cf. Pease in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 15 (1904), 45). For cere-

perandis ut LITIBVS ET IVRGIIS SE ABSTINERENT. Itemque in lustranda colonia [ab eo qui eam deduceret], et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus qui hostias ducerent

2. ab eo qui eam deduceret *del. Thoresen.*

monial silence cf. 2, 71-72 infra; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 198; Fahz in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 15 (1912), 411 ff. (also *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 30 (1913), 1050); and, for a Hindu parallel, Fay in *Class. Weekly*, 9 (1916), 163. For a supposed representation in art of the gesture used in proclaiming this silence see Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1902), 92.

[282]4f. *feriis imperandis*: cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* 1, 16, 5-6: (sc. *feriae*) *aut enim stativae sunt aut conceptivae aut imperativae aut nundinae . . . imperativae sunt quas consules vel praetores pro arbitrio potestatis indicunt.* In our passage, however, the word *imperandis* may well be used of the proclamation of any festival.

1. *litibus*, etc.: cf. *Leg.* 2, 19: *feriis iurgia amovendo*; 2, 29: *feriarum festorumque dierum ratio in liberis requietem litium habet et iurgiorum*; Liv. 5, 13, 7 (of a festival): *iurgiis ac litibus temperatum*; 38, 51, 8: *cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit*; Ov. *Fast.* 1, 73-74: *lite vacent aures, insanaque prolinus absint / iurgia*. Cf. also the *iustitium* on an occasion of public grief, and see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 432, on the Roman attitude towards *feriae*.

2. *ab eo . . . deduceret*: the objection of Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser., 2 (1893/4), 29) to this phrase is based on the fact that, during the republic, colonies were regularly *deductae* by a committee, not by a single person; cf. Kornemann in *P.-W.* s.v. *Coloniae* (1900), 569-570, who notes that three was the regular number of founders, but that 5, 7, 10, 15, and 20 occur, and only once so small a numl. r: as two (*C. I. L.* I, 200). In the midst of a distinctly Roman passage like this there can hardly be a question of an *οκωρής* of a Greek colony. I am therefore inclined, with

Thoresen, to hold the phrase to be the gloss of an mistaken scholiast.

2. *deduceret*: the technical term; cf. Kornemann, *op. cit.* 572-573.

2f. *cum imperator exercitum*: Domaszewski (*Abh. s. röm. Relig.* (1909), 17) compares *C. I. L.* V, 808 (found at Aquileia): *D. I. M. Fl. Exuperat. agens. in. lus. Fl. Sabini. PP. Ael. Severus. agens. lustr. Aur. Flav. Pr. Signif. Leg. III. P. F. / / / / / / / / / / Valer. Valens. Signif. Leg. XIII. Gem. lustr. Aur. Zenon. P. P.*, etc. The occasion of the rite, however, is not quite clear, but the *bona nomina* (*Exuperat.* and *Valerius Valens*) are to be noted; cf. also the military exercises at the restoration of the Capitolium in 70 A.D. (*Tac. Hist.* 4, 53: *spatium omne quod templo dicabatur evinctum villis coronisque ingressi milites quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis*).

3. *censor populum*: cf. Kubitschek in *P.-W.* s.v. *Census* (1899), 1918; Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Lustratio* (1904), 1430; also the description of the lustration accompanying the census held by Servius Tullius (*Liv.* 1, 44, 2).

3. *bonis nominibus*: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 121 M.: *Lacus Lucrinus in vectigalibus publicis primus locatur eruendus ominis boni gratia, ut in dilectu censuae primi nominantur Valerius, Salvius, Statorius*; Plin. *N. H.* 28, 22: *cur publicis lustris etiam nomina victimas ducentium prospera eligimus? For Valerius as a bonum nomen* cf. *pro Scour.* 30. On this subject perhaps cf. *Serv. Aen.* 8, 269 (for the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*).

The list of Paulus mentions only *nomina*, but any part of the name might contain an omen. Thus Auct. *de Praenomibus*, 4: *Tullus praenominatus est ominis gratia quasi tollendus*; cf. *Gaia Caecilia* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 95 M.). In

eligebantur. Quod idem in dilectu consules observant, ut primus miles

certain *gentes* names of unlucky association were avoided, e.g., the *praenomen* *Marcus* in the *gens* *Manlia*. For a family illustrating the search for favorable names see *C. I. L.* XIII, 2255, where appear *Salvius Victor*, *Valeria Agathemeris* his wife, and children named *Salvius Felix* and *Salvia Valeriana*; cf. *Diod.* 36, 4, 4. Cognomina might be of good omen through association, as that of *Scipio* in Africa (*Plut. Cat. min.* 57); or through their etymology (e.g., Sulla's children *Faustus* and *Felix* (*Plut. Sull.* 34); cf. *Damasus*, 61, 1; *Lamprid. Diadum.* 4, 4; *Amm. Marc.* 23, 5, 12-13; *C. I. L.* VI, 22102; *Mullinger* in *Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 2 (1880 ed.), 1369; *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 139). For lucky names of race horses cf. *Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafel*n (1912), 11, and n.

On the favorable etymologies of certain Greek names cf. *Artemid. Onirocr.* 3, 38, who mentions as εφεσημα such names as Μέλων, Μενεκράτης, Κρατίνος, Ζήνων, Ζηρόφλος, Θεόδωρος, Κάρκος, Ἐλπίδοσφόρος, Εὐτυχος, Θράσω, Ορασίλος, Ορασίμαχος (but contrast what he says in 4, 80). See also the examples in *Lechtel u. Fick, Die gr. Personennamen*, 2 ed. (1894), 12. Thus the oecists of a colony at *Heraclea Trachinia* (*Thuc.* 3, 92, 8) were *Leon*, *Aleidas*, and *Damagon*; volunteer leaders in *Xen. Anab.* 4, 1, 27 were *Aristonymus*, *Agasias*, and *Callimachus*. Other cases of such omens in names are *Hegesistratus* (*Ildt.* 9, 91), *Euphemus* (*Ar. Vesp.* 599; *Athen.* 5, p. 216 f.), *Eunus* (*Diod.* 34, 2, 14); *Nicias* (*Plut. Nic.* 1), *Hesychia* (*Plut. Nic.* 13), *Nicostrate* (*Plut. Amat. Quarst.* 4), *Sosus* and *Soso* (*Anthol. Pal.* 6, 216), *Basilides* (*Tac. Hist.* 2, 78), *Ocbares* (= ἀγαθάγγελος; *Nicol. Dam. in F. H. G.* 3, 400), *Eutychus* and the ass *Nicon* (*Suet. Aug.* 96); *Ageruchia* (*Hier. Ep.* 123, 1).

For names of bad omen cf. *Odysseus* (*Schultz, ΑΙΔΩΣ* (1910), 14), *Memnon* (*Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese*, 1, 2 ed. (1894), no. 189, 3), *Aias* (*Soph. Ai.* 430-431; 904;

914), *Pentheus* (*Eur. Bacch.* 367; 508; *Charaemon*, fr. 4 Nauck, ap. *Arist. Rhet.* 2, p. 1400 b 24-25), *Helen* (*Aesch. Agam.* 688-689); *Polynices* (*Aesch. Sept.* 565; 645; 815; *Eur. Phoen.* 636-637), *Atrius UMBER* (*Liv.* 28, 28, 4: *nominis etiam abominandi dux*), *Calvitor* (*Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese*, 2, 2 ed. (1906), no. 902, 11-12: *est omine nomen /ctrum*), *Perlinax* (*Spert. Sever.* 7, 9); cf. also *Verres* (*Cic. 2 Verr.* 2, 18-19) and *Scaurus* (*pro Scaur.* 30), to which add the names mentioned by *Heeringa* (ad h. loc.): *Curtius*, *Minucius*, *Furius*, *Hostilius*.

The attempt to change names of ill-omen to ones more favorable is frequent with persons, places, and things; e.g., *Erinyes* (*Eumenides*), *Azinus* (*Euzinus*), *Pharmacina* (*Therapia*), *Egesta* (*Segesta*), *Epidamnus* (*Dyrrachium*), *Maleventum* (*Beneventum*), and such series as (λαῖος?), ἀριστοτέρι and εὐώνυμος; cf. *Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.* 4 (1882), 139; *McCartney in Class. Journ.* 14 (1919), 343-358 (especially 355-358).

The Christian custom of naming children after saints perhaps shows a survival of the desire for names of good omen. On the subject of the magic significance of names cf. *Frazer, Golden Bough*, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 318-391, especially 391. The allegorical interpretation of names, especially Scriptural ones, by Christian writers, is another ramification of the same far-reaching subject. Finally, on the omens in names, cf. *Cassiod. Var.* 4, 3 (speaking of *Honoratus* and *Decoratus*): *o vere vestris meritis electi, et auspicio nominis honorati! praesentibus quaedam parentes, positi in prole vocabulis, et ut venturarum rerum cursus ex alto est imperio divinitatis, cogitatio praesagantis instruitur; loqui datur quod nos sensisse nescimus; sed post casum reminiscimur quod ignorantes errariter dixeramus.*

I. in dilectu: on the procedure in levying troops see *Cagnat* in *Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Dilectus* (1892)

fiat bono nomine. 103. Quae quidem a te scio et consule et imperatore summa cum religione esse servata. Praerogativam etiam maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt. XLVI. Atque ego exempla ominum nota proferam. L. Paulus consul iterum, cum ei bellum ut cum rege Perse

1. scio C. scis Cobet, Christ, Müller.

213-214. Not only was care taken to secure good luck in the name of the first soldier but also to avoid making the levy on a day of ill-omen (Macrob. Sat. 1, 16, 19). For soldiers with *fausta nomina* cf. Tac. Hist. 4, 53; Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* (1916), esp. 13-62; Oldfather in *Class. Weekly*, 11 (1918), 126.

1. a te: cf. 1, 22, n. (*poteris*).

1. et imperatore: for a collection of material dealing with Cicero's military campaign in Cilicia, especially against the fortress of Pindenissus, cf. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. T. Cicero* (1893), 82-83.

2. praerogativam: cf. 2, 83. According to the older organization of the *comitia centuriata* the *centuriac praerogativae* were those of the *equites* (cf. Liebenam in *P.-W.* s.v. *Comitia* (1900), 690-691; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies* (1909), 211), but after the reform (probably of the third century B.C.) a century called the *praerogativa* was drawn by lot from the first class (*Phil.* 2, 82; *Liv.* 24, 7, 12; 27, 6, 3; Kübler in *P.-W.* s.v. *Centuria* (1899), 1956; Botsford, *op. cit.* 224, n. 7; 227), and cast the first vote. This is the arrangement of which Cicero is here speaking; cf. *post Red. in Sen.* 17. For the ominous character of the vote of this century cf. *pro Mur.* 38: *tanta illis comitiis religio est ut adhuc semper omen valuerit praerogativae*; *pro Planc.* 49: *una centuria praerogativa tantum habet auctoritatis ut nemo unquam prior eam tulerit quin renuntiatus sit aut eis ipsis comitiis consul aut certe in illum annum*. For the importance of its vote in a practical, political way cf. Botsford, *op. cit.* 389.

3. iustorum comitiorum: cf. *post Red. in Sen.* 27: *comitiis centuriatis quae*

maxime maiores comitia iusta dici haberi- que voluerunt.

4. L. Paulus, etc.: cf. 2, 83; Val. Max. 1, 5, 3: *quid illud quod L. Paulo consuli evenit quam memorabile! cum ei sorte obvenerit ut bellum cum rege Perse gereret et domum e curia regressus filiolam suam nomine Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parvula, osculatus tristem animadverteret, interrogavit quid ita eo vultu esset. quae respondit Persam perisse. decesserat autem catellus quem puella in deliciis habuerat nomine Persa. arripuit igitur omen Paulus exque fortuito dicto quasi . . . certam spem clarissimi triumphi animo praesumpsit*; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 10: *λέγεται δ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀπηγορεύθη κατὰ τοῦ Πέρσεως στρατηγός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παρτὸς οἰκάδε προπεμφέντα λαμπρῶς εὐρεῖν τὸ θυγάτριον τὴν Τερτίαν δεδακρυμένην ἐπὶ παιδίον οὖσαν ἀσπασόμενον οὖν αὐτὴν ἰρωτᾶν ἐφ' ὅτι λελλήπηται: τὴν δὲ περιβαλοῦσαν καὶ καταφιλοῦσαν "οὐ γὰρ ὄισθα," εἰπεῖν, "ὦ πάτερ, διτι ἡμῖν ὁ Πέρσεύς τίθηται;" λέγουσαν κυνῶνιον σύντροφον οὕτω προσαγορευόμενον καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον "ἀγαθὴ τύχη" φάσαι "ὦ θυγάτερ, καὶ δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνόν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Κικέρων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ μαντικῆς ἱστορίαις; id., *Reg. et Imperat. Aporrhth.* s.v. *Paulus Aemilius*, 2; Nicerph. Greg. in *Synes. de Insomn.* p. 132 (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 149, 537), who copies Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 10; Joann. Saresb. *Policr.* 1, 13.*

4. consul iterum: in 168 B.C.; cf. *C. I. L. XI*, 1829 (= Dessau 57): *iterum cos. ut cum rege <Per>se bellum gereret a p <opulof> actus est*.

4f. cum . . . ut . . . obtigisset: cf. *I Verr.* 21; *2 Verr.* 5, 38. Valerius explains by *sorte evenisset*.

4. Perse: on the Latin forms of this name see Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 495-496. This abla-

gereret obtigisset, ut ea ipsa die domum ad vesperum rediit filiolum suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, osculans animum advertit tristiculam. 'Quid est,' inquit, 'mea Tertia? quid tristis es?' 'Mi pater,' inquit, 'Persa periit.' Tum ille artius puellam complexus, 'Accipio,' inquit, 'mea filia, omen.' Erat autem mortuus catellus eo nomine. 104. L. Flaccum, flaminem Martialem, ego audivi cum diceret Caeciliam Metelli,

tive form is also used by Cicero *pro Mur.* 31; *Tusc.* 3, 53.

1. *en ipsa die*: on the gender cf. Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre der lat. Spr.* 3 ed. (1902), 1015.

1. *ad vesperum*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 92; 3, 8; *de Sen.* 67; *de Am.* 12.

If. *filiolum* . . . *osculans*: cf. *pro Mur.* 23. On Cicero's use of diminutives cf. Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 248-262; Petersen in *Class. Philol.* 11 (1916), 448. The emphasis on smallness is seen all through this passage (*filiolum, admodum parva, tristiculam, catellus*).

2. *Tertiam*: of such numeral names of women (from *Prima* to *Sexta*) examples from inscriptions are collected by Hübner in Müller's *Handbuch der kl. Altert.* 1, 2 ed. (1892), 665.

3. *tristiculam*: only here and in Fronto *ad M. Cnec.* 3, 17.

3. *quid tristis es*: cf. 1, 59, n. (*quid tristis es*).

4. *Persa*: for the name see Baecker, *De Canum Nominibus Graecis* (1884), 75, who, for mention of Persian dogs, compares Gratt. *Cyneg.* 158. Other names of nationality cited by Baecker are 'Αραΐας, Κρήσιος, Κύπριος, Λάκωνα, Λάκων, Σύρος.

In Amm. Marc. 23, 3, 6 the fall of a horse named Babylonius is thought to presage the fall of Babylon. Honorius on hearing *ὅτι Ῥώμη ἀπόλωλε* was relieved to learn that it was the city rather than his pet cock of that name (Procop. *Hist. Bell.* 3, 2, 25-26; cf. 5, 20, 1-4, where Samnite boys name two sheep for Belisarius and Vitigis and omens for the future are drawn from their respective fates). For a collection of coincidences in fortune between persons of the same name see Plut. *Sert.* 1.

Such chance words of children or their acts in play were often considered as ominous; cf. Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 1, 15; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien-glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen* (1911), 31.

4f. *accipio* . . . *omen*: since Paulus was an augur (Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 3; *C. I. L.* XI, 1829 = Dessau 57) he was perhaps especially keen in noting such occurrences. As has often been pointed out (e.g., by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 136), omens have no significance independent of the will of an observer to accept them, but he must note words, phrases, or acts and apply them consciously in another than their literal sense. Such definite acceptance (*accipere omen*) is paralleled by definite power of refusal (*improbare, essecrari, refutare, abominari omen*); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 137, n. 1; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 46-53; and, not involving proper names, Aesch. *Agam.* 1654; Hdt. 1, 63; Dion. Hal. 19, 5, 3; Virg. *Aen.* 7, 115-119; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 13; Curt. 5, 2, 15; Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* 2, 37; also the phrases (*absit omen*, etc.) used by Cicero himself in *Phil.* 4, 10; 11, 11; 12, 14; 13, 7; 13, 41; 14, 26; al. Frontin. *Strat.* 1, 12 gives elaborate directions for averting bad military omens by mere repartee.

Examples of omens are too numerous to be here cited, but will be found in the references given above and in the collection of Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 365; 441-452.

5f. *L. Flaccum, flaminem Martialem*: cf. Klose, *Rom. Priesterfasten*, 1 (1910), 23, who identifies him as L. Valerius Flaccus mentioned in *pro Rab.* 27 and by Varr. *L. L.* 6, 21, and perhaps the son of the *flamen Martialis* of the same name

cum vellet sororis suae filiam in matrimonium conlocare, exisse in quoddam sacellum ominis capiendi causa, quod fieri more veterum solebat. Cum virgo staret et Caecilia in sella sederet neque diu ulla vox exstitisset puellam defatigatam petisse a matertera ut sibi concederet paulisper ut in eius sella requiesceret; illam autem dixisse: 'Vero, mea puella, tibi concedo meas sedes.' Quod omen res consecuta est; ipsa enim brevi mortua est, virgo autem nupsit cui Caecilia nupta fuerat. Haec posse contemni vel etiam rideri praeclare intellego, sed id ipsum est deos non putare quae ab iis significantur contemnere.

mentioned in *Phil.* 11, 18, whom he may have succeeded in the flamine. He probably died before 63 B.C.

[286]6. *audivi cum diceret*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 58; et al.

[286]6. *Caeciliam, etc.*: cf. Val. Max. 1 5, 4: *ut Caecilia Metelli dum sororis filiae adultae aetatis virgini more prisco nocte concubia nuptiale petiit omen, ipsa fecit; nam cum in sacello quodam eius rei gratia aliquamdiu persedisset nec ulla vox proposita congruens esset audita, fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit materteram ut sibi paulisper locum residendi adcommodaret. cui illa 'ego vero,' inquit, 'libenter tibi mea sede cedo.' quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum ad certi ominis processit eventum, quoniam Metellus non ita multo post mortua Caecilia virginem de qua loquor in matrimonium duxit.*

[286]6. *Caeciliam Metelli*: whether *filia* or *uxor* is to be understood is not clear from Cicero, but Valerius Maximus takes her to be the wife of Metellus, in which case she cannot be the Caecilia of 1, 4 supra, and is apparently not otherwise known; cf. Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Caecilius* (1897), 1234, no. 133.

1. *cum vellet, etc.*: cf. *Ar. Lysis*. 597: οὐδέ τις ἰθέλει γῆμαι ἐν' αὐτῆν, ὅτε νομομένη δὲ κάθηται, on which the scholiast says: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοεισομένη· αἱ γὰρ χῆραι συνεχῶς μαρτυροῦνται πότε γαμηθήσονται. Modern parallels (especially at Midsummer Eve) will be found in Deloe, *Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell* (1903 ed.), xxv; Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1, 2 ed. (1895), 329-335.

1. *filiam . . . conlocare*: cf. *Off.* 2, 71.

2. *ominis capiendi*: cf. Valeton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 294-295; De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, 1 (1896), 153; also 1, 28, n. (*nuptiarum auspices*).

2. *more veterum*: but Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 141, n. 4, holds it to be a Greek rather than an old Roman custom.

4. *concederet*: it is not clear whether this is employed in the sense of 'make place for' or in that of 'permit,' but from its use just below (*concedo . . . sedes*) it is probable that the former is the meaning here.

5. *vero*: in affirmative answers also in *Tusc.* 2, 26; *Rep.* 1, 58; 1, 66; *Leg.* 2, 46.

5f. *concedo meas sedes*: omens from accidentally taking a seat, especially that of a king, are often mentioned; e.g., *Arr. Anab.* 7, 24; *Diod.* 17, 116, 2-4; *Dio Cass.* 75, 3; *Spart. Sever.* 1, 9; *Jul. Capit. Maximini*, 30, 7; *Vopisc. Aurel.* 5; *Amm. Marc.* 25, 10, 11. The giving way of a seat was also a bad omen; cf. *Frontin. Strat.* 1, 12, 7. Similarly the wearing of another's clothes (cf. *Curt.* 6, 6, 4; *Procop. Hist. Bell.* 2, 30, 53-54; *Zonar.* 15, 19), or the temporary assumption of a ruler's crown (*Arr. Anab.* 7, 22; *App. Syr.* 56; *Diod.* 17, 116, 5-7) were held to be significant. In *Virg. Aen.* 1, 653 the giving of the sceptre of Ilione is ominous, according to *Serv.* ad loc.

6. *brevi*: cf. 1, 68, n. (*brevi*).

8. *praeclare intellego*: cf. *Rep.* 4, 4; *Leg.* 2, 13.

8. *id ipsum est, etc.*: cf. 1, 10, n. (*ut et si divinatio sit*).

XLVII. 105. Quid de auguribus loquar? Tuae partes sunt, tuum inquam, auspiciorum patrociniū debet esse. Tibi App. Claudius augur consuli nuntiavit addubitato salutis augurio bellum domesticum triste ac turbulentum fore; quod paucis post mensibus exortum paucioribus a te est diebus oppressum. Cui quidem auguri vehementer adsentior; solus enim multorum annorum memoria non decantandi auguri sed divinandi tenuit disciplinam. Quem inridebant collegae tui eumque tum Pisidam,

2. App. *Manlius*, P. C.

6. augurii C. *Müller*.

1. tuae . . . tuum: cf. 1, 25, n. (*vestra*).

2f. tibi . . . Claudius augur consuli: the order is noteworthy.

2. App. Claudius augur: cf. 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*).

3. addubitato: the prefix denotes tendency or inclination toward.

3. salutis augurio: the *locus classicus* is Dio Cass. 37, 24, 1-2 (of 63 B.C.): τότε δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν διὰ πάντων ὀλίγων χρόνων ἔσχον, ὥστε καὶ τὸ οὐρανὸν τὸ τῆς ὑγείας ὠνομασμένον διὰ πάντων πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστὶ πιστῶν τιμὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέψει σφίσι δὲ θεὸς ὑγίαιαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὀνειδίζοντες αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐτελείτο κατ' ἔτος ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ μὴδὲ στρατόπεδον μῆτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξῆκει μὴτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετό τισι μῆτε ἐμάχετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι κινδύνοις καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο, κτλ. (describing the augury on this occasion). That the rite is not connected with a deity *Salus* is shown, as Wissowa (*Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 133, n. 5) points out, by *Leg. 2, 21: salutem populi augurantur* (sc. *augures*). That passage and the present one indicate that it was performed by an augur; the formula of prayer is referred to by Fest. p. 161 M.: *in salutis augurio praetores maiores et minores appellantur*. Wissowa (*op. cit.* 526; *id.* in *P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2327-2328) thinks that it dates from the time of an annual campaign, for which, as for other regular activities like sowing and harvest, the divine will was sought.

For the occasions on which the *salutis augurium* is known to have been taken see Blumenthal in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 246-

250. They are 63 B.C. (attested by the present passage and that quoted from Dio Cassius), 29 B.C. (Dio Cass. 51, 20, 4; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 31), 24 and 49 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 12, 23). To these may be added the evidence from an inscription from Rome (first published by Pasqui in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1910, 132-134), reading: *AVGVRIA: MAXIMVM QVO SALVS P. R. PETITVR QVOD ACTVM EST L. AELIO LAMIA M. SERVILIO COS. (3 A.D.) L. POM- PONIO FLACCO C. CAELIO COS. (17 A.D.)*. There follows a list of other *auguria* of the years 1, 2, 9, 12, and 17 A.D., which Blumenthal (*l.c.*) thinks are also *salutis auguria* but of a lesser grade. For this inscription see also the works cited by Blumenthal, *op. cit.* 246, n. 1. A possible Japanese parallel to this rite is discussed by Revon in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 801.

4. paucis post mensibus: the ceremony of taking the *salutis augurium* seems to have fallen in the winter months (and so dates from a time when only summer campaigns were customary); cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 526, and n. 3; the outbreak of the conspiracy came in the following November.

4. a te: cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2 ed. (1912), 923.

5. vehementer adsentior: cf. *Ac.* 2, 148; *Fin.* 3, 57; *N. D.* 3, 65.

6. decantandi: as an example of such perfunctory repetitions of augural formulae Kayser well compares 2, 71-72.

7. collegae tui: does this refer to the other members of the augural college?

tum Soranum augurem esse dicebant; quibus nulla videbatur in auguriis aut praesensio aut scientia veritatis futurae; sapienter, aiebant, ad opinionem imperitorum esse fictas religiones. Quod longe secus est; neque enim in pastoribus illis quibus Romulus praefuit nec in ipso Romulo haec calliditas esse potuit ut ad errorem multitudinis religionis simulacra fingerent. Sed difficultas laborque discendi disertam neglegentiam reddi-

But Cicero was not an augur in 63, having been elected to the college in 53, after the death of Crassus (Plut. *Cic.* 36; cf. *Cic. Phil.* 2, 4). Quintus probably does not mean, however, to connect the ridicule of Appius by his fellow augurs with the incident here described, nor to imply that it was at all contemporaneous, but rather means that Marcus during the years between his election in 53 and the death of Appius in 47 had, in the intimacy of the gatherings of the college, heard this view expressed, together with those that follow in this sentence. The faith of Appius in augury was by his colleagues considered naive, and as belonging to the plane of thought of out-of-the-way folk who still cling to their superstitions.

[288]7. **Pisidam:** cf. 1, 2, n. (*Pisidarum*).

1. **Soranum:** Sora was a quiet country town (cf. *Juv.* 3, 223) in Latium, about six miles north of Arpinum (and hence a rival town to Cicero's birthplace), originally settled by Volscians, but the seat of Roman colonizing efforts, especially in 303 B.C. It lay near the district of the Marsi, the credulity of whose augurs is noted in 1, 132; 2, 70; and it is for this reason that I have little hesitation in localizing this reference at Sora rather than at Mt. Soracte, as is done by Heeringa (ad h. loc., following Scheffele in *Pauly, Realencycl.* s.v. *Soranus* (1852), 1325). Gellius calls the Marsi descendants of Circe, and speaks of their skill in magic (16, 11, 1-2; cf. *Eugipp. Thesaur.* 24), and Horace connects magical, mantic, or superstitious practices with the Sabelian and Paelignian hill-folk (*Sat.* 1, 9, 29-30; *Epod.* 17, 28; 17, 60; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 7, 758; *Ov. Ars Amat.* 2, 102; *Medic. Fac.* 39; *Sil. Ital.* 8, 495-497). Later,

Pannonian augurs seem to have had a like reputation (*Spart. Sever.* 10, 7; *Lamprid. Alex. Sev.* 43, 6).

1. **nulla videbatur, etc.:** cf. *Leg.* 2, 32: *est in collegio vestro inter Marcellum et Appium, optimos augures, magna dissensio (nam eorum ego in libros incidi), quom alteri placeat auspicia ista ad utilitatem rei publicae composita, alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare videatur posse.* Cf. 2, 28 infra; *N.D.* 1, 118: *qui dixerunt lolam de dis immortalibus opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus rei publicae causa, ut quos ratio non posset eos ad officium religio duceret, nonne omnem religionem funditus sustulerunt?* Also Mayor's note on that passage for similar expressions in Plato (*Leg.* 10, p. 889e) and Sextus Empiricus (9, 51) as to the origin of ideas of deity.

2. **praesensio aut scientia:** cf. 1, 1, n. (*id est*).

2. **veritatis futurae:** cf. *de Fut.* 17; 20: *verum futurum.*

2f. **sapienter . . . esse fictas:** Plasberg (on *Parad.* 2) would retain the conventional punctuation, not setting off *aiebant* by commas, but making *sapienter* modify it rather than *esse fictas* (cf. *Hor. Carm.* 1, 34, 2: *insanientis . . . sapientiae*), and giving parallels for the asyndeton. But I prefer to understand it as I have punctuated the sentence; cf. 1, 131: *sapienter instituisse veteres.*

2f. **ad opinionem . . . fictas:** cf. 1, 107; 2, 70.

3. **quod longe secus est:** cf. *de Am.* 29.

4. **pastoribus:** cf. 1, 107.

dit; malunt enim disserere nihil esse in auspiciis quam quid sit ediscere. 106. Quid est illo auspicio divinius quod apud te in Mario est? ut utar potissimum auctore te:

Hic Iovis altisoni subito pinnata satelles

[289]5. *errorem*: with *multitudinis* the word has an active meaning, like 'deception.'

[289]5. *religionis simulacra*: cf. 2, 71.

[289]6. *disertam neglegentiam*: with this complaint cf. 1, 113; *N.D.* 1, 11: *quid* (i.e., the neglect of the Academic philosophy) *non Academiae vitio sed tarditate hominum arbitror contigisse*, etc.; *Tusc.* 1, 51: *Dicaearchus quidem et Aristoxenus quia difficilis erat animi, quid aut qualis esset, intelligentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt*; *Rufin. Praef. ad Lib. 3 Origenis de Princip.* (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 11, 249): *ita fit ut res difficiles et obscuras malint homines per temeritatem et inscientiam condemnare quam per diligentiam et studium discere*; cf. also *Plat. Meno*, p. 81d. On the difficulties of the augural art cf. 2, 71 *infra*.

1. *nihil esse in*: cf. 1, 113.

If. *quid . . . divinius*: cf. 1, 58, n. (*quid . . . potest*).

2. *apud te*: cf. 1, 22, n. (*poteris*).

2. *Mario*: this poem, of which, in addition to the passage here quoted, but three lines are preserved, was written by Cicero on the subject of his great fellow-townsmen. The date is a matter of much speculation, some writers (e.g., Haupt, *Opusc.* 1 (1875), 211-213) placing the date not long before 52 B.C., and others (like Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 300) dating it much earlier, even as early as 86-83 (so Grollmus, *De M. T. Cic. Poeta* (1887), 18-27). The most important passages as evidence are *ad Att.* 12, 49, 1: *per eum Marium quem scripsissem*, and the long passage at the beginning of the *de Legibus*. Gordianus later wrote a work with the same title (*Jul. Capit. Gord.* 3, 2). The fragments of Cicero's *Marius* are found in Müller's ed. 4, 3, 395-396.

4. *hic Iovis*: cf. *Hom. Il.* 12, 200-207: *δρις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περιμεραι ἑρμεαῶσι, / αἰετὸς ὑπέκρηται, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔργων, / φοιτῆντα δράκοντα φέρων δούχεσσι πέλωρον / ζῶν, ἐπ' ἀσπαίρωτα, καὶ οὐ πω ἄλθετο χάριτος, / κῆφε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθεσσι παρὰ δεξιῆν / ἰδνωθεὶς ὄπισσω ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τῶεν ἤκε χαμάζε / ἀλγίστας ὀδύνησι, μέσῳ δ' ἐπὶ κάββαλ' ὀμλίω, / αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξαι κέτετο πνοῆσ' ἀνέμοιο*; *Virg. Aen.* 11, 751-756: *utque volans alle raptum cum fuita draconem / fert aquila inplucuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit / saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat / arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore, / arduus insurgens; illa haur minus urget obunco / luctantem rostro, simul aethera verberat alis*; *Hor. Carm.* 4, 4, 11; *Ov. Met.* 4, 361 ff.; *Plut. Timol.* 26; *Wreschniok, De Ciceroe Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907), 26 (cf. also 45; 51), who tries to find in the lines of Cicero the influence of *Enn. Ann.* 146-147; 472-473 (cf. *Euhemer.* 98). *Patin (Études sur la Poésie lat.* 2 (1883), 423, n. 1) compares *Plin. N. H.* 10, 17, for the natural phenomenon here described, which seems to have been taken as a symbol of Olympian Zeus, and as such appears on the coins of Chalcis, Elis (Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2 ed. (1911), 358-360; 420-421), and Arcadia (Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 90), and also on certain gems (Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen* (1900), pl. 6, no. 23; pl. 61, no. 17), and vases (Reinach, *Répert. des Vases peints*, 1 (1899), 199, no. B; cf. 2 (1900), 31, no. D); also on a bronze disk at Brussels (Cumont in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf* (1898), 291-295; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 191-192). In *Ar. Vesp.* the scene appears in a comic form.

The first verse is quoted as from the *Marius* of Cicero by *Schol. Veron. Virg. Aen.* 5, 255. The passage was praised and translated by *Voltaire (Oeuvres*

Arboris e trunco serpentis saucia morsu
 Subrigit ipsa feris transfigens unguibus anguem
 Semianimum et varia graviter cervice micantem.
 Quem se intorquentem lanians rostroque cruentans
 Iam satiata animos, iam duros ulta dolores
 Abicit ecflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda
 Seque obitu a solis nitidos convertit ad ortus.
 Hanc ubi praepetibus pinnis lapsuque volantem

2. subrigit *Lachmann*, subigit *BHVO* subitit *A.*

compl. (ed. of 1877), 5, 206-207; cf. *Patin*, *op. cit.* 425, n. 2).

For the relation of eagles to Marius cf. the famous story of his finding, when a boy, a nest of seven eaglets, which were later interpreted as referring to his seven consulships (*App. B. C.* 1, 75; *Plut. Mar.* 36).

[290]4. *Iovis . . . satelles*: cf. 1, 26, n. (*aquilae*). For the phrase cf. 2, 73; also the points of likeness in Cicero's translation from the *Prom. Solut.* (in *Tusc.* 2, 24): *iam tertio me quoque funesto di / tristi advolatu aduncis lacerans unguibus / Iovis satelles pastu dilaniat fero. / tum iecore opimo farta et satiata affusim / clangorem fundit vastum et sublime avolans / pinnata cauda nostrum adulat sanguinem.*

[290]4. *altisoni*: a translation of ἄλτιον (II. 5, 772; 23, 27) by *Enn. Ann.* 575; al.; cf. *Wreschniok, op. cit.* 21; also the similar *altitonans* (see 1, 19, n. (*nam pater altitonans*) supra).

1. *arboris*: perhaps the tree described in detail at the beginning of the *De Legibus* (1, 1-2): *ATTICUS. lucus quidem ille et haec Arpinatium quercus agnoscitur saepe a me lectus in Mario. si manet illa quercus, haec est profecto; etenim est sane velus. QUINTUS. manet vero, Altice noster, et semper manebit; sata est enim ingenio . . . multaque alia multis locis diutius commemoratione manent quam natura stare potuerunt. quare glandulifera illa quercus, ex qua olim evolavit "nuntia fulva Iovis miranda visa figura," nunc sit haec. sed quom eam tempestas velustate consumpserit, tamen erit his in locis quercus quam Marianam quercum vocabunt.*

3. *semianimum . . . cervice micantem*: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 472-473: *oscitat in campis caput a cervice revulsum / semianimesque micant oculi* (imitated also by *Virg. Aen.* 10, 395; cf. *Wreschniok, op. cit.* 26).

6. *abicit*: perhaps we should here read (with codd. AV) *abiicit*, a form defended by *Mather in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 6 (1895), 97; 138.

6. *in unda*: with a verb of motion. *Heeringa* well compares *Ac.* 2, 32: *in profundo . . . abstruserit*; *Fin.* 5, 92 (and *Madvig's* note); *Obseq.* 12: *milvus volans mustelam . . . in medio consessu patrum misit*; to which add *N. D.* 2, 124: *aves quae se in mari mergerent*; *Virg. Aen.* 12, 256.

7. *obitu a solis*: on this rare order see *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 587-588.

8. *praepetibus pinnis*: the same phrase occurs in *Virg. Aen.* 6, 15 (in a note on which *Norden* would find the source of both passages in *Ennius*); cf. *Aen.* 3, 361: *praepetis omina pinnae*. The word *praepes* occurs twice in the lines of *Ennius* quoted in 1, 108 infra. The significance of the term in augury is discussed by *Fest.* p. 205 M.: *praepetes aves quidam dici aiunt quia secundum auspiciam faciunt praetervolantes, alii quod aut ea quae praepalans indicent, aut quod praetervolent . . . ceterum poetae promiscue omnes aves ita appellant*; cf. *Gell.* 7, 6, 3: *praepetes inquit* (sc. *Hyginus*) *aves ab auguribus appellantur quae aut opportune praevolant aut idoneas sedes capiunt*; *Serv. Aen.* 6, 15: *praepetes autem dictae vel quod priora petant, vel summi volatus, vel quae praepetis*

Conspexit Marius, divini numinis augur,
 Faustaque signa suae laudis reditusque notavit,
 Partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris.
 Sic aquilae clarum firmavit Iuppiter omen.

XLVIII. 107. Atque ille Romuli auguratus pastoralis, non urbanus fuit, nec fictus ad opiniones inperitorum, sed a certis acceptus et posteris traditus. Itaque Romulus augur, ut apud Ennium est, cum fratre item augure Curantes magna cum cura tum cupientes Regni dant operam simul auspicio augurioque.

8. tum cupientes *ABV*, *Müller*, *Vahlen*, curatim cupientes *H*, concupientes *valz*.

volatum, vel quae secundum auspiciam facit. et quidam praepetes tradunt non tantum avis dici quae prosperius praevolant sed etiam locos quos capiunt quod idonei felicesque sunt, etc.

[291]8. *pinna . . . volantem*: cf. Wreschniok, *op. cit.* 26.

1. *augur*: as evidence that Marius held this office see also *ad Brut.* 1, 5, 3. *Gaius autem Marius cum in Cappudocia esset lege Domitia factus est augur*; cf. *C. I. L. I.*, p. 290.

2. *faustaque signa*: the scene is thought of as occurring during his absence from Rome in the years 88-87. Thoresen (*ad h. loc.*) well suggests that the eagle might properly typify Marius, following the passage in *Plin. N. H.* 10, 16: *Romani cum (sc. aquilam) legionibus Gaius Marius in secundo consulatu suo proprie dicavit* (yet compare the story of Marius and the eaglets cited in the note on *hic Iovis* supra), while the snake has already been mentioned as associated with the good luck of Sulla (1, 72, n. (*ab infima ura*) supra).

3. *partibus, etc.*: cf. 2, 82 (from Ennius); *Virg. Aen.* 2, 693: *intonuit lacuum*.

4. *firmavit*: just before the preceding passage from the *Aeneid* (2, 691) Anchises had prayed: *da deinde augurium, pater, atque haec omina firma* (cf. *Serv. ad loc.*). This thunder apparently belongs to the class of *fulgura attestata, quae prioribus consensiant*, as *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 49, 2, says; cf. *Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 79. For a similar case of double approval

by birds and by thunder cf. *Quint. Smyrn.* 12, 55 ff.; see also 1, 97, i. (*congruebant*).

5. *ille Romuli auguratus, etc.*: cf. 1, 105.

6. *a certis acceptus*: with this assumption of so early a date for the augural college cf. *Rep.* 2, 16: *urbem condidit auspicio et omnibus publicis rebus institutis, qui sibi essent in auspiciis ex singulis tribubus singulos cooptavit augures*. Against this see *Liv.* 4, 4, 2: *pontifices augures Romulo regnante nulli erant; ab Numa Pompilio creati sunt*; *Dion. Hal.* 2, 64, 4. Definite historical evidence as to the college perhaps first appears for the year 300 B.C. in *Liv.* 10, 6, 6, who says that the number of augurs was increased by the *Lex Ogulnia* from four to nine; cf. *id.* 10, 9, 2.

7. *Romulus augur*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*auguribus*). These words, as *Vahlen* (in *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad. Wiss.* 1894, 1144) suggests, are very likely part of the quotation which follows, that is, the words of Ennius. For the expression he compares *Propert.* 4, 6, 43: *murorum Romulus augur*.

7. *apud Ennium*: *Ann.* 1, 77-96 *Vahlen*; cf. 1, 40, n. (*apud Ennium*).

7. *cum fratre item augure*: cf. 2, 80: *Romulus et Remus, ambo augures, ut accepimus*.

8. *curantes magna cum cura*: *Davies* compares *Plaut. Menaech.* 895: *magna cum cura illum curari volo*; 897. Note the alliteration.

9. *dant operam*: cf. *Liv.* 34, 14, 1: *nocte media cum auspicio operam dedisset*;

†In monte Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam
Solus avem servat. At Romulus pulcher in alto
Quaerit Aventino, servat genus altivolantum.

1. in monte C, hinc ed. *Lumina*, *Christ*, *Baier*, hic *Victorius*; e metro eiecit *Vahlen*; vide infra.
3. altivolantum vulg., altevolantum C.

Fest. p. 241 M.: *auspicio operam dure solitos*; Regell, *De Augurum publicorum Libris* (1878), 25, n.; Valeton in *Mnemos.* 17 (1889), 428.

[292]9. *auspicio augurioque*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*auspiciis*); 1, 28, n. (*auguria . . . auspicia*).

1. *in monte*: this phrase is unsatisfactory in that it is unmetrical and gives no clear statement of the hill (if any) on which Remus had his post. The testimony of other writers puts Romulus on the Palatine and Remus on the Aventine; cf. Liv. 1, 6, 4: *ut dii quorum tutelae ea loca essent auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret* (in which Petersen in *Klio*, 9 (1909), 42 sees an imitation of *certabant . . . induperator infra*, *Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt*; Dion. Hal. 1, 86: *ἦν δὲ Ῥωμῶν μὲν αἰωνιστήριον, ἐνθα ἦξιλον τὴν ἀποικίαν ἰδρύσασαι, τὸ Παλλάντιον, Ῥώμῳ δ' ὁ προσεχῆς κελύψι λόφος Ἀβεντίνου καλούμενος, ὡς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἢ Ῥεμόρῳ (cf. Jordan-Hülssen, *Topogr. der Stadt Rom*, 1, 3, 2 ed. (1907), 182, n. 2a); Ov. *Fast.* 4, 815-818: *alter adit nemorosi saxa Palati; / alter Aventinum mane cacumen init. / sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt ordine. pacto / statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis habet; id. 5, 151-152: huic Remus insitiera frustra, quo tempore fratri / prima Palatinae signa dedistis aves.* For the placing of Romulus on the Palatine and Remus on the Aventine see also Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 13, 8; Flor. 1, 1, 1, 6-7; Plut. *Rom.* 9; Val. Max. 1, 4, praef.; Auct. *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 23, 1; Gell. 13, 14, 5; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 779 (Serv. *Aen.* 3, 46 is hardly to be taken as evidence in favor of the reading of our passage); Jordanes, *Rom.* 89; cf. Propert. 4, 6, 43; Paul. ex *Fest.* p. 276 M.; Carter in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Romulus* (1909),*

180; Pais, *Storia crit. di Roma*, 1 (1913), 296, n. 2.

The fact, then, that no authority agrees with Ennius (cf. *Vahlen*, *op. cit.* 1145) leads to suspicion of his reading, but the attempt of *Vahlen* to ascribe the words *in monte* to Cicero, who, he thinks, is here summarizing Ennius, and to understand that Remus is at the foot of the Aventine and Romulus at its top, by reading *in <imo> monte / . . . Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam / subtilis avem servat*, etc., is, as Petersen (*op. cit.* 42-43) observes, too subtle, and opposed both to regular habits of augural observation and to the testimony of Livy, Dionysius, and Ovid as to the different hills used. Similarly subtle is *Vahlen's* explanation (*op. cit.* 1148-1150) of how the tradition of the hills may have come to be exactly reversed. Better in accord with the evidence, though involving not a little change in the text, is the emendation of Petersen (*op. cit.* 43): *hinc Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam / quaerit Aventino. at Romulus pulcher in alto / solus Palatino servat genus altivolantum.* It seems unlikely that the truth can be attained save by emendation, and this is perhaps the least violent emendation hitherto proposed, consisting largely of transpositions, and the most satisfactory in its results, except for the absolute use of *secundam*, for which Petersen offers no parallel.

1f. *secundam . . . avem*: cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 86: *φυλάττει αἰωνοῖς αἰσίου.*

2. *servat*: other examples of the long vowel in the -at ending in Ennius and the early poets are to be found in Neuwagener, *Formenlehre der lat. Spr.* 3, 3 ed. (1897), 295. Cf. the long -et in *esset* two lines below. The word *servo* in the sense of *observo* is a technical augural term; cf. 1, 36, n. (*servantes*).

Certabant, urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent.

Omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator.

Exspectant; veluti consul cum mittere signum

Volt omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras,

108. Quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus,

Sic expectabat populus atque ore timebat

Rebus utri magni victoria sit data regni.

Interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.

3. cum mittere *BHVO*, committere *ABP*, quom mittere *Vahlen, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen* (sed *Vahlen* in secunda editione recepit cum mittere).

5. quam *dell.*, qua *C.*

[293]2. *servat at*: on the repeated syllable cf. 1, 108, n. (*in infera*).

[293]2. *Romulus*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*artubus*).

[293]2. *Romulus pulcher*: cf. *Ov. Fast.* 2, 503-504: *pulcher et humano maior trabeaque decorus / Romulus*; 6, 375: *lituo pulcher trabeaque Quirinus*.

[293]3. *Aventino*: cf. *Serv. Aen.* 7, 657 (among other derivations): *Aventinus mons urbis Romae est quem constat ab avibus esse nominatum quae de Tiberi ascendentes illic sedebant*.

[293]3. *altivolantum*: as a substantive only here; adjectivally used by Lucretius and late writers. For the form of the genitive plural see Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 353.

1. *certabant*, etc.: the two points at issue, name and power, are, of course, closely connected; cf. *Vahlen, op. cit.* 1150-1151.

1. *Romam*: cf. Paul. ex *Fest.* p. 268 *M.*: *Romam Romulus de suo nomine appellavit, sed ideo Romam, non Romulam, ut ampliore vocabuli significatu prosperiora patriae suae ominaretur*; cf. *Fest.* pp. 266; 269 *M.*; and, for varied views, ancient and modern, as to the derivation of the name (very likely Etruscan in origin) see Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 219; 579-581; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 657.

1. *Remoram*: cf. Schulze, *l.c.* Other forms are given in Paul. ex *Fest.* p. 276 *M.*: *Remurinus ager dictus quia possessus est a Remo et habitatio Remi Remona. sed et locus in summo Aventino Remoria dicitur ubi Remus de urbe condenda fuerat auspicalus*.

2. *induperator*: the regular form in the *Annales* of Ennius; *imperator* is found only in a fragment of his *Achilles*.

3. *exspectant*, etc.: for this comparison see *Vahlen, op. cit.* 1151-1152.

3. *mittere signum*: the giving of signals in the circus (by means of a white *mappa*) is described by Bussemaker and Saglio in *Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *Circus* (1887), 1195, and nn. 47-49, who cite the ancient references and representations in art.

5. *quam mox*: this phrase, used with verbs of expectancy, is discussed by Morgan in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 12 (1901), 247; cf. *Fest.* p. 261 *M.*: *quam mox significat quam cito*.

5. *pictis*: although the *carceres* are frequently mentioned there is no other reference to painted decorations upon their doors, according to Valmaggi (in *Rivista di Filologia*, 22 (1898), 116, and n. 4), who thinks that these are the doors of wooden *carceres* set up in 329 *b.c.* (*Liv.* 8, 20, 1) and in 176 perhaps replaced by *carceres* of stone (cf. *Liv.* 41, 27—a fragmentary passage).

6. *ore timebat*: possible parallels are cited by *Vahlen, op. cit.* 1152, n. 2; especially *pro Mil.* 79: *quid vultu extimuis-tis?*

7. *utri*: unnecessarily understood by Peerkamp (on *Hor. Carm.* 4, 6, 23) and Thoresen (ad *h. loc.*) as a genitive; but cf. *Vahlen, op. cit.* 1153; Sauppe, *Ausgew. Schriften* (1896), 796.

8. *interea*, etc.: Breiter (on *Manil.* 4, 818 *ff.*) understands these lines to refer

Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux,
 Et simul ex alto longe pulcherruma praepes
 Laeva volavit avis. Simul aureus exoritur sol

to an eclipse, but remarks that L. Tarquinius Firmianus failed to mention it in his horoscope of the city of Rome (cf. 2, 98 infra). But had it been an eclipse Ennius would surely have described it in a less casual manner, and, as Bergk (*Kl. Schr.* 1 (1884), 242-244) argues, the reference to an eclipse at the foundation of the city contained in Plut. *Rom.* 12 is probably due to later tradition. Nor, again, can the view of Merula that the *sol albus* means the moon be accepted; cf. Bergk, *op. cit.* 1, 241. Bergk himself (*op. cit.* 1, 240) would transfer the line *interea . . . noctis* to a position after the line *regni . . . augurioque*, against which proposal see Vahlen, *op. cit.* 1155; cf. *Rhein. Mus.* 16 (1861), 572. But probably the view of Vahlen (*op. cit.* 1153-1156) must be accepted, who compares the mention in rapid succession in *Od.* 426-428 of the sunset and the coming of the dawn, and suggests that either Ennius made no mention of any events in the intervening night (when augury would be out of the question) or else Cicero has omitted this portion as superfluous for his argument. On preparations for the taking of auspices made during the last part of the preceding night (partly because the day was reckoned from midnight to midnight, as Gell. 3, 2, 17 says, and partly perhaps because of the activity of birds in the early morning hours) cf. the passages collected by Bergk in his *Kl. Schriften*, 1 (1884), 237-239.

[294]8. *sol albus*: cf. *Ann.* 557: *albus iubar*; Catull. 63, 40: *aethera album*. For this adjective (= 'bright') as applied to the sun see also Hygin. *Astron.* 4, 13, p. 113 Bunte; Ambros. *Hexam.* 2, 3, 14. Bergk (*op. cit.* 241-242) also compares Matius ap. Gell. 15, 25, 1: *albicascit Phoebus*; Mart. 10, 62, 6: *albae . . . luces*.

[294]8. *in infera*: cf. 1, 107; *servat at*; 2, 115: *saeva evasit*; Isocr. *ἑλκνη*, fr. 4:

μηδὲ τελευτᾶν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀβτῆς συλλαβῆς ὅλον εἰροῦσα σαφῆ, ἥλικα καλά, ἔσθα θαλῆς; Quintil. 9, 4, 41: *videndum etiam ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis. id ne quis praecipere miretur, Ciceroni in epistulis excidit: Res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute. et in carmine: O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.* The reason given by Serv. *Aen.* 2, 27 applies only to particular cases: *Dorica castra mala est compositio ab ea syllaba incipere qua superius finitus est sermo; nam plerumque et cacemphaton facit, ut hoc loco.* See also Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 12 (and works there cited); Bushnell in *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 41 (1910), xxv.

1. *exin*: at the beginning of a line in *Ann.* 155; 460; also *exim* in *Ann.* 44.

1. *ae . . . dedit . . . foras*: cf. 1, 41.

1. *lux*: for the monosyllabic verse ending cf. *sol* and *dant* just below; 2, 115: *vim*. Such cases of a final unelided monosyllable following a polysyllable are frequent in Ennius (36 cases in 628 lines of the *Annales*) and occasional in Cicero's *Aratea*. The usage in other Latin poets is examined by Manitius in *Rhein. Mus.* 46 (1891), 622-626; La Roche in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 7-13; Harkness in *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* 31 (1910), 170-171; cf. Peck in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 28 (1897), 64-65. In the *Technopaegnon* of Ausonius such endings are deliberately sought.

2. *simul*: for auguries at daybreak see Vahlen, *op. cit.* 1154, n. 2.

2. *praepes*: cf. 1, 106, n. (*praepetibus pinnis*). With the alliteration cf. *laeva volavit avis* in the next line.

3. *laeva*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*a laeva*); 2, 82.

3. *avis*: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) considers this as collective, because in the other accounts Remus first sees six birds and then Romulus sees twelve. For the same reason *multa* has been suggested for

Cedunt de caelo ter quattuor corpora sancta
 Avium, praepetibus sese pulchrisque locis dant.
 Conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse priora,

laeva. But, as Vahlen (*op. cit.* 1158) points out, this probably applies to a single bird seen by Remus, who, in fact, twelve lines above is spoken of as looking for *avem*, while Romulus *servat genus altivolantum*. The origin of the later tradition of six birds seen by Remus I cannot determine. On the varying accounts see Carter in Roscher, *Ausfuhr. Lexikon*, s.v. *Romulus* (1909), 180-181.

[295]3. *simul*: an awkward repetition after *simul* in the preceding line, but here used in the sense of *simulac*.

1. *ter quattuor*: *duodecim* is impossible in this metre, and this periphrasis or sometimes *bis sex* (*Ann.* 323) may be used for it; cf. Seibel, *Quibus Artificiis Poetae Lat. Numerorum Vocabula difficilia evitaverint* (1909), 1. The numeral probably modifies *avium* in the next line. *Quattuor* is to be read as a two-syllable word; cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* 3 (1877), 638, n.; 650, n.; Lachmann on *Lucr.* 3, 917; Maurenbrecher, *Parerga z. lat. Sprachgesch.* (1916), 252.

The number of vultures seen by Romulus appears in most accounts as twelve; cf. however Lucan, 7, 437. For the supposed significance of the number cf. *Censor. de Die natal.* 17, 15: *libro antiquitatum duodevicensimo ait (sc. Varro) fuisse Veltium Romae in augurio non ignobilem, ingenio magno, cuius docto in disceptando parem; eum se audisse dicentem si illa esset ut traderent historici de Romuli urbis condendae auguriis ac XII vulturis, quoniam CXX annos incolumis praeterisset populus Romanus ad mille et ducentos perventurum* (the practical applications of this prophecy in the fifth century after Christ are discussed by Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 36, fin.). According to Liv. 1, 8, 3, some thought the number of the lictors derived from that of these birds. A similar omen of twelve vultures came to Octavian; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7 (quoting

from *Enn. Ann.* 502: *augurio augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est*), and especially 95; Dio Cass. 46, 46; App. *B.C.* 3, 94; *Obseq.* 69; Norden in *Neue Jahrb.* 7 (1901), 264, and n. 2. According to some authorities the name *Augustus* was derived from this augury. Twelve swans appear as an omen in Virg. *Aen.* 1, 393.

On the augural significance of vultures see Plut. *Rom.* 9; *Act. Rom.* 93; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 98-100, who finds their meaning usually un lucky.

1. *corpora sancta*: cf. *Lucr.* 1, 1015: *divum corpora sancta*. The adjective is here used because of their prophetic significance.

2. *avium*: disyllabic.

3. *praepetibus, etc.*: cf. Gell. 7, 6, 9: *locos porro 'praepetes' et augures appellant, et Ennius in Annalium primo dixit: praepetibus sese pulchris <que> locis dant; also 1, 106, n. (praepetibus pinnis).*

The scene here described is shown on a fragmentary relief found at Rome and published by Hartwig (*Rom. Mittheil.* 19 (1904), 23-37, especially 28 and 31, and pl. iv; cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture* (1907), 303, and pl. xciii), in which in the pediment of a temple (of Quirinus?) three birds, probably representing a larger number to follow, are flying toward a figure on the left thought to be Romulus.

3. *priora*: Vahlen (*op. cit.* 1161, and n. 2) well recognizes that this is, for two contestants, what *prima* is for several; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5, 338-339: *victor . . . / prima tenet*; and several cases of *wpōra* so used are cited by Vahlen. There is, accordingly, no question involved in the word of priority of time in seeing the birds, but simply of priority of rank based upon the omen seen (cf. 1, 124, n. (*potest, etc.*) *infra*), and hence it is unnecessary to emend the passage.

Auspicio regni stabilita scamna solumque.

XLIX. 109. Sed ut unde huc digressa est eodem redeat oratio: si nihil queam disputare quam ob rem quidque fiat, et tantum modo fieri ea quae commemoravi doceam, parumne Epicuro Carneadive respondeam? Quid, si etiam ratio exstat artificiosae praesensionis facilis, divinae autem paulo obscurior? Quae enim extis, quae fulgoribus, quae portentis, quae astris praesentiuntur, haec notata sunt observatione diuturna. Adfert autem vetustas omnibus in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam; quae potest esse etiam sine motu atque impulsu deorum, cum quid ex quoque eveniat et quid quamque rem significet crebra animadversione perspectum est. **110.** Altera divinatio est naturalis, ut ante dixi; quae physica disputandi subtilitate referenda est ad naturam deorum, a qua, ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit, haustos animos et libatos

1. stabilita: the long final syllable is treated by Hale in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 7 (1896), 267.

1. scamna solumque: cf. *Ann.* 150: *Tarquinio dedit imperium simul et sola regni;* *Virg. Aen.* 9, 9; 10, 852.

2. sed ut, etc.: cf. *de Or.* 2, 157: *sed ut eo revocetur unde huc declinavit oratio;* *N. D.* 3, 60: *sed eo iam unde huc digressi sumus revertamur;* *Off.* 2, 77; *Tusc.* 5, 66; 5, 80; 2 *Verr.* 4, 35; 5, 59.

2. eodem: cf. Plasberg on *Tim.* 28. The point to which he returns is probably the end of 1, 105; but cf. also 1, 85-87.

3. nihil queam disputare: cf. 1, 99.

4. Epicuro Carneadive: cf. 1, 12; 1, 23; 1, 87.

5. artificiosae, etc.: cf. 1, 11, n. (*duo sunt enim*); 2, 26.

5. facilis: for the apparent inconsistency of this with a later statement see 1, 130, n. (*difficile est*).

71. observatione diuturna . . . longinqua observatione: cf. 1, 2, n. (*diuturna observatione*).

81. incredibilem scientiam: cf. *Phil.* 9, 10: *incredibilis ac paene divina scientia.* For the thought see also 1, 111, n. (*rationalis humanae*).

10. quid ex quoque eveniat: for effect, cause, and sign cf. 1, 29, n. (*non causas adferunt*); 1, 131.

11f. ut ante dixi: 1, 12; al.

12. physica: 'philosophical,' or 'meta-physical'; cf. *N. D.* 2, 23; 2, 54; 2, 63; 2, 64; 3, 92; also *physice* in 1, 126 infra.

12. disputandi subtilitate: cf. *N. D.* 2, 98: *remota subtilitate disputandi;* *Tusc.* 5, 68: *subtilitas disserendi.*

12. referenda est ad naturam deorum: cf. 1, 117.

13. haustos animos et libatos: cf. 2, 26: *ex divinitate unde omnes animos haustos aut acceptos aut libatos haberemus.* For the source of this view see *de Sen.* 78: *audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominoti, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus;* *N. D.* 1, 27: *Pythagoras qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur;* *Tusc.* 5, 38: *humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest;* *Leg.* 1, 24; *Sext. Empir. adv. Math.* 9, 127: *οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλίαν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἰταλῶν πλεθὺς φασι μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι τινα κοινωνίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων. ἔν γὰρ ὑπάρχει πνεῦμα τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου διήκον ψυχῆς τρόπον, τὸ καὶ ἐνοῦν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα;* *Diog. L.* 7, 143 (of the Stoics): *ζῶον ἄρα ὁ κόσμος. ἔμψυχον δέ, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ἐκείθεν ὁσῆς ἀποσπασματος;* 8, 27 (of Pythagoras):

habemus; cumque omnia completa et referta sint aeterno sensu et mente divina necesse est cognatione divinorum animorum animos humanos commoveri. Sed vigilantes animi vitae necessitatibus serviunt diiunguntque se a societate divina vinculis corporis inpediti. III. Rarum est quoddam genus eorum qui se a corpore avocent et ad divinarum rerum cognitionem cura omni studioque rapiantur. Horum sunt auguria non divini

1. sint *νῆς*, sust. C.

2. cognatione O, Müller, cognitione C, contagione Dawles, Christ, Baier, Thoresen.

καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι πρὸς θεοὺς συγγένειαν, κατὰ τὸ μετέχειν ἀνθρώπων θερμῶ: διὸ καὶ προσοίεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν; 8, 28: εἶναι δὲ τῆν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα αἰθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, τῷ συμμετέχειν ψυχροῦ αἰθέρος. διαφέρειν τε ψυχὴν ζωῆς: ἀθάνατόν τε εἶναι αἰθῆρ, ἰτευθήτερον καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι; Plut. *Plat. Quaest.* p. 1001c: ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ, τοῦ μετασχοῦσα καὶ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἀρμορίας, οὐκ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρος, οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίγνεται. See also Xen. *Mem.* 4, 3, 14: ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχῆ, εἶπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀθροισμάτων, τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχει; Diod. 37, 20, 2: ἐστὶ αἱ ἀνθρώπιναί ψυχαὶ μετέχουσι θέας τῶς φύσεως ἐνίοτε προκαταμαρτυρούμεναι τὰ μέλλοντα, καὶ κατὰ τινας φυσικὰς εἰδωλοποιίας προορῶνται τὸ συμβησόμενον; Epict. 1, 14, 6: ἀλλ' αἱ ψυχαὶ μὲν οὕτως εἰσὶν ἐπιθεμέναι καὶ συναφεῖς τῷ θεῷ ἅτε αὐτοῦ μόρια οὖσαι καὶ ἀποσπάσματα; 2, 8, 11; M. Aurel. 5, 27: συστῆ δὲ θεοὶς ὁ συνεχῶς δεκνὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν . . . ποιούσαν . . . ὅσα βούλεται ὁ θαῖμας ὃν ἐκάστῳ προστάτην καὶ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν ἀπόσπασμα ἑαυτοῦ. οὗτος δὲ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς καὶ λόγος.

This doctrine really goes back to Pythagoras is denied by Zeller (*Phil. d. Griechen*, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 416-417), who would trace it to Platonic and Stoic sources; cf. Bauer, *Der ältere Pythagoreismus* (1897), 164, n. 3. The question appears in other forms in connection with the incarnation of Christ; cf. the passages cited by Davies from Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, 2, 6, 3; Ps.-Clem. *Homil.* 16, 16.

1. completa et referta: cf. *Ac.* 2, 125: cum ita completa et conferta sint omnia.

1. aeterno sensu: not very different from the following mente divina; cf. 2, 148.

Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares the *vis quaedam sentiens* of 1, 118; 2, 35.

If. mente divina: a favorite phrase with Cicero; cf. Merguet, *Lex s. d. phil. Schr.* 1 (1887), 742.

2. cognatione, etc.: cf. 1, 64 and notes; in view of that passage it seems unnecessary to emend to *contagione*.

3. vitae necessitatibus: cf. 2 *Verr.* 3, 164: *necessitatem salutis et vitae*.

4. vinculis corporis: cf. 1, 62-63, and notes; *de Sen.* 77; 81; *Rep.* 6, 14: *hi vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt* (doubtless suggested by Plat. *Phaed.* p. 62b). Burnet (on Plato, *l.c.*) cites numerous parallels for this view from Philolaus and the Orphics onward. The conception of the body as the tomb of the soul (with a play upon *σῶμα* and *σῆμα*) is probably also due to Philolaus (Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 315, no. 14), and appears in Plato (*Gorg.* p. 493a; *Crat.* p. 400c). Further compare Sen. *Dial.* 11, 9, 3: *animus fratris mei velut ex diutino carcere emissus*; 12, 11, 7: *corpusculum hoc, custodia et vinculum animi*.

4. rarum est, etc.: cf. *Off.* 1, 119: *maxime rarum genus est eorum qui*, etc.; *Tusc.* 5, 9: *rarus esse quodam qui*, etc.; *de Am.* 79: *rarum genus*.

5. a corpore avocent: for the thought cf. *Tusc.* 1, 74-75; Sen. *Ep.* 88, 10: *vir magnus ac prudens animum deducit a corpore*; Crossen, *De Posidonio Rhodio* (1878), 39.

5f. divinarum rerum cognitionem: part of *sapientia* as defined in *Tusc.* 5, 7; cf. 4, 57; *Off.* 1, 153; 2, 5.

6. rapiantur: for this use of the word see *Rep.* 1, 3; *Off.* 3, 101.

impetus sed rationis humanae; nam et natura futura praesentiunt, ut aquarum eluviones et deflagrationem futuram aliquando caeli atque terrarum; alii autem in re publica exercitati, ut de Atheniensi Solone accepimus, orientem tyrannidem multo ante prospiciunt; quos prudentes possumus dicere, id est providentes, divinos nullo modo possumus, non

2. eluviones *Tyrannides*, fluxiones *ABV*, fluxiones *H*.

1. *impetus*: cf. *Ov. ex Pont.* 4, 2, 25: *impetus ille sacer qui vatium pectora nutrit*; 1, 89 supra.

1. *rationis humanae*: the distinction between divination and scientific forecasting is noted in 1, 110; 2, 14; cf. *Max. Tyr.* 13, 5: ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἢ γνώμη μαθητικῆ δηλωτικῆ. πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἑατέρᾳ; αὐχμοῦ μὲν καὶ ἀνομβρίας καὶ σεισμῶς γῆς καὶ πυρὸς ἐκβολὰς καὶ πνευμάτων ἐκβολὰς καὶ ἀέρων μεταβολὰς οὐ θεοὶ οἴδεν μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι δαιμόνιοι. οὕτω καὶ Φερεκίδης σεισμὸν Σαμίου (cf. 1, 112 infra) προεμήνυεν καὶ Ἰπποκράτης Θετταλοῖς προσέειπε λαιμὸν καὶ Τιμησίους Κλαζομενοῖς κελειπόντα ἤλιον, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι; *Diog. L.* 1, 68: Χείλων . . . εἶσασκε πρόνοιαν περὶ τοῦ μίλλοντος λογισμῷ καταληπτῆν εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν; *Ps.-Clem. Homil.* 3, 11. Cf. *M. Casaubon, Treatise concerning Enthusiasm* (1655), 41.

1. *nam et*: cf. *Madvig*, 3 ed. of *De Finibus* (1876), 790; also 1, 40, n. (et); *Schuppe, De Anacoluthis Ciceronianis* (1860), 44, for parallel cases.

1. *natura futura*: an awkward instance of homoeoteleuton; cf. 1, 108, n. (in infera); 1, 112: *quidem idem*; *de Am.* 79: *praeclara res*; *de Or.* 2, 256: *Nobiliorum mobiliorem*.

2. *eluviones et deflagrationem*: cf. *Rep.* 6, 23: *propter eluviones exustionesque terrarum quas accidere tempore certo necesse est non modo non aeternam sed ne diuturnam quidem gloriam adsequi possumus*; *Off.* 2, 16.

The doctrine of *ἐκτίρωσις* apparently originated with Heraclitus; cf. *Simplic. in Arist. de Caelo*, 1, 10 (p. 294 Heiberg): καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκτυροῦσθαι λέγει τὸν κόσμον, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς συνίστασθαι πάλιν αὐτὸν κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους περιόδους . . .

ταύτης δὲ τῆς δόξης ὕστερον ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ Στωικοί. This familiar view is set forth in *N. D.* 2, 118: *ex quo eventurum nostri putant id de quo Panaetium addubitare dicebant, ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret, cum umore consumpto neque terra ali possit nec remearet aer cuius ortus aqua omni exhausta esse non possit; ita relinquit nihil praeter ignem a quo rursus animante ac deo renovatio mundi fieret atque idem ornatus oreretur*; cf. *Ac.* 2, 119. The beliefs of the older Stoics in regard to this doctrine will be found in *S. V. F.* 1 (1905), 29-32; 2 (1903), 181-191; for those of their successors see *Arnold, Roman Stoicism* (1911), 95-96; 190-193; and for Posidonius in particular, whom Cicero is probably here following, see *Schmekel, Die Philos. der mittl. Stoa* (1892), 241; *Arnold, op. cit.* 192. The devastation of the earth by a deluge is, however, the theory described by Seneca (*N. Q.* 3, 27, 1-15).

3. *Solone*: cf. *Val. Max.* 5, 3, ext. 3: *iam Solon . . . qui Pisistrati tyrannidem primus vidit orientem, solus armis opprimi debere palam dicere est ausus*; *Diog. L.* 1, 49: βῆς γὰρ (sc. ὁ Σόλων) εἰς τίνα ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ δόρατος καὶ ἀσπίδος προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπιθεῖν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου· καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν ἔτοιμος εἶναι, λέγων ταῦτα: Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν μὲν σοφώτερος τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειώτερός εἰμι· σοφώτερος μὲν τῶν τὴν ἀπάτην Πεισιστράτου μὴ συνιέντων, ἀνδρειώτερος δὲ τῶν ἐπισταμίμων μὲν, διὰ θεῶς δὲ σωπώντων; 1, 65; *Plut. Solon*, 29-31; *Ael. V. H.* 8, 16. The verses in which Solon is said to have made the prediction are quoted by *Diod.* 9, 20, 2; 19, 1, 4. *Philostratus (Vit. Apollon.* 5, 11) credits Apollonius of Tyana with having foreseen the short reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

plus quam Milesium Thalem, qui, ut obiurgatores suos convinceret, ostenderetque etiam philosophum, si ei commodum esset, pecuniam facere posse, omnem oleam, ante quam florere coepisset, in agro Milesio coë-

[299]5. **id est providentes:** cf. *Rep.* 6, 1: *prudentiam . . . quae ipsum nomen hoc nocta est ex providendo; Leg.* 1, 60: *quae virtus ex providendo est appellata prudentia; Frag. Phil.* 5, 33 Müller (ap. Non. p. 41 M.): *prudentiam a providendo dictam dilucide ostendit M. Tullius in Hortensio: id enim est sapientis, providere; ex quo sapientia est appellata prudentia.*

1. **Thalem:** two forms of the accusative are found in Greek: Θαλήν (*Ar. Nub.* 180; *Plat. Theaet.* p. 174a; *C. I. G.* 1, 261) and Θάλητα (*Paus.* 1, 14, 4). In Latin at least four forms appear (some perhaps due to manuscript corruption): *Thalen* (2, 58 infra; *de Or.* 3, 137; *Lact. Inst.* 3, 14, 5), *Thalem* (as here; *Plaut. Capt.* 274), *Thaleta* (*Serv. Georg.* 4, 363; 4, 381), *Thaletem* (*Rep.* 1, 25; *Serv. Aen.* 3, 241). In most of these passages variants occur.

For this story of Thales cf. *Arist. Pol.* 1, 11, p. 1259 a 3 ff.: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα σποράδην δι' ὧν ἐπιτετυχήκασιν ἔνιοι χρηματιζόμενοι, δεῖ συλλέγειν πάντα γὰρ ὠφέλιμα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τιμῶσι τὴν χρηματιστικὴν, οἷον καὶ τὸ Θάλεω τοῦ Μιλήσιου· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ κατατόμιμα τὴν χρηματιστικὴν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν διὰ τὴν σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει δὲ καθόλου τι ὄν. ὀνειδίζοντων γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν περὶαν ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὀψης. κατανοήσαντά φασιν αὐτὸν ἑλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμῶνος ὄντος εὐφορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀραβῶνας διαδοῦναι τῶν ἑλαιουργέων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάντων, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον αὐτ' οὐδέποδ' ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἔμισθοῦντα ὄν τρόπον ἠβούλετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα ἐπεδείξει· οἱ ββδίων τε πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὁ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλῆς μὲν οὖν λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι τῆς σοφίας, κτλ.; *Diog. L.* 1, 26: *φησὶ καὶ ὁ Ῥόδιος Ἰερώνυμος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν σποράδην ὀνομασιμάτων ὅτι βουλόμενος δεῖξαι βῶον εἶναι**

πλουτεῖν, φορᾶς μελλούσης ἑλαιῶν ἔσθαι, προσήσας ἔμισθώσατο τὰ ἑλαιουργεῖα καὶ πάντληστα συνέειλε χρήματα; *Philostr. Vit. A. pollon.* 8, 7, 9: *τὶ δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀραβῶνας, τῷ Ἰωνε, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἑλαιῶν, ὃ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπόντε. As has been noted by Victorius and by Newman (on *Arist. I.c.*), Cicero loses the main point of the story by making no mention of the smallness of the capital with which Thales cornered the market. Cicero's purpose, however, is to emphasize the skill of Thales in prognostication rather than his astuteness in finance. *Pliny (N. H.* 18, 273) ascribes the device to Democritus: *serunt Democritum, qui primus intellexit ostenditque caeli cum terris societatem, spernentibus hanc curam eius opulentissimis civium, praevisa olei caritate futura ex vergiliarum ortu qua diximus ratione ostendemusque iam planius, magna tum vilitate propter speciem olivae coemisse in toto tractu omne oleum, mirantibus qui paupertatem quietemque doctrinarum ei sciebant in primis cordi esse, atque ut arparum causa et ingens divitiarum cursus, restituisse mercedem anxiae et avidae dominorum poenitentiae, contentum probavisse opes sibi in facili cum vellet fore.**

1. **obiurgatores:** on the charges that philosophers were unpractical, and on ancient estimates of the shrewdness of Thales see the passages collected by Newman, *op. cit.* 204-205; also 1, 132, n. (*qui sibi, etc.*). Other cases of cornering the market are narrated by Aristotle in the passage following that quoted.

2. **pecuniam facere:** cf. *Leg.* 2, 51; and the Greek *χρήματα ποιείσθαι.*

3. **ante quam florere coepisset:** at the time of flowering it was customary to make forecasts of the crop; cf. 2, 16; *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 1, 13, 3: *ἔλαδα ἤτι καὶ ἀποτίκτοντα διατηρημένα φαίνεται, καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον λαμβάνουσιν εἰ καλῶς ἀτήθηται· ἔάν γὰρ συγκαυθῇ ἢ βρεχθῇ, συναποβάλλει τὸν*

missa dicitur. 112. Animadverterat fortasse quadam scientia olearum ubertatem fore. Et quidem idem primus defectionem solis, quae Astyage regnante facta est, praedixisse fertur.

L. Multa medici, multa gubernatores, agricolae etiam multa praesen-

καρπὸν καὶ οὐ τετρημένον γίνεσθαι; 1, 14, 2: καὶ φασὶν ὅταν (ἐλάα) ἔκρον ἐνίγειν σημεῖον εὐφορίας εἶναι. And, for the diseases and pests of the olive at flowering which injure the crop, *id.* 4, 14, 9; *de Caus. Pl.* 5, 10, 3; *Plin. N. H.* 17, 229.

Hence the significance of the story, for Cicero, lies in the *scientia* by which Thales could anticipate the predictions of the practical farmers and on account of his connection in other ways with the study of the stars it was natural that astrology should have been given as the basis of his forecast.

[300]3. in agro Milesio: in the account in Aristotle the scene is laid in Chios also.

2. defectionem: on eclipses of the sun see 1, 18, n. (*abdidi*); 1, 44, n. (*liquier*); 2, 17. The question of Babylonian predictions of eclipses and the apparent lack of such predictions in Egypt (*Diod.* 1, 50 to the contrary) is discussed by Boll in *P.-W.* s.v. *Finsternisse* (1909), 2337-2341. For the contributions of Thales in this field see Boll, *op. cit.* 2341-2342; Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* (1913), 13-18, and the works cited by them; the ancient authorities are collected by Martin in *Rev. arch.* 9 (1864), 184 ff.; Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 1 ff. There may be here quoted *Diog. L.* 1, 23: δοκεῖ δὲ κατὰ τινὰ πρῶτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἠλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὡς φασὶν Εὐδήμος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ζευρυφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος θαυμάζει; also *Hdt.* 1, 74 (of a battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares): συνήρκεε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστατώσης τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξακτῆς νύκτα γερῆσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλής ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖς Ἴωσι προσηγόρευσε ἕσσεσθαι, οὐρον προθήμεσι ἑνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ θῆ καὶ ἐγένετο ἢ μεταβολή. There is much discussion whether this and the many later statements to this effect are correct, and

whether the prediction (which, it should be noted, was a rough one) was made possible by some knowledge of a periodic recurrence of eclipses (cf. Martin, *op. cit.* 182; Diels, *op. cit.* 1, 7), gained probably from oriental sources (on the early knowledge of the Saros see Boll, *op. cit.* 2338-2339), or whether we should accept the testimony of Eudemus (fr. 94 Spreng. ap. Theo. Smyrn. *de Astronom.* p. 322 M.): τίς τι εὔρεν ἐν μαθηματικῇ Εὐδήμος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἀστρολογίαις ὅτι Οἰωνοῖδης εὔρε πρῶτος τὴν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ διάξωσιν . . . Θαλής δὲ ἡλίου ἐκλείψιν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὰς τροπὰς αὐτοῦ περίοδον . . . Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ὅτι ἢ σελήνη ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ἔχει τὸ φῶς καὶ τίνα ἐκλείπει τρόπον, from which it appears that it was not the prediction but rather the explanation of eclipses which was first given by Thales; cf. *Doxogr. Gr.* 353-354; *Rep.* 1, 25. Martin (*op. cit.* 173-181) further points out that in order to know in advance at what points an eclipse of the sun would be visible there is necessary a knowledge of the calculation of parallax which does not appear until the time of Hipparchus and the later Greek astronomers. Mythical discoverers of the causes of eclipses were Atreus (*Serv. Aen.* 1, 568) and Palamedes (*Philostr. Heroic.* 11, 2).

The date of the eclipse here mentioned is set, following the calculations of the English scientists Airy and Hind and the German Zech (references in Martin, *op. cit.* 184, n. 5), on 28 May, 585 B.C., when there was a total eclipse of the sun visible at Miletus, on which see also Boll, *op. cit.* 2352-2354.

2f. Astyage regnante: but according to *Hdt.* 1, 74 it was during the reign of Cyaxares, and that view is accepted in the chronology of Meyer, who dates Astyages from 585-550 (*Gesch. d. Altert.* 2 (1893), 763; *P.-W.* s.v. *Astyages* (1896), 1865), and places this event in the reign of

tiunt, sed nullam eorum divinationem voco, ne illam quidem qua ab Anaximandro physico moniti Lacedaemonii sunt ut urbem et tecta linquerent armatique in agro excubarent, quod terrae motus instaret, tum cum et urbs tota corruiet et e monte Taygeto extrema montis quasi puppis avolsa

Cyaxares (in *P.-W.* s.v. *Alyattes* (1894), 1707). See note on *defectionem* supra.

[301]4. *medicī, etc.*: cf. 1, 24, n. (an *medicina*).

1. *nullam eorum divinationem voco*: brachylogy; cf. *Leg.* 1, 49: *nullam virtutem nisi malitiam putent*.

If. *Anaximandro, etc.*: cf. *Plin. N. H.* 2, 191: *praecura quaedam et immortalis in eo, si credimus, dirimitas perhibetur Anaximandro Milesio physico, quem ferunt Lacedaemoniis praedixisse ut urbem ac tecta custodirent, instare enim motum terrae, cum et urbs tota eorum corruiet et Taygeti montis magna pars, ad formam puppis eminens, abrupta cladem eam insuper ruina pressit. perhibetur et Phererydi, Pythagorae doctori, alia coniectatio, sed et illa divini, haustu aquae e phlebo praesensisse ac praedixisse civibus terrae motum.* Pliny here appears to copy Cicero. See also *Strab.* 8, p. 367: *εβσειστος δ' ἡ Λακωνική· καὶ δὴ τοῦ Ταυγέτου κορυφᾶς τινὰς ἀπορραγῆναι τινὲς μνημονεουσιν*; *Plut. Cim.* 16: *Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Ζευξιδάμου τέταρτον ἔτος ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλευστος ὑπὸ μεγίστου δὴ τῶν μνημονευομένων πρότερον ἢ τε χώρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χάσμασιν ἐκώλισθε πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ταυγέτω ταναχθέρτων κορυφᾶς τινὲς ἀπερράγησαν, αὐτὴ δ' ἡ πόλις ὅλη συνεχίσθη πλὴν οἰκίων κίρτε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἠρείψεν ὁ σεισμός.* This earthquake, however, at the time of the revolt of the helots about 465 B.C. (mentioned also by *Thuc.* 1, 101; *Diod.* 11, 63, 5; *Paus.* 4, 24, 6; *Schol. Ar. Lysistr.* 1141) of course falls far outside the limits of the lifetime of Anaximander (b. 610, d. soon after 547, according to *Wellmann* in *P.-W.* s.v. *Anaximandros* (1894), 2085), so that Cicero's account (with the dependent one of Pliny) either wrongly ascribes the prediction to Anaximander or else describes another earthquake with very similar features.

Explanations of earthquakes were given by Anaximander, according to *Amm. Marc.* 17, 7, 12: *Anaximander ait arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetrat supernus aer violentus et nimius ac per eas vehemens spiritu quassatam, cieri propriis sedibus. qua de causa terrores huius modi, vaporatis temporibus, aut nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione contingunt, ideoque Neptunum umentis substantiae potestatem, Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncuparunt.* On the doctrines of Anaximander see *Zeller, Die Philos. der Griechen*, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 196-238; his remains are collected by *Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 14-21. On the seismic theories of Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Democritus see *Arist. Meteor.* 2, 7.

2. *physico*: cf. 1, 110, n. (*physica*).

2. *urbem et tecta*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 99: *tectis et urbibus*.

3. *armati*: for protection against a revolt of the helots.

3. *in agro excubarent*: cf. 1, 96, n. (*excubabant*). Here the word means 'sleep out-of-doors,' for the danger inside a house in the country would obviously be wellnigh as great as in one in the town.

4. *urbs tota corruiet*: cf. 1, 78.

4. *Taygeto*: bounding the west side of the Eurotas valley and distant 2-3 miles from the town. The foot of its steep slopes is lined with talus formed from such slides as this.

4. *extrema*: probably not with *pars* understood but modifying *puppis*; for the order cf. *Tusc.* 4, 63: *ad recentes quasi tumores*.

4. *montis*: for the repetition cf. *Mayor* on *N.D.* 3, 28.

est. Ne Pherecydes quidem, ille Pythagorae magister, potius divinus habebitur quam physicus, quod cum vidisset haustam aquam de iugi puteo terrae motus dixit instare. 113. Nec vero umquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat, nisi cum ita solutus est et vacuus ut ei plane nihil sit cum corpore; quod aut vatibus contingit aut dormientibus. Itaque

[302]4f. *avolsa est*: Cicero does not say, as Pliny appears to, that the part which broke off fell upon the city of Sparta. The distance is, of course, too great for that to have occurred. It might, however, have fallen upon some outlying village.

1. *Pherecydes*: cf. 2, 31; Max. Tyr. 13, 5: οὐτω Φερεκύδης σεισμὸν Σαμίοις προμήψουσεν. The scene of the incident is laid by Apollon. *Mirab.* 5 in Syrus (or Scyrus): τὰ ἢ περὶ Φερεκύδην τοσαῦτά τινα ἱστορεῖται. ἐν Σύρῳ (Σκύρω Xylander) ποτὲ τῆ νήσῳ διψῶντα ὑδάτιον αἰτῆσαι παρά τινος τῶν γρωρῶντων, τὸν δὲ πῶντα εἰπεῖν σεισμὸν ἰσόμενον ἐν τῆ νήσῳ μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν. τοῦτου δὲ συμβάντος μεγάλην ὄδξαν αὐτὸν ἀπεργέκασθαι. Cf. Diog. L. 1, 116 (of Pherecydes): καὶ ἀνιμνήθεις ἐκ φρίατος ὕδατος πῶντα προειπεῖν ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἴσοιτο σεισμός, καὶ γερῖσθαι; Porphyry. ar. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 10, pp. 464d-465a: "Ἀνδρῶνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Τρίποδι περὶ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὰ περὶ τὰς προρρήσεις ἱστορηκότος, εἰπόντος τε ὡς διψήσας ποτὲ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ καὶ ἐκ τινος φρίατος ἀνιμήσας καὶ κίων προεῖπεν ὡς εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν ἴσοιτο σεισμός. καὶ ἕτερα τινὰ τοῦτοις ἐπαγαγῶν ἐπιλέγει· ταῦτ' οἶν ποῦ "Ἀνδρῶνος περὶ Πυθαγόρου ἱστορηκότος πάντα ὑφέλλετο Θεόκομος. εἰ μὲν περὶ Πυθαγόρου λέγων τάχα ἄν καὶ ἕτεροι ἥπισσαντο περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕλεγον, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς <εἶπεν>· οὐν δὲ κλοπῆν δῆλην πεποίηκεν ἢ τοῦ ὄνοματι μεταθέσει. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι εἰρησθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἕτερον δ' ὄνομα μετεθήκοι. Φερεκύδην γὰρ τὸν Σύριον πεποίηκε ταῦτα προλιπόντα. οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ὄνοματι ἀποκρύπτει τὴν κλοπῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπων μεταθέσει. τὸ τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς προρρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀνδρῶνος ῥηθὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ εἰρησθῆναι φασιν ὁ Θεόκομος, κτλ.; Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 136 (of Pythagoras): λίγεται δ' ὅτι καὶ σεισμὸν ἰσόμενον ἀπὸ φρίατος οὐ γέγυσατο προηγόρευσε;

Amm. Marc. 22, 16, 22 still further transfers the story: *Anaxagoras . . . putealem limum contrectans tremores futuros praedixerat terrae.*

Thales is said to have considered water the cause of earthquakes (Hippol. in *Doxogr. Gr.* 555, 4; Galen in the same work 633, 20; cf. Aëtius in the same, 225), and the connection between wells or springs and seismic disturbances, by which they might either be caused or dried up, is noted by various authors: Arist. *de Plant.* 2, 2, p. 822 b 32 ff., et al.; Paus. 7, 24, 7-8 (and Frazer's note for modern parallels); Plin. *N.H.* 31, 54; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 377; cf. Procop. *Bell. Goth.* 4, 7, 7. Plin. *N.H.* 2, 197 remarks that at times of earthquakes *est et in puteis turbidior aqua nec sine odoris laedio*. It should further be noted that Posidon is both κρηνοῦχος or νυμφαγέτης (Farnell, *Culls of the Greek States*, 4 (1907), 5; cf. Cook in *Folk-Lore*, 15 (1904), 281, n. 127; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 203) and also the god of earthquakes; cf. *Elym. Mag.* 223, 8: καὶ ἐνοσίχθιοι λίγεται· τῆ γὰρ τοῦ ὕδατος παρὰ χρόνον τινὰ μεταστάσει γίνεται ὁ σεισμός. For the prediction of earthquakes cf. 1, 18, n. (se . . . *tremefecit*); Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 4, 6; *Epist. Apollon.* 68. Of the skill of Pherecydes in prediction Diog. L. 1, 116 ff., gives numerous examples.

1. *Pythagorae magister*: the tradition as to the teachers of Pythagoras is somewhat uncertain; cf. Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 299, n. 1.

2f. *iugi puteo*: cf. 2, 31; *N. D.* 2, 25: *puteis iugibus*. The adjective is used chiefly of water; cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 19 (s.v. *acutum*).

4. *solutus est et vacuus*: cf. 1, 129.

ea duo genera a Dicaearcho probantur et, ut dixi, a Cratippo nostro; si propterea quod ea proficiscuntur a natura, sint summa sane, modo ne sola; sin autem nihil esse in observatione putant, multa tollunt quibus vitae ratio continetur. Sed quoniam dant aliquid, idque non parvum, [vaticinationes cum somniis,] nihil est quod cum his magnopere pugnemus, praesertim cum sint qui omnino nullam divinationem probent. 114. Ergo et ii quorum animi spretis corporibus evolant atque excurrunt foras ardore aliquo inflammati atque incitati cernunt illa profecto quae vaticinantes pronuntiant, multisque rebus inflammantur tales animi qui corporibus non inhaerent, ut ii qui sono quodam vocum et Phrygiis cantibus incitantur. Multos nemora silvaeque, multos amnes aut maria commovent, quorum

4-5. vaticinationes cum somniis *secluserunt Davies, Bailei, Müller, Thoresen.*

6. et ii *vulg.*, et hi *ABV*, et hii *H.*

10. ii *vulg.*, hi *ABV*, hii *H.*

[303]4f. **plane nihil:** cf. *Ac.* 2, 48; *Tusc.* 2, 31.

[303]5. **aut vatibus . . . aut dormientibus:** cf. 1, 117; 1, 129.

1. **Dicaearcho . . . Cratippo:** cf. 1, 5, nn. (*Dicaearchus; Cratippus*).

2. **proficiscuntur:** cf. 1, 130; *Off.* 2, 61.

2. **sint . . . sane modo ne:** cf. *Rep.* 1, 32.

3. **nihil esse in:** cf. 1, 105.

3f. **vitae ratio continetur:** cf. *Ac.* 2, 132.

4f. **vaticinationes cum somniis:** baldly expressed and an evident gloss.

5. **nihil est quod:** cf. *de Inv.* 2, 171.

5. **magnopere pugnemus:** cf. *N.D.* 3, 3: *magnopere pugnare*.

6. **omnino nullam:** cf. 1, 65; 2, 61.

6. **ergo et ii:** on this use of *et* see Madvig, 3 ed. of *De Finibus* (1876), 789; also 1, 111, n. (*nam et*); 1, 126: *et observatione*.

7. **evolant atque excurrunt:** cf. 1, 115; *Rep.* 6, 14: *immo vero, inquit, hi vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt*; 6, 29: *animus velocius in hanc sedem et domum suam pervolabit . . . si iam tum, cum erit inclusus in corpore, eminebit foras et ea quae extra erunt contemplantur quam maxime se a corpore abstracti*; Plut. *de Gen. Socr.* p. 592c: *ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιγίων ἐκείνων καὶ κατηκῶν εἰδὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως τοῦ οἴκελου δαιμονος καὶ τὸ μαρτυρῶν ὅστι καὶ θεοκαλυπτόμενον γένος*

ὡν τὴν Ἑρμοδώρου τοῦ Κλαζομερίου ψυχῆν ἀήκως ἀήκουσθαι, ὡς ἀπολείπουσα παρτάσσει τὸ σῶμα πύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐπλανᾶτο πολλὸν τόπον, εἰτ' αἰθίς ἐπαρθεῖ, πολλοῖς τῶν μακρὰν λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων ἐτυχεύουσα καὶ παραγενομένη, κτλ. (for other accounts of this man see Wellmann in *P.-W.* s.v. *Hermalmios* (1913), 904-905); *de Def. Orac.* p. 432d (after Plat. *Tim.* p. 71e). Heinze, *Xenokrates* (1892), 131, notes that this power of the soul when separated from the body was a favorite conception of Posidonius. Cf. also 1, 63, and notes, supra. Perhaps our passage may also show a trace of the primitive belief that the soul leaves the body during sleep, a theory widespread in savage society; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 36-42.

10. **sono quodam vocum . . . cantibus:** cf. 1, 80, n. (*vocum gravitate et cantibus*).

10. **Phrygiis:** cf. Sen. *Ep.* 108, 7: *quidam ad magnificas voces excitantur et transeunt in adfectum dicentium alacres vultu et animo nec aliter concitantur quam solent Phrygii libicinis sono semiviri et ex imperio furentes*. So also Arist. *Pol.* 5, p. 1340 b 4 ff.; p. 1342 b 1 ff.; Lucr. 2, 620; etc. The Dorian mode was associated with *αἰμώδης*, the Lydian with lamentation, and the Phrygian with *ἐκθουσιασμός*. Of the last mentioned the flute was the appropriate instrument.

11. **multos nemora, etc.:** the effect of natural scenery upon the mind is also

furibunda mens videt ante multo quae sint futura. Quo de genere illa sunt:

Eheu videte!

Iudicabit inclitum iudicium inter deas tris aliquis,

Quo iudicio Lacedaemonia mulier, Furiarum una, adveniet.

Eodem enim modo multa a vaticinantibus saepe praedicta sunt, neque solum verbis sed etiam

Versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant.

1. sint C, vulg., sunt Salisb. et O, Müller.

indicated in Sen. Ep. 41, 3: *frequens lucus et conspectum caeli ramorum aliorum alios prolegentium summovens obtentu, illa proceritas silvae et secretum loci et admiratio umbrae in aperto tam densae atque continuae fidem tibi numinis faciet. si quis specus saxis penitus exesis montem suspenderit, non manu factus sed naturalibus causis in tantam luxuriam excavatus, animum tuum quadam religionis suspicione percutiet. magnorum fluminum capita veneramur, etc.*; cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 25, 8-14: *non secus in iugis / exsomnia stupet Euias / Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam / Thracen ac pede barbaro / lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio / ripas et vacuum nemus / mirari libet*. It is noteworthy that Cicero does not mention mountains as a source of mantic inspiration, though his appreciation of them is shown by *de Am.* 68. The distinction must be drawn between the liking for quiet and pastoral scenery and that for the wild and romantic; the Greeks and Romans seem in general to have preferred the former, though to the stirring effects of the wild and grand the Dionysiac revels seem to bear witness.

1. *ante multo*: the reverse order is more frequent, but this is found in Plin. *N. H.* 2, 31; 7, 186; cf. *Rep.* 2, 9: *ante paulo*; in *Val.* 25: *ante aliquanto*; *ad Au.* 3, 8, 1.

1. *illa*: cf. 1, 14, n. (*illa*); 1, 40, n. (*illa*).

3. *eheu videte*: cf. 2, 112: *at multi saepe vera vaticinati, ut Cassandra: Jamque mari magno* (1, 67 supra), *eademque*

paulo post: Eheu videte. For this fragment (= Enn. *Alex.* 69-71 Vahlen) see 1, 66, n. (*sed quid, etc.*). The change of metre between this line and the next is noteworthy and has troubled scholars. Probably in the original there were lines which are here omitted.

4. *iudicium*: the judgment of Paris.

4. *tris*: for the form cf. Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre d. lat. Spr.* 2, 3 ed. (1892), 284-285.

4. *aliquis*: the indefiniteness is part of the prophetic language of Cassandra.

5. *Furiarum una*: cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 748, where Helen is called *νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινός*; Virg. *Aen.* 2, 573 (of Helen): *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys*. In the Cypria Helen was the daughter of Nemesis; cf. Rosbach in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Nemesis* (1902), 128.

6. *eodem enim modo*: cf. the *eademque modo* in the same transition in 2, 113.

7. *verbis*: perhaps here extended a little in its meaning to signify 'prose,' in order to make an alliterative contrast with *versibus*. Moser, however, compares Ammon. *de Diff. Vocab.* p. 88 Valcken.: *λόγος ποιήσεως διαφέρει. λόγος μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ δίχα μέτρου σύνταξις*. Thoresen suggests that *solutis* (modifying *verbis*) may have slipped out after *solum*.

8. *versibus, etc.*: Enn. *Ann.* 214 Vahlen. From *Brut.* 76 it appears that this verse was preceded by the words *scripsere alii rem*; cf. *Orat.* 157; Norden (*Ennius u. Vergilius* (1915), 150) considers it part of the exordium of Book VII, and unites still other fragments with

115. Similiter Marcius et Publicius vates cecinisse dicuntur; quo de genere Apollinis operta prolata sunt. Credo etiam anhelitus quosdam fuisse terrarum quibus inflatae mentes oracla funderent.

LI. Atque haec quidem vatium ratio est, nec dissimilis sane somniorum. Nam quae vigilantibus accidunt vatibus eadem nobis dormientibus. Viget enim animus in somnis liber ab sensibus omnique inpeditione curarum iacente et mortuo paene corpore. Qui quia vixit ab omni aeternitate versatusque est cum innumerabilibus animis, omnia quae in natura rerum sunt videt, si modo temperatis escis modicisque potionibus ita est adfectus ut sopito corpore ipse vigilet. Haec somniantis est divinatio. 116. Hic magna quaedam exoritur neque ea naturalis sed artificiosa somniorum

6. liber ab sensibus omnique *Christ*, liberque (libetque *B*) sensibus ab omni *C*, liberque est sensibus *Moser*, *O*.

it. Cicero also quotes this verse in *Brut.* 71, and *Orat.* 171; for quotations by other authors see Vahlen ad loc.

On the association of Faunus with Saturnian verse see Wissowa in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon*, s.v. *Faunus* (1886), 1456, to which add Auct. *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 4, 5; Mar. Vict. in *G. L. K.* 6, 138, 32 f. [305]8. **versibus**: on the prosody cf. 1, 40, n. (*artubus*).

[305]8. **Fauni**: cf. 1, 101, n. (*Fauni*).

1. **Marcius**: cf. 1, 89, n. (*Marcios quosdam fratres*).

1. **Publicius**: cf. 2, 113.

If. **quo de genere**: this hardly means that all these prophecies were in Saturnian verse, but simply that they were in verse of some sort. It is not necessary, with J. F. Meyer followed by Clark (*The Descent of Manuscripts* (1918), 361) to transfer the clause *quo de genere . . . prolata sunt* to a position after the next sentence, following *oracla funderent*; cf. the appendix to Thoresen's edition, 223.

2. **Apollinis operta**: doubtless unofficial distributions of such. That we have a reference to the collection of oracles made by Chrysippus (1, 6; 2, 115), as some have thought, is, as Thoresen (*l.c.*) points out, unlikely, because of the latter part of 2, 113 *infra*.

2f. **anhelitus . . . terrarum**: cf. 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*); 2, 117. Such oracles as that at Delphi are clearly here in mind.

4. **vatium**: on the form cf. Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre d. lat. Spr.* 1, 3 ed. (1902), 401, comparing *Leg.* 2, 20; 2, 30. Contrast *vatum* in 1, 4 *supra*.

5. **quae vigilantibus**: cf. 1, 34.

6. **viget, etc.**: cf. 1, 63; 1, 70.

6. **liber ab sensibus**: cf. 2, 27. The word *sensibus* here = 'sensations.'

6. **inpeditione**: a rare word found also in Vitruvius and Arnobius.

7. **iacente et mortuo paene corpore**: cf. 1, 63, and notes; Gronau, *Poseidonios u. die jüdisch-christl. Genesisexegese* (1914), 187, n. 1.

7. **vixit, etc.**: cf. 1, 131; and for the belief of Posidonius in the preëxistence of the soul see Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 250, and n. 3; Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 62. Corsen (*De Posidonio Rhodio* (1878), 30) and Giambelli (in *Rivista di Filol. class.* 17 (1889), 131 ff.) find here an indication of the Pythagorizing or Platonizing tendencies of Posidonius as opposed to the orthodox Stoic views of the life of the soul as limited by the periodic *ἐκρίσις*, but Zeller-Wellmann (*Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 603, n. 1 (cf. 597, n. 3)) suggest that Cicero may have modified the teaching of Posidonius by the addition of the phrases *ab omni aeternitate* here and *semper* in 1, 131.

9. **temperatis escis, etc.**: cf. 1, 61, and notes. For the coupling of *escis* and *potionibus* cf. *N. D.* 2, 59; *Fin.* 2, 90.

[Antiphontis] interpretatio eodemque modo et oraculorum et vaticinationum [sunt enim explanatores, ut grammatici poetarum]. Nam ut aurum et argentum, aes, ferrum frustra natura divina genuisset nisi eadem docuisset quem ad modum ad eorum venas perveniretur, nec fruges terrae bacasve arborum cum utilitate ulla generi humano dedisset, nisi earum cultus et conditiones tradidisset, materiave quicquam iuaret, nisi confectionis eius fabricam haberemus, sic cum omni utilitate quam di hominibus dederunt ars aliqua coniuncta est per quam illa utilitas percipi possit. Item igitur somniis, vaticinationibus, oraclis, quod erant multa obscura, multa ambigua, explanationes adhibitae sunt interpretum.

117. Quo modo autem aut vates aut somniantes ea videant quae nusquam etiam tunc sint magna quaestio est. Sed explorata si sint ea quae ante quaeri debeant sint haec quae quaerimus faciliora. Continet enim totam hanc quaestionem ea ratio quae est de natura deorum, quae a

1. antiphontis C. Antiphontis vulg., secluserunt Baiter, Müller, Thoresen.

2. sunt . . . poetarum secluserunt Kayser, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, ut . . . poetarum seclusit Christ, quod cum Ernesto enim seclusit, sunt enim harum rerum explanatores Lumbinus.

6. quicquam Madvig (quidquam), Müller, Thoresen, quid C, Christ, Baiter.

6-7. confectionis H, confectiones AV, connectionis BV, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, connectionibus Doolas.

1. **Antiphontis**; clearly a gloss; the double genitive construction is very awkward and, as Baiter (in his critical note) remarks, we have here a question not of individual interpreters but of interpretation in general.

2. **sunt enim**, etc.: an awkward gloss, perhaps by the person who added *Antiphontis*, made up from 1, 34 supra.

3. **aurum et argentum**, etc.: descending in order of value; cf. the four world ages. In the title of the *III VIRI A.A.A.F.F.* the order seems to vary; cf. *Leg.* 3, 6; *ad Fam.* 7, 13, 2. Cf. also *N. D.* 2, 151: *nos aeris argenti auri venas penitus abditas invenimus*; also 2, 98 of the same work: *auri argenteque venas*.

4f. **fruges . . . bacas**: cf. *de Sen.* 5: *arborum bacis terraeque fructibus*; *Leg.* 2, 19; *Tusc.* 5, 37.

5. **bacas**: for the most part applied to drupaceous fruits.

6. **cultus et conditiones**: an alliterative pair. As in *N. D.* 2, 146 *conditiones* is a derivative of *condia*.

6f. **confectionis**: Plasberg on *N. D.* 2, 151 (*arborum autem omnique materia*) defends both there and here *conf-* as opposed to *cons-*. *Consectio* is cited by the

Thes. Ling. Lat. from only one other place in Latin literature (*Caes. Fel.* 18). *Consectio* is also a more general term in its inclusiveness, and therefore more appropriate here.

7. **fabricam**: on the uses of this word cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 19.

8. **ars aliqua**: among the advantages bestowed upon man by Providence (as set forth in *N. D.* 2, 132) are included *artes denique innumerabiles ad victum et ad vitam necessariae*; cf. *Tert. de An.* 46: *sed et Stoici deum malunt providentissimum humanae institutioni inter cetera praesidia divinatricem artium et disciplinarum somnia quoque nobis indidisse, peculiare solacium naturalis oraculi*.

11. **aut . . . aut**: cf. 1, 113, n. (*aut valibus aut dormientibus*).

11f. **quae nusquam . . . sint**: cf. 1, 128.

12. **magna quaestio est**: cf. 1, 38, n. (*magna enim quaestio est*).

13f. **continet . . . quaestionem**: cf. 2, 3; *Ac.* 2, 40: *quae quasi contineant omnem hanc quaestionem*.

14. **ratio**: 'doctrine.'

14. **natura deorum**: cf. 1, 7, n. (*de natura deorum*).

te secundo libro est explicata dilucide. Quam si obtinemus stabit illud quod hunc locum continet, de quo agimus, esse deos, et eorum providentia mundum administrari, eosdemque consulere rebus humanis, nec solum universis verum etiam singulis. Haec si tenemus, quae mihi quidem non videntur posse convelli, profecto hominibus a dis futura significari necesse est. **LII. 118.** Sed distinguendum videtur quonam modo. Nam non placet Stoicis singulis iecorum fissis aut avium cantibus interesse deum; neque enim decorum est nec dis dignum nec fieri ullo pacto potest; sed ita a principio inchoatum esse mundum ut certis rebus certa signa praecurrerent, alia in extis, alia in avibus, alia in fulgoribus, alia in ostentis, alia in stellis, alia in somniantium visis, alia in furantium vocibus. Ea quibus bene percepta sunt ii non saepe falluntur; male coniecta maleque interpretata falsa sunt non rerum vitio sed interpretum inscientia. Hoc autem posito atque concesso, esse quandam vim divinam hominum vitam continentem non difficile est, quae fieri certe videmus, ea qua ratione fiant, suspicari.

12. ii vulg., hi BV, hii H, om. A.

1. secundo libro: cf. 1, 9 supra.

1. quam si obtinemus stabit illud: for the logical connection made by the Stoics between belief in the gods and belief in divination see 1, 10, n. (*ut et si divinatio sit*); 1, 82-83; and for the expression cf. *Ac.* 2, 18: *quam nisi obtinemus*.

2. locum: cf. 1, 7. n. (*loco*).

3. mundum administrari . . . consulere rebus humanis: frequently repeated phrases in the Stoic terminology of book two of the *De Natura Deorum*.

3f. nec solum universis: cf. *N. D.* 2, 164: *nec vero universo generi hominum solum sed etiam singulis a dis immortalibus consulti et provideri solet*; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 18, 3; also *Sen. Ep.* 95, 50 (without *Madvig's* emendation).

4. haec si tenemus: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 28; 5, 46; *Leg.* 3, 30.

5. convelli: cf. *Ac.* 1, 41.

5. a dis: cf. 1, 125: *a deo*; *Ac.* 2, 47: *nam cum dicatis, inquit, visa quaedam mihi a deo, velut ea quae in somnis videantur quaeque oraculis auspiciis extis declarentur—haec enim aiunt probari Stoicis*, etc. (and *Reid's* note). This view, especially in the case of dreams, was long and widely held; cf. *Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 280-284.

6f. non placet Stoicis, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (*Iuppiterne*). *Heeringa* (ad loc.) well quotes *N. D.* 2, 167; 3, 6; 3, 90; 3, 93 for the gods' neglect of small matters. Cf. *Hier. in Abacuc*, 1, p. 604 Vall.

7. iecorum: Cicero follows this form of declension for the word rather than *iecin-* or *iocin-*; cf. *Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre d. lat. Spr.* 1, 3 ed. (1902), 837-838.

7. fissis: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*). *Thulin (Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 2 (1906), 41) considers that the expression *singulis . . . fissis* is evidence for the existence of several such *fissa* in one liver.

8. decorum: *επίτιμον*; cf. *Off.* 1, 93. See also 1, 82 supra. The unworthiness of this conception lies partly in ascribing to the gods an interest too trivial, and partly in restricting the divine power to so narrow a compass. *Moser* here compares *Plotin.* 22, 20 for the omnipresence of the divine.

8. nec fieri ullo pacto potest: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 38; 3, 73; 5, 80; *Rep.* 2, 69; *Leg.* 1, 20; 3, 41; al.

9. signa praecurrerent: cf. 1, 12; n. (*eventa*); *Reid* on *Ac.* 1, 45.

12. interpretata: cf. 1, 53, n. (*esse interpretatum*).

13. interpretum inscientia: cf. 1, 24, and notes.

Nam et ad hostiam deligendam potest dux esse vis quaedam sentiens, quae est toto confusa mundo, et tum ipsum cum immolare velis extorum fieri mutatio potest, ut aut absit aliquid aut supersit; parvis enim momentis multa natura aut adfingit aut mutat aut detrahit. 119. Quod ne dubitare possimus maximo est argumento quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit. Qui cum immolaret illo die quo primum in sella aurea sedit et

[308]14. *quandam vim divinam*: cf. 2, 124; also 2, 35.

1. *ad hostiam deligendam, etc.*: cf. 2, 35. Further see 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); Iambl. *de Myster.* 3, 16: τοὺς δὲ θρωπῆας κινεῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ τῆς ἰδέας ψυχῆς ὀρμή, κινεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ζῴων ἔφορος δαίμων . . . πάντα συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς βουλήμασι τῶν θεῶν ἀγα ἀνάτ' ὁμολογοῦμένως οἷς οἱ θεοὶ καταρχὰς ἐπιτάττουσι. See also the marvel described by Apollon. *Hist. mirab.* 13. The numerous cases related of animals escaping from sacrifice perhaps represent, conversely, the unwillingness of the divine power at certain times to furnish good omens.

1. *potest*: as Heeringa (ad loc.) has noticed, in 2, 35 there is no word corresponding to *potest* here and a couple of lines below, and he compares the similar treatment of the *potest* in 1, 38 which is omitted in 2, 117; also the *putantur* of 1, 9 omitted in 2, 13. These omissions of the qualifying words used by Posidonius he believes are due, not to Cicero, but to his source (probably Clitomachus). Yet cf. 1, 9, n. (*de divinatione*).

1. *vis quaedam sentiens*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 39: *ait enim* (sc. *Chrysippus*) *vim divinam in ratione esse positam et in universae naturae animo atque mente, ipsamque mundum deum dicit esse et eius animi fusionem universam*; 2, 85: *aut igitur nihil est quod sentiente natura regatur aut mundum regi confitendum est*; also 2, 22; 2, 75; Reid on *Ac.* 1, 28; Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 92. Davies compares Virg. *Aen.* 6, 724-727: *caelum ac terras camposque liquentis / . . . / spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus / mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet*; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 8.

2. *tum ipsum*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 63; *Off.* 2, 60; the phrase is analogous to *nunc ipsum* (see Madvig on *Fin.* 2, 63); Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 629.

2f. *extorum . . . mutatio*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); also Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 32, 4: *ista nihilominus divina ope geruntur si non a deo . . . pecudum viscera sub ipsa securi formantur*; Arnob. 4, 12.

3. *parvis . . . momentis*: cf. *Phil.* 5, 26: *minimis momentis . . . maximae inclinationes . . . sunt*; Manil. 1, 57: *quantaeque quam parvi facerent discrimina motus*.

4. *adfingit aut mutat aut detrahit*: Schmekel (*Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 246, n. 2) well points out that these are forms of change defined by Posidonius ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 17 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 462, 13 ff.): Ποσειδώνιος δὲ φθορὰς καὶ γενέσεις τέτταρας εἶναι φησὶν . . . τὴν μὲν εἶναι κατὰ διαρροῖαν, τὴν δὲ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ σύγχυσιν, τὴν δ' ἐξ ἄλλων, λεγομένην δὲ κατ' ἀνάμειξιν.

5. *maximo est argumento*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 1; *Fin.* 2, 29; *de Sen.* 78.

5. *paulo ante interitum Caesaris*: an important indication in regard to the date of this part of the work, discussed in the introduction, 5.

6. *illo die*: cf. 2, 36. For the various omens at different times before the death of Caesar cf. *Obseq.* 67; *Ov. Met.* 15, 782-798; *Dio Cass.* 43, 17; *Suet. Jul.* 81; *App. B. C.* 2, 115-116; *Vell.* 2, 57, 1-3; *Plut. Caes.* 63; *Nicol. Damasc.* 99, xxiii-xxiv (in *F. H. G.* 3, 444-445); al. *Suet. (l.c.)* says: *pluribus hostiis caesis, cum litare non posset*; cf. *Flor.* 2, 13, 94: *nec perlitare centum victimis potuerat*. The present occurrence is to be dated in 45 n.c.

cum purpurea veste processit in extis bovis opimi cor non fuit. Num igitur

[309]6. *sella aurea*: among the honors voted Caesar Suet. *Iul.* 76 mentions *et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali*; cf. *Phil.* 2, 85: *sedebat in rostris conlega tuus, amictus togae purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus*. For other references see Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, 3, 2 ed. (1906), 596, n. 4. The *sella curulis* and the *praetexta* were part of the regular insignia of the dictator. The former is shown on coins (Babelon, *Monnaies de la Rép. rom.* 2 (1886), 44-45), and later became a symbol of the Roman emperors; cf. Cagnat in Daremb. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Imperator* (1900), 426. Here, like the *purpurea veste*, it is probably inserted by Cicero with some satisfaction to enhance the contrast of Caesar's fortune with his foreshadowed fate.

1. *cum*: cf. 1, 59, n. (*cum fascibus*); Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 6 (who compares Greek uses of *σύν*); *Theo. Ling. Lat.* 4, 1352.

1. *purpurea veste*: the purple robe of the Roman kings, for which see Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* 3, 596, n. 5.

1. *in extis, etc.*: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 11, 186-187: *in corde summo pinguisudo quaedam est laetis extis. non semper autem in parte extorum habitum est. L. Postumio L. f. Albino rege sacrorum post CXXVI Olympiadem, cum rex Pyrrhus ex Italia decessisset, cor in extis haruspices inspicere coeperunt. Caesari dictatori quo die primum veste purpurea processit atque in sella aurea sedit sacrificanti bovis in extis defuit. unde quaestio magna de divinatione argumentantibus potueritne sine illo viscere hostia vivere an ad tempus amiserit*; Obseq. 67: *Caesari dictatori exta sine corde inventa*; Val. Max. 1, 6, 13: *te enim accepimus eo die quo purpurea veste velatus aurea in sella consedisti . . . mactato . . . opimo bove cor in extis non repperisse, ac responsum tibi ab Spurinna aruspice pertinere id signum ad vitam et consilium*

tuum, quod utrumque haec corde contineretur; Suet. *Iul.* 77: *eoque arrogantiae progressus est ut, haruspice tristitia et sine corde exta nuntiante, futura diceret lactiora cum vellet; nec pro ostentio ducendum si pecudi cor defuisset*; App. *B. C.* 2, 116: *καὶ πάλιν τῶν Ιερῶν ἦν τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνευ καρδίας, ἢ, ὡς ἑτεροὶ λέγουσιν, ἢ κεφαλῇ τοῖς σπλάγχθοις ἔλειπε. καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εὐπόντος θανάτου τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, γελάσας ἔφη τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίας γενέσθαι πολεμοῦντι Πομπηίῳ, κτλ. (cf. Poly-aen. 8, 23, 32); Plut. *Curs.* 63: *αὐτῷ δὲ Καίσαρι θιονόντι τὴν καρδίαν ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι τοῦ Ιερῆλου καὶ δευτὸν εἶναι τὸ τέρας: οὐ γὰρ ἂν φύσει γε συστῆται ζῶον ἀκαρδίον*.*

On this omen in general see also Paul. ex Fest. p. 244M.: *pestifera auspicia esse dicebant cum cor in extis aut caput in iocinore non fuisset*. Apparent lack of a heart is occasionally mentioned as an abnormality in the exta; cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 418, and n. 7; to which add Iambl. *de Myster.* 3, 16: *σημείον δὲ τὸ πολλὰκις εὐρίσκεισθαι αὐτὰ ἀκαρδία ἢ ἄλλως ἔμοιρα τῶν κυριωτάτων μερῶν, ἀπεστερημένα οὐχ οὐδὰ τε ἦν ὄλωσι τοῖς ζῴοις παρέχον τὸ ζῆν*; Plin. *N. H.* 28, 11: *sic repente extis adimi capita vel corda aut geminari victima stante*; Jul. Capit. *Pert.* 11, 2-3.

Caesar was little subject to the influence of omens as is shown by the passages already cited; cf. also Suet. *Iul.* 59: *ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam vel retardatus est*; and the jest in Poly-aen. 8, 23, 33: *Καίσαρ ἀκαρδίῳ θύματος εὐρεθέντος "καὶ τί παράδοξον," ἔφη, "εἰ ἀλογον ζῶον καρδίαν οὐκ ἔχει;"* (with which compare the jest in 2, 37 infra). The words that follow in Poly-aenus (οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντες θάρρησαν) show that the incident is connected with his Spanish campaign rather than with the time just before his death; see above.

1. *bovis opimi*: cf. 2, 29; 2, 36-37.

censes ullum animal quod sanguinem habeat sine corde esse posse? †Qua ille rei novitate percussus, cum Spurinna diceret timendum esse ne et consilium et vita deficeret; earum enim rerum utramque a corde proficisci. Postero die caput in iecore non fuit. Quae quidem illi portendebantur a dis immortalibus ut videret interitum, non ut caveret. Cum igitur eae partes in extis non reperiuntur sine quibus victima illa vivere nequisset intelligendum est in ipso immolationis tempore eas partes quae absint interisse.

1-2. qua ille rei novitate percussus C, qua illo rei novitate percussus *Derius*, qua rei novitate percussus *Höttinger*, qua illa re nova non ita est percussus *Moser*, qua ille rei novitate non percussus *Foerisch*, qua ille rei novitate non est percussus *Kleis*; *lacunae signum post proficisci add. Christ, Baillet.*

[310]l. non fuit: an emphatically abrupt sentence ending, as a few lines below (*non fuit*).

1. sine corde esse posse: cf. 2, 36-37; Arist. *de Parl. Anim.* 3, 4, p. 665 b 9-10: καρδια μὲν οὖν ἅπασιν ὑπάρχει τοῖς θηαίοις; p. 666 a 22-24: μαρτύριον δὲ τῶν εἰρημίων καὶ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς θηαίοις ὑπάρχει αὐτῶν: ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ αἵματος; *de Somn. et Vig.* 2, p. 456 a 4-5: πάντα γὰρ τὰ θηαία καρδίας ἔχει. For a theory of Asclepiades that some animals might continue to live with the heart removed see Tert. *de Au.* 15.

If. qua ille, etc.: from the general attitude of Caesar in regard to omens (see above) it would seem that a negative is needed in this sentence, in which case the cum will be concessive. For the phrase *rei novitate* cf. 2, 60.

2. Spurinna: this haruspex (Etruscan, as his name shows) foretold to Caesar the events of the Ides of March (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 81; Val. Max. 8, 11, 2), and is humorously said by Cicero (*ad Fam.* 9, 24, 2) to have been consulted by himself in 43 B.C. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 110; also 1, 72, n. (*Postumius haruspex*) supra.

3. consilium et vita: cf. *Off.* 1, 58; *Fin.* 4, 52.

4. caput: for its anatomy see 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*), and works there cited; also Moore in *Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, 2 (1906), 761-769. For the significance of its absence see 2, 32 infra; also the cases collected by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 69, n. 8; Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 3-22;

Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 2 (1906), 31-32; Moore, *op. cit.* 764; Jastrow in *Studies in Honor of C. H. Toy* (1912), 160-161. This lobe, according to Thulin, *op. cit.* 2, 32, is often reduced to a mere rudimentary trace.

5. ut videret . . . non ut caveret: cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 18: *seu quae fato manent quavis significata non vitantur*; Heliod. *Aethiop.* 2, 24: καὶ ὄμμα Κρόνιον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐνίσκηψε, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐτάγον μεταβολὴν, ἣν ἐμὸ σοφία μὲν προέφηρε, διαδράναι δὲ οὐκ ἴδουκε. τοῖς γὰρ μοιρῶν ἀτρέπτουσι δροῦσι προῦδειν μὲν δυνατόν, ἐπιφέρειν δὲ οὐκ ἔφικτόν; Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 5 (of Julian, after a warning): *posthabito tamen suosore cautissimo, fidentius ultra tendebat, quoniam multa vis humana vel virtus meruisse utquam potuit ut quod praescripsit fatalis ordo non fiat*; Diogenianus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3, p. 138b: τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἡμῖν ἦν προμαθάνειν τὰ πάντως ἐσόμενα δυσχερῆ, ἀ οὐδὲ προφυλάξασθαι δυνατόν ἂν εἴη; κτλ.; also 1, 82, n. (*erimus . . . cautiores*) supra. The inconsistency of a belief in fate with belief in divination is treated at length in 2, 12-26; cf. *N. D.* 3, 14. The inexpediency of knowledge of the future was also a frequent subject of discussion, e.g., by Dicaearchus (2, 105 infra) and Favorinus (Gell. 14, 1, especially 35-36); see the context of the passage from Diogenianus cited above. The present sentence is quite inconsistent with 1, 82 (*erimus enim cautiores si scimus*), but it is to be noted that that passage is taken from a Stoic source, while ours was obviously added, after the death of Caesar, by Cicero himself, who thereby

LIII. 120. Eademque efficit in avibus divina mens ut tum huc tum illuc volent alites, tum in hac tum in illa parte se occultent, tum a dextra tum a sinistra parte canant oscines. Nam si animal omne ut vult ita utitur motu

intrudes into the Stoic argument a bit of his own opposition to divination.

[311]7. in ipso immolationis tempore: in 2, 37 Marcus Cicero considers this false to all the principles of *physiologia*.

1. eademque: cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1, 1, 3: δοσι μαρτικῆν νομίζοντες οἰωνοῖς τε χρωῶνται καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις . . . ὀνομαζέμενοι οὐ τοὺς θρῆνας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαρτῶντας εἶδεναι τὰ συμφέρονα τοῖς μαρτυρομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοῖς διὰ τούτων ἀτὰ σημαίνειν; Epictet. 1, 17: οὐδὲ τὸν κῆρακα θαυμάζομεν ἢ τὴν κοράσην, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν σημαίνοντα διὰ τούτων; Orig. *c. Cels.* 4, 88 (=S. V. F. 2, no. 1212): ἐπειδήπερ οὐ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰμάτων ἢ θεῶν μαρτικῶν φασὶ γίνεσθαι τὰς κινήσεις τοῖς ζῴοις, θρῆσι μὲν εἰς διαφόρους πτήσεις καὶ εἰς διαφόρους φωνάς, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς εἰς τὰς τοιασθεῖς κινήσεις ἢ τοιασθεῖς, ἄλλοι δὲ θεοτερας αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐπιτηδεύουσι εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀπιθανότατον; 4, 90 (=S. V. F. *ibid.*): λακτοκ οὖν οὗν εἴπερ τις θεὰ φύσις ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν μελλόντων προγνωστικῆ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτου πλουσία, ὡς ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θηλοῦν τὰ ἐσόμενα, θηλοντεὶ πολὺ πρότερον τὰ περιελατῶν ἔγινωσκον; Macrobi. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 19, 27: aves seu praetervolando seu stando futura pennis vel voce significant nescientes; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 9: auguria et auspicia non volucrum arbitrio futura nescientium contingunt (nec enim hoc vel insipiens quisquam dicet) sed volatus avium dirigit deus, ut rostrum sonans aut praetervolans pinna, turbido meatu vel leni, futura praemonstret; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 10, p. 74 Stählin: οἱ γὰρ δειλαῖοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄθλιοι διὰ μὲν κῆρακος καὶ κολοιοῦ νομίζουσι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβοῶν; Joan. Saresb. *Policr.* 2, 19. Cf. 1, 12, n. (*Iuppiterne*); N. D. 3, 92; Spanheim on Callim. *Hymn. in Pall.* 123, p. 705. In N. D. 2, 160 the augurs are said to consider the expression of the divine will the reason for the existence of certain birds.

2. alites: cf. Fest. p. 197 M.: oscines aves A. p. Claudius esse ait quae ore canentes faciunt auspiciam, ut corvus, cornix, noctua; alites quae alis ac volatu, ut buleo, sanqualis, inmusulus, vulturius, † picam aut † Marlium Feroniusque et parra et in oscinibus et in alitibus habentur; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 394; Paul. ex Fest. pp. 3; 196 M.; also N. D. 2, 160; ad *Fam.* 6, 6, 7; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 462; Mart. Cap. 1, 10; Hier. in *Hierem.* 5, 52, 3; Isid. *Etyim.* 8, 9, 20: duo sunt autem genera auspicioium: unum ad oculos, alterum ad aures pertinens. ad oculos scilicet volatus, ad aures vox avium; 12, 7, 75-77, with varieties of alites, praepetes, and inebrae, for which see also Fest. p. 205 M.; Paul. ex Fest. pp. 109; 244 M.; Serv. *Aen.* 3, 246; 3, 361; Gell. 7, 6. For the list of alites in Plin. *N. H.* 10, 6-28 (taken from some augural source) cf. Detlefsen in *Hermes.* 36 (1901), 5-15. On alites in general see further Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 413 ff.; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 136; and n. 3; 4 (1882), 199-201; Regell, *Frag. Auguralia* (1882), 13; id., *Comm. in Lib. augural.* *Frag.* (1893), 13-15; Habel in *P.-W.* s.v. Alities (1894), 1497-1498; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. Augures (1896), 2330-2333; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3 (1909), 106-110; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 530, and n. 3; also 1, 12, n. (cornicem . . . corvum) supra.

3. oscines: on the derivation of the word see Varr. *L. L.* 6, 76: hinc (sc. ab ore) oscines dicuntur apud augures, quae ore faciunt auspiciam; Fest. p. 197 M.: oscinum tripudium est quod oris cantu significat quid portendi; cum cecinit corvus, cornix, noctua, parra, picus (cf. the passage quoted in the note on alites above); Paul. ex Fest. p. 196 M.: oscinum augurium a cantu avium. Corsen (*Ueber Aussprache, Vokalismus, und Betonung d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1868), 121) followed

sui corporis, prono, obliquo, supino, membraque quocumque vult flectit, contorquet, porrigit, contrahit, eaque ante efficit paene quam cogitat, quanto id deo est facilius, cuius numini parent omnia! 121. Idemque mittit et signa nobis eius generis qualia permulta historia tradidit, quale scriptum illud videmus: si luna paulo ante solis ortum defecisset in signo Leonis, fore ut armis Dareus et Persae ab Alexandro et Macedonibus [proelio] vincerentur Dareusque moreretur, et si puella nata biceps esset

6. armis *del. Orelli, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Arbelin Foertsch.*

7. proelio *del. Davies, Christ.*

by Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 549) regards *oscen* as a compound of *ob* (**obs*) and the stem appearing in *cano*. In support of this view may be taken the passages where the corresponding verb *occino* is used of the prophetic utterances of birds, e.g., Liv. 6, 41, 8; 10, 40, 14; Val. Max. 1, 4, 2; against it the etymological difficulties raised by Vjürtheim] in *Mnemos.* 37 (1909), 431-432, who suggests a connection with *oscilo*. On these birds cf. Plin. *N. H.* 10, 29 ff.; Dellefesen, *l.c.*; also 1, 12, n. (*cornicem . . . corvum*).

1. **prono, obliquo, supino:** probably 'forward, sideways, backward.' For *supinus* in the sense of 'backward' cf. *Ov. de Med. Fac.* 40; *ex Pont.* 4, 5, 43; *Mart.* 2, 86, 1.

3. **cuius numini, etc.:** cf. 2, 35. Divine omnipotence is therefore connected with divine prescience and revelation; cf. the patristic passages cited by Lasaulx, *Die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele* (1858), 40, n. 113.

4. **et:** cf. 1, 40, n. (*et*).

4. **nobis:** for the position of this word see the parallels cited by Plasberg on *Tim.* 38.

5. **si luna, etc.:** this passage has often been held to refer to an eclipse on 20 September, 331 B.C., which preceded the defeat of Darius III by Alexander at Gaugamela on 31 October of the same year. Ancient references to this eclipse are collected by Boll in *P.-W.* s.v. *Finsternisse* (1909), 2357. But, as Boll there notes and shows at greater length in *Philologus*, 69 (1910), 167-170, the facts mentioned by Cicero (*paulo ante solis*

ortum and *luna . . . in signo Leonis*) do not agree with facts for any eclipse during the short reign of Darius (336-330). If the eclipse occurred during his lifetime it may have been that of 3 February, 375, or, more likely, that of 13 February, 338, which was visible not only at Babylon but also in Athens, Memphis, and Rome. The words *paulo ante solis ortum* even then remain inexact. But Boll (*op. cit.* 169) suggests that they are due to an attempted symbolical interpretation: the moon (as in *Hdt.* 7, 37; *Curt.* 4, 10, 6-7) was the *προδέκτωρ* or *ἐμμηρίς* of the Persians and along with it they lost their brightness (which must have appeared especially ominous in the sign of Leo, the βασιλικὸν ζῳδίον), while the sun of the new world-ruler rose not long after. He further notes (p. 170) that if Cicero's eclipse is that of 338 it must refer, not to a single battle, but to the military failures of the reign of Darius; hence in omitting one of the words *armis* and *proelio* we should retain the former with Davies and Christ rather than the latter with Orelli, Baiter, Müller, and Thoresen.

With the form of the prediction Boll (*op. cit.* 168) compares an example from Nechepso-Petosiris: ἐάν ἡ Σελήνη ἐν Λέωντι ἐκλείπει ὥρα πρώτη ἢ δευτέρα ἢ τρίτη δλη, μετ' ἐκείνου ἀνὴρ μέγας δχλοῦς πολλοὺς ἔχω Κύπρω ἐπιστρατεύει, κτλ. See also (for solar eclipses) Lydus, *de Ostent.* pp. 19-20 Wachsmuth: ὡς ὅταν ἐκλείψει <ἐν> Λέωντι γίνηται τοῖς μὲν βασιλεῦσι κάκωσι σημαίνει τινά.

7. **puella biceps:** cf. 1, 93, n. (*hominum pecudumque conceptu et salu*); Paul. *ex Fest.* p. 156 M.: *monstra dicuntur naturae*

seditionem in populo fore, corruptelam et adulterium domi, et si mulier leonem peperisse visa esset, fore ut ab exteris gentibus vinceretur ea res publica in qua id contigisset. Eiusdem generis etiam illud est, quod scribit Herodotus, Croesi filium, cum esset infans, locutum; quo ostento regnum

modum egredientia, ut . . . homo duobus capilibus. Instances of this form of mis-birth will be found in Liv. 41, 21, 12; Obseq. 51; Tac. Ann. 15, 47; Phleg. Trall. fr. 54 Müller (cf. fr. 49 for a four-headed child in the reign of Nero); Jul. Capit. Anton. P. 9, 3; Amm. Marc. 19, 12, 19-20. See also Jastrow, *Die Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, 2, 2 (1912), 902, for a number of cases in which the birth of a two-headed child foreshadowed an attack upon the land.

I. seditionem: cf. 2, 120. As Thorensen in the appendix to his edition (p. 223) points out, the word *biceps* typifies the condition of the state; cf. Flor. 2, 5, 3: *iudiciaria lege Crocchi dividerant populum R. et bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem*; Varr. ap. Non. p. 454 M.: *equestri ordini iudicia tradidit ac bicipitem civitatem fecit, discordiarum civilium fontem.*

I. corruptelam et adulterium: coupled also in *Tusc.* 4, 75.

If. mulier leonem peperisse: cf. 1, 39, n. (*praegnans . . . somniavit*). The mother of Pericles had this dream (Hdt. 6, 131; Plut. *Pericl.* 3); cf. the story in Hdt. 1, 84.

3f. scribit Herodotus: cf. Hdt. 1, 34: *ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διεφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός; 1, 85: ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμήθησθαι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπικεικῆς ἀφωκός δέ. . . .* (The Pythia declared to Croesus concerning him) *λυθὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα ἤχηε Κροῖσος, / μὴ βούλου πολυλευκτον ἴην ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούων / παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δὲ σοι πολὺ λῶιον ἀμφίς / ἔμμεναι· αὐθῆσαι γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀπόλβω. ἀλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τεύχεος, ἦε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσος ὡς ἀποκτείνω, Κροῖσος μὲν νῦν ἄρκων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παροῦσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκει, αὐθὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἀφωκός ὡς εἶδε ἐπιώτα τὸν Πέρσην, ὅπῃ θύουσι τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνῆν,*

εἶπε δὲ "ἄνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσος." οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο θῆθη ἐφῶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆσης. It will be noticed that Herodotus does not mention the age or name of the child. See also Plin. *N. H.* 11, 270: *sed semenstris locutus est Croesi filius et in crepundis prodigium quo totum id concidit regnum*; Val. Max. 5, 4, ext. 6: *illa nimirum quae etiam Croesi filium loquendi usu defectum ad protegendam patris incolumitatem ministerio vocis instruxit; captis enim a Cyro Sardibus, cum unus e numero Persiarum ignarus viri in caedem eius concitato impetu ferretur, velut oblitus quid sibi fortuna nascentis denegasset, ne Croesum regem occideret proclamando paene iam inpressum iugulo mucronem revocavit. ita qui ad id tempus mutus sibi vixerat salutis parentis vocalis factus est; Gell. 5, 9: filius Croesi regis, cum iam fari per aetatem posset, infans erat et cum iam multum adolvisset item nihil fari quibat. mutus adeo et elinguis diu habitus est. cum in patrem eius bello magno victum et urbe in qua erat capta hostis gladio deducto regem esse ignorans invaderet, deduxit adulescens os clamare nitens eoque nisu atque impetu spiritus vitium nodumque linguae rupit planeque et articulate elocutus est clamans in hostem ne rex Croesus occideretur. tum et hostis gladium reduxit et rex viro donatus est et adulescens loqui prorsum deinceps incepit, etc. (in what follows he tells a similar story of an athlete at Samos); Nicol. Damasc. fr. 68 Müller mentions the later speech of this son in which he says: *εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν ἐκτροπέμενος ὑπ' αἰδοῦσι διὰ τῆς τότε μοι προσούσαν ἀφωκίαν τε καὶ λῶβην· ἐπεὶ δ' ἠρξάμεθα δυστυχεῖν τότε φωνῆν ἀφήκα, καὶ μ' εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἠθροῦσαν οἱ θεοὶ θυγας ἂν δδύρωμαι τὰς ἡμέτερας τύχας, κτλ.* The account in Solin. 1, 112 confuses this son with his brother Atys; cf. Hdt. 1, 34. The muteness of this child became proverbial;*

patris et domum funditus concidisse. Caput arsisse Servio Tullio dor-

cf. Greg. Cypr. 3, 79 (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 374): τοῦ Κροίσου παιδὸς σιγγλότατος; Apostol. 17, 99 (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 686); also Luc. *Vit. Auc.* 3; *Somn.* 25; *pro Imagin.* 20.

The proper form of the story is disputed. Jastrow (in *Religionsgeschichte. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 14 (1914), 57, n. 4) considers the form in Cicero the older, that is, a story of a speaking infant (see below), and thinks that in Herodotus the tale was rationalized to make the son of Croesus dumb for many years, but suddenly acquiring the power of speech, by which the story, he thinks, loses its point. But as Schultz (*Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol.* 33 (1916), 75) well remarks, to regard Cicero as a primary source in preference to Herodotus is incorrect, and the story of the dumb youth who acquires at a crisis the ability to speak is widely spread. Again, though Schultz does not mention this, the frequency of the proverbial expression above cited makes against the view of Jastrow, and it seems rather Cicero who has reversed the story, unless, as is quite possible, he here uses *infans* in its literal sense of 'not able to speak' (cf. Non. p. 55 M.: *infans a non fando dictus est*), rather than in its derived sense of 'babe.' So Varro ap. Non. p. 56 M.: *voces Amphionem tragoedum . . . infantior est quam meus est mulio*; Cic. *Brut.* 108: *P. Decius . . . non infans ille quidem sed ut vita sic oratione etiam turbulentus*; where, as in other cases, the word has no reference to age but to inability or lack of skill in speaking. This idea was doubtless misunderstood by Pliny, but not by the other writers above cited, and it still allows ample point for the story. In fact Pliny's mention of the age (*semenstris*) looks surprisingly like a confusion with the story told by Val. Max. 1, 6, 5: *puerum semenstrem in foro boario triumphum clamasse*. The omen of the speaking of one naturally mute, like the speech of animals (1, 73, n. (*hinnitum*) supra), is especially striking,

and it is doubtless for this reason that the divine power was thought of as employing it when other methods might pass unnoticed. Cf. Pease in *Class. Philol.* 15 (1920), 201-202.

For cases of speaking infants see the story of Tages (2, 50) and that of the Erythraean Sibyl (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 168, and n. 6); Wulker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern* (1903), 20; Jastrow, *op. cit.* 39, and n. 3; to which add Serv. *Ecl.* 4, 1; 4, 60 (son of Pollio); Aug. *C. D.* 21, 14, and Solin. 1, 72 (Zoroaster); Steph. Byz. s.v. *Tappaçim*; *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1905 ed.), 89-90 (a Saracen legend that Jesus spoke immediately after birth); *N. Y. Nation*, 1912, 305 (Ahmed-el-Bedawi). Important is also what Plutarch (*de Isid. et Osir.* 14) tells of such beliefs in Egypt. The same phenomenon while the child was still in the womb is described by Liv. 24, 10, 10, and Aug. *C. D.* 3, 31. These occurrences were usually a sign of trouble. On the other hand, dreams of talking babes, unlike dreams of other precocious acts, were not unlucky; cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 19. On the whole subject of speaking babes see Arist. *Probl.* 11, 27. Predictions by children were usually considered important, as not liable to intentional bias; cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 69; Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* 14; Matth. 21, 16; Frazer on Paus. 7, 22, 4; Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought* (1896), 293-300.

1. *caput arsisse*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 37: *non latuit scintilla ingeni quae iam tum elucebat in puero*; Liv. 1, 39, 1-2: *puero dormienti cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restringendum ferret ab regina retentum, sedatoque iam tumultu moveri veluisse puerum donec sua sponte expectectus esset. mox cum somno et flammam abisse*. This omen Tanaquil inter-

mienti quae historia non prodidit? Ut igitur qui se tradidit quieti praeparato animo cum bonis cogitationibus tum rebus ad tranquillitatem adcommodatus certa et vera cernit in somnis, sic castus animus purusque vigilantis et ad astrorum et ad avium reliquorumque signorum et ad extorum veritatem est paratior.

LIV. 122. Hoc nimirum est illud quod de Socrate accepimus quodque ab ipso in libris Socraticorum saepe dicitur, esse divinum quiddam, quod

1. tradidit Müller, tradet ita C, tradet desl., O, tradit Christ, Boisar.

preted as a sign that the boy would be *lumen quondam rebus nostris*. See also the accounts in Dion. Hal. 4, 2; Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 10; Ov. *Fast.* 6, 635-636; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 241; 36, 204: *in regia cubanti ei puero caput arsisse creditumque Loris familiaris filium*; Val. Max. 1, 6, 1; Apul. *de Deo Socr.* 7; Flor. 1, 1, 6, 1; Dio Cass. ap. Zonar. 7, 9, 2; Auct. *de Vir. ill.* 7, 1-2; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 683; Schol. Veron. Virg. *Aen.* 2, 682; Jordanes, *Roman.* 1, 101.

Other stories of the same phenomenon appear in connection with L. Marcius (Liv. 25, 39, 16; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 241; Val. Max. 1, 6, 2), the young Masinissa (Sil. Ital. 16, 118 ff.), a soldier of Caesar (Plut. *Caes.* 63), a shepherd (Dio Cass. 48, 33), also the mythological cases in Virgil relative to Ascanius (*Aen.* 2, 680 ff.); Claud. *de quart. Cons. Hon.* 192 ff.), Lavinia (*Aen.* 7, 73 ff.), and Augustus (*Aen.* 8, 680-681). Later cases are the cloven tongues of fire at the day of Pentecost (*Acts*, 2, 3); a ball of fire on the head of St. Martin (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 2, 2); see also Barry in *Journ. of Amer. Folk-Lore*, 27 (1914), 86-87. Professor J. A. Lomax has stated in my hearing that the phenomenon is sometimes seen on the heads of cattle in Texas during electric disturbances. Various other such manifestations have been discussed in 1, 75, n. (*stellaeque*); see also 2, 77. Here should perhaps also be classed the omens from trees and bushes bursting into flames and burning unconsumed, e.g., the burning bush of *Exod.* 3, 2 (cf. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 2 ed. (1894), 193-194), and perhaps the burning olive tree of Athen. 12, p. 524a.

1. ut igitur, etc.: cf. 1, 61.

2. *rebus*: those physical matters, like food, which in 1, 61-62 are explained as hampering the clear action of the mind.

3. *castus animus purusque*: on the rewards of such a condition see *Tusc.* 1, 72; *Consol. fr.* 12 Müller; also *Matth.* 5, 8. With the phrase cf. *N. D.* 1, 3: *pure atque caste*.

4. *reliquorumque signorum*: Hottinger wished to place these words after *extorum*, feeling that where they stand they interrupt the series of *signa*. But Usener (in *Neue Jahrb.* 139 (1889), 392) successfully defends the MS order, observing that the three cases of *ad* introduce the three main kinds of artificial divination: astrology, augury, and haruspicine, and for classing *reliqua signa* with birds he quotes 2, 70: *avium reliquorumque signorum observatione*.

6. *hoc nimirum est illud*: numerous similar introductory phrases from Cicero are collected by Seyffert on *de Amic.* 52.

6. *de Socrate accepimus*: cf. 1, 9; 1, 111; *Off.* 1, 90: *de Socrate . . . accepimus*; 2, 47: *de Demosthene accepimus*.

7. *dicitur*: see note on *numquam impellenti infra*.

7. *divinum quiddam*: the *δαίμωνιον* of Socrates has been discussed by a host of later writers. In addition to the works of Plutarch (*de Genio Socratis*), Maximus of Tyre 8 and 9, and Apuleius (*de Deo Socratis*), see the collection of Willing, *De Socr. Daemonio quae antiquis Temporibus fuerint Opiniones*, in *Comment. philol. Ienenses*, 8, 2 (1909), for ancient views; for the views of Christian writers cf. Geffcken, *Sokrates u. das alte Christentum* (1908), 40 ff.; and for modern theories,

δαίμωνιον appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit numquam impellenti, saepe revocanti. Et Socrates quidem (quo quem auctorem meliorem quaerimus?) Xenophonti consulenti sequereturne Cyrum, posteaquam exposuit quae ipsi videbantur: 'Et nostrum quidem,' inquit, 'humanum est consilium; sed de rebus et obscuris et incertis ad Apollinem censeo referendum,' ad quem etiam Athenienses publice de maioribus rebus semper rettulerunt. 123. Scriptum est item cum Critonis, sui familiaris, oculum alligatum vidisset quaesivisse quid esset; cum autem ille respondisset in agro ambu-

1. δαίμωνιον vulg., demonion ABV, demon H.

3. Cyrum *codd. dell.*, epicurum C, et ipse Cyrum *Camevariis*.

among other works, Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 2, 1, 4 ed. (1889), 73-91; Joel, *Der echte u. d. xenophont. Sokrates*, 1 (1893), 70-89; Ueberweg-Praechter, *Grundr. d. Gesch. d. Philos.* 1, 10 ed. (1909), bibliogr. p. 43; Zuccante, *Socrate* (1909), 365 ff.; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 17 ff.; Kiesow in *Boll. di Filol. Class.* 24 (1917), 34-40; 52-57. On Socrates and divination see also 1, 5, n. (*Socrates*).

The form of expression here used suggests Plat. *Apol.* p. 31c: θεῶν τι καὶ δαίμωνιον. Elsewhere (*Apol.* p. 40a) it is called τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, or (*Phaedr.* p. 242b) τὸ δαίμωνιον τε καὶ τὸ εὐαδὸς σημεῖον μοι γίνεσθαι, or (*Xen. Mem.* 4, 8, 6) τῷ θεῷ (cf. *deo* in 1, 123 infra).

1. δαίμωνιον: cf. 1, 1, n. (*μαντιὰν*).

1. numquam impellenti: cf. Plat. *Apol.* p. 31d: ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον φωνή τις γιγνομένη, ἢ ὅταν γίνηται ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τοῦτο ἢ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ οὐποτε; *Phaedr.* p. 242c: ἀεὶ δὲ με ἐπίσχει ἢ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν; *Theog.* p. 128d: ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο φωνή, ἢ ὅταν γίνηται ἀεὶ μοι σημαίνει ἢ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, τούτου ἀποτροπήν, προτρέπει δὲ οὐδέποτε (quoted in *Ael. V. H.* 8, 1, 1; cf. *Clem. Strom.* 1, 17, p. 54 Stäblin). This negative character is lost sight of by *Xen. Mem.* 1, 1, 4; 1, 4, 15; 4, 3, 12 (cf. *Apol.* 12?); *Plut. de Gen. Socr.* p. 581b; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 9.

2. quo quem, etc.: cf. *Off.* 3, 100: *num locupletiores quaeris auctores*; also 1, 17 supra, and note.

3. Xenophonti: cf. *Xen. Anab.* 3, 1, 5: ὁ μέγιστος Ξενοφῶν . . . ἀρακαιοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ

Σωκράτης . . . συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀρακαιοῦσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας; *Mem.* 1, 1, 6: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συναβούλευε καὶ πράττειν, ὡς ἐνόμισεν ἄριστ' ἂν πρᾶχθῆναι: περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων, ὅπως ἀποβῆσσιτο, μαντευσομένους ἴτεμπευ, εἰ ποιητὰ; 1, 1, 7-8: πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνῶμῃ ἀλερέα ἐνόμισεν εἶναι: τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλελεισθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; *Diog. L.* 2, 49-50: ὁ δὲ (sc. Ξενοφῶν) τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (inviting him to join Proxenus) δευκνέει Σωκράτει καὶ σύμβουλον ἤρειτο. καὶ δεῖ ἀπέστειλον αὐτὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς χρῆσόμενον τῷ θεῷ. πελθεταί Ξενοφῶν, κτλ.

4. ipsi: for this use of the pronoun see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 630.

4. et nostrum, etc.: the exact source from which Cicero took this is not preserved; it will be seen to vary somewhat from the passages quoted in the note on *Xenophonti* supra. It is doubtless translated more or less exactly from a Greek source (Posidonius?), as the words *quidem* . . . *sed* (= μέν . . . δὲ) might suggest.

5. de rebus . . . referendum: cf. 1, 32.

5f. ad quem, etc.: cf. 1, 95.

7. scriptum est: no Greek source for this incident appears to be preserved.

7. Critonis: the intimate friend of Socrates, described in Plat. *Apol.* p. 33d as Κρίτων οἰοῦσι, ἐμὸς ἡλικιώτης καὶ δημότης, for whom one of Plato's best known dialogues is named, and who is frequently mentioned in the others, as well as by Diogenes Laertius, et al.

lanti ramulum adductum, ut remissus esset, in oculum suum recidisse, tum Socrates: 'Non enim paruisti mihi revocanti, cum uterer qua soleo praesagitione divina.' Idem etiam Socrates, cum apud Delium male pugnatum esset Lachete praetore fugeretque cum ipso Lachete, ut ventum est in

2-3. praesagitione vulg. (cf. 1, 66), praesagitione C.

3. Delium *f. Diacitus (f) in Copsis Vicerianis b (ex cod. Ven.)*, duellium C.

[317]7. *alligatum*: so used of a wound in *Tusc.* 2, 39.

2. *enim*: elliptical usage, as in *elenim* and *perque enim*; in Greek γάρ is so used; e.g., *Plat. Symp.* p. 194a; cf. *Ar. Ran.* 262.

2f. *praesagitione*: cf. 1, 66.

3. *apud Delium, etc.*: in 424 B.C. the Boeotians defeated the Athenians there. Cf. *Plat. Symp.* p. 220e-221a: *δειον ἦν θεόσασθαι Σωκράτη ὅτε ἀπὸ Δηλίου φυγῆ ἀνεχώρει τὸ στρατόπεδον*: *ἔτυχον γὰρ παραγερόμενος ἴππων ἔχων, οὗτοι δὲ βυλα ἀνεχώρει οὐκ ἰσθεασμένον ἤδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν τε ἄμα καὶ Λάχης, κτλ.*; *Lach.* p. 181b: *ἔν γὰρ τῇ ἀπὸ Δηλίου φυγῆ μετ' ἡμῶν συνεχώρει, κἀγὼ σοι λέγω ὅτι εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι ἤθελον τοιοῦτοι εἶναι ὄρθη ἂν ἡμῶν ἢ πόλις ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔπεσε τότε τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα*; *Apol.* p. 28e, where Socrates is mentioned as having taken part in the campaign at Delium; also *Athen.* 5, pp. 215d-216a. An incident relating to Socrates in the flight from Delium is told by *Strab.* 9, p. 403: *ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κέσθοντα ἀφ' ἴππου ἔσποφύοντα ἰδὼν κείμενον τὸν Γρύλλου Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος στρατεύων κέξος τοῦ ἴππου γενομένου ἰκποῦν ἀνέλαβε τοῖς ὤμοις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσωνε ἐπὶ πολλοῖς σταβίους ἕως ἐπαύσατο ἢ φυγῆ* (cf. *Diog. L.* 2, 23, who speaks of the coolness of Socrates during the flight). *Plut. Alcib.* 7 tells of help given by Alcibiades to Socrates at this time. Other references to Socrates at Delium are *Ael. V. H.* 3, 17; *Aristid.* 45, p. 96 *Dindorf*; 46, pp. 262-263 *Dindorf*; *Liban. Declam.* 1, 130 (vol. 5, 87 *Foerster*). For other accounts of the battle see *Philippson in P.-W.* s.v. *Delion* (1901), 2443, and the works there cited.

3. *male pugnatum*: for the phrase cf. *Sall. Jug.* 114.

4. *praetore*: a translation of *στρατηγός*, as in *Off.* 1, 144; *Fin.* 5, 92; *de Inv.* 1, 55.

4. *ut ventum est, etc.*: the separation of the Athenians in the flight is noted by various writers: *Thuc.* 4, 96: *καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Δηλίον τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὤρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἦρωτου, ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι τινα εἶχον ἑλπίδα σωτηρίας . . . καὶ τῇ ὀστεραῖα οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ Ἦρωτου καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Δηλίου φυλακτῆν ἐγκαταλιπόντες . . . ἀπεκομισθήσαν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' οἴκου*; *Diod.* 12, 70, 4; *Athen.* 5, p. 216a. The best account, however, is that in *Plut. de Gen. Socr.* p. 581d-e: *Πυριλάμης ὁ Ἀρτιφώντος ἀλοῦς ἐν τῇ διώξει περὶ Δήλιον . . . ὡς ἤκουσε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀφικομένων Ἀθηνησῶν ὅτι Σωκράτης μετ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λάχηςτος ἐπὶ Ῥηγίστης καταβὰς ἀπονενοστήκει πολλὰ μὲν τούτων ἀνεκαλέσατο πολλὰ δὲ φίλους τινὰς καὶ λοχίτας οἱς συνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν Πάρνηθα φεύγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἰσπίων ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου παρακούσας, ἑτέραν δὲδὸν οὐχ ἦν κείνου ἕγε τραπομένους ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης . . . διεβόηθη . . . οὐκ ἤρεμα τὸ Σωκράτους Ἀθηνησῶν ἐκ τούτων δαιμόνιον*. For Ῥηγίστης *Hutten* conjectures 'Ρεϊτούς (cf. *Hesych.* s.v. 'Ρεϊτο). No Ῥηγίσθη is elsewhere mentioned. On the topography of this region see *Leake, Travels in Northern Greece*, 2 (1835), 449 ff.; *Bursian, Geogr. von Griechenland*, 1 (1862), 218 ff.; *Curtius u. Kaupert, Karten von Attika*, 9 (1900), 2; 9. From the account in *Plutarch* one may perhaps infer that Socrates fled in the direction of Oropus.

The story also appears in *Ps.-Socr. Epist.* 1, 9 (*Epistologr. Gr.* pp. 610-611): *πλείστοι δὲ μοι ἠπίστησαν ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ μάχῃ; παρῆν γὰρ τότε τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ συνεμαχόμενος παρῆμει τῆς πόλεως ἐξεληλυθίας. ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ ἄμα πολλοὶ ὑπαπέμμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ διαβάσεώς τινας ἐγερόμεθα συνέβη μοι τὸ εὐωδὸς σημεῖον. ἐπέστην οὖν καὶ εἶπον "ἄρωες,*

trivium, eadem qua ceteri fugere noluit. Quibus quaerentibus cur non eadem via pergeret deterreri se a deo dixit; cum quidem ii qui alia via fugerant in hostium equitatum inciderunt. Permulta conlecta sunt ab Antipatro quae mirabiliter a Socrate divinata sunt; quae praetermittam; tibi enim nota sunt, mihi ad commemorandum non necessaria. 124. Illud tamen eius philosophi magnificum ac paene divinum, quod cum impiis sententiis damnatus esset aequissimo animo se dixit mori; neque enim domo egredienti neque illud suggestum in quo causam dixerat ascendenti signum sibi ullum quod consuisset a deo mali alicuius independentis datum.

LV. Equidem sic arbitror, etiamsi multa fallant eos qui aut arte aut coniectura divinare videantur, esse tamen divinationem; homines autem, ut in ceteris artibus, sic in hac posse falli. Potest accidere ut aliquod signum dubie datum pro certo sit acceptum, potest aliquod latuisse aut ipsium aut

3. conlecta P. *Victorius*, coniecta C.

οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ταύτην πορεύεσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ δαιμονίου μοι ἡ φωνὴ γέγονεν." οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους πρὸς ὀργὴν ὥσπερ παῖστος ἐμοῦ ἐν οἴκῳ ἐπιτηδεύω καιρῶ ὀρμήσαστες εὐθείαν ἐβάδιζον, ὄλιγοι δὲ τινες ἐπέσθησαν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐμοὶ συνετράποντο. καὶ οἴκαδε πορευόμενοι διεσώθημεν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἤκειν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας εἶπεν ἀπολωλέναι· εἰς γὰρ τοῖς ἰππέας ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαυόντας ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως.

1. trivium: rare in the literal sense as here; but cf. C. I. L. VII, 163.

2. a deo: cf. 1, 122, n. (*divinum quiddam*).

4. Antipatro: cf. 1, 6, n. (*duo Antipater*).

5. ad commemorandum . . . necessaria: cf. Auct. ad Herenn. 3, 18: *necessarias ad probandum*.

5f. illud . . . magnificum: cf. 2, 5; Reid on Ac. 2, 86. In *de Am.* 32 *magnificum ac divinum* are coupled.

7. aequissimo animo . . . mori: cf. *de Sen.* 23 for the expression, and for the thought Plat. *Apol.* p. 40a-b: ἐμοὶ δὲ οὕτε ἐξίοντι ἕθερ οἴσθεον ἠραυτιώθη τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, οὕτε ἠρίκα ἀνίθαιμον ἐναυθοῖ ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, οὕτε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐδαμῶς μέλλοντι τι ἐρεῖν· αἰτίου ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις πολλοῦ δὲ με ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξὺ; p. 41d: ἤδη τεθνήσκει καὶ ἀπαλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμὲ οὐδαμῶς ἀπέτρεψε τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἐβουλετο τοῖς

καταψηφισαμένοι μοι καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς οὐ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω.

8. suggestum: a βῆμα in the court room; cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* (1890), 369-373; Caillemet in Darem. et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Dikastai* (1892), 195.

8. dixerat: the passages from Plato quoted above are not from the regular pleading of Socrates but from the remarks which he made to the court after the verdict had been rendered; hence the pluperfect tense.

9. mali . . . independentis: cf. *Tusc.* 3, 25; 4, 14; 4, 80.

10. equidem . . . arbitror: cf. *N.D.* 1, 62.

10. multa fallant: cf. 1, 24, n. (*an medicina*).

10f. arte aut coniectura: cf. 2, 14.

12f. signum dubie datum: cf., for example, the ambiguous type of oracle, as in 2, 115-116.

13. potest, etc.: either obscurely or illogically expressed; *aut quod* probably stands for *aut aliud quod*. Either the real meaning of the sign itself (*ipsium*) or the meaning of a contradictory sign may have been overlooked. This principle, which, of course, constituted an easy defence for such predictions as were not evidently fulfilled, appears widely in divination. So in the case of dreams cf. Arist. *de Div.* 707

quod esset illi contrarium. Mihi autem ad hoc de quo disputo probandum satis est non modo plura sed etiam pauciora divine praesensa et praedicta reperiri. 125. Quin etiam hoc non dubitans dixerim, si unum aliquid ita sit praedictum praesensumque ut, cum evenerit, ita cadat ut praedictum sit, neque in eo quicquam casu et fortuito factum esse appareat, esse certe divinationem idque esse omnibus confitendum.

Quocirca primum mihi videtur, ut Posidonius facit, a deo, de quo satis dictum est, deinde a fato, deinde a natura vis omnis divinandi ratioque rependa. Fieri igitur omnia fato ratio cogit fateri. Fatum autem id

Σοπη. 2, p. 463 b 22 ff.: οτι δ' οὐκ ἀποβαίνει πολλά τῶν ἐνυπνίων οὐδὲ ἀποκον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι σημεῖων καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων οἷον τὰ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τὰ τῶν πνευμάτων· ἅν γὰρ ἄλλη κυριώτερα ταύτης συμβῆθι κίνησις ἀφ' ἧς μελλούσης ἐγένετο τὸ σημεῖον οὐ γίνεται. καὶ πολλά βουληθέντα καλῶς τῶν πραχθῆναι θέδων διελήθη δι' ἄλλας κυριώτερας ἀρχάς. The superior omen might be (1) one coming later and so superseding an earlier; so Serv. Aen. 2, 691: *non enim unum augurium vidisse sufficit nisi conferretur ex simili. nam si dissimilia sint posteriora solvantur priora* (but the example which he cites is of the next class); or (2) one from a superior animal or mode of divination; cf. Serv. Aen. 3, 374: *ut puta si parra vel picus auspiciam dederit et deinde contrarium aquila dederit auspiciam aquilae praevallet; id., Eccl. 9, 13: minora enim auguria maioribus cedunt nec ullarum sunt virium licet priora sint; cf. 1, 108, n. (priora); or (3) one seen by an observer of superior rank; cf. the discussion of *maiora* and *minora auspicia* by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 218 ff.; also Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 2 ed. (1876), 88, and n. 3. Against these theories, however, see the important passage in Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 34 (too long to be here quoted in full), of which the main point is: *vero verius nihil est; si aves futura cecinerunt non potest hoc auspiciam fulmine irritum fieri—aut non futura cecinerunt. non enim nunc avem comparo et fulmen sed duo veri signa quae si verum significant paria sunt. itaque quae fulminis interventus submovet extorum vel augurii indicia male inspecta exta male**

observata auguria sunt. non enim refert utrius rei species maior sit vel natura potentior; si utraque res veri attulit signa quantum ad hoc par est.

1f. ad . . . probandum satis est: cf. 1, 71; and for the idiom *Ac.* 2, 54; *Fin.* 2, 41; 2, 101; 5, 81.

2. non modo plura sed etiam pauciora: cf. *Fam.* 15, 6, 1: *si non modo omnes verum etiam multis Catones essent.*

3. si unum: cf. 1, 71.

4. praedictum praesensumque: the logical order is reversed, perhaps to give variety from *praesensa* et *praedicta* above.

5. casu et fortuito: cf. 2, 18.

7. a deo: cf. 2, 27; *Aët. Plac.* 1, 28, 5 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 324): Ποσειδώνιος τρίτην ἀπὸ Διὸς· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Δία, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν φύσιν, τρίτον δὲ τὴν εἰμαρμένην (cf. *Doxogr. Gr.* 620). A similar triple division is found by Malchin (*De Auctor. quibusdam qui Posidonii Libros meteorol. adhibuerunt* (1893), 41) in Manil. 1, 25-65. It is significant that in the view of Posidonius fate and deity are not identical. For their identification in the teaching of the Stoics cf. *S. V. F.* 2, nos. 928-933; 945; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 203. Dobson (in *Class. Quarterly*, 12 (1918), 191) would consider the three conceptions here mentioned as but three aspects of one unit.

8. vis . . . ratioque: cf. *de Fat.* 1.

9. fieri . . . omnia fato: cf. 1, 127; *N. D.* 3, 14: *vos iidem fato fieri dicatis omnia; de Fat.* 33: *Stoicis, qui omnia fato fieri dicunt; cf. id.* 44; *Diog. L.* 7, 149: καθ' εἰμαρμένην δὲ φασὶ τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι Χρῆσιππος ἐν τοῖς περὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ Ποσει-

appello quod Graeci *ειμαρμένην*, id est, ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causae causa nexa rem ex se gignat. Ea est ex omni aeternitate fluens veritas sempiterna. Quod cum ita sit, nihil est factum quod non futurum

1. *ειμαρμένην* vulg., *himarmeneia* C.

ὁμοιος ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ εἰμαρμένης καὶ Ζήρων, Βόηθος δὲ ἐν ἰνδικάτῳ περὶ εἰμαρμένης; cf. *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 934-937; 946; 1000. This second section of the argument, on fate, extends through 1, 128.

[320]9. *ratio*: an awkward repetition of the word after its use in a different sense just above.

[320]9. *fatum autem, etc.*: with this definition cf. 1, 127: *conligationem causarum omnium*; *Top.* 59: *ex hoc genere causarum ex aeternitate pendendum fatum a Stoicis neclitur*; *Tusc.* 5, 70: *ipsa enim cogitatio . . . rerum causas alias ex aliis aptas et necessitate nexas videt, quibus ab aeterno tempore fluentibus in aeternum ratio lamen mensque moderatur*; *N.D.* 1, 55: *hinc vobis exilit primum: illa fatalis necessitas quam εἰμαρμένην dicimus ut quicquid accidat id ex aeterna veritate causarumque continuatione fluxisse dicatis* (and cf. Mayor's note); *de Fat.* 20: *causarum seriem sempiternam*; 38: *ratio ipsa coget et ex aeternitate quaedam esse vera et ea non esse nexa causis aeternis et a fati necessitate esse libera*; *frg.* 2 (ap. *Serv. Aen.* 3, 376): *fatum esse concazio rerum per aeternitatem se invicem tenens, quae suo ordine et lege variatur, ita lamen ut ipsa varietas habeat aeternitatem*.

This conception of fate as a series of causes and effects appears in many passages, collected in *S.V.F.* 1, no. 175; 2, nos. 912-921; 945-951; 1000; Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 160-161; Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 244-248; Reid on *Ac.* 1, 29; cf. Arnold, *Romun Stoicism* (1911), 202-203. For its relations to divination cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 58-64; *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 939-944.

The term *ειμαρμένη* (sc. *μοῖρα*) is from the verb *μείρομαι* (root *μερ-*), and so properly denotes one's 'allotment' (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Etym. de la Langue gr.*

(1916), 621), but it seems in Stoic etymologies to have been referred to *ειρμός* (*ειρω*), with which cf. the Lat. *series* (*sero*); cf. *de Fat.* 27: *causa causam serens*. So Diogenianus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6, p. 263c (= *S.V.F.* 2, no. 914): *τεκμήριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο λαχρὸν φέρει Χρῆστος οὐεται τῆς ἐν ἅπασιν εἰμαρμένης τὴν θεσιν τῶν τοιοῦτων ὀνομάτων, τὴν τε γὰρ πεπωμένην πεπερασμένην τινὰ φησὶν εἶναι καὶ συνετελεσμένην διοικῆσιν, τὴν τε εἰμαρμένην εἰρομένην τινὰ εἶτε ἐκ θεοῦ βουλήσεως εἶτε ἐξ ἧς δήποτε αἰτίας*; cf. *Diog. L.* 7, 149: *ἔστι δὲ εἰμαρμένη αἰτία τῶν ὄντων εἰρομένη*; *Aët. Plac.* 1, 28, 4 (= *S.V.F.* 2, no. 917; *Doxogr. Gr.* 324): *οἱ Στωικοὶ εἰρμὸν αἰτιῶν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰξιν καὶ ἐπισυνῆδον ἀπαράβατον* (sc. *τὴν εἰμαρμένην*); *Suid. s.v. εἰμαρμένη*; *Nemes. de Nat. Hom.* 37 (= *S.V.F.* 2, no. 918): *εἰ δὲ ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὕσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαράβατος*; also Diodorus of Tarsus ap. *Phot. Bibl.* 23 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 103, 868); *Psellus, de omnifaria Doctr.* 78 (Migne *Patr. Gr.* 122, 736). This idea is doubtless reflected in our passage by the expression *seriem . . . causarum*.

If. *seriem . . . nexa*: cf. *N.D.* 1, 9: *series . . . rerum . . . alia esse nexa*.

2f. *ex omni aeternitate . . . veritas*: cf. 2, 19; *N.D.* 1, 40: *sempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem*; 1, 55 (quoted in note on *fatum autem, etc.* supra); 3, 14: *quod . . . semper ex omni aeternitate verum fuerit id esse fatum*; *de Fat.* passim (the phrase *ex aeternitate verum* (*vera, falsum*) occurs in the *De Fato* nine times). Cf. also 1, 25, n. (*ab omni aeternitate*) supra. This *veritas* is opposed to chance, as in 1, 23.

2. *fluens*: this verb emphasizes here, as in other passages (*N.D.* 1, 39; *Tusc.* 5, 70), not so much motion as continuity between past, present, and future.

3. *nihil est, etc.*: cf. 2, 19; *de Fat.* 17: *nihil fieri quod non necesse fuerit et quicquid fieri possit id aut esse iam aut*

fuerit, eodemque modo nihil est futurum cuius non causas id ipsum efficientes natura contineat. 126. Ex quo intellegitur ut fatum sit non id quod superstitiose, sed id quod physice dicitur, causa aeterna rerum cur et ea quae praeterierunt facta sint et quae instant fiant et quae sequuntur futura sint. Ita fit ut et observatione notari possit quae res quamque causam plerumque consequatur, etiamsi non semper (nam id quidem adfirmare difficile est), easdemque causas veri simile est rerum futurarum cerni ab iis qui aut per furorem eas aut in quiete videant.

LVI. 127. Praeterea cum fato omnia fiant, id quod alio loco ostendetur,

7. simile est Mammius, similes C (in B postorius a ex corr.).

futurum esse; 19. For logical problems arising from this doctrine see the passages cited from the *De Fato* in *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 952-955; *N.D.* 1, 70, and Mayor's note; Arnold, *op. cit.* 148. The conflict of determinism and free will appears in many Stoic passages; cf. *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 974-1007.

1. *eodemque modo*, etc.: the converse form is in *de Fat.* 20 ascribed to Chrysippus: *causas enim efficientis quod non habebit id nec verum nec falsum erit; omnis autem enuntiatio aut vera aut falsa est; molus ergo sine causa nullus est.* Cf. also Alex. Aphrod. *de Fat.* 22: τὰν τὸ γινόμενον ἔχειν τι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὃ ὡς αἰτίῳ συνήρτηται.

2. *ex quo intellegitur*: cf. 1, 70, n. (*ex quo intellegitur*).

2. *intellegitur ut*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 30, and Madvig's note.

3. *superstitiose . . . physice*: cf. *N.D.* 3, 92: *neque id dicilis superstitiose atque aniliter, sed physica constantique ratione.* So in 2, 149 *infra religio . . . est iuncta cum cognitione naturae*, and is opposed to *superstitio*; cf. *Lucr.* 1, 146-148. For the meaning of *superstitio* see 2, 128 *infra*; for *physice* cf. 1, 110, n. (*physica*).

3. *causa*, etc.: cf. *Stob. Ecl.* 1, 79, 1 W. (= *S.V.F.* 2, no. 913): ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ Ὀρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Εἰμαρμένης καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις σκοπᾶν πολυτρόπως ἀποφαίνεται (sc. ὁ Χρῆσιππος) λέγων· εἰμαρμένη ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος, ἢ λόγος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ διακουμένων, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν γεγονότα γέγονε, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα γίνεται, τὰ δὲ γενησόμενα γενήσεται.

4. *instant*: of the present similarly used in *de Or.* 2, 105: . . . *plerumque ex futuri, raro ex instantis aut acti*; *Tusc.* 4, 11; al.

5. *et*: cf. 1, 114, n. (*ergo et ii*).

5. *observatione*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*diuturna observatione*).

6. *etiamsi non semper*: cf. 1, 71; 1, 124-125; 1, 128. The lapses or apparent exceptions were held to be due, however, not to variations in the laws of cause and effect, but to the interposition of other disregarded or unnoticed causes; cf. *Aët. Plac.* 1, 29, 7 (= *Doxogr. Gr.* 326; *S.V.F.* 2, no. 966): 'Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ (sc. τὴν τύχην) ἀδελφὸν αἰτίας ἀθροιστικῆ λογισμῷ; and the similar definitions collected in *S.V.F.* 2, nos. 965-973; also *Ac.* 1, 29: *fortunam quod efficitur multa improvisa ac necopinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignorantemque causarum.*

8. *cerni . . . videant*: *cerno* is often used of mental sight, either visualization or insight, and is thus probably here contrasted with *video*; cf. 1, 17; 1, 63; 1, 114; 1, 129: *animi . . . cernunt ea quae permixti cum corpore animi videre non possunt.* Anyone may see a vision in a dream (*video*, and such a sight is a *visum*), but to understand its meaning and see (*cerno*) its interrelation with other things is a different and more subtle process.

9. *fato omnia fiant*: cf. 1, 125, n. (*feri . . . omnia fato*). Our passage = *S.V.F.* 2, no. 944.

9. *alio loco ostendetur*: as far as the subject matter goes we should naturally

si quis mortalis possit esse qui conligationem causarum omnium perscipiat animo nihil eum profecto fallat. Qui enim teneat causas rerum futurarum idem necesse est omnia teneat quae futura sint. Quod cum nemo facere nisi deus possit relinquendum est homini ut signis quibusdam consequentia

expect this promise to be redeemed in the *De Fato*, which Cicero had in mind at the time when our work was published; cf. 2, 3. But it has often been pointed out that that work contains no positive exposition of Stoic views, but rather an attack upon them. Nor does Quintus play a part in that book. Again, would Quintus in this discussion, upon which he had entered only after assurances that Marcus was at leisure (1, 10), have naturally indicated in so casual yet so confident a manner that he was going to give another discourse, on the subject of fate? (How such a promise might really have been introduced by Quintus may be gathered from the words of Lucilius in *N.D.* 3, 94.) The phrase *alio loco*, moreover, seems more applicable to a book than to a dialogue.

Various explanations have been advanced: (1) the clause is a gloss, according to Hottinger and Rath, and Thoresen brackets it (yet why should it have been inserted, when the *De Fato* does not bear out the apparently intended reference?). Thoresen (in the appendix of his edition, p. 223) thinks that after 1, 125 (*feri igitur omnia fato ratio cogit fateri*) a promise to prove this truth is redundant. But it is conceivable that 1, 125 is from a different source than that here followed, in which case duplication and inconsistency might easily have arisen; nor even without this does it appear that there is a necessary inconsistency in promising to give the arguments upon which the *ratio* of 1, 125 may be based. Again (2) the clause is perhaps carelessly taken with its context directly from Posidonius, as Thoresen (*l.c.*) suggests. But this is a degree of carelessness, I think, hardly equalled in Cicero, hasty though he often is in his borrowings. (3) Perhaps at the time of this work Cicero planned that the *De Fato* should consist

of two books, one containing the Stoic views, set forth, as here, by Quintus, and the second being the reply of Marcus to it. This plan would later have been changed at the request of Hiirtius, to the present one-book *De Fato*, with its argument unfavorable to the Stoic view. For this change of plan see *de Fat.* 1; 4. Cicero, then, at the time of writing the *De Fato* forgot the promise here made, as writers sometimes do. This is the view elaborated by Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 1 (1895), 540-541, who minimizes, however, the difficulties noted above in putting promises of another book into the mouth of Quintus rather than that of Marcus. (4) Kayser suggested that Cicero the author has here, by oversight, temporarily assumed the role of Quintus Cicero to make a promise for discussion in the *De Fato*. For such oversights in dialogues (of Cicero and others) cf. Hirzel, *op. cit.* 1, 471, n. 2; 478, n. 2; 497, n. 3. Then, when the plan of the *De Fato* was changed from that for two books to that for one, this promise was forgotten. This theory involves, to be sure, as Hirzel (*op. cit.* 1, 541, n.) points out, a double assumption, but it appears, on the whole, the most likely.

1. *conligationem*: cf. *de Fat.* 31; 32.

2. *qui enim tenent*, etc.: this belief is a part of the doctrine of *συμπεθεα* treated in 2, 34-35; 2, 124; 2, 142-143; etc. Viewed in any particular field it may be said to be related to the scientific study of causes and predictions from them; cf. Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 245.

3. *facere*: cf. 1, 49.

4. *nisi deus*: cf. 1, 82 on divine omniscience, which is here assumed as axiomatic.

4. *signis quibusdam*: cf. 1, 29, n. (*non causas adferunt*).

declarantibus futura praesentiat. Non enim illa quae futura sunt subito existunt, sed est quasi rudentis explicatio sic traductio temporis nihil novi efficientis et primum quidque replicantis. Quod et ii vident quibus naturalis divinatio data est et ii quibus cursus rerum observando notatus est. Qui etsi causas ipsas non cernunt signa tamen causarum et notas cernunt; ad quas adhibita memoria et diligentia et monumentis superiorum efficitur ea divinatio quae artificiosa dicitur, extorum, fulgorum, ostentorum, signorumque caelestium. 128. Non est igitur ut mirandum sit ea praesentiri a divinantis quae nusquam sint; sunt enim omnia sed tempore absunt. Atque ut in seminibus vis inest earum rerum quae ex iis progignuntur sic in causis conditae sunt res futurae quas esse futuras aut concitata mens aut soluta somno cernit aut ratio aut coniectura praesentit. Atque ut ii qui solis et lunae reliquorumque siderum ortus, obitus, motusque cogno-

3. *ii vulg.*, hi *ABV*, hii *H*; *et sic item paulo post.*

9. *nusquam Victorinus*, *numquam C.*

10. *ii vulg.*, hii *C.*

12. *ii vulg.*, hi *ABV*, hii *H.*

1f. **subito existunt**: cf. 1, 75; *N. D.* 1, 6.

2. **explicatio**: here in the literal (and in Cicero an unusual) sense.

2. **traductio**: parallel to the frequent use of *traduco* with words like *tempus*, *vita*, etc., but apparently so used only here.

2. **nihil novi**: that is, nothing the occurrence of which is independent of and out of causal sequence with what has preceded. Or is there also, perhaps, a hint on the part of Quintus at the Stoic doctrine of cyclic change and repetition?

3. **primum quidque replicantis**: the figure of uncoiling (*explicatio*) and coiling again (*replicatio*) is an inexact and ill-adapted one to convey the idea of a cyclic or even of an eternally repeated series of actions.

4. **cursus rerum**: cf. 1, 128.

4. **observando notatus**: cf. 2, 146: *observando notare*.

5. **signa**: cf. 1, 25, n. (*isdem signis antegressis*).

6. **adhibita . . . diligentia**: cf. *de Am.* 95. The singular verb with several subjects is common in the ablative absolute; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 46.

8. **non est . . . ut**: cf. *de Or.* 2, 152; *Off.* 2, 84; *pro Mil.* 35; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 12, 2;

Carm. 3, 1, 9; perhaps the original had *οὐκ ἔστιν ὄψιν*.

8f. **ea praesentiri . . . quae nusquam sint**: cf. 1, 117; also 1, 63, n. (*meminit*, etc.).

10. **ut in seminibus vis**: with this simile cf. *N. D.* 2, 58: *ut celerae naturae suis seminibus quaeque gignuntur . . . sic*, etc.; for the *vis seminum* see also 2, 94 infra; *N. D.* 2, 81, 2, 127. The comparison between seeds and causes appears further in *Sext. Emp.* 9, 196: *ἐπερ τῶν σπέρμα, φασί, ἔστι σπέρμα, ἔστι καὶ αἰτίον, ἐπεὶ περ τὸ σπέρμα αἰτίον ἔστι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φουμένων τε καὶ γαρμμένων*. Note also the Stoic doctrine of the *σπερματικοὶ λόγοι* (*Aët. Plac.* 1, 7, 33, in *Doxogr. Gr.* 305-306; Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 161-163; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 161.

11. **concitata mens**: cf. 1, 38, n. (*mentem . . . concitabat*).

12. **soluta**: cf. 1, 113; 1, 129; and for the coupling of *concitata* and *soluta* cf. 1, 34, n. (*concitatione*). For *soluta somno* cf. Weissenborn on *Liv.* 5, 45, 3 (where the phrase is used in a different sense; cf. *Cic. Rep.* 6, 29); *Madvig on Fin.* 2, 64.

12. **ratio aut coniectura**: cf. 1, 34; 2, 16. Friedrich's conjecture (in *Newe Jahrb.* 127 (1883), 431) of *ratione, chang-*

runt, quo quidque tempore eorum futurum sit multo ante praedicunt, sic qui cursum rerum eventorumque consequentiam diuturnitate pertractata notaverunt aut semper, aut, si difficile est, plerumque, quodsi ne id quidem conceditur, non numquam certe, quid futurum sit intellegunt. Atque haec quidem et quaedam eiusdem modi argumenta cur sit divinatio ducuntur a fato.

LVII. 129. A natura autem alia quaedam ratio est quae docet quanta sit animi vis seiuncta a corporis sensibus, quod maxime contingit aut dormientibus aut mente permotis. Ut enim deorum animi sine oculis, sine auribus, sine lingua sentiunt inter se quid quisque sentiat (ex quo fit

4. intellegunt *vulg.*, intellegant *vel* intelligant C.

ing the whole phrase to the ablative, is unnecessary.

[324]13. **ortus, obitus, motusque:** cf. *V. D.* 2, 153: *nos astrorum ortus obitus cursusque cognovimus; de Fat.* 17.

2. **cursum rerum:** cf. 1, 127.

2. **consequentiam:** the first occurrence of the word in Latin. In *Fin.* 2, 113 there is mentioned a *coniectura consequentium non multum a divinatione differens*.

2. **pertractata:** surely not ablative modifying *diuturnitate* (as Davies, Merguet, and others would take it), but, in spite of the rarity of the construction, a neuter accusative referring to *cursum* and *consequentiam*. Stamm (in *Neue Jahrb.* 137 (1888), 769) asserts that Cicero makes a predicate adjective agree with the nearer of two subjects of different gender (e.g. in *Ac.* 2, 65), and considers this the only instance in which the masculine and feminine are taken up by a neuter plural. He would accordingly emend to *pertractatam*. On this subject cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 52. And for the thought expressed see 1, 2, n. (*disturna observatione*).

3. **aut semper, etc.:** cf. 1, 71, n. (*possunt autem aliquando, etc.*); 1, 126, n. (*etiamsi non semper*).

3. **difficile:** cf. 1, 126.

5. **argumenta cur:** cf. 1, 5.

7. **a natura:** the third of the reasons noted in 1, 125, the discussion of which extends through 1, 129-131.

8. **animi vis:** cf. *Fin.* 5, 44: *ut vim corporis animique norimus*. Logically we

might expect *animi vis seiuncti* (suggested by Madvig) but the transference of the adjective is not a difficult one. For the thought cf. 1, 63; 1, 80, n. (*mentis vis quaedam*).

8. **quod maxime contingit:** cf. 1, 113, n. (*aut vatibus aut dormientibus*).

9. **sine oculis, etc.:** because the gods, according to the Stoics, are not anthropomorphic (cf. Diog. L, 7, 147: *θεόν . . . μή εἶναι . . . ἀνθρωπόμορφον; S.V.F.* 2, nos. 1057-1060), and have no need of the ordinary sense organs; cf. Clem. *Strom.* 7, 7, p. 852 (= *S.V.F.* 2, no. 1058): *οὐκ οὖν ἀνθρωποειδῆς ὁ θεός τοῦδ' ἵνακα ἴσα ἀκοῖσθ' οὐδὲ αἰσθήσεων αὐτῷ δεῖ, καθάπερ ἤρεσεν τοῖς Στωικοῖς, μάλιστα ἀκοῆς καὶ ὄψεως, μή γάρ δύνασθαι ποτε ἐτέρως ἀντιλαβέσθαι: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἰπαθῆς τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἡ δευτέρῃ συναίσθησι τῶν ἀγγέλων ἢ τε τοῦ συνεῶτος ἐπαφωμένη τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις δυνάμις τιμὴ ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀνευ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἀκοῆς ἅμα νοήματι πάντα γινώσκει· κἀν μὴ τῆν φωτῆν τις ἐκινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεόν λέγειν κάτω περὶ τὸν ἀέρα κυλινδουμένην, ἀλλὰ τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀγγέλων τέμνει οὐ μόνον τὸν ἀέρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον. φθάνει δὲ ἡ θεία δύναμις, καθάπερ φῶς, ὅλην διδίδει τὴν ψυχῆν. τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ αἱ προαιρέσεις φθάνουσι πρὸς τὸν θεόν προεῖσαι τῆν φωτῆν τῆν αὐτῶν; κτλ. This and the preceding and following context are, of course, not all Stoic, but seem not inappropriate for citation here.*

10. **sentiunt . . . sentiat:** for the awkward repetition cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 1, 72, n. (*subito ex tempore*); 1, 99, n. (*disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat*);

ut homines, etiam cum taciti optent quid aut voveant, non dubitent quin di illud exaudiant), sic animi hominum, cum aut somno soluti vacant corpore aut mente permoti per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur, cernunt ea quae permixti cum corpore animi videre non possunt. 130. Atque hanc quidem rationem naturae difficile est fortasse traducere ad id genus divinationis quod ex arte profectum dicimus, sed tamen id quoque rimatur quantum potest Posidonius. Esse censet in natura signa quaedam rerum

N.D. 2, 26 (*terrae*); Reid on *Ac.* 2, 31; Mayor on *N.D.* 2, 145.

1. *taciti optent, etc.*: ancient prayers were usually uttered aloud rather than silent; cf. the study of Sudhaus on spoken and silent prayer in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 9 (1906), 185-200; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 210; and especially Schmidt, *Veteres Philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de Precibus* (in *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 4, 1 (1907), 55-71. Silent prayers were in the earlier period chiefly for magical purposes or for the attainment of wishes which the worshipper was ashamed or afraid to mention aloud, but later, especially in Christian usage, were far more generally employed (perhaps under the influence of such passages as *Matth.* 6, 6).

2. *somno soluti*: cf. 1, 128, n. (*soluta*).

2f. *vacant corpore*: for the phrase cf. *N.D.* 1, 25; *Tusc.* 1, 50; 1, 78; for the thought 1, 63, n. (*sevocatus*).

3. *mente*: the *voēs*, often mentioned in connection with the *animus*; cf. Giese ad h. loc.; Kühner on *Tusc.* 3, 10 (who cites other Ciceronian examples); also 1, 70, n. (*eam partem, etc.*).

3. *per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur*: a characteristic Ciceronian redundancy; cf. *N.D.* 2, 32: *ipsum ex se sua sponte moventur* (also 1, 31); *Ac.* 2, 48; *Fin.* 2, 50: *ipsum . . . per se sua vi sua sponte sua natura laudabile*; and many other examples in Merguet, *Lexikon s.d. philos. Schriften*, 2 (1892), 367. Editors have, however, been troubled; Christ obelizes *liberi*; Baiter and Thoresen (following a suggestion of Christ) bracket *incitati*; Christ, Baiter, and Thoresen (following Manu-

tius) bracket *animi*; while Davies and Orelli read *libere*. For the thought see 1, 4; 2, 100; 2, 126; *Ac.* 2, 48.

3f. *cernunt . . . videre*: cf. 1, 126, n. (*cerni . . . videant*).

4. *animi*: unnecessarily repeated; cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 3; Plasberg on *N.D.* 1, 22; note on *per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur* supra.

5. *rationem naturae*: cf. 1, 90 (where it translates *φωσιολογίαν*, as in *N.D.* 1, 20); 2, 60.

5. *difficile est*: Schmekel (*Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 253), well points out the inconsistency of this passage with 1, 109 supra; cf. Malchin, *De Auctorib. quibusdam qui Posid. Libros meteor. adhibuerunt* (1893), 42; 1, 131, n. (*quae si, etc.*) infra.

5. *traducere*: cf. *N.D.* 1, 41: *ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens*.

6. *rimatur*: a strong figure; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 276M.: *rimari est valde quaerere, ut in rimis quaerere*.

7. *Posidonius*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*Posidonius*). He was the inventor of a *planetarium* (*N.D.* 2, 88), and the author of a work called *μετεωρολογικά* (or *περὶ μετεώρων*) in at least seventeen books, of which a long fragment (in which Heraclides Ponticus is cited) is quoted by Simplicius on *Arist. Phys.* 2, 2 (pp. 291-292 Diels), and traces of which are found in other works; cf. Malchin, *op. cit.*; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* 2, 1, 5 ed. (1911), 270, and n. 1; for the fragments see Bake, *Posidonii Rhodii Reliquiae Doctrinae* (1810).

7. *signa quaedam*: as Dobson (in *Class. Quarterly*, 12 (1918), 187) notes,

futurarum. Etenim Ceos accepimus ortum Caniculæ diligenter quotannis

1. etenim *Manilius*, ut enim C.

these were weather signs rather than mantic prognostications.

1. etenim Ceos, etc.: this is assigned by Voss, *De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis* (1896), 88, to the *προστυκόν* of Heraclides (cf. 1, 46, n. (*Ponticus Heraclides*) supra), but it might, perhaps, be placed in some other of his works dealing with literary and mythological subjects.

1. ortum Caniculæ: the Greeks distinguished between the Greater Dog or Sirius (*κλώω*) and the Lesser (*προκλώω*), but the Romans for the most part applied the term *Canicula* to Sirius and gave no distinctive name to *προκλώω* (except Plin. *N.H.* 18, 268 and perhaps Hygin. *Astron.* 2, 4, who use *Canicula* for *προκλώω*; cf. Haebler in *P.-W.* s.v. *Canis* (1899), 1481).

The rising of this constellation is noted also in 2, 93 as occurring in *his locis quae nos incolimus post solstitium*; in *de Fat.* 12 its astrological significance is treated: *si quis verbi causa oriente Canicula natu est in mari non morietur.* Cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2, 498 (also 2, 526): *ἦρι δ' ἐτήσια αἶραι ἐπιφέρει καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δι' ἣν αἰτίαν πνέουσι τῷ θίρει. τοῦ γὰρ κατηστερισμένου Κυρὸς ἀλλόγοτος τὰς Κελιάδας πῆσου καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀύχμου τε καὶ ἀπορίας οἴσῃσι οἱ τὴν Κέω κατοικοῦντες ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκεκαλέσαντο Ἀρισταίων τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κυρήνης ἐκ Φθίας. ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τινὰς ἐξ Ἀρκάδας ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν Κέω καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο Ἰκαμίου ἐνεκα τοῦ τοῦ ὄμβρου γίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Κίνα ἐξιλιάσατο καὶ ἐνομοθέησε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Κελίοις μεθ' ὄπλων (cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 954, n. 6) ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν ἐπιτολήν τοῦ Κυρὸς καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ. ὅθεν οἱ ἱησιαὶ πνέουσι ἀπαψύχορτες τῷ θίρει τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀύχμου ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες; Diod. 4, 82, 2-3: Aristaeus came to Ceos, λοιμοῦ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατασχόντος ποιήσασθαι τὴν θυσίαν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. γενομένης δὲ τῆς θυσίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σειρίου ἀστρου ἐπιτολήν, καθ' ἣν συνέβαινε πνεῖν τοῖς ἐτήσιας, λῆξαι τὰς λοιμικὰς νόσους. τοῦτο δ' ἐν τῆς συλλογίζομενοι εἰκότως θαυμάσαι τὸ τῆς*

περιπελάς Ἰδίων: ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν κυρῶν Ἰδίων τὸν ἰὸν τετελευτηκότα οὗτος γῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστρων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχον προσηγορίαν καὶ φέρεται νομισθῆμενον τοῖς ἀστρονόμοις ἔπαισε, κτλ. See also the account in Hygin. *Astron.* 2, 4, from which I quote a part: *canem autem sua appellatione et specie Caniculum dixerunt. quae a Graecis, quod ante maiorem Canem exoritur, Procyon appellatur. . . praeterea Canicula exoriens aestu Ceorum loca et agros fructibus orbabat et ipsos morbo adfectos poenas Icaro cum dolore sufferre cogebat. . . Aristaeus then seeks aid from Apollo. . . quem deus iubet nullis hostiis expiari Icarum mortem et ab Iove petere ut quo tempore Canicula exoriretur dies XL ventum daret qui aestum Caniculae mederetur, quod iussum Aristarum consecit et ab Iove impetravit ut etesiae flarent, etc.; Clem. *Strom.* 6, 3, p. 753 P.; Nonn. 5, 269-279; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 35, n. 2, and works there cited. Frazer notes that the rising of Sirius marked the beginning of the sacred Egyptian year.*

For *Canicula* as a weather sign cf. Manil. 1, 401-404: *hanc qui surgentem, primo cum redditur ortu, / montis ab excelso speculantur vertice Tauri, / cernentis frugum varios et tempora dicunt, / quaeque valetudo veniat, concordia quanta* (and the note of Housman, who points out that our passage has nothing to do with the effect of the weather on crops (in which case it would have had to be earlier in the year) but only with the effect upon the healthfulness of climate, in which case it applies well to its morning rising in July). For calculations as to the dates of rising of Sirius at different periods in antiquity cf. Haebler, *op. cit.* 1480. The passages which I have quoted above also connect its rising with the time of the etesian winds. (Manilius deals with an evening rising about 1 January.)

For the supposed effect of the dog star upon health (a view beginning as

solere servare coniecturamque capere, ut scribit Ponticus Heraclides, salubrisne an pestilens annus futurus sit. Nam si obscurior et quasi caliginosa stella extiterit pingue et concretum esse caelum ut eius adspiratio gravis et pestilens futura sit; sin inlustris et perlucida stella apparuerit significari caelum esse tenue purumque et propterea salubre. 131. Demo-

2. et quasi *codd. dell.*, quasi C.

early as *Il.* 22, 30-31: *κακὸν δὲ τε σῆμα τέτυκται, / καὶ τε φέροι πολλὸν πυρετὸν θεολοίσι βροτοῖσιν*—and see Leaf's note) cf. Gruppe, *l.c.*; Haebler, *op. cit.* 1481; also *Hor. Carm.* 1, 17, 7; 3, 13, 9; etc.

1. *servare*: cf. 1, 36, n. (*servantes*).

1. *coniecturam . . . capere*: cf. *pro Sex. Rosc.* 97; 2 *Verr.* 3, 111; *pro Mur.* 9.

1. Ponticus Heraclides: cf. 1, 46, n. (*Ponticus Heraclides*).

2. *salubrisne an pestilens*: cf. 1, 79, n. (*pestilentes . . . salubres*).

3. *pingue et concretum*: cf. 1, 18, n. (*concreto lumine*).

3. *adspiratio*: cf. *N.D.* 2, 83: *animantes autem adspirazione aëris sustinentur*; 2, 136: *cibus animalis quo maxime aluntur animantes*.

4. *gravis*: cf. *ad Fam.* 5, 15, 4: *gravissimo et pestilentissimo anno*; *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 15, 1: *anni tempore gravissimo*; *Hor. Carm.* 3, 23, 8: *pomifero grave tempus anno*; *Liv.* 3, 6, 2: *grave tempus et . . . annus pestilens*; 10, 31, 8: *annus . . . pestilentia gravis*; *Ov. Met.* 7, 557: *auraque graves*; *Tac. Hist.* 5, 7: *solo . . . caeloque iuxta gravi*; also *Caes. B.C.* 3, 2; *Virg. Ecl.* 10, 75-76.

4. *inlustris, etc.*: cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, 11, 198, for Hindu omens from the clearness or cloudiness of the sun, moon, or planets at their risings and settings.

5. *caelum esse tenue*: cf. *De Fat.* 7.

5f. *Democritus*: this statement is found in Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 379. One might be tempted to assign it to his work called *περὶ λουμῶν* or to that *περὶ σπαρμάτων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ καρπῶν*. Cf. 1, 5, n. (*Democritus*); 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); 1, 61, n. (*salubri et moderato cultu atque victu*); 2, 30.

Variations in the *exta*, particularly in organs such as the liver which were closely connected with diet, might not unnaturally be expected to indicate variations in the food upon which the animals had fed. So Vitruv. 1, 4, 8-10 discusses the effect of special foods upon the livers of animals, and says: *non dubitamus quin diligentius quaeri oporteat uti temperatissimas caeli regiones eligamus cum quaerenda fuerit in moenium conlocationibus salubritas. itaque etiam atque etiam veterem revocandam censeo rationem. maiores enim pecoribus immolatis quae pascebantur in is locis quibus aut oppida aut castra stativa constituebantur inspiciebant iocinera, et si erant livida et viliosa primo alia immolabant dubitantes utrum morbo an pabuli vitio laesa essent . . . si autem viliosa inveniebant iudicium transferebant item humanis corporibus pestilentem futuram nascentem in his locis aquae cibique copiam . . . hoc autem fieri uti pabulo ciboque salubres proprietates terrae videantur*, etc. The effect of damp or dry climate upon the flesh of animals is also noted by Cels. 2, 18; and the extreme form of the doctrine, as applied by epicures, is ridiculed by *Hor. Sat.* 2, 8, 6-7; 2, 8, 88. For a curious theory of the mantic power of the Sibyl, passing into plant life and thence affecting the *exta* of animals feeding thereon, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 169, n. 2. Later beliefs that the success of crops or the prospects for the weather can be foretold from the liver, spleen, or intestines of pigs are cited by Jastrow in *Studies in Honor of C. H. Toy* (1912), 153 (quoting Matthaëus Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussicae*) and (for Vermont) by Bergen in *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* 7 (1899), 53, no. 612.

critus autem censet sapienter instituisse veteres ut hostiarum immolatarum inspicerentur exta; quorum ex habitu atque ex colore tum salubritatis tum pestilentiae signa percipi, non numquam etiam quae sit vel sterilitas agrorum vel fertilitas futura. Quae si a natura profecta observatio atque usus agnovit multa adferre potuit dies quae animadvertendo notarentur, ut ille Pacuvianus, qui in Chryse physicus inducitur, minime naturam rerum cognosse videatur:

. . . nam isti qui linguam avium intellegunt

6. Chryse vulg., chrysi A¹V, crysi A¹, crysi^o B, Et hic deficiit, qui se Nonius.

1. **sapienter instituisse**: cf. 1, 105, n. (*sapienter . . . esse factas*).

2. **inspicerentur**: perhaps a technical term with the word *exta*; cf. 2, 28; 2, 32.

2. **habitu . . . colore**: cf. 2, 30-Thulin (*Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 24, n. 1) compares Aesch. *Prom.* V. 493-495: ἀπλάγχρων τε λεβήτητα, καὶ χροῶν τινα / ἔχουσι δὲ εἰς θάλασσαν πρὸς ἠβούην, / χολῆς λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εἰμορροίαν.

2f. **salubritatis . . . pestilentiae**: cf. 1, 79, n. (*pestilentes . . . salubres*).

3f. **sterilitas . . . fertilitas**: for inquiry into the prospects of crops cf. Ps.-Plut. *de Fluviis*, 21, 2.

4. **quae si, etc.**: a summing up of the attempt to explain away the inconsistency noted in 1, 130, n. (*difficile est*).

5. **dies**: cf. N.D. 2, 5: *opinionis . . . commenta delet dies; ad Fam.* 5, 16, 6; *pro Cluent.* 81.

6. **ille**: cf. 1, 40, n. (*illa*); *pro Sex. Rosc.* 46: *senex ille Caecilianus*.

6. **Pacuvianus**: cf. 1, 24, n. (*Pacuvius*).

6. **Chryse**: the fragments of this play are collected by Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom.* Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 98-103; for those quoted by Cicero in various works see Zillinger, *Cicero u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 126-127. The play is named for the son of Agamemnon and Chryseis; for its theme see Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 1 (1887), 171; v. Sybel in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Chryses* (1886), 902 and works there cited. From variation in manuscript testimony at this point as to the name of the play Ribbeck (*Röm. Trag.* (1875), 256-258; *Trag. Rom.*

Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 99) thinks that we should perhaps read, not *Chryses*, but *Chrysiippus*, and compares, for the subject matter Eur. *Chrysiipp.* fr. 839 Nauck (quoted in note on *quidquid, etc.* infra); cf. Munro on Lucr. 2, 991 ff. Against Ribbeck's theory, however, see Zillinger, *op. cit.* 126, n. 2, who cites the evidence of Nonius (see note on *magis, etc.* infra) as supporting the usually accepted title.

6. **physicus**: cf. 1, 110, n. (*physica*). Sellar (*Roman Poets of the Republic*, 3 ed. (1889), 137) calls attention in the second of the passages here quoted to an interest in physical philosophy first appearing in Latin in the *Epicharmus* of Ennius; cf. Patin, *Études sur la Poésie Latine*, 2 (1883), 147. That the lines could not have been spoken by the priest Chryses himself seems clear, and Zillinger (*l.c.*) suggests that they belong in the mouth of Thoas who is sneering at the belief of Orestes in divination.

7. **cognosse**: the syncopated forms are commoner in *nosco* and its compounds than are the simple; cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 779; Cic. *Orat.* 157.

8. **nam, etc.**: this passage is found in Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed., 98, lines 83-85.

8f. **isti . . . audiendum**: a harsh anacoluthon, but not out of keeping with the freer style of early Latin poetry; cf. *Brut.* 258: *Caecilium et Pacuvium male locutus videmus*. Holtze (*Syntaxis Frag. scaen. Port. Rom. qui post Terent. fuerunt* (1882), 36) thinks *isti* attracted by *qui* into the nominative, but Koterba (in *Diss. philol.*

Plusque ex alieno iecore sapiunt quam ex suo,
Magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo.

Cur? quaeso, cum ipse paucis interpositis versibus dicas satis luculente:
Quidquid est hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,

Vindob. 8 (1905), 175-176; 180-181) more probably regards it as a case of anacoluthon, for in anacoluthon it is particularly common to start with a nominative and then pass to some other construction; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 586-587. It is quite unnecessary, to emend, as some scholars have done, to *istis*.

For the thought Creuzer compares *Plut. Sept. Sap. Consiv.* p. 152d: σὺ δὲ θεῶς εἰ κοράκιον ἐπαιεῖν καὶ κολοῖων, τῆς δὲ θεοῦ φωστῆς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐξακοῦεις, which Wyttenbach in his note on the passage (6, 2(1810), 950) thinks an imitation of some Greek tragedian from whom Pacuvius has likewise borrowed the idea. Plato (*Tim.* p. 72b) remarks: ἡ μὲν οὖν φύσις ἥρατος διὰ ταῦτα τοιαύτη τε καὶ ἐν τόκῳ ᾗ λέγομεν πέφυκε χάριν μαρτυρῆς: καὶ ἐτι μὲν δὴ ζῶντος ἕκαστον τὸ τοιοῦτον σημαία ἐπαργέστερα ἔχει, στερηθὲν δὲ τοῦ ζῆν γίγνεσθαι τυφλὸν καὶ τὰ μαρτεῖα ἀμυδρότερα ἔσχε τοῦ τι σαφῆς σημαίνων.

[329]8. *isti*: doubtless contemptuous. The two groups represent, of course, augury and haruspicine.

1. *sapiunt*: cf. 1, 132.

1. *ex suo*: for primitive notions of the liver as the seat of intelligence cf. 1, 16, n. (*issum in exiis*).

2. *magis*, etc.: cf. Non. p. 246 M.: *auscultare est obsequi. Pacuvius Chryse: magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo . . . Caecilius Symbolo* (196 Ribbeck): *audire, ignoti quod imperant, / soleo, non auscultare; Varr. L. L. 6, 83: ab audiendo etiam auscultare declinatum, quod hi auscultare dicuntur qui auditis parent; Cato, 37, 1 Cortese: auditis non auscultatis, tamquam pharmacopolam. As Koterba (op. cit. 180) well notes, the passage sometimes cited from Apul. *Apol.* 83: *nefario homini . . . nec auscultarent, sibi potius audirent*, is not a close parallel to ours.*

The verb *ausculto* is most often found in the dramatic writers and in the *sermo vulgari*s; cf. Wölflin in *Philologus*, 34 (1876), 143; Sinko in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v., 1534.

3. *dicas*: addressed to the *physicus*.

3. *dicas . . . luculente*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 65; *Off.* 3, 102.

4. *quidquid*, etc.: Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 99, lines 91-93. These lines are preceded in Ribbeck's collection by the following (found in part in Varr. *L. L.* 5, 17, and in part in Non. p. 144 M.): *hoc vide, circum supraque quod complexu continet / terram / solisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret, / id quod nostri caelum memorant Grai perhibent aethera* (cf. *N. D.* 2, 91). The connection of the first two and the fourth of these with our passage was seen by Scaliger. There follows in Ribbeck a line quoted by Non. p. 75 M.: *mater terrae: parit haec corpus, animam <auitem> aeter adiungat* (sic).

For the thought cf. Eur. fr. 839 Nauck: Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθέρα, / ὃ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ, / ἡ δ' ὑγροβόλου σταγῶνας νοτίας / παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητοῖς, / τίκτει βοτάνην φύλά τε θηρῶν: / ὅθω οὐκ ἀβλαῖς / μήτηρ πάντων νεφέμμοται. / χωρεῖ δ' ὄπισθω / τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαλας φύτ' εἰς γαῖαν, / τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆι / εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον: / θήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων, / διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλω πρὸς ἄλλου / μορφήν ἔτιραρ ἀπιδείξειν. This fragment is quoted, at least in part, by many writers, including Cicero (*N. D.* 2, 66), but only Clement (*Strom.* 6, p. 750 P.) assigns it to the *Chrysis*ρρρρ, and perhaps it should belong to the *Antioira*, for Prob. in Virg. *Ecl.* 6, 31 says: *terram enim et aetheraem (aerem MSS, corr. Wilamowitz) inducit* (sc. *Euripides*) *principia rerum esse in Antioira*. And to the *Antioira* of Pacuvius Bergk (*Kl. philol. Schr.* 1(1884),

Sepelit, recipitque in sese omnia omniumque idemst pater,

68) would assign the lines above quoted from Varro (*hoc vide . . . aethera*) which have their source in Eur. fr. 941 Nauck: ὄρεῖ τὸν ὄψου τόσθ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα / καὶ γῆν πλάξ' ἔχουθ' ὑγραιὲν ἀγαλάις; / τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόσθ' ἠγούθεόν, which is translated by Cicero in *N. D.* 2, 65, and by Ennius in his *Thyestes* (line 345 Vahlen).

This teaching may be traced from Euripides back to Anaxagoras, for Arist. *de Plant.* 1, 2, p. 817 a 26-28 (cf. Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 399, no. 117) says: 'Αναξαγόρας . . . ἔφη πρὸς Λεχίθεον ὅτι ἡ γῆ μήτηρ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν φυτῶν, ὃ δὲ ἄλιος πατήρ. The idea is expressed (more exactly, according to Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 1, 2, 5 ed. (1892), 1012) by Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 3, 1, 4 (Diels, *l. c.*): 'Αναξαγόρας μὲν τὸν αἶρα πάντων φάσεων ἔχειν σπέρματα καὶ ταῦτα συγκαταφερόμενα τῷ ὕδατι γενῶν τὰ φυτὰ; cf. Varr. *R. R.* 1, 40, 1. For the influence of Anaxagoras upon Euripides (*Vit. Eur.* p. 1 Schw.: ἀκουστῆς γερόμενος 'Αναξαγόρου, κτλ.) cf. Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* 1, 5 ed. (1908), 330, n. 6, and works there cited; Vitruv. 8, praef. 1 (quoted below). In Latin there should be compared Lucr. 2, 991-1004: *denique caelestis sumus omnes semine oriundi; / omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis / umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit, / feta parit nitidas fruges arbutaque laeta / et genus humanum, parit omnia saecla ferarum, / pabula cum praebet quibus omnes corpora pascunt / et dulcem ducunt vitam prolemque propagant; / quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est. / cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, / in terras, et quod missumst ex aetheris oris, / id rursum caeli vellitum templa receptant. / nec sic interemit mors res ut materiai / corpora conficiat, sed roelum dissupat ollis, / inde aliis aliud coniungit, etc., and in 5, 318-323 he paraphrases our passage: *denique iam tuere hoc, circum supraque quod omnem / conlinet amplexu terram; si procreat ex se / omnia, quod quidem memorant, recipitque**

*perempta, / lotum nativum mortali corpore constat. / nam quodcumque alias ex se res auget alitque / deminus debet, recreari, cum recipit res. Cf. also Vitruv. 8, praef. 1: Euripides auditor Anaxagorae, quem philosophum Athenienses scenicum appellaverunt aëra et terram eamque ex caelestium imbrum conceptionibus inseminatam fetus gentium et omnium animalium in mundo procreavisse, et quae ex ea essent prognata cum dissolverentur temporum necessitate coacta, in eandem redire, quacque de aëre nascerentur item in caeli regiones reverti, neque interitiones recipere, sed dissolutione mutata (Nauck, *l. c.*, suggests *mutua*) in eandem recidere in qua fuerant proprietatem.*

A not dissimilar view, however, applied to the earth, is found in *N. D.* 2, 66: *terrena autem vis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est qui Dives, ut apud Graecos Πλούτων, quia et recidunt omnia in terras et oriuntur e terris; cf. Aug. C. D. 7, 23 fin.: quur ergo pontifces, ut ipse (sc. Varro) indicat, additis quoque aliis duobus quattuor dis faciunt rem divinam, Telluri, Tellurioni, Allori, Rusorid? de Tellure et Tellumone iam dictum est. Allori quare? quod ex terra, inquit, aluntur omnia quae nati sunt. Rusori quare? quod rursus, inquit, cuncta eodem revoluntur; Varr. Epicharm. 48 Vahlen (of Ops): terris gentis omnis peperit. et resumit denuo. In Sen. Ep. 36, 10 it is nature (*rerum natura*) ex qua prodierunt ac mox processura sunt, reconduuntur, consumi, etc.*

[330]4. *animat, format*: Cicero too couples these words in 2, 89; cf. *N. D.* 1, 110: *formare, figurare, colorare, animare.*

[330]4. *creat*: possibly a case of hysteron proteron, appearing after the preceding verbs; less likely a summing up of the preceding processes; most probably in a very literal sense, similar in meaning to *auget*. The word is formed from the root **ker* 'grow' (cf. *creco* and *Ceres*); see Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 200. The words *auget* and *creat* may then be

Indidemque eadem aequae oriuntur de integro atque eodem occidunt.

Quid est igitur cur, cum domus sit omnium una, eademque communis, cumque animi hominum semper fuerint futurique sint, cur ii quid ex quoque eveniat et quid quamque rem significet perspicere non possint? Haec habui, inquit, de divinatione quae dicerem.

LVIII. 132. Nunc illa testabor non me sortilegos neque eos qui

1. eadem aequae Bücheler, Ribbeck, Müller, Thoresen, quae A, quae BHVO, Christ, Bailler.

1. atque C, aequae Scaliger, Christ, Bailler.

5. possint Lambinus, possunt C.

taken, in a somewhat redundant way, to mean 'gives increase and growth.'

1f. atque eodem: to be read with synizesis.

3. domus . . . una: cf. *N.D.* 2, 78; 2, 154: est . . . mundus quasi communis deorum atque hominum domus aut urbs utrorumque; 3, 26: mundum deorum domum; *Rep.* 3, 14: deos quorum domus esset omnis hic mundus; *Leg.* 1, 23: ut iam universus hic mundus una civitas sit communis deorum atque hominum existimanda; 2, 26: (sc. deorum) hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus; *Fin.* 3, 64: mundum autem censent regi numine deorum eumque esse quasi communem urbem et civitatem hominum et deorum. In addition to other passages bearing upon the Stoic theory of the 'world-dwelling' or the 'cosmopolis' cited by Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, 3, 1, 3 ed. (1880), 301-302; Mayor on *N.D.* 2, 154; Wendland, *Philo's Schrift über die Vorsehung* (1892), 10, n. 1; William, ed. of Diogenes Oenoandensis (1907), 87; Diels on Philodemus *περί θεῶν* (in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl.* 1915, 7 (1916), 60, n. 3) see Max. Tyr. 13, 6 Hobein: οἶκος ὄντος ἐἰς θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ; 32, 9: τῆν πᾶσαν γῆν ὡς οἶκος ἕνα; Lact. *Inst.* 2, 5, 37: quid quod idem ipsi aiunt deorum et hominum causa mundum esse constructum quasi communem domum; cf. 2, 5, 41.

4. animi . . . semper fuerint: cf. 1, 115, n. (vixit, etc.).

4. fuerint futurique sint: for similar cases of adnominatio in Cicero with the verb sum cf. Parzinger, *Beiträge z. Kennt-*

nis der Entwicklung des ciceron. Stils (1910), 27.

4. cur: for the repetition of this word a parallel is to be found in *Orat.* 144: nescio cur . . . cur nolis (though some editors there delete the first cur). For similar repetitions of ut cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 139.

5. quid quamque rem significet: cf. 1, 29, n. (non causas adferunt); 1, 109.

6. haec habui . . . quae dicerem: a stock phrase at the end of a section of a Ciceronian dialogue; cf. *N.D.* 2, 168: haec mihi fere in mentem veniebant quae dicenda putarem de natura deorum; 3, 93: haec fere dicere habui de natura deorum; *Tusc.* 2, 67: haec fere hoc tempore putavi esse dicenda; *de Sen.* 85: haec habui de senectute quae dicerem; *de Am.* 104: haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem; *de Inv.* 1, 96: de reprehensione haec existimavimus esse dicenda.

6. inquit: Hottinger points out that this is inserted here to remind the reader that the views are those of Quintus, not those of Marcus.

7. illa: cf. 1, 14, n. (illa).

7. non me, etc.: this sentence is perhaps a reply to the charge of Velleius in *N.D.* 1, 55, who reproaches the Stoics with attention to *haruspices*, *angures*, *harioli*, *coniectores*. The attempt seems to have been not infrequently made by the defenders of divination to separate from its supposedly higher forms those classes or cases which showed a plain deterioration into charlatanry. The line of division might be determined (1) by the respective degree of recognition given by the state

quaestus causa hariolentur, ne psychomantia quidem, quibus Appius, amicus

1. ne codd. dell. aliquot, nec C.

to different forms of divination (which, of course, largely determined their social standing), as in the different weight early laid at Rome upon augury and haruspicine; cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*); Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913); 512-513), the advice given by Maecenas to Octavian (Dio Cass. 52, 36), and the various restrictions laid by emperors upon the consultation of unauthorized diviners; (2) by purely civil measures to protect citizens against the mercenary impositions of quacks, the *ἀγύραι* of the Greeks, as in the action of Agrippa (Dio Cass. 49, 43) and that of Tiberius (*id.* 57, 15), with which cf. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 8, 7, 3; and (3) by the professional jealousies of one class of diviners for another; cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 69, where he discusses the possibilities of disinterestedness on the part of diviners by different methods, and accepts only a limited number of methods as more likely to be free from the personal bias of their practitioners (for the Christian rejection of the false prophecy of the pagans cf. Tambornino, *De Antiquorum Daemonismo* (1909), 92 ff.). To the attempt of Cratippus, however, to differentiate between good and bad divination (1, 71 supra) Marcus Cicero makes answer in 2, 109 by showing the impossibility of denying to the less approved classes of diviners the privileges claimed by those more highly favored. The importance attached to a distinction between true and false divination is also perhaps enhanced, as Halliday (*Greek Divination* (1913), 42) remarks, by the primitive 'confusion between the act of making the future and that of predicting it.'

[322]7. *sortilegos*: on lots cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*). These *sortilegi* might be attached to a particular shrine (*C. I. L.* XIV, 2989 mentions at Praeneste a *sortilegus Fortunae Primigeniae*; VI, 2274 a *sortilegus ab Venere Erucina*), or, more often, mere strolling quacks, like that described by Juv. 6, 582 ff. (and see the schol.); cf. Hor.

Sat. 1, 9, 29-30; Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 367-368; van Dale, *De Oraculis* (1700), 280-324; Scudamore in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 2 (1880 ed.) 1920; also the definition in Isid. *Etym.* 8, 9, 28.

[322]7f. *qui . . . hariolentur*: cf. 1, 4, n. (*hariolorum*). The verb is also found in *ad Att.* 8, 11, 3, and is common in comedy.

1. *psychomantia*: the process here alluded to was known by the Greeks as *νεκρομαντεία* (cf. Lucian's work of that name) or *νεκία*, and consisted in the evocation of ghosts for the purpose of learning from them of the future. It was especially associated with places called *νεκρομαντεία* (later corrupted into *nicromantia* (Schol. Prud. *Peristeph.* 13, 23 Burnam) and *nigromantia*, and by false etymology confused with Black Art; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 330, n. 1; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 236, *νεκρομαντεία*, *ψυχομαντεία* (cf. *Tusc.* 1, 115), *ψυχοκουμεία*, or *ψυχαγωγία* (cf. *Etym. Mag.* s.v.); for differentiation between these words made by some scholars cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 334, n. 1. These were especially at spots known as *Plutonia* (1, 79, n. (*mortifera*); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 333; 3, 319; 3, 363-368), found in different parts of the Greco-Roman world (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2(1906), 935, n. 9; Rohde, *Psyche*, 1, 4 ed. (1907), 213, n.; 214), but it might also be practiced elsewhere (Bouché-Leclercq, *l.c.*), especially at the graves of the dead and in connection with rites of incubation (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 290; 1, 330-331; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 6, n. 2; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 935-936; Halliday, *op. cit.* 239). The ritual, first appearing in *Od.* 10, 517-534 (and well described by Headlam in *Class. Rev.* 16 (1902), 56-57; cf. Fahn, *De Poet. Rom. Doctrina magica*, in *Religionsgeschichte. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 2, 3 (1904), 110-121), was performed by a *γῆρας*, *ἑρπῆς*, *μάγος*, or *ψυχαγωγός* (Headlam,

tuus, uti solebat, agnoscere; non habeo denique nauci Marsum augurem, non

1. non habeo denique nauci *codd. det. aliquot*, non ab eodem nauci (sancti B *corr. in sanxi*) C, non habeo dein nauci *Daries*.

op. cit. 55; 60; Halliday, *op. cit.* 240; Aeschylus wrote a play called *Ψυχαγωγία*, with whom compare the Latin *necromantia* (Isid. *Etym.* 8, 9, 11), of low social standing (Headlam, *l.c.*), and was designed to rend the earth (*id.* 56-57) that there might come forth the corpses of the dead or their shades (Serv. *Aen.* 6, 107; 6, 149 distinguishes between *necromantia* and *sciomantia*, and perhaps there was originally such a difference between *νεκρο-* and *σκιο-* in all the compounds). According to the Homeric view these evoked spirits had no unusual knowledge of the future, and even Tiresias merely retained the mantic power which he had had in life. Yet through the influence of Platonism (according to Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 334-335) the disembodied spirits were assigned a knowledge of the secrets of creation and of the future. Evocation may be regarded as the converse of the method of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* and the sixth book of the *Aeneid* in which the mortal goes to visit the shades instead of summoning them forth to meet him; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 332.

The geographical spread of necromancy is wide (Rose in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 778), though it is less often found among savage peoples because of their fear of ghosts, while, at a higher stage of culture, it is often replaced by direct access to the gods, or, with a more refined view of the soul, by non-magical friendly intercourse with the dead (Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 429-430). For its supposed Persian origin see Varr. *ap. Aug. C. D.* 7, 35; Headlam, *op. cit.* 55 ff. Jewish necromancy is treated by Gaster in Hastings, *op. cit.* 4, 811; Toy, *op. cit.* 156, n. 3; Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Test.* 2 (1918), 517-554; that among the Greeks and Romans by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 330-343 (who treats also the related methods

of ventriloquism, lecanomancy, and hydro-mancy); Headlam, *op. cit.* 52-61; Fahz, *op. cit.* 110-121; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 928 ff.; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 4, 2 (1908), 142-143; 240-243; Halliday, *op. cit.* 235-245. For its appearance in other lands see Rose, *l.c.*; Spence in Hastings, *op. cit.* 4, 781.

The attitude of Appius (1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*) supra) toward these rites is described in *Tusc.* 1, 37: *animos enim per se ipsos viventes non poterant mente complecti; formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. inde Homeri tota nuxia; inde ea quae meus amicus Appius vavuarraia faciebat; inde in vicinia nostra Averni lacus: Unde animae excitantur, obscura umbra, aperto ostio / altae Acheruntis, falso sanguine, mortuorum imagines. Cicero charges Vatinius (in *Vat.* 14) with practicing this art.*

Schmekel (*Die Philos. der mittl. Stoa* (1892), 256, n. 1) well observes that it is quite consistent with the view held by Posidonius that the soul after its separation from the body passed to higher regions to deny, as here, the evocation of ghosts from the underworld.

1. non habeo . . . nauci: the derivation of *naucum* is very uncertain, but perhaps connected with *nugae*; cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 ed. (1910), 509. See also Fest. p. 166 M.: *naucum ait Ateius Philologus poni pro nugis. Cincius quod oleae nucisque intus sil. Aelius Stilo omnium rerum putamen. glossematorum autem scriptores fabae grani quod haereat in fabulo. quidam ex Graeco val kal obxi, levem hominem significari. quidam nucis iuglandis . . . medium velut dissepimentum. The word is used by Plautus, Naevius, and Ennius (which has perhaps encouraged the idea that the quotation from Ennius about to be given should include this phrase), and by Ausonius, but in the intervening classical*

vicanos haruspices, non de circo astrologos, non Isiacos coniectores, non interpretes somniorum; non enim sunt ii aut scientia aut arte divini,

2. li vulg., hi AV, hii B, hic deficit H.

period appears only here. For its syntax cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführ. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 461.

[334]l. *Marsum augurem*: cf. 1, 105, n. (Soranum); 2, 70.

1. *vicanos haruspices*: these were unofficial private haruspices, whose mercenary practices kept down the respect felt for their profession and led to such remarks as that quoted from Pacuvius in 1, 131, and the jest of Cato in 2, 51; cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 3 (1909), 145; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 547, n. 7. Plaut. *Curc.* 483 mentions haruspices at the Velabrum. Similar places, at Rome or elsewhere, were, not unnaturally, the resorts of such charlatans, and Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 1 speaks disparagingly of τῶν ἐν ἄγορῇ μάρτυρων; cf. Aesop. 286 Halm, of a μάρτυς ἐν ἄγορῇ καθήμενος; Orig. *c. Cels.* 1, 64, who speaks of such ἐν μέσῳ ἄγορῆς; and Hier. *Ep.* 127, 9, in whose day they still haunted the *plateae* and the *forum rerum venalium* (cf. Aug. *Tract. in Iouann. Evang.* 8, 11, of the *mathematici*). In Quintil. 12, 10, 74-75 there is perhaps an allusion to this class.

1. *de circo astrologos*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*ultimis*); 2, 87-99. Of the locality Horace remarks (*Sat.* 1, 6, 113-114): *fallacem circum vesperinumque pererro / saepe forum; adsisto divinis* (on which the scholiast (Pseudacro) says: *an fallacem circum propter Circenses incerti eventus, aut propter samardacum qui circa metas solebat inducere? illic enim et mathematici olim steterant <et> imperiti*); cf. Juv. 6, 582-584: *si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrimque / metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque / praebit vali crebrum poppyssa roganti* (schol.: *si pauper erit mulier superstitiosa in circo quaerit quos consulat. ibi nam antea proponere solebant huius artis professores*); 6, 588: *plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum*; Dieterich in *Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900),

208-210 (on Propert. 4, 1, 71). Liv. 39, 16, 8 speaks of the magistrates being at times authorized *ut . . . sacrificulos vatesque foro circo urbe prohiberent, valicinios libros conquirerent comburentque*. We are probably to imagine these quacks as chiefly haunting the arcades around the outside of the Circus, one of the most disreputable parts of the city (see Platner, *Topogr. and Monum. of Anc. Rome*, 2 ed. (1911), 408, n. 6; cf. Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie* (1896), 1815-1816; Hülsen in *P.-W.* s.v. *Circus* (1899), 2576). For their quackery cf. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Eng. tr. (1911), 105; 124-125; 168.

For the use of *de* in this phrase cf. *pro Mil.* 65: *popa Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo*.

1. *Isiacos coniectores*: *coniectores* are mentioned with contempt by Velleius in *N.D.* 1, 55, along with *haruspices, augures, harioli, and vates*. We may perhaps infer that they performed some explanatory service in connection with the dream-commands received by the worshippers through incubation (1, 96, n. (*excubabant*) supra), which was practiced in the Isis cult: cf. 2, 123; Wolff, *De novissima Oraculorum Aetate* (1854), 31-33; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 96-98; Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906), 98-101. On the date of the introduction of the rites of Isis to Rome (the first temple was not built until 43 B.C.) see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 351-352. Apul. *Met.* 11, 30 speaks of the cult as *collegii vetustissimi et sub illis Syllae temporibus conditi*, a tradition which Wissowa (*l.c.*) accepts, but we lack any evidence for carrying it back to the times of Ennius, so that we have here an added argument for supposing these words to be those of Cicero, not those of Ennius (see note on *sed superstitiosi, etc.*, infra).

2. *interpretes somniorum*: their mediation is condemned by Marcus

Sed superstitiosi vates inpudentesque harioli
 Aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat,
 Qui sibi semitam non sapiunt alteri monstrant viam;

Cicero in 2, 127. For such dream-interpreters at Athens cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 295-296.

[335]2. *scientia*: as in 1, 1.

[335]2. *divini*: cf. 1, 58.

1. *sed superstitiosi*, etc.: these lines are found in Ennius, *Telamo*, 319-323 Vahlen. The identification of the fragment is as follows, 2, 104: *an noster Ennius? qui magno plausu loquitur adsentiente populo: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, / sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus (= Telamo, 316-317): et quidem cur sic opinatur rationem subicit; sed nihil est necesse dicere quae sequuntur.* But in *N.D.* 3, 79 he says: *Telamo autem uno versu locum totum conficit cur di homines neglegant: Nam si curent bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest (= Telamo, 318).* This last verse clearly falls in the *paucis . . . versibus* which a little below are said to intervene between *sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus* and our passage. The name of the play is attested by citations in other authors.

The question next arises as to where the quotation should be supposed to begin. Some of the older editors, such as Davies, Moser, and Giese, would begin the verses with *non habeo denique* and run on without break. But not only is this metrically harsh (e.g., *astrologos*; and one must correct *somniorum* to *somnium*), but the language is unpoetic and fitted rather for argumentative prose (for example, as Allen in his edition (1836) notes, *denique*, and *non enim sunt ii aut scientia aut arte divini*). Again, the reference to *Isiacos coniectores* is probably a chronological impossibility for the time of Ennius (see note on *Isiacos coniectores* supra). Possibly the other phrases may contain reminiscences of Ennius, but it is hardly safe to treat the passage as metrical.

It is further uncertain whether the word *sed* belongs to Ennius or to Cicero. Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom. Frag.* 2 ed. (1897), 62) is in doubt; Vahlen in his second edition of Ennius (1903), 179, thinks *sed* belongs only to Cicero.

Vahlen (*l.c.*) has attempted to find the source for verses 316-318 in the *Ajax* of Sophocles (but cf. Leo, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 1 (1913), 190), and further compares the thought of our lines with Soph. *O. T.* 387-389: *ὄφεις μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον, / δόλιον ἀγύρτην, ὅστις ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν / μόνον δίδορκε, τὴν τέχνην δ' ἔφου τυφλός.* With our fragment should perhaps be combined verse 394 Vahlen (quoted in 1, 88 supra; see the note). An anonymous English verse translation of this passage is given in the *Spectator*, no. 505 (1712).

1. *superstitiosi*: on *superstitio* cf. 2, 148; also 1, 66: *superstitiosis hariolationibus.*

2. *insani*: cf. the note on *qui sibi*, etc. infra.

2. *quibus egestas imperat*: cf. Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 2: *id praestigiarum atque officiarum genus commentos esse homines arruscatores et cibum quaestumque ex mendaciis captantes.* In 14, 1, 34 Gellius quotes Accius, 169-170 Ribbeck: *nil credo auguribus, qui auris verbis divitant / alianas, suas ut auro locupletent domos;* cf. note on *ab eis drachmam* infra.

3. *qui sibi*, etc.: the expression is probably proverbial, and Otto (*Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 370) compares Phaedrus, 1, 9, 1-2: *sibi non cavere et aliis consilium dare / stultum esse*, and the same antithesis in *Append. Prov.* 4, 12: *ὀδοῦ παρούσης τὴν ἀτραπὸν μὴ γῆται.* Prophets were often represented as ignorant of their own fate; cf. the examples collected by Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 56, n. 1; also Aesch. *Prom. V.*

Quibus divitias pollicentur ab iis drachumam ipsi petunt.

1. *in vulg.*, *his C.*1. drachumam *post Ritschium editores*, drachmam *B^o*, dragmam *B^v*, dracmam *A*, *hic deficit B.*

85-87; 268; 335-336; 473-475; Ps. Hecat. *de Iudaeis*, ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* 1, 22 (= *F. H. G.* 2, 395, no. 14; cf. Cedren. *Hist.* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 121, 308) of a Jew who shoots a bird which has just been used for augury and remarks *πῶς γὰρ οὗτος τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν οὐ προοιδὼν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ποπέλας ἡμῖν ἄν τε ὑγιεὶ ἀπήγγειλεν*; Hier. in *Is.* 41, 22 (of pagan oracles not foreseeing their own end); Aug. *c. Acad.* 1, 7, 21; Commod. *Instr.* 1, 19, 9: *ipse sibi nescit divinare, ceteris audet*; cf. Defoe, *Life and Adventures of Mr. Douglas Campbell* (1720), ch. 8 init.: "helpless (as it has been an observation concerning all such men in the account of the second-sight) and blind in his own future affairs." (The Erythraean Sibyl, however, did foresee her own fate; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 168-169.) Tiberius, according to Tac. *Ann.* 6, 21, made test of the knowledge of diviners of their own fate to secure evidence of their prescience of that of others (cf. 1, 32, n. (*cum templaret*) supra), and Origen *c. Cels.* 4, 90-91 uses the ignorance of augural animals of their own fate as evidence for their ignorance of that of men. Schuster in *Zeitschr. f. d. deutschöst. Gymn.* 69 (1919), 26-30 collects many instances of poetic mockery of diviners.

The argument has been constantly used, in a wider application, in disparagement of the learned but abstracted and unpractical scholar; cf. 1, 111; 2, 30; Eur. fr. 905 Nauck (quoted by Cicero *ad Fam.* 13, 15, 2): *μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός*, which was translated by Enn. *Med.* 273 Vahlen: *qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit nequiquam sapit* (Nauck quotes other Greek parallels to the thought); Mark, 15, 31: *ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ταυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι*.

Neither the criticism here raised, however, nor the remark of Socrates (Plat. *Apol.* p. 22c) of the *θεομάντις* and *χρησμοβολοὶ* who *λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι*

δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι, is a complete objection to the theory that prophets are mediums rather than rational interpreters of the divine will, and Quintus Cicero has been represented as led by the appropriateness of the first two and last two verses of the passage, illustrating the rapacity of quacks which he is condemning, to the inclusion of this intervening line, which well expresses the Epicurean disbelief of Ennius but accords somewhat ill with the Stoic theories of inspiration. The same objection will also apply to the word *insani* in the preceding line, for *furor* is of the very nature of prophecy, as has repeatedly been asserted in this book. The heresy of these Epicurean views is recognized below (*ego autem qui et curare arbitror*, etc.).

1. *quibus*: cf. 1, 66, n. (*virginalis*).

1. *ab iis drachumam*: for the contrast between the smallness of the fee and the greatness of the service cf. Isocr. *c. Sophist.* 7: *κατὶ ὥσει τοὺς τὴν σοφίαν διδάσκοντας καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παραδιδόντας αὐτοῖς τε πολλῶν δεομένους καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς μικρὸν πραττομένους*; Max. Tyr. 13, 3 Holstein: *τῶν ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις ἀγερότων . . . οἱ θεοῖν ὀβολοῖν τῷ προστυχόντι ἀποθεσπίζουσιν*; Juv. 6, 546-547: *arre minuto / qualiacumque vales Iudaei somnia vendunt*. Elsewhere, however, it is the dearthness of the service which is condemned: Soph. *Antig.* 1055: *τὸ μαντικὸν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλάργυρον γένος*, where Jebb compares Eur. *Hel.* 755-756 (of divination): *βίον γὰρ ἄλλως ἄλλω ἐρήθη τάδε, / κοῦδὲς ἐπλοῦτησ' ἐμπύρουσιν ἄργος ὧν*; I. T. 520: *τὸ μαντικὸν τῶν στέργμα φιλότιμον κακόν*. Christian writers contrast the greed of pagan diviners with the modesty of true Christian prophets: *Hermas Pastor, Mand.* 11, 12: *μισθοὺς λαμβάνων τῆς προφητείας αὐτοῦ ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃ οὐ προφητεύει. δύναται οὖν πνεῦμα θεῖον μισθοὺς λαμβάνειν καὶ προφητεύειν*; Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 2, p. 134b; Clem. *Strom.* 1, p. 84 Stählin applies to many of the pagan prophets, of whom he has given a

De his divitiis sibi deducant drachumam, reddant cetera.

Atque haec quidem Ennius, qui paucis ante versibus esse deos censet, sed eos non curare opinatur quid agat humanum genus. Ego autem, qui et curare arbitror et monere etiam ac multa praedicere, levitate, vanitate, malitia exclusa divinationem probō. Quae cum dixisset Quintus, Praeclare tu quidem, inquam, paratus . . .

1. drachumam *A B V*¹, dracmam *V*², dragmam *B*³, drachmam *O*, hic deficit *H*.
 5. exclusa cum Turnebo *O*, Müller, exclusam *C*, Christ, Baizer.

long list, the phrase of John, 10, 8: *ἀλλῶται πάντες καὶ λήθηται*.

[337]1. *drachumam*: for the form cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* 2 (1863), 469-473; and for similar cases of the anaptyptic or svabhaktic vowel *id.* 2, 473-523; Stolz, *Lat. Gram.* 2 ed. (1890), 277-278; Lindsay, *Latin Language* (1894), 93-95; 145-147; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführ. Gram.* 1 2 ed. (1912), 136-137.

1. *de his, etc.*: this line is bracketed by Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 61-62) who thinks that it was added by some jocose reader. But Vahlen retains it without question, and it seems, as Zillinger (*Cicero u. die altröm. Dichter* (1911), 119, n. 2) thinks, greatly to strengthen the effect of the preceding lines. To determine whether a verse of this character would be out of place in a tragedy of Ennius would demand a more definite knowledge of its context than we possess.

2. *paucis ante versibus*: cf. note on *sed superstitioni, etc.*, supra.

2f. *sed eos . . . genus*: quoted exactly with the single change of *opino* to the third person. For the thought cf. Accius, *Antig.* 142-143 Ribbeck: *iam iam neque di regunt/neque profecto deum supremum rex <iam> curat hominibus*. The Epicurean view of the gods is well illustrated in the passages collected by

Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 232-241, and the theory of the divine indifference to human interests in the same work, 241-257; cf. 1, 82, n. (*non diligunt homines*) supra.

4. *et monere etiam*: the cases of *et . . . etiam* in Cicero are discussed by Reid on *Ac.* 1, 5.

4. *levitate, vanitate*: these qualities are coupled by Cicero in *Vat.* 40, and the adjectives *vanos* and *leves* appear together in *Fin.* 3, 38. The former quality is, of course, the opposite to the *gravitas* which Cicero so highly prized.

5f. *praeclare . . . paratus*: with this incomplete sentence cf. *N.D.* 3, 2, where Velleius is eager to hear Cotta's attack on Stoicism, and says: *spero enim te, ut soles, bene paratum venire*; also *Rep.* 1, 34: *qua in disputatione quoniam tu paratior es, etc.* Doubtless Marcus here introduced some compliment to Quintus upon his defence of the Stoic cause (taken up again in 2, 8; cf. Sander in *Philologus*, 75(1919), 389-391), like those of Cotta to his opponents in *N.D.* 1, 57-59; 3, 4, though the compliment in 2, 8 might make even this unnecessary.

Probably little is here lost, for the main argument of Quintus has clearly been concluded and that of Marcus does not begin until the second book; cf. 1, 131, n. (*haec habui . . . quae dicerem*); introd. n. 76 supra.

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M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE
LIBER SECVNDVS

EDITED BY
ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

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PREFATORY NOTE

The second book of the *De Divinatione* is here treated in a manner uniform with the first book, which appeared in this series as volume VI, parts 2 and 3, dated 1920 and appearing in April and May, 1921, respectively. At the end of the text and commentary have been added certain corrections of misprints and of statements in the first book and supplementary references from later reading and from the technical literature which has appeared since the commentary on the first book was prepared. The catalogue of manuscripts, editions, and translations, though less exhaustive than I could wish, may yet prove of some use.

In the writing of the commentary I have received valued aid from Professor J. H. Breasted of the University of Chicago, and from my colleagues at the University of Illinois, Professors H. V. Canter, M. T. McClure, Jr., T. E. Oliver, C. Zeleny, and, in particular, repeated and invaluable assistance from Professor W. A. Oldfather. To the generous policy of the University of Illinois which has made possible the publication of this work I am deeply indebted.

- A*—Cod. Leid. Voss. 84, S. IX-X
B—Cod. Leid. Voss. 86, S. X
H—Cod. Leid. Heins. 118, S. XI
V—Cod. Vindob. 189, S. X
C—*ABHV*
O—editio Orrelliana (1828)

M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE
LIBER SECVNDVS

I. 1. Quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti quam re possem prodesse quam plurimis, ne quando intermitterem consulere rei publicae, nulla maior occurrebat quam si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus; quod conpluribus iam libris me arbitror consecutum. Nam et

1ff. quaerenti, etc.: the prooemium to the second book, obviously original with Cicero rather than based upon any previous writer (cf. introd. p. 24), and important as an indication of the date of completion of the work (introd. p. 14 and n. 46), is a distinct and awkward interruption in the course of the dialogue, justified only by reasons of expediency, as has been noted in the introduction (p. 18).

1. quaerenti . . . cogitanti: similar cases of the dative of the participle in introductory phrases, both in Cicero and in other writers, are collected by Landgraf, *Kommentar zu Ciceros Rede pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* (1914), 142-143; cf. Aug. *Soliloq.* 1, 1: *volenti mihi multa ac varia mecum diu, etc.*

1. multumque et diu: cf. *Ac.* 1, 3 (and Reid's n.); 2, 130: *diu multumque*; *Off.* 1, 118; *de Sen.* 9; *pro Sull.* 73; *de Leg. agr.* 2, 88; *ad Att.* 4, 13, 2; *de Or.* 1, 152; *Orat.* 1.

2. prodesse, etc.: this idea of service to his fellow-citizens and to the state appears repeatedly in Cicero's writing of this period; e.g., 2, 4; 2, 7; 2, 148; *Fin.* 1, 10; *N. D.* 1, 7: *ipsius rei publicae causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi*; *Leg.* 1, 5: *non solum mihi videris eorum studiis qui tuis litteris delectantur sed etiam patriae debere hoc munus ut ea quae salva per te est per te eundem sit ornata*; *Phil.* 2, 20: *dicam . . . me . . . perfecisse ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et inventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid adferrent*; *Off.* 1, 1: *nos, ut videmur, magnum altulimus adiumentum hominibus nostris, ut non modo Graecarum litterarum rudes sed etiam docti aliquantum se arbitrentur adeptos*

et ad dicendum et ad iudicandum; 1, 22: *homines autem hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se prodesse possent*; 1, 52; *Tusc.* 1, 3; 1, 5. His conviction as to the practical result of the present work is again shown in 2, 148.

2. consulere rei publicae: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 91; *Off.* 2, 46.

3. quam si: for this idiom cf. Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 196-197.

3. optimarum artium vias: cf. introd. p. 9, n. 5. For the expression see *Leg.* 1, 18: *non tam iustitiae quam litigandi tradunt vias*.

4. conpluribus: cf. *N. D.* 1, 6: *libris nostris quos complures brevi tempore edidimus*; in *Off.* 1, 3 he recognizes his philosophical works as being already nearly as numerous as his orations; see also *Fin.* 1, 11.

4. nam et, etc.: for the following important catalogue of Cicero's philosophical works see Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 339-341. That the first part of the list is intended by Cicero to be essentially in chronological order seems probable (Plasberg, *De M. T. Cic. Hortensio Dialogo* (1892), 6-8; cf. Durand in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 180-181), but it must be noted that after mention of the *De Divinatione* and a reference to the *De Fato* as already contemplated Cicero turns back to include in his list certain works of a prior date. Of these the *De Republica* belongs to a much earlier period (and to a different field of thought, as much political as philosophic), the *Consolatio* and the *De Senectute* were perhaps omitted from the first enumeration through oversight or

cohortati sumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad philosophiae studium eo libro qui est inscriptus Hortensius, et quod genus philosophandi minime adro-

because of their smaller extent; and the *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, and *Orator* belong more properly in the category of rhetorical than in that of philosophical writings. The omission of certain other works which might have been here expected is due either to the fact that they were not yet completed or perhaps to their being of a less relevant character. Thus the *De Legibus* (Schanz, *op. cit.* 347-348), the *De Amicitia* (*id.* 371), the *De Gloria* (*id.* 379), the *De Officiis* (*id.* 373), the *Topica* (*id.* 310), and doubtless the *De Virtutibus* (*id.* 379) were later works. Whether the *De Auguriis* is absent from the list because it was not yet written, because it was technical rather than philosophical in content, or because Cicero in a work directed against superstitious practices was not eager to emphasize a work which some might take to be an implied defence of such, it is not easy to say; cf. *introd.* p. 10, n. 13. The *Paradoxa*, published in 46 B. C., was perhaps regarded as a rhetorical exercise rather than a philosophical treatise (Schanz, *op. cit.* 341; but cf. Ogórek, *Quae Ratio sit Ciceronis Paradoxorum Stoicorum cum Horatii Stoicismo, etc.* (1901), 9); the case of the *Timaeus*, from uncertainty as to its exact date (Schanz, *op. cit.* 359), it is hard to determine. Possibly it was disregarded as being merely a translation, like his version of Plato's *Protagoras*. Lörcher, *Das Fremde u. das Eigene in Ciceros Büchern de Finibus* (1911), 82-83, notes that the order of composition and that of publication of these works may not have been in all cases the same.

1. *cohortati sumus*: such προσηκτικὰ λόγια are frequent in philosophical literature; cf. the list in Wytttenbach's ed. of Plut. *Mor.* 8, 3 (1829), 1378; Schanz, *op. cit.* 378. Cf. also the similar expression in *Off.* 2, 6: *haec cum ad philosophiam cohortamur accuratius disputari solent, quod alio quodam libro scriimus* (i.e., in the

Hortensius). For the use of the plural cf. Conway, *The Use of the singular NOS in Cicero's Letters* (in *Trans. Camb. philol. Soc.* 5(1899), 1-79); *id.*, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 1-17.

2. *est inscriptus*: the present (*inscribitur*) is the phrase usually employed by Cicero for book titles; cf. *N. D.* 1, 32; 1, 41; *Ac.* 2, 12; *Tusc.* 1, 57; *Off.* 2, 31; 2, 87; *de Sen.* 13; 59. The attempts of earlier scholars to find a distinction in meaning between the two expressions are unnecessary.

2. *Hortensius*: this work, composed in the spring of 45 B. C. (Schanz, *op. cit.* 377-378), was named for the orator Hortensius, and described a dialogue at the villa of Lucullus in which Catulus delivered an encomium upon poetry, Lucullus upon history, Hortensius upon oratory, and Cicero upon philosophy (by his argument converting Hortensius from a hostile to a sympathetic attitude toward philosophic studies). For the numerous fragments of this work, so much admired by later Romans (cf. especially Aug. *Conf.* 3, 4, 7; 8, 7, 17; *de Vita beata*, 1, 4; *c. Acad.* 1, 1, 4; Schanz, *op. cit.* 377) see Müller's edition, 4, 3, 312-327, and for a skillful reconstruction cf. Plasberg, *De M. T. Cic. Hortensio Dialogo* (1892). The general purpose of the work is shown in *Ac.* 2, 6: *si quodam in libro vere est a nobis philosophia laudata, profecto eius tractatio optimo atque amplissimo quoque dignissima est; Fin.* 1, 2: *philosophiae quidem vituperatoribus satis responsum est eo libro quo a nobis philosophia defensa et collaudata est, cum esset accusata et vituperata ab Hortensio.*

2. *minime adrogans*: excessive assumption appears to have been, in the mind of Cicero, an especial characteristic of the Epicureans (cf. *N. D.* 1, 18; 1, 65 ff.; 1, 77; 1, 89; 1, 98) and of scientific men in general (cf. 2, 30 *infra*: *physicus, quo genere nihil adrogantius*), but the

gans maximeque et constans et elegans arbitraremur quattuor Academicis libris ostendimus. 2. Cumque fundamentum esset philosophiae positum in finibus bonorum et malorum, perpuratus est is locus a nobis quinque libris, ut quid a quoque et quid contra quemque philosophum diceretur intellegi posset. Totidem subsecuti libri Tusculanarum disputationum

Stoics also were by no means disinclined to assume more than their adversaries would concede them (e.g., in *N.D.* 3, 21; 3, 36). Contrasted with the doctrinaire attitude of other schools is that of the Academy, as is well shown in *Ac.* 2, 115: *utrum igitur nos impudentes qui labi nolumus, an illi adrogantes qui sibi persuaserint scire se solos omnia!* Cf. 2, 150 infra. Temperamental moderation and the habits of a lawyer led Cicero to incline toward the Academic suspense of judgment (cf. Reid's n. in his ed. of the *Academica*, 10-19; also see 1, 7, n. (*ne . . . adsentiamur*) above; 2, 30, n. (*ut physicus*)).

1. *constans*: 'consistent,' as in *N.D.* 3, 91; al. *Constans* and *constantia* are favorite words with Cicero, and in this passage he perhaps took a distinct satisfaction in claiming for the Academy a quality precisely contrary to that intellectual aimlessness which its adversaries—as described in *N.D.* 1, 12—supposed to prevail within it.

1. *elegans*: in 1, 62 Epicurus is described as lacking in intellectual *elegantia*, and in *N.D.* 2, 74 a somewhat similar description is given of his whole school. Neither Epicureanism nor Stoicism gave much opportunity for that embellishment of style which Cicero held so important (cf. Smiley, *Latinitas and ΕΛΑΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ* (1906), 212 ff.), but the Academic method, at the very basis of which lay the principle of antithetical balance—*et contra omnes philosophus et pro omnibus dicere* (*N.D.* 1, 11)—lent itself more naturally to the sort of art in which Cicero delighted. Cf. Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus* (1905), 144.

1f. *quattuor Academicis libris*: for

the two editions of the *Academica*, the first in two, the second in four books, see the introduction of Reid's edition, 28-51; Schanz, *op. cit.* 351-352; and the introduction to Plasberg's edition, iii ff. Although both seem to have been in circulation, Cicero after the publication of the second consistently directed attention to the later four-book edition; cf. *Tusc.* 2, 4; *ad Att.* 16, 6, 4; *N.D.* 1, 11; Reid, *op. cit.* 37.

2. *cumque*: Lörcher (*op. cit.* 82-83) points out that *-que* does not here express the same degree of chronological definiteness as do the phrases *subsecuti . . . quibus rebus edilis . . . ingressi sumus . . . ut est in animo . . . erit*, and he would date the composition (as opposed to the publication) of the *De Finibus* before that of the *Academica* (*op. cit.* 91). But cf. 2, 1, n. (*nam et, etc.*) *supra*. A Greek, building a scientific system, would have considered epistemology its basis; the more practical Roman, writing (or readers not too patient of philosophic subtlety, places as the foundation what is really subsequent and derived, as the term *finibus* here indicates (cf. *Fin.* 1, 11: *quis sit finis, quid extremum*; 3, 26; 5, 23: *haec quaestio de finibus et quasi de extremis bonorum et malorum*). But cf. 2, 10, n. (*philosophia*) *infra*.

3. *perpuratus . . . locus*: cf. *pro Muren.* 54: *tertius ille locus est reliquus orationis . . . prerpurgatus ab eis qui ante me dixerunt, ut me . . . retractandus*.

3. *locus*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*loco*); *locum* a few lines below; 2, 3.

4f. *quid a quoque, etc.*: cf. n. on *minime adrogans supra*; 2, 150, n. (*in quamque sententiam*).

5. *totidem*: representing the discussions of five days (*Tusc.* 1, 8).

res ad beate vivendum maxime necessarias aperuerunt. Primus enim est de contemnenda morte, secundus de tolerando dolore, de aegritudine lenienda tertius, quartus de reliquis animi perturbationibus, quintus eum locum complexus est qui totam philosophiam maxime inlustrat; docet enim ad beate vivendum virtutem se ipsa esse contentam. 3. Quibus rebus editis tres libri perfecti sunt de natura deorum, in quibus omnis

[347]5. *Tusculanarum disputationum*: on the question of this title cf. Kühner, 5 ed. of *Tusc.* p. 5, n.; Orelli-Baiter ed. p. 208; *Tusc.* 5, 1; *de Fat.* 4; *ad Att.* 15, 2, 4; 15, 4, 2; *Lact. Inst.* 3, 14; *Boeth. Comm. in Top.* 5, p. 372 Baiter. Nonius, Charisius, Diomedes, Priscian, and other grammarians constantly cite the work simply as *Tusculanae*.

1. *ad beate vivendum*: a phrase of the greatest frequency in Cicero, especially in the *De Finibus* and the *Tusculan Disputations*; cf. Merquet, *Lexikon s. d. phil. Schriften*, 1(1887), 325-326.

2. *de contemnenda morte . . . esse contentam*: these phrases, lacking in all the best MSS of the *Tusculan Disputations*, have been very generally adopted by editors as subtitles for the separate books.

3. *animi perturbationibus*: a frequent phrase, probably not differing greatly from the *mentis perturbationes* of *Tusc.* 4, 36; cf. 4, 54; 4, 75.

4. *philosophiam . . . inlustrat*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 3; *Tusc.* 1, 5.

5. *virtutem . . . contentam*: this doctrine appears among the Cynics, being by Diog. L. 6, 11 ascribed to Antisthenes: ἀντράρη γάρ τήν ἀρετήν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, μηδὲν προθεομιένην δεῖ μὴ Σωκρατικῆς ἰσχύος. The view was contradicted by Aristotle (Diog. L. 5, 30: τήν τε ἀρετὴν μὴ εἶναι ἀντράρη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, προσδεῖσθαι γάρ τῶν τε περὶ σώμα καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν, κτλ.) but adopted by the Stoics (Diog. L. 7, 127: ἀντράρη τε εἶναι αὐτὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, καθά φησι Ζήνων καὶ Χρῆστος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ Ἐκάρων ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ ἀγαθῶν; *Fin.* 1, 61; 5, 77; 5, 79: *a Zenone, inquam, hoc magnifice tamquam ex oraculo editur: virtus ad beate vivendum se ipsa contenta*

est; Ac. 1, 35: *Zeno igitur nullo modo is erat qui, ut Theophrastus, nervos virtutis incidere, sed contra, qui omnia quae ad beatam vitam pertinerent in una virtute poneret nec quicumque alium numeraret in bonis*; 2, 134: *Zeno in una virtute positam beatam vitam putat; Tusc.* 3, 37; 5, 1; 5, 71; also the title of *Parad.* 2: *ὅτι ἀντράρη ἢ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν—in quo virtus sit ei nihil deesse ad beate vivendum; Sen. de Vit. beat.* 16, 3: *quid ergo? virtus ad beate vivendum sufficit? perfecta illa et divina quidni sufficiat, immo superfluat* Aug. c. *Acad.* 3, 16: *clamat Zeno et tota illa porticus tumultuatur hominem natum ad nihil esse aliud quam honestatem; ipsam suo splendore in se animos ducere*; 13, 8; Pearson, *Frag. of Zeno and Cleanthes* (1891), 19; von Arnim, *S. V. F.* 1(1905), nos. 186-189; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 292-293.

6. *rebus*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 3: *totaque ea res*. Ernesti (followed by Christ and Baiter) wished to delete *rebus* or to substitute *libris* for it. But Müller (in his critical note), comparing *Leg.* 2, 18, thinks that *edere* is to be taken in the sense of *proferre* or *exponere*, rather than in the meaning of 'publish,' and retains the word.

6. *editis . . . perfecti sunt*: cf. 1, 8, n. (*perlegi*). Mayor (ed. of *N. D.* 3(1885), xxvi; opposed by Schwenke in *Burs. Jahresb.* 47(1888), 284) attempts to distinguish between these phrases and similarly between the words *feci* and *edidi* in *Fat.* 1, and suggests that the *De Natura Deorum* was not actually published until after Cicero's death; cf. also the preceding note. On the date at which it was composed cf. Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 361.

6. *de natura deorum*: on this title cf. 1, 7, n. (*de natura deorum*).

eius loci quaestio continetur. Quae ut plane esset cumulateque perfecta, de divinatione ingressi sumus his libris scribere; quibus, ut est in animo, de fato si adiunxerimus, erit abunde satis factum toti huic quaestioni. Atque his libris adnumerandi sunt sex de re publica, quos tum scripsimus cum gubernacula rei publicae tenebamus. Magnus locus philosophiaeque proprius a Platone, Aristotele, Theophrasto totaque Peripateticorum

1. quaestio continetur: cf. 1, 117, n. (coninet . . . quaestionem).

1. cumulate . . . perfecta: cf. *Off.* 3, 15: *cumulate videtur esse perfectum*; 2 *Verr.* 5, 165.

3. de fato: on the relation of this work to the *De Divinatione* cf. introd. p. 10, n. 8; 1, 6, n. (negare); 1, 127, n. (alio loco ostenditur); Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 163-167; Schanz, *op. cit.* 368-370.

3. abunde satis factum: cf. *ad Fam.* 10, 23, 6: *omnibus rebus abunde rei p. satis faciam*; Vitruv. 1, 1, 16: *satis abunde videtur fecisse*.

4. de re publica, etc.: cf. *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 12, 1 (May, 54): *ego me in Cumano et Pompeiano . . . oblectaham et eram in isdem locis usque ad K. Iunias futurus. scribebam illa quae dixeram πολιτικά, spissum sane opus et operosum, etc.*; *ad Att.* 4, 16, 2 (June-July, 54): *hanc ego de re publica quam institui disputationem . . . utinam modo conata efficere possim! rem enim . . . magnam complexus sum et gravem et plurimi otis, quo ego maxime egeo*; *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 5, 1 (Oct.-Nov., 54): *quod quaeris quid de illis libris egerim quos cum essem in Cumano scribere institui, non cessavi neque cesso, sed saepe iam scribendi totum consisum rationemque mutavi, etc.*; Caelius to Cicero (*Fam.* 8, 1, 4; May, 51): *tui politici libri omnibus videntur* (that is, they were apparently already published); *ad Att.* 6, 1, 8 (Feb., 50): *τὸ γὰρ εἰ μὲρ' ἡμῶν, praesertim cum sex libris tamquam praedibus me ipse obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo*. In view of these passages Hinze (*Quos Scriptores Graecos Cic. in Lib. de Re pub. componendis adhibuerit* (1900), 1) would assume that Cicero in our pas-

sage in the words *tum . . . cum gubernacula rei publicae tenebamus* is guilty of either carelessness or error in the matter of dates. But Thoresen (*ad h. loc.*) very properly recognizes that even after Cicero's consulship in 63 his part in politics was so important as to justify the expression *cum gubernacula rei publicae tenebamus*. The word *gubernacula (rei publicae)* is a favorite one; cf. *ad Fam.* 16, 27, 1 (of consuls); *ad Brut.* 2, 1, 2 (of his consulship); *de Or.* 1, 46; *pro Sest.* 20; *pro Rosc. Am.* 51: *summi viri clarissimique homines qui omni tempore ad gubernacula rei publicae sedere debebant* (where it can hardly refer exclusively to consuls); *Plin. Ep. ad Tr.* 1, 1 (of the imperial power).

On reasons for the position of the *De Republica* in this catalogue (including the desire for what Cicero believed to be a climax) see Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus* (1905), 194, n. 8.

4. scripsimus: for the supposed plural of modesty in Cicero cf. Tyrrell and Purser, *Corresp. of M. T. Cic.* 1, 3 ed. (1904), 421.

5. magnus locus: cf. *N. D.* 2, 73: *magnus sane locus et a vestris, Cotta, vexatus*; *Orat.* 73: *magnus est locus hic, Brute, quod te non fugit, et magnum volumen aliud desiderat*.

5f. philosophiae proprius: cf. *Fin.* 5, 11: *cum autem tertia pars bene vivendi praecepta quaereret ea quoque est ab iisdem non solum ad privatae vitae rationem sed etiam ad rerum publicarum rectionem relata*.

6. Theophrasto: in addition to the well-known political writers Plato and Aristotle he inserts, perhaps partly for the sake of a group of three (cf. 1, 3, n.

familia tractatus uberrime. Nam quid ego de Consolatione dicam?

(*Pythio* supra), partly to introduce the rest of the Peripatetics, the name of Theophrastus. In the catalogue of works of this philosopher given by Diog. L. 5, 42-50 (cf. Usener, *Analecta Theophrastea* (1858), 3-12) are included the following: περί βασιλείας α', περί παιδείας βασιλικῶς α', ἐπιτομή τῆς Πλάτωνος Πολιτείας α'β', νόμων κατὰ στοιχείων αδ' (Cf. Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* 16 (1861), 470-472), νόμων ἐπιτομῆς α'β' γ'δ' ε' ζ' η'θ' ι', νομοθετῶν α'β' γ', πολιτικῶν α'β' γ'δ' ε' ζ', πολιτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς α' β' γ'δ', πολιτικῶν ἑθῶν α'β' γ'δ', περί τῆς ἀριστοῦς πολιτείας α', περί τυραννίδος α', πρὸς Κάσανδρον περί βασιλείας α', περί νόμων α', περί παρανόμων α', προβλήματα πολιτικά, περί βασιλείας α'β', πῶς ἀριστ' ἂν πόλις αἰκοῖτο α'. Cf. *Fin.* 5, 11: ab Aristotele mores, instituta, disciplinae, a Theophrasto leges etiam cognovimus. cumque uterque eorum docuisset qualem in re publica principem esse conveniret, pluribus praeterea conscripseret qui esset optimus rei publicae status, hoc amplius Theophrastus, quae essent in re publica rerum inclinationes et momenta temporum quibus esset moderandum utcumque res postularet.

[349] 6f. Peripateticorum familia: cf. *Fin.* 4, 49: Aristoteles, Xenocrates, tota illa familia non dabit; *Leg.* 1, 55: a Xenocrate et Aristotele et ab illa Platonis familia; 3, 14: ab hac familia magis illa manarunt Platone principe; *Tusc.* 1, 55: a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident; also the use of gens of a philosophic sect in *N. D.* 1, 89, and *Hor. Ep.* 1, 1, 13-14: ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuler, / nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri.

I. nam: this use of nam, doubtless usually implying an ellipsis of some sort, is frequent in Cicero, particularly in transitions to the mention of a new point or a new proper name; e.g., 2, 65; 2, 67; 2, 68; *Ac.* 1, 34; *N. D.* 1, 27; 1, 28; 1, 63; 3, 38; cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 34; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 27.

I. Consolatione: the death of Cic-

ero's daughter Tullia may be calculated from the date of a letter of condolence received from Brutus (see *ad Att.* 12, 13, 1) to have occurred as early as 20 Feb., 45 (Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero* (1893), 271). On 8 March Cicero writes (*ad Att.* 12, 14, 3): quod mihi ab hoc muerore recitari vis, facis ut omnia; sed me mihi non defuisse tu testis es. nihil enim de maerore minuendo scriptum ab ullo est quod ego non domi tuae legerim. sed omnem consolationem vincit dolor. quin etiam feci quod profecto ante me nemo ut ipse me per litteras consolaret. quem librum ad te mittam si descripserint librarii. adfirmo tibi nullam consolationem esse talem. totus dies scribo, non quo proficiam quid sed tantisper impediatur—non equidem satis (vis enim urget)—, sed relaxor lamen ad omniaque nitor non ad animum sed ad vultum ipsum, si quam, reficiendum, etc.; 12, 20, 2 (15 March, 45): velim me facias certiore proximis litteris Cn. Caepio, Serviliae Claudi pater, vivone patre suo naufragio perierit an mortuo, item Rutilia vivone C. Colla filio suo mortuo sit an mortuo (cf. similar questions in 12, 22, 2; 12, 24, 2). pertinent ad eum librum quem de luctu minuendo scripsimus; 12, 21, 5 (17 March): neque tamen progredior longius quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt; quorum scripta omnia quaecumque sunt in eam sententiam non legi solum, quod ipsum erat fortis negotii, accipere medicinam, sed in mea etiam scripta transtuli, quod certe adfecti et fracti animi non fuit. In 2, 22 infra he says: clarissimorum hominum nostrae civitatis gravissimos exitus in Consolatione collegimus. The work is frequently quoted or mentioned in the *Tusculan Disputations* (1, 65-66; 1, 76; 1, 83: fecimus hoc in hoc libro in quo nosmet ipsos quantum potuimus consolati sumus; 3, 70: quales reliqui quos in Consolatione collegimus; 3, 76; 4, 63), and Buresch (*Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum Historia critica* in *Leip.*

quae mihi quidem ipsi sane aliquantum medetur, ceteris item multum illam profuturam puto. Interiectus est etiam nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus; in primisque, quoniam philo-

Stud. 9, 1(1886), 95-96) suggests that Cicero reworked more calmly in books 1 and 2 of the *Tusculan Disputations* the material which he had recently more hastily treated in the *Consolatio*. The fragments of the *Consolatio* will be found in Müller's edition, 4, 3, 332-338; for a discussion of the contents see Buresch, *op. cit.* 95-107 (who in the reconstruction makes much use of Hier. *Ep.* 60); Schenkl in *Wiener Stud.* 16 (1894), 38-46; Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 1 (1895), 498-499; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 375-376; van Wageningen, *De Ciceronis Libro Consolationis* (1916). For a spurious *Consolatio* fathered upon Cicero cf. Sage, *The pseudo-Ciceronian Consolatio* (1910).

The consolation forms a fairly definite literary type, of which examples from many authors, both Greek and Latin, have been collected by Buresch, *op. cit.* 1-164; cf. Martha, *Les Consolations dans l'Antiquité* (1883). The especial source of Cicero's *Consolatio* seems to have been the work of Crantor, $\kappa\epsilon\pi\lambda\ \pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, of which he says (*Ac.* 2, 135): *legimus omnes Crantoris veteris Academici de luctu; est enim non magnus rerum aureolus et, ut Tuberoni Panaetius praecipit, ad rerbum ediscendus libellus*. Crantor's work was also an especial source of Plutarch, particularly in his *Consolatio ad Apollonium*.

1. *mihi quidem ipsi*, etc.: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 121: *in quo quantum ceteris profuturi simus non facile dixerim; nostris quidem acerbissimis doloribus variisque et undique circumfusis molestiis alia nulla potuit inveniri levatio*.

2. *nuper*: cf. *ad Att.* 14, 21, 3 (11 May, 44): *legendus mihi saepius est 'Cato maior' ad te missus*, from which it is clear that the work had been finished before that date. As to whether it dates from before or after the murder of Caesar

scholars have differed (see Moore, ed. of the *De Senectute* (1903), 41-45), but the probability, as reached by Moore and by Miss Allen (in *Am. Jour. of Philol.* 28 (1907), 297-300), favors a date before the Ides of March.

The title which Cicero perhaps preferred appears here—*de senectute*—and in *de Sen.* 3: *hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus*. The mention of *Cato noster* just below, however, and that in *de Am.* 4 (*ut in Catone maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem*) would favor *Cato maior* as a title. In quotations and citations of our work Nonius 58 times cites *De Senectute*, never *Cato (maior)*; the citations in Charisius are always from *De Senectute*, as is the one allusion in Priscian (p. 242, 19 H.). Lact. *Inst.* 6, 20, 4, however, cites the *Cato maior*. The MS evidence fluctuates between the use of both titles, the use of *De Senectute* alone (frequent), and (rarely) that of *Cato* alone. In view of this situation it may be that Cicero himself bestowed upon the work a double title, and in his references to it employed now one part now the other.

2f. *ad nostrum Atticum*: for the use of *ad* in dedications cf. *de Sen.* 3 and *de Am.* 4 (both quoted in the last note); Reid on *Ac.* 1, 2.

2f. *de senectute*: the names of many ancient writers of works of this genre, such as Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum, Bion, Ariston (of Ceos?), Musonius, Favorinus, Juncus, Seneca, and a considerable series of Christian authors, are collected by Wilhelm in *Rhein. Mus.* 62 (1907), 605-606, n.; *id.*, *Die Schrift des Juncus $\kappa\epsilon\pi\lambda\ \rho\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ und ihr Verhältnis zu Ciceros Cato maior* (1911), 1-2; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 364 (with modern parallels).

sophia vir bonus efficitur et fortis, Cato noster in horum librorum numero ponendus est. 4. Cumque Aristoteles itemque Theophrastus, excellentes

1. Cato noster: after the suicide of Cato Uticensis in 46 B. C. a war of pamphlets ensued in laudation or condemnation of him. Cicero led the way with his *Cato*; cf. Plut. *Caes.* 54: ἔγραψε Κικέρων ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος ὄνομα τῷ λόγῳ θέμιστος Κάτωρα καὶ πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἦν διὰ σπουδῆς, ὡς εἰκός. ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοτάτου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς τὴν καλλίστην πεποιημένος ὑπέθεσεν. τοῦτ' ἦν ἡ Καίσαρα κατηγοροῦσα αὐτοῦ νομίζουσα τὸν τοῦ τρωηκότου δι' αὐτὸν ἔπαινον. ἔγραψεν οὖν πολλὰς τινας κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος αἰτίας συναγαγὼν· τὸ δὲ βιβλίον Ἀρτικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται. καὶ σπουδαστὰς ἔχει τῶν λόγων ἐκότερος διὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Κάτωρα πολλοῖς; *Cic.* 39: διετέλει (sc. ὁ Καίσαρ) τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονημάτων, ὥστε καὶ γράφασκε λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος ἀντιγράφων τὸν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλείου νομοτά καὶ Θηραμίωνος ἔπαινεῖ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κικέρωνος λόγος Κάτων, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρος Ἀρτικάτων ἐπιγέγραπται; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 34: *M. Ciceronis libro quo Catonem caelo aequavit quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit?* Juv. 6, 338 speaks of *duo Caesaris Anticatones* (cf. the scholiast on the passage; Mart. Cap. 5, 468: *ut Catonem Tullius laudans et duobus voluminibus Caesar accusans*); Suet. *Iul.* 56: *reliquit et de Analogia duos libros et Anticatones totidem.*

Further contributions to the controversy were made by Brutus (*ad Att.* 13, 46, 2: *multa de meo Catone quo saepissime legendo se dicit copiosiore factum, Bruti Catone lecto se sibi visum disertum*; cf. 12, 21, 1), M. Fadius Gallus (to whom Cicero writes (*ad Fam.* 7, 24, 2): *Catonem tuum mihi mille; cupio enim legere*; cf. 7, 25), and Munatius Rufus (Plut. *Cat. min.* 37; cf. Val. Max. 4, 3, 2), while the attack upon Cato's memory was continued by Hirtius; cf. *ad Att.* 12, 40, 1: *qualis futura sit Caesaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perspexi ex eo libro quem Hirtius ad me misit tui quo colligit*

vilia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis. Caesar himself then followed with his *Anticatones*, the second of which was perhaps aimed at other *Catos* than that of Cicero (Priscian, p. 227, 2 H. cites *Caesar in Anticalone priore*); cf. Peter, *Die geschichtl. Litt. über d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, 1 (1897), 165-166; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 127-128, following the views of Göttling; Teuffel-Kroll-Skutsch, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 1, 6 ed. (1916), 391.

The slight fragments of Cicero's *Cato* are collected in Müller's edition, 4, 3, 327-330; those of Caesar's *Anticalo* in Dinter's edition of Caesar, 3, 133-136. Gellius speaks (13, 20, 3) of Cicero's work as entitled *Laus Catonis*, but Macrobius *Sat.* 6, 2, 33 and Prisc. p. 510, 19 H. call it *Cato* (*Cato maior* erroneously in Priscian). Despite Cicero's remarks in our passage, it would appear that the interest felt in Cato by these various eulogizers and detractors was rather political than philosophical; yet the example of Cato was regarded as an instance of that εὐλογος εξαγωγή, or philosophic and justifiable suicide, of which the Stoics had 57- much to say (cf. *S. V. F.* 3, nos. 7 so 764; Geiger, *Der Selbstmord im klass. Altert.* (1888), 14-24; Hirtzel in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1908), 174-180; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 309-311), and hence Cicero perhaps here regards it as the result of philosophic teachings as it might itself become to others an example for a similar course of action. Cf. Fusco in *MOTSELOH*, 1 (1923), 95-98.

2. Aristoteles: according to Plato (*Rep.* 7, p. 534e) dialectic was the *θηριεὺς τοῖς μαθήμασι*, and there was nothing above it; but Aristotle, at the very beginning of his *Rhetoric* (1, p. 1354 a 1 ff.) states: ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἵσται ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ περὶ τοούτων τινῶν εἰσιν ἃ κοινὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἀπάντων ἐστὶ γνωρίζειν καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ ἐπιστήμῃ ἀφορισμένης. διὸ καὶ πάντες τρόπον τινὰ μετέχουσιν ἀμφοῖν,

virī cum subtilitate tum copia, cum philosophia dicendi etiam praecepta coniunxerint, nostri quoque oratorii libri in eundem librorum numerum referendi videntur. Ita tres erunt de oratore, quartus Brutus, quintus orator.

κτλ.; 1, p. 1359 b 9-12: ἡ ῥητορικὴ σύγκειται μὲν ἕκ τε τῆς ἀναλυτικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἕθη πολιτικῆς, ὁμοία δ' ἔστιν τὰ μὲν τῇ διαλεκτικῇ τὰ δὲ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς λόγοις. In *Tusc.* 1, 7 Cicero says: *ut Aristoteles, vir summo ingenio, scientia, copia, cum motus esset Isocratidis rhetoris gloria, dicere docere etiam cepit adulescentes et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere, sic nobis placet nec pristinum dicendi studium deponere et in hac maiore et uberiore arte versari*; cf. *Top.* 6. In *de Or.* 1, 43; 1, 49; 1, 55; *Orat.* 218; 228 Aristotle and Theophrastus are cited together as authorities on rhetorical questions.

[352] 2. Theophrastus: among his works, as catalogued by Diog. L. 5, 42-50 are *τοικῶν α' β'*, *παραγγέλματα ῥητορικῆς α'*, *περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς α'*, *περὶ τεχνῶν ῥητορικῶν εἶδη εα'*. He is frequently cited by Cicero in the rhetorical works.

1. *subtilitate . . . copia*: the former qualifying them as philosophers, the latter as rhetoricians. Cf. 1, 7: *acule et copiose* (and *Tusc.* 5, 11); *N. D.* 2, 1: *nam neque indisertum Academicum perisimuissem nec sine ista philosophia rhetoricum quamvis eloquentem; neque enim flumine conturbor inanium verborum nec subtilitate sententiarum si orationis est siccitas*; *Parad.* 2: *nos ea philosophia plus ulimur quae peperit dicendi copiam*; *Tusc.* 1, 7: *hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper iudicavi quae de maximis quaestionibus copiose possit ornate dicere*; *Off.* 1, 156: *causam eloqui copiose, modo prudenter, melius est quam vel acutissime sine eloquentia cogitare, quod cogitatio in se ipsa vertitur, eloquentia complectitur eos quibuscum communitate iuncti sumus*; 2, 48: *magna est enim admiratio copiose sapienterque dicentis*; *Fat.* 3: *nam cum hoc genere philosophiae quod nos sequimur*

magnam habet orator societatem; subtilitatem enim ab Academia mutuatur et ei vicissim reddit ubertatem orationis et ornamenta dicendi; *de Or.* 1, 68; Goedeckemeyer, *op. cit.* 133-134; Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 294. Noteworthy also is *Off.* 1, 3, where Cicero says that no Greek, save perhaps Demetrius of Phalerum, has attained eminence in both philosophy and oratory, but that he himself has made the attempt to excel in both.

2. *librorum*: for the awkward repetition of a word cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 1, 84, n. (*si . . . si . . . si . . . qui . . . qui*); etc.

3. *de oratore*: cf. *ad Att.* 4, 13, 2 (Nov. 55): *de libris oratoriis factum est a me diligenter. diu multumque in manibus fuerunt. describas licet.*

3. *Brutus*: this is the title given to it by Cicero; cf. *Orat.* 23; Quintil. 10, 1, 38; Tac. *Dial.* 30; Macrob. *Sat.* 6, 2, 34; the subtitle *De claris Oratoribus* seems to date only from Flavio Biondo (Schanz, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 305; Teuffel-Kroll-Skutsch, *op. cit.* 1, 6 ed. (1916), 397). The date of the work is the spring of 46 B. C. (Schanz, *l. c.*).

4. *orator*: also dating from 46 (Schanz, *op. cit.* 307). For its title see *ad Fam.* 15, 20, 1 (April, 44): *urulorem meum (sic enim inscripsi) Sabino tua commendavi*. Elsewhere he calls the work by the subtitle *De optimo Genere Dicendi* (*ad Fam.* 12, 17, 2; *ad Att.* 14, 20, 3).

The *De Inventione* (a youthful work, and doubtless therefore here neglected; cf. *de Or.* 1, 5), the *Topica* (cf. 2, 1, n. (*nam et, etc.*) supra), the *Partitiones oratoriae* (composed about 54), and the *De optimo Genere Oratorum* (dating from about 46) are omitted from this brief list of his rhetorical works.

II. Adhuc haec erant; ad reliqua alacri tendebamus animo sic parati ut, nisi quae causa gravior obstitisset, nullum philosophiae locum esse pateremur qui non Latinis litteris inlustratus pateret. Quod enim munus rei publicae adferre maius meliusve possumus quam si docemus atque erudimus iuventutem? His praesertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa est ut omnium opibus refrenanda atque coërcenda sit. 5. Nec vero id effici posse confido, quod ne postulandum quidem est, ut omnes adulescentes se ad haec studia convertant. Pauci utinam! quorum tamen in re publica late patere poterit industria. Equidem ex iis etiam fructum capio laboris mei, qui iam aetate proveci in nostris libris adquiescunt; quorum studio legendi meum scribendi studium vehementius in dies

1. *tendebamus*, etc.: this all refers to a time previous to the death of Caesar (hinted at in the phrase *causa gravior*), and it is not until after a digression on the importance of philosophical study and teaching that he reverts, in 2, 7, to the present—*nunc quoniam*, etc.

1. *alacri . . . animo*: cf. *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 5, 4: *opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate*; *ad Fam.* 5, 12, 9: *alacres animo sumus*.

2. *causa gravior*: cf. 2, 6, n. (*casus gravis*) *infra*; also Allen in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 28 (1907), 300.

2. *nullum*, etc.: cf. *N. D.* 1, 9, for his giving himself *ad totam philosophiam pertractandam*.

3. *Latinis litteris inlustratus pateret*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 7: *magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis res tam graves tamque praeclaras Latinis etiam litteris contineri*; *Ac.* 1, 3: *sum ingressus res eas quas tecum simul didici mandare monumentis philosophiamque ceteram illam a Socrate ortam Latinis litteris illustrare*; *Tusc.* 1, 1: *hoc mihi Latinis litteris illustrandum putavi*; 1, 5; *Fin.* 1, 1; *Brut.* 228: *nondum sit satis Latinis litteris illustratum*; *Lact. Inst.* 3, 14, 13: *eamque ipsam Latinis litteris inlustraveris*.

3. *quod enim*, etc.: for Cicero's defence of the study of philosophy cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 6.

5. *his . . . moribus*: that is, the disintegration of morals resulting from civil strife and social change. For the

phrase cf. *pro Quinct.* 93: *ista superiora esse ac plurimum posse his moribus sensil*; *Sall. Jug.* 4, 7: *quis est omnium eis moribus*, etc.

5. *moribus atque temporibus*: cf. 1, 84, n. (*constituerunt . . . condiderunt*); 1, 111, n. (*natura futura*).

5. *atque*: on the avoidance of *ac* before a word beginning with a guttural see Reid on *Ac.* 2, 34.

6. *prolapsa*: cf. *pro Cacl.* 47.

7. *nec*, etc.: Cicero has no expectation or even desire of diluting the quality of the students of philosophy by insisting on it as a study required of all; cf. *Tusc.* 2, 4: *est enim philosophia paucis contenta iudicibus, multitudinem consulo ipsa fugiens cique ipsi et suspecta et invisita*. Indeed, he several times mentions the advantages of limited numbers for the discussion of doctrines best considered as esoteric; cf. 2, 28; *N. D.* 1, 61; *Fin.* 2, 74; Varro ap. Aug. *C. D.* 6, 5: *sic alia, quae facilius intra parietes in schola quam extra in foro ferre possunt aures*.

8. *utinam*: for the elliptic use cf. *Phil.* 2, 113.

9. *late patere*: a very common phrase in Cicero; cf. Merguet, *Lexikon s. d. phil. Schriften*, 2 (1892), 435.

10. *adquiescunt*: of the tranquillity of those in declining years also in *de Am.* 101.

11f. *quorum . . . incitatur*: the quotation in Non. p. 265 M. is based on a different reading: *citare est vocare . . . M.*

incitatur; quos quidem plures quam rebar esse cognovi. Magnificum illud etiam Romanisque hominibus gloriosum ut Graecis de philosophia litteris non egeant. 6. Quod adsequar profecto, si instituta perfecero. Ac mihi quidem explicandae philosophiae causam adtulit casus gravis civitatis, cum in armis civilibus nec tueri meo more rem publicam nec nihil agere poteram nec quid potius, quod quidem me dignum esset, agerem reperiebam. Dabunt igitur mihi veniam mei cives vel gratiam potius habebunt quod, cum esset in unius potestate res publica, neque ego me

Tullius de Divinatione: quorum studio legendi non scribendi studium vehementius in dies citant? With the thought cf. N. D. 1, 7-8: cum otio langueremus et is esset rei publicae status ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius rei publicae causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putari, magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis res tam graves tamque praeclaras Latinis etiam litteris contineri; eoque me minus instituti mei paenitet quod facile sentio quam multorum non modo discendi sed etiam scribendi studia commoverim (and see Mayor's n.); Off. 2, 2: quamquam enim libri nostri complures non modo ad legendi sed etiam ad scribendi studium excitaverunt.

1. *rebar*: on the use of this form, which Cicero in *de Or.* 3, 153 classes among archaic and poetic ones, see Laurand, *Étude sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 87; see also 2, 35 *infra*.

If. *magnificum illud*: cf. 1, 124, n. (*illud . . . magnificum*).

2f. *ut Graecis . . . non egeant*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 12: *Brutus quidem noster . . . sic philosophiam Latinis litteris persequitur nihil ut eisdem de rebus Graeca desideret*; *Fin.* 1, 8; 5, 75: *tu vero, inquam, Piso, . . . sic hodie ita nosse ista visus es ut, si tui nobis potestas saepius fieret, non nullum Graecis supplicandum putarem*; *Tusc.* 1, 1; 2, 6: *quod si haec studia traductu erunt ad nostros ne bibliothecis quidem Graecis egebimus*; *Off.* 1, 1; *Orat.* 22: *utinam in Latinis talis oratoris simulacrum reperire possemus! esset egregium non quaerere externa, domesticis esse*

contentos; *Brid.* 138; and for Cicero's jealous ambition for the supremacy of the Latin language over the Greek see 1, 1, n. (*nos melius*).

4. *explicandae philosophiae*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 4; *N. D.* 1, 7.

4. *causa gravis*: obviously the period of Caesar's supremacy; it may be observed that though this was *gravis* Cicero had accustomed himself to it and was ready to pursue his philosophical studies unless some even worse event (*causa gravior* of 2, 4) should occur.

5ff. *cum in armis, etc.*: cf. *Top.* 4-5: *dum fuimus una tu optimus es testis quam fuerim occupatus; ut autem a te discessi in Graeciam proficiscens, cum opera mea nec res publica nec amici viderentur nec honeste inter arma versari possem, ne si tulo quidem mihi id liceret, etc.*

5. *meo more*: cf. *pro Planc.* 56; *pro Sull.* 52.

5f. *nihil agere*: *Ac.* 2, 37; *N. D.* 1, 2; 1, 51; 1, 101; 1, 110; 1, 115; 1, 123; 2, 44; 2, 59; 3, 3; 3, 93; *Tusc.* 2, 1: *quid possum, praesertim nihil agens, agere melius? Fat.* 28; *Rep.* 1, 27: *numquam se plus agere quam nihil cum ageret*; *Off.* 2, 4: *nihil agere autem cum animus non posset, etc.*

6. *me dignum*: cf. *Off.* 3, 2: *extincto enim senatu deletisque iudiciis quid est quod dignum nobis aut in curia aut in foro agere possimus?*

8. *in unius potestate*: cf. 2, 110: *quem re vera regem habebamus*; *N. D.* 1, 7: *cum otio langueremus et is esset rei publicae status ut eam unius consilio atque*

abdidi neque deserui neque adfixi neque ita gessi quasi homini aut temporibus iratus, neque porro ita aut adlatus aut admiratus fortunam sum alterius ut me meae paeniteret. Id enim ipsum a Platone philosophiaque didiceram, naturales esse quasdam conversiones rerum publicarum, ut

cura gubernari necesse esset; Off. 2, 2: cum autem dominatu unius omnia tenerentur neque esset usquam consilio aut auctoritati locus, socios denique tuendae rei publicae, summos viros, amisissem, nec me angoribus dedidi . . . nec rursum indignis homine docto voluntatibus.

[355]8f. neque . . . me abdidi: but in *Off. 3, 3* he says: *nunc fugientes conspectum sceleratorum quibus omnia redundant addimus nos quantum licet et saepe soli sumus*; and in *Off. 3, 1-2* he has contrasted his unwilling retirement with the somewhat self-indulgent voluntary withdrawal from affairs on the part of Scipio Africanus. On the question of Cicero's retirement see also 1, 11, n. (*hoc autem tempore*).

1. *me* . . . *neque deserui*: this reflexive use is rather rare; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 5, 682*, where four other cases are cited.

1. *homini*: not referring to Caesar—for whom it would not be an appropriate expression—but in the sense of 'any person.'

3. *alterius*: used as equivalent to the genitive form *altus*, which is also avoided in 2, 30 *infra*. The Kühner-Holzweissig *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2* ed. (1912), 623, seems to deny this meaning to *alterius*, but unmistakable cases are cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat. 1, 1735*, lines 7-37.

3. *me meae paeniteret*: cf. *ad Fam. 1, 7, 8: me meae tamen ne nimis paeniteret*; 7, 3, 2: *cuius me mei facti paenituit*.

3. a Platone: *Rep. 8, p. 545 c-d: φέρε τολύνη, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, κειρώμεθα λίγειν τίνα τρόπον τιμοκρατία γίνεται' ἔν ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας. ἢ τόδε μὲν ἀπλοῦν, διὲ πᾶσα πολιτεία μεταβάλλει ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ στάσις ἐγγένηται: ὁμοιοῦντος δὲ κᾶν πάνυ ὀλίγον ἢ, ἀδύνατον κινήσθαι;*

ἔστι γὰρ οὕτω; p. 546 a: ἐπεὶ γενομένη πάντῃ φθορά ἐστιν οὐδ' ἢ τοιαύτη ζύστασις τῶν πάντων μετ' ἡρότων, ἀλλὰ λυθήσεται. λῶσι δὲ ἤδε: οὐ μόνον φυτοῖς ἐγγελοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπιγελίοις ζῴσι φθορά καὶ ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων γίγνεται, ὅταν περιτροπᾶν ἐκάστοις κίκλων περιφορὰς συνάπτωσι, βραχυβλίας μὲν βραχυτόρους, ἐναντίας δὲ ἐναντίας, κτλ.; Arist. *Pol. 7 (5), 10* has traces of such an idea. Cf. also Cic. *Rep. 1, 45: mirique sunt orbis et quasi circumtilis in rebus publicis commutationum et vicissitudinum, quos cum cognosse sapientis est tum vero prospicere independentis in gubernanda re publica moderantem cursum atque in sua potestate retinentem magni cuiusdam civis et divini paene est viri* (based on Polyb. 6, 9, 10: αὐτῆ πολιτειῶν ἀνακυκλώσει, αὐτῆ φύσεως ὁμοιομία, καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μελισταταὶ καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταστῆ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας, κτλ.; cf. Hinze, *Quos Scriptores Cic. in Lib. de Re pub. componendis adhibuerit* (1900), 45); 1, 65-68, concluding: *sic tamquam pilam rapiunt inter se rei publicae statum tyranni ad regibus, ab iis autem principes aut populi, a quibus aut factiones aut tyranni, nec diutius unquam tenetur idem rei publicae modus*; 1, 69: *illa prima* (sc. *genera rerum publicarum*) *facile in contraria vitia convertuntur, ut existat ex rege dominus, ex optimatibus factio, ex populo turba et confusio, quodque ipsa genera generibus saepe commulantur novis, etc.* (with which Hinze, *op. cit. 44*, compares Polyb. 6, 10, 4); 2, 45: *hic ille iam vertetur orbis cuius naturalem motum atque circuitum a primo discite adgnosceret. id enim est caput civilis prudentiae in qua omnis haec nostra versatur oratio, videre itinera flexusque rerum publicarum, ut, cum sciatis quo quaeque res inclinet retinere aut ante possilis occurrere*. Cf. also Polyb. 6, 4, 7-12; Hinze, *op. cit. 39-45*; Cauer, *Ciceros politisches Denken* (1903), 67-68.

cae tum a principibus tenerentur, tum a populis, aliquando a singulis. 7. Quod cum accidisset nostrae rei publicae, tum pristinis orati muneribus haec studia renovare coepimus, ut et animus molestiis hac potissimum re levaretur et prodessemus civibus nostris, qua re cumque possemus. In libris enim sententiam dicebamus, contionabamur, philosophiam nobis pro rei publicae procuratore substitutam putabamus. Nunc quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus, tribuenda est opera rei publicae, vel omnis potius in ea cogitatio et cura ponenda, tantum huic studio relinquendum

1. principibus, etc.: oligarchies, democracies, monarchies. In *Rep.* 1, 51 Cicero uses the term *principes* for those who, on account of their wealth, had wrongly acquired and retained the name *optimates*; cf. *Off.* 2, 65; also 2, 11 infra.

2. pristinis orati muneribus, etc.: cf. *Off.* 2, 6: hoc autem tempore tantum nobis declarandum fuit cur orati rei publicae muneribus ad hoc nos studium potissimum contulissemus.

3. haec studia renovare: cf. *Ac.* 1, 11: dum me ambitio, dum honores, dum caesae, dum rei publicae non solum cura sed quaedam etiam procuratio multis officiis implicatum et constrictum tenebat haec inclusa habebam et, ne obsolescerent, renovabam, cum licebat, legendo; *Tusc.* 1, 1: cum defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneribus aut omnino aut magna ex parte essem aliquando liberatus, retuli me . . . ad ea studia quae, retenta animo, remissa temperibus, longo intervallo intermissa, revocavi; *Off.* 2, 2-4.

3f. animus . . . levaretur: cf. *Ac.* 1, 11: nunc vero et fortunae gravissimo percussus vulnere et administratione rei publicae liberatus doloris medicinam a philosophia peto et otii oblectationem hanc honestissimam iudico; *Tusc.* 2, 11: nam efficit hoc philosophia: medetur animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahit, cupiditatibus liberat, pellicis timores; 5, 121: nostris quidem acerbissimis doloribus variisque et undique circumfusis molestiis alia nulla potuit inveniri levatio; de *Sen.* 2: philosophia . . . cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere.

4. prodessemus: cf. 2, 1, n. (*prodesse*, etc.).

4. qua re cumque: for other Ciceronian examples of tmesis of *quicumque*, *qualiscumque*, and *quantuluscumque* see Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2, ed. (1912), 618. For the subject matter cf. also Plut. *Cic.* 40: ἐκ τούτου Κικέρων, εἰς μοναρχίαν τῆς πολιτείας μεθεστώσης, ἀφήμενος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἰσχύλασε τοῖς βουλευμένοις φιλοσοφεῖν τῶν νέων, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τούτους συνηθείας, εὐγενεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ὄντας, αἰθῆς ἰσχυρῶς ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον.

5. sententiam dicebamus: where earlier he had expressed his vote in the senate, as *contionabamur* recalls his public speeches of an earlier day.

6. rei publicae procuratore: for the phrase cf. *Rep.* 1, 35; *Off.* 1, 85; *Ac.* 1, 11, and Reid's note.

6ff. nunc quoniam, etc.: cf. introd. p. 14; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 367. This is one of the passages which point most clearly to a period after the murder of Caesar, but I cannot agree with Sander (*Quaestiones de Cic. Libris quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 2-4) that Cicero is in these words referring to the definite occasion described in *ad Att.* 16, 7, 1, when some men at Rhegium brought word to him that at Rome he was *desiderari, subaccusari*. The allusion here is general rather than particular; cf. introd. p. 14.

7f. opera . . . cogitatio et cura ponenda: cf. *Off.* 2, 3: cum autem res publica, in qua omnis mea cura cogitatio opera poni solebat, nulla esset omnino, illas scilicet litterae conticuerunt forenses et senatoriae.

quantum vacabit a publico officio et munere. Sed haec alias pluribus; nunc ad institutam disputationem revertamur.

III. 8. Nam cum de divinatione Quintus frater ea disseruisset quae superiore libro scripta sunt satisque ambulatum videretur, tum in bibliotheca, quae in Lyceo est, adsedimus. Atque ego: adcurate tu quidem, inquam, Quinte, et Stoice Stoicorum sententiam defendisti, quodque me maxime delectat, plurimis nostris exemplis usus es, et iis quidem claris et inlustribus. Dicendum est mihi igitur ad ea quae sunt a te dicta, sed ita

5. lyceo O (ut in libris scriptum l. 8), lycio AV, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, lycio RB.
7. iis vulg., his C.

[357] 8f. tantum . . . quantum vacabit cf. 1, 22: quod patriae vacat id studiis nobisque sacrasti, and the parallels there noted.

1. haec alias pluribus: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests that this may refer to the *De Officiis*.

4. superiore libro: cf. *Fin.* 3, 1; *Tusc.* 3, 6; 5, 11; *Off.* 2, 1; 2, 43; 3, 33.

4f. ambulatum . . . adsedimus: cf. 1, 8, and n. (*ambulandi*); *Leg.* 1, 14: ubi, cum satis erit ambulatum, requiescimus; 2, 1: sed visne, quoniam et satis iam ambulatum est, . . . locum mutemus et in insula . . . sermoni reliquo demus operam sedentes; 2, 7; *Brut.* 10; 24; et al. The seated posture continues to the last sentence of the book (2, 150: quae cum essent dicta surreximus); cf. also Reid on *Ac.* 1, 14.

4f. bibliotheca . . . Lyceo: cf. 1, 8, n. (*Tusculano*). I find no evidence to support the implication of Schmidt (in *Neue Jahrb.* 3 (1899), 471, and n. 4 = his *Ciceros Villen* (1899), 35, and n. 5) that the library mentioned here and in *Top.* 1 was identical with that of Lucullus described in *Fin.* 3, 7. Following Orelli I have changed *Lycio* to *Lyceo* to agree with 1, 8; possibly, however, the manuscript reading should be here retained as *Lycio*; cf. 2, 47, n. (*scammonream*).

5. adcurate: cf. 1, 132, n. (*praedare . . . paratus*); introd. p. 18, n. 76. Sander (*op. cit.* 5) emphasizes the likeness between 1, 132 (*quae cum dixisset Quintus, Praedare tu quidem, inquam, paratus*)

and this phraseology: nam cum . . . Quintus . . . disseruisset . . . adcurate tu quidem, inquam, Quinte. Without admitting the rest of Sander's hypothesis we may grant that the proemium to the second book interrupts the course of the dialogue in such a way that Cicero resumes his discussion after it with words practically borrowed from the end of the first book.

6. Stoice Stoicorum: cf. the *πολύκωρον Stoicis Stoico* in 1, 6, and the note; 2, 92; also Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. Entwicklung d. cic. Stils* (1910), 41-57 (with a large collection of Ciceronian instances of all sorts), and the works cited by Smith on *Tibull.* 4, 7, 10. The expository methods of the Stoics are praised by Cicero in *Brut.* 118: omnes fere Stoici prudentissimi in disserendo; cf. *Top.* 6: iudicandi enim vias diligenter persecuti sunt (sc. Stoici) et scientia quam διαλεκτικῆν appellant.

7. nostris exemplis: cf. 1, 29 n. (*ut P. Claudius*); 1, 55: sed quid ego Graecorum? nescio quo modo me magis nostra delectant.

7f. claris et inlustribus: for this expression cf. Gudeman on *Tac. Dial.* 8, 5.

8. dicendum est . . . ad ea quae sunt . . . dicta: cf. *Ac.* 2, 17: ad ea quae contra dicentur dici oportere putabant; *pro Tull.* 37: dicendum est ad ea quae dixit Quintianus.

8. igitur: for the deferred position of this word cf. 1, 27, n. (*igitur*); Reid on *.Ac.* 2, 129.

nihil ut adfirmem, quaeram omnia, dubitans plerumque et mihi ipse diffidens. Si enim aliquid certi haberem quod dicerem ego ipse divinarem, qui esse divinationem nego. 9. Etenim me movet illud, quod in primis Carneades quaerere solebat, quarumnam rerum divinatio esset, earumque quae sensibus perciperentur. At eas quidem cernimus, audimus, gustamus, olfacimus, tangimus. Num quid ergo in his rebus est quod provisione aut permotione mentis magis quam natura ipsa sentiamus? Aut num nescio

1. nihil ut: on the order cf. *Fin.* 1, 34; *de Or.* 1, 21; 3, 50.

1. nihil ut adfirmem: cf. 2, 150; *N. D.* 1, 57: *mihī enim non tam facile in mentem venire solet quare verum sit aliquid quam quare falsum*; 1, 60: *omnibus fere in rebus . . . quid non sit citius quam quid sit dixerim*; 3, 1. *neque tam refellendi tui causa quam ea quae minus intellegebam requirendi*; *Ac.* 1, 16: (*Socrates*) *ita disputat ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refellat alios*; 1, 17; 1, 45: *Arcehilus . . . censebat . . . nihil oportere neque profleri neque adfirmare quemquam neque adensione approbare*; 1, 46: *cuius (sc. Platonis) in libris nihil adfirmatur et in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quaeritur, nihil certi dicitur*; 2, 8; *Fin.* 2, 43: (*Academici*) *nihil affirmant*; *Tusc.* 1, 99: *suum illud, nihil ut affirmet, tenet ad extremum (sc. Socrates)*.

2. aliquid certi: cf. *N. D.* 1, 6, and Mayor's n.; 1, 14.

2. haberem quod dicerem: cf. 1, 131, n. (*haec habui . . . quae dicerem*); Reid on *Ac.* 2, 43.

2f. divinarem . . . divinationem: with this word play cf. *N. D.* 1, 43: *ea qui consideret quam inconsulte ac temere dicantur . . . Epicurum . . . in eorum ipsorum numero de quibus haec quaestio est (i.e., the gods) habere debuit*; 1, 105: *hoc, per ipsos deos de quibus loquimur, quale tandem est* 2, 147: *animum ipsum mentemque hominis, rationem, consilium, prudentiam qui non divina cura perfecta esse perspicit in his ipsis rebus mihi videtur carere*; Plat. *Phaed.* p. 73b: *τοῦτο . . . δέομαι παθεῖν περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, ἀναμνησθῆναι*; *Gorg.* p. 505c: *ἀβρὸς τοῦτο πάσχων περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, κολαζόμενος*.

4. Carneades: on his probable relation to the sources of this book see introd. p. 25 and nn. 112-116; 1, 23, n. (*Carneades*).

4. quarumnam rerum. etc.: with the elaborate argument by elimination which follows compare the Stoic one in 1, 82-83; also Plat. *Gorg.* p. 453 d, where Socrates attempts to show that there is no real occupation for the rhetorician to concern himself with (but also contrast Quintil. 2, 17, 17 ff., whose discussion gives an idea of the method employed in answering such arguments as this); and Max. Tyr. 5, 7 Hobein, where the cases in which one should pray to the gods are one after another eliminated; in 13, 4-5 he tries to show that men of professional training and experience, rather than diviners, are the ones to foretell the future. Cf. also the passage in *Ac.* 2, 91 (quoted on 2, 10 infra); Aug. *r. Acad.* 1, 21, where an opponent of divination inquires whether a certain diviner can teach grammar or music or geometry.

5. cernimus. etc.: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 111: *quae autem ad spectu percipiuntur, ea non versari in oculorum ulla incunctitate, ut ea quae gustamus, olfaciamus, tractemus, audiamus*.

7. permotione mentis: cf. 1, 89.

7. natura: cf. 2, 108: *oculi enim vera cernentes utuntur natura atque sensu*, etc.

7f. nescio qui: *qui* is here surely the pronoun, not the adverb, as some editors have thought; cf. 2, 134: *hic nescio qui*; *Ac.* 2, 81: *at ille nescio qui, qui in scholis nominari solet*; *pro Font.* 25: *ille nescio quis sapiens*; *pro Flacc.* 40: *iste nescio qui*; *pro Nest.* 68. For the contemptuous

qui ille divinus, si oculis captus sit, ut Tiresias fuit, possit quae alba sint, quae nigra dicere, aut, si surdus sit, varietates vocum aut modos noscere? Ad nullam igitur earum rerum quae sensu accipiuntur divinatione adhibetur. Atqui ne in iis quidem rebus quae arte tractantur divinatione opus est.

4. *iis vulg.* In *AB*, his *B*, his *V*.

force of the expression cf. 2, 79, n. (*nescio cui*).

1. *divinus*: for this substantival use cf. 2, 10; 2, 11; 2, 14; *N. D.* 3, 14; *Fal.* 15; *Liv.* 1, 36, 4; *Hor. Sat.* 1, 6, 114; *Firm. Mat.* 3, 8, 3. In most of these passages there is at least a shade of contempt in the word, emphasized in the present case by the phrase *nescio qui*.

1. *oculis captus*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 54; *Tusc.* 5, 117.

1. *Tiresias*: cf. 1, 88, n. (*de altero . . . Homerus*); *Tusc.* 5, 115: *augurem Tiresiam, quem sapientem fingunt poetae, numquam inducunt deplorantem caecitatem suam*. The cause of his blindness was variously explained; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3, 6, 7 (where see Frazer's n.): *ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν φασὶ τυφλωθῆναι, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄ κρύπτειν ἠθέλον ἐμῆσε, Φερειῶν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἰσθμῶν αὐτὸν τυφλωθῆναι: οὖσαν γὰρ Χαρικλῶ προσφιλῆ τῇ Ἀθηνῆ . . . (lacuna) . . . γυμνὴν ἐπι πάντα ἰδεῖν, τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην κηρὸν ποιῆσαι, Χαρικλοῦ δὲ θεομένης ἀποκαταστῆσαι πάλιν τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς, μὴ δυναμένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τὰς ἀκοὰς διακαθάρσασαν τῶσαν ὀρνίθων φωτὴν ποιῆσαι συνείναι; *Ov. Met.* 3, 336-338: *at pater omnipotens, neque enim licet irrita cuiquam/jacta dei fecisse deo, pro lumine adempto/scire futura dedit, roenamque lavavit honore*.*

Similar to one of these explanations of the blindness of Tiresias is that which Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 1, 9, 21) gives of that of the seer Phineus; cf. also Apollon. *Rhod.* 2, 178-186; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 209; *Diod.* 4, 44, 4.

Herodotus (9, 93-94) describes the case of Evenius, who received the gift of prophecy as a partial compensation for his blindness and became a seer of distinction. Ophioneus the seer is de-

scribed by Paus. 4, 10, 6: *ὁ δὲ Ὀφιομένης οὗτος ὁ τῶν Μισσηνῶν μάρτυς τυφλὸς ὡν ἐβόησε ἅτε γενετῆς ματικτὴν τινα εἶχε τοιαύτην, κτλ.* One Phormio of Erythrae, who had lost his eyesight as a result of disease, is described by Paus. 7, 5, 7, as having had an important prophetic dream and having later recovered his vision.

In these instances from other parts of the world blind prophets play a part. As pointed out by Halliday (*Greek Divination* (1913), 78-79), blindness both unfits its victim for more active pursuits and also physiologically qualifies him for the office of prophet, inasmuch as in the absence of external vision the powers of the imagination are developed beyond the normal. Cf. *Hier. Ep.* 68, 1, 4: *si caecitatis causam putas esse peccatum . . . referes crimen in Iacob, cuius caligaverat acies, et cum interioribus oculis et spiritu prophetali longe post futura prospiceret et Christum caneret de tribu regia esse venturum, Ephraim et Manasse videre non poterat*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 30, and n. 2. The idea is not without points of contact with the traditions of blindness ascribed to various poetical *vates*, such as Thamyris, Demodocus, and Homer; cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 3, 31-36; Bouché-Leclercq, *l. c.*; Pöhlmann, *Aus Aelcium u. Gegenwart* (1911), 91-92 (who discusses the blind bards of Serbia and other similar cases); Petrovitch, *Serbia* (1915), 277; also 2, 40. The parallels drawn by Frazer (on Paus. 7, 5, 7) to blindness as a symbol in Oriental religions of religious prostitution seem hardly convincing.

2. *varietates vocum*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 112.

3. *sensu accipiuntur*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 40; *N. D.* 3, 32.

4. *quae arte tractantur*: cf. *Epict. Enchirid.* 32: *ἔρχου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαμ-*

Etenim ad aegros non vates aut hariolos, sed medicos solemus adducere, nec vero qui fidibus aut tibiis uti volunt ab haruspibus accipiunt earum tractationem, sed a musicis. 10. Eadem in litteris ratio est reliquisque rebus quarum est disciplina. Num censes eos qui divinare dicuntur posse respondere sol maiorne quam terra sit an tantus quantus videatur? lunaque

τελεσθαι, καθάπερ ἤξλου Σωκράτης, ἐφ' ὧν ἡ πᾶσα σκίψις τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἰς τὴν ἐμβασιὺν ἔχει καὶ οὕτε ἐκ λόγου οὕτε ἐκ τέχνης τινὸς ἄλλης ἀφορμαὶ δίδονται πρὸς τὸ συνιδεῖν τὸ προκαίμενον.

1. hariolos: cf. 1, 4, n. (hariolorum).

2. accipiunt: cf. *N. D.* 1, 26: *Anaxagoras qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam; de Or.* 1, 114: *si quis est qui haec putat arte accipi posse.*

3. litteris: with this passage cf. *Ac.* 2, 91: *dialecticam inventam esse dicitur veri et falsi quasi disceptatricem et iudicem. cuius veri et falsi et in qua re? in geometriam quid sit verum aut falsum dialecticus iudicabit an in litteris an in musicis? at ea non novit. in philosophia igitur. sol quantus sit quid ad illum? quod sit summum bonum quid habet ut queat iudicare? quid igitur iudicabit?*

5. sol maiorne: this was properly a subject of inquiry for ἡ φυσική; cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 91 (citing *Diog. L.* 7, 132). That ancient—like some modern—teachers of rhetoric set their students at discussion of such topics appears from *de Inv.* 1, 8: *quaestionem autem eam appellet quae habeat in se controversiam in dicendo positam sine certarum personarum interpositione, ad hunc modum: 'ecquid sit bonum praeter honestatem?' 'verine sunt sensus?' 'quae sit mundi forma?' 'quae sit solis magnitudo?' quas quaestiones procul ab oratoris officio remotas facile omnes intellegere existimamus; cf. *de Or.* 2, 65-66: *oratori plerique . . . duo genera ad dicendum dederunt, unum de certa definitaque causa . . . alterum quod appellant omnes fere scriptores, explicat nemo, infinitam generis sine tempore et sine persona quaestionem. hoc quid et quantum sit, quom dicunt, intellegere mihi non videntur. si enim est oratoris quaecumque res infinite**

posita sit de ea posse dicere, dicendum erit ei quanta sit solis magnitudo, quae forma terrae; de mathematicis, de musicis rebus non poterit quin dicat hoc onere suscepto recusare; Sen. Ep. 88, 27: *magnum esse solem philosophus probabit; quantus sit mathematicus; Quintil.* 3, 6, 42: *his etiam ceteri status contineri dicuntur, quia et quantitas modo ad coniecturam referatur, ut 'maiorne sol quam terra?' modo ad qualitatem, etc.; 7, 2, 6: quaeritur per coniecturam et qualitatem circa modum, speciem, numerum, 'an sol maior quam terra?', 'luna globosa an plana an acuta?' 'unus mundus an plures?' 7, 4, 1: et de magnitudine ac numero, 'quantus sol?' et 'an unus mundus?' quae omnia coniectura quidem colliguntur, quaestionem tamen habent in eo qualia sint.*

The various estimates by ancient writers of the size of the sun are summarized by Reid on *Ac.* 2, 82; Merrill on *Lucr.* 5, 564; Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* (1913), 311-314; 337-350; to which add Chalcid. in *Plat. Tim.* 235; Themist. *de Insomn.* 2, p. 282 Spengel (cf. 1, p. 276); Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 26. On the views of Posidonius cf. Hultsch in *Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. N.F.* 1 (1897), 3-48. Cicero touches upon the subject in *Ac.* 2, 116; 2, 126; 2, 128; *N. D.* 2, 92; 2, 102; *Rep.* 6, 17.

In selecting this topic Cicero was, however, very likely thinking of the Epicureans; cf. *Ac.* 2, 82: *quid potest esse sole maius? quem mathematici amplius duodeviginti partibus confirmant maiorem esse quam terram. quantulus nobis videtur? mihi quidem quasi pedalis. Epicurus autem posse putat citum minorem esse cum quam videatur, sed non mille; ne maiorem quidem multo putat esse vel tantum esse quantum videatur, ut oculi aut nihil mentiantur aut*

suo lumine an solis utatur? sol, luna quem motum habeat? quem quinque stellae, quae errare dicuntur? Nec haec qui divini habentur profitentur se esse dicturos, nec eorum quae in geometria describuntur, quae vera, quae falsa sint; sunt enim ea mathematicorum, non hariolorum.

IV. De illis vero rebus quae in philosophia versantur, num quid est

non multum; 2, 123: *quid tu, Epicure? loquere. putas solem esse tantulum? ego ne bis quidem tantum; 2, 128; Fin. 1, 20: sol Democrito magnus videtur . . . huic pedalis fortasse; tantum enim esse censet quantum videtur, vel paulo aut maiorem aut minorem; 1, 28. See also Epicurus ap. Diog. L. 10, 91: τὸ μέγεθος ἡλίου τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄστρον κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλικούτων ἔστιν ἡλίον φαίνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸ ἦτοι μείζον τοῦ ὁρωμένου ἢ ἔλαττον μικρῶ ἢ τηλικούτων ἡλίον ὁρᾶται; Aët. *Plac.* 2, 21, 5 (Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), no. 345): Ἐπίκουρος (τὸν ἡλίον) τηλικούτων ἡλίος φαίνεται, ἢ μικρῶ τιμὴ μείζω ἢ ἔλαττω; Cleomed. 2, 1: Ἐπίκουρος δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρήσεως τηλικούτων εἶναι τὸν ἡλίον ἀπεφώνησαν ἡλίος φαίνεται; Lucr. 5, 564-565: *nec nimio solis maior rota nec minor ardor / esse potest nostris quam sensibus esse videtur; Sen. N. Q. 1, 3, 10: ad ipsum solem revertere: hunc, qui in tota terrarum orbe maiorem probat ratio, acies nostra sic contraxit ut sapientes viri pedalem esse contenderent.**

[361] 5f. *lunaque suo lumine*: the discovery that the moon's light is borrowed from the sun was probably made by Anaxagoras (the evidence is collected by Heath, *op. cit.* 78-79; yet cf. Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 26, 1, quoted below), and is regularly assumed by Cicero as correct (2, 91; *N. D.* 1, 87; 2, 50; 2, 103; *Rep.* 6, 17). Others, however, had held otherwise; cf. Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 26, 1 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 358, cf. *Plut. Plac.* 2, 28): Ἀναξίμανδρος Σιωνόφαιης ἠρώσας ἰδίον αὐτῆν εἶχει φῶς. Ἀριστοτέλης ἰδίον μὲν, ἀραιότερον δὲ πῶς. οἱ Στωικοὶ ἀμυρανόφανος, ἀεροειδὲς γάρ. Ἀντιφῶν ἰδιοφῆγ; ἢ μὲν τὴν σελήην . . . Μαθής πρῶτος ἐφη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι. Πιθαγόρας Παρμενίδης Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Ἀναξαγόρας Μητροδώρος ὁμοίως. Cf. also Amn. Marc. 20, 3, 8: *quam* (sc.

lunam) *numquam habere proprium lumen opinioniones variac collegerunt.*

1. *sol, luna . . . habent*: the agreement of the predicate cf. 1, 33: *colem . . . et noraculam defossam*, and the examples cited by Anz, *Ciceros Sprachgebrauch in der Beziehung des gemeinsamen Prädicats bei mehreren Subjecten* (1884), 11-12. Examples of this sort in which there is asyndeton, giving a rather abrupt effect, are infrequent; but cf. 2 *Verr.* 3, 119: *instrumento, pecore ubalincato; de Leg. agr.* 2, 59: *aurum, argentum . . . pervenit*; also the title of the *tresviri auro, argento, aere flando feriundo*.

1. *quem motum*: perhaps with reference to the shape or the length of their orbits, but quite as likely to the point raised in *N. D.* 2, 43-44: *sequitur ergo ut ipsa* (sc. *sidera*) *sua sponte, suo sensu ac divinitate morvantur . . . restat igitur ut motus astrorum sit voluntarius*; and cf. Mayor's note for numerous parallels.

2. *quae errare dicuntur*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*verbo . . . falsis . . . re vera*).

3. *describuntur*: of geometrical diagrams also in *Ac.* 2, 116; *Fin.* 5, 50; *Rep.* 1, 29.

4. *mathematicorum*: here in its usual meaning; it is not used by Cicero in the later sense of *Chaldaei*.

5. *illis*: cf. 1, 14, n. (*illa*).

5. *philosophia*: although Cicero was of course familiar with the earlier and wide use of this word and mentions in *Ac.* 1, 19 a *philosophandi ratio triplex* (which he ascribes to Plato; but cf. Reid's note), including ethics, natural philosophy, and logic, yet, as a typical Roman, his attitude was one of interest in morals rather than in science, and as an Academic he takes

quod quisquam divinatorum aut respondere soleat aut consuli, quid bonum sit, quid malum, quid neutrum? Sunt enim haec propria philosophorum. 11. Quid? de officio num quis haruspicem consulit quem ad modum sit cum parentibus, cum fratribus, cum amicis vivendum? Quem ad modum utendum pecunia, quem ad modum honore, quem ad modum imperio? Ad sapientes haec, non ad divinos referri solent. Quid? quae a dialecticis aut a physicis tractantur, num quid eorum divinari potest? Unusne mundus

satisfaction in the example of Socrates; cf. *Ac.* 1, 15: *Socrates mihi videtur . . . primus a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutus, in quibus omnis ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, atque vitae philosophiam et ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus et vitiis omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quaereret, caelestia autem vel procul esse a nostra cognitione censeret vel, si maxime cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum; Tusc.* 5, 10; *Brut.* 31; also above, 2, 2, n. (*cumque*). It will be noticed that the plan of Cicero's philosophical works, as outlined in 2, 1-4, makes no provision for works on natural philosophy, unless, indeed, the *De Natura Deorum* and the *De Divinatione* be considered as in some measure belonging in that field. This being the case it is not surprising that he here includes under *philosophia* only the moral divisions of the subject, and sets off in 2, 11, by the same triple division to which I have just alluded, the proper fields of the *physici* and the *dialectici*.

If. **bonum . . . malum . . . neutrum:** from the Stoic standpoint the two extremes here mentioned should refer only to moral actions as offset to material *commoda* and *incommoda*, but others were less strict, and the Peripatetics (*N. D.* 1, 16) *honesta commiscerent cum commodis ut ea inter se magnitudine et quasi gradibus non genere differrent*. That Cicero should here, however, be adopting the Stoic ethical scheme as an argument particularly likely to prove effective with a Stoic adversary, just as in 2, 87-99 he uses against astrology not Carneades but Panaetius (2, 97), is not unlikely.

For the technical terms here em-

ployed cf. *Ac.* 1, 36; *Tusc.* 4, 28; *Fin.* 3, 50, where the five-fold Stoic series *bonum* (or *honestum*), *aestimabile*, *neutrum*, (*inaestimabile*), and *malum* (or *turpe*) corresponds to *ἀγαθόν*, *προηγμένον*, *ἀδιάφορον*, *ἀποπροηγμένον*, and *κακόν* of the Greeks. For the term *neutrum* cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 3, 50; Reid on *Ac.* 1, 36.

Delaruelle in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 238-239 desires to transfer the words *quid bonum sit, quid malum, quid neutrum* to a position immediately after *versantur*, in order to improve the rhythm of the clausula and to give a more satisfactory phrase to which *illis* may refer. The suggestion is attractive but naturally incapable of proof.

2. **propria philosophorum:** cf. 2, 2, n. (*cumque*), where ethics is the *fundamentum* of philosophy.

4. **parentibus:** cf. *Off.* 1, 58.

4. **amicis:** cf. *Off.* 3, 43-46.

5. **pecunia:** cf. *Off.* 2, 52 ff.; 3, 73-78.

5. **honore:** cf. *Off.* 1, 85-89; 3, 40-42.

5. **imperio:** cf. *Off.* 3, 82-88.

6. **quid? quae:** cf. 1, 36.

6f. **dialecticis . . . physicis:** cf. 2, 10, n. (*philosophia*); 2, 122, and n. (*physicum aut dialecticum*).

7f. **unusne mundus:** Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 22, 3 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 327; cf. Plut. *Plac.* 2, p. 886c: Οαλής Πιθαγόρας Έμπεδοκλής Έεφααντος Παρμενίδης Μέλισσος Έπράκλειτος Άναξαγόρας Πλάτων Άριστοτέλης Ζήνων Ένα τόν κόσμον. Άναξίμανδρος Άναξίμανης Άρχέλαος Ζενοδόκης Διογένης Λαίρτιος Δημόκριτος Έπικούρος άπειροί κόσμοι εν τώ άπειρω κατά πάσαν περιαγωγήν, κτλ. For further details cf. S. V. F. 1, no. 97 (Zeno); 2, nos. 530-532 (Chrysippus); Zeller, *Die Philos.* d. Gr. 1, 5 ed. (1892), 890, n. 4 (Democri-

sit an plures, quae sint initia rerum, ex quibus nascuntur omnia—physicorum est ista prudentia. Quo modo autem mentientem—quem ψευδόμενον

tus); Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), nos. 301-306 (Epicurus). The plurality of systems asserted by the atomistic philosophers is frequently mentioned by Cicero; e.g., *Ac.* 2, 55; 2, 125; *Fin.* 1, 21; 2, 102; *N. D.* 1, 25; 1, 53; 1, 67; 2, 48; 2, 94; *Tim.* 12: *recte igitur unum mundum diximus, an fuit plures aut innumerabiles dictus melius et verius? unus profecto, etc.*; cf. also *Ambr. Ep.* 45, 15: *et unum, non multos mundos, ut dicunt philosophi*; *Aug. c. Acad.* 3, 23: *quomodo enim inter Democritum et superiores physicos de uno mundo et innumerabilibus litem diiudicabimus, etc.*

1. *initia rerum*: for the expression cf. *Ac.* 1, 39: *in quattuor initiis rerum illis quintam hanc naturam . . . non adhiberet*; *Fin.* 5, 9; *N. D.* 1, 25: *Thales . . . aquam dixit esse initium rerum*; *Tusc.* 1, 91; 5, 7; also *Ac.* 2, 117: *principiis rerum e quibus omnia constant*. The corresponding Greek word is ἀρχή. For doxographic lists of supposed ἀρχαί see *Doxogr. Gr.* 276-291.

1. *ex quibus . . . omnia*: *Ac.* 2, 118: *Pythagorii ex numeris et mathematicorum iniliis proficisci volunt omnia*; *Tusc.* 1, 22: *quattuor . . . genera principiorum . . . e quibus omnia orerentur*; 1, 54: *e principio oriuntur omnia* (cf. *Rep.* 6, 27); 5, 69: *initiorum et tanquam seminum unde essent omnia orla, generata, concreta*.

2. *prudentia*: cf. *ad Herenn.* 3, 3: *dicitur item prudentia scientia cuiusdam artificis et rerum multarum memoria et usus complurium negotiorum*.

2f. *ψευδόμενον* vocant: on the use of the technical Greek term cf. 1, 1, n. (μαρτυρή); Rose in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 41 (1921), 114.

This form of sophism is described in *Ac.* 2, 95: *si te mentiri dicis idque verum dicis, mentiris an verum dicis?* (cf. *Gell.* 18, 2, 10); 2, 96: *vide ergo hanc conclusionem probaturusne sis: si dicis te men-*

tiri verumque dicis, mentiris; dicis autem te mentiri verumque dicis, mentiris igitur. qui potes hanc non probare cum probaveris eiusdem generis superiorem? For its history cf. *Diog. L.* 2, 108: τῆς δὲ Εὐκλείδου (of the Megarian school) διαδοχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὅς κεν πολλοὺς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ λόγου ἠρώτησε, τὸν τε ψευδόμενον καὶ τὸν διαλαθάνοντα καὶ Ἠλίετραν καὶ ἔγκαλυμμένον καὶ σωφείτην καὶ κερατῆρα καὶ φαλακρὸν (Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Gr.* 2, 1, 4 ed. (1889), 265, n. 1 (cf. Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Gr.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 520) doubts whether all these forms were invented by Eubulides). The ψευδόμενος seems to have been already known to Aristotle, *Soph. Elench.* 25, 180 a 32 ff.: ἀρ' ἐνδέχεται τὸ μὴ εἶναι: . . . ἀρ' ἐνδέχεται τὸν αὐτὸν ἅμα εὐσκεῖν καὶ ἐπισκεῖν: . . . οὐτ' εἰ εὐσκεῖ τὸδε ἢ τῆδε, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐπισκεῖν, ὃ δ' ὁμῶς ἐπισκεῖσθαι εὐσκεῖ ἐπισκεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ μόνον, εὐσκεῖ δὲ οὐ . . . ὁμοῖοι δ' ὁ λόγος καὶ περὶ τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν ἅμα καὶ ἀληθεύειν: ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι εἰθεώρητος, ποτέρως ἂν τις ἀποδοίη τὸ ἀπλῶς ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι, ὁσῦλον φαίνεται. κωλῖες δ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς μὲν εἶναι ψεῦδῃ, πῆ δ' ἀληθῆ ἢ τιμῆς, καὶ εἶναι ἀληθῆ τιμῆς, ἀληθῆ δὲ μὴ, κτλ. (cf. [Alex. Aphrod.] ad loc.; Plutarch refers to it in *de rect. Rit. aud.* 11). A famous ancient example is occasioned by the *Epistle to Titus*, 1, 12: εἰπὼν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν (i.e., Epimenides the Cretan; cf. Schultess, *De Epimenide Crete* (1877), 48), Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται . . . ἢ μαρτυρία αἰὲν ἐστὶν ἀληθῆς. Cf. also the point raised by Phot. *Bibl.* 247 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 1496) about Socrates, and Lucian's remark (*V. H.* 1, 4): κἀν ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθεύσω λέγων ὅτι ψεύσομαι.

The ψευδόμενος was evidently a favorite subject for discussion; cf. *Sen. Ep.* 45, 10: *quid me detines in eo quem tu ipse pseudomenon appellas, de quo tantum librorum compositum est?* and *Front. p.* 146 Naber: *discere te autem cerialinas et sarillas et pseudomenicus. verba contorta et*

vocant—dissolvas aut quem ad modum soriti resistas—quem, si necesse

fiduciaris, neglegere vero cultum orationis . . . hoc indicat loqui te quam eloqui malle. More definitely, a three-book work *περὶ ψευδομένων* by Theophrastus is mentioned by Diog. L. 5, 49; for one by Chrysippus cf. *Arr. Epict. Diss.* 2, 17, 34; *Hier. Ep.* 69, 2, 4. Philetas of Cos (according to Athen. 9, p. 401e) pursued his studies of the question so long that he grew emaciated and died! His epitaph read: *ξείνε, Φιλητάς εἰμι. λόγων δ' ψευδομένος με, ὄλεσε καὶ νεκρῶν φροντίδες ἐσπίριοι.*

Cicero's *Hortensius*, fr. 55 Müller (Non. p. 329 M.) reads: *tum pseudomenon et soritam et totam dialecticam aut illudis aut increpas*; cf. *Ac.* 2, 147: *de sorite aut pseudomeno quas plagas ipsi contra se Stoici texuerunt.* Christian writers often refer to the quibble of the *pseudomenus* in terms of some contempt; e.g., *Clem. Strom.* 5, 11, 6, p. 651 P.: *περὶ ψευδοποφάσκοντος λόγων καὶ κρατίνου διαλεληθῆτος τε αὐ καὶ κροκοδιλίου σωρίτου τε ἴτι καὶ ἔγκεκαλυμμένου περὶ τε ἀμφιβολιῶν καὶ σοφισμάτων*; *Hier. in Amos*, 1, p. 229 Vall.: *qui syllogismis et enthymematibus, impto sophismatibus et pseudomenis atque soritis quas ab aliis male inventa sunt roborare conantur*; *adv. Ruf.* 1, 30, p. 486 Vall.: *septem modos conclusionum dialectica me elementa docuerunt . . . quomodo absque verbo et nomine nulla sententia fit, soritiarum gradus, pseudomeni argutias, sophismatum fraudes*; *Tract. de Ps.* 115 (*Anecd. Mareds.* 3, 2, 214-215), where Jerome concludes: *invenerunt enim philosophi sua deceptione et propria arte quomodo in eodem sermone et vtra quis dicit et mentitur*; *Aug. c. Acad.* 2, 5, 11: *inde dissensiones philosophorum . . . inde pseudomeni et soritiae in illius causae patrocinio viguerunt.*

On the whole question of the *pseudomenus* see also Prantl, *Gesch. d. Logik*, 1 (1855), 51; Keynes, *Stud. and Exerc. in formal Logic*, 4 ed. (1906), 457-458, who thus sums up his discussion: "The explanation is that we have commenced with

premisses that are implicitly contradictory, and that our subsequent reasoning has fulfilled its proper function in making the contradiction explicit. There is nothing self-contradictory in assuming that Cretans never speak the truth; but having commenced with this assumption, we cannot without implicit contradiction suppose a Cretan to make the assertion. In other words, the two premisses—Cretans are always in all things liars; and Epimenides, the Cretan, said so—cannot be true together."

1. *dissolvas*: cf. 2, 35; *N. D.* 3, 29: *illa autem quam Carneades afferbat quem ad modum dissolvitis?* also *Ac.* 2, 75; 2, 96; *Gell.* 1, 2, 4; etc.

1. *soriti*: this is described by Cicero in *Ac.* 2, 49: *captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur, quod genus minime in philosophia probari solet, cum aliquid minutatim et gradatim additur aut demitur, soritas hoc vocant, quia acervum efficiunt uno addito grano*; and (at too great length to quote) in *Ac.* 2, 92-95; examples appear in *Fin.* 4, 29-31; *N. D.* 2, 165; 3, 43; 3, 93.

The invention of this fallacy is ascribed by Diog. L. 2, 108 (quoted above in note on *ψευδομένων vocant*) to Eubulides of the Megarian school, but Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Gr.* 2, 1, 4 ed. (1889), 265, n. 1 (cf. 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 596, and n. 2), points out that it had been already developed by Zeno of Flea; cf. *Arist. Phys.* 7, 5, 250 a 19ff.: *διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ζήνωνος λόγος οὐκ ἀληθής, ὡς ποφεῖ τῆς κίτχρου ὀτιοῦν μέρος, κτλ.*; *Simplific.* ad loc.: *εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν, εἰ ἡ δὴ δύναμις τὸ δλον βάρος εἶναι ἐν τινι χρόνῳ διάστηματι, ἦδη καὶ ἡ ἡμίσεια τῆς δυναμείας τὸ δλον βάρος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ κινήσει ἡμισυ . . . διὰ τοῦτο λέγει καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου λόγος, ὅς ἤρετο Πρωταγόραν τὸν σοφιστήν. εἰπέ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Πρωταγόρα, ἄρα ὁ εἰς κίτχρος καταπεσῶν ψόφος ποιεῖ ἢ τὸ μυριστῶν τοῦ κίτχρου; τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μὴ ποιεῖν, ὁ δὲ μέδιστος, ἔφη, τῶν κίτχρου καταπεσῶν ποιεῖ ψόφος ἢ οὐ; τοῖ δὲ ποφεῖν εἰπόντος τὸν μέδιστον, τί οὐν, ἔφη ὁ Ζήνων, οὐκ ἔστι λόγος τοῦ μέδιστου*

sit, Latino verbo liceat acervalem appellare; sed nihil opus est; ut enim ipsa

τῶν εἰγχαρῶν πρὸς τὸν ἕνα καὶ τὸ μυριστὸν τὸ τοῦ ἑνός; τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος εἶναι, τί οὐ, ἔφη ὁ Ζήνων, οὐ καὶ τῶν ψόφων ἴσονται λόγοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ αἰσίοι; ὡς γὰρ τὰ ψοφοῦντα καὶ οἱ ψόφοι, κτλ.

Oftener there is no question of sound but only of amount; e.g., Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 44 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 801A): σωροῦ μὲν γὰρ ἅν' ἴσο μεδμήμους ἀφίλητ τὸ λειπόμενον μένει σωρός, κτλ. Another form of the fallacy is described by Diog. L. 7, 82: οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν δύο ὄλγισα ἴσῃν; οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τρία; οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα; καὶ οὕτω μέχρι τῶν δέκα· τὰ δὲ δύο ὄλγισα ἴσῃν; καὶ τὰ δέκα ἑρα (cf. the remarks in *Gen.* 18, 24-32 about the number of righteous men in Sodom). A variant called the *falacros* (Diog. L. 2, 104) inquired whether a man was bald after the loss of one hair, or two, or how many; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 45-47: *utor permissio caudaeque pilos ut equinae / paulatim vello et d'no unum, demo etiam unum, / dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi*. Galen, *de Loc. affect.* 1, p. 25 Kühn speaks of τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν λόγου, ὃν καὶ σωρείτην ὀνομάζουσι; cf. also Ulp. *Dig.* 50, 16, 177: *idem libro quadragesimo septimo ad Sabinum: natura cavillationis, quam Graeci σωρίτην appellaverunt, haec est, ut ab evidenter veris per brevissimas mutationes disputatio ad ea quae evidenter falsa sunt perducatur*.

Chrysippus was much interested in this question (*Pers.* 6, 80: *inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi*; cf. schol. ad loc.; Mart. Cap. 4, 327: *Chrysippus cumulet proprium et consummat acervum*; Sidon. *Carm.* 23, 119), and according to Diog. L. 7, 192 wrote a work in three books *περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς φωνὰς σωρείτῶν λόγων*. His remarkable contribution to the logic of the question is narrated by Cicero, *Ac.* 2, 93: *placet enim Chrysippo cum gradatim interrogetur, verbi causa, 'tria pauca sunt anne multa?' aliquanto prius quam ad nulla pertentari quiescere, id est quod ab iis dicitur ἄσυχθεῖν. 'P'ur me vel stertus*

licet, inquit Carneades, 'non modo quiescas'; cf. Sext. *Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp.* 2, 253; *adv. Math.* 7, 416 (=S.V.F. 2, nos. 275-277).

For still other allusions to the sorites cf. Sen. *de Ben.* 5, 19, 9: *sorites . . . inexplicabilis*; Gell. 1, 2, 4: *sylogismorum captivumque dialecticarum loquvis strepibal, curviontas, ἡσυχάζοντας et σωρείτας aliosque id genus griphos neminem posse dicere nisi se dissolvere*; Front. *de Eloq.* p. 146 Naber: *discere te autem ceratinas et soritas et pseudomenus, verba contorta et fiducularia*; Luc. *Sympos.* 23; Gell. 1, 4, 3; Tat. *adv. Gracc.* 27; Mart. Cap. 2, 122; 4, 423; Prantl, *op. cit.* 1, 51.

More modern treatments of this *sophisma polyscelcos* will be found in Hamilton, *Lect. on Metaphys. and Logic*, 2 (1866), 332 (who remarks: "The sophism of continuous questioning, which attempts from the impossibility of assigning the limits of a relative notion, to show by continued interrogation the impossibility of its determination at all. . . . The same process may be performed, it is manifest, upon all the notions of proportion, in space and time and degree, both in continuous and discrete quantity") and Keynes, *Stud. and Exerc. in formal Logic*, 4 ed. (1906), 372, n. The modern use of the term 'sorites' in the sense of a chain-syllogism seems to be that which Cicero has in mind in *Fin.* 4, 50, but Hamilton, *op. cit.* 2, 269, thinks that this usage was established mainly from the fifteenth century on, by Lorenzo Valla and others.

[365] 1. *resistas*: as in 2, 150 and frequently elsewhere in the philosophical works. A distinction is made in the use of *dissolvas* for the *mentiens*, a mere logical puzzle to be solved but of no practical importance in daily life, and *resistas* for the *sorites*, a form of argument all too often employed in serious and significant discussions. In the latter case safety lay

philosophia et multa verba Graecorum, sic sorites satis Latino sermone

in firm opposition to the primary assumptions.

[365] If. si necesse sit, etc.: for instances in which Cicero considers the Latin language equal or superior to Greek see 1, 1, n. (*nos melius*). But there was another side to the question, and he often clearly recognizes the difficulty of expressing a Greek passage or idea in Latin; cf. 2, 108, n. (*appellanti dialectici*); *de Or.* 3, 95, where the thoughts of the Greeks are said to be transferable to Latin, *sed hominibus opus est eruditis qui adhuc in hoc quidem genere nostri nulli fuerunt*. In *Tusc.* 2, 35 he remarks: *Graeci illi, quorum copiosior est lingua quam nostra*. Possibly in view of the context that passage is to be taken sarcastically rather than literally (cf. *pro Caecin.* 51: *nostra lingua quae dicitur esse inops*); perhaps *Rep.* 1, 65 (*si modo id exprimere Latine potuero; difficile factu est, sed conabor tamen*) represents Scipio the speaker rather than Cicero the author; yet what shall we do with those numerous cases in which Cicero has to apologize, as here, or coining new words (e.g., *Ac.* 1, 24-26; *N. D.* 2, 91; *Tim.* 13), or those in which he frankly makes use of some Greek word or phrase (often a technical term) without any apology (as in many of the cases listed by Rose in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 41 (1921), 91-116)? A pertinent passage is *Ac.* 1, 24: *quasi qualitatem quandam nominabant* (cf. *Mart. Cap.* 5, 510): *dubilis enim profecto ut in rebus inusitatis, quod Graeci ipsi faciunt, a quibus haec iam diu trahuntur, utamur verbis interdum inauditis*; cf. *Plut. Cic.* 40: *ὁτι ὁ ἔργον μὲν ἦν τὸ τοῖς φιλοσόφους συντελεῖν διαλόγου καὶ μεταφράζειν, καὶ τῶν διαλεκτικῶν ἢ φυσικῶν ὀνομάτων ἵκαστον εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν μεταβάλλειν διάλεκτον· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔστιν, ὡς φασιν, ὁ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἔποχην καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν, ἐτι δὲ τὸ ἔτομον, τὸ ἀμερές, τὸ κενόν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἕξομασίας πρῶτος ἢ μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι, κτλ.*; *Hier. in Galat.* 1, p. 387 *Vall.*: *si itaque hi qui discretos saeculi*

legere consueverunt coeperint nobis de novitate et vilitate sermonis illudere, militamus eos ad Ciceronis libros qui de quaestionibus philosophiae praenotantur; et videant quanta ibi necessitate compulsus sit tanta verborum portentia proferre quae numquam Latini hominis auris audiret; et hoc cum de Graeco, quae lingua vicina est, transferret in nostram; Lange in *Diss. philol. Hal.* 4 (1880), 232-234; Reid, ed. of *Ac.* (1885), 28; Dietrich, *De Cic. Ratione etymol.* (1911), 13-14. Bauer, *De Paupertate Lat. Ling. contra Ciceronem* (1756) I have not seen.

Cicero was not unique in his appreciation of these weaknesses of Latin. Cf. *Lucr.* 1, 136-139: *nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta / difficile illustrare Latinis versibus esse, / multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum / propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem*; 1, 830-833: *nunc et Anaxagorae scrutemur homocomerian / quam Graei memorant nec nostra dicere lingua / concedit nobis patrii sermonis egestas, / sed tamen ipsam rem facilest exponere verbis*; 3, 260; for an opinion ascribed to Varro see *Ac.* 1, 4-5; for one of Quintus *Fin.* 5, 96 (with which cf. *N. D.* 1, 8: *complures enim Graecis institutionibus eruditi ea quae didicerant cum civibus suis communicare non poterant, quod illa quae a Graecis accepissent Latine dici posse diffident*); *Hor. A. P.* 48-59; *Liv.* 27, 11, 4: *faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone*; *Vitruv.* 5, 4, 1: *quam (sc. harmoniam) si volumus explicare necesse est etiam Graecis verbis uli quod nonnulla eorum Latinus non habent appellationes*; *Manil.* 3, 40-42; *Sen. Ep.* 58, 1 ff.—an important passage too long to quote; *Quintil.* 1, 5, 58: *et confessis quoque Graecis utimur verbis ubi nostra desunt, sicut illi nonnumquam a nobis mutuuntur*; 8, 3, 37; 12, 10, 33-34: *tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerunt illorum id nominibus exornent. his illa potentiora, quod res plurimae carent appellationibus ut eae necesse sit transferre*

tritum est—ergo haec quoque dialectici dicent, non divini. Quid? cum quaeritur qui sit optimus rei publicae status, quae leges, qui mores aut utiles aut inutiles, haruspicesne ex Etruria arcessentur, an principes statuent et delecti viri periti rerum civilium? 12. Quodsi nec earum rerum quae subiectae sensibus sunt ulla divinatio est, nec earum quae artibus continentur, nec earum quae in philosophia disseruntur, nec earum quae

aut circumire; etiam in iis quae denominata sunt summa paupertas in eadem nos frequentissime revolbit; at illis non verborum modo sed linguarum etiam inter se differentium copia est; Plin. *Ep.* 4, 18, 1; Cell. 11, 16, 1; Greg. *Naz. Orat.* 21, 35: ποσιμῶν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς ὁμολῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ δυναμίους διὰ στερότητα τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γλώττης καὶ ὁμομάτων περιὰν διελεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀβολας τῆν ὑπόστασιν; Hier. in *Ephes.* 1, pp. 547-548 Vall.: nos propter paupertatem linguae et rerum novitatem et sicut quidam ait quod sit Graecorum et sermo latior et lingua felicio conabimur non tam verbum transferre de verbo, quod impossibile est, quam vim verbi quodam explicare circuitu; pp. 550; 561; Aug. *C. D.* 7, 1: deitatem (nam et hoc verbo uti iam nostros non piget, ut de Graeco expressius transferant quod illi θούηρα appellant); 10, 1; 11, 25; 12, 2; Bernhardy, *Grundriss d. röm. Litt.* 5 ed. (1869), 32, n. 16; Shorey, introd. to his ed. of Horace's *Odes* (1898), xviii-xx; Tolkiehn, *Homer u. d. röm. Poesie* (1900), 78-82 (opposed by Lockwood in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 49 (1918), 117, n. 5); Weise, *Charakteristik d. lat. Sprache*, 3 ed. (1905), 5-6.

[366] 1. *acervalem*: the word in this sense and used as a substantive apparently occurs only here; cf. Menge in *Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr.* 10 (1898), 279; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s. v. In Greek ἀσπερτης not infrequently modifies λόγος expressed or understood; e.g., Luc. *Contr.* 23; Galen, *de Loc. affect.* 1, p. 25 Kühn; etc. In our passage Cicero has accordingly formed the word *acervalem* as an adjective, perhaps without carefully considering any noun for it to modify.

[366] 1. *nihil opus est*: *Fin.* 2, 12; 2,

103; 4, 48; 5, 16; *Rep.* 1, 52; *Leg.* 1, 39; *N. D.* 1, 53.

1. *tritum est*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 91: *Graecum illud quidem sed perceptum iam lamen usu a nostris; tritum est enim pro Latino*; *Ac.* 1, 27: *qualitate—faciamus enim tractando usitatius hoc verbum et tritius*; 2, 18: *visum—iam enim hoc pro φαντασία verbum salis hesterno sermone trivimus*; *Fin.* 3, 15: *nomina . . . quae nunc consuetudo diuturna trivit*; *Off.* 1, 33; *Sen. Controv.* 1, praef. 12: *hoc vero alterum nomen Graecum quidem, sed in Latinum ita translatum ut pro Latino sit, scolastica*. Cicero's theory is set forth in *N. D.* 1, 95 *usu mollienda nobis verba sunt*; cf. *Quintil.* 1, 5, 72.

1. *ergo*: for the use of this word in resuming interrupted discussions after a digression cf. *Fin.* 1, 72; 2, 23; *Tusc.* 1, 14; 5, 73; *ad Fam.* 15, 10, 1.

2. *optimus rei publicae status*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 11: *uterque (Aristotle and Theophrastus) . . . conscripsisset qui esset optimus rei publicae status*; *Rep.* 1, 33: *Scipionem rogemus ut explicet quem existimet esse optimum statum civitatis*; 1, 34; etc.

3. *haruspices* . . . *Etruria*: on the summoning of haruspices from Etruria see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 544, n. 4.

3. *principes*: cf. 2, 6, n. (*principibus*).

5. *quae subiectae, etc.*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 36: *iis rebus . . . quae subiectae sunt sensibus*; *Ac.* 1, 31: *res eas quae subiectae sensibus viderentur*, where Reid compares *Ac.* 2, 74: *quae sub eos (sc. sensus) subiecta sunt*; *Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1, 47: τὰ ὑποκειμενα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι. This sentence sums up the preceding sections 9-11.

in re publica versantur, quarum rerum sit nihil prorsus intellego; nam aut omnium debet esse, aut aliqua ei materia danda est in qua versari possit. Sed nec omnium divinatio est, ut ratio docuit, nec locus nec materia invenitur cui divinationem praeficere possimus. V. Vide, igitur, ne nulla sit divinatio. Est quidam Graecus vulgaris in hanc sententiam versus:

Bene qui conciet, vatem hunc perhibebo optimum.

1. *nihil*: this adverbial usage is a favorite with Cicero; cf. 1, 74; 2, 11; 2, 21; 2, 24; 2, 95; 2, 104.

3. *ratio docuit*: cf. 2, 45.

3. *materia*: cf. *de Inv.* 1, 7: *materiae artis eam dicimus in qua omnis ars et ea facultas quae conficitur ex arte versatur, ut medicinae materiam dicamus morbos ac vulnera.*

4. *vide, igitur, ne*: cf. 2, 31; 2, 75; 2, 131.

5. *Graecus . . . versus*: Nauck, *Trag. Gr. Frag.* 2 ed. (1889), 674, n. 973: *μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.* By Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 40 and Arr. *Alex.* 7, 16, 6 the verse is ascribed to Euripides. Cic. *ad Alt.* 7, 13, 4 quotes the words *μάντις δ' ἄριστος*, but without mention of the author. The Greek appears, without ascription, in App. B. C. 2, 153; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 5, 23 (*Patr. Gr.* 35, 692B); Socr. *H. E.* 3, 23; Niceph. Callist. *H. E.* 10, 37: *εἴπερ μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει οἶδε καλῶς.* Plut. *Cur Pyth.* 10 says, however, *ὁ μὲν εἰκάζων καλῶς, ὁ δὲ ἄριστον μάντιν ἀπηγόρευκεν ἢ παροιμία.* The scholiast on Aristid. 403 (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* 3 (1888), 228, no. 852) ascribes this to Menander, who was the author of a similar thought (Kock, *op. cit.* 3, 65, no. 225): *ὁ πλεῖστον ποῦς ἔχων / μάντις τ' ἄριστος ἔστι σύμβουλος θ' ἄμα.*

For parallel expressions cf. Eur. *Hcl.* 757-760: *γνώμη δ' ἀρίστη μάντις ἢ τ' εἰβουλία. / ΧΟ. ἐς ταῦτό κάμοι δόξα μαντείων πῆρι / χωρεῖ γέροντι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχων τις ἐν / φίλου ἀρίστην μαντικὴν ἔχει δόμοις* (cf. Radetzmacher in *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 53 (1898), 497-510); Wachsmuth, *Die Wiener Aphorismensammlung*, no. 50 (*Festschr. zur Begrüssung . . . d. 36 Philologenver-*

sammlung (1882), 14): *'Ἀντιφῶν ἐρωτηθείς, τί ἐστι μαντικὴ, εἶπεν ἀνθρώπου φρονίμου εἰκασμός* (the same in a Vatican *Gnomologion*; cf. Steinbach in *Wiener Stud.* 10 (1888), no. 71); Theocr. 21, 32-33 (as emended by Scaliger): *ὅτι γὰρ ἐν εἰκάζῃ κατὰ τὸν νόον οὗτος ἄριστος / ἔστιν ἀνεροκρίτης, ὁ διδάσκαλός ἐστι παρ' ᾧ τοῦς*; Apul. *Met.* 5, 25: *si recte coniecto, quod profecto prudentes viri divinationem aulicant*; Donat. ad Ter. *Hec.* 696: *inde proverbium 'aiunt divinare sapientem'* (borrowed, with change of *sapientem* to *sapientes*, by Hier. in *Hierem.* 5, p. 1034 Vall.; cf. Lammert in *Comm. philol. Ienenses*, 9, 1 (1912), 13); *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 466, no. 40, and parallels there noted. A somewhat similar idea also appears in the Aristotelian *de Div. per Somn.* p. 464 b 5-7: *τεχνικώτατος δ' ἐστὶ κριτὴς ἐνυπνίων ὅστις δύναται τὰς ὁμοιότητας θεωρεῖν.*

For a list of Cicero's quotations from Euripides cf. Lange in *Diss. philol. Halens.* 4 (1880), 277-279. This translation is doubtless that of Cicero himself (listed in Müller's ed. 4, 3, 357, no. 10), and in phraseology (*nunc perhibebo optimum*) suggests another of his quotations from Euripides (*N. D.* 2, 65; Müller, 4, 3, 357, no. 9, line 3) ending: *nunc perhibebo Iovem*. His use of the adjective *vulgaris* may, however, imply that he did not ascribe the verse to Euripides but rather considered it as gnomic and anonymous, for which, as I have indicated above, he might have claimed ample excuse. With the phrase *Graecus in hanc sententiam versus* cf. 2, 25.

[370] 1. *igitur*: the connection of the verse with its context has been disputed.

Num igitur aut quae tempestas impendeat vates melius coniciet quam gubernator, aut morbi naturam acutius quam medicus, aut belli administrationem prudentius quam imperator coniectura adsequetur?

13. Sed animadverti, Quinte, te caute et ab iis coniecturis quae habe-

3. inperator codd. et vulg.

Kayser (in the Moser edition, 310) had suggested that before the verse there is an ellipsis of some such idea as: *at fortasse locum habet divinatio in iis rebus quae coniectura continentur. est quidem versus, etc.*, but, as Sander (*Quaestiones de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 11) points out, Cicero is hardly trying to introduce here a new kind of divination, and the reading *quidem* is not well supported textually. According to Thoresen (in his appendix, 224): if the verse be accepted, will you venture to assert that the *vates* guesses more correctly than the pilot? Sander's explanation (*l.c.*) is: *eo qui bene coniciat, polissimum vate homines utuntur; in gubernandi artem gubernator bene coniciet, quem homines polissimum adhibent; atque idem in ceteris exemplis valet. iam subaudiendum est vatis vel potius divinationis materiam non esse aut locum neque artem; nemo igitur vate utetur* (against this view of the passage cf. Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 564; also the rejoinder of Sander in *Philologus*, 75 (1910), 385-386). Another course is taken by Delaruelle (*Rev. de Philol.* 35. (1911), 249-250), who points out the inadequacy of the sentence containing the verse and the present one (*num igitur, etc.*) to develop any new idea, and stresses the great similarity between them and part of 2, 13 (*num igitur aut haruspex, etc.*; also the mention of the *gubernator, medicus, and imperator*), which expresses in a neat and clear form what is here left in logical suspense. His tempting suggestion is that the present passage represents the rough draft and 2, 13 the definitive revision, and that Cicero's copyists, in reading their notes or among the parts rejected and those retained, became confused and inserted both passages, the former of

which a careful revision would have deleted (cf. Havet, *Manuel de Critique verbale* (1911) 265-266). Without it the thought would be logically developed thus: 'There is no place for divination in the subject matter of the arts. But I notice that you limit it to the prediction of matters subject to chance. There you have the same difficulty, etc.' While, then, we are not justified in deleting from the text the words *est quidem . . . adsequetur* or in doubting their Ciceronian authorship, I believe that we should do well to consider the passage as a less satisfactory doublet for the last sentence of 2, 13.

2 ff. *gubernator . . . medicus . . . imperator*: for such groups of examples and for the comparison between divination and medicine cf. 1, 24, n. (*ut medicina*). The superiority of these professional men in foretelling future events within their own fields of knowledge was of course due to the fact that their training and experience had given them a clearer understanding of the operation, within those fields, of the laws of cause and effect upon which determinism—and hence the possibility of prescience—depended; cf. 1, 111, n. (*rationis humanae*); 2, 17; Schmekel, *Dic Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 318-319.

Very similar to our passage and perhaps from a common source is Max. Tyr. 13, 4 Hobein: *καὶ γὰρ κυβερνήτης τῶν ἕχων καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ ὄργανα καὶ τὴν θάλατταν ὄρων καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῶν πνευμάτων οἶδεν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. καὶ στρατηγὸς στρατόπεδον ἔχων καὶ τὰ ὄπλα εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς μεμημίεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αἰσθανόμενος οἶδεν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον. καὶ ἰατρός τὸν κάμνοντα οἶδεν καὶ τῆς νόσου ξυνεῖς καὶ τῆς τέχνης αἰσθανόμενος οἶδεν τὸ ἀποβησόμενον.*

rent artem atque prudentiam et ab iis rebus quae sensibus aut artificii perciperentur abducere divinationem eamque ita definire: divinationem esse carum rerum praedictionem et praesensionem quae essent fortuitae. Primum eodem revolveris. Nam et medici et gubernatoris et imperatoris praesensio est rerum fortuitarum. Num igitur aut haruspex aut augur aut vates quis aut somnians melius coniecerit aut e morbo evasurum aegrotum aut e periculo navem aut ex insidiis exercitum quam medicus, quam gubernator, quam imperator? 14. Atqui ne illa quidem divinantis esse dicebas, ventos aut imbres independentes quibusdam praesentire signis (in quo nostra quaedam Aratea memoriter a te pronuntiata sunt), etsi haec ipsa fortuita sunt, plerumque enim, non semper eveniunt. Quae est igitur aut ubi versatur fortuitarum rerum praesensio, quam divinationem vocas? Quae enim praesentiri aut arte aut ratione aut usu aut coniectura possunt, ea

1. **artificiis**: on the basis of special training or experience, and therefore offset to *sensibus* which might be employed by anyone.

2. **abducere**: doubtless with reference to the reservations made by Quintus in 1, 111-112.

3. **ita definire**: on the important differences between the definition as here stated (repeated in 2, 19 and 2, 25) and that in the first book (*carum rerum quae fortuitae putantur praedictio atque praesensio*) see, 1, 9, n. (*de divinatione*), and for a similar change of definition 1, 118, n. (*potest*). The form here given may be from Antipater; cf. introd. p. 23, n. 102. Cicero's own definition in 1, 1 (*praesensionem et scientiam rerum futurarum*) is a hypothetical one, as may be seen from its immediate qualification: *si modo est ulla*.

4. **eodem revolveris**: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 12: *revolveris eodem*; *Ac.* 2, 18; 2, 148; *de Or.* 2, 130; *Auct. ad Herenn.* 2, 27: *eodem identidem resolvamur*; *Sen. Suas.* 3, 2.

5. **nam et medici, etc.**: with the following passage cf. Chalcid. in Plat. *Tim.* 183 (in the context of which the familiar example of the *medicus* and the *imperator* appear): *siquidem praedictio rationalis sit existimatio sortis futurae, quae non in rebus certis et necessitate constructis sed incertis atque ambiguis praevaleat. quis enim praesagum consulat de recens*

nato utrum mortalis an immortalis sit futurus? sed illud potius quod est dubium quaeri solet, quam prolixo vitae spatia sortitus esse videatur, et utrum dives an pauper: elataque an plebeia sit utque humilis fortuna. quae cunctis observatione, scientia, artificiosa quoque solertia colliguntur, etc.

6. **num, etc.**: cf. 2, 12, n. (*igitur*).

7. **ne illa quidem . . . dicebas**: cf. 1, 13: *ea quae quamquam ex alio genere sunt tamen divinationi sunt similiora videamus*; 1, 16: *ventorum et imbrum signa quae dixi* (i.e., in 1, 13-15).

8. **illa**: cf. 1, 14, n. (*silla*).

9. **Aratea . . . pronuntiata sunt**: in 1, 13-15.

10. **memoriter**: cf. 1, 17: *te cuius edidici etiam versus, etc.*; *N. D.* 2, 104: *ular, inquit, carminibus Arateis quae . . . ita me delectant . . . ut multa ex iis memoria teneam*. At the beginning of the quotations from the *Aratea* in 1, 13-15 there is no statement that they are recited from memory, but the implication that this is the case is corroborated by the present passage. For the phrase *memoriter . . . pronuntiat* cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 34.

11. **plerumque . . . non semper**: more strongly phrased in 1, 15: *videmus haec signa nunquam fere mentientia*.

12. **ratione aut usu**: cf. *de Am.* 52: *neq. usu neq. ratione*.

non divinis tribuenda putas, sed peritis. Ita relinquitur ut ea fortuita divinari possint quae nulla nec arte nec sapientia provideri possunt, ut si quis M. Marcellum illum, qui ter consul fuit, multis annis ante dixisset naufragio esse periturum divinasset profecto; nulla enim arte alia id nec sapientia scire potuisset. Talium ergo rerum quae in fortuna positae sunt praesensio divinatio est.

VI. 15. Potestne igitur earum rerum quae nihil habent rationis quare

1. non divinis . . . sed peritis: cf. 1, 111, n. (*rationis humanae*).

1. relinquitur ut: cf. 1, 127; *Ac.* 2, 119; *Fin.* 3, 31; *de Inv.* 1, 12.

2. nulla nec . . . nec: for this form of negation cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 827.

3. M. Marcellum: M. Claudius Marcellus M. f. M. n. (see the references collected by Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Claudius* (1899), no. 225 (2758-2760)). He was consul first in 166 B. C. with C. Sulpicius Gallus (cf. *Rep.* 1, 21; Münzer, *op. cit.* 2758), a second time in 155 with P. Scipio Nasica Corculum (cf. *Ac.* 2, 137; Münzer, *op. cit.* 2759), and a third time in 152 (in *Pison.* 44; *Fat.* 33; Münzer, *loc. cit.*). In 148, on an embassy to Africa, he lost his life at sea, as here noted; cf. *Fat.* 33: *quid enim spectans deus ipse diceret Marcellum eum qui ter consul fuit, in mari esse periturum?* in *Pison.* 44: *M. Marcellus, qui ter consul fuit, summa virtute, pietate, gloria militari, periit in mari*; *Ascon. in Pison.* 11: *fuit autem nepos M. Marcelli eius qui bello Punico secundo Syracusis vicit et quinque consulatus adeptus est. hic autem Marcellus de quo Cicero dicit naufragio ad ipsam Africam periit paulo ante coepit bellum Punicum tertium, etc.*; *Liv. perioch.* 50: *ex tribus legatis qui ad Massinissam missi erant, M. Claudius Marcellus coorta tempestate fluctibus obrutus est.*

3. illum: cf. 1, 28, n. (*illi sapiens*); 1, 40, n. (*illa*).

5. in fortuna positae: these things are, after all, not free from the causal nexus if we accept the statement in *Aët. Plac.* 1, 29, 7 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 326): *Ἄναξαίροις καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ (sc. τὴν τύχην) ἀδηλοῦ*

αἰτίας ἀνθρωπίνῃ λογισμῷ· ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι κατ' ἀνάγκην, ἃ δὲ καθ' ἐμαρμένην, ἃ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἃ δὲ κατὰ τύχην, ἃ δὲ κατὰ τὸ αἰετώματον. τύχη ἀτάκτου ἀεργείας ἔστι προσηγορία; cf. *Aug. c. Acad.* 1, 1, 1: *fortasse quae tulgo fortuna nominatur occulte quodam ordine regitur: nihilque aliud in rebus casum vocamus nisi cuius ratio et causa secreta est.* Chalcidius (in *Tim.* 157) says: *fortuna est concursus simul cadentium causarum duarum originem ex proposito trahentium; ex quo concursu provenit aliquid praeter spem cum admiratione.* With this should be compared the views of other philosophers on the subject of chance as set forth by *Aët.* 1, 29, 1-6 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 324-326).

7. *potestne, etc.*: having reduced the field of divination to matters entirely subject to chance—if indeed such there be—Cicero in the following sections proceeds to show that a thing subject to chance cannot also be subject to determinism and hence cannot be foreknown or foretold. Cf. 1, 119, n. (*ut videret . . . non ut caveret*); 1, 125, nn. (*fatum autem, etc.*; *nihil est, etc.*); 2, 17-18; *Fat.* 26; 32-33: *itaque dicebat Carneades ne Apollinem quidem futura posse dicere nisi ea quorum causas natura ita contineret ut ea fieri necesse esset. quid enim spectans deus ipse diceret Marcellum . . . in mari periturum? erat hoc quidem verum ex aeternitate sed causas id efficientes non habebat. ita ne praeterita quidem ea quorum nulla signa iamquam vestigia extarent Apollini nota esse censerat: quo minus futural causis enim efficientibus quamque rem cognitis posse denique sciri quid futurum esset, etc.*; *Alex. Aphrod. de Fat.* 30: *τῆς μὲν γὰρ φύσεως τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων τοῦτο χωροῦσθαι,*

futurae sint esse ulla praesensio? Quid est enim aliud fors, quid fortuna, quid casus, quid eventus, nisi cum sic aliquid cecidit, sic evenit, ut vel aliter cadere atque evenire potuerit? Quo modo ergo id quod temere fit, caeco casu et volubilitate fortunae, praesentiri et praedici potest?

οὐδένα εὐλογώτερον εἶδέναι μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ μέλλοντα, ἀδυνάτου δ' οὐσης τὴν τοιαύτην πρόρρησιν καὶ πρόγνωσιν δέχεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐλογον εἶναι γίνεσθαι εἶδέναι τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων; Aug. C. D. 5, 9; Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 5, 47: τότε δ' ἂν χρειώδης ἐτύχαιεν ἢ πρόρρησις εἰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλισίον αὐτοῦ τῆν ἀναφορὰν ἐλάμβανεν. εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς τυχηροῖς, ἀδυνάτον τι ἐπαγγέλλονται· ἄστατα γὰρ τὰ τυχηρῶς γινόμενα, τῶν δὲ ἀστάτων καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐμβαίνοντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐστῶσαν ποιῆσαι τὴν προαγόρευσιν; Schmekel, Die Philos. d. milll. Stoa (1892), 319, n. 1.

2f. evenit ut vel aliter, etc.: cf. 2, 24. The opposite notion is expressed in *Fal.* 45: *quibus in rebus cum causae antecesserint non sit in nostra potestate ut aliter illa eveniant, eas fato fieri.*

4. volubilitate fortunae: cf. Amm. Marc. 22, 1, 1: *fortunae . . . volubiles casus*; 26, 1, 3: *volubiliuni casuum*; introd. p. 31, n. 178 supra. In *pro Mil.* 69 fortune is described as *vaga volubilisque*; cf. *Ov. Tr.* 5, 8, 15: *Fortuna volubilis errat*. This abstract changeableness of Fortune was typified either by a wheel which she turns (to the disadvantage of others) or by a globe on which she stands; cf. *Pacuv. incert.* 14, 1-3 (*Trag. Rom.* *Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 144): *Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi, / saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubiles: / id quo saxum impulerit fors, eo cadere Fortunam aulamant*; *Cic. in Pis.* 22: *fortunae rotam* (apparently the earliest such reference; cf. Smith on *Tibull.* 1, 5, 70; see also *Tac. Dial.* 23: *nolo inridere rotam Fortunae*; and *Gudeman's* note); *Virg. Ecl.* 9, 5: *Fors omnia versat*; *Tibull.* 1, 5, 70: *versatur celeri Fors icvis urbe rotac*; *Phaedr. App.* 5, 1-2: *Ixion quod versari narratur rota / volubilem Fortunam iactari docet*; *Prop.* 2, 8, 7-8; *Ov. Tr.* 5, 8, 7-8; *ex Pont.* 2, 3, 56; *Epiced.*

Drusi, 51-52: *nempe per hos etiam Fortunae iniuria mores / regnat et incerta est hic quoque nixa rota*; *Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese*, 2, 2 ed., no. 723, 16 (= *Poet. Lat. min.* 3, no. 23, 16): *ut volvat Fortuna rotam*; no. 931, 82 (= *Poet. Lat. min.* 5, no. 103, 82): *cum minime credas, impulsit illa (sc. Fortuna) rotam*; no. 940, 8 (= *Poet. Lat. min.* 5, no. 117, 8): *hi tibi Fortunae dant rapiuntque rotam*; *Sen. Ag.* 71-72: *praecipites regium casus / Fortunam rotat*; *Thy.* 617-618: *prohibetque Clotho / stare Fortunam, rotat omne fatum*; *H. O.* 703: *quae te rursus fortuna rotat* *Sil.* 6, 121: *per varios praecipit casus rota volvoitur aevi*; *Ceb. Tab.* 7, 1: ἢ δὲ γωὴ ἐκείνη τίς ἐστιν . . . ἐστηκῦα ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς στραγγίλου; καλεῖται μὲν, Ἐφη, Τύχη, κτλ.; *Dio Chrys.* 63, 7: *οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας (sc. ἐστησαν τὴν τύχην) . . . ἢ δὲ σφαῖρα οὗτις ἐκκολλοῦ ἢ μεταβολὴ αὐτῆς ἐστίν*; *Auson. Parent.* 22, 13: *aut iam Fortunae sic te vertigo rotabat*; *Claud. Bell. Goth.* 631-632: *sed dea quae nimis obstat Rhamnusia votis / ingemuit flexitque rotam*; *Amn. Marc.* 26, 8, 13: *tersa rota Fortunae*; 31, 1, 1: *Fortunae volueris rota*; *Boeth. Cons.* 2, pr. 1: *Fortunae te regendum dedisti . . . tu vero volentis rotae impetum retinere conaris*; 2, pr. 2: *rotam volubili urbe versamus, etc.*; *Avian.* 8, 3-4: *indignata cito ne stel fortuna recursu, / atque eadem minuat, quae dedit ante, rota* (perhaps suggested by *Hor. Carm.* 3, 10, 10); cf. *Canter in Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philology*, 19 (1922), 77-78; *Otto, Sprichwörter d. Römer* (1890), 142. For increasingly numerous passages in mediaeval authors in which this association of Fortune and the wheel was continued cf. *Wackernagel in Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Alterth.* 6 (1848), 134-149; *Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol.* 2, 4 ed. (1875), 722-724; *Godefroy, Dict. de l'anc. Lang. franç.* 7 (1892), 218, a.v.

16. Medicus morbum ingravescentem ratione providet, insidias imperator, tempestates gubernator; et tamen ii ipsi saepe falluntur, qui nihil sine certa ratione opinantur: ut agricola, cum florem oleae videt, bacam quoque se visurum putat, non sine ratione ille quidem, sed non numquam tamen fallitur. Quodsi falluntur ii qui nihil sine aliqua probabili coniectura ac ratione dicunt, quid existimandum est de coniectura eorum qui extis aut avibus aut ostentis aut oraculis aut somniis futura praesentiant? Nondum dico quam haec signa nulla sint, fissum iecoris, corvi cantus, volatus aquilae, stellae traiectio, voces furentium, sortes, somnia; de quibus singulis

5. ii *editores*, hi C.

Roete; Weinhold in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1892), 1-27; Matzke in *Publ. of the mod. Lang. Assoc. of Am.* 8 (1893), 327-334; Oliver, *Jacques Milet's Drama La Destr. de Troye* (1899), 184-195; Galpin in *Publ. of the mod. Lang. Assoc. of Am.* 24 (1909), 332-342; *id.* in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 29 (1914), 62-63; Patch in *Smith Coll. Stud. in mod. Lang.* 3 (1922), 179-235.

A passage in Fronto (p. 157 Naber) seems to point to this symbol in art as well as in literature: *dicendum est de fortuna aliquid? omnis ibi Fortunus Antia-tis, Praenestinas, respicientis, balnearum etiam Fortunas omnis cum pennis, cum rotis, cum gubernaculis reperias*; but examples are, in antiquity, almost entirely lacking; cf. Peter in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, 1, 2 (1886), 1507; Hild in Darem-berg & Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* 2, 2 (1896), 1277; yet note possible cases on coins, e.g., Grueber, *Coins of the Rom. Repub. in the Brit. Mus.* 1 (1910), 435, no. 3524; 436, no. 3531 (*denarii* of M. Plaetorius, ca. 68 B. C.); but the identification of the female figure as Fortune is not entirely certain). More frequent are cases in art representing Fortune with a globe (cf. Pacuv. *Trag.* 367 Ribb.; Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 4; Peter, *l.c.*). In mediaeval art such are also found, especially in illuminated MSS and on sculpture; cf. Wackernagel, *op. cit.* 138-140; Matzke, *op. cit.* 328-329; Galpin, in the first work cited, 333: "Mediaeval art maintained the tradition of Fortune with her wheel, but elevated the wheel from the position of a

mere symbol of mutability in general to that of an allegorical agency for elevating and debasing mankind." The goddess is frequently represented as sitting on a stool turning the wheel which is in front of her, and to it humanity is generally tied.

For further developments of oracular wheels of Fortune cf. Gaidoz in *Rev. arch.* 3 ser. 4 (1884), 142-149; 6 (1885), 190; Cook in *Class. Rev.* 17 (1903), 421; *id.* in *Folk-Lore*, 16 (1905), 284-285.

1f. *medicus . . . imperator . . . gubernator*: cf. 1, 24, n. (*un medicina*).

1. *morbum ingravescentem*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 63.

2. *saepe falluntur*: as Quintus had remarked in 1, 24.

3. *florem oleae videt*: cf. 1, 111, n. (*ante quam florere coepisset*).

4. *ille quidem*: cf. 1, 39, n. (*illa quidem*).

5f. *coniectura ac ratione*: cf. 1, 128.

8. *quam . . . nulla*: cf. 1, 81, n. (*nullae*); Pascal in *Athenacum*, 7 (1919), 132-134.

8. *fissum iecoris*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); 1, 118, n. (*fissis*); 2, 28-41; 2, 50-54.

8. *corvi cantus*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*cornicem . . . corvum*); 2, 78.

8f. *volatus aquilae*: cf. 1, 26, n. (*aquilae*); 1, 106; 2, 78-79.

9. *stellae traiectio*: cf. 1, 2; 2, 60.

9. *voces furentium*: cf. 1, 1, n. (*furore*); 1, 66-67; 2, 110-118.

dicam suo loco, nunc de universis. 17. Qui potest provideri quicquam futurum esse quod neque causam habet ullam neque notam cur futurum sit? Solis defectiones itemque lunae praedicuntur in multos annos ab iis qui siderum motus numeris persequuntur; ea praedicunt enim quae naturae necessitas perfectura est. Vident ex constantissimo motu lunae, quando illa e regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae, quae est meta noctis.

3. iis editores, hic C.

[374] 9. *sortes*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*); 1, 34, n. (*arquntis sortibus ducuntur*); 1, 76, n. (*sortes*); 1, 132, n. (*sortilegos*); 2, 85-88.

[374] 9. *somnia*: cf. 1, 39-64; 1, 132, n. (*interpretes somniorum*); 2, 119-147.

1. *dicam suo loco*: for the fulfilment of this promise see the passages cited in the preceding notes.

If. *qui potest, etc.*: cf. 2, 15, n. (*potestine, etc.*).

2. *notam*: in 1, 127 *causae* and *notae* are similarly distinguished. Hottinger explains our passage to mean *notam ex qua futurum esse possit cognosci*. Perhaps cf. 1, 5: *argumenta cur, etc.*; 1, 128; *N. D.* 1, 62; and the use of *cur* after *causa* or *ratio*, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests.

3. *solis defectiones, etc.*: cf. 1, 112, n. (*defectionem*); 1, 121, n. (*si luna, etc.*). In this section and the next Cicero distinguishes between the scientific and quite legitimate study of astronomy and the pseudo-scientific pursuit of astrology. For such a distinction cf. Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* 5, 1-2: περί αστρολογίας η μαθηματικής πρόκειται ζητῆσαι οὔτε τῆς τελείου ἐξ ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας σινεστώσης (ἀπειρηκαμεν γάρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν μαθημάτων) οὔτε τῆς παρὰ τοῖς περὶ εἰδόζων καὶ Ἰππαρχοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίους προρητικῆς δυνάμεως, ἣν δὴ καὶ ἀστρονομίαν τινὲς καλοῦσι . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς γενεθλιαλογία, κτλ.

3. *in multos annos*: cf. *de Sen.* 49: *vivere modo vidēbamus in studio dimetiendi purne caeli atque terrae C. Gulum, familiarum patris tui, Scipio . . . quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere!* *N. D.* 2, 153: *ab hominum genere finitus est dies, mensis,*

annus, defectiones solis et lunae cognitae praeditaeque in omne posterum tempus, quae, quantae, quando futurae sint; Rep. 1, 25: *atque huc in re tanta inest ratio atque sollertia ut ex hoc die quem apud Ennium et in maximis annulis consignatum videmus superiores solis defectiones reputatae sint usque ad illam quae Nonis Quinctilibus fuit regnante Romulo.*

4. *numeria*: cf. 1, 36: *qui . . . numeris [et motibus] stellarum cursus persequuntur.*

4f. *naturae necessitas*: cf. *Ful.* 19: 48; *de Sen.* 4.

5. *constantissimo motu*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 51.

6. *e regione solis*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 103: *luna . . . tum subiecta atque opposita soli radios eius et lumen obscurat, tum ipsa incidens in umbram terrae, cum est e regione solis, interpositu interiectuque terrae repente deficit; Rep.* 1, 21: *certo illud (i. e., eclipse) tempore fieri et necessario, cum tota se luna sub orbem solis subiecisset . . . erat enim tum haec nova et ignota ratio, solem lunae oppositu solere deficere, quod Thales Milesium primum vidisse dicunt; Lucr.* 5, 751-770; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 47: *manifestum est solem interventu lunae occultari lunamque toto obiectu, ac vices reddi eisdem solis radios luna interpositu suo auferente terrae terraque lunae; Cleomed.* 2, 106-107. For the expression *e regione solis* cf. also *Ambros. Hexaem.* 4, 3, 11.

6. *meta noctis*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 22: *haec sphaerum Gallus cum moveret febat ut soli luna totidem conversionibus in arcu illo quot diebus in ipso caelo succederet, ex*

ut eam obscurari necesse sit, quandoque eadem luna subiecta atque opposita soli nostris oculis eius lumen obscuret, quo in signo quaeque errantium stellarum quoque tempore futura sit, qui exortus quoque die signi alicuius aut qui occasus futurus sit. Haec qui ante dicunt, quam rationem sequantur vides. VII. 18. Qui thesaurum inventum iri aut hereditatem venturam dicunt, quid sequuntur? Aut in qua rerum natura inest id futurum? Quodsi haec eaque quae sunt eiusdem generis habent aliquam talem necessitatem, quid est tandem, quod casu fieri aut forte fortuna

5. inventum iri Lambinus, Christ, Butler, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringo, inuenturum C.

quo et in sphaera solis fieret eadem illa defectio et incidere luna tum in eam metam quae esset umbra terrae, cum sol e regione . . . (lacuna); Plin. N. H. 2, 51: defectus lunae magnitudinem eius haud dubio ratione declarat, sicut terrae parvilitatem ipse deficiens. namque cum sint tres umbrarum figurae, constetque si per lumen sit materia quae iaciat, umbram columnae effigie iaci nec habere finem, si vero maior materia quam lumen, turbinis recti . . . si minor materia quam lux metae existere effigiem in cacuminis finem desinentem, talemque cerni umbram deficiente luna palam fit ut nulla amplius relinquatur dubitatio superari magnitudinem terrae; Amn. Marc. 20, 3, 8: quoniam circa terrenam mobilitatem locata (sc. luna) . . . non numquam ferientis se subserit lanci, obiectu metae noctis in conum desinentis angustum, etc.; Boeth. Cons. 4, metr. 5, 7-8: paleant plenae cornua lunae / infecta melis noctis opacae; Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidsskrift f. Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 31-32, and in his edition) would bracket the phrase quae est meta nodis, thinking it too difficult an explanation to have been given by Cicero for the simple words umbram terrae, and suggesting that it was added by a reader from Rep. 1, 22 or some similar source. Neither reason appears to be adequate for its rejection.

For the shape of the *meta* cf. Zange-meister in *Annali dell' Inst.* 1870, pl. L, M; Bussemaker and Soglio in *Daremb. & Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.* s. v. *circus*, 1190, n. 52 and figures 1520, 1521, 1523, 1534, 1538.

2. signo: cf. 1, 17, n. (*signorum in sede locata*); 2, 89.

3. errantium: cf. 1, 17, n. (*verbo . . . falsis . . . re vera*).

3. exortus: cf. 1, 128, and n. (*ortus, obitus, motusque*); 2, 89; 2, 92; N. D. 2, 49; 2, 95; 2, 108.

5. rationem sequantur: cf. *Fin.* 1, 47; 2, 76; *Tusc.* 2, 15; 4, 66.

5. thesaurum: such cases as that in 2, 134; in 2, 142, as here, it is coupled with *hereditas* as one of the things often sought by divination.

5. inventum iri: this construction is not common in Cicero, but occurs in 1, 68; 2, 22; *de Am.* 63; *Ac. fr.* 20 (Müller 4, 1, 89, l. 28); *ad All.* 7, 1, 1; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 723.

5f. hereditatem venturam: cf. *Off.* 2, 28; *Phil.* 2, 40; *pro Caec.* 74.

6. inest: cf. 2, 143.

8. forte fortuna: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 841: *o fortuna, o fors fortuna* (cf. *Querol.* p. 7, 22 Peiper); Donat. ad loc.: '*fortuna*' dicta incerturarum rerum, '*fors fortuna*' eventus fortunae bonus. aliud '*fortuna*' est, aliud '*fors fortuna*'; nam '*fors fortuna*' est cuius diem festum colunt qui sine arte aliqua vivunt: huius aedes trans Tiberim est (cf. Varr. *L. L.* 6, 17); Ter. *Hec.* 386: quaeque fors fortunasti, inquit, nobis quae te hodie obtulit; Donat. ad loc.: *fortuna in incerto, fors fortuna in bono ponitur*; other references will be found in Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 256-257. These passages seem, however, (like others cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.*

putemus? Nihil enim est tam contrarium rationi et constantiae quam fortuna, ut mihi ne in deum quidem cadere videatur ut sciat quid casu et fortuito futurum sit. si enim scit, certe illud eveniet; sin certe eveniet, nulla fortuna est; est autem fortuna; rerum igitur fortuitarum nulla praesensio est. 19. Aut si negas esse fortunam et omnia quae fiunt quaeque futura sunt ex omni aeternitate definita dicis esse fataliter, muta definitionem divinationis. quam dicebas praesensionem esse rerum fortuitarum.

s. v., 1129-1130), to treat *fors fortuna* as personal and deified, while in ours it is probably not so regarded. For rather clear examples of the phrase used in an impersonal sense see Plaut. *Bacch.* 916: *ni illic hodie forte fortuna hic foret*; *Mil. gl.* 287: *forte fortuna per impluvium huc decipaxi*; Ter. *Eun.* 134: *forte fortuna adfuit*; 568-569: *forte fortuna domi / erat*; Gell. 1, 3, 30: *ames tanquam forte fortuna et osurus*; Apul. *Met.* 10, 5; Jul. Val. 3, 18. The use of the disjunctive *aut* perhaps shows that Cicero intended some sort of contrast between *casu* and *forte fortuna* (more than is necessarily implied in the list of words in 2, 15 supra), and such might be sought along the lines indicated by the first explanation given by Donatus, or, possibly more likely, by *Leg.* 2, 28. A treasure may be found, for example, by mere chance or by the aid of a favorable sort of luck. On etymological grounds it seems hardly possible to differentiate between the two meanings; cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), 284-285; 309.

1. *contrarium rationi et constantiae*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 43: *fortunam quae amica varietati constantium respuit*; 2, 56: *nulla . . . in caelo . . . fortuna nec temeritas nec erratio nec varietas inest contraque omnis ordo, veritas, ratio, constantia*; 3, 61: *fortuna . . . quae nemo ab inconstantia et temeritate sciungit*; Arist. *Phys.* 2, 5, p. 197 a 18-20: *τὸ φάναί εἶναι τὴ παράλογον τὴν τύχην ὁρθῶς: ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἢ τῶν ἀεὶ ὄντων ἢ τῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ἢ δὲ τύχην ἐν τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρὰ ταῦτα.*

2. *ne in deum quidem*: cf. 2, 15, n. (*ipolestine, etc.*); Aug. *C. D.* 5, 9: *quam (sc. divinationem) sic conditur (sc. Cicero)*

*suferre ut neget esse scientiam futurorum, eamque omnibus viribus nullam esse omnino contendat, vel in homine vel in deo, nullamque rerum praedictionem. ita et Dei praescientiam negat et omnem prophetiam luce clariorem conatur evertere . . . multo sunt autem tolerabilius qui vel sidera fata constituunt quam iste qui tollit praescientiam futurorum. nam et confiteri esse Deum et negare praescium futurorum apertissima insania est (cf. 1, 82, n. (ignorant) supra; introd. p. 31). But Augustine has failed to see that Cicero's denial of prescience is here put in a conditional form, and applies only in case *fortuna* is admitted to exist. If chance be denied (2, 18), divine prescience is easily possible, though of course freedom of the will is then imperilled. So in 2, 20: *nulla igitur est divinatio*; 2, 21: *nullum est fatum*; etc.*

2. *in deum . . . cadere*: cf. 2, 125.

2f. *casu et fortuito*: cf. 1, 125.

4. *est autem*: cf. 1, 83, n. (*sunt autem di, etc.*).

4. *igitur*: he has shown that not even gods can foresee that which is subject to chance, still less can mortals do so, hence there is no prescience of it at all.

6. *ex omni aeternitate*: cf. 1, 25, n. (*ab omni aeternitate*); 1, 125, n. (*ex omni aeternitate . . . veritas*).

6. *fataliter*: a rare word, in Cicero only here; cf. *Theo. Ling. Lat.* s. v., 335.

6. *definitionem*: rather awkward after *definita*: a few words before.

7. *quam dicebas praesensionem*: repeated in the words *quae a te . . . dicta praesensio* just below. Other such repe-

Si enim nihil fieri potest, nihil accidere, nihil evenire, nisi quod ab omni aeternitate certum fuerit esse futurum rato tempore, quae potest esse fortuna? Qua sublata qui locus est divinationi, quae a te fortuitarum rerum est dicta praesensio? Quamquam dicebas omnia quae fierent futurave essent fato contineri. Anile sane et plenum superstitionis fati nomen ipsum; sed tamen apud Stoicos de isto fato multa dicuntur, de quo alias; nunc quod necesse est. **VIII. 20.** Si omnia fato, quid mihi divinatio prodest? Quod enim is qui divinat praedicit, id vero futurum est, ut ne illud

titions in Cicero's works are collected by Plasberg on *Parad.* 4, who quotes Schol. Sangall. in *Accus.* 1, 7, p. 157 Or.: *proprium Ciceronis . . . in dialogis . . . eandem saepe sententiam dicere.*

As has been already pointed out (introd. p. 23 and n. 102; 1, 9, n. (*de divinatione*); cf. Schmekel, *op. cit.* 322, n. 2), Cicero here does injustice to the Stoic definition by misquoting the phrase (1, 9) *earum rerum quae fortuitae putantur praedictio atque praesensio*, doubtless not by intention on his part but through careless joining of somewhat unrelated sources.

1. **nihil fieri potest, etc.:** cf. 1, 125 and n. (*nihil est, etc.*).

2. **rato tempore:** cf. 2, 44.

4. **dicebas:** 1, 125.

5. **anile:** cf. 1, 7, and n. (*anili superstitione*); 2, 36; 2, 125; *N. D.* 1, 18: *anum fatidicam, Stoicorum πρόνοιαν* (and Mayor's note); 2, 70: *superstitiones paene aniles*; 2, 73: *dictum est anum fatidicam πρόνοιαν a Stoicis induci, id est providentiam. quod eo errore dixisti, quia existimas ab iis providentiam fingi quasi deum singularem quae mundum omnem gubernet et regat*; 3, 92; Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 28.

5. **anile . . . fati nomen:** Cicero is doubtless here thinking of the personified forms of fate such as the *Μοῖραι* and *Παρcae*. Davies well compares Max. Tyr. 13, 9 Hobein: *τοιαύτη δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ ὄνματα εἶναι μοχθηρίας ἀνθρωπίνης εὐθυσμοῦ ἀποστροφῆς, ἀναβίωντων αὐτῆς τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ ταῖς Μοῖραις καὶ ταῖς Ἑρινύσιν*; cf. Salust. *de Diis et Mundo*, 9 (*Philos. Gr. Frag.* 3, 38): *ἡ μὲν ἀσώματος περὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς πρόνοια τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ*

τοιαύτη ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἕτερα τε ταύτης ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐμαρμένη καλεῖται; Aug. *C. D.* 5, 9, pp. 227-228 Hoffmann: *contendat ergo Cicero cum eis qui hunc causarum ordinem dicunt esse fatalem vel potius ipsum fati nomine appellant, quod nos abhorremus praecipue propter vocabulum quod non in re vera consuevit intelligi*; also the account in Theodoret. *Gr. Aff.* 6, 6 (*Patr. Gr.* 83, 957-960), based on Oenomaus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6, 6-7.

6. **de quo alias:** cf. introd. p. 10, n. 8; 2, 3, n. (*de fato*). For the ellipsis cf. Marx on Lucil. 450.

7. **si omnia fato:** with the ellipsis cf. *rullis autem omnia fato* below.

7f. **quid . . . prodest:** cf. 2, 22-25; *N. D.* 3, 14: *sequuntur quae futura sunt; effugere enim nemo id potest quod futurum est. saepe autem ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit; miserum est enim nihil proficientem angere nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tamen commune solacium, praesertim cum vos idem fato fieri dicatis omnia, quod autem semper ex omni aeternitate verum fuerit id esse fatum. quid igitur iuvat aut quid affert ad cavendum scire aliquid futurum cum id certe futurum sit?* (and see the notes of Mayor and of Plasberg suggesting restorations of the beginning of the passage on the basis of ours); Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 38, 4: *'quid ergo,' inquis, 'uruspex, mihi prodest? ulique enim experire mihi etiam non suadente illo necesse est'*; Sext. *Emp. adv. Math.* 5, 47: *ei μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀνάγκην (sc. ποιήσονται οἱ Καλδαῖοι τὰς προαγορεύσεις) ἀνωφελεῖς εἶναι ἐν βίῳ· τὸ γὰρ κατ' ἀνάγκην συμβαῖνον οὐκ*

quidem sciam quale sit, quod Deiotarum, necessarium nostrum, ex itinere aquila revocavit; qui nisi revertisset, in eo conclavi ei cubandum fuisset quod proxuma nocte corrui; ruina igitur oppressus esset. At id neque, si fatum fuerat, effugisset, nec, si non fuerat, in eum casum incidisset. Quid ergo adiuvat divinatio? Aut quid est quod me moneant aut sortes aut exta aut ulla praedictio? Si enim fatum fuit classes populi Romani bello Punico primo, alteram naufragio, alteram a Poenis depressam interire, etiamsi tripudium solistimum pulli fecissent L. Iunio et P.

ἔστιν ἐκαλίναι, ἀλλ' ἐάν τε θίλωμεν ἐάν τε μὴ θίλωμεν ἐαβῆναι δεῖ τοῦ τοιοῦτο (for the rest of the passage cf. 2, 15, n. (*potestine, etc.*)); Luc. *Demosth.*, 37: καὶ μάντιν δὲ ποτε ἰδὼν δημοσίᾳ ἐπὶ μισθῷ ματευόμενον, οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ὅτω τὸν μισθὸν ἀπατεῖς· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀλλάξαι τε δυνάμενοι τῶν ἐπικεκλωσμένων, ὀλίγον αἰτεῖς ὅσπου ἂν αἰτῆς, εἰ δὲ ὡς διδοκται τῷ θεῷ πάντα ἔσται, τί σου δύναται ἡ μαρτυρῆ (cf. *Iur. consul.* 5); Dio *Cass.* 15, 57, 22 (ap. Zonar. 9, 1): τί γὰρ σου καὶ βούλεται τὸ προσημαίνειν, εἰ γε πάντως τὲ τε ἔσται καὶ μηδέμια ἂν αὐτοῦ ἀποτροπὴ μήτ' ἀνθρωπίνῃ περιεχρήσῃ μήτ' αὐ θεῖα προνοία γένοιτο; Diogenianus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3, p. 138 b: τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἡμῖν ἦν προμαθάνειν τὰ πάντως ἰσόμενα δυσχεροῦ, ἀ οὐδὲ προφυλάξασθαι δυνατόν ἂν εἴη; The fatalism here described leads also to the ἀργὸς λόγος (*ignava ratio*); cf. *Fat.* 28-30; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 200-201.

1. Deiotarum, etc.: cf. 1, 26, and nn.

1. *necessarium nostrum*: cf. 1, 26: *hospitem nostrum*. The word *necessarius* is in the orations very frequently applied to intimates, often coupled with other words such as *familiaris*, *amicus*, *propinquus*, or *hospes*; in the philosophical works it is unusual in this sense; but cf. *Tusc.* 5, 56; *de Am.* 74.

3. *ruina . . . esset*: in 1, 26 this phrase is not expressed but implied. Its inclusion here is perhaps to make more complete the formal chain of argument, thus meeting the Stoics more completely upon their own favorite ground.

3f. *si fatum fuerat effugisset*: for the form of condition cf. 2, 127: *consulebat . . . diceret . . . daret*; Priem, *Die*

irrealen Bedingungsätze bei Cic. u. Caesar (in *Philologus*, 5 Supplbd. (1885), 277-278), who cites 2 *Verr.* 3, 88: *si erat . . . mandatum . . . emisset*; pro *Lig.* 25: *si . . . veniebatis . . . venissetis*; ad *Att.* 8, 1, 1 (in the reading of M²): *missem . . . nisi . . . proficisceretur*; Sonnenschein in *Class. Rev.* 1 (1887), 125, n. 1; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 405.

5. *quid ergo adiuvat*: cf. 2, 24; 2, 55; *N. D.* 3, 14.

6f. *classes . . . interire*: cf. 1, 29, nn. (*Claudius*; *L. Iunius*); 2, 71.

8. *tripudium solistimum*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necessae, etc.*); 1, 28, n. (*solidum*).

8f. *L. Iunio et P. Claudio*: the article of Lahmeyer on *asyndeton* in the expression of the names of consuls (in *Philologus*, 22 (1865), 63-68) is now superseded by other treatments, particularly by that of Lommatzsch in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4, 568-569, who lays down the rule that in formal public usage up to the first century after Christ consular names are nearly always found without a connective (Ciceronian examples to the contrary being the present and 2 *Verr.* 5, 34 (in some MSS); *Brut.* 72; 109; *Ac.* 2, 137; *de Am.* 96), but that after that date the use of *et* becomes more frequent. In private usage, however, when but a single name of each consul is cited (e.g., *Brut.* 224: *Mario et Flacco consulibus*), *et* may be employed (on p. 569 he collects seventeen cases from Cicero), a custom which later extended to formal public use. On this question see also Stangl in *Philologus*, 69 (1910), 499; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 150; Bacherler in

Claudio consulibus, classes tamen interissent. Sin, cum auspiciis obtemperatum esset, interiturae classes non fuerunt, non interierunt fato; vultis autem omnia fato; nulla igitur est divinatio. 21. Quodsi fatum fuit bello Punico secundo exercitum populi Romani ad lacum Trasumennum interire, num id vitari potuit, si Flaminius consul iis signis iisque auspiciis quibus pugnare prohibebatur paruisset? [Certe potuit.] Aut igitur non fato

4. Trasumennum Müller, Thoresen, Hoerings, transumennum A (r in trans punctis), trassumen * * * * B, trasumnum H, Trasumenum Christ, Boiler.

6. certe potuit C, unciis incluserunt Davies, Christ Boiler Müller, Thoresen, Hoerings, certe non potuit Pearce.

Woch. f. kl. Philol. 33 (1916), 47-48. In 2, 71 below these same consuls are named—in the reverse order—without a connective.

1. *sin, cum*: *cum* is here used in place of *si* to avoid cacophonous repetition. Madvig, *Opusc. acad.* 2 ed. (1887), 154, cites as other instances of *cum* in the sense of *si* 2, 126: *fuit . . . dignius, cum consulerent nobis*; *pro Lig.* 19: *quo modo . . . bene merilus esses, cum . . . voluisses*; *pro Mil.* 49: *Miloni, cum insidiator esset, si illum . . . accessurum sciebat*—a case similar to ours. When one conditional clause is enclosed within another the two may be distinguished by *si* and *cum* somewhat as we distinguish variously included mathematical parentheses by the use of square and curved brackets.

1. *obtemperatum*: cf. 1, 30, n. (*obtemperari*).

3. *nulla . . . est divinatio*: cf. 2, 18, n. (*ne in deum quidem*).

3f. *bello Punico, etc.*: cf. 1, 77-78.

4. *exercitum populi Romani*: the expression is emphatic, indicating that the disaster was not limited to the negligent Flaminius and, if fated, not intended for him alone. Cf. *Off.* 3, 84; *in Pis.* 48; *Phil.* 2, 55; 5, 27; 7, 22; 10, 12; 13, 21.

4. *ad lacum Trasumennum*: in 1, 77-78 the site of the battle is not so exactly named. On the spelling of the name (*Trasumennus* or *Trasumenus* are the best attested forms, but *Trasymenus*, *Trasimenus*, *Transumenus* (see Plasberg on *N. D.* 2, 8), etc. occur—the Greek of

Polyb. 3, 82, 9 is *Ταρομηνή* (see Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, 2, 1 (1902), 319, n. 4; Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 572). *Quintil. Inst.* 1, 5, 13 remarks *Trasumennum pro Tarsumenno multi auctores, etiamsi est in eo transmutatio, vindicaverunt*. In *N. D.* 2, 8 and *Brut.* 57 Cicero mentions the battle as *apud Trasumennum*, but in *pro Rosc. Am.* 89 in the form here used.

5. *signis . . . auspiciis*: the former refers to the falling of his horse before the statue of Jupiter Stator, the latter to the *tripudium*, as described in 1, 77.

5f. *auspiciis . . . paruisset*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 7.

6. *certe potuit*: obviously a gloss, added by one dissatisfied with the fatalistic rhetorical question preceding, possibly a Stoic whose doctrine was that of 1, 82 (see note on *erimus . . . cautiore*), or more likely a Christian who, like Augustine (*C. D.* 5, 9), sought to defend the freedom of the will (for the influence upon MSS of the religious beliefs of copyists cf. Havet, *Manuel de Critique verbale* (1911), 263). For the intrusion of such replies and comments in glosses cf. *N. D.* 2, 132; 3, 40 (and Mayor's notes); 2, 94 *infra* is not in point; cf. my note on that passage. A particularly good case is in *N. D.* 1, 19, where a rhetorical question has been answered, as here, by an interpolator of differing philosophical beliefs; cf. Birt, *Kritik u. Hermeneutik* (1913), 157.

6. *aut igitur*: the emendation of Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift f. Filo-*

interiit exercitus—mutari enim fata non possunt—aut, si fato (quod certe vobis ita dicendum est), etiamsi obtemperasset auspiciis, idem eventurum fuisset. Ubi est igitur ista divinatio Stoicorum? Quae, si fato omnia fiunt, nihil nos admonere potest ut cautiore simus; quoquo enim modo nos

1. mutari enim fata non possunt *hic exhibent codd. et vulg., Christ, Baier, Thoresen; post verba idem eventurum fuisset transposuerunt Müller, Heeringa.*

logi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 32-33; and he adopts it in his edition) to *casu igitur* is, like the transposition by Müller of the whole preceding clause, quite unnecessary.

1. *quod certe*, etc.: cf. 2, 92, n. (*quod iis dicere necesse est*).

2. *ita*: cf. 1, 46, n. (*quod ita contigit*); Madvig on *Fin.* 2, 17; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 84; *ad Fam.* 13, 42, 2.

2f. *eventurum fuisset*: so the MSS. Madvig (*Opusc. acad.* 2, 1 ed. (1842), 230=2 ed. (1887), 586) wished to emend *fuisset* to *fuit* (a change approved by Christ and actually adopted into the text by Thoresen), asserting that in a conditional sentence the Romans always said *facturus fui (erum) si scissem*, never *facturus fuisset*. His emendation, tempting though it seems, has been answered by Müller (in *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 609) and with idiomatic justifications by Thielmann (in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. u. Gram.* 2 (1885), 191), the latter of whom regards the phrase as intermediate between *eventurum fuit* and *evenisset*. The attempt of Weidner (*Philologus*, 38 (1879), 86-87) to read *eventurum fuisse* (the form which *evenisset* would take in indirect discourse), and to make the infinitive dependent upon *dicendum est* would also involve, as he recognizes, the change of *quod* to *hoc*. On the whole, change seems unnecessary; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 403.

3. *ista . . . Stoicorum*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 14: *unde porro ista* (sc. *Stoicorum*) *divinatio*? 3, 78: *vestra* (sc. *Stoicorum*) *ista providentia*.

4. *ut cautiore simus*: cf. 1, 82: *crimus enim cautiore si sciemus* (and n.); 1, 119, n. (*ut videret . . . non ut coveret*);

N. D. 3, 14; Gell. 7 (6), 2 has a chapter entitled: *quo itidem modo et vim necessitatemque fati constituerit et esse tamen in nobis consilii iudicis nostri arbitrium confirmaverit*, closing with a quotation from the *De Fato*: *M. Cicero in libro quem de fato conscripsit* (fr. 1 Müller), *cum quaestionem istam diceret obscurissimam esse et implicatissimam, Chrysippum quoque philosophum non expedissee se in ea aut his verbis: Chrysippus aestuans laboransque quoniam pacto explicet et fato omnia fieri et esse aliquid in nobis intricatur hoc modo; cf. also Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. 47. Max. Tyr. 13 Hobein discusses the question et μαντικής ούσης εστιν τι εφ' ημίν. The method most commonly chosen for escaping from the meshes of an absolute determinism (with consequent abandonment of freedom of the will) was by the assumption of a sort of conditional determinism. Thus one might hold that a certain act was destined to happen unless (1) the purpose of the gods were changed as a result of human prayers (cf. 2, 25; Solon, 12, 55-56: τὰ δὲ μύσθιμα πάντων / οὔτε τις αἰωνὸς βέβαια οὐδ' ἐρέα; Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 34-38; *Ep.* 77, 12; Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 36 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 745-748): πρὸς δὲ τοῖς σοφοῦς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, λέγοντας ἀληθεύσθαι μὲν διὰ τῶν ἑστρων εἰμαρίνην, τρέψθαι δὲ αὐτὴν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοῖς (εἶναι γὰρ τινὰς καὶ τοῖτων αὐτῶν τῶν ἀστέρων θερατείας τὰς ἐμειλισσομένας αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπερκειμένας τὰς τρέψαι αὐτοῦς δυναμένας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θερατείας τῶν θεῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπιασμοῖς ἐπινευῆσθαι), ἐροῦμεν ὅτι τῶν ἐδεχομένων καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων κοίσοις τὴν εἰμαρίνην· τὸ δὲ ἐδεχόμενον, ἀόριστον· τὸ δὲ ἀόριστον, ἀγνώστον . . . εἰτα διαμφοβητήσομεν πρὸς αὐτοῖς, πῶς, τῶν ἄλλων παρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων τε καὶ προαιρέσεων ἐν τῇ κοίᾳ σχέσει*

gesserimus, fiet tamen illud quod futurum est; sin autem id potest flecti. nullum est fatum; ita ne divinatio quidem, quoniam ea rerum futurarum est. Nihil autem est pro certo futurum quod potest aliqua procuratione accidere ne fiat.

IX. 22. Atque ego ne utilem quidem arbitror esse nobis futurarum

τῶν ἄστρον κειμένων, τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς μόνος ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστω; Schmidt, *Vetere Philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de Precibus* (1907), 34 (in *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 4, 1); Maximus of Tyre and others (cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 42, and n. 3); or (2) one might make the appropriate choice between alternative courses of action; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6, 22: *alii* (i.e., the Stoics) *fatum quidem congruere rebus pulant . . . ac tamen electionem vitae nobis relinquunt, quam ubi elegeris certum imminuentium ordinem* (and cf. the note of Furneaux, who thinks that a form of this doctrine is suggested by the myth in Plat. *Rep.* 10, p. 617e ff.); Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 696: *sunt fata quae dicuntur denuntiatiua, sunt alia fata quae condicionalia vocantur. denuntiatiua sunt quae omni modo eventura decernunt . . . condicionalia vero huius modi est 'Pompeius si . . . Aegypti litus alligerit ferro peribit.' hic non omni modo necesse erat ut videret Aegyptum, sed si casus illum ad aliam regionem forte duxisset, evaserat, etc.* This possibility Cicero in 2, 24 seeks to exclude.

A further development, especially in the middle ages, was that summed up in the phrase *vir sapiens dominabitur astris*. This theory, ascribed, though probably wrongly, to Ptolemy, was developed by S. Thomas Aquinas in the meaning that the stars, which are corporeal, influence the physical part of man's nature, which with most men is the governing part; the wise man, however, by controlling his passions, can free himself from stellar determinism. For various forms of this doctrine see Wedel, *The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (in *Yale Studies in English*, 60 (1920), 67-68; and especially 134-141). With the view expressed by Seneca (*N. Q.* 2,

38, 4: '*quid ergo,*' inquis, '*arsus pex mihi prodest?*' . . . *hoc prodest quod fati minister est, sic cum sanitus debeatur fato debetur et medico, quia ad nos beneficium fati per huius manus venit;* and see Ptolem. *Tetrabibl.* 1,3 (based on Posidonius)), may be compared the mediaeval doctrine that the astrologer, by foretelling the future, can prepare his client to bear with greater calmness that which is inevitable; cf. Wedel, *op. cit.* 5; 136, and n. 4.

1. *sin autem, etc.*: cf. Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* 5, 47; Diogenianus ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3, p. 138 (= S. V. F. 2, 939): *εἰ γὰρ φῆσει τις σωθῆσεσθαι τὸ χρησιμὸν τῆς μαρτυρίας διὰ τὸ προλέγεσθαι τὸ πάντως ἐσόμενον ὁσχερῆς εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιμεθα, οὐκ εἶται πάντα δεῖξει συμβησόμενα καθ' ἐμαρμίην. ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντος τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τε καὶ μὴ φυλάξασθαι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο καταπραγμάσθαι φῆσει τις, ὡς εἰς πάντα τὰ ὄντα διατείνομεν τῆς ἐμαρμίην, πάλιν τὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας χρησιμὸς ἀναιρείται: φυλαξόμεθα γὰρ εἰ καθείμαρται, καὶ οὐ φυλαξόμεθα, ὅθλον ὡς, εἰ μὴ καθείμαρται φυλάξασθαι, εἰς πάντες οἱ μάρτυες τὸ ἐσόμενον προαγορεύουσιν ἡμῖν.*

3. *pro certo*: cf. 2, 104; *N. D.* 2, 48; *rdc Leg. agr.* 2, 103.

3. *procuracione*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*procurandis*); 1, 101, n. (*procuratio*).

4. *ne*: for examples of similar *ne*-clauses (instead of the usual *ut non*) cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 239-240. The idea of intention found in *procuracione* apparently here prevails over the ordinary meaning of *accidere*.

5. *ne utilem quidem*: cf. 2, 54; *N. D.* 3, 14: *saepe autem ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit; miserum est enim nihil proficientemungi nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tamen commune*

rerum scientiam. Quae enim vita fuisset Priamo, si ab adolescentia scisset quos eventus senectutis esset habiturus? Abeamus a fabulis, propiora videamus. Clarissimorum hominum nostrae civitatis gravissimos exitus

2. propiora vulg., *Christ, Haller, Müller, Thoresen, Perrens; cf. 1. 43: propiora C.*

*solacium, praesertim cum vos idem fato fieri dicatis omnium, quod aulem semper ex omni aeternitate verum fuerit id esse fatum. quod igitur iuvat aut quid offert ad cavendum scire aliquid futurum cum id certe futurum sit? In 2, 105 infra we learn: magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea melius esse quam scire, and the same subject was treated by Favorinus in his work against the Chaldaeans, from which Cellius gives extracts (14, 1; cf. 14, 1, 36: 'aut adversa,' inquit, 'eventura dicunt, aut prospera. si dicunt prospera et fallunt, miser spes frustra expectando; si adversa dicunt et mentiuntur, miser spes frustra timendo: sin vera respondent eaque sunt non prospera, iam inde ex animo miser spes antequam e fato fias; si felicitia promittunt eaque ventura sunt, tum plane duo erunt incommoda: et expectatio te spei suspensum fatigabit et futurum gaudii fructum spes tibi iam praefloraverit. nullo igitur pacto ulendum est istiusmodi hominibus res futuras praesagentibus.'), and by Diogenianus in Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3, p. 138 b-d (too long to be here quoted). For Plutarch's work entitled *εἰ ἡ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσις ὠφέλιμος* cf. 2, 105, n. (*liber, etc.*) infra.*

The disadvantages of knowledge of the future are a commonplace. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* V. 624, where the revealer of divination himself tells Io: τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν σοι κρείσσον ἢ μαθεῖν τάδε (also the scholium, which, with other passages, is quoted in 1, 5, n. (*Epicurum*)); *Agam.* 1132-1135: ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις / βροτοῖς στέλλεται: κακῶν γὰρ διαί / πολυκεῖς τέχναι θεσπιφθόν / φόβον φέρουσι μαθεῖν; Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, *adv. Futur.*, ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 223 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 868 B): εἰ δὲ καὶ μάτην καὶ ταῖς φροντισὶ προδαπανᾶσθαι καὶ πλῆττεσθαι πρὸ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου χεῖρον τῶν τελευτών κολάζεσθαι; Anon. *Hermipp.* 2, 84 K. & V.: βέλτιον δὲ

ἢν ὅλως μὴδὲ γενέσθαι (sc. σημεῖα) εἰ μηδεμίαν τις ἀναβολὴ μὴδὲ φυγὴ τοῦ κακοῦ ἐντεῦθεν ἐμελλεν ἴσασθαι; *The Spectator*, no 7.

Further, Heaven in its care for men has for their own good concealed from them the knowledge of the future; *Hor. Carm.* 3, 29, 29-32 (cf. 1, 11, 1-3); and frequently in ecclesiastical writers, e.g., *Orig. in Gen.* 8 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 68 C): οὕτω γὰρ οἷον ἐμπόδιον γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ πρόγνωσις τοῦ ἰσομένου καλοῦ. πάντα τοῦν χρησίμους ὁ Θεός, τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομῶν, εὐλόγως ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐτίφλωσεν ἡ γὰρ γνώσις αὐτῶν ἀνῆκε μὲν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθλείν κατὰ τῆς κακίας, ἐπέτρεψε δ' ἂν ὀδύσασα κατελιθῆσθαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀντιταλαιώσασθαι ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, τάχων αὐτῇ ὑποχειρίους γενέσθαι; *id. in Num. Homil.* 16, 7 (translation by Rufinus in *Patr. Gr.* 12, 699): si ergo expedit praenoscerre nos futura dicentur a Deo per prophetam Dei, per spiritum sanctum; [*Athanas.*] *Quaest. ad Antiochum*, 36 (*Patr. Gr.* 28, 618 C); etc.; this feeling did not, however, go so far as to deny all predictions; cf. *introd.* p. 37.

1. Priamo: in *Tusc.* 1, 85-86 Priam and Pompey are joined, as here, as conspicuous illustrations, one Greek and one Roman, one ancient and legendary (*fabulis*), the other recent (*propiora*; cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*)), of reversals of fortune.

2. eventus: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 85: quod si ante occidisset, talem eventum omnino amisisset (sc. Priamus).

2. fabulis, propiora: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); 2, 113, n. (*fabulis*); for *propiora* cf. 1, 43.

3f. clarissimorum, etc.: cf. 2, 3, n. (*Consolatione*). In letters *ad Att.* 12, 20, 2; 12, 22, 2; 12, 23, 2; 12, 24, 2 Cicero asks for information in regard to the deaths of certain Romans of distinction; in *Tusc.*

in Consolatione collegimus. Quid igitur? Ut omittamus superiores, Marcione Crasso putas utile fuisse tum cum maxumis opibus fortunisque florebat scire sibi interfecto Publio filio exercituque deleto trans Euphratem cum ignominia et dedecore esse pereundum? An Cn. Pompeium

3, 70 he says: *quid, qui non putant lugendum viris? qualis fuit Q. Maximus efferens filium consulem, qualis L. Paulus duobus paucis diebus amissis filiis, qualis M. Cato praetore designato mortuo filio, quales reliqui quos in Consolatione collegimus*; cf. Hier. Ep. 60, 5, 3: *quid memorem Romanos duces, quorum virtutibus quasi quibusdam stellis Latinae micant historiae? Pulvillus Capitolium dedicans mortuum, ut nuntiabatur, subito filium se iussit absente sepeliri; Lucius Paulus septem diebus inter duorum exequias filiorum triumphans urbem ingressus est. praetermitto Maximos, Catones, Gallos, Pisones, Brutos, Scaevolas, Metellos, Scauros, Marios, Crassos, Marcellos, atque Aufidios, quorum non minor in luctu quam in bellis virtus fuit et quorum orbitales in Consolationis libro Tullius explicavit.*

1. **collegimus**: Zingler (*De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 23) contrasts the collection of material in the *Consolatio*, apparently made by Cicero himself, partly as a means of occupying his mind and partly because he had no collection of Roman instances already at hand upon which to draw, with the method employed in our work, in which he wrote rapidly and drew largely from the accumulations of others.

1. **Marcione**: cf. 1, 68, n. (*Marcumque*).

2. **Crasso**, etc.: the violent deaths of all members of the first triumvirate furnished Cicero with instances particularly fresh and conspicuous, and the three men appear together again in 2, 99; cf. Val. Max. 1, 6, 11-13, where Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar are described as warnings of the results of the neglect of omens. The rule of three (1, 3, n. (*Pythio*)) is here observed. For Crassus cf. 1, 29, n. (*M. Crasso*); 2, 84. Ancient

passages illustrating the impression made by his disaster and the moral reflections based upon it are collected by Regling in *Klio*, 7 (1907), 394, n. 2.

3. **Publio filio**: the intimacy between Cicero and the younger Crassus is described in several places: *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 7, 2 (Feb., 55): *P. Crassus adulescens nostri, ut scis, studiosissimus*; *ad Fam.* 5, 8, 4 (Jan., 54): *hoc magis sum Publio deditus quod me, quamquam a pueritia sua semper (cf. Brut. 281), tamen hoc tempore maxime sicut alterum parentem et observat et diligit*; 13, 16, 1 (March, 45): *P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adulescentem dilexi plurimum, et ex eo cum ab incunite eius aetate bene speravissimam perbene existimare coepi eximiis iudiciis quae de eo feceras cognitis, etc.* He had tried to prevent Cicero's banishment (Dio Cass. 38, 17; Plut. Cic. 33; Crass. 13), and was influential in reconciling his father and Cicero. Of his possible future, had he lived, Cicero speaks in detail in *Brut.* 281-282. His death in the Parthian campaign is described by many writers, noted by Regling, *op. cit.* 384, n. 9. Plut. *Crass.* 25 says: *αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρῆσασθαι μὴ δυνατόνος (διελέηλατο γὰρ βίβει), τὸν ὑπασιωτὴν ἐκέλευσε παράξει τῷ ξίφει παρασχῶν τὸ πλευρόν*; cf. Flor. 3, 11, 10: *filium ducis praene in conspectu patris idem telis ostentunt*; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 606 says that he was captured. Plut. *Crass.* 25 further remarks: *οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπετηγῶν ἐγγύς προσελάσσωτες ἀπέδειξαν, ἔβρει πυθῶνάμνοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γίνος: οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρόκειν γε Κράσσου πατρὸς ἀναδρόσάτου καὶ καίσιτου γωναῖου οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀρετῇ γενέσθαι.*

After the death of P. Crassus Cicero was chosen to succeed him in the augural college, according to Plut. Cic. 36.

3. **trans Euphratem**: cf. *Fin.* 3, 75: *Crassus . . . nisi equisset numquam*

censes tribus suis consulatibus, tribus triumphis, maximarum rerum gloria laetaturum fuisse, si sciret se in solitudine Aegyptiorum trucidatum iri

Euphraten, nulla belli causa, transire voluisset. The occasion is, of course, the battle of Carrhae.

[384] 4. *ignominia et dedecore*: for his death see Regling, *op. cit.* 392; Plut. *Crass.* 31: τὸν δὲ Κράσσον δρομα Πομαζάρθης Πάρθους ἀπέκτευνεν. οἱ δ' οὐ φασιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τοῦτου δὲ κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόβει καὶ τὴν δεξιάν. ἐκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκειται; Polyæn. 7, 41: τὸν δὲ Κράσσον Ἐξάρθης Παρθυαῖος (sc. αἰωνίει): καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δεξιάν ἀποκόβει ἐκόμισε πρὸς μέγαν βασιλέα Παρθυαίων Τρώην. His body was left unburied; cf. Sen. *Controu.* 2, 1, 7: tu, Crasse, post evestigata illa fugitivorum arma urbis Romanae divitissimus, quid nunc? apud Parthos egres sepulcro quoque; Luc. 8, 393-394: te (sc. Magne) parva regant ac vilia busta / invidiosa lamen Crasso quaerente sepulchrum? Val. Max. 1, 6, 11: corpus imperatoris inter promiscuas cadaverum strues avium ferarumque laniatibus obiectum. The account in Serv. *Aen.* 7, 606 (*necatus infuso in os auro, cuius amore pugnaverat*) is evidently the fancy of subsequent poetic justice.

[384] 4. *esse pereundum*: cf. 1, 56; *Fat.* 5.

1. *tribus . . . consulatibus*: 70 v. c. (with Crassus), 55 (with Crassus), and 52 (alone); cf. Mommsen in *C. I. L.* I, 1, 2 ed. (1893), pp. 155-157.

1. *tribus triumphis*: 81 v. c. (*ex Africa*; cf. *Leg. Manil.* 61; *Phil.* 5, 43), 71 (*ex Hispania*; cf. *Leg. Manil.* 62), and 61 (*ex Asia, Ponto, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Scythia, Iudaeis, Albania, piratis*). To the remarkable number of his three triumphs Cicero refers in *pro Sest.* 129: *vir is qui tripartitas orbis terrarum oras atque regiones tribus triumphis adiunctas huic imperio notavit*; *pro Balb.* 16; in *Pison.* 29.

2. *si sciret*: cf. Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.* 4 ed. (1910), 584, who considers the im-

perfect as indicating durative as opposed to ingressive action; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 406. Yet contrast *quae . . . vita fuisse Priamo si . . . scisset* just above.

2. *solitudine Aegyptiorum*: the phrase has greatly troubled editors and a collection of (improbable) emendations will be found in Moser's edition. The word *solitudo* may be used of the unsupported and abandoned condition of one not literally alone; cf. *pro Quinct.* 5; *pro Cacc.* 13; *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 4, 5; *Fin.* 1, 66: *cum solitudo et vita sine amicis insidiarum et metus plena sit*; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 32: *tribus omnino comitantibus (id repente solitudinis erat)*. It seems likely that Pompey was but scantily attended by friends at the time of his death; cf. Caes. *B. C.* 3, 104: *naviculam parvulam conscendit cum paucis suis: ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur*; Plut. *Pomp.* 78, who says that the passengers in the little boat consisted of Achilles, Septimius, Salvius, a centurion, and three or four servants—all in the plot against him—, and Pompey, two centurions, Philip his freedman, and Scythus a servant (several accounts, in fact, emphasize the surprising smallness of the boat sent to carry him to shore); Dio Cass. 42, 5, 3 contrasts his past power and his present fate: *χιλίῳν ποτὲ νεῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἀρξας ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τετὲ, πρὸς . . . τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ . . . διεσθάρη*; App. *B. C.* 2, 85 does not mention any of Pompey's friends as attending him in the boat; Lucan, 8, 390-393 speaks of him as dying *loto divisus . . . orbe* from his own land in a *barbara tellus*. The great difficulty with this interpretation, however, lies in the word *Aegyptiorum*, and if that be retained unchanged we must, I believe, take *solitudine* in the sense of 'lonely spot,' or 'waste,' not altogether inappropriate inasmuch as the town of Pelusium was probably at some distance from the place of landing (according to Smith,

amisso exercitu, post mortem vero ea consecutura quae sine lacrimis non possumus dicere? 23. Quid vero Caesarem putamus, si divinasset fore ut in eo senatu, quem maiore ex parte ipse cooptasset, in curia Pompeia,

Dict. of Gr. and Roman Geogr. 2 (1857), 572-573 it lay about 2½ miles from the sea), and the shore was marshy and doubtless lonely. To such a place the expression *solitudo Aegyptiorum* might well apply, with the additional connotation, suggested by the passages above quoted, that in this lonely spot Pompey was also hereof of support, as contrasted with his former crowd of friends and attendants. The nearness of the boat to the shore at the time of the murder would justify the location of the spot in the Egyptian domain; cf. Wopkens, *Lect. Tull.* 2 ed. (1829), 371; Reiske on Charit. Aphrod. 3, 3 (p. 363).

For the contrast of the past of Pompey and the incidents of his death cf. Vell. 2, 53, 3: *hic post tres consulatus et totidem triumphos domitiumque terrarum orbem sanctissimi atque praestantissimi viri in id ecceli super quod ascendit non potest duodevicesimum annum agentis pridie natalen: ipsius vitae fuit exitus, in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat decesset ad sepulturam*; Manil. 4, 50-56: *quis te Niliaco periturum litore, Magne, / post vitus Mithridatis opes pelagusque receptum / et tris emenso meritos ex orbe triumphos, / cum iam etiam posses alium componere Magnum, / crederet ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis, / eiecdaeque rogam facerent fragmenta carinae? / quis tantum mutare potest sine numine fati?*

1. *ea consecutura*: probably not, as some editors suppose, with reference to the subsequent undisputed domination of Caesar, but to be taken in more immediate relation to Pompey's death and to what happened after it; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 80: *τοῦ δὲ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα γυμνὸν ἐμβαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλιείδος τοῖς θεομίμοις τοιοῦτου θεάματος ἀπέλιπον*; App. *B. C.* 2 86; Dio Cass. 42, 8, 1: *ὁ δ' ὄν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κε-*

φαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσε καὶ καταλωφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ ἀλλήλους ἀποκουργήκασαν ἀπαριθμοῦστος; Sen. *Controv.* 10, 3, 1: *adlatum ad se Caesar Pompei caput fleuit*; cf. 10, 3, 5. The corpse was subsequently, by his freedman Philip and an old soldier, burned on an improvised pyre (Plut. *l. c.*), or, according to Appian (*B. C.* 2, 86; cf. Luc. 8, 393) buried in a tomb later covered by drifting sand.

1f. *sine lacrimis . . . dicere*: cf. *de Am.* 41: *sine lacrimis non queo dicere*.

2. *Caesarem, etc.*: for this passage as evidence for the date of our work see introd. p. 14. The anacoluthon is noteworthy: *quid Caesarem putamus . . . quo cruciatu animi vitam acturum fuisse*; cf. *Off.* 2, 25: *quid enim censemus . . . Dionysium, quo cruciatu timoris angustitum* (and Holden's note for other instances); *pro Rosc. Am.* 49: *quid censes hunc ipsum Sex. Roscium quo studio et qua intelligentia esset?*

3. *senatu quem . . . cooptasset*: cf. Sen. *Controv.* 7, 3, 9: *multos tunc in senatum legerat Caesar et ut repletet exhaustum bello civili ordinem et ut eis qui bene de partibus meruerant gratiam referret. Cicero in ultraque rem socialis est, misit enim ad Luberium transeuntem: recepissem te nisi anguste sederem*; Sen. *de Ira*, 3, 30, 5: *vidit itaque strictis circa sellam suam gladiis commilitones suos, etc.*; Dio Cass. 43, 47, 3: *καὶ προσέτι παμπληθεῖς μὲν ἐτὴν γερουσίαν, μὴδὲν διακρίνων μὴτ' εἰ τις στρατιώτης μὴτ' εἰ τις ἀπελευθέρου παῖς ἦν, ἐπέγραψεν, ὥστε καὶ ἑκατοσίων τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν γινώσθαι*; Suet. *Iul.* 41: *senatum supplevit*; 80: *peregrinis in senatum allectis libellus propositus est: donum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare vellet et illa vulgo canebatur: Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in*

ante ipsius Pompei simulacrum, tot centurionibus suis inspectantibus, a

1. Pompeii *vulg.* Muller.

curiam: / Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt; Aug. 35: senatorum affluentem numerum deformi et incondita turba—erant enim super mille . . . —ad modum pristinum . . . redexit (sc. Augustus); Willems. *Le Sénat de la Rép. rom.* 1, 2 ed. (1885), 588. Drumann-Groeber, *Gesch. Roms*, 3, 2 ed. (1906), 627-632, mention seven members of the conspiracy who had been distinctly known as Caesarians.

[386] 3. *cooptasset*: a technical term: cf. 2 *Verr.* 2, 120; 2, 122; 2, 123; 2, 124; 2, 125; Liv. 23, 3, 5; C. I. L. X, 5914, 5916 (if, with Mommsen, we accept Henzen's explanation that *SEN. COP.* = *senatores cooptati* (sic)).

[386] 3. in curia Pompeia: for the passages mentioning this as the scene of Caesar's murder see Jordan-Huelsen, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 531, n. 66; cf. also Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae* (1874), 22-23; Richter, *Topogr. der Stadt Rom*, 2 ed. (1901), 229; Platner, *Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome*, 2 ed. (1911), 375; Suet. *Iul.* 88: *curiam in qua occisus est obstrui placuit* (but cf. App. B. C. 2, 147). This curia seems to have been an *exedra* or a large hall opening from the *Porticus Pompei* built in 55 B. C. by Pompey in the Campus Martius, adjacent to his theatre; cf. the next note.

1. Pompeii simulacrum: cf. Plut.

Caes. 66: ὁ δὲ θεζάμενος τὸν φόνον ἐκείνον καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα χώρος, εἰς δὲ ἢ σίγλητος ἠρόλοση τότε, Πομπηίου μὲν εἰκόνα κειμένην ἔχων, Πομπηίου δὲ ἀνάθημα γενοῦς τῶν προσκεκοσμημένων τῷ θεάτρῳ, παντάσῃσι ἀτίφαινε δαίμονος τινος ὑφηγομένου καὶ καλοῦντος ἐκεῖ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔργον γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ καὶ λίγεται Κάσσιος εἰς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἀποβλέπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σωτήν . . . παρήκεν ἑαυτὸν (sc. ὁ Καῖσαρ) εἶτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἶτε ὅτῳ τῶν κτεινόντων ἀνωσθῆς, πρὸς τὴν βᾶσιν ἐφ' ἧς ὁ Πομπηίου βίβηκεν ἀνδριάντ. καὶ τοῦ καθήμαξεν αὐτῶν ὁ φόνος, ὡς

δοκεῖν αὐτὸν κφεστάναι τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ πολεμίου Πομπηίου; Brut. 14: στοὶ γὰρ ἦν μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐξεβᾶν ἔχουσα, ἐν ᾗ Πομπηίου τις εἰκὼν εἰσθήκει, τῆς πόλεως στήσαμένης ὅτε ταῖς στοαῖς καὶ τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ἐκόσμησεν. εἰς ταύτην οὐκ ἢ σίγλητος ἐκαλεῖτο . . . ὥστε καὶ δαίμων τις ἐδόκει τὸν ἀνδρᾶ τῆ Πομπηίου βίᾳ προσάξειν; 17: Κάσσιον μὲν λίγεται τρέποντα τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Πομπηίου παρακαλεῖν ὥστερ αἰσθανόμενον; App. B. C. 2, 117: πεσεῖν . . . παρὰ ἀνδριάντι Πομπηίου; Nic. *Damasc. Caes.* 24 (*F. H. G.* 3, 444): τίποτε δὲ ὑπὸ πλῆθους τραυμάτων πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνδριάντος; Shakesp. *Julius Caesar*, act 3, scenes 1 and 2.

The statue apparently escaped the fire which destroyed the curia (App. B. C. 2, 147), and was later removed: Suet. *Aug.* 31: *Pompei quoque statuam contra theatri eius regiam marmoreo Iano superposuit, translata e curia in qua C. Caesar fuerat occisus*. The convincing reasons against the common identification with this statue of a colossal one found in the papacy of Julius III (1550-1555) in the Via dei Leutari and now in the Palazzo Spada will be found in Helbig-Amelung, *Führer durch die öffentl. Sammlungen . . . in Rom*, 2, 3 ed. (1913), 389-391, and works there cited.

1. tot centurionibus: various accounts (collected by Holden on *Off.* 3, 19) emphasize the number of Caesar's intimates who were present at the murder, but perhaps Sihler is correct (*Cicero of Arpinum* (1914), 401, n. 1) in suggesting that Cicero is here contemptuously referring to the original low degree of many of those whom Caesar had admitted into the Senate.

1. inspectantibus: cf. 1, 32; 1, 72.

[388] 1. partim, etc.: Seneca (*de Ira*, 3, 30, 4) remarks: *divum Iulium plures amici confecerunt quam inimici, quorum non expleret spes inexplebiles*.

[388] 1. omnibus rebus ornatis: cf. in

nobilissimis civibus, partim etiam a se omnibus rebus ornatis, trucidatus ita iaceret ut ad eius corpus non modo amicorum sed ne servorum quidem quisquam accederet, quo cruciatu animi vitam acturum fuisse? Certe igitur ignoratio futurorum malorum utilior est quam scientia. 24. Nam illud quidem dici, praesertim a Stoicis, nullo modo potest: non isset ad arma Pompeius, non transisset Crassus Euphratem, non suscepisset bellum civile Caesar. Non igitur fatalis exitus habuerunt; vultis autem evenire omnia fato; nihil ergo illis profuisset divinare; atque etiam omnem fructum vitae superioris perdidissent; quid enim posset iis esse laetum exitus suos cogitantibus? Ita, quoquo sese verterint Stoici, iaceat necesse est omnis eorum sollertia. Si enim id quod eventurum est vel hoc vel illo modo potest evenire, fortuna valet plurimum; quae autem fortuita sunt, certa esse non possunt. Sin autem certum est quid quaque de re quoque tem-

Caecil. 47; 2 Verr. 1, 71; 4, 3; pro Marcell. 34: C. Caesar, sic tibi gratias ago ut me omnibus rebus a te non conservato solum sed etiam ornato, etc.

2. **eius:** Cicero passes to the point of view of the historian, leaving for the moment that of Caesar's own possible anticipation.

2f. **non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem:** cf. Merquet, *Lexikon z. d. phil. Schr. 2*, (1892), 565.

2. **ne servorum quidem:** cf. App. *B. C. 2*, 118: *τρεῖς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν, οἱ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ φορεῖον ἐπιθίμενοι διεκέρμασαν οὐκ αὐθιγὰ ἀνομάτως, οἷα τρεῖς, τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου γῆς καὶ θαλάττης προστάτην;* Suet. *Iul. 82: exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio, tres servuli domum rettulerunt.*

4f. **nam illud, etc.:** essentially a repetition, in slightly varied form, of the point made in 2, 20.

5f. **non isset, etc.:** cf. Schol. Dan. *Aen. 4*, 696: *sunt fata quae dicuntur denuntiativa, sunt alia fata quae condicionalia vocantur. denuntiativa sunt quae omni modo eventura decernunt, ut verbi gratia 'Pompeius ter triumphaturus est' . . . condicionalia vero huius modi est 'Pompeius si post Pharsalicum bellum Aegypti litus attigerit ferro peribit'; hic non omni modo necesse erat ut videret Aegyptum, sed si casus illum ad aliam*

regionem forte duxisset, evaserat, and he gives other examples.

6. **non transisset Crassus Euphratem:** Regling (in *Klio*, 7 (1907), 374, n. 7) remarks that here and in *Fin. 3*, 75 the crossing of the Euphrates is used, by a sort of brachylogy, for the war itself, and he cites a number of other authors who lay emphasis upon the crossing. In the same way in the oracle in 2, 115 the crossing of the Halys by Croesus is emphasized, for, as in the crossing of the Rubicon by Caesar, the political significance of the act was important.

7f. **igitur . . . autem . . . ergo:** cf. 1, 83, and n. (*sunt autem di, etc.*).

7. **exitus habuerunt:** cf. *N. D. 3*, 89.

7f. **evenire omnia fato:** cf. 2, 20.

9. **posset:** cf. Schmalz, *Lat. Gram. 4* ed. (1910), 473.

10. **ita:** perhaps in the sense of *itaque*, as in *Tusc. 5*, 66; but cf. other cases of *ita* used with (and apparently modifying) *necesse est* as given by Merquet, *Lexikon z. d. phil. Schr. 2*, 398.

10. **quoquo sese verterint:** cf. 2, 149; *Parad. 20: quoquo verteris; de Am. 22: quoquo te verteris.*

10. **iaceat:** cf. 2, 106; *Ac. 2*, 79; *Fin. 2*, 44; 5, 86: *iacet omnis ratio Peripateticorum.*

11. **si enim, etc.:** cf. 2, 15.

pore futurum sit, quid est quod me adiuent haruspices? Qui cum res tristissimas portendi dixerunt, (X. 25.) addunt ad extremum omnia levius casura rebus divinis procuratis; si enim nihil fit extra fatum, nihil levari re divina potest. Hoc sentit Homerus, cum quarentem Iovem inducit quod

1. qui cum *Boiler, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa*, cum *C, Christ*, quod cum *Madrig*.

1. quid est, etc.: cf. 2, 20; 2, 55.

If. *haruspices*, qui, etc.: the reading of the MSS is: . . . *haruspices*, cum res tristissimas portendi dixerunt? addunt ad extremum omnia levius casura rebus divinis procuratis. si enim nihil fit extra fatum nihil levari re divina potest. This will be seen to be quite illogical (though retained by the older editors and by Christ), and *enim* is entirely meaningless. The difficulty may be removed (1) by substituting for *enim* some adversative word, such as *tamen* or *aulem* (Davies), or replacing *si enim* by *sin*; (2) by ending a sentence after *procuratis* and beginning a new one: *Male; si enim*, etc. (so Ernesti; Christ's view that *male* is implied in the phrase *ad extremum* is hardly convincing); (3) by omitting *enim* (Giese), which creates an awkward asyndeton where an adversative is needed; or, better, (4) by subordinating the clause beginning with *addunt*, by means of *quod* or *qui* (cf. Müller in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 622) or *si* (Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (1890), 77, n. 2).

2. *tristissimas*: the adjective *tristis* appears so often in connection with predictions that we may perhaps infer that it was a technical term of diviners; for example cf. 1, 18; 1, 99; 2, 32; 2, 36; 2, 69; 2, 79.

3. *procuratis*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*procurandis*); 1, 101, n. (*procuratio*); 2, 21, n. (*ut caustiores simus*).

4. *Homerus*: for Cicero's quotations from Homer cf. 1, 52, n. (*Homericum versum*). With this passage cf. *Il.* 16, 431-438: τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἔλεγε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτω, / Ἥρην δὲ προσέειπε κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε / ὦ μοι ἔγῶν, ὃ τὲ μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν, / μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μεινοτιάδαο θαμνηναί./ διχθὰ δὲ μοι κραδίη μέμουσ φρασί

ὀρμαίνοντι, / ἢ μοι ζῶν ὄντα μάχης ἔπο θαυροσύνης / θεῶν ἀναρπάξας Λυκίης ἐν πλοῖσι δῆμῳ, / ἢ ἦδη ὑπὸ χειρὶ Μεινοτιάδαο θαμῶσσω. From this editors have felt that Cicero has incorrectly remembered the passage, and that it was really in the power of Zeus to alter the fates (at least by postponement) if he had so desired. But with greater probability Nägelsbach-Autenrieth (*Hom. Theol.* 3 ed. (1884), 130) suggest that the words of Zeus are not intended to represent any conflict between him and μοῖρα, but simply his natural pity for Sarpedon, for, as a matter of fact, Zeus does not attempt any reversal of fate. Cf. *Min. Fel. Oct.* 22, 4 (who may, however, be drawing simply upon Cicero; cf. introd. p. 30, and n. 166): *et Sarpedonem filium, quoniam morti non poterat eripere, cruentis imbribus fuisse* (sc. *narrat Homerus*). That other ancient scholars employed an interpretation not unlike that of Cicero may be seen from *Max. Tyr.* 5, 5 Hobein: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς εὐρατο παρ' κείνης (sc. *εἰμαρμένης*) ἀποτροπῆν, ἀλλ' ὀδύρεται· ὦ μοι ἔγῶν, κτλ.; *Schol. vet. Il.* 16, 433; and similarly but more fully in *Schol. Townl.* 16, 433: ὦ μοι ἔγῶν· οὐ μωπτόν τὸν ποιητῆν· ἢ γὰρ ἀφίναί δει τὴν συγγίνασιν τῶν θεῶν τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τὰ ἐπομένα αὐτῇ λέγειν· ἅμα δὲ καὶ παιδευτικὴ ἢ τοῦ Διὸς ὀδύφουσις διδάσκατος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὅτι καὶ θεῶι τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ ἐμμένουσιν· δεῖ οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς εἰμαρμένας φέρειν γενναίως; *Heraclitus, Quaest. Hom.* 42, explains away the weeping on allegorical grounds. Yet *Eustathius* (*ad loc.*) remarks: *κυροῦται θανεῖν τὸν Σαρπηδόνα διὰ τὴν μοῖραν, κἄν Διὸς εἴη παῖς, εἴτα τιμηθῆναι . . . ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὡς δυνάμενος γενέσθαι πλάττει ὁ ποιητῆς τὸ ἀρταγήναι τὸν Σαρπηδόνα, προκατασκευάσθαι γὰρ ἦδη τὸ τοῦτου μεθόδεσμα ἄλλαχού διὰ τὸ τοῦ Πάριδος καὶ τοῦ Διόλου, οἳ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ*

Sarpedonem filium a morte contra fatum eripere non posset. Hoc idem significat Graecus ille in eam sententiam versus:

Quod fore paratum est, id summum exsuperat Iovem.

στρατοσίδου πρό τούτων ἠράγησαν; cf. Auson. *Epitaph. Hec.* 16, 3-4 (p. 78 Peiper; on Sarpedon): *pro juxta fata, / et patitur luctum qui prohibere potest.* To the Homeric passage unfavorable references are made—though on different grounds from those of Cicero—by Plat. *Rep.* 3, p. 388c ff.; Joseph. *c. Ap.* 2, 34: εἰθ' ὁ γενναύτατος καὶ πρῶτος, αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ . . . τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας οὐτε σώζειν δύναται, κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης, οὐτ' ἀδακρυτὶ τοὺς θανάτους αὐτῶν ὑπομένει; and in a series of patristic passages collected by Geffcken on Athenag. 21 (*Zwei gr. Apologeten* (1907), 203).

[389] 4. *querentem Iovem inducit*: for the form of expression cf. *Tusc.* 1, 21; 5, 115; *de Am.* 3; 4.

1. *Sarpedonem*: son of Zeus and Europa; for a detailed account of him see Immisch in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, 4 (1910), 389-413.

1. *a morte . . . eripere*: with this verb a dative is most common (as in 1, 20; 2, 79), especially in the philosophical works, but in the orations *ex* with the ablative is frequent, *de* with the ablative occasional, and *ab* with the ablative found in 2 *Verr.* 1, 59; 1, 106; 4, 37; *Phil.* 2, 60.

2. *Graecus . . . versus*: cf. 2, 12: *Graecus . . . in hanc sententiam versus.*

3. *quod fore, etc.*: the original of this verse is not preserved, but the sentiment is a commonplace; cf. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 517-518: Cho. *τούτων* (sc. τῶν Μοιρῶν) ἀρα Ζεὺς ἔστιν ἐσθαιότερος; *Prom.* οἴκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γὰρ τὴν πεπραμένην; Diog. L. 1, 77 (of Pittacus): μύμηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Πρωταγόρῃ (p. 345 d): 'Ἀνάγκη δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχεται (but the verse is also ascribed to Simonides (=fr. 5, 21 Bergk)); *Hdt.* 1, 91: ἀπικαμόνοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι . . . τὴν Πύθην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε τὴν πεπραμένην μοῖραν ἀδλωτά ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ; Soph. *Thyest.* fr. 256 Pearson:

πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην οὐδ' Ἄρης ἀνίσταται (cf. *Antig.* 1106: ἀνάγκη δ' οὐχὶ δυσμαχητόν; O. C. 191: καὶ μὴ χρεῖα πολεμῶμεν); Eur. *Hel.* 514: θεῶν ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πλοῖον; *Alc.* 965-966: κρείσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας / ἦν ἦσαν; Or. 488: πάν τοῦς ἀνάγκης δοῦλον ἔστ' ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς (and cf. schol.); Plat. *Prot.* p. 345 d (see above); *Gorg.* p. 512 e: τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἐκφύγοι; *Leg.* 5, p. 741 a: ἀνάγκην δὲ οὐδὲ θεὸς εἶναι λέγεται δυνατὸς βιάσθαι; 7, p. 818 a-b: τὸ δὲ ἀναγκάειον αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀποβάλλειν, ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν πρῶτον παροικιασάμενος εἰς ταῦτα ἀποβλέψας εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ θεὸς ἀνάγκη μήποτε φανῆ μάχόμενος, ὅσαι θεῖαι γέ, οἴμαι, τῶν γε ἀναγκῶν εἰσιν; Philemon ap. Stob. *Flor.* 62, 8 (= *Comic. All. Frag.* 2, 486, no. 31, 4-5 Kock): δοῦλοι βασιλέων εἰσιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς θεῶν, / ὁ θεὸς ἀνάγκης; Liv. 9, 4, 16: *pareat ut necessitati, quae ne dii quidem superant*; Ov. *Met.* 9, 434-435 (spoken by Jupiter): *me quoque fata regunt, quae si mutare valerem / nec nostrum seri curarentur Aeacou unni, etc.*; Sil. Ital. 5, 76: *heu factis superi certare minores*; Luc. *Iup. conful.* passim, e.g., 4: Cyniscus. ἦν πρότερόν μοι, ὦ Ζεῦ, κάκεινο εἴπης, εἰ καὶ ὑμῶν αὐταί (sc. αἱ Μοῖραι) ἀρχοῦσι καὶ ἀνάγκη ὑμῖν ἠρησθῆαι ἀπὸ τοῦ λίου αὐτῶν. Zeus. ἀνάγκη, ὦ Κύνισκε; 7: Cyniscus. πάντα φησι ἐκ τῶν Μοιρῶν γίνεσθαι; Zeus. φημί γάρ. Cyn. ὑμῖν δὲ δυνατόν ἀλλάττειν ταῦτα καὶ ἀνακλιθεῖν; Zeus. οὐδὰμῶς; Max. Tyr. 5, 5 Hobein: *τυραννικὸν δὲ ἡ εἰμαρμένη, καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἀμετάστροφον*; Clem. *Protrept.* 4, 55: *κεκράτηται τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Διὸς, κτλ.*; Lact. *div. Inst.* 1, 11, 13: *illud vero quale est, esse fata quibus dii omnes et ipse Iuppiter pureat?* *Comm. Luciani*, 2, 306, p. 69 (= S. V. F. 2, no. 924): *hoc secundum Stoicos qui omnia dicunt falso regi et semel constituta nec a nimiribus posse mutari*; Liban. *Ep.* 553: *et taeta utique exi, καὶ θεῶν ἀνάγκη κρείττων, ὡς ὁ τῶν σοφῶν λόγος, κτλ.*; 751: ἀνάγκης, ἥτις ἠττάσθαι καὶ θεοῦ λόγος; Synes. *Ep.* 103 fin.: ἀνάγκη δὲ οὐδὲ

Totum omnino fatum etiam Atellanio versu iure mihi esse inrisum videtur, sed in rebus tam severis non est iocandi locus. Concludatur igitur ratio: si enim provideri nihil potest futurum esse eorum quae casu fiunt quia esse certa non possunt, divinatio nulla est; sin autem idcirco possunt provideri quia certa sunt et fatalia, rursus divinatio nulla est; eam enim tu fortuitarum rerum esse dicebas. 26. Sed haec fuerit nobis tamquam levis armaturae prima orationis excursio; nunc comminus agamus experiamurque si possi-

θεοὶ φασι μάχονται; Claud. Bell. Gild. 199-203: *numquamne reverti / fas erit errantesque solo iam reddere civis? / iret adhuc in verba dolor, ni Iuppiter alto / corpisset solio. voces adamante notabat / Atropos et Lachesis iungebat stamina dictis*; Procl. ad Plat. Cratyl. 157: *ὅτι τῷ ἔρωτι τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῷ βουλευματι αὐτῶν συντρέχει ἡ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν, πρὸς ἣν οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται*; Zenob. 1, 85: *ἀνάγκη οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται* (= Greg. Cypr. Cent. 1, 52 (1, 50 in Cod. Mosq.) = Apostol. 3, 6); 3, 9: *θειῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον* (cf. Eur. Hel. 514 supra) *ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ θεοὶς βιάζεται, καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν, κτλ.* (Leg. 5, p. 741 a, supra); Otto, Die Sprichwörter d. Römer (1890), 240. At times the attempt was made by the Stoics to reconcile and identify fate and deity; cf. S. V. F. 2, nos. 928-933; Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 203. Elsewhere the supremacy of Jupiter to the Fates is asserted; cf. Stat. Theb. 1, 213: *vocem Iovis fata sequuntur*.

[390] 3. paratum est: cf. 2, 122.

1. Atellanio versu: this passage is found in Ribbeck, Com. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1898), 335. Among the fragments of Atellan verses preserved to us there is none which suggests the present. Cicero evidently considers the verse as too trivial to be quoted—and perhaps too well known to need to be. For his attitude toward the *Atellanae* cf. Zillinger, Cic. u. die altröm. Dichter (1911), 42; and for the general attitude toward them see Marx in P.-W. s.v. *Atellanae fabulae* (1896), esp. 1917-1918; 1920-1921. The form of the adjective is usually *Atellanus*, this being the earliest instance of *Atellanius*, which does not reappear until Gellius, Charisius, and Macrobius.

1f. inrisum . . . iocandi locus: cf. pro Scaur. 6: *ne qucm invidendi nobis daret et iocandi locum*.

2. concludatur . . . ratio: cf. 1, 71; 2, 61; N. D. 2, 22; 3, 23; Fin. 1, 22; Fat. 31; 41.

2f. si enim, etc.: summing up the preceding sections, of which 13-18 have shown that what is fortuitous cannot be predicted, and 18-19 that what is predetermined (and hence capable of prediction) is not subject to chance. Cf. Sen. Suas. 3, 3: *si non sint fata nesciri futura; si sint non posse mutari*.

5f. fortuitarum . . . dicebas: cf. 2, 13, n. (*ita definire*).

6. sed haec fuerit, etc.: cf. 2, 124, n. (*haec quoque in promptu*).

6f. tamquam levis, etc.: cf. Brut. 139: *omnia veniebant Antonin in mentem . . . ut ab imperatore equites pedites levis armatura sic ab illo in maxime oportunis orationis partibus conlocabantur*; Aug. c. Acad. 3, 7, 15: *post illum laborem scholae rhetoricae in hac me levi armatura nonnihil requieturum esse praesumpseram*. Also in Caecil. 47: *sin mecum in hac prolusione nihil fueris, quem te in ipsa pugna cum acerrimo adversario fore putemus?* It is unnecessary with Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift f. Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 33, and in his edition) to delete the words *prima orationis*, which are perfectly natural in the text and very unnatural as a marginal gloss.

7. comminus: for parallel uses of this word as applied to discussion cf. Gudeman's second edition of Tac. Dial. (1914), 381.

7. experiamur . . . si: cf. 2, 72:

mus cornua commovere disputationis tuae.

XI. Duo enim genera divinandi esse dicebas, unum artificiosum, alterum naturale; artificiosum constare partim ex coniectura, partim ex observatione diuturna; naturale quod animus arriperet aut exciperet extrinsecus ex divinitate, unde omnes animos haustos aut acceptos aut libatos habebimus. Artificiosa divinationis illa fere genera ponebas: extispicum eorumque qui ex fulgoribus ostentisque praedicerent, tum augurum eorumque qui signis aut ominibus uterentur, omneque genus coniecturale in hoc fere genere ponebas. 27. Illud autem naturale aut concitatione mentis edi et quasi fundi videbatur, aut animo per somnum sensibus et curis vacuo provideri. Duxisti autem divinationem omnem a tribus rebus, a deo, a fato, a natura. Sed tamen cum explicare nihil posses, pugnasti commenticiorum exemplorum mirifica copia. De quo primum hoc libet dicere: hoc ego philosophi non esse arbitror, testibus uti qui aut casu veri aut

10. somnum *Marrus, Christ, Baiter, Maller, Thoresen, Haeringa* somnium C.

dicito si; Phil. 9, 2: si . . . posset, experiretur.

1. *cornua commovere*: the figure is still military (cf. Liv. 9, 40, 9) though Szelinski (in *Rhein. Mus.* 58 (1903), 475), by a comparison with Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 44, seems to take the figure of the horns of an animal. For a similar use of *commovere* Moser refers to *de Or.* 2, 205.

2. *duo enim genera . . . dicebas*: cf. 1, 11, and n. (*duo sunt enim*); 1, 34.

3f. *artificiosum constare . . . naturale quod*: for such lack of parallelism cf. Madvig, 3 ed. of *De Finibus* (1876), 797-798.

3f. *observatione diuturna*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*diuturna observatione*).

4. *arriperet*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 18; 3, 27; *Tim.* 27: *animus . . . cum materiam mutabilem arripuit* (ἀφάρτηται); *pro Milon.* 10.

5. *ex divinitate, etc.*: cf. 1, 70, and n. (*animos hominum, etc.*); 1, 110, and n. (*haustos animos et libatos*).

6. *extispicum, etc.*: for the three-fold division of haruspicine cf. 1, 12, n. (*extispicum aut monstra, etc.*); 1, 72, n. (*haruspicini*).

7. *augurum*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*augur*).

9. *concitatione*: cf. 1, 34, n. (*concitatione*).

10. *fundi*: cf. 1, 18, n. (*fundebant*); 1, 22, n. (*fuderunt*); 2, 70; 2, 110; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 42; Reid on *Ac.* 2, 74.

10. *sensibus . . . vacuo*: cf. 1, 115.

11. *duxisti, etc.*: cf. 1, 125, and n. (*a deo*).

12. *pugnasti*: cf. 1, 113; 2, 48; *N. D.* 3, 13.

12. *commenticiorum*: cf. 1, 68, n. (*non commenticiam rem*); 2, 113; *Rep.* 6, 3; *N. D.* 1, 18.

13. *exemplorum*: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

13. *mirifica*: cf. 2, 46.

14. *philosophi, etc.*: cf. the complaints in 2, 33; 2, 46; 2, 58; 2, 80; 2, 129; *N. D.* 1, 77; 1, 83; 3, 13: *tum Cotta, 'rumoribus,' inquit, 'mecum pugnas, Balbe, ego autem a te rationes requiro.'* There and here scientific *sceptis* is contrasted with the credulity of the multitude, as in *N. D.* 1, 18 the rationality of philosophers is contrasted with the irrationality of mere dreamers. For the form of expression cf. *Fin.* 1, 20: *ne illud quidem physici, credere aliquid esse minimum.*

14. *testibus*: the figure is obviously taken from the law courts. For the laxity of Roman courts in the matter of laws of evidence cf. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Rom. crim. Law*, 2 (1912), 121-126.

malitia falsi fictique esse possunt; argumentis et rationibus oportet quare quidque ita sit docere, non eventis, iis praesertim quibus mihi liceat non credere.

XII. 28. Ut ordiar ab haruspicina, quam ego rei publicae causa communisque religionis colendam censeo—sed soli sumus; licet verum exquirere sine invidia, mihi praesertim de plerisque dubitanti—, inspiciamus, si placet, exta primum. Persuaderi igitur cuiquam potest ea quae signi-

2. iis vulg., hic C.

[392] 14. *casu*: on chance as a possible explanation of successful cases of divination—the view often advanced by Carneades—see 1, 23, n. (*casu*). For the phrase *casu veri* cf. 2, 115.

1. *argumentis*, etc.: cf. 2, 89: *ut ratione utamur omissis testibus*; *Rep.* 1, 59: *tum Laelius: 'video te, Scipio, testimoniis satis instructum, sed apud me, ut apud bonum iudicem, argumenta plus quam testes valent'*; *Fin.* 2, 52: *ut in omnibus factis re non teste movemur*. For the Carneadean attack upon mere empiricism cf. 1, 12, n. (*eventa*); 1, 84, n. (*ratio . . . eventa*).

4. *ut ordiar ab*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 38; *Fin.* 1, 13; 5, 46.

4. *haruspicina*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspica disciplina*).

4. *rei publicae causa*, etc.: cf. 2, 70—a highly important passage—; also introd. p. 13, n. 33; 1, 8, n. (*ne . . . videatur*); 1, 105, n. (*nulla videbatur, etc.*); 2, 5, n. (*nec vero, etc.*); Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 61. Further cf. 2, 43; 2, 74-75; *N. D.* 1, 118: *ii qui dixerunt totam de dis immortalibus opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus rei publicae causa . . . nonne omnem religionem funditus sustulerunt?* Cf. the coldly rationalistic account given by Cicero in *N. D.* 3, 50 of the origin of apotheosis, and that in *Liv.* 1, 19, 4 of the establishment of Roman religious rites.

5. *soli sumus*: Hottinger considered the words *sed soli . . . dubitanti* as parenthetical, and in this he has been followed by several editors. Very different is the explanation of Reid (ed. of the *Academica*, 12, n.) who would emend:

soli sumus quibus licet verum exquirere sine invidia, understanding as the subject of *sumus* the philosophers of the Academic school. That seems, indeed, to be suggested by the very definite reference to Academic *ἰσοχή: de plerisque dubitanti*. But not only does it involve the insertion of *quibus* but also there seems to be no reason why Cicero's suspense of judgment should be by the word *praesertim* contrasted with that of the other Academics as this emendation would demand. Further, the passage if taken as it stands is a most natural, even if parenthetical, development of the thought in the preceding clause, namely the contrast between tradition on the one hand and advanced esoteric views on the other, so fully in keeping with Cicero's opinions as to need no defence.

6. *sine invidia*: for this use of *invidia*—a sort of *odium theologicum*, not as clearly distinguished by lexicographers as it perhaps deserves to be—cf. *N. D.* 1, 13 (and Mayor's n.); 1, 123: *quaeque is* (sc. *Epicurus de dis immortalibus dixerit invidiae detestandae gratia dixisse*); 3, 3.

6. *dubitanti*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*dubitare*); 1, 8, n. (*ne . . . adsentiamur*); 2, 150.

6. *inspiciamus*: cf. 1, 131, n. (*inspicierentur*); *Plaut. Aul.* 565; *Tac. Hist.* 2, 78. In these cases the word is used in a very definite and technical sense of the examination of the *exta* for purposes of divination. In the present passage there seems to be a *double entendre*, the general use of the word being uppermost but a punning reference to the restricted technical usage lurking beneath.

ficari dicuntur extis cognita esse ab haruspibus observatione diuturna? Quam diuturna ista fuit? Aut quam longinquo tempore observari potuit? Aut quo modo est conlatum inter ipsos, quae pars inimica, quae pars familiaris esset; quod fissum periculum, quod commodum aliquod ostenderet? An haec inter se haruspices Etrusci, Elii, Aegyptii, Poeni contule-

3. conlatum Lambinus, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, conlata C. Christ.

3. inimica Davies ex cod. Mediceo, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, inimici C.

[393] 7. *persuaderi*, etc.: for instances in which Cicero (doubtless following Carneades) employs the Academic doctrine of probability in scientific explanations cf. 2, 41; 2, 51; 2, 129; et al.; Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus* (1905), 62, n. 2.

1. *observatione diuturna*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*diuturna observatione*).

2. *quam diuturna*: cf. 1, 23; 2, 80; *N. D.* 2, 14: *unde porro ista divinalio? quis invenit fissum secoris? quis cornicis cantum nolavit, quis sortes?*

2. *observari potuit*: impersonal, like the following *conlatum est* (if we accept the emendation of Lambinus), the question being practically identical with the preceding.

3f. *inimica . . . familiaris*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 69; and especially Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 2 (1906), 26-30. Other passages mentioning these *partes* are—Liv. 8, 9, 1: *Decio caput iocineris a familiari parte caesum haruspex dicitur ostendisse; aliqui acceptam dis hostiam esse, Manlium egregie litasse*; Sen. *Oed.* 362-364 (in a famous description of the *exta*): *latebram rebus occultis negans / hostile valido robore insurgit latus / septemque venas tendit*; Luc. 1, 621-622: *cernit labe secur madidum, venasque minaces / hostili de parte videt*. Bouché-Leclercq, (*l.c.*) also cites Dio Cass. 46, 33, 2, but there the phrase τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ προκόλμια is not apposite, since it refers to sacrifices customary before war; cf. Dio Cass. 50, 4, 5; Dion. Hal. 3, 9, 1. Thulin (*op. cit.* 27) believes this distinction of parts to be Etruscan, not Roman, but to be found also among the Greeks (Schol. rec. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 484: *σχίζοντες γὰρ μίσην τὰ*

λερεῖα ἐβλεπον τὴν θείων τῶν ἐποσθίων πάντων, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐτεκαίροντο τὰ μέλλοντα γερῆσθαι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χολῆς, ἥτις ἐκβληθεῖσα καὶ ἀραιωγαίεσα πρὸς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων μέρος ἤτταν τούτων ἐσημαίνει; should we also compare Eur. *Phocn.* 1257 and schol.?) and the Chaldaean (*op. cit.* 29). It can also apparently be traced (*op. cit.* 27 and pl. I, fig. 1, 3) in lines which bisect the two sides of the Etruscan bronze liver from Piacenza and (p. 29 and pl. II, fig. 2) in corresponding marks on a Chaldaean terra-cotta liver. In 2, 32 *infra* we find an allusion to the *fissum familiare*.

4. *fissum*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*).

5. *an haec . . . contulerunt*: for differences in the mantic practices of different countries cf. 2, 42; 2, 76; 2, 82; Hippocr. *de Rat. Vict. in Morb. ac.* p. 30 Kühn: *σχεδόν ἄν κατὰ γε τὸ τοιούδε τὴν τέχνην* (i.e., medicine) *φαίεν ὁμοιωσθαι μαντικῇ, ὅτι οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρνηθα, ἐὼ μὲν ἀριστερόν εἴη, ἀγαθὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι, οἱ δὲ θεζῶν κακὸν καὶ ἐν λεπροσκόπῃ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοισιν. ἀλλ' ἔνιοι τῶν μάντεων τὰναντία τούτων*. Not a few of these divergencies, in so far as they related to augury, at least, doubtless originated from conflicting principles of orientation among different peoples (cf. Frothingham in *Am. Journ. of Arch.* 21 (1917), 55-76; 187-201); others arose from other local causes.

5. *Etrusci*: foremost, as being the most important for Roman readers; cf. 1, 3, and n. (*haruspicum disciplina*). It will be noted that Roman haruspices—as distinguished from Etruscan—do not appear in the list; cf. 1, 92, and n. (*X ex*).

5. *Elii*: cf. 1, 91, and n. (*familias duas*).

runt? At id, praeterquam quod fieri non potuit, ne fingi quidem potest; alios enim alio more videmus exta interpretari nec esse unam omnium disciplinam. 29. Et certe, si est in extis aliqua vis quae declaret futura, necesse est eam aut cum rerum natura esse coniunctam aut conformari quodam modo numine deorum vique divina. Cum rerum natura tanta tamque praeclara in omnes partes motusque diffusa quid habere potest commune, non dicam gallinaceum fel (sunt enim qui vel argutissima haec

[394]5. **Aegypti**: Foucart (in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 792, and n. 1) denies the existence in ancient Egypt of 'haruspicy, extispicy, or teratoscopy,' and believes that 'Herodotus and some modern authorities have confused veterinary examination to ensure the purity of sacrificial victims with examination for purposes of divination.' Professor J. H. Breasted assures me that he knows of no trace of purely Egyptian haruspicine.

[394]5. **Poeni**: since this race seems not to have been especially noteworthy for its addiction to liver divination (Meltzer, *Gesch. der Karthager*, 2 (1896), 145-152 makes no reference to the art) we may perhaps explain this allusion as an indication that Cicero is here following the argument of Carneades through the medium of Clitomachus (=Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian); cf. introd. p. 25, n. 116.

1. **praeterquam quod . . . ne . . . quidem**: cf. Liv. 37, 39, 13. For the thought see *N. D.* 2, 18: *non solum nihil est sed ne cogitari quidem quicquam melius potest.*

3. **disciplinam**: cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*).

3. **si . . . aliqua**: after *si, nisi*, etc., forms compounded with *ali*—may be used instead of the simple indefinite, especially where they are too far removed from the conjunction to be attached as enclitics to it; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1912), 635.

3. **vis, etc.**: Cicero here accepts only two possibilities of the three suggested by Posidonius and advanced by

Quintus in 1, 125, doubtless because, unlike Posidonius, he is either identifying fate with one of the two other conceptions (with which of them might be guessed from 2, 25) or else is eliminating it from consideration.

4. **cum rerum natura . . . coniunctam**: cf. 1, 129-131; 2, 34, n. (*συνυπάρθεα*). For the phraseology cf. also 2, 124; 2, 142.

5. **numine . . . vi**: there is probably no tautology here between the will of individual gods and a single divine power. The word *vi* follows somewhat awkwardly after *vis* earlier in the sentence, but since they do not refer to the same thing the objections—and consequent emendation—by Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 33; adopted in his edition) are not justified.

5. **vi . . . divina**: cf. 1, 80, n. (*vim . . . divinam*).

5f. **tanta tamque praeclara**: cf. *N. D.* 1, 56. The emendation of Delaruelle (in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 236) to *praeclare* is unnecessary.

7f. **non dicam . . . sed**: so *Leg.* 1, 22, and *non dico . . . sed* occurs in several other places; cf. Merguet, *Lex. s. d. phil. Schr.* 1 (1887), 677.

7. **gallinaceum fel**: on the animals commonly employed in haruspicine see 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 17-20. Blecher (*De Extispicio* (1905), 200) supposes that Cicero here regards as unusual the view that the best predictions are derived from the *gallinaceum fel*, and hence imagines this to be a foreign type of divination, perhaps introduced into Rome, but Thulin (*op. cit.* 2, 19) well compares Plin. *N. H.* 10, 49: *horum* (the cocks) *sunt*

exta esse dicant), sed tauri opimi iecur aut cor aut pulmo—quid habet naturale quod declarare possit quid futurum sit? XIII. 30. Democritus tamen non inscite nugatur, ut physicus, quo genere nihil est adrogantius:

tripudia solistima, hi magistratus nostros colidie regunt domusque ipsis suas claudunt aut reserant. hi fasces Romanos impellunt aut retinent, iubent acies aut prohibent, victoriarum omnium toto orbe parturum auspices. hi maxime terrarum imperio imperant, extis (so Dalecamp; ex his codd.) etiam fibrisque haud aliter quam opimae victimae dis grati (the contrast in the last clause between cocks and opimae victimae parallels that in our passage between gallinaceum fel and tauri opimi iecur). Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 8, 7, 15) did not favor the use in haruspicine of quick-tempered animals, such as cocks: ἔθεον ἢ τέχνη . . . χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ σφάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐθὺ τὰ ζῶα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθητῶν, ἀλεκτριόνας δὲ καὶ σὺν καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοῦδι τὰυτα, οὐκ ἀξιοὶ τῶν ἀυτῶν ἀπορρήτων.

[395] 7f. fel . . . iecur . . . cor . . . pulmo: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); Thulin, *op. cit.* 2, 44-46.

[395] 7. *argutissima*: for the application of this adjective to omens cf. Prop. 2, 3, 24: *argutum sternuit omen Amor*. In Ps.-Quintil. *Declam.* 18, 11 it is used of *indicia*.

1. *tauri opimi*: cf. 1, 119; 2, 36-37; Plin. *N. H.* 10, 49 (quoted above).

1. *pulmo*: cf. 1, 85, n. (*pulmo incisus*).

If. *quid habet naturale*: in his desire to avoid the uncertainty whether the words *aut cor aut pulmo* look backward or forward Delaruelle (*op. cit.* 235) would transpose *quid habet naturale* to a position after *iecur aut*. But, if any change be needed, it appears that the simplest is to punctuate with a dash after *pulmo*, considering the phrase *quid habet, etc.* as resumptive (and therefore pardonably repetitious) of a sentence which had become too complex for an easy conclusion. This is more satisfactory than to

read *aut cor aut pulmo? quid habet, etc.* (as is done by Moser, Giese, and Christ), for the latter sentence is then flatly tautological without the excuse of epanalepsis. Ernesti favored putting an interrogation point after *opimi iecur*, and Rath suggested its use after *opimi, iecur, cor, and pulmo*.

2f. *Democritus, etc.*: cf. 1, 131, and n. (*Democritus*); also 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); Ihering, *Vorgesch. d. Indoeuropäer* (1894), 447-449, who thinks the explanation of Democritus points to the period of racial migrations, when the migratory bands, to determine whether a given place was healthful or unhealthful for a stay, sacrificed an animal native to it and examined the entrails for evidences of the physical effects of the local food and water. For other stories of the remarkable precision of the conclusions drawn by Democritus from his observations cf. Diog. L. 9, 42.

3. *non inscite*: cf. 2, 62; *Fin.* 5, 38; *Tusc.* 2, 47; 3, 18.

3. *ut physicus*: Madvig (on *Fin.* 1, 20) and Reid (on *Ac.* 2, 14) remark upon the respect felt by Cicero for Democritus, in spite of his disbelief in the Democritean teachings; cf. 1, 6. A certain contempt for scientific studies had characterized the Academics from the time of Socrates, clearly set forth—though in ironical language—in Plat. *Apol.* p. 19c (καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀτιμάζω λέγω τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιστήμην, εἰ τις περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων σοφῆς ἔστι), and Xen. *Mem.* 1, 1, 11-12, on the ground that the proper study of mankind is man and that the investigation of natural phenomena is obscure and often unprofitable (as set forth by Cicero in *Rep.* 1, 15). The views of the New Academy as to the lack of any reliable criterion and the impossibility of attaining certain knowledge did not greatly

Quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas.

encourage scientific investigations, and this attitude is, on the whole, that of Cicero; cf. *Rep.* 1, 32; *Ac.* 2, 122-128 (in 2, 127 he admits *nec lamen istas quaestiones physicorum exterminandas pulo. est enim animorum ingeniorumque naturale quoddam quasi pabulum consideratio contemplatioque naturae. erigimur, elatiores fieri videmur, humana despiciamus, cogitantesque supra atque caelestia haec nostra ut exigua et minima contempnimus . . . quaeret igitur haec et vester sapiens et hic noster, sed vester ut adsentiat, credat, adfirmet, noster ut vereatur temere opinari praeclearaque agi secum putet si in eius modis veris simile quod sit invenerit*); *Tim.* 1, 1: *multa sunt a nobis . . . in Academicis conscripta contra physicos*; *N. D.* 1, 60 (said by Cotta): *omnibus fere in rebus, sed maxime in physicis, quid non sit cilius quam quid sit dixerim*; Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptisismus* (1905), 153; see also, at a later period, the work of Sextus Empiricus.

[396] 3. adrogantius: cf. 2, 1, n. (minime adrogans).

1. quod eat, etc.: cf. *Rep.* 1, 30: *'egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus', qui egregie cordatus et catus fuit et ab Ennio dictus est, non quod ea quaerebat quae numquam inveniret, sed quod ea respondebat quae eos qui quaesissent et cura et negotio solverent, cuique contra Galli studia disputanti in ore semper erat ille de Iphigenia Achilles* (Enn. *Iphig.* 242-244 Vahlen): *astrologorum signa in caelo quid sit observationis, / cum capra aut nepa aut exoritur nomen aliquod beluarum! / quod est ante pedes nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas*; cf. Zillinger, *Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 116, n. 2. The nearest original of Ennius, and that very freely reworked, seems to be Eur. *I. A.* 955-958: *τιμροῦς δὲ προχίτας χερσὶβᾶς τ' ἐπάρξεται / Κάλχας δὲ μάντις / τίς δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνήρ / ὅς ὄλιγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλά δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει / τυχῶν, ὅταν δὲ μὴ τύχη βούλεται.*

The general thought of the verse here

quoted is a commonplace, being as old as philosophy itself, and traditionally originating with the experience of Thales; cf. Plat. *Theaet.* p. 174a: *ὡς περὶ καὶ Θαλῆν ἀστρονομούντα . . . καὶ ἀνω βλείουτα, πεσόντα εἰς φέριαρ, Θερᾶττά τις ἐμμελής καὶ χαρῆσσα θεραπειαῖς ἀποσκῶναι λέγεται, ὡς τὰ μὲν ἐν οὐρανῶ προθυμοῖτο εἶδναι, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ πόδας λαμβάνου αὐτῶν. ταυτῶν δὲ ἀρκεῖ σκῶμμα ἐπὶ πάντας ὅσοι ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διάτρουσι* (copied by Iambl. *Protrept.* 14); Hippol. *Philosoph.* 1, 1 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 555 = *Patr. Gr.* 16, 3021 C): *οὗτος περὶ τῶν τῶν ἀστρῶν λόγον καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἀσχολήθει* Ἕλλησι ταύτης τῆς μαθήσεως αἰτιος πρῶτος γινεσθαι, δι' ἀποβλήτους πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἀνω ἐμμελῶς καταροεῖν λέγων εἰς φέριαρ ἐπίπεσον, ᾧ ἐγγελῶσά τις θεραπειαῖς Θερᾶττα τοῦνομα ἐφη; τὰ ἐν οὐρανῶ προθυμοῦμενοι εἶδναι τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐχ εἶδεν. Diog. L. 1, 34 varies the tale a little: *λέγεται δ' ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ γρᾶτος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἵνα τὰ ἀστρα κατασῶσθαι, εἰς βόθρον ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ αὐτῶ ἀνομιώξεσθαι φάναι τὴν γρᾶν: σὺ γάρ, ὦ Θαλῆ, τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δύναμενος ἰδεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἰεῖ γινώσσεσθαι; Aristid. Or.* 48, 85: *ὡς περὶ τὴν Θερᾶττᾶν φασὶν ποτ' ἔκεινο εἰς Θαλῆν εἰπεῖν; [Anaxim.] Ep.* 1 (*Epistol. Gr.* 106): *Θαλῆς . . . εὐφρόνης . . . ἄμα τῇ ἐμφατικῶς προῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀστρα ἐθῆετο, καὶ (ὁ γὰρ ἐκ μῆμην ἔθετο) θηθεύμων ἐκ τῶ κρημῶδες ἐβᾶς καταπίπτει; Tert. ad Nat.* 2, 4: *merito ergo Milesius Thales, dum totum caelum examinaret et ambulat oculis in puteum cecidit turpiter, multum irrisus Aegyptio illi: in terra, inquit, nihil perspiciebas, caelum tibi speculandum existimas? itaque casus eius per figuram philosophos notat, etc.; de An.* 6: *sed enormis intentio philosophiae solet plerumque nec prospicere pro pedibus. sic Thales in puteum; Donat. ad Ter. Ad.* 386-388 (*istuc est superce, non quod ante pedes modest / videre, sed etiam illa quae futura sunt / prospicere*): *hoc sumpsit poeta de illo in physicum per vulgatum ancillae dicto, quod ante pedes est non vident; caeli scrutantur plagas; Schol. Luc. bis accusat.* 34, p.

Verum is tamen habitus extorum et colore declarari censet haec dumtaxat: pabuli genus et earum rerum quas terra procreet vel ubertatem vel tenuitatem.

2. *Ante pabuli genus Thoresen* (*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 33-34; *atque in editis*) *oblivium inserit*.

147 Rabe (Lucian has *ἄνω βλέπει τὰ πρὸ ποδοῖν οὐχ ὄρων*): τὸ τῆς Θράκης τοῦτο κεῖνο, δ' ἐφ' ὧς ἐκείνη ἀπέσκωπεν εἰς Θαλίητα τὸν φυσικόν; Max. Conf. *Loci comit.* 21 (*Patr. Gr.* 91, 853 A); and the tale became proverbial, without mention of the name of Thales—cf. *Fab. Aesop.* 72 Halm: ἀστρολόγος ἐξῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐσπίρας ἔθος εἶχε τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐπισκοπεῖσαι· καὶ δὴ ποτε περιῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσπειρον, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὄλον ἔχων ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἔλαθε καταπεσὼν εἰς φέταρ. ὀδυρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ βοῶντος παριῶν τις . . . ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν· ὦ οὗτος, οὐ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ βλέπειν περιώμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐχ ὄρῃς; Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 274.

Further expressions of this idea are found in Soph. fr. 737 Pearson (and see his note): *μισῶ μὲν ὅστις τὰ φανῆ περισκοπεῖ* (which Nauck (fr. 671) thinks is to be supplied from the contrast suggested in our passage; the phrase *τὸ πρὸ ποδοῖν σκοπεῖν* is found in *O. T.* 130); Bion ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 2, 20 (p. 7, 14 W.): *βίων ἔλεγε γελοιοτάτους εἶναι τοὺς ἀστρονομούντας, οἱ γὰρ ποδοῖ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἰχθύς οὐ βλέποντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ φάσκουσιν εἶδῆναι*; Diog. L. 6, 28 (of Diogenes the Cynic: (*θαύμαζε*) *τοὺς μαθηματικούς ἀποβλέπειν μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήην, τὰ δ' ἐν ποδοῖ πράγματα παραρῶν*; Varr. *Menipp.* 233 Bücheler: *oculis caeli rimari plagas*; Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 114: *cum aliis sarcpe quod ante pedes esset non viderent ille in infinitatem omnem peregrinabatur*; in Hor. *A. P.* 458-459 the one who falls into the pit is compared to one hunting birds; *Aetna*, 255-257: *nam quae mortali nequam est amentia maior, / in Iovis errantem regno perquirere ditos, / tantum opus ante pedes transire ac spernere se-gnem?* Sen. *Apocol.* 8, 3: *quid in cubiculo suo faciat nescio: et iam 'caeli scrutantur plagas?'* Plin. *N. H.* 18, 253: *cur etiam-nium altius spectes ipsunquae caelum scrutare? habes ante pedes tuos ecce vergilias;*

in Luc. *Menipp.* 21 *μεταωρολογεῖν* is spoken of with disapprobation, and in the *Icaromenipp.* 6 astronomers who have computed stellar forms and distances are ignorant of the distance from Megara to Athens; Antip. Sid. in *Anth. Pal.* 7, 172, 7-8: *ἴδ' ὡς τὰ κατ' αἰθέρα λείψων / τοῖμα ποσὶν οὐα ἰδῆν πῆμα κυλιδόμενον*; Alex. Aphrod. *de Fat.* 29, p. 92: *τοῦτό τοι καὶ οἱ μάντιες εἶναι λέγουσιν γε ὑφορώμενοι φεύγοντες τοῦτ' ἀπὸ πόδας ἐλέγχουσι οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο προλέγουσιν τοῖς ἐλέγξει δυνάμενοι*, κτλ.; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 12, 7: *si quid sapientiae vobis aut verecundiae est, desinite caeli plagas et mundi fata et secreta rimari: satis est pro pedibus aspicere*; Ambr. *de Nov. et Arca*, 7, 17: *nec solum quod ante pedes est videre sed etiam caeli ipsius secreta profundo obtutu spectare sapientiae*; also the dialogue between Odysseus and Palamedes in Philostr. *Heroic.* 11, 3; Apostol. 16, 7: *τὰ ἐν ποσὶν οὐα ἰδὲν· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶν*; Norden in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 18 Supplbd. (1892), 270; and, for the unpractical scholar, 1, 132, n. (*qui sibi, etc.*).

The verse here quoted appears, with a singular, but perhaps not altogether unnatural ascription, in Pico della Mirandola, *Disput. adv. Astrol.* 1 (1557 ed., p. 77 recto): *hinc Democriti illud fertur quod ante pedes nemo spectat scrutabaturque caeli plagas . . . confutatur* (sc. *astrologia*) *a Cicero*. Cf. also Raynaud in *Soc. des anc. Textes franç.* 34 (1903), 151 (for La Fontaine's use of the verse); Sidney, *Defence of Poesy*.

[397] 1. *quod est*: for the prosody cf. 1. 67: *adest, adest*. Orelli here reads *quod'st*.

[397] 1. *nemo . . . scrutantur*: Vahlen, discussing this line in *Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn.* 22 (1871), 25-27, gives other instances in which after *nemo* in the first clause a positive word, such as *quisque* or *omnes* is understood in the second, a familiar example being Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 1-3.

tem; salubritatem etiam aut pestilentiam extis significari putat. O mortalem beatum! cui certo scio ludum numquam defuisse. Huncine hominem tantis delectatum esse nugis ut non videret tum futurum id veri simile, si omnium pecudum exta eodem tempore in eundem habitum se coloremque converterent! Sed si eadem hora aliae pecudis iecur nitidum atque plenum est, aliae horridum et exile, quid est quod declarari possit habitu

2. ludum C, iudicium *Davittii codd.*, iudicium *coni. Dav.*

3. tantis C, tantum his *Forchhammer (Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 5 (1896), 29)*, tantum *Ernesti*.

[397] 1. caeli . . . plagas: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 972; *H. O.* 1975.

[398] 2. earum rerum, etc.: the lack of a single Latin word equivalent to the Greek φρά (and even in Greek we find periphrases, e.g., Hippocr. *de Nat. Pueri*, p. 414 Kühn: τὰ ἐν γῆ φύματα) led writers to many inconvenient forms of expression; e.g., *N. D.* 1, 4: *reliqua quae terra pariat . . . omnia quae terra gignat* (cf. 2, 130; *Fin.* 5, 33; 5, 39); 2, 26: *quae . . . ipsa* (sc. terra) *ex se generata stirpibus infixae continentur*; 2, 28: *ea quorum stirpes terra continentur*; 2, 29: *earum rerum quae gignuntur e terra* (cf. 2, 33; 2, 120; *Fin.* 4, 13 (and Madvig's n.); 5, 26; *Ac.* 1, 26 (and Reid's n.)); 2, 50: *quae oriuntur e terra* (cf. 1, 131); 2, 83: *quae a terra stirpibus continentur* (cf. 2, 127); *Off.* 1, 22: *quae in terris gignantur*; *de Sen.* 52: *quae generantur e terra*. For the expression *terra procreet* cf. also *de Sen.* 52.

[398] 2. ubertatem . . . tenuitatem: corresponding to the *fertilis* and *sterilitas* of 1, 131, but the pair *salubritas* and *pestilentia* are carried over. For *pestilentia* cf. Ihering, *op. cit.* 449-450, who takes the *pestifera auspicia* of Paul. p. 246 M. (fragments in Fest. p. 245 M.), when the heart or *caput iocineris* is lacking, to have referred originally to *pestilentia* of the land.

2. certo scio: cf. *N. D.* 2, 119; 3, 95; *de Sen.* 1; 2.

2. ludum: some of the older editors accept the reading *iudicium*; of their views the explanation of Rath is representative: 'quamquam, ait Tullius, certo scio, Democrito numquam acrem quamdam iudicandi vim defuisse; mirum tamen est,

virum talem tantopere nugis esse delectatum ut non videt.' But *ludum*, though not an easy reading, is probably correct, and refers to the triflings with which Democritus amused himself (*non inscite nugatur . . . tantis delectatum esse nugis*), upon which Cicero at first ironically congratulates the philosopher (*o mortalem beatum*); then, with more serious and contemptuous reference, no longer of an especially complimentary sort (*huncine hominem*), he continues in his argument. If this explanation be correct we shall not wish to weaken the effect of *huncine hominem* by changing *tantis* to *tantum his* (with Forchhammer). Furthermore, the *ut non* clause follows more naturally after *tantis* than after *his*.

2f. huncine . . . delectatum esse: for the form of exclamation cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 720-721, with many instances from Cicero, naturally chiefly from the more emotional parts of the orations.

5. aliae: for the other cases of this rare genitive form (only *Lucret.* 3, 918 from the Ciceronian period) cf. *Theis. Ling. Lat. s.v. alius*, 1623; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 623. See also 2, 6, n. (*alterius*) above.

5f. nitidum atque plenum: Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 2 (1906), 24, n. 1, well compares *Aesch. Prom.* V. 493-495: σπλάγχμων τε λευότητα, καὶ χροιάν τινα / ἔχοντ' ἄν εἰη δαιμόσιον πρὸς ἔθοντι, / χαλῆς λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν, and notes that it is the Greek usage with which Democritus was concerned.

6f. habitu . . . et colore: cf. 1,

extorum et colore? 31. An hoc eiusdem modi est quale Pherecydeum illud quod est a te dictum? Qui cum aquam ex puteo vidisset haustam terrae motum dixit futurum. Parum, credo, inpudenter, quod, cum factus est motus, dicere audent quae vis id effecerit; etiamne futurum esse aquae iugis colore praesentiunt? Multa istius modi dicuntur in scholis, sed credere omnia vide ne non sit necesse. 32. Verum sint sane ista Democritea vera; quando ea nos extis exquirimus? Aut quando aliquid eius modi ab haruspice inspectis extis audivimus? Ab aqua aut ab igni pericula monent; tum

J. factus est *Rath, Madvig (Fin. 4, 33), Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringo, factus esset C, Christ.*

131; Thulin, *op. cit.* 2, 24, who cites Luc. 1, 618-620: *terruit ipse color vatem: nam pallida laetris / viscere tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore / plurimus asperso variabat sanguine livor.*

1. *an:* for this form of question, continuing and amplifying the thought of what has gone before, cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 520. This section forms a digression, the main theme being resumed at section 32.

If. *Pherecydeum . . . qui:* for similar cases in which the relative resumes, not the noun, but another noun implied in an adjective modifying it, see Madvig on *Fin.* 5, 16; also below, 2, 67: *Flaminiana ostenta . . . quod ipse, etc.*; 2, 126: *divina beneficentia dignius, cum consulerent nobis.*

1. *Pherecydeum:* probably a *ἄραξ λεγόμενον* in Latin. For the form of expression cf. 2, 32: *ista Democritea.*

1. *illud:* cf. 1, 40, n. (*illa*).

2. *dictum:* in 1, 112.

2. *ex puteo:* in 1, 112 it is *de iugis puteo*, the rather rare adjective *iugis* is here transferred to *aquae* a few lines below.

3. *parum, credo, inpudenter:* of course ironical.

4. *quae vis id effecerit:* cf. 1, 18, n. (*se . . . tremefecit*); 1, 112, n. (*Anaximandro, etc.*).

5. *scholia:* probably 'lectures' or 'discussions,' as in *Ac.* 2, 81: *ille nescio qui, qui in scholis nominari solet*; *Tusc.* 1, 7: *scholas Graecorum more habere auderemus*; 1, 8 (and Kühner's note); 1, 83; 1, 113; 2, 26; 3, 81; 4, 5; 5, 25; *Fin.* 2, 1; *Parad.*

5; etc.; and in Greek *σχολή* is thus used, e.g., by Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius, by the former sometimes coupled with *διαρρηθῆναι*.

6. *vide ne non sit:* cf. 2, 12; 2, 131.

6. *verum . . . vera:* cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 1, 66, n. (*optimarum*); 1, 129, n. (*sentiunt . . . sentiat*). For the phrase *sint . . . vera* cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 10; Plasberg on *Ac.* 1, 9.

6. *Democritea:* cf. 2, 31, n. (*Pherecydeum*).

7. *quando . . . exquirimus:* yet cf. Vitruv. 1, 4, 9 (quoted in 1, 131, n. (*Democritus*) above), where it is stated that the *maiores* used to employ consultation of entrails for this purpose.

8. *inspectis:* for the technical use of the term cf. 1, 131; 2, 28.

8. *ab aqua aut ab igni:* such indications were derived from the gall-bladder; cf. Thulin, *op. cit.* 2, 20-21, who argues from Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1256: *ὑπόρητα δὲ λέγει αὐτὴν τὴν χολήν* (and he might also have quoted—for fire—the same scholiast on 1257: *οἱ δὲ ἄκραν λαμπάδα* (cf. Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 198) *τὴν χολήν λέγουσι τὴν ἐν τῷ ἥπατι. σημεῖον γὰρ ἐστὶ μαντικὸν καὶ ἥττης καὶ πλεθῆς*) and Plin. *N. H.* 11, 195: *taurorum felle aureus ducitur color. haruspices id Neptuno et umoris potentiae dicovere, geminumque fuit divo Augusto quo die apud Actium vicit*, and also from inscriptions (of somewhat uncertain character, it must be admitted) upon the bronze liver from Piacenza (cf. 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*) above) and upon a Babylonian liver pub-

hereditates, tum damna denuntiant; fissum familiare et vitale tractant; caput iecoris ex omni parte diligentissime considerant; si vero id non est inventum nihil putant accidere potuisse tristius. XIV. 33. Haec observari certe non potuerunt, ut supra docui. Sunt igitur artis inventa, non vetustatis, si est ars ulla rerum incognitarum; cum rerum autem natura quam cognationem habent? Quae ut uno consensu iuncta sit et continens, quod video placuisse physicis, eisque maxime qui omne quod esset unum

lished by Boissier; cf. also Thulin, 45-46, where he cites a Chaldaean inscription containing predictions of fire and floods foretold by some object named *dam* which he would identify with the gall-bladder. For this use of *ab* cf. 2, 47, n. (*a nobilitate*).

1. *hereditates . . . damna*: these are doubtless foretold by the *fissa*; cf. 2, 28. For the acquisition of inheritances as one of the things most frequently investigated by divination cf. 2, 18; 2, 142; Aug. C. D. 5, 3.

1. *familiaire et vitale*: cf. 2, 28. Thulin (*op. cit.* 40) rightly holds it unnecessary to emend (with Hottinger) *vitale* to *hostile*, but interprets it as having to do with danger to life, and hence in contrast to *familiaire*. It is evident from Cicero's words that we have to deal, not with two *fissa*, but with one bearing two names, and, if Thulin's view be correct, two contrasted names. This he explains as due to this *fissum* (one of several *fissa*) being a transverse line, not dividing the *pars familiaris* and the *pars hostilis*, as Blecher (*op. cit.* 197) supposes, but lying partly within one and partly within the other. If this be true, the expression *fissum familiare et vitale* seems a very unnatural and forced one, where we might expect such a phrase as *fissum anceps*, and it may be questioned whether *familiaire* and *vitale* are really contrasted. True, the contrast in 2, 28 easily suggests that there may be one here, but, after all, a *fissum* might well refer to the well-being of one's household and self (that is, one's life) as a single and compact concept (Kayser thought *vitale* a gloss on *familiaire*; Turnebus (*Adv.* 5, 18, p. 90) supposed two *fissu* referred to, one in the liver and one elsewhere, as in the lung), and in this

sense it seems to me, in absence of clear proof to the contrary, more safe to take it, as is done by Allen in his edition. With which one of various *fissa* it is to be identified I shall not undertake to determine. Doubtless, however, it may be this *fissum* which in 2, 34 is spoken of as portending *lucrum*.

2. *caput iecoris*: cf. 1, 119, n. (*caput*). For the form *iecoris* see 1, 118, n. (*iecorum*).

3. *tristius*: cf. 2, 24, n. (*tristissimas*).

4. *ut supra docui*: 2, 28. For the use of *supra*—obviously out of place in a dialogue—cf. 1, 72: *ut supra dixi*; 2, 43, n. (*alio loco*); N. D. 2, 166; 3, 59; *Tusc.* 3, 41; etc.

5. *incognitarum*: on this word in the sense of 'uncertain,' a meaning perhaps derived from legal phraseology, see the notes of Reid and Plasberg on *Ac.* 2, 16.

6. *cognationem*: cf. 2, 34, n. (*συντάθειαν*).

6. *ut*: concessive, as a few lines below; compare the use of *concedam* in 2, 34 in a concession made merely for the sake of argument.

6. *consensu iuncta sit et continens*: cf. 2, 34: *ex coniunctione naturae et . . . consensu*; 2, 142; N. D. 2, 19: *tanta rerum consentiens, conspirans, continuata cognatio*; 3, 28: *oratio de convenientia consensuque naturae, quam quasi cognationem continuatam conspirare dicebas*.

6. *iuncta . . . et continens*: cf. N. D. 1, 26.

7. *physicis*: cf. 2, 27, n. (*philosophi, etc.*).

7. *qui omne . . . unum*: cf. N. D. 1, 28: *tum Xenophanes, qui mente*

esse dixerunt, quid habere mundus potest cum thesauri inventione coniunctum? Si enim extis pecuniae mihi amplificatio ostenditur idque fit natura, primum exta sunt coniuncta mundo, deinde meum lucrum natura rerum continetur. Nonne pudet physicos haec dicere? Ut enim iam sit aliqua in natura rerum contagio, quam esse concedo (multa enim Stoici colligunt; nam et musculorum iecuscula bruma dicuntur augeri, et puleium

adiuncta omne praeterea quod esset infinitum deum voluit esse, etc.; Ac. 2, 118: Xenophanes . . . unum esse omnia. . . et id esse deum. For the views of Xenophanes on this subject cf. Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* 140; 480; *Frag. d. Vorsokr.* 1, 3 ed. (1912), 45-54, especially 50-52. Aët. 1, 5 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 291-292) discusses the question *εἰ ἐν τῷ πᾶν*, and says (in the version of Plutarch) *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἕνα κόσμον ἀπεφώνησαν, ὃν δὴ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἕψασαν εἶναι καὶ τὸ σωματικόν. Ἑμπεδοκλῆς δὲ κόσμον μὲν ἕνα, οὐ μέγιστον τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον . . . Πλάτων δὲ τεκμαίρεται τὸ δοκοῦν ὅτι εἰς ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἐν τῷ πᾶν, ἐκ τριῶν . . . Μητρόδικρος δὲ φησὶν ἄτοπον εἶναι ἐν μεγάλῳ κελῷ ἕνα στέχων γενηθῆναι καὶ ἕνα κόσμον ἐν τῷ ἀείρῳ.*

The Stoics are not, perhaps, to be regarded as completely pantheistic (cf. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 185), yet the passage which follows, with its references to *Stoici* (just below) and to Chrysippus, Antipater, and Posidonius (in 2, 35), makes it plain that although Cicero may be here referring particularly to the Eleatics—and the past tenses *placuisse* and *dixerunt* clearly throw this into the past—yet it is the use made by the Stoics of the pantheistic argument derived from the earlier philosophers which is the special object of his polemic.

1. *quid habere, etc.*: cf. 2, 142, where the discovery of treasure is similarly taken as an example.

2. *fit natura*: cf. 2, 129; *Fin.* 3, 82; *de Am.* 81. The meaning of *natura* is here doubtless offset to supernatural intervention, which in 1, 120 ff. is given as a possible cause.

3. *mundo . . . natura rerum*: to make any sort of argument these terms

must, it seems, be regarded as here more or less synonymous, so that two objects each connected with a third may, by that very fact, be connected one with another.

4. *nonne pudet physicos*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 83: *non pudet igitur physicum, etc.*; 2, 27, n. (*philosophi, etc.*) above.

5. *contagio*: cf. 2, 92; *Fat.* 5: *ut in Antipatro poeta, ut in brumali die natis, ut in simul aegrotantibus fratribus, ut in urina, ut in unguibus, ut in reliquis eius modi, naturae contagio valet.*

5. *Stoici colligunt*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 4: *multaque quae dicuntur in his libris colligunt (sc. Stoici).* For the Stoics as collectors of material cf. 1, 6, n. (*Posidonius*); 1, 39; that their collections included the subject of *συμπάθεια* is maintained by Weidlich, *Die Sympathie in der antiken Literatur* (1894), 8-11.

6. *musculorum iecuscula*: the combination of these two diminutives, the former rare in its literal sense (cf. *Rep.* 3, 25; *Plin. N. H.* 27, 52) and the latter everywhere infrequent (*Plin. N. H.* 11, 196; *Apic.*), enhances the effect of littleness, somewhat as does the combination of a diminutive adjective with a diminutive noun (e.g., *Ac.* 2, 135: *auriculus . . . libellus*; *Tusc.* 3, 2: *parvulus . . . igniculus*; *Spart. Hadr.* 25: *animula vagula, blandula*; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 989-990).

For the sympathetic increase in size of the livers of mice, usually mentioned with direct reference to the moon rather than to the winter solstice, cf. *Lucil.* 1201-1202 *Marx* (ap. *Gell.* 20, 8, 4): *luna alit ostrea et implet echinos, muribus fibras / et secur addit*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 196: *murum iocusculis fibrae ad numerum lunae*

aridum florescere brumali ipso die, et inflatas rumpi vesiculas, et semina

in mense congruere dicuntur, lotidemque inveniri quotum lumen eius sit, praeterea brumia increscere; 29, 59: quorum natura non est spernenda, praecipue in adsensu siderum, ut diximus, cum lunae lumine fibrarum numero crescente atque decrescente; Ael. N. A. 2, 56: μυδι ἤπαρ καὶ μάλα ἐκπληκτικῶς τε καὶ παραδόξως, τῆς μὲν σελήνης αἰθέραμένης λοβὸν ἐαυτῷ τινα ἐπιτίθει ἡσμέρας μέχρι διχομήνου (in 12, 13 he mentions an Egyptian fish, the liver of which is similarly affected); Plut. Quaest. conv. 4, 5, 2, p. 670 b: τίκεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ μυῶν πέμπτη γενεῆ ρουμηρίας ὀσσης: ἔτι δὲ μειοῦσθαι τὸ ἤπαρ ἐν τοῖς ἀφανισμοῖς τῆς σελήνης; Antig. Mirab. 124 (Paradoxogr. Gr. 90-91 W.): καὶ τὰ τῆ σελήνη συναυξανόμενά τε καὶ συμφθίνοντα, ὅσον τὰ τῶν μυῶν ἤπατα: λέγεται γὰρ καὶ συμπληροῦσθαι καὶ συμφθίνειν καὶ συναῖζεσθαι τῷ μηνί, διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐν παρουσίας εὐρήσθαι μερεῖ ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαστῶν τεράτων, μυῶν ἤπατα; Archelaus, fr. 10 (Paradoxogr. Gr. 160 W.); Lyd. de Ost. pp. 13-14 Wachsm.: περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐναλλων, τοῦτων ὀ<στρέων λίγων> καὶ χημῶν καὶ κτεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὀδελὲς ἀμφισβητῆ<σει> δτι> αἰθεταὶ καὶ συμφθίνει ταῖς σεληριακαῖς φάσσει ὡ<ς καὶ τὰ τῶν> μυῶν ἤπατα καὶ πλείστα ἴτερα; Isid. Etym. 12, 3, 1: his (sc. muribus) in plenilunio iecur crescit, sicut quaedam maritima augentur, quae rursus minucnte luna deficitur (copied by Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis, 3, 25). For similar stories of the μυγαλῆ (sorex) see Plin. N. H. 2, 109: soricium fibras respondere numero lunae exquisivere diligentiores; Iamb. de Myst. p. 208 Parthey; Pap. Par. Suppl. Gr. 574, 2592 (Wünsch, Aus einem gr. Zauberpapyrus (1911), 19); Roscher, Ueber Selene u. Verwandtes (1890), 189.

[402] 6. dicuntur: the construction later shifts from the personal to the impersonal with *inflatus* . . . *vesiculas* and what follows.

[402] 6f. *puleium* . . . *florescere*: for the form *puleium* in its relation to *pulegium* cf. Ihm in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* 9 (1896),

245. The etymology which associates it with *pulex* is probably a popular rather than a scientifically founded one (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), 622). The identification of the plant with the Greek γλήχων (or βλήχων) appears from Apul. *Herb.* 93 and from various glosses; cf. C. G. L. 7, 2 (1901), 158. The determination of the plant according to modern scientific nomenclature is made possible by the persistence of the name in modern languages (Ital. *poleggio*, Fr. *pouliot*, Ger. *Polei*, Eng. *pulioll royall* (i.e., *pulegium regium*), becoming by popular etymology *penpenroyal*) and from the Mod. Gk. φλησῶνι, etc., so that we may confidently identify it with *Mentha pulegium* L., or Pennyroyal, "observed by Sibthorp, Chaubard, and Fraas, abounding in vineyards and fallow ground from the Peloponnesus throughout the Greek islands . . . known to grow wild in Italy . . . and from Teneriffe and Gibraltar throughout middle Europe as far as Britain" (Pickering, *Chronol. Hist. of Plants* (1879), 199-200; cf. Parlature, *Flora Italiana*, 6 (1884), 89-90; Tornabene, *Flora Aetnea*, 3 (1891), 183-184; von Halácsy, *Conspectus Florae Graecae*, 2 (1902), 572-573; Fiori e Paoletti, *Flora analitica d'Italia*, 3 (1903), 82; Fiori, *Iconographia Florae Italicae*, 2 (1904), 380, for a picture of the plant). Sen. *Controv.* 7, praef. 3 mentions *puleium* among types of *res omnium sordidissimas*.

The plant is frequently mentioned by ancient writers on materia medica (especially in Hippocrates) as useful for a variety of purposes. The remark in Hipp. *de Vict. Rat.* 2, p. 688 Kühn: *θερμαίνει καὶ διαχωρίζει*, agrees well with a modern statement (*Encycl. Brit.* 21, 11 ed. (1911), 116) that penny-royal (with an easily distilled oil known in pharmacy as *Oleum pulegii*) possesses carminative and stimulant (cf. Cels. 2, 32; Ambr. *Ep.* 4, 1: *quasi quodam sui alloquii puleio refotus*) properties (Tornabene, *op. cit.* 3, 184, says: *haec praesertim laudatur in asth-*

malorum, quae in iis mediis inclusa sint, in contrarias partis se vertere,

male et in tussi convulsiva), but it was apparently used also as a seasoning (Columell. 12, 59, 4; Hier. *Ep.* 146, 2; in *Is.* 18, p. 828 Vall.; Anthim. 3) or a flavoring (e.g., of the cup offered to Demeter in Hom. *Hymn. Dem.* 209). It was preserved either in a compounded liquid (Columell. 12, 7, 2; sometimes after being first partly dried; *id.* 12, 7, 5), or, more commonly, in dried form (e.g., Hipp. *de Nat. muliebr.* p. 595 Kühn; *de muliebr. Morb.* 1, pp. 714; 723; Columell. 12, 35; 12, 59, 4), and it is naturally the sort preserved in this fashion (perhaps hung up, as herbs in farm houses today, under the rafters) which is thought of as blooming at the solstice.

The folk-belief here described appears in other passages: [Arist.] *Probl.* 20, 21, p. 925 a 19 ff.: διὰ τὴν γλῆχων καὶ τὰ λείρια καὶ τὰ κρόμυα τὰ κρεμάμενα ὑπὸ τὰς τροπὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκτείνονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἢ τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος οὐ πίπτει διὰ τὸ ψύχος, ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς τροπὰς περτομῆτις διὰ τὴν ὥραν ἢ ἀξίσης γίνεται; αὕτη δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἐπίρρουσιν ταχὺ μαραινεται, κτλ.; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 108 (which, taken with the context of what is here quoted, seems borrowed from Cicero or from a common source): *floret ipso brumali die suspensa in lectis arenis herba pulei, rumpuntur intellae spiritu membranae*; 18, 227: *miretur hoc qui non meminerit ipso brumali die puleium in carnariis florere*; 19, 160: *congruit (sc. mentha) puleio, cuius natura in carnariis reflorescere saepius dicta est*; Lyd. *de Ost.* p. 13 Wachsm.: ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος γλῆχων ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν <τοῦ ἡλίου> θάλλει τροπῆν; Folkard, *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* (1884), 492: "In Sicily children put Pennyroyal in their cots on Christmas Day, under the belief that at the exact hour and minute when the infant Jesus was born this plant puts forth its blossom. The same wonder is repeated on Midsummer Night." The last sentence permits the surmise that the Christmas custom has been, in popular usage, substi-

tuted for one belonging to the winter solstice (in the Julian calendar on 25 December, according to Plin. *N. H.* 18, 221; cf. Häbler in *P.-W.* s.v. *Bruma* (1897), 902; Crawford in *Bys. Zeitschr.* 23 (1920), 366-370; also Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 303-305 for the transfer of the birthday of Jesus to the winter solstice, the natal day of *Sol Invictus*), and thus is a survival of the belief here described by Cicero. Tille (*Yule and Christmas* (1899), 170-176) notes the belief that on the night before Christmas the trees of the forest bud and bloom forth (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6, 205-206: *solet silvis brumali frigore viscum / fronde virere nova*). All these notions probably owe their origin to the feeling that the return (or rebirth) of the sun at the winter solstice is the signal for a revival of vegetation, and that the first sympathetic responses to the sun's powers may come from plants characterized by exceptionally keen, volatile, (and sensitive?) qualities. On the sympathetic effects of the solstices in general cf. Stempfinger, *Sympathiegläub u. Sympathiekuren in Allertum u. Neuzeit* (1919), 11. Certain Moroccan popular customs connected with pennyroyal at the time of the summer solstice are noted by Westermarck in *Folk-Lore*, 16 (1905), 34-35. For the winter solstice see also 2, 52 infra.

[403] 1. *rumpi vesiculas*: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2, 108: *rumpuntur intellae spiritu membranae*. Both *membranae* and *vesiculae* might appropriately be used of thin-walled seed-vessels, and Forcellini (s.v. *vesicula*) perhaps understands the latter in this passage as belonging to the *puleium*, but inasmuch as the persistent calyx of that plant is open in fruit it seems necessary to suppose that the *vesiculae* belong to a plant with some kind of closed pod. If these pods were suspended near the hearth it would not be surprising that at about the time of the winter solstice, when, with colder weather outside, the fires would be more brisk within, as a result of

iam nervos in fidibus aliis pulsus resonare alios, ostreisque et conchyliis

heat and dryness they should burst open, perhaps with a noticeable sound.

[403] If. *semina malorum*: apple seeds are several times mentioned in connection with divinatory games (particularly to determine one's lover; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 272-273, and Porphyrio's note; Pollux, 9, 122; 9, 128; *Folk-Lore Journal*, 5 (1887), 215; 7 (1889), 249-250; Foster in *Harr. Stud. in class. Philol.* 10 (1899), 51), but I have discovered no other reference to the phenomenon here described—a phenomenon which must have been somewhat difficult of scientific verification! There appears, however, a fancied appropriateness in the turning of the seeds at the turning (*τροπή*) of the sun, and we may well compare the account in Gell. 9, 7: *volgo et scriptum et creditum est folia olearum arborum brumali et solstitiali die converti et quae pars eorum fuerit inferior et occulior eam supra fieri atque exroni ad oculos et ad solem. quod nobis quoque semel atque iterum experiri volentibus ita esse propetodum visum est.*

1. *nervos in fidibus* etc.: on the subject of musical overtones cf. [Arist.] *Probl.* 19, 24: *διά τί, ἂν τις ψῆλας τὴν κήτην ἐπιλάβῃ, ἢ ὑπάτη μόνη δοκεῖ ἀντηχεῖν; ἢ ὅτι συμφυῆς μάλιστα γίνεται τῷ φθόγγῳ ὁ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤχος διὰ τὸ σύμφωνος εἶναι; τῷ οὖν συναυξάνεσθαι τῷ ὁμοίῳ φαίνεται μόνος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διὰ μικρότητα ἀφανεῖς;* Arathias in *Apth. Pal.* 11, 352, 1-14: *τὸν σοφὸν ἐν κιθάρῃ, τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀνδροτίωνα / εἰρητὸ ἐν τοῖν κρουματικῇ σοφίῃν / "δεξιτερὴν ὑπάτην ὅποτε κλήκτροις δονήσας, / ἢ λαϊῆ νῆ-γ πάλ- λεται αὐτομάτως / λεπτὸν ὑποτριζούσα, καὶ ἀντιπὸν τερέτισμα / πάσχι, τῆς ἰδῆς πλησσομένης ὑπάτης / ὥστε με θαυμάζειν πῶς ἀκροα νεῦρα ταβέντα / ἢ φύσις ἀλλήλοισ θῆκατο συμπαθία."* / *Ἔς δὲ τὸν ἐν κλήκτροισιν Ἀριστόξειρον ἀγητὸν / ὤμοσε μὴ γνῶναι τῆδε θερμοσύνην / "ἴσσι δ', ἔφη, "λύσις ἦδε τὰ νευρία πάντα τίττυκται / ἐξ ὁίος χολαδῶν ἄμμουγα τεροσμένων / τοῦνεκεν εἰσὶν ἀδελφά, καὶ ὡς ἐμφοῦλα συνηχεῖ, / ζυγγεγῆς ἀλλήλων φθίγμα μεριζόμενα, / κτλ.* And Dübner in

his note compares Olympiod. in *Gorg.* p. 564: *ἡ κήτη συμφθίγγεται τῇ ὑπάτῃ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀφήσων αὐτῇ φθόγγον, εἰ καὶ δεξιτερῶν;* Psell. *Opusc.* p. 96: *μεμυμηται γὰρ πως ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ὥσπερ γὰρ παρ' ἐκείναις ὑπάται τινὲς καὶ κῆται, καὶ κύβητοι καὶ βωμολοκοί. Cf. also Gell. 9, 7: sed de fidibus varius dictu et mirabilis est; quam rem et alii docti viri et Suetonius etiam Tranquillus in libro ludicrae historiae primo satis competam esse satisque super ea constare adfirmat: nervias in fidibus brumali die alias digilis pelli, alias sonare. It seems unlikely that Cicero (or his source at this point) should have wished to limit the musical phenomenon of overtones to the day of the winter solstice. The examples here chosen are for the sake of illustrating the *distantium rerum cognatio naturalis*, and the first (livers of mice, pennyroyal, vesiculae, and apple seeds) happen to be, in folk-thought, associated with the winter solstice, as the later ones (shell-fish, etc.) are with the phases of the moon. The illustration of overtones comes between them and is probably quite independent of each set; in fact, the introductory *iam* is the sign of a new topic (cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 86). It is not an unfair inference (1) that Suetonius as quoted by Gellius, borrowed, not from Cicero but from a common source (for the passage under discussion is immediately preceded by that quoted in the note on *semina malorum*, which is like in general type but individually different from the example employed by Cicero), and (2) that in this source—perhaps hastily read—the juxtaposition of the two sets of phenomena, which in Cicero the word *iam* helps to separate, deceived Suetonius into assuming that both were connected with the winter solstice.*

1. *resonare* in Cicero regularly of the sounding of something else than what is directly struck, usually the resonant part of an instrument; cf. *N. D.* 2, 144; 2, 149; al.

omnibus contingere ut cum luna pariter crescant pariterque decrescant,

[405] I. ostreisque et conchyliis: cf. Arist. de Part. An. 4, 5, p. 680 a 31-34: εἰθί τε γὰρ γινόμενοι ἔχουσι (sc. οἱ ἔχιδνοι) καὶ ἐν ταῖς πασσαλήνοις μᾶλλον, οὐ διὰ τὸ νέμσθαι καθάτερ τινὲς οἰοῦνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀλειωτότερας εἶναι τὰς ἰσκάτας διὰ τὸ φῶς τῆς σελήνης; Hist. An. 5, 12, p. 544 a 18-21 (quoted also by Athen. 3, p. 88c); Antig. Mirab. 137: καὶ τὰ τῶν θαλαττίων δὲ ἔχιδνων ὡς ταῦτό (sc. συναύξεσθαι τῷ μηνί) πάσχειν (cf. Archel. fr. 10 in Paradoxogr. Gr. 160 W.); Gell. 20, 8, 4: cum quaterrensus quae alia item nascescente luna labescerent, nonne Lucilium, inquit, nostrum meministis dicere (1201-1202 Marx): luna alit ostrea et implet echinos, muribus fibras / et iecur addit; Hor. Sat. 2, 4, 30: lubrica nascentes implent conchyliia lunae; Manil. 2, 93-95: sic submersa fretis concharum et carcere clausa / ad lunae motum variant animalia corpus / et luo damna luas imitantur, Delia, vires; Plin. N. H. 2, 109: lunari potestate ostrearum conchyliorumque et concharum omnium corpora augeri ac rursus minui; 2, 221: quo vera coniectulio existit haud frustra spiritus sidus lunam existimari, hoc esse quod terras saturat, accidensque corpora impleat, abscedens inanial. ideo cum incremento eius augeri conchyliia, et maxime spiritum sentire quibus sanguis non sit; 9, 96: omnia eius generis (i.e., the crustaceans) . . . aulumno et vere pinguescunt et plenilunio magis, quia nocte sidus tepido fulgore mitificat; 32, 59: ostrea . . . grandescunt sideris quidem ratione maxime, ut in natura aquatiliium, etc.; Ael. N. A. 9, 6: τῶν ὀστρακοπέτρων τε καὶ ὀστρακοδέρμων καὶ τοῦτο ἴδιον. κενώτερα πῶς ταῦτα καὶ κουφώτερα ὑποληγομένης τῆς σελήνης φιλεῖ γενέσθαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀστρακοπέτρων ἐλέγχουσιν ὁ λέγων πορφύραι καὶ κήρυκες καὶ σφόδρυλοι καὶ τὰ τοῖτοις ὁμοφυῆ· τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων πάγουροι τε καὶ κάραβοι καὶ ἀστακοὶ καὶ καρκίνοι καὶ εἴ τι τοῖτων συγγενῆς; Opp. Hal. 5, 589-593: ὄστρακα δ' ὀστρακοῦρα, τὰ θ' ἐρπύζουσι θαλάσση, / πάντα φάτις μήνης μὲν ἀεζομένης κατὰ κύβηλον / σαρπὰ περιπλήθειν, καὶ πῖονα ναίειεν

οἰκόν· / φθινοῦσης δ' ἐξαυτῆς ἀφαιροτόροις μελέσσει / βρυκοῦσθαι· τοῖη τις ἐπὶ οἴσῳ ἔστιν ἀνάγκη; Sext. Emp. 9, 79: ἐτεῖ οἱον καὶ ὁ κόσμος σῶμά ἐστιν, ἦτοι ἠνιωμένον ἐστὶ σῶμα ἢ ἐκ συναπτομένων ἢ ἐκ διεστώτων· οὔτε δὲ ἐκ συναπτομένων οὔτε ἐκ διεστώτων, ὡς δελεῦμεν ἐκ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμπαθειῶν. κατὰ γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης ἀεζήσεις καὶ φάσεις πολλά τῶν τε ἐπιγείων ζῴων καὶ θαλασσίω φθίνει τε καὶ ἀεζεται; Athen. 3, p. 74c: ἀεζονται δ' ἐν τοῖς κήποις οἱ σικκοὶ κατὰ τὰς πασσαλήνους καὶ φανεράν ἰσχοῦσι τὴν ἐπίδοσαν καθάτερ καὶ οἱ θαλάττιοι ἔχιδνοι; Solin. 53, 23: conchae sunt, in quibus hoc genus lapidum (i.e., pearls) requiritur, quae certo anni tempore luxuriante conceptu siliuntur rorem velut maritum, cuius desiderio hiant; et cum maxime liquitur lunaris imber, oscillatione quadam hauriunt umorem cupitum; sic concipiunt gravidaeque fiunt, etc. (cf. Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 85); Clem. Protrept. 4, p. 45 P.: πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν ζῴων ὅσα οὔτε δρασαν ἔχει οὔτε ἀκοήν οὐδὲ μὴν φωτὴν, οἷον καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀστράκων γένος, ἀλλὰ ἤβη γὰρ καὶ ἀεζεται, πρῆ δὲ καὶ τῆ σελήνῃ συμτάσσει; Ambr. Hexaem. 4, 29: et defectui eius compatiuntur elementa, et processu eius quae fuerint exinanita cumulantur, ut . . . maritimum humida (which is copied by Isid. de Nat. Rer. 19, 2, with the addition of the words: siquidem echinus ostreaeque in augmento lunae pleniores reperiri feruntur); Basil. Hexaem. Homil. 6, 10: ἄλλως γὰρ διατίθεται μενομένης αὐτῆς καὶ ἄλλως ἀεζομένης τὰ σῶματα . . . δηλοῦσι δὲ . . . τῶν θαλαττίων τὰ ὑγρότατα (cf. Ambr. Hexaem. 4, 29: et defectui eius compatiuntur elementa et processu eius quae sunt exinanita cumulantur, ut animalium cerebrum, maritimum unida, siquidem pleniores ostreae reperiri feruntur multaque alia cum globus lunaris adolesit); Aug. C. D. 5, 6: lunarihus incrementis atque decrementis augeri et minui quaedam genera rerum, sicut echinos et conchas et mirabiles aestus oceani; Pallad. 13, 6, 1: ubi lunae iustavit augmentum, quae omnium clausorum maris animalium atque concharum iubet incre-

arboresque ut hiemali tempore cum luna simul senescente, quia tum

1. senescente Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, senescentes C. Christ, Baizer.

mento suo membra lurgere, echini carnes salibus condire curabunt (cf. Isid. Etym. 12, 6, 48); Lyd. de Ost. p. 13 Wachsm. (quoted in note on *muscularum iecuscula* above); Allatius on [Eustath.] *Hexaem.* (in *Patr. Gr.* 18, 869-870); Roscher, *Ueber Selene u. Verwandtes* (1890), 64, n. 252; Riess in P. -W. s.v. *Aberglaube* (1894), 39-40; Marx on Lucil. 1201-1202 (1905); Tavenner, *Roman Moon Lore* (in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 8, 1, (1920), 40-41). The theory of the effect of the moon upon sea-animals perhaps arose through the influence of the flowing (swelling) and ebbing (waning) of the tide, but the slightness of tidal changes in the Mediterranean would seem somewhat to weaken this assumption, at least for the origin of the beliefs, as also the fact that in many passages the influence is in no way limited so as to apply solely to marine life; in addition to some of the cases above cited cf. Arist. de Gen. An. 4, 2, p. 767 a 1 ff.; 4, 10, p. 777 a 26 ff.; Plut. de Is. et Os. 8; de Fac. in Orb. 25; Quaest. conv. 3, 3; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 4, 1, p. 132 a; [Clem.] *Recognit.* 8, 46; Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 11, 7; Marc. *Empir.* 1, Epist. Hippocr. 11 (p. 13 Helmr.); [Eustath.] *Comm. in Hexaem.* 4 (*Patr. Gr.* 18, 721 c, and notes of Allatius, 869-870); Schol. Basil. Gem. *Arat.* p. 198 Breysig; Fulgent. *Myth.* 2, p. 700 St.; Phot. *Bibl.* 166 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 469 A); Pico della Mirandola, *Disp. adv. Astrol.* 3 (1557 ed., p. 97 verso); Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 50; Roscher, l. c.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 167-168; 5, 3 ed. (1914), 131 ff.; 140 ff.; 6, 3 ed. (1914), 132-138; Tavenner, *op. cit.* (especially for the effect of the moon upon disease and its cure). It is of interest to note that modern zoologists have recognized—though not as yet satisfactorily explained—a connection between the moon and certain forms of marine life. Two worms of the *Annelida Polychaeta*, namely *Palolo viridis* Gray (of Samoa)

and *Eunice fucata* Ehlers (of the Tortugas) are usually not conspicuously abundant, but at the last quarter of the moon (or on the day preceding or that following), in certain months, they appear in the waters in immense swarms. References to this phenomenon, for information about which I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Charles Zeleny, are: M'Intosh in *Rep't. of the Voyage of H. M. S. Challenger*, Zoology, 12 (1885), 257-261; Mayer in *Science Bulletin of Mus. of Brooklyn Inst. of Arts and Sci.* 1 (1902), 94-102; *id.*, in *Papers from the Tortugas Lab. of the Carnegie Inst.* 1 (1908), 107-109.

It is quite possible that the superstition described by Cicero may have been strengthened, if not actually caused, by the supposed connection between the moon and menstrual periods, and the consequent reckoning of the duration of pregnancy by moons (*N. D.* 2, 68; but see Birt in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Diana* (1886), 1007); cf. Mayor, l. c. The somewhat clearer reasons for the supposition of lunar influence on land animals will be treated below (note on *arboresque*, etc.).

[405] 1. *ostreis*: for the identification of the ancient oyster (*Ostrea edulis* L. and other species of this genus are found in the Mediterranean), its habitat, and its uses, see Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 562-568.

[405] 1. *conchyliis*: sometimes of shellfish in general—as probably here—, sometimes of the purple-yielding *murex*; cf. Keller, *op. cit.* 2, 526; 569-570.

1. *arboresque*, etc.: cf. Theophr. *H. P.* 5, 1, 3: κελύουσι δὲ καὶ δόδικας τῆς σελήνης τέμνειν ὡς σκληρότερον καὶ ἀσπαστέρον γυρομένω; Cato, *R. R.* 31, 2: *ulmeam, pineam, nucem, hanc atque aliam materiem omnem cum effodias luna decrescente eximilo post meridiem sine vento austro* (repeated in Plin. *N. H.* 16, 193; Macrob. *Sat.* 6, 4, 16); 37, 4: *nisi intermestri lunaque dimi-*

exsiccatae sint, tempestive caedi putentur. 34. Quid de fretis aut de

*diala ne langas materiem. quam effodias aut praecides abs terra diebus VII proximis quibus luna plena fuerit optime eximetur. omnino caveto ne quam materiem doles neu caedas neu langas, si potes, nisi siccam neu gelidam neu vorulentam; Varr. R. R. 1, 37, 1: quardam faciendum in agris potius crescente luna quam senescente, quaedam contra quae melas, ut frumenta et caeduas silvas; Plin. N. H. 16, 190: infinitum refert et lunaris ratio, nec nisi a XX in XXX caedi volunt; 17, 215 (directions for pruning); 18, 321: omnia quae caeduntur, carpuntur, londenur, innocentius decrescente luna quam crescente sunt (cf. Pallad. 1, 34, 8); Columell. 11, 2, 11: melius sunt luna decrescente ab vigesima usque in trigesimam; quoniam omnis materia sic caesa iudicatur carie non infestari (so Veget. Epil. 4, 35); Plut. Quaest. conv. 3, 10, 3: τῶν τὰ γὰρ ἔλιωσ τὰ τεμνόμενα ταῖς παρσελήροις ἀποβάλλουσιν οἱ τέκτονες ὡς ἀπαλά καὶ μυδῶνα ταχέως δι' ὀργρήτητα, κτλ. (fairly exactly translated in Macrobi. Sat. 7, 16, 29); Athen. 7, p. 276 e: εὐσηπότερα γούρ . . . τῶν ἔλιωσ τὰ πρὸς τὸ σελήριον κοπτόμενα; Schol. Dan. Virg. Georg. 1, 256: melius enim arbores luna decrescente caeduntur; Pallad. 2, 22: hoc etiam mense (i.e., Ianuario) caedenda materies est ad fabricam, cum luna decrescit (cf. similar advice for February in 3, 20, 2, and for November in 12, 15, 1); Geopon. 3, 1, 2: τῶ αὐτῷ μηνί (January) χρὴ τὰ πρὸς οὐλομομφὴν καὶ ἐργασίαν ἔξῃλα τέμνειν σελήρης ἐν συνόδῳ ὀσφι καὶ ὑπὸ γῆρ. τὸ γὰρ τῆς σελήρης φῶς μαλακώτερα τὰ ἔξῃλα ποιεῖ. τὰ δὲ τότε τεμνόμενα ἔξῃλα ὀσφια διαμῆναι; Roscher, *op. cit.* 66, and n. 264; Tavenner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 49 (1918), 76-77. Of the very numerous modern parallels to this idea instances are cited by Roscher, *op. cit.* 67, n. 265 (and, for modern Greece, in the appendix (by Politis) in the same work, 184); Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 6, 3 ed. (1914), 135-138; cf. *Folk-Lore Journal*, 5 (1887), 219; etc.*

The reason for this superstition is

indicated in some of the passages above quoted (and more fully in others collected by Roscher, *op. cit.* 49-51; Frazer, *op. cit.* 5, 3 ed. 137; Tavenner, *op. cit.* 68), and seems to be that as the sun is the dispenser of vital heat so the moon sends the dew which furnishes the moisture necessary for growth and increase, and this dew is proportionate in abundance to the fulness of the moon. Objects, then, which are desired in a dry or seasoned condition, like lumber, are to be gathered when the moisture-giving element is at its ebb or its lowest point (*quia lum exsiccatae sint*, as Cicero says), while planting, grafting, and similar operations for which subsequent moisture is an advantage are to be done when the moon is waxing or full. On this subject see also Harley, *Moon Lore* (1885), 175; Cormerois, *Les préjugés populaires relatifs à l'influence de la lune sur la végétation des plantes agricoles* (1901).

[407] 1. luna . . . senescente: cf. *N. D.* 2, 95; *Ac. fr.* 6.

1. tempestive: cf. *N. D.* 2, 156: *tempestive demendi percipiendique fructus*. What the Greek original was may perhaps be gathered from the phrase in Theophr. *H. P.* 1, 1: ὥραλα τέμνεσθαι.

1. fretis: cf. *N. D.* 3, 24: *quid Chalcidico Euripo in motu identidem reciprocando putas fieri posse constantius? quid frelo Siciliensis? quid Oceani fervore illis in locis 'Eurotam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda?' quid? aestus maritimi vel Hispanienses vel Britannici eorumque certis temporibus vel accessus vel recessus sine deo fieri non possunt?* Cicero in that passage uses as an example of regularity the Euripus which to most authors was the type of inexplicable inconstancy (see Mayor's note), perhaps because he there, as here (and in *N. D.* 2, 19; see next note), followed a source which attempted to connect its motions, like those of the tides, with the phases and the motion of the moon (cf. Arist. *de mirab. Ausc.* 55:

marinis aestibus plura dicam? Quorum accessus et recessus lunae motu gubernantur. Sescenta licet eiusdem modi proferri, ut distantium rerum

δ πορθμοὶ δ μεταξύ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀβέται καὶ φθίνει ἅμα τῷ σελήνῳ).

I. *aestibus*: Aët. *Pluc.* 3, 17 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 382-383) collects the opinions of the ancients on the causes of tides (cf. also Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 19; Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos* (1913), 306-307). [Arist.] *de Mundo*, 4, p. 396 a 25-27 reads: πολλοὶ τε ἀμύτους λήγονται καὶ ἐνμάτων ἄρσει συμπεριδοῦναι αἰετῇ σελήνῃ κατὰ τινὰς ὤρσμενους καιροῖς, but it was probably Pytheas of Massilia who, passing beyond the Mediterranean, which, with the exception of the Adriatic (Strab. 5, p. 212), is practically tideless, had observed the tides in Britain (Plin. *N. H.* 2, 217) and had first made this correlation of moon and tide (cf. Aët. 3, 17, 3: Πυθίας δὲ Μασσιλιῶν τῇ πληρώσει τῆς σελήνης καὶ τῇ μειώσει τὰς ἑκατέρου τοῦτων αἰτίας ἀνατίθῃσι), and his observations were confirmed by Posidonius on his visit to Gades; cf. Aët. 3, 17, 4: Ποσειδώνιος ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς σελήνης κινεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνέμους, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτων τὰ πελάγη, ἐν οἷς τὰ προεξημένα γίνεσθαι πάθη; and especially Strab. 3, 3, p. 153 (where Posidonius is said to have repeated the explanation given by Aristotle); 3, 5, p. 173: δ Ποσειδώνιος . . . φησὶ . . . τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν ὑπέχειν ἀστρουβῆ περιόδου, τὴν μὲν ἡμερήσιαν ἀποδοῦσαν, τὴν δὲ μηνιαίαν, τὴν δ' ἐνιαυσιαίαν συμπαθῶς τῇ σελήνῃ· ὅταν γὰρ αὕτη ἰσχυρὸς μίγθοσι ὑπερέχη τοῦ ὄριζαντος, ἀρξασθαι διωδεῖν τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν τῆς γῆς αἰσθητῶς μέχρι μεσουρανήσεως, κτλ. Other important passages are *N. D.* 2, 19: *aut aestus maritimi fretorumque angustiae ortu aut obitu lunae commoveri* (sc. *possentne*); *Caes. B. G.* 4, 29, 1: *eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in oceano efficere consuevit, nostrisque id erat incognitum*; *Luc.* 10, 204; 216-217: *exit, ut oceanus lunariibus incrementis / iussus adest*; *Sen. de Prov.* 1, 4: *illae* (sc. *undae*) *portionibus crescunt et ad horam ac diem subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas*

lunare sidus elicuit, ad cuius arbitrium oceanus exundat; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 212-221 (very important, but too long to be here quoted); *Sext. Emp. adv. Math.* 9, 79: *κατὰ γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης αὐξήσεις καὶ φθίσεις . . . ἀμύτους τε καὶ πλημμυρίδας περὶ τινὰ μέρη τῆς θαλάσσης γίνονται*; cf. *Ambr. Hexaem.* 4, 30.

With the concession by which Cicero here admits connection between objects as distant as the moon and the tides while denying its existence between the entrails of victims, etc., and the affairs of the individual, cf. *Favorinus ap. Gell.* 14, 1, 3-4: *atque eos* (sc. *Chaldaeos*) *quoniam viderent terrena quaedam inter homines sita caelestium rerum sensu atque ductu moveri, quale est, quod oceanus quasi lunae comes cum ea simul senescit adulesciturque, hinc videlicet sibi argumentum ad suadendum paravisse ut crederemus omnia rerum humanarum, et parva et maxima, tamquam stellis atque sideribus evincta, duci et regi. esse autem nimis quam ineptum absurdumque ut, quoniam aestus oceani cum lunae curriculo congruit, negotium quoque alienius, quod ei forte de aquae ductu cum rivalibus . . . apud iudicem est, ut existimemus id negotium quasi habena quadam de caelo vinculum gubernari, etc.*

1. *accessus et recessus*: also coupled in 2, 89; *N. D.* 2, 34; 2, 49; 3, 24; cf. *N. D.* 2, 132: *aestus maritimi . . . accedentes et recedentes*.

2. *sescenta*: used sometimes as a round number and sometimes as a number of indefinite greatness this is not infrequent in Greek—a fact often overlooked—, particularly in certain authors. For example, in the last books of Diodorus we find mention of 600 Syracusans (11, 76, 2); 600 soldiers (12, 66, 2; 13, 8, 3; 13, 48, 6-7; 13, 110, 16; 14, 40, 3; 16, 4, 3; 18, 41, 3; 36, 2, 5; 36, 4, 3; 36, 8, 1); 600 partisans (13, 65, 4); 600 guards (13, 95, 5); 600 ships (14, 54, 5); 600 colonists (14, 78, 5); over 600 killed (14, 84, 2; 14, 88, 4);

cognatio naturalis appareat)—demos hoc, nihil enim huic disputationi adversatur; num etiam, si fissum cuiusdam modi fuerit in iecore, lucrum ostenditur? Qua ex coniunctione naturae et quasi concentu atque consensu,

600 horsemen (15, 68, 1; 15, 71, 3; 17, 65; 18, 12, 2; 19, 14, 5; 19, 27, 4 (bis); 19, 68, 6; 19, 94, 1; 19, 102, 6; 20, 41, 1; 20, 53, 1); 600 captured (15, 95, 2; 16, 68, 10); 600 young men (17, 28, 4); 600 stadia (17, 67, 2); 600 talents (18, 52, 7; 20, 104, 3; 31, 32); 600 nobles (19, 4, 3; 36, 4, 8); etc. Did space permit, many examples might be cited from other Greek writers. For its use among the Assyrians cf. Syncell. p. 17 a (F. H. G. 2, 498-499): *ὁ μὲν Βήρωσος διὰ σάρων καὶ πῆρων καὶ σώσων ἀπεγράφεται, ὃν δὲ μὲν σάρος τριακίδιον καὶ ἑξακσίων ἐτῶν χρόνον σημαίνει, ὃ δὲ πῆρος ἐτῶν ἑξακσίων, ὃ δὲ σώσων ἑξήκοντα*; perhaps Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* 1, 3, 9; Brandis, *Das Muns-, Mass-, u. Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien* (1866), 11-12; Krall in *Wiener Stud.* 3 (1881), 147-151; Schmidt in *Abh. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. phil.-hist. Cl.* (1890), 2, 44 and 56. Among the Romans the usage appears from the time of Plautus (examples collected by Wölfflin in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr.* 9 (1896), 178), continues through the classical period, but in the patristic writers remains only as a literary reminiscence, so that Donatus (on Ter. *Phorm.* 668: *sexcentas . . .*) has to explain: *perspicere hinc licet consuetudinem utriusque sermonis, nam Apollodorus nuptas dixit pro 'multis.' et ut apud Graecos μύρια, ita apud nos 'sexcenta' dicere pro 'multis' usitatum est. Cicero (2 Verr. 1, 125): sexcenta possum decreta proferre* (similarly the Bern scholia on Virg. *Georg.* 1, 15 (*Fleck. Jahrb. Supplbd.* 4 (1867), 845) and Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 8, 716 explain 300 as *pro multis*).

Ciceronian cases of *sexcenti* are collected by Wölfflin, *op. cit.* 178-179 (to which add *Fat.* 27), who also treats of other round numbers, particularly 100, 300 (the half of 600, far more common in Latin and especially in Greek usage than his article would indicate, and in Christian times a mystic as well as a round number;

cf. Orig. *Homil.* 2 in *Gen.* 5 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 172), *Homil.* 9 in *Lib. Iudicum*, 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 989; *Hier. Tract. in Marc.* 13 (*Anecd. Mareds.* 3, 2, 369); Wölfflin, *op. cit.* 190), and 1000. With the phrase *sexcenta . . . proferri* cf. 2 *Verr.* 1, 125 (just quoted, and imitated (according to Wölfflin, *op. cit.* 17) in Prudent. *Peristeph.* 10, 616); Wölfflin would also derive from our passage Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1, 567-568 (*sexcentas numerare domos de sanguine prisco / nobilium licet ad Christi signaculo versas*), but the similarity is purely fanciful. More noteworthy is the likeness (though not imitation) in Petron. 56: *sexcenta huiusmodi* (cf. our *sexcenta . . . eiusdem modi*). In his conclusion (p. 190) Wölfflin rightly emphasizes the principle of the hexad as parallel with that of the decad in the determination of these round numbers, and this, to a people so familiar with duodecimal reckoning as were the Romans, goes far to explain the frequency of 600 and 300 in Latin usage. Schmidt (*op. cit.* 44) holds 600, 3600, etc., to be hybrids of the decimal and sexagesimal systems.

[409] 2. *proferri*: cf. 1, 46, n. (*proferam*); for the use of the passive cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 23; also *Fin.* 2, 104; *Leg.* 2, 65; *Tusc.* 1, 27; *Phil.* 5, 46.

1. *cognatio naturalis*: cf. 2, 142.

1f. *demos . . . num etiam*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 107.

3. *coniunctione, etc.*: cf. the similar repetitions of the definition of *συμπύθηα* occurring in 2, 124; 2, 142.

3. *concentu atque consensu*: with the paronomasia cf. *N. D.* 1, 17: *nolo existimes me adiutorem huic venisse sed auditorem*, and Mayor's note.

3f. *consensu quam*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 28: *consensus quam συμπύθηαν Graeci vocant*.

quam συμπάθειαν Graeci appellant, convenire potest aut fissum iecoris cum

For similar examples of attraction of genger cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 38-39.

1. συμπάθειαν: previous notes touching upon this point are 1, 16, n. (*fissum in extis*); 1, 118, n. (*vis quaedam sentiens*); 1, 127, n. (*qui enim teneat, etc.*); 2, 29, n. (*cum rerum natura . . . coniunctam*); 2, 33, n. (*qui omne . . . unum*); see also 2, 124; 2, 142. The philosophic doctrine of sympathy seems in harmony with the views of Xenophanes (cf. 2, 33), and according to Seneca (*Ep.* 108, 19) *Pythagoras omnium inter omnia cognationem esse dicebat*. Among the Presocratics, however, it is with Democritus that such views are especially associated. In the catalogue of his works is one on the magnet, an especial type of sympathy (cf. 1, 86, n. (*magnetem lapidem*)); his sympathetic explanation of liver divination has been already noted (1, 131, and notes; 2, 30, and notes); and there was later fathered upon him a work still extant *περὶ συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀνταθειῶν* (published, with a similar one ascribed to Nepualius, by Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* 4 (1711), 295-363, and by Gemoll (1884); also discussed by Weidlich, *Die Sympathie in der antiken Literatur* (1894), 35-39; for Nepualius and other similar writers *id.* 39-46). Traces of the belief among subsequent philosophers, particularly Theophrastus, are noted by Weidlich, *op. cit.* 2-4; Thompson on Plat. *Meno*, p. 81d; but its especial adoption and development was among the Stoics (Zeller, *Philos. d. Gr.* 3, 1, 3 ed. (1880), 169-170; Wachsmuth, *Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Dämonen* (1860), 27; Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 172; 191-194 (for the rejection by Panaetius of the Stoic sympathetic analogy of the macrocosm and the microcosm); 244; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 4-11; Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Aberglaube* (1894), 36; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (1911), 225-227; Tavener, *Studies in*

Magic from Lat. Lit. (1916), 9; Stempler, *Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 15-19, who seem to have made collections of material upon the subject (cf. 2, 33, n. (*Stoici colligunt*)), and whose views are set forth in many places (see especially the notes of Zeller, *l.c.*; Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 19; and the work of Weidlich), typical of which are the following: M. Aurel. 9, 9: *ἴσα κομποῦ τιμὸς μετέχει πρὸς τὸ ὁμογενὲς σπεύδει . . . πάν τὸ κοινῆς κοερᾶς φύσεως μέτοχοι πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ὁμοίως σπεύδει ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον . . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπι κρείττωνων καὶ δεισθητέων τρόπον τινα ἴσως ἐπίστη, ὅσα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστρων. οὕτως ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον ἐπανάβασι, συμπάθειαν καὶ ἐν δειστώσιν ἐργάσασθαι δύναται; Alex. Aphrod. *de Mixt.* 142 a: *ἠρώσθαι μὲν ὀπολιέται (sc. ὁ Χρῆσικπος) τὴν σύμπασαν οὐσίαν πνεύματός τιμὸς διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς διήκοντος, ὑφ' οὗ συνάγεται τε καὶ συμμεῖναι καὶ συμπαθεῖ ἔστιν αὐτῷ τὸ πάν; Epict. 1, 14, 2: οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη, ἠρώσθαι τὰ πάντα; δοκεῖ, ἔφη, τί δέ; συμπαθεῖν τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς οὐρανοῖς οὐ δοκεῖ σοι; δοκεῖ, ἔφη; Philo, *de Migrat. Abrah.* 178 (views of the Chaldaeans): τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς μεταώροις καὶ τὰ οὐράνια τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρμολόμενοι καὶ ὡσπερ διὰ μουσικῆς λόγων τὴν ἐμμελεσάτην συμφωνίαν τοῦ παντός ἐπιδικαιούμενοι τῇ τῶν μερῶν πρὸς ἀλληλα κοινωρίᾳ καὶ συμπαιεῖα, τόποις μὲν διεξευγμένον, συγγενεῖ δὲ οὐ διαμαίμενον; 180 (=S. V. F. 2, no. 532): ἴσα καὶ γενητῶν ἀποφηνάμενος τὸν κόσμον εἶναι. γενομένου γάρ καὶ ἐπὸς ὑπάρχοντος εὐλογον τὰς γε στοιχειώδεις οὐσίας ὑποβελβῆσθαι τοῖς ἀποτελουμένοις τὰς αἰτάς ἄκασι κατὰ μέρη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ σωμάτων συμβίβησι τῶν ἠρωμένων ἀλληλουχεῖν; etc.**

The Stoic doctrine of sympathy was based upon their theory of the physical unity of the cosmos, but the passage just quoted from Marcus Aurelius is regarded by Zeller (*op. cit.* 3, 1, 3 ed., 170, n.) as a natural transition to the theory of the Neoplatonists—the inheritors of not a little of Stoicism—, who asserted a purely psychic connection between different objects, thereby robbing συμπάθεια of its

lucello meo aut meus quaesticulus cum caelo, terra, rerumque natura? XV. Concedam hoc ipsum, si vis, etsi magnam iacturam causae fecero, si ullam esse convenientiam naturae cum extis concessero. 35. Sed tamen eo concesso qui evenit ut is qui impetrire velit convenientem hostiam rebus suis immolet? Hoc erat quod ego non rebar posse dissolvi. At quam fe-

4. impetrire (imp-) Lambinus, Christ, Boiser, Müller, Thoresen, Heringa, impetire C.

theoretical and philosophical basis and more closely identifying it with popular and magical ideas; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 82-89; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 59-60; Schmidt, *Veteres Philosophi quid iudicaverint de Precibus* (1907), 44-46.

More primitive than the philosophic theory are popular beliefs and magic practices, which are elaborated in various works on folk-lore. Thus Frazer (*Golden Bough*, 1, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 52-219) discusses the whole question of sympathetic magic, which he divides into two branches, homoeopathic (a misapplication of the association of ideas by similarity, i.e., the assumption that similar things are the same) and contagious (a misapplication of the association of ideas by contiguity, i.e., the assumption that things once in contact are always in contact). To the former class belong the supposed influences of the heavenly bodies upon mundane life (*id.* 165-168).

Here, as in other fields, Stoic theory was applied to furnish justification for popular superstitions, and among the Greeks and Romans the practical applications of the doctrine were chiefly to be found—aside from pure magic—in the domain of medicine (cf. Weidlich, *op. cit.* 66-72; Tavenner, *op. cit.* 8-10; 113-123; Stemplinger, *Sympathieglaube u. Sympathiekuren in Altertum u. Neuzeit* (1919), passim; Lucian's *Philopseudes* parodies the practices used) and that of divination. For divination as a whole such an explanation might be employed and particularly in the case of astrology (the influence of the stars upon life on the earth appearing to differ only in degree from that of the sun, and, as in the examples just recounted, that of the

moon) and in that of weather-signs (cf. Weidlich, *op. cit.* 70-72), and it was here, especially, that the courageous scepticism of Panaetius (cf. 1, 6, n. (*negare*); 2, 88; 2, 97) is most noteworthy.

[411] 1. *fixsum*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*fixsum in extis*).

1. *lucello . . . quaesticulus*: diminutives of disparagement, to emphasize the contrast in importance between the macrocosm and the microcosm; cf. 2, 105, n. (*casas*); and the expression *neque agellos singulorum nec viticulas persequuntur* (sc. *di*) in *N. D.* 3, 86. For the word *lucellum* cf. 2 *Verr.* 3, 72; 3, 106; and other authors; for *quaesticulus* cf. *Fam.* 9, 16, 7. The general thought is like that of Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 4. *esse autem nimis quam ineptum absurdumque, ut, quoniam aestus oceani cum lunae curriculo congruit, negotium quoque alicuius, quod ei forte de aquae ductu cum rivalibus aut de communi pariete cum vicino apud iudicem est ut existimemus id negotium quasi habena quadam de caelo zinctum gubernari.*

2. *si vis*: for the use of this phrase in a concession for the sake of argument cf. *Fat.* 8.

2f. *fecero, si . . . concessero*: for the future perfect in both clauses of a condition see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 149-150.

3. *convenientiam*: cf. 2, 124; *N. D.* 3, 18; 3, 28; etc.

4. *qui evenit ut*: cf. 2, 38; also *qui fit ut* in 2, 37.

4. *impetrire*: cf. 1, 28, n. (*impetiriri*).

5. *rebar*: cf. 2, 5, n. (*rebar*).

5. *dissolvi*: cf. 2, 11, n. (*dissolvas*).

5. *at quam festive*: cf. *pro Reg.*

stive dissolvitur! Pudet me non tui quidem, cuius etiam memoriam admiror, sed Chryssippi, Antipatri, Posidoni, qui idem istuc quidem dicunt quod est dictum a te, ad hostiam deligendam ducem esse vim quandam sentientem atque divinam, quae toto confusa mundo sit. Illud vero multo etiam melius, quod et a te usurpatum est et dicitur ab illis: cum immolare quispiam velit, tum fieri extorum mutationem, ut aut absit aliquid aut supersit; deorum enim numini parere omnia. 36. Haec iam, mihi crede, ne aniculae quidem existimant. An censes, eundem vitulum si alius delegerit, sine capite iecur inventurum; si alius, cum capite? Haec decessio capitis aut accessio subitone fieri potest, ut se exta ad immolatoris fortunam accommodent? Non perspicitis aleam quandam esse in

2. Posidoni A¹B, Christ, possidoni A¹H, Posidonii O, Baier, Müller, Thorsen, Heeringa.

Deiot. 19: at quam festive crimen contexitur. The word *festive* appears also in 2, 107 below. On its use see Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 89-90. The word is, of course, ironical in spirit, like *melius* below.

1f. *memoriam admiror*: with this compliment upon memory cf. *N. D.* 1, 91: *enumerasti memoriter et copiose, ut mihi quidem admirari liberet in homine esse Romano tantam scientiam . . . philosophorum sententias*; also the long note of Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 34.

2. *Chryssippi*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*duobus libris*); 2, 144.

2. *Antipatri*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*duo Antipater*); 2, 144.

2. *Posidoni*: cf. introd. p. 25, n. 117; 1, 6, n. (*Posidonius*).

3. *dictum a te. etc.*: in 1, 118. In Marcus Cicero's review of his brother's statement there are some modifications; e.g., the more guarded suggestion *potest dux esse vis* has become the more categorical *ducem esse vim* (cf. introd. pp. 22-23 and n. 102; Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mill. Stoa* (1892), 246, n. 2), and the *vis quaedam sentiens* here appears as *vim quandam sentientem atque divinam* (cf. 1, 80, n. (*vim . . . divinam*); 1, 110, n. (*aeterno sensu*)).

5. *a te usurpatum*: also from 1, 118. This is repeated without essential misrepresentation save possibly in the last clause, where Quintus had said:

parvis enim momentis multa natura aut adfingit aut mutat aut detrahit, for which Marcus substitutes: *deorum enim numini parere omnia* (probably suggested by 1, 120: *quanto id deo est facilius, cuius numini parent omnia*, which, however, in its context applies particularly to the flight and sounds of birds, a natural rather than a supernatural phenomenon such as is here described).

8. *mibi crede*: a frequent phrase in Cicero; cf. 2, 37; Merguet, *Lex. s. d. phil. Schr.* 1 (1887), 561.

8. *aniculae*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*anili superstitione*); 2, 19, n. (*anile*).

9. *sine capite iecur*: cf. 1, 119, n. (*caput*); 2, 32; Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 219.

10. *decessio . . . accessio*: cf. *Off.* 3, 12; *Tim.* 18.

10. *subitō*: perhaps recalling that in 1, 118 such changes were suggested as possible *tum ipsum cum immolare velis*; cf. *subitō* a few lines below. With the repetition of *subitō* (five times in sections 36-37) cf. 1, 72, n. (*subitō ex tempore*).

10. *immolatoris*: apparently only here and in Prudent. *Cath.* 12, 48; *Hamartig.* praef. 49.

11. *aleam quandam*: cf. Ambr. *Ep.* 82, 8: *incerti eventus quaedam, ut dicitur vulgo, alea*; Otto, *Sprichwörter d. Römer* (1890), 12-13. The word *quandam* is added to tone down the boldness of the figure, which perhaps verged upon slang; cf. our

hostiis deligendis, praesertim cum res ipsa doceat? Cum enim tristissima exta sine capite fuerunt, [quibus nihil videtur esse dirius,] proxuma hostia litatur saepe pulcherrime. Ubi igitur illae minae superiorum extorum? Aut quae tam subito facta est deorum tanta placatio?

XVI. Sed adfers in tauri opimi extis immolante Caesare cor non fuisse; id quia non potuerit accidere ut sine corde victuma illa viveret, iudicandum esse tum interisse cor cum immolaretur. 37. Qui fit ut alterum intellegas, sine corde non potuisse bovem vivere, alterum non videas, cor subito non

1. tristissima C. *Christ; uncis incluserunt Holtzinger, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, primae victimas Madvig.*

2. quibus nihil videtur esse dirius C. *vulg.; uncis inclusi.*

2. dirius *vulg., durius C.*

expression 'it's a gamble,' or 'it's a lottery'; also, 1, 1, n. (*quandam*).

1. *tristissima*: for the meaning of the term in connection with omens cf. 2, 24, n. (*tristissimas*). The objection of Holtzinger to the word is ill-founded; Baiter, who follows him in bracketing it—as does Müller—, thinks that it is a gloss, arising, not from the next phrase, but from 2, 32: *si vero id non est inventum nihil putant accidere potuisse tristius*. Deiter (in *Philologus*, 46 (1888), 177) well suggests that *tristissima* is predicative, with a correspondence between it and the other superlative *pulcherrime*, but I can hardly agree with him that the clause *quibus . . . dirius* is not superfluous. Of the two possible glosses it seems far more likely that *quibus . . . dirius* is one written by a person who feared that the technical meaning of *tristissima* would not be understood rather than that *tristissima* is a gloss upon the more evident *quibus . . . dirius*. Another possible cure would be by transposition: *cum enim tristissima exta fuerunt (sine capite, quibus nihil videtur esse dirius) proxuma, etc.*, which is palaeographically easier than Madvig's emendation of *tristissima* to *primae victimae*. Yet, on the whole, the retention of *tristissima* and the deletion of *quibus . . . dirius* appears safest.

3. *litatur*: the etymology of the word is uncertain (cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), 436); it is used as a technical term, the opposite being *non*

perlitatum est; cf. the Greek *καλλαρειν*. For a discussion of its meaning see Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 418; also Blecher, *De Exispicio* (1905), 219-224; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 5. The process of *litatio* seems to have been for the purpose of determining the perfectness of the victim to be sacrificed, which Blecher (*op. cit.* 222-223) thinks was judged, in the Roman usage as distinguished from the Etruscan, by the color and position of the *exta* before they were detached. Thulin agrees that merely a yes or no answer, rather than a more elaborate reply, was sought by it. If the first victim was unsatisfactory another was slain; cf. Gell. 4, 6, 6: *si primis hostiis litatum non erat, aliae post easdem ductae hostiae caedebantur, quae quia, prioribus iam caesis, luendi piaculi gratia subdebantur et succidebantur, 'succidanae' nominatae*; Fest. p. 302 M.; Paul. p. 303 M. (somewhat different is the explanation of Serv. *Aen.* 2, 140); Wissowa, *op. cit.* 415, n. 7. With this sentence cf. 2, 38 *infra*.

3. *minae*: cf. 2, 38: *minentur*.

4. *quae*: it seems unnecessary to change this (with Delaruelle in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 250-251) to the adverb *qui*.

5. *adfers*: cf. 1, 119.

7. *qui fit ut*: cf. 2, 35, n. (*qui evenit ut*).

71. *intellegas . . . vivere*: cf. 1, 119:

potuisse nescio quo avolare? Ego enim possum vel nescire quae vis sit cordis ad vivendum, vel suspicari contractum aliquo morbo bovis exile et exiguum et vietum cor et dissimile cordis fuisse; tu vero quid habes quare putes, si paulo ante cor fuerit in tauro opimo, subito id in ipsa immolatione interisse? An quod aspexerit vestitu purpureo excordem Caesarem ipse corde privatus est? Urbem philosophiae, mihi crede, proditis, dum ca-

5. aspexerit C, Christ, Baiter, aspexit Marsus, O, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringo.

num igitur censes ullum animal quod sanguinem habeat sine corde esse posse? . . . eae partes . . . sine quibus victima illa vivere nequisset.

1. possum vel nescire: cf. *Ac.* 2, 58: *nobis salis est . . . non internoscere.*

3. quid habes quare: cf. 1, 85: *quid . . . habet . . . cur*; *Fin.* 1, 6; also 1, 85, n. (*quicquam aliud adfertur cur*) above.

4f. id in ipsa immolatione interisse: note the alliteration; cf. 1, 72, n. (*expeditionem exercitum educunt*).

5. aspexerit: the subjunctive is here justifiable as giving a fanciful reason ascribed by Marcus to his brother; cf. also the critical note of Christ.

5. vestitu purpureo: cf. 1, 119: *cum purpurea veste.*

5. excordem Caesarem: cf. *Shakesp. Jul. Caes.* act 2, sc. 2: Serv. They would not have you to stir forth today; / Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, / They could not find a heart within the breast. / Caes. The gods do this in shame of cowardice: / Caesar should be a beast without a heart / If he should stay at home today for fear. Tert. *Apol.* 30 remarks: . . . *ut mirer, cum hostiae probantur penes vos a viliosissimis sacerdotibus, cum cuius praecordia potius victimarum quam ipsorum sacrificantium examinantur.*

The word *excordem* is, of course, to be taken in the sense of *demens* rather than like the English 'heartless.' Cf. *N. D.* 2, 5: *quaeve anus tam excors . . . quae . . . extimescat* (cf. *Tusc.* 1, 11); *Tusc.* 1, 18: *aliis cor ipsum animus videtur; ex quo excordes, concordisque dicuntur, et Nasica ille prudens, bis consul, Corcu-*

lum, et (Enn. *Ann.* 331 Vahlen) *egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus; de Am.* 99; *de Dom.* 48: *tam excors tamque demens; pro Planc.* 71; *Phil.* 2, 18; 5, 5; Gell. 18, 4, 10: *stultos et excordes; etc.* In the original use of the word the heart (as earlier the liver and the midriff and later the brain) is thought of as the seat of intelligence. The word *excordem* is in part an attempt to dispose with a witticism of an argument deemed hardly worthy of serious answer (cf. the nibbling of the mice in 2, 59 *infra*), and herein lies the only justification for its insertion in the present passage, but also, and doubtless in larger measure, it is a parenthetical expression of Cicero's own reflections upon the political unwisdom displayed in Caesar's ambitions (cf. 1, 119, nn. (*sella aurea; purpurea veste*); *Off.* 1, 26: *temeritas C. Caesaris, qui omnia iura divina et humana pervertit propter eum, quem sibi ipse opinionis errore finxerat, principatum*), quite naturally felt by a political opponent soon after the *reparatura* of the Ides of March.

Davies (*ad loc.*) makes the suggestion that the purple (i.e., according to our views, dark red) robe was too exciting a stimulus for the bull—*taurum color rubicundus excitat*, as Seneca (*de Ira*, 3, 30, 1) had already recognized. But this need hardly have caused the disappearance of the heart!

6. urbem . . . castella: cf. *Rep.* 1, 3: *urbes magnas atque imperiosas, ut appellat Ennius, viculis et castellis praefereudas puto*; *Phil.* 5, 9. For the figurative use of *urbem* cf. that of *arcem* in 1, 10 (and note); for that of *castella* cf. *in*

stella defenditis; nam, dum haruspicinam veram esse vultis, physiologiam totam pervertitis. Caput est in iecore, cor in extis; iam abscedet, simul ac molam et vinum insperseris; deus id eripiet, vis aliqua conficiet aut exedet. Non ergo omnium interitus atque obitus natura conficiet, et erit

4. interitus atque obitus C, Christ, Baiser, interitus atque ortus vel ortus atque obitus Davisonis (qui *iamen in lextu* interitus atque obitus *conseruat*), interitus atque ortus O, ortus atque obitus Müller, Thoreson, Heringa.

Pison. 11; Liv. 3, 57, 2; Carm. Epigr. 91, 1 Bücheler.

1. *physiologiam*: cf. 1, 90, n. (*naturae rationem*). In 1, 90 the mantic art of Diviciacus is held by the Stoic to be dependent upon *physiologia*; here, for the follower of Carneades, there is a hopeless incompatibility between them; cf. Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus* (1905), 78.

2. *iam*: in the sense of 'instantly'; cf. Ter. *Ad.* 526; Petron. 16, 2: *aperi, inquit; iam scies*; and perhaps Cic. *Brut.* 171: *iam intelliges cum in Galliam veneris*.

3. *molam*: cf. Sen. *Thy.* 687-688: *non sacer Bacchi liquor / tangensque salsa victimam culler mola*; Val. Max. 2, 5, 5: *in sacrificiis mole quae vocatur ex farre et sale constat*; Paul. p. 110 M.: *immolare est mola, id est farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare*; p. 140 M.: *mola vocatur etiam far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae asperguntur*; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 133: *sal et far, quod dicitur mola salsa, qua et frons victimae et foci asperguntur et cultri*; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 57: *olim enim hostiae immolatae dicebantur mola salsa lactae*; 10, 541: *immolari proprie dicuntur hostiae, non cum caeduntur, sed cum accipiunt molam salsam*; Henzen, *Acta Fratr. Arval.* (1874), 92, no. 87: *eodem die . . . ille qui vice magistri fungebatur ture et vino in igne in foculo fecit immolavitque vino mola, etc.* (and see Henzen's note on p. 94); Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 417, n. 6.

3. *vinum*: in addition to the Arval inscription above quoted cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4, 60; 243-244: *quattuor . . . iuvenco / constituit frontique invergii vina sacerdos*; Ov. *Met.* 7, 594: *fundit (sc. sacerdos) purum inter cornua vinum*; Serv. *Aen.* 9, 641: *quotiens . . . aut tus aut vinum super victimam fundebatur, dicebant, etc.*

4. *interitus atque obitus*: many editors, from Davies to the present, have felt it necessary to emend so as to produce a group of words suggesting two opposing processes, parallel to *oriatur* and *occidat* just below. Against the acceptance of the MS reading by Christ in his edition Müller (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 624) favors *ortus atque interitus*, comparing 1, 128: *ortus, obitus, molusque*; *N. D.* 2, 19: *ortu aut obitu* (he might have added *N. D.* 2, 153: *ortus, obitus, cursusque*); *Fat.* 17: *ortus obitusque*. He further thinks that, if we emend, the order *ortus . . . obitus* is a more natural one than the *interitus atque ortus* of Davies.

If we look at what follows it seems natural to demand a contrast here between origin and destruction. But it should be noted that this sentence is closely and logically bound by *ergo* to the preceding, and there it is destruction rather than creation which is discussed (*deus eripiet, vis aliqua conficiet aut exedet*). If it be objected that *conficio* may have the meaning of 'produce' rather than that of 'destroy,' then, in our attempt to gain parallelism between *interitus atque obitus* and *oriatur . . . occidat* in what follows, we shall have destroyed that between the actions of *deus* and *vis aliqua* in this clause. Let *conficiet aut exedet*, then, express two closely related ideas, either one or both of which may parallel *eripiet*. As a result of this supernatural intervention nature would not bring all things to *interitus atque obitus* and there will be an exception to the generally recognized scientific law of the increatability and indestructibility of matter. This law is a general one, of which the two parts are complementary, hence the insertion at this point of the phrase *aut ex nihilo*

aliquid quod aut ex nihilo oriatur aut in nihilum subito occidat. Quis hoc physicus dixit umquam? Haruspices dicunt; his igitur quam physicis credendum potius existimas? XVII. 38. Quid? cum pluribus deis immolatur, qui tandem evenit ut litetur aliis, aliis non litetur? quae autem inconstantia deorum est ut primis minentur extis, bene promittant secundis?

oriatur, which is in itself unessential to the argument.

1. *ex nihilo oriatur*, etc.: this was denied from the early days of Greek philosophy. Thus Parmenides (the passage in Zeller, *Dic Philos. d. Gr.* 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 411, n. 2, from Simplicius is incorrectly cited, but names Parmenides as the first one known to the writer to have expressed the theory; fr. 8, lines 7 ff. Diels, if properly emended, may also be taken as an example), Empedocles (fr. 12, 1-3 Diels: *ἐκ τε γὰρ οὐδ' αὖμ' ἔκοντος ἀμύχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι / καὶ τ' ἂν ἕξατολίεσθαι ἀήρυστον καὶ ἄπυστον / αἰεὶ γὰρ τῆ γ' ἔσται, ὅπρ κέ τις αἰὲν ἐρείδῃ*), Anaxagoras (Simplic. *Phys.* 3, 4, p. 460, 10-12 Diels: *εἰς μὲν τὴν ταλαίτηρ ἕνωσαν ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας ἦλθεν ἠγούμενος μὴδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι*; Aët. 1, 3, 5: *ἔδοκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀπορώτατον εἶναι πῶς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος δύναται τι γίνεσθαι ἢ φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν*), Democritus (Diog. L. 9, 44: *μὴδὲν τε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γίνεσθαι μὴδὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄν φθείρεσθαι*; cf. Plut. *adv. Colot.* 8), the Epicureans (Epicurus ap. Diog. L. 10, 38: *οὐδὲν γίνεται ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος . . . καὶ εἰ ἐφθείρετο διὰ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπολώλει τὰ πράγματα*, κτλ.; Lucr. 1, 149-150: *principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumit, / nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus umquam* (cf. Pers. 3, 83-84); Cic. *Fat.* 18: *ut de nihilo quippiam fiat, quod nec ipsi* (i. e., Epicuro) *nec cuiquam physico placet*; Serv. *Georg.* 2, 49), and the Stoics (Zeno ap. Chalcid. in *Tim.* 292 = S. V. F. 1, no. 88; M. Aurel. 4, 4) seem to have agreed upon this principle. In fact Aristotle remarks (*Phys.* 1, 4, p. 187 a 34-35): *περὶ γὰρ ταύτης δημογνωμοσύσι τῆς δόξης ἄπαρτες οἱ περὶ φύσεως* (other Aristotelian passages are collected by Heidel in *Harv. Stud. in class. Philol.* 22 (1911), 116, n. 1; 117, n. 1). Cf. further Chalcid. in *Tim.* 281;

295; Boeth *Cons.* 5, praef.; Hildebrandt, *T. Lucretii de Primordiis Doctrina* (1864), 9-10; Zeller, *op. cit.* 411-412; Merrill on Lucr. 1, 150.

A contrary view was based by Hebrew and Christian writers upon such accounts as *Gen.* 1, 1 and *Ps.* 33, 6. Cf. *Ileb.* 11, 3: *πιστεῖ νοούμεν καταρτισθαι τοῦς αἰῶνας δῆματι Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλεπόμενα γεγενῆσθαι*; 2 *Pet.* 3, 5; Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 5 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 629 A); [Just.] *Quaest. Christ. ad Graec.* 3, 3 (*Patr. Gr.* 6, 1437 A); 4 (*Patr. Gr.* 6, 1444 ff.); *Orig. in Ioann.* 1, 18 (*Patr. Gr.* 14, 533); *Method. de Lib. Arbitr.* (*Patr. Gr.* 18, 253 C). In our passage, however, the appeal is to a Stoic disputant to adopt a reasoning consistent with the axioms of that scientific investigation to which his school had been, in contrast to the Academicism of Cicero himself, so deeply devoted. The argument, therefore, is parallel to other requests in this book for consistency of thought and to the appeals of Quintus Cicero to Marcus in the first book on the ground of personal experience or official position (cf. 1, 25, n. *vestra*).

2. *physicus*: one concerned with the investigation of *φύσις* or *natura*; cf. 1, 110, n. (*physica*). In *N. D.* 3, 92 *physica ratio* is offset to what is said *superstitiose atque aniliter*, as here the *physicus* and the *haruspices* are contrasted; cf. also 2, 33 supra; 2, 43; 2, 58.

3. *potius*: with the position cf. *Off.* 1, 75: *sit eius nomen quam Solonis illustrius*.

4. *qui . . . evenit ut*: cf. 2, 35.

4. *litetur*: cf. 2, 36, n. (*litatur*).

4f. *inconstantia deorum*: cf. 2, 127: *quid est inconstantius deo?*

5. *minentur*: cf. 2, 36: *minae . . . extorum*.

Aut tanta inter eos dissensio, saepe etiam inter proximos, ut Apollinis exta bona sint, Dianae non bona? Quid est tam perspicuum quam, cum fortuito hostiae adducantur, talia cuique exta esse qualis cuique obtigerit hostia? At enim id ipsum habet aliquid divini, quae cuique hostia obtingat, tamquam in sortibus, quae cui ducatur. Mox de sortibus; quamquam tu quidem non hostiarum casum confirmas sortium similitudine, sed infirmas sortis conlatione hostiarum. 39. An, cum in Aequimaelium misimus

6. casum, C, causam ex conl. Christi Baiter, Müller, Thoreson, Heringa.

7. Aequimaelium vulg., aequimelium AB, equimelium B.

1. **proximos**: doubtless not merely of gods to whom offerings are successively made but also, especially, of those near of kin, as the example of Apollo and Diana indicates.

1. **Apollinis exta**: a brachylogy, as Kayser notes, for *exta hostiae Apollinis immolandae*. But the phrase is less difficult of comprehension because the victim (including its *exta*) was doubtless thought of by Cicero as the property of the god to whom it was to be sacrificed.

If. **exta bona**: cf. 1, 85: *bonis extis*.

2. **quid est tam perspicuum quam**: cf. *N. D.* 2, 4: *quid . . . potest esse . . . tam . . . perspicuum . . . quam*; *Fin.* 3, 41: *nihil tam perspicuum videtur quam*; 5, 31: *quid est quod magis perspicuum sit quam, etc.*

4. **at**: cf. 1, 24, n. (*at*).

4. **aliquid divini**: cf. 2, 73: *divini quicquam*.

5. **cui ducatur**: the dative is, of course, one of reference rather than of agent, the lots often being drawn (as in 2, 86) by another than the person directly interested.

5. **mox de sortibus**: 2, 85-88.

6. **casum confirmas**: the MS reading is here perfectly intelligible. As stated in the next section and in 1, 118, there may be some divine power which guides one in the selection of an appropriate victim, just as one is thought of as guided to the drawing of an appropriate lot from an urn. The phrase *hostiarum casum* will then be an easily comprehensible brachylogy meaning 'the element of chance in the selection of victims.' There is no need to emend to *causam*, and in fact 2,

39 (*si casum in eo quoque dicis esse quasi sortem quandam*) favors the MS reading here.

6f. **infirmas sortis**: because the use of lots, if viewed by itself, appears to involve less that is contrary to the fundamental principles of natural science. If by a comparison between sortilege and extispicy it is implied that in the former, as in the latter, there is a supernatural setting aside of natural laws, rather than an appropriation of them for purposes of revelation (cf. 1, 34, n. (*divinitus*)), then belief in lots must be rejected, not merely on the ground of their casual character (as in 2, 85-86) but as inconsistent with scientific principles. If, on the other hand, pure chance be suspected of determining the selection of victims—and the *physicus*, Cicero thinks, would find it hard to deny this—, what greater element of divine guidance is to be expected in sortilege?

7. **Aequimaelium**: the ancient passages referring to this place are collected by Mommsen in *Hermes*, 5 (1871), 258, n. 2. *Cic. de Dom.* 101 remarks: *Sp. Maeli regnum adpetentis domus est complanata, et, quia illud 'aequum' accidisse populus Romanus 'Maelio' iudicavit, nomine ipso Aequimaeli iustitia poenae comprobata est* (cf. *Val. Max.* 6, 3, 1). With this tradition cf. *Varr. L. L.* 5, 157: *Aequimaelium, quod aequata Maali domus publico, quod regnum occupare voluit is; Liv.* 4, 16, 1 (439 B. C.): *domum deinde, ut monumento arca esset oppressae nefariae spei, dirui extemplo iussit. id Aequimaelium appellatum est; 24, 47, 15 (213 B. C.): Romae foedum incendium per duas noctes*

qui adferat agnum quem immolemus, is mihi agnus adfertur qui habet extra rebus accommodata, et ad eum agnum non casu sed duce deo servus deditur? Nam si casum in eo quoque esse dicis quasi sortem quandam cum deorum voluntate coniunctam, doleo tantam Stoicos nostros Epicureis inridendi sui facultatem dedisse; non enim ignoras quam ista derideant. 40. Et quidem illi facilius facere possunt; deos enim ipsos iocandi causa

3. esse dicis C. Christ, Baillet, Thoresen, dicis esse Salisb., O. Müller, Heringa.

ac diem unum tenuit; solo aequata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmentalem, cum Aequimaedio Iugarioque vico, etc.; 38, 28, 3 (189 v. c.): substructionem super Aequimaedium in Capitolio . . . locaverunt; Dion. Hal. 12, 4, 6: ἀναιρῶντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (Spurius Maelius) . . . ἡ βουλὴ . . . ἐψηφίσατο . . . τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπι δάφου κατασκαφῆναι. οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ἦν ἐν πολλαῖς ταῖς περὶ οἰκίας μόνος ἀνεμῶνος ἔρημος, καλούμενος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Αἰκνυήλιον ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς εἰποιμεν Ἰστέβον Μήλιον. αἰκνὸν γάρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ μηθεμίαν ἔχον ἔροχην καλεῖται· τόπος οὖν τινὰ Αἰκνὸν Μήλιον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐληφίτα, ἕστερον συμπαρόντων ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν μίαν ἑφορὰν τῶν ὀνομάτων Αἰκνυήλιον ἐκάλεσαν; Auct. de Vir. ill. 17, 5.

In spite of these traditions the derivation and proper spelling of the name are very uncertain; cf. Mommsen, *l.c.*; Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 1 (1898), 544, n. 1 (who suggests a popular conflation of two etymologies, one from *aequare* and the other from *equus Maelius*). Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*, 2 ed. (1901), 192, considers the place a piazza formed by the enlargement of the *Vicus Iugarius*, and our passage may indicate that it was, as Mommsen remarks, the spot where animals were kept as a preliminary to sacrifice on the Capitol. Yet that other animals than those intended for immediate sacrifice on the Capitol were to be found there seems to be indicated by the supposed divine intervention leading to the selection of a particular one, and the sentence reads as though the sacrifice might be one of a less formal and more private character than a state ceremony on the Capitol (for the modest rank of the lamb among sacrificial animals cf.

Hor. Carm. 2, 17, 32: nos humilem feriemus agnam). We may infer, then, that the Aequimaedium was a market for live sheep for sacrifice, as the *Forum Boarium* was used for the sale of cattle, conveniently situated, as Ernesti suggests, like the market of sacrificial animals at Jerusalem, at the entrance of the temple.

2. duce deo: cf. 1, 118.

3. quasi sortem quandam: cf. 1, 1, n. (*quandam*).

4. Stoicos nostros: a playful expression; cf. *Tusc.* 1, 78: numquid igitur est causae quin amicos nostros Stoicos dimittamus? Cicero is also perhaps sorry to see the Stoics, with whose ethical theories he had so much sympathy, exposed to the ridicule of the Epicureans for whose views he had far less liking (cf. 1, 5, n. (*Epicurum*)). The typical Epicurean feeling of humorous contempt for Stoic tenets is to be seen through *N. D.* 1, 18-56; 2, 162: nihil tam inridet Epicurus quam praedictionem rerum futurarum; *Rep.* 6, 3; *Luc. Alex.* 25: Ἐπικούρου . . . πάντα ταῦτα ἐν γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ τῖβιμενος.

5. inridendi sui: for Cicero's use of this construction in the plural cf. Müller in *Philologus.* 17 (1861), 104; Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 124; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 745-746.

6. iocandi causa: with this charge cf. *N. D.* 1, 123: at etiam liber est Epicuri de sanctitate. ludimur ab homine non tam faceto quam ad scribendi licentiam libero; 2, 46: hic quam volet Epicurus iocatur, homo non aptissimus ad iocandum minimeque resipiens patriam; 2, 74: ita salem istum quo caret vestra natio (i.e., the Epicureans), in inridendis nobis nolito

induxit Epicurus perlucidos et perflabilis et habitantis tamquam inter duos lucos sic inter duos mundos propter metum ruinarum, eosque habere

consumere; 3, 3: Epicurus . . . ludere videtur.

1. *perlucidos*, etc.: cf. *N. D.* 1, 75: *illud video pugnare te, species ut quaedam sit deorum quae nihil concreti habeat, nihil solidi . . . sitque pura levis perlucida*; 1, 123: *neque enim tam desipiens fuisset ut homunculi similem deum fingeret, liniammentis duntaxat extremis, non habitu solido, membris hominis praeditum omnibus, usu membrorum ne minimo quidem, exilem quendam atque perlucidum, nihil cuiquam tribuentem, nihil gratificantem, omnino nihil curantem, nihil agentem. quae natura primum nulla esse potest, idque videns Epicurus re tollit, oratione relinquit deos*; 2, 59: *Epicurus monogrammos deos et nihil agentes commentus est*; Dionysius ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 14, 27, p. 783 c: *κατεστηχώς Ἀθηναίους (sc. δ' Ἐπικούρου) ὡς μὴ δοκοῦν τοῦθ' ἔπερ ἦν ἄθεος εἶναι, κενὰς αὐτοῖς ἀνυποστάτων θεῶν τερατεωσάμενος ἐξωγράφησε σματάς*. For the Epicurean views which led to these charges see Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 232-238 (especially the passage from *N. D.* 1, 48-49), and for a discussion of Cicero's misunderstanding of the probable meaning of Epicurus cf. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schriften*, 1 (1877), 76-84. Lucretius (5, 148-149: *tenuis enim natura deum longaeque remota / sensibus ab nostris animi vix mente videtur*; 5, 154) refers to the extreme fineness or subtlety of the gods. Adversaries of the Epicureans charged that Epicurus had admitted the existence of the gods only to avoid the odium attaching to atheism (cf. *N. D.* 1, 85; 1, 87; 1, 123; 3, 3; Plut. *non posse suaviter vivi*, 21, p. 1102 b; Atticus ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 15, 5, p. 800 c), but see the defence by Zeller-Wellmann, *Die Philos. d. Gr.* 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 445; Hadzits in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 73-88; Bailey in *Proc. of the class. Assoc. (Engl.)* 19 (1922), 9-25.

1. *perflabilis*: a rare word, appearing later in Solinus, Palladius, et al.

1f. *inter duos lucos*: cf. Liv. 1, 8, 5: *locum qui nunc saeptus descendensibus inter duos lucos est asylum aperit* (sc. Romulus); Vell. 1, 8, 5: *eam* (sc. urbem) *asylum factum inter duos lucos auxit*; Dion. Hal. 2, 15, 4: *τὸ γὰρ μεταξὺ χωρίων τοῦ τε Καπιτωλίου καὶ τῆς Ἄκρας, ὃ καλεῖται νῦν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον μαθῆριον διὐκὸν θρυμῶν, κτλ.*; Ov. *Fast.* 3, 429-430; Prop. 4, 8, 31; C. I. L. I, 2 ed., p. 233 (*Fasti Praenestini*): *VEDIOVIS INTER DVOS LVCOVS*; Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*, 2 ed. (1901), 130; Stara-Tedde in *Bull. d. Comm. arch. com.* 33 (1905), 211-214; Platner, *Topogr. and Monum. of anc. Rom.*, 2 ed. (1911), 305. As the occupants of the asylum of Romulus were thought of as having lived safe from interference in this saddle between the two summits of the Capitoline Hill (near the present statue of Marcus Aurelius), so the gods of Epicurus found their only security in the intermundane spaces. Is any comparison between the respective occupants of these asylums—other than their general feebleness—intended?

2. *inter duos mundos*: cf. Diog. L. 10, 88-89 (the view of Epicurus): *κόσμος ἔστι περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐρανοῦ ἄστρα τε καὶ πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα περιέχουσα . . . ὅτι ὅτε καὶ τοιοῦτοι κόσμοι εἰσὶν ἄπειροι* (cf. Cic. *N. D.* 1, 53; *Fin.* 1, 21) *τὸ πλεῖστον ἔστι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ τοιοῦτος δύναται κόσμος γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ μετακόσμῳ, ὃ λίγιστον μεταξὺ κόσμων διάστημα, ἐν πολυκίνον τόπῳ*; *N. D.* 1, 18: *Velleius . . . tamquam modo ex deorum concilio et ex Epicuri intermundis descendisset* (for the term *intermundia* cf. *Fin.* 2, 75); Sen. *de Ben.* 4, 19, 2: *hunc igitur (sc. deum) insaeptum ingenti quidem et inexplicabili muro divisumque a contactu et a conspectu mortalium non habes quare verearis; nulla illi nec tribuendi nec nocendi materia est; in medio intervallo huius et alterius caeli desertus, sine homine, sine re, ruinas mundorum supra se circumque se cadentium evitat non exaudiens vota nec nostri curiosus*; 7, 31, 3: *alius illos (sc.*

putat eadem membra quae nos nec usum ullum habere membrorum. Ergo hic circumitione quadam deos tollens recte non dubitat divinationem tollere; sed non, ut hic sibi constat, item Stoici. Illius enim deus nihil habens nec sui nec alieni negoti non potest hominibus divinationem impertire; vester autem deus potest non impertire, ut nihilo minus mundum

4. negotii C. vulg.

deos) extra mundum suum proicit; Quintil. *Inst.* 7, 3, 5: *Epicurus, qui humanam ei formam locumque inter mundos dedit*; Atticus ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 15, 5, p. 800 b: *ὡςπερ γὰρ ἀπογοδοὶ θύνασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποσχίσθαι τῆς ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονίας εἰς ταύτῃν ὄντας αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ εἰς ἄλλοδατὴν ἀπίκισα, καὶ ἔξω του τοῦ κόσμου καθύρτους*; Hippol. *Philosoph.* 22, 3 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 572): *καθῆσθαι γὰρ* (sc. Ἐπίκουρος φησι) *τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς μετακοσμίοις οὕτω καλουμένοις ὅπ' αὐτοῦ ἔξω γὰρ τι τοῦ κόσμου ἀληθέριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἔθετο εἶναι λεγόμενον τὰ μετακόσμια*; Aug. *Ep.* 118, 28: *Epicurus . . . ponit . . . deos quos humana forma non in aliquo mundo sed extra mundos atque inter mundos constituit*; and Lucr. 3, 18 speaks of the *sedes quietae* of the gods, while in 5, 146-147 he says: *illud item non est ut possis credere, sedes / esse deum sanctus in mundi partibus illis*. For the tranquil life of the Epicurean gods see also 2, 104, n. (*qui negat, etc.*) below.

[420] 2. *metum ruinarum*: cf. Sen. *de Ben.* 4, 19, 2 (quoted above). The *ruinae* are doubtless those of the *innumerabiles mundi qui et oriantur et intereant cotidie* (*Fin.* 1, 21).

[420] 2f. *habere . . . membra*: the Epicurean anthropomorphic view of the gods is set forth in *N. D.* 1, 46-50 and in the passages collected by Usener, *op. cit.* 238-241.

1. *nec usum . . . habere*: in *N. D.* 1, 123 Cotta objects to the Epicurean god as *membris hominis praeditum omnibus, usu membrorum ne minimo quidem*; cf. 3, 3.

2. *circumitione*: in 2, 127 in the sense of a 'round-about course' in *de Inv.* 1, 20 used as here: *insinuat est oratio quadam dissimulatione et circumitione*

obscure subiens auditoris animum. There is probably a contrast between the word in this clause and *recte* in the next.

2. *deos tollens*: the constant accusation brought by the opponents of Epicureanism; cf. the note on *perlicidos, etc.*, above; *N. D.* 1, 85; 1, 123.

2f. *divinationem tollere*: cf. 1, 5, n. (*Epicurum*).

4. *negoti, etc.*: cf. Diog. L. 10, 139 (= Usener, *Epicurea*, 71; the first of the *τίρια δόξαι*, according to *N. D.* 1, 85); τὸ μακρίων καὶ ἀφάρτων ὄντε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχω ὄντε ἄλλω παρέχω; *N. D.* 1, 45: *vers exposita illa sententia est ab Epicuro, quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere ipsum negotii quicquam nec exhibere alteri*; 1, 51; 1, 85; 1, 102; 1, 123; *Leg.* 1, 21; *Off.* 3, 102; *Lucr.* 2, 646-651: *omnis enim per se divini natura necessest / immortalis aetvo summa cum pace fruatur / semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque longe; / nam privata dolore omni, privata periculis, / ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri, / nec bene promeritis capitis neque tangitur ira*; 5, 82: *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum, etc.* (cf. *Hor. Sat.* 1, 5, 101); *Lact. de Ira*, 4, 2: *ex hoc, inquit* (sc. *Epicurus*), *beatus est* (sc. *deus*) *et incorruptus, quia nihil curat neque ipse habet negotium neque alteri exhibet*; 17, 1; Hippol. *Philosoph.* 22, 3 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 572): *ἡθεσθαί τε καὶ ἡσυχάζειν ἐν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐφόρῳσῃ καὶ ὄντε αὐτὸν πράγματα ἔχω ὄντε ἄλλω παρέχω*; and for other evidence cf. Usener, *op. cit.* 241-244.

4. *non potest*: note the logical antithesis between *non potest* and *potest non*. The latter possibility Quintus had attempted to disprove, by the long system of eliminations in 1, 82-83.

5. *vester deus*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 52; 1, 101; 1, 104; 1, 110; 1, 113; 1, 114.

regat et hominibus consulat. 41. Cur igitur vos induitis in eas captiones quas numquam explicetis? Ita enim, cum magis properant, concludere solent: 'Si di sunt, est divinatio; sunt autem di; est ergo divinatio.' Multo est probabilius: 'non est autem divinatio; non sunt ergo di.' Vide quam temere committant ut, si nulla sit divinatio, nulli sint di. Divinatio enim perspicue tollitur; deos esse retinendum est.

XVIII. 42. Atque hac extispicum divinatione sublata omnis haruspicina sublata est. Ostenta enim sequuntur et fulgura. Valet autem in fulguribus observatio diurna, in ostentis ratio plerumque coniecturaque adhibetur. Quid est igitur quod observatum sit in fulgure? Caelum in sedecim partis dividerunt Etrusci. Facile id quidem fuit, quattuor quas

[421] *Sf. mundum . . . hominibus*: for the arguments by which the Stoics passed from divine care for the universe to similar provision for the individual see *N. D.* 2, 164-165, and Mayor's note.

1. *hominibus consulat*: with the phrase as applied to the gods cf. 2, 125; *N. D.* 1, 122; 2, 165; 3, 166; 3, 70.

1. *vos induitis in*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 18; *Philo* . . . *in id ipsum se induit*; 2 *Verr.* 2, 101.

2. *cum magis properant*: i.e., what follows is a compression of 1, 82-83; cf. also 1, 10. For Stoic compression of statement, which at times seemed to make arguments less effective—or less overwhelming—than they would otherwise have been, cf. *N. D.* 2, 20; Quintil. *Inst.* 2, 20, 7 (following Cic. *Fin.* 2, 17; *Orat.* 113); Smiley, *Latinitas and EAAHNEMOZ* (1906).

3. *si di sunt, etc.*: the reverse of this argument is found in *N. D.* 2, 12: *quorum enim interpretes sunt, eos ipsos esse certe necesse est; deorum autem interpretes sunt; deos igitur esse fateamur.*

4. *probabilius*: cf. 2, 28, n. (*persuaderi, etc.*).

4. *non est autem, etc.*: the use of *autem* as introducing a minor premiss shows that the full form of the anti-Stoic version would be: *si di sunt, est divinatio; non est autem divinatio; non sunt ergo di*, the Stoics imperilling their

cause by the rash form of the major premiss.

5. *committant ut*: for parallels cf. Merguet, *Lex. s. d. phil. Schriften*, 1 (1887), 453.

6. *retinendum est*: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 107: *tenendum est . . . nihil curandum esse post mortem.*

7f. *extispicum . . . ostenta . . . fulgura*: for the threefold division of haruspicine cf. 1, 12, n. (*extispicum aut monstra, etc.*).

7f. *sublata, etc.*: cf. 2, 123, n. (*qua sublata tollitur*).

9. *observatio diurna*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*diurna observatio*); *Leg.* 3, 43: *est autem boni auguris meminisse . . . caeli . . . partes sibi definitas esse traditas.*

9. *ratio . . . coniecturaque*: cf. 1, 42; 1, 128; *Ac.* 2, 42.

11. *sedecim partis*: cf. 1, 31, n. (*in quattuor partis*); Plin. *N. H.* 2, 143: *in sedecim partes caelum in eo spectu divisere Tusci. prima est a septentrionibus ad aequinoctialem exortum, secunda ad meridiem, tertia ad aequinoctialem occasum, quarta obinet quod est reliquum ab occasu ad septentriones. has iterum in quaternas divisere partes, ex quibus octo ab exortu sinistras, totidem e contrario appellaverunt dexteris. ex iis maxime dirae quae septentriones ab occasu attingunt. itaque plurimum refert unde venerint fulmina et quo concesserint*; Serv. *Aen.* 8, 427: *toto caelo, id est ab omni parte caeli: nam dicunt physici de*

nos habemus duplicare, post idem iterum facere, ut ex eo dicerent fulmen qua ex parte venisset. Primum id quid interest? Deinde quid significat? Nonne perspicuum est ex prima admiratione hominum, quod tonitrua iactusque fulminum extimuisent, credidisse ea efficere rerum omnium

sedecim partibus caeli iaci fulmina . . . toto caelo, hoc est de diversis partibus caeli, scilicet sedecim; Mart. Cap. 1, 45: *nam in sedecim discerni dicitur caelum omne regiones* (and in 1, 45-61 he divides the sky into 16 *sedes* or 'houses,' belonging to different divinities; cf. Thulin, *Die Götter des Mart. Cap. u. d. Bronzeleber von Piacenza* (1906), especially p. 19; *id.*, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 1 (1906), 15, who points out that the marginal divisions of the Etruscan bronze liver found at Piacenza (cf. 1, 16, n. (*fixum in extis*) above) are sixteen in number; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 545, n. 5, and works there cited). Pliny's division (*N. H.* 10, 21) of the kinds of augural hawks into sixteen classes, if read in its context, hardly justifies the view of Nissen (*Orientalion*, 1 (1906), 275) that those divisions correspond to the sixteen regions. The sixteenfold division is found among no other people and is to be regarded as an Etruscan invention (Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, I. c.), perhaps under the influence of oriental astrological ideas.

[422] III. *facile*, etc.: Cicero carelessly, as an augur contemptuous of the details of the rival art of the haruspices, assumes the superior age of the Roman usage and concludes the Etruscan to be simply a refinement upon it (cf. Nissen, *op. cit.* 274), while Pliny (*N. H.* 2, 138) thinks of the Roman usage in regard to thunderbolts as abridged from the Etruscan. The difference in the matter of thunder interpretation is perhaps typical of the greater detail demanded by the Etruscans from their art in cases where the Romans sought merely a choice between two possibilities; cf. Regell, *De Augurum publ. Libris*, 1 (1878), 5.

I. *post idem iterum facere*: Nissen (*op. cit.* 275) would apparently hold that

in this manner the divisions made by Attus Navius (1, 31) were produced, but, as there pointed out (n. on *in quattuor partis*), it seems more likely that the subsequent divisions were by lines at right angles rather than radiating from a common centre.

2. *qua ex parte*: not only this but also the direction toward which the lightning passed was noted by the Etruscans; cf. 2, 45 below; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 143 (quoted above); Thulin, *op. cit.* 1, 16-17 (who cites additional instances).

3. *admiratione*: cf. 2, 49: *N. D.* 2, 75 (among reasons for believing in divine providence): *tertius est locus qui ducitur ex admiratione rerum caelestium atque terrestrium* (cf. 2, 65).

4. *extimuisent*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 16: *de perturbationibus caelestibus et maritimis et terrenis non possumus dicere, cum ea fiant, non esse multos qui illa metuant et a dis immortalibus fieri existiment;* Lucr. 1, 151-154: *quippe ita formido mortalisi continet omnis, / quod multa in terris fieri caeloque tuentur / quorum operum causas nulla ratione videre / possunt ac fieri divino numine rentur;* 6, 50-55; 6, 86-91: *ne trepides caeli divisis partibus amens, / unde volans ignis pervenerit aut in utram se / verterit hinc partem . . . / quorum operum causas nulla ratione videre / possunt ac fieri divino numine rentur;* Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* 9, 24: *οτι οτι απο των γιγνομινων κατα τον ασμον παραδδξων υποποσησαστες εις εννοιαν ημας ιληλιθεναι θαων' αφ' ηι φαίνεται ειναι δδξηι και ο Δημόκριτος. ορώντες γάρ, φησι, τὰ ἐν τοῖς μεταώροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀσθράκων, καθάπερ βροχὰς καὶ ἀστρατὰς κεραυνοὺς τε καὶ ἀστρων συνόδους ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψειν ἰδεματούοντο θεοῖς οὐρανοῖς τούτων αἰτίας εἶναι;* Petron. fr. 27, 1-3 Bücheler: *primus in orbe deos fecit timor* (cf. Stat.

praepotentem Iovem? Itaque in nostris commentariis scriptum habemus: 'Iove tonante, fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.' 43. Hoc fortasse

Theb. 3, 661) *ardua caelo / fulmina cum caderent discussaque moenia flammis / atque ictus flagraret Athos, etc.* Mayor (on *N. D.* 2, 14) compares also *Ps.* 29 and *Job*, 38.

1. *praepotentem*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 4: *illum vero et Iovem et dominatorem rerum . . . et praesentem ac praepotentem deum*; 2, 77; *Leg.* 1, 23.

1. *nostris commentariis*: that is, those of the augurs; cf. 1, 72, n. (*augurales*); Regell, *De Augurum publ. Libris*, 1 (1878), 40; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2323-2324. See Fest. p. 317 M.: *sanguinalis avis ap . . . <com>mentaris augura<libus>*; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 398: *multi tamen adserunt cygnos inter augurales aves non inveniri neque auguralibus commentariis eorum nomen inlatum*. The *XVviri* also had *commentarii*, as we learn from Censor. 17, 10; 17, 11.

1. *scriptum habemus*: for the phrase cf. 1, 28; 1, 100.

2. *Iove tonante, etc.*: cf. 2, 74; in *Vat.* 20: *sed quaero, si ad cetera vulnera quibus rem publicam putasti deleri hanc quoque mortiferam plagam inflexisses auguratus tui, utrum decreturus fueris, id quod augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreverunt, Iove fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse, an, quia tu semper sic egisses, auspicia fueris augur dissoluturus?* *Phil.* 5, 7: *illa auspicia non egent interpretatione; Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esset quis ignorat?* (cf. 5, 8; 5, 15); *N. D.* 2, 65: *hunc (sc. Iovem nuncupanti) augures nostri cum dicunt; Iove fulgente (fulgurante corr. ex fulgente cod. F) tonante; dicunt enim caelo fulgente et tonante*; *Liv.* 40, 42, 10: *ultimum de caelo quod comitia turbaret intervenit*; *Dio Cass.* 38, 13, 4: *τούτο τε οὐκ ἰδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἢ ἐτέρωτε πρᾶξις τινε, καὶ ἐγγύστε μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶ καθ' ἕκαστον οἰωνοσκόπος ἐπαγομένον, ἢ ἐκώλυον, ἢ ἀνεχειρίζετό τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ θήμου διαψήσεις πάντων*

ἐπίσχεον, καὶ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ διοσημία, εἴτε ἐπαισιῶν εἴτε ἐξαισιῶν ἐγένετο; App. *B. C.* 1, 30: *ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς δχλος ἔβδη ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροστῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲν ἐπι κροῦν* (cf. 1, 78); *Tac. Hist.* 1, 18: *quartum Idus Ianuarias, foedum imbribus diem, tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum turbaverant. observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis non tenuit Galbam*; *Repell, op. cit.* 1, 40-41; *Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 80, n. 3; *Wissowa in P.-W.* s.v. *Augures* (1896), 2335; *id., Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 533, n. 1. Very suitable is the suggestion of Valetton (in *Mnemosyne*, 21 (1891), 78-79) that the reason assigned by Cicero in 2, 74 below is incorrect, and that in reality this form of check upon actions taking place *sub divo* (such as *comitia*, public assemblies, and certain parts of the marriage ceremony, as in *Serv. Aen.* 4, 161; 4, 166; 4, 339) is due in origin to the difficulty and inadvisability of attempting to carry on such actions in the midst of a tempest (cf., for example, *Liv.* 40, 59, 5: *comitia tempestas diremit*). On such public occasions if the storm did not actually disperse the assemblage it might drive away such a number that the quorum or the proper attendance of particular classes would be seriously endangered (cf. *Leg.* 3, 27: *omnibus magistratibus auspicia et iudicia dantur, iudicia ut esset populi potestas ad quam provocaretur, auspicia ut molles impetiles comitiis probabiles impedirent morae; saepe enim populi impetum iniustum auspiciis di immortales represserunt*; *Dio Cass.* 5, ap. Zonar. 7, 19: *ἐλαττούμενοι οὐκ οὐ εἰσατρίβαι οὐτε βέβαιον συνελθόντων οὐτε τὰ πρᾶγματα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιοῦν παντάπασι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐπιμαρχου οἰωνοσκοπία ἐν συλλόγους χρῆσθαι δεδωκάσι: ὁ λόγος μὲν τιμῆς αὐτοῖς ἔφερε καὶ ἀξίωμα . . . ἔργον δὲ κώλυμα ἦν, ἵνα ἢ βέλους οἱ ἐπιμαρχοὶ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οὐκ ἐπιμαρχου πρᾶξις, ἀλλὰ προφάσει τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας ἐστω οὐ ἐμποδίζοντο*). Like

rei publicae causa constitutum est; comitiorum enim non habendorum causas esse voluerunt. Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optimum auspicium habemus, si sinistrum fuit. Sed de auspiciis alio loco, nunc de fulgoribus.

other forms of public divination this one was much abused for merely political ends. For similar customs among the Greeks cf. Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *Der attische Process*, 2 ed. (1887), 945, and n. 511; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigien glaube u. d. Prodigienwesen der Gr.* (1911), 22, and nn. 5-6; see also Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 490-492.

[424]2. **tonante**: for the so-called 'meteorological' verbs (*tonat, fulgurat, fulget* (as in 2, 149), *pluit, ningit, grandinat*, etc.; cf. the Greek βροντῆ, ἀστράπται, ὕα, etc.) see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 3-4; and especially Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.* 4 ed. (1913), 656, and works there cited. The purely impersonal use is probably the original one; later the name of a god, usually Jupiter, is sometimes employed, as here. Thus in *Phil.* 5, 7; 5, 8; and *N. D.* 2, 65, Jupiter appears as the subject. Augustine (*Enarrat. in Ps.* 9, 1) remarks: *ita enim dicimus 'pluit,' 'screnat,' 'tonat,' et si qua sunt talia, nec addimus quis id faciat; quia omnium mentibus sponte sese offert excellentia facientis nec verba desiderat.* For the connection of Jupiter with thunder, so commonly asserted as to need no citation of examples, see the explanation given by *Plin. N. H.* 2, 82.

[424]2. **tonante, fulgurante**: for examples of this *asyndeton sollemne* of pairs of words in official and religious formulae see Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 149-152.

1. **rei publicae causa**: cf. 2, 28, n. (*rei publicae causa, etc.*); 2, 74; 2, 75.

2. **esse voluerunt**: cf. 1, 4. The subject is here indefinite; perhaps *maiores* is understood, though the advantages seem to have accrued chiefly to the

patricians rather than to the state as a whole.

2. **solum**: an adverb, with reference to *comitiorum*, not an adjective modifying either *vitium* or *fulmen*.

2. **vitium**: cf. 1, 29, n. (*vitio*); 1, 33.

3. **optimum auspicium**: cf. 2, 74; *de Sen.* 11; *Plaut. Stich.* 459; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 693; *hoc autem auspicium cum de caelo sit, verbo augurum maximum appellatur*; *Dion. Hal.* 2, 5, 5 calls it κρᾶτιστον.

3. **sinistrum**: cf. 2, 82, n. (*laevum*).

4. **alio loco**: 2, 70-83. The phrase is appropriate for a written work rather than for a supposed dialogue; cf. the use of *ut supra dixi* in 1, 72. Sander (*Quaestiones de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 13-15), following the lead of Hottinger, objects to this passage on the ground that Cicero is promising to discuss *alio loco* the question of auspices (of which *fulgora* form one kind) and at this point the matter of *fulgora*. The answer to this objection is hardly that of Kayser, that, in the use of *auspicium* and *auspiciis*, Cicero is here speaking in a careless and familiar style, nor yet the rather summary one of Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 565 (cf. Sander's rejoinder in *Philologus*, 75 (1919), 387), but rather it is to be sought in the larger structure of the work. In 2, 28 ff. Cicero has been discussing *haruspicine*. At the beginning of 2, 42 *extispicine* has already been disposed of and *ostenta* and *fulgora* remain, of which the latter is treated first, our passage being included in this treatment. Now it happens that *fulgora*, unlike *extispicine*, are common to both the *haruspices* (of Etruscan origin) and the Roman augurs. In 2, 42, from a guess as to the origin of fulgural observation and its

XIX. Quid igitur minus a physicis dici debet quam quicquam certi significari rebus incertis? Non enim te puto esse eum qui Iovi fulmen fabricatos esse Cyclopas in Aetna putes. 44. Nam esset mirabile quo modo id Iuppiter totiens iaceret, cum unum haberet; nec vero fulminibus homines quid aut faciendum esset aut cavendum moneret. Placet enim Stoicis eos anhelitus terrae qui frigidi sint, cum fluere coeperint, ventos

ascription to Jupiter as a cause, he is led, by way of illustration, to cite what the Roman augural art states upon the subject (*nostris commentariis*), but with the sentence under discussion he realizes that he is trespassing upon a matter which belongs also to augury (and which is actually treated in 2, 74), and so leaves auspices for future discussion and confines himself to the narrower field of *fulgora*.

1. *physicis*: cf. 2, 37, n. (*physicus*).

If. *certi . . . incertis*: here it is perhaps even less the scientist than the Academic speaking.

2ff. *non enim . . . moneret*: these words are to be taken as parenthetical, and the words *nam esset . . . haberet* constitute a second parenthesis within the larger one.

2. *esse eum qui*, etc.: cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 35.

2. *Iovi*: for the connection of Jupiter and the thunderbolt see especially Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* 60 (1905), 1-30; Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Relig. and Folklore* (1911), 13-41; 111-112.

3. *Cyclopas in Aetna*: for literary and archaeological evidence for this myth see Roscher in his *Ausf. Lexikon*, 2, 1 (1897), 1676-1682; also Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 139 (=S. V. F. 1, no. 118): Ζήρων . . . τὰ δόματα τούτων (sc. Κυκλώπων) ἐξέθετο Βρόντην τε καὶ Στερόπην, κτλ. The author of the *Aetna* (line 40) says of this story: *turpe est sine pignere carmen*, and Min. Fel. *Oct.* 24, 6, remarks: *flammas teri fulminis nec Cyclops potuerit imitari nec ipse Iuppiter non vereri*.

4. *cum unum haberet*: Cicero here quibbles; the thunderbolt as a symbol doubtless does usually appear in the

singular, though often in clusters (cf. *Aen. Tact.* 33, 2; Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orient. u. gr. Kunst.* (1906) 14 ff.), and is sometimes in literature so cited (e.g., *Luc. Deor. Dial.* 7, 3), but at other times we hear of more than one, e.g., *Virg. Georg.* 4, 170-171: *ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis quum properant*; and the *fulmen* of *Aen.* 8, 426-428 is apparently not the only one but simply the one then under construction (cf. *Serv. ad loc.*: *faciebant fulmen in eorum similitudinem quae Iuppiter iacit toto caelo*). If the Cyclopes are thought of as constantly laboring on the fabrication of thunderbolts it is doubtless to keep up the supply!

5. *faciendum . . . cavendum*: Caecina ap. *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 39 distinguishes various kinds of *fulgora*, including the *consiliarium . . . cum aliquid in animo versantibus aut suadetur fulminis ictu aut dissuadetur . . . status est ubi quietis nec agentibus quicquam nec cogitantibus quidem fulmen intervenit et aut minatur aut promittit aut monet*, etc.: 2, 49: *monitoria* (sc. *fulgora*) *quibus docetur quid cavendum sit*; and cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.* 1 (1906), 26.

6. *Stoicis*: for their views cf. *Diog. L.* 7, 153-154: ἀστραπὴν δὲ ἐξαιὶν νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων ὑπὸ πνεύματος, ὡς Ζήρων ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ δλου βροτῆν δὲ τῶ τούτων ψόφου ἐκ παρατρίψεως ἢ ῥήξεως· κεραιρὸν δὲ ἐξαιὶν σφοδρὰν μετὰ πολλῆς βίας πιπτοῦσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, νεφῶν παρατριβομένων ἢ ῥηγνυμένων· οἱ δὲ συντροφήν πυρῶδους ἀέρος βιαίως καταφερομένην (cf. *Aët. Plac.* 3, 3, 12, for a similar view ascribed to Chrysipus).

The very different opinion of Posidonius is set forth by *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 54: *e terra terrenisquae omnibus pars umida*

esse; cum autem se in nubem induerint eiusque tenuissimam quamque partem coeperint dividere atque disrumpere idque crebrius facere et vehementius, tum et fulgures et tonitrua existere; si autem nubium conflictu

effatur, pars sicca et fumida; haec fulminibus alimentum est, illa imbribus. quicquid in aëra sicci fumosique pervenit id includi se nubibus non fert sed rumpit claudentia; inde est sonus quem nos tonitrum vocamus. . . tonitrua nihil aliud sunt quam cili aëris sonitus, qui fieri, nisi dum aut teritur aut rumpitur, non potest. Many other views are collected and the whole subject is discussed at great length by Seneca throughout book 2; cf. Arist. *Meteor.* 2, 9, p. 369 a 10 ff.; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 133-146; Aët. *Plac.* 3, 2, 1-15. Similar in many respects are the explanations found in [Arist.] *de Mundo*, 4, p. 395 a 8 ff.; Apul. *de Mundo*, 12.

[426] 6. *anhelitus terræ:* for the phrase cf. 1, 115; 2, 117. On these exhalations of the earth cf. *Tusc.* 1, 43: *omne caelum hoc in quo nubes imbres ventique coguntur, quod et humidum et caliginosum est propter exhalationes terræ;* in *N. D.* 2, 25 Cicero notes the warm vapor rising from freshly broken ground; cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 5, 4, 1: *quomodo ergo, inquis, venti sunt . . . ? non uno modo: alias enim terra ipsa magnam vim aëris eicit et ex obdito spirat, alias cum magna et continua ex imo evaporatio in altum egit, quae emiserat, mutatio ipsa halitus mixti in ventum vertitur;* 5, 5, 1; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 111: *extra has causas non negaverim existere imbres ventosque, quoniam umidam a terra, alias vero propter vaporem fumidum exhalari caliginem certum est nubesque liquore egresso in sublime aut ex aëre coacto in liquorem gigni:* 2, 114.

[426] 6. *qui frigidi sint:* in contrast, perhaps, to the clouds which contain *ardor*. He is doubtless thinking of the sudden fall in temperature often characteristic of thunder storms.

[426] 6. *fluere:* cf. Arist. *Meteor.* 1, 13, p. 349 a 16-17: *ελατ δὲ τινες οἱ φασὶ τὸν*

καλούμενον ἀέρα κινούμενον μὲν καὶ ῥέοντα ἀνεμον εἶναι; 2, 4, p. 361 a 30-31; [Arist.] *de Mundo*, 4, p. 394 b 7-9: *ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐρηρᾶς ὑπὸ ψύχους μὲν ὠσθησῆς ὥστε ῥεῖν ἀνεμος ἐγίνετο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν οὗτος πλὴν ἀήρ πολλὸς ῥῶν καὶ ἀβρός;* Aët. *Plac.* 3, 6, 1-2: *Ἀναξίμαχος ἀνεμον εἶναι ῥέοντα ἀέρος τῶν λευτοτάτων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑγροτάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κινουμένων ἢ τρηκόμενων. οἱ Στωικοὶ πάν πνεῦμα ἀέρος εἶναι ῥέοντα;* Vitruv. 1, 6, 2: *ventus aulem est aëris fluens unda cum certa motus redundantia;* Sen. *N. Q.* 3, 12, 4: *ventus est fluens aër* (cf. 5, 1, 1-4; 5, 13, 4); *N. H.* 2, 114: *ventus haut aliud intellegatur quam fluctus aëris* (so Beda, *de Nat. Rer.* 26).

2. *dividere, etc.:* the cold wind permeates the moist (and hot?) cloud, rending it into parts, the process of rending being accompanied by thunder. From the collisions of (parts of) the clouds fire is struck out (as from the clash of stones; cf. *N. D.* 2, 25: *lapidum conflictu atque tritu elici ignem videmus*) and descends in the form of the thunderbolt.

3f. *fulgures . . . tonitrua . . . fulmen:* cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 12, 1: *tria sunt quae accidunt: fulgurationes, fulmina, tonitrua quae una facta serius audiuntur. fulguratio ostendit ignem, fulminatio emittit, etc.;* Plin. *N. H.* 2, 112: *hinc nasci procellas et, si in nube luclatur flatus aut vapor, tonitrua edi; si erumpat ardens, fulmina: si longiore tractu nititur, fulgetras.* From this passage and what follows (part of which is quoted in following notes) it seems likely that Pliny is here copying Cicero or that both are based on a common source.

3. *nubium conflictu:* cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 1, 1, 6: *quemadmodum nubes collisae mediocriter fulgurationes efficiunt, maiore impetu impulsae fulmina, etc.;* 2, 23, 1: *fortasse nubes quoque in nubes incitatae*

ardor expressus se emiserit, id esse fulmen. Quod igitur vi naturae, nulla constantia, nullo rato tempore videmus effici, ex eo significationem rerum consequentium quaerimus? Scilicet si ista Iuppiter significaret, tam multa frustra fulmina emitteret! 45. Quid enim proficit cum in medium mare fulmen iccit? Quid cum in altissimos montis, quod plerumque fit? Quid cum

fremente vento et leviter urgente ignem evocabunt; 2, 27, 4: non quemadmodum illisae inter se manus plausum edunt, sic illisarum inter se nubium sonus potest esse magnus quia magna concurrunt? Plin. N. H. 2, 113: posse et conflictu nubium elidi ut duorum lapidum, scintillantibus fulgetris; Min. Fel. Oct. 5, 9: nimbis condidentibus tonitrua mugire; Ambr. Hexaem. 2, 7: tonitrua audimus nubium collisione generata (cf. 2, 16); Hier. Tract. de Ps. 96 (Anecd. Mareds. 3, 2, 143; 3, 3, 89); Beda, de Nat. Rer. 29. Cf. also the parody in Ar. Nub. 382-384.

If. nulla constantia: as Pliny says (2, 113): *sed haec omnia esse fortuita. hinc bruta fulmina et vana, ut quae nullam habeant rationem naturae* (as opposed to *faidica fulmina*).

2. rato tempore: cf. 2, 19.

2. significationem, etc.: cf. N. D. 2, 166: *significationibus rerum futurarum*.

3. scilicet: ironical, as in 2, 47; 2, 105; Ac. 2, 87; Fin. 2, 102; etc.; though the statement of Donatus (on Ter. Andr. 185): *scilicet semper cum ironia ponitur*, is too strong.

4. frustra, etc.: cf. Lucr. 6, 396, who inquires, if the gods hurl thunderbolts, *cur etiam loca sola petunt, frustra que laborant?* (and 2, 1100-1104); 6, 404-405: *in mare qua porro mittit ratione? quid undas / arguit et liquidam molem composque natantis?* 6, 421-422: *atque cur plerumque petit loca plurimaque eius / montibus in summis vestigia cernimus ignis?* Sen. N. Q. 2, 51: *nihil significant fulmina* (that is, those of a class which he has just recognized as not portentous) *aut id cuius notitia nos effugit, ut illa quae in vastum mare sparguntur aut in desertas solitudines, quorum significatio vel nulli est vel*

perit; Plin. N. H. 2, 113: his (sc. brutis fulminibus) percussit montes, his maria, omnesque alios incritos iactus. illa vero faidica ex alto stisque de causis et ex suis venire sideribus.

The doctrine was carried still further, as in Ar. Nub. 398-402 (Socrates): *καὶ πῶς . . . / εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιθρακοὺς, δὴν' οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐπίτησεν / οὐδὲ Κλέωνιμος οὐδὲ Θέωρον; καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἶσ' ἐπιθρακοὶ / ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ γε νεῶν βάλλει καὶ Σόλωνος ἄκρον 'Αθηναίων / καὶ τὰς δρῦν τὰς μεγάλας: τί μαθῶν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ δρῦν γ' ἐπιθρακεῖ;* Lucan, 7, 447-451; Luc. Iur. consul. 16: *τί δήποτε τοῖς ἱεροσούλοις καὶ ληστὰς ἀφέντες καὶ τοσοῦτους ὑβριστὰς καὶ βίαιους καὶ ἐπιθρακοὺς δρῦν τινα πολλὰκις κερανοῦτε ἢ λίθον ἢ νεῖος ἱστῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικούσης, ἐπίστε δὲ χρηστόν τινα καὶ δεισιὸν ὀδοκτόρον.* In these cases the thunder-bolt is not for prediction but for punishment, yet the same caprice (or accident) appears in the choice of the objects struck. Geffcken (in *Hermes*, 42 (1907), 127-133), citing another passage in Lucian (*Tim.* 10), in which Zeus is described as having aimed the thunderbolt at Anaxagoras but having missed him, and taking into account the religious views of Anaxagoras and the fact that he also discussed meteorological phenomena, including lightning (cf. Diels, *Die Frag. d. Vorsokrat.* 1, 3 ed. (1912), 393, no. 84), suggests that the subsequent arguments of this sort, Epicurean and New Academic alike, are derived from him. For Geffcken's theory of the possible Stoic answers to this argument cf. *op. cit.* 131-132.

5. altissimos montes: a commonplace; cf. Lucr. 5, 1127-1128: *invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant / plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cunq;* 6, 421-422 (quoted above); Hor. Carm. 2, 10, 11-12: *feriuntque summos /*

in desertas solitudines? Quid cum in earum gentium oras in quibus haec ne observantur quidem?

XX. At inventum est caput in Tiberi. Quasi ego artem aliquam istorum esse negem! divinationem nego. Caeli enim distributio, quam ante dixi, et certarum rerum notatio docet unde fulmen venerit, quo concesserit; quid significet autem nulla ratio docet. Sed urges me meis versibus:

Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo
Ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templa petivit
Et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus ignis.

Tum statua Nattae, tum simulacra deorum Romulusque et Remus cum altrice belua vi fulminis icti conciderunt, deque his rebus haruspicum extiterunt responsa verissima. 46. Mirabile autem illud, quod eo ipso tempore quo fieret indicium coniurationis in senatu signum Iovis biennio

11. his vulg., is C.

fulgura montis; Ov. *Remed.* 370: *summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iovis*; Maecen. ap. Sen. *Ep.* 19, 9: *ipsa enim altitudo attonat summa*; Sen. *Agam.* 96: *feriunt celsos fulmina colles*; *Phaedr.* 1132-1135: *raros palitur fulminis ictus / umida vallis; / tremuit telo Iovis altisoni / Caucasus ingens Phrygiumque nemus*; Shorey on Hor. *Carm.* 2, 10, 11-12 (with various cases from later literature and of a more extended form); Otto, *Sprichwörter d. Römer* (1890), 148.

3. at: cf. 2, 24, n. (at).

3. caput in Tiberi: cf. 1, 16.

3. quasi: for parallels to this use cf. 2, 46; 2, 48; 2, 56; 2, 59; 2, 81; *N. D.* 3, 86 (in some of these cases as contemptuous answers to preceding clauses introduced by *ut*); Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 217.

3. artem: i.e., by following the course of the thunderbolt they arrived at the object dislodged by it, and their skill in this purely physical matter gave no reason purely physical matter gave no reason for assuming any ability to foretell events not physically connected with the occurrence. The organization and methods of the haruspices were perfectly objective facts and hence not open to denial.

3. istorum: the haruspices.

4. quam ante dixi: 2, 42.

5. venerit . . . concesserit: cf. 2, 42, n. (*qua ex parte*).

6. urges: cf. 1, 12; 2, 117; al.

6. meis: cf. 1, 25, n. (*vestra*); 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); Reid on *Ac.* 2, 62.

7ff. nam pater . . . ignis: = 1, 19.

10. statua Nattae: cf. 1, 19.

10. simulacra deorum: cf. 1, 19.

10. Romulusque et Remus: cf. 1, 20; 2, 47.

11. altrice belua: the *silvestris altrix* of 1, 20.

11. vi fulminis icti conciderunt: cf. 1, 20: *fulminis ictu concidit*.

11f. haruspicum . . . responsa: 1, 20: *voces . . . chartis promebat Etruscis*. The actual *responsa* (cf. 1, 97, n. (*responsis haruspicum*)) seem to have been verbally given; cf. Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung d. Prodigenwesen bei d. Römern* (1903), 34; 36-37; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus der Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 545.

12. mirabile . . . illud quod: cf. *N. D.* 1, 71.

12f. eo ipso tempore: cf. 1, 21: *una fixi ac signati temporis hora*; 2, 47.

13. fieret: in 2, 47 we have the indicative in a very similar situation.

13f. biennio post: in 1, 21 it is described as *tardata diu*; cf. *in Cat.* 3, 20: *atque illud signum conlocandum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas*

post quam erat locatum in Capitolio conlocabatur. 'Tu igitur animum induces' (sic enim mecum agebas) 'causam istam et contra facta tua et contra scripta defendere?' Frater es; eo vereor. Verum quid tibi hic tandem nocet? Resne, quae talis est; an ego, qui verum explicari volo? Itaque nihil contra dico, a te rationem totius haruspicinae peto. Sed te mirificam in latebram coniecisti; quod enim intellegeres fore ut premerere, cum ex te causas unius cuiusque divinationis exquirerem, multa verba fecisti te, cum res videres, rationem causamque non quaerere; quid fieret, non cur fieret, ad rem pertinere. Quasi ego aut fieri concederem aut esset

ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem conlocaretur. In the latter passage there is the same repetition of *locare* and *conlocare* that appears in ours.

1. tu igitur, etc.: cf. 1, 22.

3. frater es; eo vereor: in *Off.* 1, 136 Cicero remarks: *quo modo in omni vita rectissime praecipitur ut perturbaciones fugiamus . . . sic eius modi motibus sermo debet vacare, ne aut ira existat aut cupiditas aliqua . . . maximeque curandum est ut eos quibuscum sermonem conferemus et vereri et diligere videamur. obscurationes etiam non numquam incidunt necessariae, in quibus ulendum est forsasse et vocis contentione maiore et verborum gravitate acriore . . . sed ut ad urendum et secandum, sic ad hoc genus castigandi raro invilique veniemus, nec umquam nisi necessario, etc.* The expression as it stands (and there is no occasion for emendation) means 'you are my brother, and I am accordingly showing you all due respect; I am not refuting this argument (as I might by the obvious explanation of the verses as colored by a natural poetic expression), but without assertion I am merely asking for a philosophic statement of reasons.'

3. eo: with this use Tyrrell (on *ad Au.* 1, 1, 2) compares *Fam.* 6, 20, 1.

4. verum explicari: cf. *Tusc.* 3, 46: *quid enim laboro nisi ut veritas in omni quaestione explicetur?*

5. nihil contra dico, etc.: cf. 2, 48; his method is the characteristic Academic one illustrated by Cotta in *N. D.* 3, 1:

neque tam refellendi tui causa quam ea quae minus intellegbam requirendi (cf. 3, 4). In this regard the New Academics are closely akin to the Pyrrhonian sceptics as described by Diog. L. 9, 69: ἀποφρασμα δὲ καὶ σκεπτικὸν καὶ ἐπι-ἀποφρασμὸν καὶ ζήτησιμον.

6. mirificam, etc.: cf. 2, 27.

6. latebram: in a similar metaphorical sense in 2, 111; *Fin.* 2, 107; cf. *N. D.* 2, 68: *quod cum efficere vultis in dumeta correptis*; *Ac.* 2, 112: *cum sit enim campus in quo exsultare possit oratio cur eam . . . in Stoicorum dumeta compellimus?*—also the figurative use of *spinus* and *spinosus*.

6. premerere: cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 29.

7. cuiusque divinationis: analogous to the plural use of the word, for which cf. 1, 34, n. (*duo genera divinationum*).

7f. multa verba fecisti: for the phrase cf. *de Imp. Pomp.* 27; 52. Cicero is referring to such passages as 1, 12 (where see the note on *eventa*); 1, 15; 1, 16; 1, 23; 1, 85-86; 1, 109; etc.; in fact to the whole basis of the defense of divination in the first book, and his reply to Quintus resembles that of Cotta to Balbus (*N. D.* 3, 13): *rumoribus . . . mecum pugnas, Balbe, ego autem a te rationes requiro*; cf. 2, 27 *supra*.

9. ego aut: as Thoresen (*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 34) objects, *ego* does not properly apply to both *aut* clauses, but only to the former, and to produce correspondence he would adopt, in place of *esset*, the reading of B: *esse*. But Cicero is so often careless in such matters (cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 2, 15) that the vulgar reading seems defensible.

philosophi causam cur quidque fieret non quaerere! 47. Et eo quidem loco et Prognostica nostra pronuntiabas et genera herbarum, scammoneam aristolochiamque radicem, quarum causam ignorares, vim et effectum videres. XXI. Dissimile totum; nam et prognosticorum causas persecuti sunt et Boëthus Stoicus, qui est a te nominatus, et noster etiam Posidonius, et, si causae non reperiantur istarum rerum, res tamen ipsae observari animadvertique potuerunt. Nattae vero statua aut aera legum de caelo tacta quid habent observatum ac vetustum? Pinarii Nattae nobiles; a nobilitate igitur periculum. Hoc tam callide Iuppiter excogitavit! Romulus lactens fulmine ictus; urbi igitur periculum ostenditur ei quam ille

2. scammoneam O (cf. 1, 16), scammoniam AB, Christ, Boiler, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, scamoniam B
9. excogitavit Markland, Boiler, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, cogitavit O, Christ.

1. **philosophi**: cf. 2, 27, n. (*philosophi, etc.*). Marcus Cicero's definition of the philosopher agrees with that of Virgil, *Georg.* 2, 490: *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.*

11. **eo . . . loco**: 1, 13-15.

2. **pronuntiabas**: governing, by a noteworthy but not difficult zeugma, both *Prognostica* and *genera*.

2. **scammoneam**: cf. 1, 16, where he referred to *scammoncae radix . . . aristolochia*. The change here to *scammoneam aristolochiamque radicem* seems to produce lack of correspondence, but inasmuch as the roots of both plants were used medicinally it mattered little, perhaps, with which the term *radix* was connected (Usener in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 139 (1889), 392, wished to emend *radicem* to *radices*). That Cicero would be consistent in the spelling of the word, though not certain, is more likely, and I have accordingly, with Orelli, here adopted a spelling agreeing with that in the first book. If we should retain *scammonia* the *i* is probably to be considered as long; cf. 2, 8, n. (*bibliotheca . . . Lyceo*).

3. **quarum**: it is unnecessary to emend, with Thoresen (*op. cit.* 34-35), to *quarum rerum* (suggested by *istarum rerum* just below).

5. **Boëthus**: cf. introd. p. 22, n. 100; 1, 13, n. (*Boëthum*).

5. **noster . . . Posidonius**: cf. 1, 6, nn. (*Posidonius; noster*); also introd. p.

22, n. 100; p. 25, n. 117. There appear to be no definitely assignable fragments of the work of Posidonius upon this subject, but that he should have interested himself in it seems most probable.

7. **Nattae . . . statua**: cf. 1, 19; 2, 45.

7. **aera legum**: cf. 1, 19, and n. (*elapsae*).

7f. **de caelo tacta**: cf. 1, 92, n. (*de caelo tacta*).

8. **quid habent, etc.**: i.e., such occurrences are entirely sporadic and do not exhibit the apparent regularity to be noted in weather prognostics.

8. **vetustum**: i.e., with established precedents; cf. 1, 3, n. (*diuturna observatione*); 2, 33. The words *observatum ac vetustum* are probably to be taken by hendiadys.

8. **Pinarii**: cf. 1, 19, n. (*Nattae*).

8f. **a nobilitate . . . periculum**: cf. 1, 20, n. (*generosa a stirpe*). Hottinger objects that the omen should have meant trouble to the nobility (if the statue of a noble man fell) rather than from it, if the haruspices had been sensible, but he admits that our text reading agrees with the interpretation in 1, 20. To emend to *nobilitati* (with Pearce) would violate this agreement. With the use of *a* cf. 2, 32; *Off.* 2, 19; Liv. 6, 10, 8.

9f. **Romulus, etc.**: cf. 1, 20; 2, 45.

10. **urbi**: cf. 1, 20; *flammis urbem . . . iubebant eripere*.

condidit. Quam scite per notas nos certiores facit Iuppiter! At eodem tempore signum Iovis conlocabatur, quo coniuratio indicabatur. Et tu scilicet mavis numine deorum id factum quam casu arbitrari, et redemptor, qui columnam illam de Cotta et de Torquato conduxerat faciendam, non inertia aut inopia tardior fuit sed a deis immortalibus ad istam horam reservatus est. 48. Non equidem plane despero ista esse vera, sed nescio et discere a te volo. Nam cum mihi quaedam casu viderentur sic evenire ut praedicta essent a divinantibus, dixisti multa de casu, ut Venerium iaci posse casu quattuor talis iactis, sed quadringentis centum Venerios non posse casu consistere. Primum nescio cur non possint, sed non pugno; abundas enim similibus. Habes et respersionem pigmentorum et rostrum suis et alia permulta. Idem Carneadem fingere dicis de capite Panisci; quasi non potuerit id evenire casu et non in omni marmore necesse sit

1f. eodem tempore: cf. 1, 21; 2, 46.

3. scilicet: cf. 2, 44, n. (*scilicet*).

3. casu: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

3. redemptor: on the meanings of the word see Fest. p. 270 M. For a case of a statue set up by a *redemptor* at the order of the consuls (acting through the quaestors) cf. *Phil.* 9, 16. Note the shift from indirect to direct discourse.

4. columnam: cf. 1, 21, and n. (*tardata*).

4. de Cotta . . . conduxerat: cf. ad *All.* 1, 17, 9: *de censoribus conduxerunt*.

4. Cotta . . . Torquato: consuls in 65 B. C., and so named in 1, 19.

5. inertia aut inopia: for the alliteration cf. 1, 19, n. (*tumulos*); 1, 47, n. (*pestem ac perniciem*); 1, 116, n. (*cultus et conditiones*).

5. tardior: cf. 1, 21, n. (*tardata*).

6. nescio: here and elsewhere Marcus, with better grace than the dogmatic exponent of Stoicism, can fall back upon a Socratic agnosticism.

8f. multa . . . abundas: . . . permulta: cf. 2, 27; etc. The cumulative principle used by Quintus in his collection of examples recalls *N. D.* 2, 20. Mayor (on *N. D.* 3, 11) would detect in the expression *permulta* in our passage a distinct shade of contempt

8. Venerium: cf. 1, 23.

10. pugno: cf. 2, 27, n. (*pugnasti*).

11. respersionem: cf. 1, 23 (where *aspersa* and *aspersio* are used).

11f. rostrum suis: cf. 1, 23.

12. Carneadem, etc.: cf. 1, 23.

13. quasi: cf. 2, 46, n. (*quasi*); Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 213, n. 57; 243-244.

13f. in omni marmore, etc.: cf. Plotin. *Επιμ.* 1, 9 K.: *εάν μήτω σαυτῶν ἴδῃς καλόν, οἷα ποιητῆς ἀγάλματος, ὃ δεῖ καλόν γενέσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἀφαιρεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀπέξεισι, τὸ δὲ λείων, τὸ δὲ καθαρῶς ἰποιήσει, ἵνα ἔβξει καλὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι πρόσωπον, οἷτω καὶ σὺ, κτλ.* Very similar, however, to Cicero's idea is that in Dionys. Areopag. *De mysticis Theologia*, 2, 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 3, 1025 B): *καὶ τὸν ὑπερούσιον ὑπερούσιος ἡμῆσαι διὰ τῆς πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἀφαιρέσεως, ὥσπερ οἱ αἰσθητῆς ἀγάλμα τοιοῦτες, ἐξαρουῖντες πάντα τὰ ἐπιπροσθούτα τῇ καθαρῇ τοῦ κρυφίου θεῆ κωλύματα, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ τῇ ἀφαιρέσει μόνη τὸ ἀποκαρμιμμενον ἀναφαίνοντες κάλλος, κτλ.*; cf. the paraphrase of Pachymeres (*Patr. Gr.* 3, 1029C): *αἰσθητῆς γὰρ ἀγάλμα ὄντων, ὃ γίγεται ἐν ἐλθ ἀμύθη, οἷον ἐν πέτρῃ δολοθήρῳ, ἐν ᾗ τις γλίφει τι ζῷον, ὡς θηλοὶ καὶ Εἰρηνίδης ἐν Ἀνδρομέδῃ (fr. 125 Nauck): Ἐξ αἰτομόρφου λαίωσ τεχνισμάτων / σοφῆς ἀγάλμα χειρὸς, λίγω. αἰτομόρφου γὰρ ἀγάλμα τὸ τῆς πέτρας αἰσθητῆς εἶπεν; Simplic. ad Arist. *Categ.* p. 314, 19 Kalbfleisch (from the work of Archytas, *περὶ τοῦ παντός*): ὃ δὲ χαλεπὸς (sc. *ἔχα τὸ**

inesse vel Praxitelia capita! Illa enim ipsa efficiuntur detractioe, neque quicquam illuc adfertur a Praxitele; sed cum multa sunt detracta et ad liniamenta oris perventum est, tum intellegas illud quod iam expolitum sit intus fuisse. 49. Potest igitur tale aliquid etiam sua sponte in lapicidinibus Chiorum extitisse. Sed sit hoc fictum; quid? in nubibus numquam animadvertisti leonis formam aut hippocentauri? Potest igitur, quod

αιτια) τῷ ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ ἀθρια-
τοποιῶ (cf. Arist. *Metaph.* 4, 2, p. 1013b
6-8); [Clem.] *Recognit.* 8, 54: *verbi gratia
promans de excelsa rupe abruptum saxum
in praecipites ferri, idque illiusmodi solo in
multa fragmenta comminui, numquid evenire
ullo modo potest ut in illa multitudine
fragmentorum inveniantur unum saltem
fragmentum in quo perfecta aliqua species
per omnia habeatur ac forma? . . . si
excidat e monte saxum artificem cui formam
velit imponere, necesse est ut id primo
informe caedat ac barbarum. tum deinde
paulatim excudens et ad libram suae artis
exsculpens, exprimat formam quam mente
conceperit, etc.*; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12, p. 206
M.: κατ' ὄλιγον τῆς τέχνης ἀφαιρούσης τὸ
περιττόν, ὥστ' ἂν καταλιπῆ αὐτὸ τὸ φαινόμενον
εἶδος. Cf. also Hirzel, *Untersuchungen
z. Cicero's philos. Schriften*, 2, 1
(1882), 420-422, who discusses the
theory of detractio (ἀφαίρεσις) and positio
(ἔθσις); Borinski, *Die antike in Poetik u.
Kunsttheorie*, 1 (1914), 169-170, for the
same principle in the Renaissance (Alberti,
Michelangelo, Marsilio Ficino, Dürer);
Addison, *Spectator*, no. 215; Canova
(cited in Day, *Collaçon*, 829). A somewhat
similar idea applied to carpentry is found
in Aug. in *Ep. Ioann. ad Parthos*,
8, 10.

1. *vel Praxitelia capita*: in 1, 23 the
work of Scopas is taken as a standard. In
Orat. 8 Cicero remarks: *Phidiae simula-
cris, quibus nihil in illo genere perfectius
videmus*. On these inconsistencies of
judgment, perhaps due to the fact that
Cicero was no real connoisseur of art,
cf. Goehling, *De Cic. Artis Aestimatore*
(1877), 49-52.

4. *lapicidinibus*: cf. 1, 23.

5. *extitisse*: so of Tages in 2, 50.

5. *in nubibus, etc.*: cf. Ar. *Nub.*
346-347: ἤδη ποτ' ἀναβλέψας εἶδες νεφέλην
Κεταύρου ὄμοιαν / ἢ παρῶλες ἢ λύκω ἢ ταύρω;
(and schol.); Arist. *de Insom.* 3, p. 461 b
19 ff: ὡς περ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νέφεσιν, ἃ παρεικά-
ζουσι ἀνθρώποις καὶ κενταύροις ταχέως
μεταβάλλοντα; Diod. 3, 50, 4: περὶ γὰρ
τινας καιροὺς καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας
συστάσεις ὄρωται κατὰ τὸν αἶρα παρτοίων
ζῴων ἰδέας ἐμφαινύσασαι; Lucr. 4, 133-140:
*ut nubes facile interdum concrecere in alto /
cernimus et mundi speciem violare serenam /
quae multis formata modis sublime servatur /
aëra mulcentes motu. nam saepe
Gigantum / ora volare videntur et umbram
ducere lae, / interdum magni montes
avolsaque saxa / montibus anteire et solem
succedere praeter, / inde alios trahere atque
inducere belua nimbos*; Luc. *V. H.* 1, 16;
1, 18; 1, 28; who mentions νεφέλοκενταυροί;
see also Shakesp. *Ant. and Cleop.* act 4,
sc. 12; *Hamlet*, act 3, sc. 2; Swilt, *Tale of
a Tub*, dedication; Jeremy Taylor, *Worthy
Communicant*, init.; Wordsworth, *Sky
Prospect—From the Plain of France*.

6. *hippocentauri*: for the tradition
of the centaurs as a constellation (probably
Chaldaean in origin and developed
in the west in the Alexandrian period) see
Roscher, in his *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v.
Kentauren (1897), 1057-1058, and for
much material on their mythology and
their representation in art *id.* 1032-1088;
Baur, *Centaurus in anc. Art* (1912); Bethe
in *P.-W.* s.v. *Kentauren* (1921), 177-178.
The theory of their origin set forth by
Roscher (in *Neue Jahrb.* 105 (1872), 421-
428, and in his *Lexikon*, 1058-1072; cf.
Bassi in *Bull. di Filol. class.* 3 (1897), 14-
17; also Kretschmer in *Glotta*, 10 (1919),
50-58; 211-212) regards them as the per-
sonification of the wild torrential streams

modo negabas, veritatem casus imitari.

XXII. Sed quoniam de extis et de fulgoribus satis est disputatum, ostenta restant, ut tota haruspicina sit pertractata. Mulae partus prolatus est a te. Res mirabilis, propterea quia non saepe fit; sed si fieri non

(χειμέρροι), which, especially in the region of Thessaly, where the most important Centaur-myths are localized, pour violently down from the mountains after sudden rains. The precursor of such storms is the appearance of masses of clouds on the mountain tops, and Diod. 4, 12, 6 describes *Nephele* as the mother of the Centaurs (cf. *N. D.* 3, 51: *quarum* (sc. *nubium*) *una etiam Centauros peperisse dicitur*), aiding them in their battle with *Heracles* by means of heavy rains (*id.* 4, 70, 1; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 7, 674-677; etc.). With this in view their appearance in the clouds finds an additional appropriateness. Against this theory of Roscher, however, see Plew in *Neue Jahrb.* 107 (1873), 193-203.

In addition to *Centaurs* and *Hippocentaurs* (Cicero uses both forms) we hear of *Oncentaurs* (cf. Roscher, *op. cit.* 1068; to which add *Vulg. Is.* 34, 14; [Basil.] *Comm. in Is.* 13, 276 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 605 B); *Hier. Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 175 Vall.; 6, p. 245 Vall.; in *Galat.* 1, p. 418 Vall.; *Philes, de Anim. Propriet.* 46; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 3, 39) and *Ichthyocentaurs* (cf. Lamer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Ichthyocentauros* (1916), 830-843).

Various other theories of the origin of the centaurs—hybridity (the most common ancient view, as in *Diod.* 4, 70, 1; *Luc. bis accusat.* 33; *Hier. Vit. Pauli*, 7; etc.), mental composition of images (Zeno's view, as set forth by *Diog. L.* 7, 53; also cf. *Plat. Rep.* 9, p. 588 c; *Lucr.* 4, 732), misbirths (cf. *Jastrow, Die Relig. Babyl. u. Assy.* 2, 2 (1912), 943, n. 1, and the literature there cited), or the surprise felt by a horseless nation at the first sight of cavalry (*Irving, Life and Voyages of Columbus* (1828), book 8, ch. 7)—need not here detain us. More significant is it that these came to be regarded by the rationalists as types of the *non-ens*.

Not only does Cicero hold this view (*N. D.* 2, 5: *quis enim hippocentauros fuisse aut Chimaeram putat? Tusc.* 1, 90: *hippocentauros, qui numquam fuerit*), but many other instances may be cited: *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 229 d; *Lucr.* 5, 878-881; *Sen. Ep.* 58, 15; *Artemid. Oniroc.* 2, 44; *Didymus Pythag. (Frag. Philos. Gr.* 2, 81); *Luc. Hermot.* 72; *Fugit.* 10; *Sext. Emp. adv. Math.* 9, 123; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 20, 3; *Clem. Strom.* 4, 3; *Athanas. c. Gent.* 22; *Hier. c. Vigil.* 1; *Basil. adv. Ewn.* 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 29, 521 B); [Basil.] *de Virgin.* 7 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 681 D); *Cedren. Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 620 C); *Psell. de Anim. (Patr. Gr.* 122, 1068 A); and other compound animals such as *τραγίλαφοι* appear in the same connection; cf. *Plat. Rep.* 6, 488 a; 9, 588 c; *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 25, 6; 31, 6. If, then, chance can imitate the non-existent so plausibly as to lead us to accept it as real, cannot it also at times imitate with equal versimilitude that which has an admitted existence?

1. *negabas*: in 1, 23.

1. *veritatem*, etc.: cf. *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 7: *at nonnumquam tamen veritatem vel auspicia vel oracula tetigerunt. quamquam inter multa mendacia videri possit industriam casus imitatus, etc.*

2. *de extis*, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (*extispicum aut monstra, etc.*).

3. *mulae partus*: cf. 1, 36; 2, 61.

3. *prolatus*: cf. 1, 46, n. (*proferam*).

4. *a te*: cf. 1, 105, n. (*a te*).

4f. *si fieri non potuisset*: cf. 2, 61; *Albucius Silus ap. Sen. Controv.* 1, 3, 4: *hoc unum scio: nec fieri quod non potest nec portentum esse quod potest*; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 20, 4: *quid illos aniles fabulas, de hominibus aves et feras? . . . quae si essent facta, fierent; quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt.*

potuisset facta non esset. Atque hoc contra omnia ostenta valeat, numquam quod fieri non potuerit, esse factum; sin potuerit non esse mirandum. Causarum enim ignoratio in re nova mirationem facit; eadem ignoratio si in rebus usitatis est non miratur. Nam qui mulam peperisse miratur, is quo modo equa pariat, aut omnino quae natura partum animantis faciat ignorat. Sed quod crebro videt non miratur, etiamsi cur fiat nescit; quod ante non vidit, id si evenit, ostentum esse censet. Utrum igitur cum concepit mula an cum peperit ostentum est? 50. Conceptio contra naturam fortasse, sed partus prope necessarius.

XXIII. Sed quid plura? ortum videamus haruspicinae; sic facillume quid habeat auctoritatis iudicabimus. Tages quidam dicitur in agro

11. haberet Erlang., editores, habet C.

2. **sin potuerit, etc.:** cf. 2, 61.

3. **causarum . . . ignoratio:** cf. 2, 42; *Ac.* 1, 29: *fortunam, quod efficiat multa improvisa ac necopinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignoratoremque causarum.*

3. **re nova:** cf. 1, 34; 2, 50.

3. **mirationem:** a ἀναξ λεγόμενον.

4. **si in rebus usitatis est, etc.:** cf. *N. D.* 2, 96: *sed assiduitate cotidiana et consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi neque admirantur neque requirunt rationes earum rerum quas semper vident, proinde quasi novitas nos magis quam magnitudo rerum debeat ad exquirendas causas exilare* (and a number of good parallels quoted in Mayor's note); *Fin.* 4, 74: *haec παράδοξα illi; nos admirabilia dicamus. quid autem habent admirationis cum prope accesseris?*

5. **quae natura:** for this use of the word, in the sense of natural power or natural cause, cf. 2, 10; 2, 143.

5. **partum animantis faciat:** a subject discussed in full in *Arist. de Anim. Generatione.*

6. **etiamsi cur fiat nescit:** cf. 1, 16.

8. **contra naturam:** and so, perhaps, to be regarded as an *ostentum*; cf. *Ulp. Dig.* 50, 16, 38: *ostentum Lubco definit omne contra naturam cuiusque rei genitum factumque.*

10. **sed quid plura:** Sander (*Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 15-17) takes this passage as an example of

the unfinished and careless state in which the work was left. For to imply by these words that the author has finished *ostenta* and then to continue in 2, 54-69 on the same subject appears inadmissible. Now perhaps Cicero (as Sander, p. 16, suggests) may have been called away from his work after 2, 53, but we need not assume that 2, 54-69 were composed later than at another sitting. Certainly those sections are quite essential, containing, as they do, answers to many points raised in the first book, and though it would be more logical for sections 50-53 to follow 2, 69, yet it is demanding too much rigidity of arrangement in the easy-going dialogue if we are disturbed by their presence where they stand.

10. **ortum:** for a Greek tradition of the origin of divination, quite different from that which follows, ascribing it to Delphus, son of Apollo, cf. *Plin. N. H.* 7, 203; Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 204.

10f. **facillume . . . iudicabimus:** cf. *N. D.* 1, 59; *Off.* 1, 146; *de Or.* 1, 8.

11. **quid habeat auctoritatis:** cf. 2, 110; *pro Mur.* 90.

11. **Tages:** the ancient passages dealing with this personage are collected by Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusker*, 2 (1877), 23-26; Schmeisser, *Die etrusk. Disciplin* (1881), 20, n. 96; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 7, n. 1; Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1, 3 ed. (1883),

Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur et sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse

419, n. 7; Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 1 (1906), 2-3; 3 (1909), 58-60; Pauli and Schultz in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s. v. *Tages* (1915), 3-5. The most significant ones are *Ov. Met.* 15, 553-559: *haud aliter strepuit quam cum Tyrrhenus arator / salalem glaebam mediis asperxit in arvis / sponte sua primum nulloque agilante moveri, / sumere mox hominis, terraeque amittere formam, / oraque venturis aperire recentia fatis: / indigenae dixere Tages, qui primus Etruscum / edocuit gentem casus aperire fuluros; Fest. p. 359 M.: Tages nomine, geni filius, nepos Iovis, puer dicitur disciplinam haruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruriae; Columell. 10, 342-345; Lucan, 1, 635-637: *di visa secudentis / et fibris sit nulla fides; sed conditor artis / finxerit ista Tages* (followed by *Serv. Aen.* 2, 781; cf. *Schol. Bern. Luc.* 1, 636: *Tages Etrusca lingua vox terra missa. hic Tages dicitur, cum terra araretur, subito natus. hic auguriorum libros scripsit. Tages aruspinae disciplinam in Etruriam prolatam ferunt. nam Tarquinius flamen Dialis cum sementis causa araret, puerum dicitur exarasse Iovis nepotem, filium genii. hic duodecim principum pueris disciplinam aruspinae dictavit nec post comparuit. qui quoniam e terra natus est, Tages est appellatus ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. et lingua Etrusca significat 'vox terra emissa.');* *Stat. Silv.* 5, 2, 1; *Censor. de Die nat.* 4, 13: *in agro Tarquiniensi puer dicitur divinus exaratus nomine Tages, qui disciplinam cecinerit extispicii, quam lucumones tum Etruriae potentes exscripserunt; Arnob.* 2, 69; *Amm. Marc.* 21, 1, 10: *cuius disciplinae (sc. extorum) Tages nomine quidam monstrator est; Mart. Cap.* 2, 157: *Tages sulcis emicuit et ritum statim gentis (synchronumque (haruspicum, according to Müller-Deecke, *op. cit.* 2, 24, n. 16; *genti extispicumque* according to Schmeisser, *op. cit.* 21, n. 96; Thulin, *op. cit.* 1, 3) monstravit; 6, 637: (Etruria) ipsius Tagesis exaratione celebrata; *Lyd. de Ost.* 3: *φοῖοι τολών δ' Ἰάργων ἐπὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος,***

*ὅπερ εἶναι τιμὴς Τάγης τοῦ ποικίλου, ἐπαθῆ περ ἐκεῖ κατὰ τινα διαλογικῆν ὁμιλίαν ἑρσιφὴ μὲν ὄψεν ὁ Τάργων, ἀποκρίσται δὲ ὁ Τάγης ὡς προσκαρτερῶν ἐκάσποτε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς <τῆ χῶν> συμβίβηκεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τινα χρόνον ἀποτριῶντι θαυμάσιόν τι, οἷον οὐδὲ ἀφῆκοί τι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ χρόνῳ γασόμενον ἀνεῳχθῆ γὰρ <ἐ> τοῦ ἀλλαιος παιδίου, ἔρτι μὲν τεχθῆναι βοσκῶν, ὀδόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐ φιλίαις γνωρισμάτων ἀπροσδέετ—ῆν δὲ τὸ παιδίον ὁ Τάγης, ἀν δὴ καὶ χθόνιον Ἐ<ρμῆν> εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔδοξεν, ὡς πον καὶ Πράξιλος φησὶν ὁ διὰδοχος . . . Τάργων δὲ ὁ προσβέτερος . . . τὸ παιδίον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπαποθῆμενος τότε οὖς ἤξλου τι παρ' <αὐτοῦ> τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ αἰτωμένου τυχῶν βι<βλος> ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραψῶν, ἐν ᾧ κινθῆσεται μὲν ὁ Τάργων τῆ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ταύτῃ τῆ συσθῆαι φωνῇ, ἀποκρίσεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης γράμμασιν ἀρχαίαις τε καὶ οὐ σφῆδρα γνωρισμῶν ἡμῖν γε ἐμῆμενος τῶν ἀποκρίσεων (and he mentions as his sources Capito, Fonteius, Apuleius, Vicellius, Labeo, Figulus, and Pliny); *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 34-35: *aruspinae artem primum Etruscis tradidisse dicitur quidam Tages. hic ex Iovis (ex arvis?) aruspinae dictavit et postea non apparuit. nam dicitur fabulose, arante quodam rustico, subito hunc ex glebis exsiluisse et aruspinae diclasse, qua die et mortuus est. quos libros Romani ex Etrusca lingua in propria mulaverunt; Hugo de S. Vict. *Erudit.* didasc. 6, 15 (who makes him the inventor of both haruspinae and sortilege); *Joann. Sarisb. Policr.* 1 p. 407 d. *In de Har. Resp.* 20 Cicero does not name Tages but says: *nillo haruspices, nillo illam veterem ab ipsis dis immortalibus, ut hominum fama est, Etruriae traditam disciplinam.* A supposed representation of the scene on an Etruscan mirror is otherwise explained by Pauli, *op. cit.* 4, and the statue found at Tarquinii and identified as that of Tages (*Dennis, op. cit.* 2, 3 ed. (1883), 479) has little to commend the ascription.**

The story has points of contact with various other tales (cf. Braun in *Rhein.*

repente et eum adfatus esse qui arabat. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia. Eius aspectu cum obstipuisset bubulcus clamoremque maiorem cum admiratione edidisset, concursum esse factum, totamque brevi tempore in eum locum Etruriam convenisse; tum illum plura locutum multis audientibus, qui omnia verba eius exceperint litterisque mandarint; omnem autem

Mus. 10 (1842), 99). The chthonic character of this prophetic being is at once apparent (cf. 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*); 1, 79; 1, 96, n. (*excubant*); 1, 115; al.). With the apparition from the earth cf., in addition to the tales of the giants (*γαιγενεῖς*), the story of the *caput Oli* (to the instances given in 1, 23, n. (*in Chiorum lapicidinis*) add: Varr. *L. L.* 5, 41; Liv. 5, 54, 7; Plut. *Cumill.* 31; Dio Cass. 2, ap. Zonar. 7, 11; Flor. 1, 1, 7, 9; Joann. Canabuzes, 37-38); the story of the boy *'Aerōs* (Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 1, 394); the curious tale in Plut. *Rom.* 2; the Eri-chthonius myth (for the passages cf. Frazer on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 14, 6); and the birth of Mithras from the rock (Cumont, *Textes et Monum. figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 1 (1899), 161-163). So, too, when Zamolxis rose from his three years' subterranean residence (Hdt. 4, 95; et al.), his words were received as especially worthy of credence. Again, between this tale of the source of the Etruscan discipline and Varro's account of the finding of the religious books of Numa, which were ploughed up by one Terentius on his farm on the Janiculum (Auct. *de Vir. ill.* 3, 2; Aug. *C. D.* 7, 34) there is some resemblance; for other likenesses between Tages and Numa cf. Schwegler, *Rom. Gesch.* 1 (1853), 552-553. For a modern Tuscan folk-belief akin to this story cf. Schultz, *op. cit.* 4.

The name *Tages* appears elsewhere as the name of a soothsayer in the empire (Lact. *de Mort. Persec.* 10), in inscriptions (*C. I. L.* IV, Suppl. 3340 (on pp. 357, 361, 371, 375, 376)), in Egypt (see Stephanus, *Thes. Ling. Gr.* s.v. *Τάγης*), etc., and various Etruscan and Latin derived names are given by Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 240. No

Etruscan name *Tages* appears, but from the passage in Ovid Pauli (*op. cit.* 4) judges that the name is probably the Latinized form of a real Etruscan appellation. Pauli (*l. c.*) would further identify *Tages* (through a form *Targes*) with *Tarchon* (of whom Strab. 5, p. 219 says: *ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐκ παλῶν σύνησει πολλῶν γαιγενεῶν σθαι μὲθεύουσι*; cf. Müller-Deecke, *op. cit.* 2, 24, n. 14), and compares the *Tarchetius* of Plut. *Rom.* 2.

For the sources from which Cicero may have drawn his account cf. introd. p. 28.

[436] 1. *impressus*: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1, 45: *depresso . . . aratro*.

[436] II. *extitisse repente*: cf. 1, 58; *N. D.* 1, 21.

1. *eum . . . qui arabat*: by Lydus called *Tarchon*, but Deecke (in Müller-Deecke, *op. cit.* 2, 24, n. 18) holds that to be a later combination and thinks the anonymous ploughman the earlier form of the story.

II. *libris . . . Etruscorum*: cf. 1, 20, n. (*chartis . . . Etruscis*).

2. *puerili specie*: but compare the account of Lydus.

2. *senili . . . prudentia*: cf. Strab. 5, p. 219 (quoted in note on *Tages*). On speaking infants cf. 1, 121, n. (*scribit Herodotus*).

3. *adfatus . . . obstipuisset*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5, 90: *obstipuit visu*.

4. *concursum esse factum*: a frequent expression in the orations.

5. *multis audientibus*: according to Censorinus the *lucumones* are those who figure most prominently; the tale as told by Lydus makes the preservation of his words due to *Tarchon*.

orationem fuisse eam qua haruspicinae disciplina contineretur; eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis. Haec accepimus ab ipsis, haec scripta conservant, hunc fontem habent disciplinae. 51. Num ergo opus est ad haec refellenda Carneade? Num Epicuro? Estne quisquam ita desipiens qui credat exaratum esse, deum dicam an hominem? Si deum, cur se contra naturam in terram abdiderat, ut patefactus aratro lucem aspiceret? Quid? idem nonne poterat deus hominibus disciplinam superiore e loco tradere? Si autem homo ille Tages fuit, quonam modo potuit terra oppressus vivere? Unde porro illa potuit

6. abdiderat *Lambinus, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa*, abdidit *C. Christ*, abdidit *Klats, Baier*.

[437] 6. litterisque mandant: the aetiological story of the origin of the *libri Tagetini* (for their various names cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 1 (1906), 1-2). Later works occasionally seem to have regarded Tages as the actual writer of the books; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8, 398: *sciendum secundum aruspicinae libros et sacra Acheruntia, quae Tages composuisse dicitur, etc.* Yet cf. Schol. Dan. *Virg. Aen.* 1, 2: *est enim in libro qui inscribitur litterae iuris Etruriae scriptum vocibus Tagae, etc.* Noteworthy in the *De Ostentis* of Lydus is the title of the *Tonitruale* of Nigidius: *ἡμέτερος βροντοσκοπία τοκική πρὸς τὴν σελήνην κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων Φίγουλον, ἐκ τῶν Τάγηςτος καθ' ἑρμηνείαν πρὸς λέξιν*; cf. *de Ost.* p. 110 Wachsm.: *αὐτὸς γὰρ Βακίλλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ τῶν Τάγηςτος στίχων* (*περὶ οὗ καὶ Ἀπουλίου ὕστερον πλατεῖ, κτλ.*); Fulg. *Serm. antiq.* 4: *Labaco, qui disciplinatus Etruscus Tagetis et Bacitidis quindecim voluminibus explanavit, ita ait.* Draheim (in *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 10 (1893), 699) suggests that the inscription on the Agram mummy wrapping perhaps belongs to these books of Tages (cf. Thulin, *Ital. sakrale Poesie u. Prosa* (1906), 5-14. For the phrase *litteris mandare* cf. *N. D.* 1, 7; *Fin.* 1, 1; 1, 11; *Tusc.* 1, 6; 2, 8; 4, 5; *Off.* 2, 5; 3, 4; etc.

1. *haruspicinae disciplina*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*); 2, 80.

3. *accepimus*: cf. 1, 33, n. (*accepimus*).

3. *ipsis*: i.e., the Etruscans.

4. *num . . . opus est . . . Carneade*: cf. 2 *Verr.* 3, 63: *quid opus est Lollio?*

4. *ad haec refellenda*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 61: *num censes igitur subtiliore ratione opus esse ad haec refellenda?*

4. *Carneade*: cf. introd. p. 24, n. 112.

4. *num*: with this repeated and elliptical use cf. *de Sen.* 23.

5. *Epicuro*: cf. 1, 5, n. (*Epicurum*).

5. *exaratum*: cf. 2, 80.

5f. *deum dicam an hominem*: for the form of expression cf. *de Imp. Pomp.* 57; *pro Cacl.* 71.

6. *contra naturam*: this statement would hardly be true as applied to chthonic divinities and heroes; cf. the similar expression in the verse quoted in *Tusc.* 2, 60: *audisne haec, Amphiaræ, sub terram abdite?* But Cicero is perhaps here straining a point to appeal to the Stoics who laid much stress on what was in accord with—rather than opposed to—nature.

7. *nonne*: for the deferred position cf. 1, 89, n. (*nonne*).

8. *superiore e loco*: hence more impressive in effect; cf. *Tusc.* 1, 117: *magna tamen eloquentia est utendum atque illa velut superiore e loco concionandum ut homines mortem . . . optare incipiant*; 2 *Verr.* 1, 14; 2, 102; 4, 49; 4, 86; 5, 151.

8. *homo*: changing from the previous construction (sc. *dicam*, or *credid exaratum esse*).

9f. *potuit . . . didicisse*: the perfect infinitive of *disco* is probably here

quae docebat alios ipse didicisse? Sed ego insipientior quam illi ipsi qui ista credunt, qui quidem contra eos tam diu disputem.

XXIV. Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat quod non rideret haruspex haruspicum cum vidisset. 52. Quota enim quaeque res evenit praedicta ab istis? Aut, si evenit quippiam, quid adferri potest cur non casu id evenerit? Rex Prusias, cum Hannibali apud eum exulanti depugnari placeret, negabat se audere, quod exta prohiberent. 'Ain tu?' inquit, 'carunculae vitulinae mavis quam imperatori veteri

equivalent to the present infinitive of *scio*; cf. *Phil.* 2, 117: *neque intelligis satis esse . . . didicisse*; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 135.

1. *ego insipientior, etc.*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 18: *sumne sanus, qui haec vos docco?*

3. *illud*: cf. 1, 65: *illud Cullani*; also 1, 14, n. (*illa*); 1, 40, n. (*illa*); Reid on *Ac.* 2, 86; *de Am.* 90: *scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa*.

For the remark cf. *N. D.* 1, 71: *mirabile videtur quod non rideat haruspex cum haruspicum viderit* (where the lack of ascription to Cato may indicate that the remark had become more or less proverbial). Similarly Diogenes the Cynic, according to *Diog. L.* 6, 24: *θαν (sc. ἴσθ) . . . ἀνεροκρίτας καὶ μάντιες καὶ τοὺς προσήχοτας τοῖσις . . . οὐδὲν ματαυτέρων νομίζεν ἀνθρώπων*; Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, 31: "*Mais qui fut celui qui inventa cet art (i.e., divination)? Ce fut le premier fripon qui rencontra un imbécile.*"

But Cato's saying is more correctly understood from a knowledge of his other utterances on divination; cf. 1, 28, n. (*queritur*); Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 547, and n. 7. His *bon mot* was probably based, not on purely materialistic grounds (as Goldbacher, *Der Hellenismus in Rom* (1891), 17, seems to think), but upon a differentiation between established forms, such as the augurship and its rites, and the irresponsible free diviners; cf. 1, 132, n. (*tricanos haruspices*).

4. *haruspex, haruspicum*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*Stoicis Stoico*).

5. *si evenit quippiam*: cf. 2, 62.

5f. *quid adferri potest cur*: cf. 1, 85, n. (*quicquam aliud adfertur cur*). There seems to be a brachylogy here for *quid adferri potest cur non id casu evenisse existimandum sit*; cf. 2, 126, n. (*praesertim cum . . . dicat*).

6. *casu*: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

6f. *Prusias, etc.*: cf. *Val. Max.* 3, 7, ext. 6: *Hannibal vero, cum apud regem Prusiam exuleret auctorque ei committendi proelii esset, atque is non idem sibi extis portendi diceret, 'ain tu?' inquit, 'vitulinae carunculae quam imperatori veteri mavis credere'*. But contrast the account in *Plut. de Exil.* 16: *Ἀντίβας ὁ Καρχηδόσιος οὐκ ἐχρήτο παρησιᾶ πρὸς Ἀντιόχου βασιλέα θύτα φυγὰς ὡν, ἀθηναίκα καιροῦ δίδόντος ἐπέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ δὲ θυσάμιου καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κωλύειν φάσκοντος, ἐπειμήσεν εἰπὼν 'οὐ τί κρέας λέγει σκοπεῖς, οὐ τί τοῦν ἔχων ἀνθρώπος.'*

Hannibal fled in 195 B. C. to Antiochus the Great, assisted him from 192-190 in his war against Rome, and later counselled Prusias, king of Bithynia, in his war (184) against King Eumenes of Pergamum. Cf. *Lenschau in P.-W.* s.v. *Hannibal* (1912). 2348-2349. For the connection of Hannibal with stories of divination cf. 1, 48-49. Dio (13, 54, 3) says of him: *προσέτι καὶ μαρτυρῆν τὴν διὰ σπλάγχων ἠπίστατο*.

8. *ain*: a rather frequent form (cf. Kühner-Holweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 135) in Cicero, appearing in 2, 146 below with an added *tandem* (as most commonly); *ain tu* occurs in *Tusc.* 5, 35; *de Or.* 1, 165; *Brut.* 152; *ad Au.* 4, 5, 1; 6, 1, 17; 12, 6, 2. Like the

credere?' Quid? ipse Caesar, cum a summo haruspice moneretur ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset,

following diminutive (*carunculae vitulinae*; cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 18), it is intended to express surprised contempt.

1. *ipse*: cf. 2, 66: *ipso Roscio*; 2, 99: *huic ipsi Caesari*.

1. *Caesar, etc.*: cf. *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 4: *Gaius Caesar, ne ante brumam in Africam navigia transmitteret, auguriis et auspiciis renitentibus, spreuit; eo facilius et navigavit et vicit* (copied verbatim by *Cypr. quod Idola Dii non sint*, 5). Suet. *Iul.* 59 says: *ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam vel retardatus est. cum immolanti aufugisset hostia* (cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin.*, 2 (1906), 16-17), *projectionem adversus Scipionem et Iudam non distulit. prolapsus etiam in egressu navis verso ad melius omine, teneo te, inquit, Africa, etc.* For Caesar's rationalistic attitude in religious matters, especially in questions of divination, cf. 1, 119, n. (*in extis, etc.*); Morawski in *Eos*, 19 (1909), 1-6.

1. *a summo haruspice*: the phrase occurs only here, and the adjective may be purely descriptive, like *summus imperator* in 1, 24, or else may designate the head or president of the haruspices (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 111), for Thulin (in *P.-W.* s.v. *haruspices* (1912), 2438) compares *C.I.L.* VI, nos. 2164; 2165: *HARISPICI MAXIMO*; VI, no. 2161: *MAGISTER PV <BLICVS> HARVSPICVM*; cf. also IX, no. 1540 (from Beneventum): *HAR. PVBL. PRIMARIO*; and perhaps XIV, no. 164 (from Ostia): *MAGISTRO. HARP. DE <L> X*. That this particular haruspex was Spurinna (cf. 1, 119, and note), as suggested by Davies and others, is denied by Thulin (*Die etrusk. Disciplin.*, 3 (1909), 135). There is especial force in the epithet *summus*, as indicating that this advice was given, not by a *vicanus haruspex* (1, 132), but by one who stood at the head of his profession.

2. *ante brumam*: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 709-710: *harispex vetuit; ante brumam autem novi / negoti incipere!* and Donatus explains: *irrisit homines Terentius quibus religio est aggredi negotium aliquod diebus decrescensibus* (cf. 2, 33, n. (*puleium . . . florescere*) above).

As a matter of fact, Caesar had to wait some time before crossing to Africa, in order to secure favorable winds (*Bell. Afr.* 1, 3), so that he actually set sail on 27 December (*id.* 2, 4), i.e., two days after the solstice (25 December; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 18, 221, a time of windless, halcyon days, according to Plin. *N. H.* 18, 231), and Dio Cass. 42, 56, 1 says: *ἡ γὰρ Ἀφρικὴν καιροὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιστηθέτος ἐπεραιώθη*, while Plut. *Caes.* 52 describes him as *περὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς διαβάς εἰς Συκελίαν*. Cicero (followed by Minucius and Cyprian) implies that the crossing took place, contrary to the advice of the haruspex, before the solstice; Plutarch sets it at the time of the solstice; the *Bellum Africanum* two days after it; and Dio is not specific. But it should be noted that in this year 47 Caesar's reform of the calendar had not yet occurred (it was made in 46), and the day numbered 27 December really corresponded to 8 October. To the disagreement, then, between the astronomical and the calendar solstice we may ascribe, at least in part, the discrepancies between the various accounts; cf. Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, 3, 2 ed. (1906), 521, n. 4.

For Caesar's habit of campaigning in stormy or wintry weather, in order to take his enemies by surprise, cf. Suet. *Iul.* 58; 65; Dio Cass. 42, 58, 2 (of the present occasion): *Ἐλαθεν αὐτοῦς (the enemy) ἀνίπικτος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιωθεὶς*; Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* 3, 671.

2. *quod ni*: a favorite phrase in Cicero; cf. Merquet, *Lcx. z. d. philos. Schr.* 2, 695.

uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent. Quid ego haruspicum responsa commemorem (possum equidem innumerabilia), quae aut nullos habuerint exitus aut contrarios? 53. Hoc civili bello, di immortales! quam multa luserunt! quae nobis in Graeciam Roma responsa haruspicum missa sunt! quae dicta Pompeio! Etenim ille admodum extis et ostentis movebatur. Non lubet commemorare, nec vero necesse est, tibi praesertim, qui interfuisti; vides tamen omnia fere contra ac dicta sint evenisse. Sed haec hactenus; nunc ad ostenta veniamus.

XXV. 54. Multa me consule a me ipso scripta recitasti, multa ante Marsicum bellum a Sisenna collecta attulisti, multa ante Lacedaemoniorum

1. **uno in loco**: for the use of the ablative instead of the accusative in such expressions cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 5, 92. The course of this campaign is described by Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* 3, 2 ed. 519-545, following, in large measure, the *De Bello Africano*.

1. **adversariorum**: Scipio, Juba, and their supporters.

If. **quid . . . commemorem**: cf. 1, 26, n. (*quid . . . commemorem*).

If. **haruspicum responsa**: cf. 1, 97, n. (*responsis haruspicum*).

3. **hoc civili bello**: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 90.

3. **di immortales**: this parenthetical ejaculation is frequent, even in the philosophical works (cf. 2, 76), and occasionally we find *o di immortales* or *pro di immortales*.

4. **luserunt**: Thoresen takes the subject to be *haruspices*. But the *haruspices* have been recently mentioned only in the genitive, and *multa* may more probably be referred, if not actually to the *haruspicum responsa* of the preceding sentence, at least to the general class to which such predictions belong, and made the subject of *luserunt*.

4f. **in Graeciam . . . missa**: cf. *Jul. Obseq.* 65a for the omens of this period; also 1, 68, and n. (*remigem quandam*) above.

5. **Pompeio**: cf. 1, 68, n. (*remigem quandam*); 2, 99; *Val. Max.* 1, 5, 6 (but in 1, 6, 12 he censures Pompey for neglecting the numerous signs which should have warned him in his struggle with Caesar). *Lucan*, as part of his epic machinery,

makes use of several forms of predictions to Pompey (1, 584-638 by haruspication); 1, 640-672 (by astrology, interpreted by Figulus); 1, 673-695 (by a frenzied prophetess); 3, 9-35 (by an apparition); 7, 7-44 (by a dream); cf. Moore in *Harv. Stud. in class. Philol.* 32, (1921), 142-151.

Pompey was himself an augur (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 365; Drumann-Groebe, *op. cit.* 4, 2 ed. (1908), 553, n. 6), and was one of the two who nominated Cicero for membership in the augural college (*Phil.* 2, 4), but in the next sentence Cicero intimates that it was the art of the haruspices (*extis et ostentis*) which really impressed him.

6. **tibi praesertim**: for the type of argument from personal experience cf. 1, 22, and n. (*poteris*).

8. **hactenus**: cf. 2, 76; and the actual phrase *sed haec hactenus* is frequent; cf. *Fal.* 20; *Off.* 1, 140; 3, 6; *Fin.* 4, 14; *de Am.* 55; *Parad.* 41; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 24.

8. **nunc ad ostenta**: cf. 2, 42; 2, 49; for promises to discuss this subject.

9. **multa me consule**: a brachylogy for 'many of the events of my consulship,' and, as Plasberg well warns (*Rhein. Mus.* 53 (1898), 85, with citation of parallel instances from Cicero and Livy), not to be either emended or interpreted as *multa me consule facta et . . . scripta*.

9. **recitasti**: cf. 1, 17-22.

9f. **ante Marsicum bellum, etc.**: cf. 1, 99.

10. **ante Lacedaemoniorum, etc.**: cf.

malam pugnam in Leuctris a Callisthene commemorata dixisti; de quibus dicam equidem singulis, quoad videbitur; sed dicendum etiam est de universis. Quae est enim ista a deis profecta significatio et quasi denuntiatio calamitatum? Quid autem volunt di immortales primum ea significantes quae sine interpretibus non possimus intellegere, deinde ea quae cavere nequeamus? At hoc ne homines quidem probi faciunt, ut amicis independentis calamitates praedicant quas illi effugere nullo modo possint, ut medici, quamquam intellegunt saepe, tamen numquam aegris dicunt

1. Leuctris C. Christ, Baier, Thoresen, Leuctricis Marsus, Müller, Heeringa.

4. volunt . . . primum ea Lambinus ed. a. 1581, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, volunt ea . . . primum AV, ea volunt . . . primum B, volunt [ea] . . . primum Lambinus ed. a. 1586, Christ.

1, 74; 2, 57; 2, 67.

1. *malam pugnam*: cf. 1, 123: *male pugnatum*; Sall. *Iug.* 56, 3: *malam pugnam*.

1. *Leuctris*: this reading of the MSS Müller (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 624), following the edition of Marsus (1508), emended to *Leuctricis*, thinking *Λευκτριά* to be the title of a part of the *Ἑλληνικά* of Callisthenes (cf. 1, 74, n. (*Callisthenes*) above). But we have no evidence for such a title of a division of that work. Moser and Giese explained the reading of the MSS as an imitation of the Greek phrase *τὴν ἐν Λευκτροῦ μάχην* (as in Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 33: *ἐν Λευκτροῦ . . . μάχουμος*; cf. 6, 4, 4), but Müller is much shocked by this explanation, presumably—though he does not so state—because of the use of the preposition *in* with the name of a town. There is no doubt, however, that this construction was a permissible one in the post-Ciceronian period (cf. the examples in Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 479), and we may well question whether some of the earlier instances which have been deleted from our texts by later editors do not justify the usage, in rare instances, even in the Ciceronian period (cf., for example, Caes. *B. C.* 2, 18, 1, where the MSS read *in Hispali*). Again, in Cicero himself we find (*ad Att.* 8, 3, 6): *navis et in Caieta est parata nobis et Brundisi*, which Kühner-Stegmann (*l.c.*) explain on the ground that *Caieta* is an estate, not a town (but why not, then, rather

Caietano, like *Cumano*, *Tusculano*, etc.?), and Schmidt (in *Neue Jahrb.* 3 (1899), 352, n. 2) by stating Caieta to be a region rather than a town. Even granted that this latter explanation may be correct, may not Cicero similarly have thought of Leuctra? If any emendation be here required—which I doubt—, rather than create a title of Callisthenes for which we have no evidence we might delete the word *in*, as a possible case of dittography of the final *m* of *pugnam*.

3. *quasi*: probably used because the noun *denuntiatio* is here employed in the new and unusual sense of 'prediction'; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *denuntiatio*.

4. *quid autem volunt, etc.*: cf. Aug. *C. D.* 3, 17: *in quo genere oraculorum, sicut Cicero in libris de divinatione commemorat, magis interpretibus ut possunt seu volunt dubia coniectantibus credi solet*.

5f. *quae cavere nequeamus*: he here returns to the complaint of 2, 20-25 against the uselessness of divination. Cf. also 1, 83, nn. (*existunt nihil interesse; erimus . . . cautiore*); 1, 119, n. (*ut videret . . . non ut caveret*); 2, 21, n. (*ut cautiore simus*); 2, 22, n. (*ne utilem quidem*); 2, 105.

8. *ut medici*: cf. Plat. *Rep.* 3, p. 389 b: *εἰ . . . τῷ ὄντι θαῖσι μὲν ἀχρηστος ψεύδοι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ χρησιμὸν ὡς ἐν φαρμάκῳ εἶδει, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ γε τοιαῦτον λατροῖς δοῦναι, ἰδιώταις δὲ οὐχ ἀπτόν* (cf. 2, p. 382 c), and in 5, p. 459 c-d he remarks that, as in the case of physicians, so *συχνῶ τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τῷ ἀτάτῃ κωδινύει ἡμῖν δεφθεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς*

illo morbo eos esse morituros; omnis enim praedictio mali tum probatur cum ad praedictionem cautio adiungitur. 55. Quid igitur aut ostenta aut eorum interpretes vel Lacedaemonios olim vel nuper nostros adiuverunt? Quae si signa deorum putanda sunt, cur tam obscura fuerunt? Si enim ut intellegeremus quid esset eventurum, aperte declarari oportebat, aut ne occulte quidem, si ea sciri nolebant. XXVI. Iam vero coniectura omnis, in qua nititur divinatio, ingeniis hominum in multas aut diversas aut etiam contrarias partis saepe diducitur. Ut enim in causis iudicialibus alia coniectura est accusatoris, alia defensoris et tamen utriusque credibilis, sic in omnibus iis rebus quae coniectura investigari videntur anceps reperitur oratio.

Quas autem res tum natura, tum casus adfert (non numquam etiam

8. diducitur *Manutius, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heringa*, deducitur *C.*

11. oratio *C., Müller, Heringa*, ratio *Hofinger, Christ, Baier, Thoresen*.

ἀρχονται ἐν' ὠφέλει τῶν ἀρχομένων. The question is put in a form yet more like the present by Aug. de Mendac. 5: si aliquid aegrotus interroget quod ei scire non expedit, qui etiam te non respondente possit gravius affligi; audebisne aut verum dicere in perniciem hominis, aut silere potius quam honesto et misericordii mendacio valedudini eius opitulari? (cf. his contra Mendac. 36; Enchirid. 22; Enarrat. in Ps. 5, 7; Schindler, Die Lüge in der patrist. Lit. (in Gesch. d. christl. Altert. u. d. bys. Lit. (1922), 421-433)). For the 'medicinal lie' in general cf. Luc. Philopseud. 1: πολλὰ, ὦ Τυχιᾶδη, ἐστὶν ἃ τοὺς ἀθρώπους ἐπιλοῦν ἀναγκάζει τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀποθλίψεως.

2. ad praedictionem cautio, etc.: cf. *Fam.* 11, 21, 3: ego enim quae provideri poterunt non fallar in iis; quae cautionem non habebunt de iis non ita valde laboro; de *Am.* 78.

2f. quid, etc.: cf. 2, 20; 2, 24.

3. Lacedaemonios: cf. 1, 75-76.

3. nuper: cf. 1, 24, n. (*nuper*); 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); 2, 59.

3. nostros: as in the cases cited in 1, 77-78.

4. cur tam obscura: cf. 1, 83, where the Stoic reasoning asserts that by the art of divination these signs became no longer obscure.

4. si enim: for this elliptical usage cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 22.

6. iam vero, etc.: cf. the note on *quas aulem res*, etc. below.

6f. coniectura . . . diducitur: cf. 2, 145: coniecturam modo huc, modo illuc ducentium.

6f. coniectura . . . in qua nititur divinatio: cf. 1, 24, n. (*coniectura . . . nititur*). As Thoresen remarks, *qua* refers not to *coniectura omnis* but merely to *coniectura*.

7. ingeniis: not a plural of the concrete used for the abstract, as Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 78 supposes, but a plural used to emphasize the diverse character of the *ingenia* of different men, leading to many diverse or even conflicting interpretations—a much more effective meaning than one asserting the results of the collective ingenuity of the race.

7f. in . . . diducitur: cf. 2, 145; 2, 147; de *Invent.* 2, 50; *Ac.* 2, 116.

9. accusatoris . . . defensoris: in a criminal case, as opposed to the *petitor* and *possessor* in a civil one.

10f. anceps . . . oratio: cf. de *Or.* 3, 107; alii (sc. loci) vero ancipites disputationes, in quibus de universo genere in utramque partem disseri copiose licet.

12. quas autem res, etc.: the logical connection of this passage, to which Sander (*Quaest. de. Cic. Lib. quos scripsit*

errorem creat similitudo), magna stultitia est earum rerum deos facere effectores, causas rerum non quaerere. 56. Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebaediae vidisse ex gallorum gallinaceorum cantu victoriam esse Thebanorum, quia galli victi silere solerent, canere victores. Hoc igitur per gallinas Iuppiter tantae civitati signum dabat? An illae aves nisi cum vicerunt

2. Lebaediae vulg., tbeaiede C (cf. 1, 74).

de Div. (1908), 17-18) objects and which he considers unintelligible, can be greatly improved by two changes in punctuation: (1) removing the beginning of the new paragraph from before the words *iam vero coniectura omnis* (where most editors place it) to just before *quas autem res*, and (2) treating the words *non numquam etiam errorem creat similitudo* as parenthetical (with Davies and various later editors). The two sentences thus added to the preceding paragraph explain the obscurity of divine predictions, in which, as in cases at law, much in the way of interpretation may be said on each side of the question. This difficulty attaches, then, to all matters which depend upon conjecture, and hence, by inference, to artificial divination (cf. 1, 34), the class to which *ostenta* (cf. 1, 12) belong. The words *quas autem res*, however, introduce a new aspect of the question (for the use of *autem* in such transitions cf. 1, 87; 1, 117; 1, 129; 2, 51; etc.), quite aside from the difficulty of interpreting signs already accepted as having a portentous character, namely the difficulty of determining in any given case whether the sign is not due purely to nature or to chance, and this division of the subject extends through 2, 57, where the words *vel natura vel casus* correspond to *sum natura sum casus* in this section. The familiar and free style shown in the construction of the sentence—*quas . . . res . . . earum rerum*, with *causas rerum* following—need cause no surprise as to the correctness of the reading.

1. *errorem creat similitudo*: his meaning may be that the occasional likeness in the effects of chance to the effects produced by nature leads men to confuse the

causes of those effects. Or, in view of what follows, Cicero may mean that the likeness of the effects of either nature or chance to those which we might suppose would be produced by supernatural intervention leads us into the mistake of ascribing divine causes in cases where natural or fortuitous ones would be adequate and safer.

1. *stultitia est*: for the phrase cf. *N. D.* 3, 84; *Tusc.* 3, 77; Plasberg on *Ac.* 2, 54 (for similar ones). A like complaint occurs in *N. D.* 3, 25, where Cotta says that the Stoics, unable to be satisfied with nature as a cause for certain phenomena, have recourse to deity as an explanation as though to an altar. Cf. also 2, 43 above.

2. *effectores*: so particularly of the gods as creative agents in 2, 147; *Tusc.* 1, 70; *Tim.* 17; 40; 47.

2. *vates Boeotios*: cf. 1, 74.

4. *galli victi*: here put in the masculine and so more appropriate than the *avis illa* of 1, 74. The following term *gallinae* is therefore probably generic rather than with precise reference to sex, as the English word 'hens' may at times be used to include cocks. It is unnecessary to assume that Cicero is in this sentence referring to the crowing of hens (mentioned by Ter. *Phorm.* 708 (cf. Donat. ad loc.); Columell. 8, 5, 24).

5. *Iuppiter*, etc.: cf. 2, 72. and n. (*haec*, etc.).

5ff. *an illae*, etc.: Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 35-36; also in his edition) would reduce this passage to a hypothetical dialogue form, assigning the sentence *an illar*, etc. to Quintus, *at sum*, etc. to

canere non solent? At tum canebant nec vicerant. Id enim est, inquires, ostentum. Magnum vero! quasi pisces, non galli cecinerint! Quod

Marcus, after which *id enim, etc.* expresses the view of Quintus, and *magnum vero, etc.* the retort of Marcus. But to do this he has to delete the *non* before *solent*, and the text as it stands is preferable. Marcus first, in two sentences, raises two objections: (1) that a sign should have been sent to so great a city by so ignoble a means; (2) that the sign is itself an ambiguous one, because cocks crow at other times than after a victory. But as a matter of fact on this occasion they had crowed even though they had not (themselves) won a victory. 'For it is just in this,' you will say, 'that the portent lies.' At will then introduce, not an objection of an opponent of the writer, but an additional one suggested by the writer himself, and the sense is straightforward and logical.

1. *inquires*: cf. 2, 114; 2, 117.

2. *magnum vero*: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 117.

2. *vero*: ironical; cf. 1, 77; 2, 59; *N. D.* 2, 11; and several times in the orations.

2. *quasi*: cf. 2, 45, n. (*quasi*); Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 220.

2. *pisces, etc.*: their muteness was proverbial. Whether the adjectives *ἄλλος* (Soph. *Ai.* 1297 (cf. Jebb's note); anon. ap. Athen. 7, p. 277 d) and *ἄλλος* (Hes. *Scut.* 212; Empedocl. fr. 117 Diels; etc.) mean 'mute' is very dubious (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étym. de la Lang. gr.* (1916), 245), but undoubted allusions occur in Aesch. *Pers.* 577-578: ἀναίδων . . . / παίδων τὰς ἀμείνων; fr. 307 Sidgwick: θύπος . . . ἀναίδος; Soph. fr. 762 Pearson: ἀναίδων ἰχθύων; Hor. *Carm.* 4, 3, 19: *mutis* . . . *piscibus*; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 14; 2, 18; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 4, 4, 4; Luc. *adv. Indoct.* 16: τῶν ἰχθύων ἀφωνότερος (cf. *Pisc.* 51; *Somn.* 1; Didym. *Alex. de Trinit.* 2, 7, 8 (*Patr. Gr.* 39, 585 A): ἀφωνότεροι πάντως ἔσασθε τῶν ἰχθύων);

Opp. Ital. 1, 134; [Orig.] in *Iob*, 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 17, 406 C): *nam pisces neque linguam neque vocem habent*; Ambr. *de Incarnat. Dom. Sacr.* 15: *piscator . . . ipsius . . . piscibus taciturnior erat*; Symphos. *Aenigm.* 12; Apostol. 13, 45 (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 585): ὅτ' ἰχθύς φωνῆν ὅτ' ἀπαλεινός ἀρεθῆν, and the German saying 'stumme wie ein Fisch'; Dölger, *Der heilige Fisch in der ant. Relig. u. im Christentum*, 2 (1922), 311-314. Aristotle, however, remarks (*Hist. Anim.* 4, 9, p. 535 b 14 ff.): ὁ δ' ἰχθύς ἄφωνος μὲν εἶσιν (ὅστε γὰρ πνεύματα ὅστε ἀρητηρίαν καὶ φάρυγγα ἔχουσι), ψόφους δὲ τινὰς ἀφίᾳσι καὶ τριγμοῦς ὅσι λέγουσι φωνεῖν, οἷον λίρα καὶ χρῶμις (οὔτοι γὰρ ἀφίᾳσι ὡσπερ γροιλισμῶν) καὶ ὁ κᾶπρος ὅ ἐν τῷ Ἀχαλάρῳ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ χαλκίς καὶ ἀκουεῖ . . . πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν δοκοῦσαν φωνῆν ἀφίᾳσι τὰ μὲν τῆ τρίψει τῶν βραγχίων . . . τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἑσπῶς τοῖς περὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, κτλ.; and cf. Paus. 8, 21, 2 (and other passages cited in Frazer's note and by Dölger, *op. cit.* 2, 186, n. 2; 249, n. 2; 317, n. 1) for the vocal fishes in the Aroanium River. In spite of the statement of Plutarch (*de Sollert. Anim.* 22) that, contrasted with the thousands of predictions from birds and land animals, ἐν οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον ἀποφῆσαι τῷ προδικοῦντι τῶν ἐνὶ ὕδρῳ, ἀλλὰ κωφὰ πάντα καὶ τυφλὰ τῆς προφασίς εἰς τὸν ἄθρον' καὶ τιτανικὸν ἀπέριπται τόπον ὡσπερ ἀσεβῶν χώρων, κτλ., divination from fishes, or ichthyomancy, is attested for the Orient, particularly in Lycia (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 151-152), the fish being apparently a symbol of the water *numen*, according to Ninck (in *Philologus*, 14 Supplbd. (1921), 97, n. 4). For the fish-oracle at Sura see the evidence collected by Wolff, *De noviss. Oracul. Aetate* (1854), 41; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 152; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 168, n. 3; Ninck, *l.c.*; other cases are gathered by Bulenger in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 503; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 197-199; Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2

autem est tempus quo illi non cantent, vel nocturnum vel diurnum? Quodsi victores alacritate et quasi laetitia ad canendum excitantur, potuit accidisse alia quoque laetitia, quae ad cantum moverentur. 57. Democritus quidem optimis verbis causam explicat cur ante lucem galli canant; depulso enim de pectore et in omne corpus diviso et mitificato cibo cantus edere quiete satiatos; qui quidem 'silentio noctis,' ut ait Ennius,

(1913), 347-348; to which add Plin. *N. H.* 9, 55; 32, 4.

2. *laetitia*: cf. what Virgil says (*Georg.* 1, 412-413) of the *corvi*: *nescio qua propter solitum dulcedine laeti / inter se in foliis strepitant.*

3. *Democritus*: Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokrat.* 2, 3 ed. (1912), 52, no. 158; also 1, 5, n. (*Democritus*) supra; and, for his views upon the relation of food to animal life, 1, 131; 2, 30. Another passage deserving comparison is 1, 60-61.

4. *optimis verbis*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 84; *Tusc.* 5, 27.

5. *depulso*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 135: *stomachus . . . cum depulsum et quasi detrusum cibum accepit, depellit*; 2, 138.

5. *in omne corpus diviso*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 137 (and Mayor's note, in which Cicero's misunderstandings of the process of digestion are explained); *Liv.* 2, 32, 11: (*ventrem*) *reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem*; *Apul. de Dogm. Plat.* 1, 18.

5. *mitificato*: a rare word; in this sense perhaps only here. Cf. the compound *turpificati* in *Off.* 3, 105.

6. *silentio noctis*: Skutsch (in *Rhein. Mus.* 61 (1906), 610-611; following a conjecture of Müller) takes these words as part of the subsequent quotation, and thinks that *silēntiō noctis* may have stood in the anapaests of Ennius. But if we accept the statement of Zillinger (*Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 115, n. 1) that, in cases in which Cicero interrupts a poetical quotation by the phrase *ut ait*, he quotes after this phrase the words immediately following those which he has already quoted, it seems inadvisable

here to consider *silentio noctis* as from Ennius (in spite of Moser's citation of *silentia noctis* in *Lucr.* 4, 460; *Ov. Met.* 7, 184), for the metre will not permit them immediately to precede *favent faucibus*.

6. *Ennius*: the lines which follow are assigned by Vahlen to the *Iphigenia* of Ennius (*frag.* 3), but the identification rests upon entirely inadequate grounds, namely the assumption that they correspond to *Eur. I. A.* 9-10: *οικουν φθγγος γ' οβρ' ορνιθων / οβρε θαλασσης*. Further, to produce a more complete correspondence, Vahlen (*Index Lect.* 1888/89, 10-13 = *Opusc. acad.* 1 (1907), 409-413; and in his second edition of Ennius (1903)), re-divides and emends so as to read: *favent faucibus rursis, / <missis> cantu plausuque premunt / alas*, explaining that the occasion described is the dead of night (*silentio noctis*), when even the cocks have given up crowing and flapping of the wings and have folded or drooped (*pre-munt*) their wings in sleep. According to this view of Davies, Vahlen, and others, moreover, *favent faucibus* is used like *favent linguis* (cf. 1, 102, n. (*favarent linguis*) above and the expression *ore faventes* in *Enn. Ann.* 437). But Cicero's entire point in making the quotation is by any such explanation destroyed, for that it is not the silence but the crowing of the cocks which he wishes to emphasize will be clear to anyone who reads the context (*vel nocturnum vel diurnum* (2, 56); *cur ante lucem galli canant; cantus edere quiete satiatos; cum igitur hoc animal tam sit canorum*). It is, then, not the silence of the cocks during the night but the fact that *ante lucem*, while other things are still silent, the cocks crow and flap their wings. Thus *Censor. de Die nat.*

. . . favent faucibus russis

Cantu, plausuque premunt alas.

Cum igitur hoc animal tam sit canorum sua sponte, quid in mentem venit Callistheni dicere deos gallis signum dedisse cantandi, cum id vel natura vel casus efficere potuisset?

XXVII. 58. Sanguine pluisse senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam

2. cantus lausuque premunt A.

6. sanguine vulg., sanguinem C. O.

24, 1-2, gives divisions of the day, and says: *tempus quod huic proximum est vocatur de media nocte; sequitur gallicinium, cum galli canere incipiunt; dein conticinium, cum conticuerunt; tunc ante lucem, et sic diluculum/ cum sole nondum orto iam lucet* (a passage which surely justifies, if ordinary common experience were held insufficient (!) the thrusting back of the hour associated by the Romans with cock-crowing to a time clearly thought of as part of the night). Closely agreeing with Censorinus is Macrobius *Sat.* 1, 3, 12; cf. *Apul. Met.* 8, 1; *Ambr. Hexaem.* 5, 88: *est etiam galli cantus suavis in noctibus*. The only difficulty in regard to this view still remaining to be explained is the use of *favent*, which, quickly disappears if it be taken with *cantu* in the sense of 'sing' (as explained by Turnebus, *Advers.* 5, 19, and others), or even as meaning 'raise a cheer,' a common use of the word (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. farco* (1915), 377), and, in view of *plausu* in the second line, a highly appropriate one here, the crowing and flapping of wings corresponding, on the part of the cock, to human demonstrations by cheers and clapping of hands. That this interpretation is the one to be here given to *plausu* . . . *premunt alas* (with Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* (1875), 95) is suggested by *Plin. N. H.* 10, 46: (*galli*) *cum sole eunt cubitum, quartaque castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant, nec solis ortum incautis patiuntur obrepere, diemque venientem nuntiant cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laterum*; cf. *Lucr.* 4, 710-711: *gallum noctem explaudentibus alis / auro-ram clara consuetum voce vocare*. On the whole, then, it seems safer, with Ribbeck

(*Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 76-77) and against Vahlen (*ll. cc.*) and Zillinger (*Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter* (1911), 115), to assign this fragment to some undetermined play of Ennius, rather than to the *Iphigenia*. Before *favent* probably three syllables are suppressed, which have been restored by Ribbeck (*ll. cc.*) as *gallique*. For Cicero's use of Ennius cf. 1, 40, n. (*apud Ennium*); introd. to Vahlen's 2 ed., xxxix; xlvi-liv.

1. *faucibus russis*: cf. the *russam* . . . *gingivam* of Catull. 39, 19. Aristotle (*de Audib.* p. 800 b 22-24) remarks: *πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ τραπέζου ἔχοντα μακροῦς φθέγγονται βίαιον, ὅλον ὁ χῆνες καὶ γέλαροι καὶ ἀλατρυόνες*. On the prosody of *faucibus* cf. 1, 40, n. (*artubus*).

3. *canorum*: cf. *Ambr. Hexaem.* 5, 88: *processum noctis canora significatione protestans* (sc. *gallus*).

4. *Callistheni*, etc.: in 1, 74 (cf. 2, 54) Callisthenes is not made to say this on his own authority, but merely to state that the *augures Boeotii* so declared.

4. *deos* . . . *signum dedisse cantandi*: cf. 1, 12: *Iuppiterne cornicem a laeva . . . canere iussisset*. Cicero is here, of course, not referring to the regular morning crowing, but to the special occasion described in 1, 74.

4f. *natura vel casus*: cf. 2, 55.

6. *sanguine pluisse*: cf. 1, 98. For the syntax of the instrumental ablative with *pluere*, *sudare*, *fluere*, *manare*, etc., cf. Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.* 3 ed. (1900), 251; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 384.

6. *senatui nuntiatum*: cf. 1, 97.

6. *Atratum*: cf. 1, 98.

fluvium fluxisse sanguine, deorum sudasse simulacra. Num censes his nuntiis Thalen aut Anaxagoran aut quemquam physicum crediturum fuisse? Nec enim sanguis nec sudor nisi e corpore. Sed et decoloratio quaedam ex aliqua contagione terrena maxime potest sanguini similis esse, et umor adlapsus extrinsecus, ut in tectoriis videmus austro, sudorem videtur imitari. Atque haec in bello plura et maiora videntur timentibus, eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace; accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur inpunius. 59. Nos autem ita leves atque inconsiderati sumus ut si mures corroserint aliquid,

1. *sudasse*: cf. 1, 98, and n. (*sudavit*); Rawlinson and Blakesley on Hdt. 7, 140.

2. *Thalen*: on the form of his name cf. 1, 111, n. (*Thalem*). Of his actual beliefs in regard to portents and divination little is known, but *a priori* we should be justified in supposing him to have been either hostile or at least sceptical towards them (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 32-33; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philos. iudicaverint* (1910), 6-7), since he attempted to develop the possibility of scientific, as opposed to mantic prediction (cf. 1, 111).

2. *Anaxagoran*: on the declension of this name in Latin see Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 430. In *Ac.* 2, 14 Cicero uses this form of the accusative; in *Ac.* 1, 44; *Tusc.* 5, 66 that in *-am*. Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 1, 37) holds that Cicero, by not mentioning Anaxagoras in 1, 5 as an opponent of divination, possibly there considered that he accepted it, but the present passage hardly points in that direction; the general attitude of Anaxagoras towards irregular supernatural intervention in human affairs is opposed (cf. 1, 93, n. (*hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu*) above); and, as Bouché-Leclercq notes, a passage in Plutarch (*Pericl.* 6) shows an attempt of Anaxagoras to explain away a supposed portent on purely physical grounds (cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.* 64). The tales that Anaxagoras himself had powers of divination (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1, 2; Hippol. *Philosoph.* 8, 13 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 563)) are late and probably untrustworthy.

2. *aut quemquam physicum*: cf. *Fat.* 18: *nec ipsi nec cuiquam physico placet*; also 2, 37, n. (*physicus*) supra.

3. *nec . . . nec*: corresponding to *et . . . et* in the next sentence.

3. *decoloratio*: a rare word in the literal sense, and in Cicero only here.

3. *contagione*: cf. 1, 98, n. (*Atratus*).

4. *umor*: cf. 1, 98, n. (*sudavit*).

5. *tectoriis*: for Cicero's use of the word and the phrase *opus tectorium* cf. *Leg.* 2, 65; *ad Q. Fr.* 3, 1, 1.

5. *austro*: particularly damp; cf. *Gell.* 2, 22, 14: *Latine auster, Graece υβρος nominatur, quoniam est nebulosus atque umectus; veris enim Graece umor nominatur*; also many other allusions, such as *Plaut. Merc.* 877; *Virg. Georg.* 3, 429; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 174; *Sen. Med.* 583-584; *II. O.* 71; etc. The word *austro* is to be here construed either as an ablative of time, analogous to *pace*, *bello*, etc. (Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 359), or perhaps as a development of the ablative absolute as seen in such phrases as *sereno*, etc. (*id.* 780). Possibly it is even a simple instrumental ablative (with *imitari*). It is not dissimilar to the expression of *Cat. de Agr.* 31, 2: *vento austro caelo ne quam materiem . . . tractes*.

6. *in bello plura et maiora*: cf. 1, 68, n. (*remigem quendam*). Davies also compares *Stat. Theb.* 7, 112-116; *Claud. de Bell. Goth.* 227-229.

quorum est opus hoc unum, monstrum putemus? Ante vero Marsicum bellum quod clipeos Lanuvi, ut a te dictum est, mures rosissent, maximum id portentum haruspices esse dixerunt; quasi vero quicquam intersit mures diem noctem aliquid rodentes scuta an cribra corroserint! Nam si ista sequimur, quod Platonis Politian nuper apud me mures corroserunt, de re publica debui pertimescere, aut, si Epicuri de voluptate liber rosus esset, putarem annonam in macello cariorem fore.

2. Lanuvii vulg., Muller.

1. **monstrum putemus:** for the unwillingness to accept as *monstra* things capable of a rational explanation cf. 2, 61-62.

If. **ante . . . bellum:** in 1, 99 the events with which this portent is associated are dated *initio belli Marsici*.

2. **a te dictum est:** 1, 99.

2f. **maximum id portentum:** in 1, 99, it is not merely a noteworthy portent but a very unfavorable one (*tristissimum*).

3. **quasi vero:** cf. 1, 45, n. (*quasi*); 1, 56, n. (*vero*); 2, 62; 2, 81; 2, 119; *Off.* 3, 39; Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 216, who states that *quasi vero* occurs 56 times in Cicero.

4. **cribra** in which mice in a granary or storechamber might naturally be interested; cf. Theophr. *Char.* 16, 6, who says of the superstitious man, τὰν μῦτι θύλακον ἀλφίτων διαφάγη, πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθὼν ἱρωτᾶν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; Clem. *Strom.* 7, p. 842 P. (also told by Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 6, p. 853): τί δὲ καὶ θαυμαστόν, εἰ δὲ μῦτι, φησὶν δὲ Βίων (fr. 45 Mullach, in *Frag. Phil. Gr.* 2, 427), τὸν θύλακον διέτραγεν, οὐχ εὐρῶν δὲ τι φάγη, κτλ. (cf. 2, 62, n. (*lum esset. etc.*)) Below, where Cato ap. Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* 2, 31 is quoted).

5. **Platonis Politian:** cf. 1, 60, n. (*Platonis Politia*), and for other evidence as to Cicero's use of this work cf. Hinze, *Quos Scriptores Gr. Cic. in Lib. de Re p. compon. adhibuerit* (1900), 3-11.

5. **Politian:** this Greek accusative is rare in Latin prose; cf. 2, 79: *tetrarchian*; also perhaps 2, 143: *sympathian* (but the evidence there is weak), Kühner-Holzweissig, *op. cit.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 427.

5. **nuper:** cf. 1, 24, n. (*nuper*).

5. **mures corroserunt** on the nibbling of books by mice cf. 1, 99, n. (*clipeos, etc.*). Rolls kept in an open *capsa* and so exposed at the top might easily suffer from the depredations of mice; cf. Quintil. *Inst.* 8, 3, 19: *risissim, et merito, nuper poetam qui dixeret 'praetextam in cista mures rosere Camilli.'* To the omens from mice cited in the notes on 1, 99 add Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 803, n. 1. Livy, in speaking of one case (27, 23, 2), remarks: *adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit deos.* With Cicero's story (which, in such a digression as this, need not be taken too seriously) cf. *Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, no. 222: *carminis. Iliaci libros consumpsit asellus. / O fatum Troiael aut ecus aut asinus!*

6. **Epicuri de voluptate:** cf. Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 101, who finds no other allusion to this work *περὶ ἡδονῆς* (not mentioned by Diog. L. 10, 27-28, in his list of the works of Epicurus).

7. **annonam in macello:** that is, he here indirectly taunts Epicurus (as Cotta does both Epicurus and Metrodorus in *N. D.* 1, 113) with believing that *omnia quae ad beatam vitam pertineant ventre meliri* (cf. Mayor's note for other citations).

7. **macello:** later, during the empire, there were several *macella* at Rome, but the one to which Cicero here refers is probably that built in 179 B. C. by M. Fulvius Nobilior. It was the place of sale of various food-stuffs; cf. Ter. *Eun.* 255-257; Varr. *L. L.* 5, 147: *haec omnia*

XXVIII. 60. An vero illa nos terrent, si quando aliqua portentosa aut ex pecude aut ex homine nata dicuntur? Quorum omnium, ne sim longior, una ratio est. Quicquid enim oritur, quaecumque est, causam habeat a natura necesse est, ut, etiamsi praeter consuetudinem extiterit, praeter naturam tamen non possit existere. Causam igitur investigato in re nova atque admirabili, si poteris; si nullam reperiēs, illud tamen exploratum habeto nihil fieri potuisse sine causa, eumque terrorem, quem tibi rei novitas attulerit, naturae ratione depellito. Ita te nec terrae fremitus nec caeli discessus nec lapideus aut sanguineus imber nec traiectio stellae

7. *terrorera Lambinus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoreson, Heeringa, errorem C.*

posteaquam contracta in unum locum quae ad victum pertinebant et aedificatus locus, appellatum macellum, ut quidam scribunt, quod ibi fuerit hortus, alii quod ibi domus fuerit cui cognomen fuit Macellus, quae ibi publice sit diruta, e qua aedificatum hoc quod vocetur ab eo macellum. Its location seems to have been to the north of the Forum, about on the site of the later Forum of Nerva (the *Contrada dei Macelli* of Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, pl. 22); cf. Platner, *Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome*, 2 ed. (1911), 460.

[449] 7. *cariorum*: cf. the use of *annonae caritas* in *Off.* 3, 50; 3, 89.

1. *portentosa*: a rare word; in republican Latin apparently only here.

2. *ex pecude*, etc.: cf. 1, 93, and n. (*hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu*).

2f. *omnium . . . una ratio*: cf. 2, 136; *Tusc.* 3, 83; 4, 62.

2. *ne sim longior*: for similar apologies cf. *N. D.* 1, 56: *vereor ne longior fuerim*; 1, 101; *Tusc.* 1, 111; *Off.* 2, 16; *Fin.* 2, 85; 4, 44; *Phil.* 13, 30.

4f. *praeter naturam*: cf. 1, 93, n. (*hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu*). There is danger that we may illogically identify *consuetudo* with *natura* (cf. *Fin.* 5, 74: *consuetudine quasi alteram quandam naturam effici*); cf. *N. D.* 1, 83: *non pudet igitur physicum, id est, speculatores venaloremque naturae, ab animis consuetudine imbutis petere testimonium veritatis*? also *N. D.* 2, 45.

5f. *investigato . . . habeto . . . depellito*: the imperative in *-to* is perhaps

used here because the command is to take effect not immediately but later. It is particularly often employed in cases in which the subordinate clauses are, as here, in the future or future perfect (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 197; also Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic.* (1901), 195-198).

6f. *exploratum habeto*: for the phrase cf. *N. D.* 1, 51; *Off.* 3, 75; *de Am.* 97; *Parad.* 17.

7. *nihil . . . sine causa*: cf. 2, 61; *N. D.* 2, 15; *Fat.* 25: *ne omnes physici irideant nos, si dicamus quicquam fieri sine causa*; 26; 43; *Fin.* 5, 42; *Tim.* 5: *nil autem gigni posse sine causis*; Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus* (1905), 163.

7f. *terrorera . . . depellito*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 71.

7f. *rei novitas*: cf. 1, 119.

8. *naturae ratione*: cf. 1, 90, n. (*naturae rationem*); 1, 130, n. (*rationem naturae*).

8. *terrae fremitus*: cf. 1, 18, n. (*se . . . tremefecit*); 1, 35.

9. *caeli discessus*: cf. 1, 97, n. (*caelum discessisse*); 1, 99.

9. *lapideus aut sanguineus imber*: cf. 1, 98, nn. (*lapidum; sanguinis*). For the phrase *lapideus . . . imber* cf. *Liv.* 30, 38, 8.

9. *traiectio stellae*: cf. 1, 2; 2, 16.

[451] 1. *faces*: cf. 1, 18, nn. (*Phoebii fax; nuntia belli*); 1, 97.

[451] 1. *terrebunt*: the ἀραξία which Cicero here recommends is a frequent phil-

nec faces visae terrebut. 61. Quorum omnium causas si a Chrysippo quaeram, ipse ille divinationis auctor numquam illa dicet facta fortuito naturalemque rationem omnium reddet; nihil enim fieri sine causa potest; nec quicquam fit quod fieri non potest; nec, si id factum est quod potuit fieri, portentum debet videri; nulla igitur portenta sunt. Nam si, quod raro fit, id portentum putandum est, sapientem esse portentum est; saepius enim mulam peperisse arbitror quam sapientem fuisse. Illa igitur

1. quorum Salisb., Christ, Bailly, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, quarum C.

osophic common place, especially when applied in a broader way. Cf. *Fin.* 5, 87: *ille* (sc. *Democritus*) *summum bonum εθυμίας et saepe εθαυμίας appellat, id est animum terrore liberum*; *Strab.* 1, p. 61: *τὴν εθαυμαστίαν ἡμῖν κατασκευάζειν θέλοντες, ἦν ὁμοί Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι πάντες*; *Clem. Strom.* 2, 21, p. 498 P.: *καθάπερ Ναυσικάτης τὴν ἀκατακλήϊαν ταύτην γὰρ εἶπεν ὑπὸ Δημοκρίτου εθαυμβίην λέγεσθαι*; *N. D.* 1, 55-56: *divinatio . . . qua tanta inbuemur superstitione . . . ut haruspices, augures, harioli, vates, coniectores nobis essent colendi. his terroribus ab Epicuro soluti, etc.*; *Tusc.* 1, 48: *liberatos enim se per eum* (sc. *Epicurum*) *dicunt* (sc. *nonnulli*) *gravissimis dominis, terrore sempiterno et diurno ac nocturno metu*; 5, 81: *sapientis est . . . nihil, cum acciderit, admirari, ut inopinatum ac novum occidisse videatur*; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 6, 1-5 (probably following Epicurean theories): *nil admirari prope res est una, Numici, / solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum. / hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis / tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla / imbuti spectent*; 1, 6, 9-11: *qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem / quo cupiens pacto: pavor est utrobique molestus. / improvisa simul species exterrit utrumque*. Cf. also 2, 42, and n. (*extimuisse*); and especially *Lucret.* 1. 146-154.

1. **Chrysippo**: cf. 1, 6, n. (*Chrysippus*); 1, 7, n. (*Carneade*).

2. **auctor**: not, of course, 'founder,' but rather 'sponsor' (cf. *Off.* 3, 116), one who lent to divination the support of his *auctoritas* (cf. 1, 62, n. (*auctoritate*) *supra*).

3. **sine causa**: cf. 2, 60, n. (*nihil . . . sine causa*). In the series which follows he is perhaps imitating some of the chain-syllogisms of which the Stoics were so fond (as in 1, 82-83). Certainly in referring to the rarity of the *sapiens* he is meeting the Stoics on their own ground.

4. **nec quicquam fit, etc.**: cf. 2, 49, n. (*si fieri non potuisset*).

7. **mulam peperisse**: cf. 1, 36, n. (*partus . . . mulae*); 2, 49; also the New Testament parallel of the camel going through the eye of a needle (*Matth.* 19, 24; *Mk.* 10, 25; *Lk.* 18, 25).

7. **sapientem fuisse**: the increasingly elaborate demands which the sage of the Stoics must satisfy made his existence lie more and more in the realm of the ideal rather than in the world of experience; cf. *Alex. Aphrod. de Fat.* 28: *τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλείστοι κακοί, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθοί μὲν εἰς τὴν δεύτερον ὑπ' αὐτῶν γεγονῆναι μυθεύεται, ὡς περὶ τὴν παράδοξον ζῶον καὶ παρὰ φύσιν σπανιώτερον τοῦ φοινίκου τοῦ παρ' Ἀθλοφῶν*; *Sen. Ep.* 42, 1: *ille alter* (sc. *vir bonus*) *fortasse tamquam phoenix semel anno quingentesimo nascitur*. A large number of other passages are collected by Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schr.* 2, 1 (1882), 279-298, who shows how the sage, at first admitted by the Stoics as a human possibility, became, in human life, replaced by the *προκόπτων*, or man progressing toward rather than having already attained virtue, but also how, beginning with Epictetus, the sage was reintroduced as an effective model for human beings. Noteworthy passages in which Cicero deals with the question

ratio concluditur: nec id quod non potuerit fieri factum umquam esse, nec quod potuerit id portentum esse; ita omnino nullum esse portentum. 62. Quod etiam coniector quidam et interpres portentorum non inscite respondisse dicitur ei qui quondam ad eum rettulisset quasi ostentum quod anguis domi vectem circumiectus fuisset: 'Tum esset,' inquit, 'ostentum.

4. qui quondam (aut qui, om. cum) coni. Davies, receperunt Müller, Haeringa; qui cum A, sed cum in ras. (et Moser qui cum retinet, Ciceronem ἀνακολούθως scripsisse existimans); qui quodam (quoddam corr., quum intentionem adhibuit Alanus) V; dicitur, qui, cum ad eum rettulisset quis Kayser: dicitur, qui, cum ad eum rettulisset coni. Baillet: dicitur cum quidam coni. Palm; cui, cum Vahlen (in Rhein. Mus. 27 (1872), 186); ianitori, qui cum Polster (Progr. Kallowsis (1874), 9); qui [cum] ad eum Giese, Thoresen; t ei, qui cum Christ, Baillet.

are N. D. 1, 23 (where the sapientes are asserted by Velleius to be pauci); 3, 79: sapientiam autem nemo adsequitur (cf. Mayor's note); Tusc. 2, 51: in quo vero erit perfecta sapientia (quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem); Off. 3, 16; Fin. 4, 64-65, ending: nec tamen ille (sc. Ti. Gracchus) erat sapiens; quis enim hoc? aut quando? aut ubi? aut unde? Ac. 2, 145: sed qui sapiens sit aut fuerit ne ipsi quidem solent dicere (cf. Reid's note). See also Mayor on Juv. 13, 26.

1. ratio concluditur: with the phrase cf. 2, 25, n. (concludatur . . . ratio).

1. nec quod potuerit, etc.: cf. 2, 49; 2, 62. Theophrastus well remarks (*H. P.* 5, 3): τὸ γὰρ εἰσθῆναι οὐ τέρας; cf. Stein, ΤΕΡΑΣ (1909), 7 ff. for various definitions of τέρας. In this connection Clement says (*Strom.* 7, p. 843 P.): δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων τρέχειν καὶ θεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ τλαίνειν καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀ δὴ, κελίνοις ὄντα κατὰ φύσιν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἡμῖν γίνοντο παρὰ φύσιν; cf. Theophr. *Chur.* 16, for the substitution of the man who reports such matters to the diviners.

2. omnino nullum: cf. 1, 65; 1, 113.

3. quod: for this use cf. 2, 87, and n. (quod).

3. non inscite: cf. 2, 30, n. (non inscite).

4. rettulisset: cf. 1, 31, n. (referent).

5. domi: cf. 1, 36, and n. (duobus anguibus); and just below in this section.

5. circumiectus: occasionally mentioned as ominous; cf. 1, 79, n. (puerum . . . amplexu); also Dio Cass. 47, 1, 2.

5. tum esset, etc.: Plut. *! proph.* Lacon. p. 224 e, ascribes the remark to Leotyichidas: τῆ δ' ἑγγυτέρω πύλῃ δράκοντος περὶ τὴν κλεῖν ἑλιχθέντος, καὶ τῶν μάντεω τέρας ἀποφαινομένων εἶναι, "οὐτι μοιγε," εἶπε, "δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' εἰ ἡ κλεῖς τῷ δράκοντι περιελίχθη, τέρας ἂν ἦν"; Clem. *Strom.* 7, p. 843 P. tells the story of Diogenes: εὐ τοῦν καὶ Διογένη πρὸς τὸν θαυμάστον διε εἶπεν τὸν δῶν τῷ ὑπέρω περιελθῆναι, "μὴ θαυμάζε," εἶπε, "ἦν γὰρ παραδοξότερον ἐκεῖνο, εἰ τὸ ἔτερον περὶ ὀρθῶ τῷ βῆσι κατελιγμένον ἰθέλω (copied in Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 6, p. 853).

Further variants are Clem. *Strom.* 7, p. 842 P.: "τὶ δὲ καὶ θαυμαστόν, εἰ δὲ μὴν, φησὶν ὁ Βίων, "τὸν θύλακον διέτραγεν, οὐχ εὐρών δὲ φάγη; τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν θαυμαστόν, εἰ, ὡς περ Ἀρκεσίλαος παλῶν ἐπεχειρεῖ, τὸν μὴν ὁ θύλαξ κατέφαγεν" (copied in Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 6, p. 854), and Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* 2, 31: unde illud eleganter dictum est Calonis, qui, cum esset consultus a quodam qui sibi a soricibus erosas caligas diceret, respondit non esse illud monstrum, sed vere monstrum habendum fuisse si soriges a caligis roderentur. For the same motive in Lope cf. Buchanan in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 5 (1910), 89. Paine (*Age of Reason*, 1, ch. 17) remarks: "The story of the whale swallowing Jonah, though a whale is large enough to do it, borders greatly on the marvellous; but it would have approached nearly to the idea of a miracle if Jonah had swallowed the whale" (cf. 'S' in *N. Y. Nation*, 93 (1911), 492); and C. A. Dana said: "If you go into the street and see a dog bite a man, that is not news. But if you see a man bite a dog,

si anguem vectis circumplicavisset.' Hoc ille responso satis aperte declaravit nihil habendum esse, quod fieri posset, ostentum.

XXIX. C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit duobus anguibus domi comprehensis haruspices a patre convocatos. Qui magis anguibus quam lacertis, quam muribus? Quia sunt haec cotidiana, angues non item; quasi vero referat, quod fieri potest, quam id saepe fiat. Ego tamen miror si emissio feminae anguis mortem adferebat Ti. Graccho, emissio autem maris anguis erat mortifera Corneliae, cur alteram utram emisserit; nihil enim scribit respondisse haruspices si neuter anguis emissus esset quid esset futurum. At mors insecuta Gracchum est. Causa quidem, credo, aliqua morbi gravioris, non emissione serpentis; neque enim tanta est infelicitas haruspicum ut ne casu quidem umquam fiat quod futurum illi esse dixerint. XXX. 63. Nam illud mirarer, si crederem, quod apud

J. C. vulg., G. AB (in B supra lin.), om. V.
7. Ti. vulg., tito C.

that is news" (Buchanan, *l. c.*; Pease in *N. Y. Evening Post*, 11 Nov., 1911).

1. circumplicavisset: of snakes also in 1, 49; 1, 79.

2. quod fieri posset: cf. 2, 61, n. (*nec quod potuerit, etc.*). There is probably no difference intended between *portentum* in that passage and *ostentum* in this; cf. 1, 93, n. (*ostendunt . . . dicuntur*).

3. C. Gracchus, etc.: cf. 1, 36.

3. ad M. Pomponium: cf. 1, 36, n. (*scriptum reliquit*).

5. lacertis: for the species of the genus *Lacerta* found in Italy and Greece cf. Keller, *Die ant. Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 270-275. That they were hunted out of houses, like mice, by means of weasels is inferred by Keller from Aesop, 89 Halm. For their appearance as omens cf. 1, 39, n. (*Galeolus*); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 147-148; Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelhiere* (1888), 181; Keller, *op. cit.* 2, 275.

5. haec: on the agreement cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 57-58.

5. angues non item: cf. 1, 36, n. (*duobus anguibus*). The phrase *non item* is regularly put at the end of its clause; cf. Merguet, *Lexikon z. d. philos. Schr.* 2 (1892), 404.

6. quasi vero: cf. 2, 59, n. (*quasi vero*).

6. quam id saepe: for the order of words cf. *de Am.* 10: *quam id recte faciam*; *Tusc.* 1, 29: *quam hoc late paleat*; etc.

8. cur . . . emisserit: cf. Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 1 (quoted in 1, 36, n. (*duobus anguibus*) supra), for the answer to this question: *ἔμφω μὲν οὐκ ἴσθι ἀνελεῖν οὐδέ ἀφεῖναι*. Cicero apparently did not know this feature of the story, which is perhaps a later addition.

8. alteram utram: For Cicero's variation in the inflection of this compound cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 626.

10. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (*at*). Quintus is imagined as justifying his explanation of divination by the fact that in this case it apparently agreed with the facts.

10. mors insecuta Gracchum: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 94: *nec opinantis assecuta est senectus*; and other passages (especially *Ter. Phorm.* 750) make it unnecessary to emend, with Davies, to *Gracchi*.

11. neque enim, etc.: cf. 2, 52: *si evenit quippiam, quid adferri potest cur non casu id evenerit?*

12. casu: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

13f. quod apud Homerum, etc.: the Latin as it stands shows an anacolou-

Homerum Calchantem dixisti ex passerum numero belli Troiani annos auguratum; de cuius coniectura sic apud Homerum, ut nos otiosi convertimus, loquitur Agamemnon:

Ferte, viri, et duros animo tolerate labores,
 Auguris ut nostri Calchantis fata queamus
 Scire ratosne habeant an vanos pectoris orsus.

thon (with which Thoresen compares the only partly similar passage in 2, 126: *praesertim cum Chrysippus . . . dicat = praesertim cum, ut Chrysippus dicit*), the thought being *quod apud Homerum Calchas, ut dixisti, . . . auguralus est*.

1. *dixisti*: 1, 72, and n. (*apud Homerum Calchas*).

2. *apud Homerum*: on Cicero's quotations from Homer (some in Greek, some translated) cf. 1, 52, n. (*Homericum . . . versum*). For this particular poem cf. Atzert, *De Cic. Interprete Graecorum* (1908), 25-29, and for instances of divination drawn from Homer see 1, 1, n. (*heroicis*) above.

2. *otiosi*: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 26: *studiose equidem utor nostris poetis; sed sicubi illi defecerunt verti ipse multa de Graecis, ne quo ornamento in hoc genere disputationis careret Latina oratio*. If we were to assume that Cicero had translated various passages from time to time as exercises in composition and that he later included these (without renewed comparison with the originals) in works like the present which he chanced to be writing, it would be easier to understand the slip by which he makes Agamemnon the speaker.

3. *Agamemnon*: really Ulysses; cf. *Il.* 2, 278-283. For similar slips on the part of Cicero cf. 1, 31, n. (*Prisco . . . Tarquinio*); 2, 82, n. (*Aiax*); *Tusc.* 4, 49; Tyrrell on *Fam.* 1, 20; 5, 12, 5; *ad Au.* 4, 7, 2.

4ff. *ferre, etc.*: *Il.* 2, 299-330, 32 lines of the Greek being represented by 29 in the translation. The translation is a very free one, and Atzert (*op. cit.* 27) well cites *de Or.* 1, 154, as illustrating Cicero's methods of composition. The Homeric passage was a famous one; Throop

(in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 9, Humanistic Ser. 2 (1922), 278, and n. 12) lists various imitations and allusions, including Aesch. *Agam.* 145; *Ilias Lat.* 147-153 (in *Poet. Lat. min.* 3, 14); Apollod. *Epit.* 3, 15; Petron. 89; Orig. in *Cels.* 4, 91; Procl. in *Epic. Gr. Frag.* p. 18 Kinkel; Lycophr. *Alex.* 202-203 (and cf. Schol.); Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1, 22; 3, 6. It is more closely imitated by Ov. *Met.* 12, 10-23 (followed by Lact. Plac. *Narrat.* 12, init.), who has some imitations of the Ciceronian version also; cf. Atzert, *op. cit.* 29. The interpretation of the portent is discussed at enormous length by Schol. B *Il.* 2, 305, parts of the explanation being ascribed to Aristotle (fr. 145 Rose), and others to *ol . . . τὰ περὶ οὐρανιστικῆς τῆς καθ' Ὀμηρον γράψαντες*.

Lines 299-302 of the original read: *τλήτε, φίλοι, καὶ μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρόνον, θοῖρα δαῶμεν, / ἢ ἐπεὶν Κάλχας μαρτεῖται ἢ καὶ οὐκί. / εὐ γὰρ δὴ τόδε ἴδμεν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἅτι δὲ πάντες / μάρτυροι, οὐτὲ μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτου φέρουσαι*. In the first line, as Atzert (*op. cit.* 26) points out, *ferre* is the only word which corresponds to the original. For the phrase *duros . . . tolerate labores* Atzert (25-26) notes parallels from *Tusc.* 2, 30; 2, 35; 2, 43, Wreschniok (*De Cic. Lucretioque Ennii Imi atoribus* (1907), 7) thinks that *duros . . . labores* is Ennian, and compares Virg. *Georg.* 4, 114.

5. *auguris*: not so called in the Greek; perhaps a reminiscence of *Il.* 1, 69, etc.; cf. 1, 87, n. (*Calchantem, etc.*) above.

5. *fata*: 'predictions of fate'; cf. 1, 66; 1, 100, n. (*fatis*); 2, 98; in *Cat.* 3, 9.

6. *ratos*: a technical augural word, cf. 1, 85; 2, 80.

6. *vanos*: cf. 1, 36, n. (*vanos*).

6. *pectoris orsus*: cf. 1, 18: *rules*

Namque omnes memori portentum mente retentant,
 Qui non funestis liquerunt lumina fatis.
 Argolicis primum ut vestita est classibus Aulis,
 Quae Priamo cladem et Troiae pestemque ferebant,
 Nos circum latices gelidos fumantibus aris
 Aurigeris divom placantes numina tauris,
 Sub platano umbrifera, fons unde emanat aquai,

3. Aulis Erlang., vulg., aules C.

oracla furentis / pectore fundebant; Virg. *Aen.* 6, 48; Ov. *ex Pont.* 3, 4, 93. The word *orsus* is found only here and in *Culex*, 2.

1. *portentum mente retentant*: on the internal alliteration (-*tent-*, -*ent-*, -*tent-*, -*nt-*) cf. 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeterni*); Atzert, *op. cit.* 26; also Evans, *Allitteratio Latina* (1921).

2. *liquerunt lumina*: cf. 1, 18, and n. (*violalia lumina liquit*); and, for the alliteration, 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeterni*).

3. *Argolicis*, etc.: lines 303-319 read: *χθιστά τε καὶ πρῶσις δ' ἔς Ἀλιδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν / ἠγερῆοντο κακὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ φέρουσαι / ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην λεροῖς κατὰ βωμοῖς / ἔρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τεληίσσας ἐκατόμβας, / καλῆ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, ὅθεν βίην ἀγαθὸν ἕδωρ / ἐνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα· δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφουρός, / σμερδαλιός, τὸν δ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φώσδε, / βωμοῦ ὑπαίξας πρὸς βα πλατάνιστον δρῦσαι. / ἐνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσοί, νῆπια τέκνα, / ὄξω ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, πετάλοις ὄποπεπτηῶτες, / ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα. / ἐνθ' ὁ γε τοῖς ἑλευνὰ καθήσθιε τετραγῶτας / μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποῦατο ὄδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα / τὴν δ' ἑλελιζάμενος πτερύγος λάβεν ἀμφιαχῦναι. / αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ τέκνα φάγε στρουθοῖο καὶ αὐτήν, / τὸν μὲν ἀίζηλον θῆκεν θεός, ὅς περ ἔσθηνεν / λάαν γάρ μιν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω.*

3. *primum ut*: a very free rendering of a difficult and disputed phrase *χθιστά τε καὶ πρῶσις(a)*.

3. *vestita est*: Cicero's fondness for this verb and its compound *convestio* is noted by Norden, 2 ed. of *Virg. Aen.* 6 (1916), 297 (cf. *Arat.* 294; 449; 508; 578; 612; 675; 692; 726; 732 Müller;

Virg. Aen. 6, 640), who thinks it an imitation of old Latin poetry, probably Ennius (cf. *Enn. Cresphont.* 131; *Eumen.* 155 Vahlen).

3. *classibus*: cf. 1, 87, n. (*classium*).

4. *pestem*: cf. 1, 42: *pestem Pergamo*; and, for the cadence, 1, 20: *pestemque monebant*.

5. *circum latices gelidos*: for Cicero's expansions and variations of epithet from his originals cf. Atzert, *op. cit.* 27.

6. *aurigeris*: on the form of compound (appearing here for the first time in extant Latin literature) cf. 1, 13, n. (*tristificas*). The Homeric original does not refer to the gilding of the horns of sacrificial animals, but this custom is probably recalled by Cicero from other allusions in Homer: *Od.* 3, 384: *τὴν τοι ἐγὼ βέξω χρυσοῖν κέρασιν περιχέας* (cf. 3, 437); also cf. Nonn. *Dionys.* 11, 200: *μὴ κοτῆς, ὅτι, ταῦρε, τῆν χρῶσωσα κερατήν*. Roman usages in this regard (which Cicero may, of course, be more particularly reflecting) are indicated by Plin. *N. H.* 33, 39: *deorum honoris causa in sacris nihil aliud excogitatum est quam ut auratis cornibus hostiae, maiores dumtaxat, immolarentur*; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 9, 624; *Liv.* 4, 16, 2; 7, 37, 1; 15, 12, 13 (= *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 17, 29); *Sen. H. O.* 785; *Val. Fl.* 1, 89; and frequently in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (e.g., *Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (1874), xlii; cxiii; cxiv; etc.); *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *auris*, 1521.

7. *platano*: cf. *Schol. B II.* 2, 305: *ἢ δὲ πλάτανος διὰ μὲν τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ εὐμηκὲς ἄθλου τὴν διὰ νεῶν καὶ ὕδατος μακρὰν πορείαν,*

Vidimus inmani specie tortuque draconem
 Terribilem, Iovis ut pulsu penetraret ab ara;
 Qui platani in ramo foliorum tegmine saeptos
 Corripuit pullos; quos cum consumeret octo,
 Nona super tremulo genetrix clangore volabat;

διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑκαρπον φέσει ὅτι ἑκαρπος ἢ πορεία καὶ τοῖς ἐπειθοῦσιν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσθαμίοις τὴν πλάτανον τῶν Τρώων. Paus. 9, 19, 7 remarks that at Aulis πλατάνου . . . ἦν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἰσθαμίσαστο μῆτην τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξίλου περιὸν φυλάσσοισιν ἐν τῷ ναῶ; cf. also Aristaenet. Ep. 1, 3.

[455] 7. *umbrifera*: a Ciceronian addition. For the adjective cf. 1, 22, n. (*umbrifera*); Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6, 473. The plane tree (*Platanus orientalis* L.) was especially prized for its shade (see the passages collected by Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte*, 8 ed. (1911), 294-301; especially 299-300). Plin. *N. H.* 12, 9 describes one in particular: *nunc est clara in Lycia fontis gelidi socia umoenilatr* (like that here depicted by Homer and Cicero).

[455] 7. *aquai*: cf. 1, 15, n. (*aquai*).

1. *vidimus inmani*: cf. 2, 64: *vidimus in mediis* for the beginning of the verse. In the fifth line below *inmani* (a favorite word in Virgil and perhaps imitative of Ennius) stands in the same position. Other examples in this passage of the same metrical feature are *legmine saeptos*, *legmine sazi* (2, 64); *ei duros*, *ei duro* (2, 64); cf. also *videlis* at the ends of two lines in 2, 64; Atzert, *op. cit.* 28.

1. *inmani specie tortuque draconem*: a very different figure from that in Homer, and similar to *Tusc.* 2, 22 (translation of Soph. *Trachiniae*): *tortu multiplicabili draconem*. Cf. also the Ovidian phrase (*Mct.* 12, 13): *videre draconem*.

2. *pulsu penetraret*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeterni*). The alliteration of *l* and *r* in this line is also noteworthy.

2. *ab ara*: cf. 1, 72, n. (*ab inſpita ara*).

3. *foliorum tegmine*: in the same place in the verse in *Aral.* 356 Müller; cf.

note on *vidimus inmani* above. The way in which Cicero through these lines freely reworks the Homeric material and substitutes for Homer's *λίξις εἰρομένη* a more periodic structure is well discussed by Atzert, *op. cit.* 27-28.

4. *corripuit pullos*: cf. Ov. *Mct.* 12, 17: *corripuit serpens*. They are sparrows, and their symbolism is set forth in Schol. B *Il.* 2, 305: *στρουθοῖς δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλα ὄρεα παρεῖληθεν, ὅτι λερά μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἡ στρουθία, κατοφιέστατον δὲ ζῶον καὶ λάγριστον· οἰκασὶ δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ οἱ Τρώες, καὶ λαγρείας εἶρεκα τὸν πόλεμον ἐσθησάμενοι, ὡς περ τῆς Ἀθηναίας λερός ὁ δράκων. φίλοι δὲ Ἀθηναίᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες. οἱ τῷ σημείῳ ὁ δράκων ἐσθήμεν;* cf. especially also Throop, *op. cit.*

5. *nona super*, etc.: Davies compares Heliod. *Aeth.* 22: *ὡς περ . . . ὄρεσι, ὄρεσι αὐτῆς τὴν καλιὰν τορβοῦντος, ἐν ὄφθαλμοῖς τε τὴν γονὴν θοινομένου, προσελθεῖν μὲν δακρυ, φέβειν δὲ οὐ φέροι· πόθος γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πάθος ἀναγωνίζεται τετριγυῖα δὲ περιστοτᾶται τὴν πολιορλίαν, εἰς ὅσα ἀνήμερα, καὶ οἱ ἐλεοὶ οὐκ ἐγνώρισεν ἢ φέσις, ἀτήντων ἐκτεθρία τὸν μητρῶν προσάγουσα θρήνον;* Clem. *Protrept.* 10, p. 74 P.: *ὡς περ ἐκ καλιᾶς ἐκπιπτοτος νεοττοῦ ἡ μήτηρ ὄρεσι ἐπίπταται· εἰ δὲ ποὺ καὶ θηριον ἐρηστικὸν περιχάνοι τῷ νεοττῷ, "μήτηρ δ' ἀμφιστοτᾶται ὄδουρομένη φίλα τέκνα", κτλ. The reason for the number nine is given by Schol. B *Il.* 2, 305: *ἐννέα δὲ καὶ οὐ δέκα ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὅτι τοῦ πολέμου ὁ χρόνος ἀριθμεῖται, οὐ τῆς ἀλώσεως.**

5. *volabat*: cf. Schol. B *Il.* 2, 305. τὸ δὲ καὶ περιπέτεσθαι τὴν νεοττίαν τὴν μητέρα ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ πόρρω ἀποχωρεῖν ἐθῆλου ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίστησι αὐτοῖσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐ πόρρω χωρεῖν ἐμελλον, ἀλλὰ ζῆν περὶ αὐτὴν "χρεοῖ ἀναγκαλῆ πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρό γυναικῶν."

[457] 1. *inmani laniavit viscera morsu*:

Cui ferus inmani laniavit viscera morsu.

64. Hunc, ubi tam teneros volucris matremque peremit,

Qui luci ediderat, genitor Saturnius idem

Abdidit et duro formavit tegmine saxi.

Nos autem timidi stantes mirabile monstrum

Vidimus in mediis divom versarier aris.

Tum Calchas haec est fidenti voce locutus:

a characteristically Ciceronian expansion of τὴν δὲ . . . λάβεν.

3. *genitor Saturnius*: cf. Norden, 2 ed. of *Virg. Aen.* 6 (1916), 374, who compares *Aen.* 4, 372: *Saturnius . . . pater*; and *Enn. Ann.* 64: *Iuno Saturnia*.

4. *abdidit*: the Greek phrase τὸν μὲν ἀρίθλον θῆκεν θεὸς is much disputed in meaning. Cf. Schol. A *Il.* 2, 318: ἀρίθλον· ὅτι Ζηρόδοτος γράφει ἀρίθλον, καὶ τὸν ἐχόμενον προσέθηκεν. τὸ γὰρ ἀρίθλον ἄγαν ἐφανεί, ὅπερ ἀπίθανον. ὁ γὰρ ἐὰν πλάσῃ, τοῦτο ἀναίρει ("Whatsoever a god creates, that he brings to naught again. But there seems to be some lacuna in the quotation." Leaf on *Il.* 2, 318). λέγει μῦθος γὰρ ὅτι ὁ φῆνας αὐτὸν θεὸς καὶ ἀθλον ἐποίησεν. Cicero evidently takes the word in the sense of the last clause (cf. Hesych. ἀρίθλος· ἀθλος), making a clear contrast between the two compounds of *do*, *ediderat* and *abdidit*. It is also clear that his text of the *Iliad* included line 319 which was probably athetized by Aristarchus (cf. Leaf, *l. c.*). The words *abdidit et* occur in the same place in the verse in 1, 18 above.

4. *tegmene saxi*: petrification is one of the common forms of mythological metamorphosis; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 996, n. 3; 1200, n. 7; 1226, n. 1; 1920, s.v. *Versteinierung*. In the case of snakes the myth may have been suggested by the appearance of certain fossils, such as ammonites; cf. Skeat in *Folk-Lore*, 23 (1912), 45-60; Halliday in *Folk-Lore*, 32 (1921), 263. Skeat (*op. cit.* 54) gives the following apposite quotation from the Elizabethan period from Camden, *Britannia*, p. 419: *lapides hic inveniuntur, serpentium in spiram revolutorum effigie. naturae ludentis miracula . . .*

serpentes olim fuisse crederes, quos lapideus cortex intexisset. For the prophetic meaning of the petrification cf. Schol. B *Il.* 2, 305: ἡ δὲ τοῦ δράκοντος ἀπολίθωσις κατὰ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλην τὴν βραδύτητα λέλου καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν τοῦ πολέμου, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλου τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐρήμωσιν, κτλ.; *ibid.*: τῆς πόλεως ἐν λίθῳ μόνοις καταλειφθείσης; *id.* 308: ὁ δὲ λίθος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐτι κίνησιν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος. Ovid here says (*Met.* 12, 22-23): *ille, ut erat, virides amplexus in arbore ramos / fit lapis* (cf. 2, 65 *infra*: *lapideus dicitur factus*). *et superat serpentis imagine saxum.* Cicero apparently thinks of Zeus as hiding away the snake within his stony covering (as Daphne, in *Ov. Met.* 1, 549, within her covering of bark).

5ff. *nos, etc.*: lines 320-330 read: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσταότες θαυμάζομεν, οἷον ἐτύχθη. / ὡς οὖν δεῖνὰ πέλωρα θεῶν εἰσῆλθ' ἐκατόμβας, / Κάλχας δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοπροσκῶν ἀγόρευεν· / "τίπτ' ἀνεψ' ἐγένεσθε, κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί. / ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ' ἔφηε τίρας μέγα μητιετα Ζεὺς, / ὄψιμον ὄψι τέλεστον, δου κλοῖος οὐ ποτ' ἀλείεται. / ὡς οὔτος κατὰ τέκνα φάγε στρωθοῖο καὶ αὐτῆν, / ὁκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν, ἡ τέκε τέκνα, / ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα πολέμιζομεν αἰῶν, / τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἰρήσομεν εὐρύγυιαν." / κείνος τῶς ἀγόρευε· τὰ δὲ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.

5f. *mirabile monstrum . . . versarier aris*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeterni*); Norden, 2 ed. of *Virg. Aen.* 6 (1916), 374 For *versarier* in the same position in the verse cf. *Arat.* 321 Müller. Five other cases of Cicero's use of infinitives in *-ier* are collected by Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 692.

7. *voce locutus*: see Norden, *l. c.*, who compares *Aen.* 3, 320: *voce locuta est,*

'Quidnam torpentes subito obstipuistis, Achivi?
 Nobis haec portenta deum dedit ipse creator
 Tarda et sera nimis, sed fama ac laude perenni.
 Nam quot avis taetro mactatas dente videtis,
 Tot nos ad Troiam belli exanclabimus annos;
 Quae decumo cadet et poena satiabit Achivos.'
 Edidit haec Calchas; quae iam matura videtis.

65. Quae tandem ista auguratio est ex passeribus annorum potius quam aut mensuum aut dierum? Cur autem de passerculis coniecturam facit, in quibus nullum erat monstrum, de dracone silet, qui, id quod fieri non potuit, lapideus dicitur factus? Postremo quid simile habet passer annis?

J. sera nimis vulg., sera animis C.

and thinks it an archaic form of expression, like Pind. *Ol.* 6, 13-14: ἀπὸ γλώσσας . . . φθίγξασθ.

1. *obstipuistis*: so Ov. *Met.* 12, 18: *obstupuerunt omnes*.

2. *deum dedit*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*aetheris aeterni*).

2. *deum . . . creator*: not in the Greek, but a reminiscence of the Homeric *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*.

4. *nam quot, etc.*: in the Greek line 326 practically repeats 317, and 327 is identical with 313. In the translation Cicero allows for no such repetition, which was less pleasing to the rhetorical taste of his day. Atzert (*op. cit.* 29) quotes Auct. *ad Herenn.* 4, 54: *eandem rem dicemus, non eodem modo—nam id quidem obtundere auditorem est, non rem expolire—, sed commutate*.

4. *taetro mactatas dente videtis*: = φάγῃ (line 326).

5. *exanclabimus*: for much information upon this word, chiefly poetic (and, as occasionally in Cicero, in prose reminiscences of archaic poetry), see Saalfeld, *Tensaurus Italograecus* (1884), 475-476. It is employed by Ennius (*Androm.* 102; *Eumen.* 147), from whom Cicero perhaps got it, in the former case in a sense similar to that of this passage (*quantis cum aerumnis illum exanclavi diem*, where Non. p. 292 remarks: *exanclare etiam significat perperli*). Cf. also Heeringa, *Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes* (1906), 64-65.

6. *cadet*: here Ovid (*Met.* 12, 20: *Troia cadet*) follows Cicero rather than the Greek *τὸν αἰθήρα*.

8f. *annorum potius quam, etc.*: cf. 1, 46, n. (*triginta*); Throop in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 9, Humanistic Ser. 2 (1922), 280-281, who suggests that the supposedly short life of the sparrow may have made it the symbol of the year; also the twelve vultures seen by Romulus typifying 1200 years' duration of Rome (Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, Relig.* 3 (1908), 302). This is also implied in the remark below: *quid simile habet passer annis*.

9. *mensuum*: for the form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 343; 2 *Verr.* 2, 182; 2, 184; 2, 188.

9. *cur autem, etc.*: cf. Arist. *ap. Schol. B Il.* 2, 305 (fr. 145 Rose): *ὡς δὲ τί ὁ Κάλχας, εἰ μὲν οὐδὲν ἦν τέρας τὸ γινόμενον, λέγεται ὡς τέρας; τί γὰρ ἄτοκον, ὑπὸ θεῶν στρούθοις κατέθεσθαι, ἢ τοίτους οὕτως εἶναι; περὶ δὲ τοῦ λίθου γινέσθαι οὐδὲν λίγος, ὃ φη μέγα, εἰ μὴ ἄρα εἰς τὸν ἀπόπλου ἰσχυμαίω, ὡς τινεὶ φασι* (cf. Stein, *ΤΕΡΑΣ* (1909), 39).

9. *passerculis*: the kind of bird is here recognized, as in 1, 72 and 2, 63, though not in Cicero's translation.

10f. *quod fieri non potuit*: cf. 2, 61, n. (*nec quid potuerit, etc.*).

11. *quid simile habet*: cf. *Fam.* 9, 21, 1: *quid enim simile habet epistula aut iudicio aut contioni?* *N. D.* 3, 15: *quid simile medicina . . . et divinatione?*

11. *passer annis*: i.e., so that the

Nam de angue illo qui Sullae apparuit immolanti, utrumque memini, et Sullam, cum in expeditionem educturus esset, immolavisse, et anguem ab ara extitisse, eoque die rem praeclare esse gestam non haruspis consilio sed imperatoris.

XXXI. 66. Atque haec ostentorum genera mirabile nihil habent; quae cum facta sunt, tum ad coniecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur, ut illa tritici grana in os pueri Midae congesta, aut apes quas dixisti in labris Platonis consedissee pueri, non tam mirabilia sint quam coniecta belle; quae tamen vel ipsa falsa esse vel ea quae praedicta sunt fortuito cecidisse potuerunt. De ipso Roscio potest illud quidem esse falsum, ut circumligatus fuerit angui, sed ut in cunis fuerit anguis non tam est mirum, in Solonio praesertim, ubi ad focum angues nundinari solent. Nam quod

multiplication of the number of sparrows by any given number (here nine) leads to an equal multiplication (by inference) of the number of years. Interesting for comparison is an augury in Sil. Ital. 4, 101-130, where a hawk has killed fifteen doves and is driven off from pursuit of a sixteenth by the appearance of an eagle. In the interpretation (4, 122-126) the number of the doves typifies the number of years of Hannibal's Italian campaigns: *Poenae, bis octonos Italiam in finibus annos, / audaci similis volucris, sectabere pubem / Ausoniam multamque feres cum sanguine praedam: / sed compesce minas: renuit tibi Daunia regna / armiger ecce Iovis.* For sparrows in omens cf. Hopf, *Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere* (1888), 129-130.

1. **nam:** cf. 2, 3, n. (*nam*).

1. **angue illo,** etc.: cf. 1, 72. In this case Cicero sees no portent comparable with the petrification of the Homeric serpent. For the form *angue* (rare and chiefly poetic) cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *op. cit.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 328.

5. **haec:** pointing forward; cf. 1, 49, n. (*hoc*).

6. **ad . . . revocantur:** cf. *N. D.* 1, 28; 1, 119; *Off.* 3, 84; *Fin.* 2, 43; *de Dom.* 15: *rem ad illam rationem coniecturamque revocabant.*

7. **illa:** cf. 1, 40, n. (*illa*).

7. **tritici grana,** etc.: cf. 1, 78.

7. **Midae:** the construction has been

changed from the dative of 1, 78 to the genitive, and the same has been done in the case of *Platonis* just below.

7. **apes,** etc.: cf. 1, 78.

9. **belle:** cf. *de Or.* 3, 101: '*bene*' et '*praeclare*' *quomvis nobis saepe dicatur; 'belle' et 'festive' nimium saepe nolo;* Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 89-90 for Cicero's use of *belle*.

9. **fortuito:** cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*). For the phrase *fortuito cecidisse* cf. 1, 71; 2, 107.

10. **ipso:** cf. 2, 52, n. (*ipse*).

10. **Roscio,** etc.: cf. 1, 79, which for *circumligatus fuerit angui* reads *circumligatum serpentis amplexu*.

10f. **falsum, ut . . . ut . . . mirum:** cf. such constructions as are cited by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 242.

11. **angui:** contrast *angue* in 2, 65; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 328 take the present instance as probably a dative.

12. **Solonio:** cf. 1, 79, n. (*Solonio*).

12. **ad focum:** as the centre of warmth to which the snakes (cf. *Arist. de Long. et Brev. Vit.* 5, p. 466 b 19-21) would naturally be attracted. So *Plin. N. H.* 25, 101 recommends that to drive snakes out of a house *plistolochium* be hung *supra focum*.

Lanuvium was especially associated

haruspices responderint nihil illo clarius, nihil nobilius fore, miror deos immortales histrioni futuro claritatem ostendisse, nullam ostendisse Africano. 67. Atque etiam a te Flaminiana ostenta collecta sunt: quod ipse et equus eius repente conciderit; non sane mirabile hoc quidem! quod evelli primi hastati signum non potuerit; timide fortasse signifer evellebat quod fidenter infixerat. Nam Dionysi equus quid attulit admirationis quod emerit e flumine quodque habuit apes in iuba? Sed quia brevi tempore regnare coepit quod acciderat casu vim habuit ostenti. At Lacedaemoniis in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, eiusdemque dei Thebis valvae clausae subito se aperuerunt, eaque scuta quae fuerant sublime

6. Dionysi, C. Christ, Dionysii O. Bailor, Müller, Thoresen, Beerings.

with snakes on account of the sacred oracular serpent there, described by Propert. 4, 8, 3-14 (cf. Rothstein's note); Ael. N. A. 11, 16; cf. 1, 79, n. (*puerum . . . amplexu*) above; Colburn in *Am. Journ. of Arch.* 2 ser. 18 (1914), 365; Galieti in *Bull. d. Comm. comun. di Roma*, 44 (1916), 6, n. 6; 12-16.

[459]12. *nundinari*: cf. the similar picturesque figure in Plin. N. H. 11, 109 (of ants): *certi dies ad recognitionem mutuam nundinis dantur*. The *nundinae* stand for the *mercatus quandam celebritatem* of *Tusc.* 5, 9. Several glosses (cf. Goetz, *Corp. Gl. Lat.* 6 (1899), 751, s.v. *nundina*) equate *nundinae* with the Greek *ναθηγοίς*. Cicero speaks familiarly of the snakes at Lanuvium, and Colburn (*op. cit.* 377) remarks that he was in the habit of journeying that way when going to his villas at Antium and at Tusculum (cf. *ad Att.* 12, 41, 1; 12, 43, 1; 12, 44, 3; etc.).

1. *responderint*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*responderunt*).

1. *miror*, etc.: for the thought cf. 2, 114, n. (*magis veri simile*, etc.).

2. *histrioni*, etc.: On the low estate of the theatrical profession cf. 1, 80, n. (*ut ad leviora veniamus*). In 2, 114 Cicero complains that the divine purpose was revealed to a mere rower rather than to the educated men in the fleet, as in 1, 85 Quintus had admitted that he did not know why Cassandra possessed the power of prophecy and Priam lacked it.

3. *Africano*: Likewise cited in 2, 95 as an example of the man of impor-

ance. With no qualifying adjective doubtless the elder Africanus is meant.

3. *Flaminiana ostenta*: cf. 1, 77-78. For the loose construction of the following *quod ipse* clause cf. 2, 31, n. (*Pherocydeum . . . qui*). The proper punctuation of the passage (essentially that here employed) is discussed by Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 23. The first two *quod* clauses (*quod ipse*, etc., and *quod evelli*, etc.) are Marcus Cicero's repetition of the arguments alleged by Quintus (cf. the *at* clauses at the beginning of 2, 68).

5. *hastati*: cf. 1, 77, n. (*primi hastati*).

6. *nam*: cf. 2, 3, n. (*nam*).

6. *Dionysi equus*: cf. 1, 73.

7f. *brevi tempore*: 1, 73 says *paucis diebus*.

8. *casu*: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

8. *vim habuit ostenti*: cf. 1, 73, n. (*habuit hanc vim ui*).

9. *Lacedaemoniis*, etc.: cf. 1, 74; 2, 54.

9f. *Thebis valvae clausae*: cf. 1, 74, n. (*se ipsae aperuerunt*), to which add several cases noted by Ogle in *Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 40 (1909), lxxvi; *id.* in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 270, n. 2.

10f. *scuta quae fuerant sublime*: in 1, 74 we read: *armae quae fixa in parietibus fuerant*. The variation between *arma* and the more specific *scuta* may well be due to different meanings possible for the Greek original, which very likely had

fixa sunt humi inventa. Horum cum fieri nihil potuerit sine aliquo motu, quid est cur divinitus ea potius quam casu facta esse dicamus? XXXII. 68. At in Lysandri statuae capite Delphis extitit corona ex asperis herbis, et quidem subita. Itane? censes ante coronam herbae extitisse quam conceptum esse semen? Herbam autem asperam credo avium congestu, non humano satu; iam quicquid in capite est, id coronae simile videri potest. Nam quod eodem tempore stellas aureas Castoris et Pollucis Delphis positas decidisse neque eas usquam repertas esse dixisti, furum id magis factum quam deorum videtur. 69. Simiae vero Dodonaeae improbitatem

δπλα. For a similar use of *sublime* cf. *Tusc.* 1, 102: *humine an sublime*.

1. *motu*: from our point of view an earthquake was probably the cause, but whether Cicero here uses *motu* alone as equivalent to *terrae motu* is not clear, and I find no other examples of such a use.

2. *divinitus*: cf. 1, 34, n. (*divinitus*).

3. *Lysandri*, etc.: cf. 1, 75.

4. *et quidem subita*: more emphatic than the simple *subito* of 1, 75, for Marcus wishes to make the case as strong as possible for Quintus before rejecting it on the ground of its being natural rather than supernatural. Had the *corona* been the result of slow and gradual growth not even Quintus could have claimed it as a marvel.

4. *itane*: ironical, as in 1, 23; 2, 83.

4f. *ante . . . quam conceptum esse*: for the infinitive in such clauses cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 301-302.

4f. *conceptum . . . semen*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 26: *quae terra concipiat semina*.

5. *avium congestu*: cf. 1, 75, n. (*corona*). The word is probably not here used of chance carrying but of bringing of materials for nesting (among which the weed seeds might by accident be), for *congerere* (*nidum*) is not infrequently used of the nest-building of birds; cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 889; Virg. *Ecl.* 3, 69: *quo congressere palumbes* (Serv. *ad loc.* and *Corp. Gl. Lat.* 5, 556, 9 explain as *nidificavere*; cf. *Corp. Gl. Lat.* 5, 183, 19: *congressere: proprie congerere aves dicuntur quando nidos faciunt*); Gell. 2, 29, 5; Ser. Sammon. 1021; Aug. C. D. 19, 12.

6. *humano satu*: Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 36), like others, has been troubled by this phrase (in his edition he inserts an obelus before *asperam*, by the form of his note implying that the difficulty extends through *satu*), remarking: *sive enim avium congestu Cicero semina sparsa esse existimat, sive ab hominibus—qui cur ita fecerint, non facile est videre—, naturali rem attribuit causae. at hoc quaeritur, utrum deorum numine factum sit necne*. Other editors, for example Moser, have been disturbed by the omission of a principal infinitive in the sentence, but Höttinger well suggested that *extitisse* is to be supplied from the sentence preceding. Yet the correct explanation is really not difficult. Cicero has already, in his own mind, eliminated divine intervention from the cases under discussion. Of the ways in which seeds would most naturally reach the tops of statues the agency of birds was the most likely, for neither the position on the top of a statue nor the kind of plants (here is the force of the emphatic repetition of the adjective *asperam* with *herbam*, to indicate mere weeds) would suggest any human action in the matter.

7. *nam*: cf. 2, 3, n. (*nam*).

7. *stellas aureas*, etc.: cf. 1, 75.

8. *furum*, etc.: especially since the stars were of gold; cf. 1, 48, n. (*ausferre vellet*).

9. *simiae*, etc.: cf. 1, 76.

9. *improbitatem*: used occasionally to express the annoying or disconcerting boldness of various animals (e.g., Plin.)

historiis Graecis mandatam esse demiror. Quid minus mirum quam illam monstruosissimam bestiam urnam evertisse, sortes dissupavisse? Et negant historici Lacedaemoniis ullum ostentum hoc tristius accidisse! Nam illa praedicta Veientium, si lacus Albanus redundasset isque in mare fluxisset, Romam perituram; si repressus esset, Veios—ita aqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbani, non ad arcem urbemque retinendam.

N. H. 19, 116: *adversus improbitatem alitum depascentium semina*; 29, 28: *non Homero (sc. fastidio fuit) . . . improbitatem muscae describere*; and cf. *Virg. Georg.* 1, 119: *improbis anser*, and here perhaps not without a shade of amusement, such as is at times found in our use of the word 'naughtiness.'

2. *monstruosissimam*: cf. 1, 76, n. (*simia*). The very likeness of the ape to the human being (*Enn. Sat.* 69 ap. *Cic. N. D.* 1, 97: *simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis*; cf. *Ser. Sammon.* 819) only served to enhance the uncanny brutishness of the former.

2. *urnam evertisse*: an addition to the details of the story in 1, 76.

2. *et*: for Cicero's use of *et* 'exclamatory or pathetic' cf. 1, 121; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 91; *Virg. Georg.* 2, 433.

3. *tristius*: cf. 2, 24, n. (*tristissimas*).

4. *nam*: cf. 2, 3, n. (*nam*).

4. *praedicta Veientium, etc.*: cf. 1, 100.

5. *Romam perituram*: cf. 1, 100: *perniciosum populo Romano*.

5. *si repressus esset*: in 1, 100 the idea is quite different: *sin autem ita esset eductus ut ad mare pervenire non posset*.

5. *Veios*: from the time of Lambinus a lacuna has frequently been recognized after this word, and various attempts have been made to fill it, as by Davies, who conjectured *Veios. ita aqua Albana deducta. aqua Albana deducta* (explaining the corruption as due to haplography), by Rath (*Veios—conservaruntne Romam? itane? aqua Albana, etc.*), by Christ (*Veios: omni ex parte ratu exstiterunt? num minus Roma a Gallis capta est? ita aqua Albana, etc.*), and by Brakman (cf. Heeringa's note on the

passage: *Veios, quidni fuerint irrita? ita, etc.*). Of these the latter assume that Cicero here noted the failure of the prophecy to come true. Yet that is not what he is arguing in the examples before and after this, but rather that signs understood as supernatural are really susceptible of a rational explanation. It being unnecessary, then, to supply such material in the lacuna, there appears to be no strong ground compelling us to assume a lacuna at all, and by placing a dash after *Veios*, as I have done, we admit an anacoluthon no harsher than many in Cicero's works, and obtain all the logical essentials of the sentence: (1) the assertion, quoted from Quintus and introduced by *nam*, of the Veian predictions about the Alban Lake (suggesting to the reader by inference what is completely expressed in 1, 100 by the words: *ex qua illa admirabilis a maioribus Albanae aquae facta deductio est*); (2) the counter-assertion of Marcus that the reason for the construction of the tunnel was practical rather than religious—a logical arrangement strikingly similar to that in the last sentence of 2, 68 above (*num quod . . . videtur*).

6. *ad utilitatem, etc.*: cf. 1, 100, n. (*lacus Albanus*).

6. *arcem urbemque*: a formula, with which cf. *Enn. Androm.* 88 Vahlen (ap. *Tusc.* 3, 44; *Orat.* 93): *arce et urbe orbam sum*; Caecil. 146 Ribbeck: *qui quasi ad hostis captus liber servio salta urbe atque arce*; *Liv.* 4, 61, 9; 24, 37, 6; 31, 45, 6; 37, 37, 2; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 115 M.: *si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter salta urbe atque bonis ciciat*.

[463] 1. *vox, etc.*: cf. 1, 101.

[463] 1. a *Gallis*: this detail is lacking in 1, 101.

At paulo post audita vox est monentis ut providerent, ne a Gallis Roma caperetur; ex eo Aio Loquenti aram in nova via consecratam. Quid ergo? Aius iste Loquens, cum eum nemo norat, et aiebat et loquebatur [ex eo nomen invenit]; posteaquam et sedem et aram et nomen invenit obmutuit? Quod idem dici de Moneta potest; a qua praeterquam de sue plena quid umquam moniti sumus?

XXXIII. 70. Satis multa de ostentis; auspicia restant et sortes eae quae ducuntur, non illae quae vaticinatione funduntur, quae oracula verius dicimus; de quibus tum dicemus cum ad naturalem divinationem venerimus. Restat etiam de Chaldaeis; sed primum auspicia videamus. Difficilis

3. ex eo *ABV*, et ex eo *codd. Ozon.*, editores plerique Müller, ex . . . invenit secluserunt Baizer, Thoresen. *AN* ex eo [nomen invenit] posteaquam, etc. f

4. obmutuit *vulg.*, ommutuit C.

2. *aram*, etc.: an easy slipping into the indirect discourse construction; cf. 1, 55, n. (*iussum esse*).

2. *in nova via*: cf. 1, 101, nn. (*novam viam; ara*).

2. *quid ergo*: cf. 2, 130; 2, 138.

3. *et aiebat et loquebatur*: Moser suggests that the repetition of *et* is intentional, by its pretended gravity of style increasing the ridicule implied for *Aius Loquens*.

3f. *ex eo nomen invenit*: although such expressions are at times certainly used by Cicero (cf. *N. D.* 2, 104; *Leg.* 1, 58), yet elsewhere they appear suspiciously like glosses (cf. 1, 30, n. (*id est . . . invenit*)). In this case the lack of a connective before the clause (unless, with Christ, we supply it by emendation) and the awkward repetition of the phrase *nomen invenit* in the next clause suggest the advisability of its deletion as a gloss on *et aiebat et loquebatur*, the etymological significance of which the author of the gloss feared might be overlooked by the reader. Possibly we should read *ex eo posteaquam et sedem et aram et nomen invenit*, regarding the words *nomen invenit* not as a gloss but as due to an accidental insertion through the influence of *nomen invenit* below.

4. *et aram*: the omission of these words by Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 30-31) appears unwise, being supported by

neither of the two principles which justify the exclusion of the clause *ex eo nomen invenit*.

4. *obmutuit*: Cicero here approaches the reasoning which Quintus had tried in 1, 38 to forestall by confession of ignorance, namely, if these methods of prediction were effective in the past why are they no longer so? The argument is, of course, still more cogent in the case of two prophetic agencies each of which was admitted to have made but a single prediction.

5. *Moneta*, etc.: cf. 1, 101.

7. *auspicia*: extending from here into 2, 83.

7. *restant*: cf. 2, 49: *ostenta restant*.

7f. *sortes eae quae ducuntur*: on the occasional confusion of *sortes* and *oracula* cf. 1, 34, and n. (*aequalis sortibus ducuntur*). In that passage *sortes* are eliminated from among oracles; in this oracles from the class of *sortes*. Cf. also 2, 116.

8. *funduntur*: cf. 1, 18, n. (*fundebant*); 1, 34: *illa quae instinctu divino adfatuque funduntur*.

9. *naturalem divinationem*: cf. 1, 37, n. (*naturali divinatione*).

10. *restat . . . de Chaldaeis*: cf. *Leg.* 2, 45: *de Manium iure restat*. On the *Chaldaei* cf. 2, 87-99 below.

10f. *difficilis anguri locus*: cf. 2, 28, nn. (*rei publicae causa*, etc.; *soli sumus*;

auguri locus ad contra dicendum. Marso fortasse, sed Romano facillimus. Non enim sumus ii nos augures qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus. Et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspiciato condidit, habuisse opinionem esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam (errabat enim multis in rebus antiquitas), quam vel usu iam vel doctrina vel vetustate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem et ad

1. auguri vulg., augurii C

sine invidia); and for the form of expression *N. D.* 1, 61: *difficile est negare. credo, si, etc.*

1. *locus*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*loco*).

1. *Marso*: cf. 1, 105, n. (*Soranum*); 1, 132, n. (*Marsum augurem*).

2 *ff. non enim, etc.*: the duty of the official Roman augurs, as distinguished from private practitioners, was not to foretell the future but merely to declare whether proposals under discussion were satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the divine power; cf. *Leg.* 2, 21: (*publici augures*) *divorum . . . iras providento*; Valeton in *Mnemosyne*, 17 (1889), 294, and n. 2. That Cicero in this sentence, however, meant to admit the possibility of even so much of prediction as that appears most doubtful, in view both of his general attitude and of the negative form in which the sentence is put—as opposed to a direct statement of what the augurs professed to accomplish.

3. *futura dicamus*: cf. 1, 88: *futura dicebant*.

3*ff. auspiciato condidit*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*auspiciato . . . condidisse*); *Leg.* 2, 33 (for the relation of which to our passage cf. Reitzenstein, *Drei Vermutungen zur Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* (1894), 28-29). Cicero is willing to admit, not only the wider original application of augury (cf. the view of Marcellus described in 2, 75), but also the good faith of Romulus, living in an age of unsophistication, and here rather transfers to a later, less naive, age the responsibility for maintaining rites hypocritically realized to be politically rather than scientifically useful. In this way he indirectly but successfully answers

the point made by Quintus, who in 1, 105 was unwilling to believe that an inexperienced and primitive man like Romulus could have deliberately concocted such a deception. On this subject cf. also *Leg.* 2, 33: *ita neque illi adsentior qui hanc scientiam negat umquam in nostro collegio fuisse, neque illi qui esse etiam nunc putat; quae mihi videtur apud maiores fuisse duplex, ut ad rei publicae tempus non numquam, ad agendi consilium saepissime pertineret*.

4. in *providendis rebus*: cf. 1, 81.

5. *scientiam*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*scientiam*).

5. *quam*: this word, by varying punctuation and interpretation, has been variously referred to *opinionem, scientiam, and antiquitas* (in the sense of *opiniones antiquae*), but is probably best taken (as by Thoresen in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 37) with *scientiam*.

6. *doctrina*: i.e., the *augurum disciplina* of 1, 33; 2, 74; *N. D.* 2, 10. The word is here offset to *usu*, 'practice,' but it is unwise, for the sake of emphasizing this contrast, with Thoresen (*l.c.*) to delete the *vel* before *vetustate*, nor does *Leg.* 2, 33 so warrant.

6. *vetustate*: cf. 1, 109: *adfert . . . vetustas omnibus in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam*; 2, 33; *Leg.* 2, 33. A somewhat different view is that in *Min. Fel. Oct.* 6, 3: *antiquitas . . . tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit quantum adstruxit vetustatis*.

6. *immutatam*: for passages dealing with the neglect of the art and the consequent modifications of it cf. 1, 25, n. (*nunc ignorantur*); 1, 28; *Dion. Hal.* 2, 6, 2:

opinionem vulgi et ad magnas utilitates rei publicae mos, religio, disciplina, ius augurium, collegi auctoritas. 71. Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius L. Iunius consules, qui contra auspicia navigaverunt; parendum enim religioni fuit nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Iure igitur alter populi iudicio damnatus est, alter mortem sibi ipse conscivit. Flaminius non paruit auspiciis, itaque periit cum exercitu. At anno post Paulus paruit; num minus cecidit in Cannensi pugna cum

2. collegi A V, collegi B, Christ, Boller, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringo.

πέπνυται δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πλήρ ὄλον εἰκῶν τις αὐτοῦ λείπεται τῆς ὅσας ἔνεκα γινόμεται, and he gives examples, concluding, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀλιγωρίας, ἢ χρώματα τινα ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἀνεῖλη λέγειν.

[464] 6. *retinetur*: for similar Ciceroian examples of the singular verb with a series of subjects following cf. Anz, *Ciceros Sprachgebrauch* (1884), 7; and for *retinetur* . . . *mos* cf. *Fin.* 2, 2; *Rep.* 2, 36; 5, 1.

[464] 6f. *ad opinionem vulgi*: so in the parallel passage in 1, 105: *ad opinionem imperitorum esse fictas religiones*.

1. *ad* . . . *utilitates reipublicae*: cf. 2, 28, n (*rei publicae causa*, etc.); 2, 43; 2, 74; 2, 75; *Rep.* 2, 16: *tum, id quod retinemus hodie magna cum salute rei publicae, auspiciis plurimum obsecutus est Romulus*.

1. *mos*: cf. 2, 71: *patrius mos*. Probably with *mos, religio, and disciplina* there is to be understood, as Thoresen (*ad loc.*) suggests, some word like *augurandi* (from its occurrence just above.)

2. *ius augurium*: for the expression cf. 2, 75; *de Sen.* 12; 38; *ad Fam.* 3, 9, 3.

3. P. Claudius L. Iunius, etc.: cf. 1, 29; 2, 20. Claudius, Junius, and Flaminius appear together in this connection in *N. D.* 2, 8, and, possibly based on this passage (or more likely on *N. D.* 2, 8), in *Min. Fel. Oct.* 7, 4; 26, 2.

3f. *parendum religioni fuit*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 8 (after citing the examples of Claudius, Junius, and Flaminius): *quorum exitio intelligi potest eorum imperiis rem publicam amplificatam qui religionibus paruisissent* (and cf. Mayor's note).

4. *patrius mos*: cf. *Rep.* 5, 1: *mos ipse patrius praestantes viros adhibebat*; *Parad.* 27; *de Sen.* 37; etc.

4. *contumaciter*: cf. *ad Att.* 6, 1, 7; 16, 4, 1. *ad Q. Fr.* 2, 1, 3.

5. *damnatus est*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 7: *itaque Clodius a populo condemnatus est, Iunius necem sibi ipse conscivit*. Of Junius we read in *Val. Max.* 1, 4, 4: *L. Iunius P. Claudii collega neglectis auspiciis classem tempestate amisit damnationisque ignominiam voluntaria morte praevenerit*; *Valeton in Mnemosyne*, 19 (1891), 416, and n. 6.

6. *Flaminius, etc.*: cf. 1, 77; 2, 21; 2, 67.

6. *at*: here introducing an objection by the speaker, not by an opponent.

7. *anno post*: 216 B. C.

7. *Paulus, etc.*: in part copied by *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 3 *quid Regulus? nonne auguria servavit et captus est? Mancinus religionem tenuit et sub iugum missus est et deditus. pullos edaces habuit et Paulus apud Cannas tamen cum maiore rei publicae parte prostratus est* (repeated fairly closely by *Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.* 5). *App. Hannib.* 18 says of Paulus: *ὁλωρίζεται ὁ Ἀλμυλιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθει, καὶ πῦμας ὀδύουσι ἦδη τῷ Τερωντίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαλοῖον εἰλεῶν εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἔπαυθη μὲν, αἰδοῦμενος ὀλωροῖς ἀπειθῆναι, τὰς δὲ κόμας ἐν βίῃ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο . . . καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγάνθη, and *Liv.* 22, 42, 8-10 states: *Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non adixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae sussit. quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. di prope**

exercitu? Etenim, ut sint auspicia, quae nulla sunt, haec certe quibus utimur, sive tripudio sive de caelo, simulacra sunt auspicio, auspicio nullo modo. XXXIV. Q.FABI, TE MIHI IN AVSPICIO ESSE VOLO;

ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminemtem pestem Romanis, etc.

Of the death of Paulus Cicero speaks in *N. D.* 3. 80; *Tusc.* 1, 89; *de Sen.* 75; 82; each time with apparent respect for his character, and *Lact. Inst.* 2, 16, 17, asks: *vel si dii tantummodo duces curant, ceterum multitudinem neglegunt, cur Varro solus evasit qui hoc fecit et Paulus qui nihil meruit occisus est?*

[465] 7. Cannensi pugna: cf. 2, 97, where it is used for illustrative purposes.

1. *etenim, etc.*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 110: *quae etiam si essent, quae nulla sunt.* also *N. D.* 1, 65: *quae primum nullae sunt.*

1. *ut sint . . . haec certe*: cf. *Fin.* 1, 12.

2. *utimur*: in the first person Cicero may here be speaking as a Roman of the day, contrasted on the one hand with those of antiquity and on the other with diviners of outside races, or perhaps it is as a member of the official class, whether ex-magistrate or augur, who might be supposed to profit by this superstitious fiction.

2. *tripudio*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*neesse, etc.*).

2. *de caelo*: cf. 1, 92, n. (*de carlo tacta*); 1, 93: *de caelo fiebant.*

2. *simulacra . . . auspicio*: cf. 1, 105: *religionis simulacra*; *N. D.* 3, 9: *sed neglegentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omissa veritas auspicio sprete est, species tantum retenta*; *Dion. Hal.* 2, 6, 2: *πλὴν ὁλοῦ εἰκῶν τις ἀλοῦ* (i.e., augury) *λείπεται*; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 79, and n. 1.

3. *Q. FABI*: *Fabius* seems to have been used, like John Doe, for purposes of illustration; cf. *Fat.* 12: *si enim est verum quod ita conicitur, 'si quis oriente Canicula natus est, in mari non morietur,' illud quoque verum est, 'si Fabius oriente Cani-*

cula natus est, Fabius in mari non morietur'; *Top.* 14; *Boeth. in Cic. Top.* 2, p. 299 *Orelli-Baiter*. Also thus used, particularly by legal writers, are *Titius, Seius, Stichus* (cf. *Corp. Jur. Inst.* 3, 19; et passim), and *Scipio* (*Boeth. op. cit.* 3, pp. 320; 330). For slaves the name *Manius* was similarly used; cf. *Cat. de Agr.* 141. *Bases* (in *AΘHNA*, 7 (1895), 143-144) thinks that the name *Fabius* is here chosen to indicate a man of patrician birth, assisting in the observation and himself an augur (cf. below on *IN AVSPICIO ESSE*).

The abrupt beginning of this sentence is very effective, and it is quite unnecessary to suppose a lacuna before it.

3. *TE MIHI, etc.*: evidently a formula of the augural ritual.

3. *IN AVSPICIO ESSE*: cf. *Leg.* 3, 43: *est autem boni auguris meminisse se maximis rei publicae temporibus praeste esse debere, Iovique optimo maximo se consiliarium atque administrum datum, ut sibi quos in auspicio esse iussisset*; *Rep.* 2, 16: *nam et ipse (sc. Romulus) . . . urbem condidit auspicalo et omnibus publicis rebus instituendis qui sibi essent in auspiciis ex singulis tribubus singulos cooptavit augures*; *ad Att.* 2, 12, 1: *jurabo Cnaeum (sc. Pompeium) nostrum . . . mihi narrasse se in auspicio fuisse*; *M. Messalla ap. Gell.* 13, 15, 4: *nos . . . veterum auctoritatem sumus secuti neque his comitiis in auspicio fuimus*. Also *Liv.* 10, 40, 2-4: *tertia vigilia noctis . . . Popilius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspicio mittit. nullum erat genus hominum in castris intactum cupiditate pugnae . . . is ardor omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intererant perochil; nam cum pulli non pacerentur, pullarium auspicio mentiri ausus tripudium solistimum consuli nuntiavit.*

What type of person was in *auspicio* has been disputed. Cicero's statement is

respondet: AVDIVI. Hic apud maiores nostros adhibebatur peritus, nunc quilubet. Peritum autem esse necesse est eum qui silentium quid sit intellegat; id enim silentium dicimus in auspiciis quod omni vitio caret. 72. Hoc intellegere perfecti auguris est; illi autem qui in auspiciis adhibetur, cum ita imperavit is qui auspicatur: DICITO, SI SILENTIVM ESSE VIDEBITVR, nec suspicit nec circumspicit; statim respondet silentium esse videri. Tum ille: DICITO, SI PASCENTVR.—PASCVNTVR.—

4 adhibetur vulg., adhibentur C.

5. si Erlang., Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa; om. C.

that in the old days it was one who was *peritus* but *nunc quilubet*, and Valetton (in *Mnemosyne*, 18 (1890), 409, n. 8) gives instances of men of various ranks who so served, and points out (*op. cit.* 414) that, since the observations were very time-consuming and, at the period of decline of real belief in the art, often involved no little fiction, it was convenient to have them entrusted to a hired underling (cf. 2, 74; Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2). That the *peritus* was originally a *augur* himself is the view of Bases (*l.c.*), who judges from the use of the name *Fabi* (see note on *Q. FABII* above) and from Cicero's words: *hoc intellegere perfecti auguris est*. For the opposite view, based upon such passages as *Leg. 3, 43*, see Wissowa in *P.-W. s.v. Augures* (1896), 2336-2337; *id.*, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 529, n. 7.

1. *peritus*: cf. 1, 77.

2. *silentium*: cf. 1, 102, n. (*faverent linguis*); *Fest.* p. 348 M.: <*silentio surgere . . . ai>* *Idici, ubi qui post mediam <noctem auspic>andi causa ex lectulo suo si<lens surr>exit et liberatus a lecto, in solido< . . . se>deique* (cf. p. 347 M.), *ne quid eo tempore deiciat, <cauens, donec s>e in lectum reposuit: hoc enim est <proprie sil>entium, omnis vitii in auspiciis vacuitas*; p. 351 M.: *sinistrum in auspicando significare ait Ateius Capito laetum et prosperum auspicium; at silentium ubi dumtaxat vacat vitio. igitur silentio surgere cum dicitur significat non interpellari quo minus rem gerat*; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 86, n. 1; Valetton in *Mnemosyne*, 18

(1890), 252-253; Wissowa in *P.-W. s.v. Auspicium* (1896), 2587.

3. *vitio*: cf. 1, 29, n. (*vitio*); 1, 33, n. (*vitio*); Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 531, and nn. 2-3.

4. *perfecti*: cf. 2, 150: *absoluti et perfecti pulantur*.

4. *auguris*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*augur*).

5. **DICITO**: as in the second ritual clause (*dicito, si pascentur*), the future imperative is here employed with a subordinate clause in the future indicative, cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 197.

5f. **SI . . . VIDEBITVR**: like *si pascentur* not indirect question. 'If there shall appear to be silence, then declare it'

6. *suspicit . . . circumspicit*: combined in *Tusc.* 5, 71. This carelessness as to fact (cf. 2, 74, n. (*ille renuntiat*)) in the making of observations led to actual falsification on the part of the *pullaris* (cf. 2, 74, n. (*imperant pullario*)), and the eventual shifting of responsibility for the outcome upon them; cf. *Liv.* 10, 40, 11; *Val. Max.* 7, 2, 5.

7. **PASCENTVR**: probably an augural technical term; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6, 199 and *Servius ad loc.*; Valetton in *Mnemosyne*, 18 (1890), 211-215; Regell, *Comm. in Libr. augural. Frag.* (1893), 17, and n. 41; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 532, n. 4; Norden on *Virg. Aen.* 6, 191 ff.

[468] 1. *quae . . . ubi*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 6, *Ac.* 1, 9 (and Reid's note). This question is probably not asked by the magistrate taking the auspices (whose actions were

Quae aves? Aut ubi? Attulit, inquit, in cavea pullos is qui ex eo ipso nominatur pullarius. Haec sunt igitur aves internuntiae Iovis! Quae pascantur necne quid refert? Nihil ad auspicia; sed quia cum pascuntur necesse est aliquid ex ore cadere et terram pavire (terripavium primo, post terripudium dictum est; hoc quidem iam tripudium dicitur)—cum igitur offa cecidit ex ore pulli tum auspicanti tripudium solistimum nuntiatur. XXXV. 73. Ergo hoc auspicium divini quicquam habere potest quod tam sit coactum et expressum? Quo antiquissimos augures non esse

doubtless as perfunctory as those of the *pullarius*), but are an apostrophe of Cicero himself to the magistrate, designed to reveal the hollow mockery of the whole process. It is unnecessary with Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 37) to emend to direct discourse (*attuli*). Cicero addresses the official and reports his reply, introduced by *inquit*, just as in 2, 109; *N. D.* 1, 87 (and other cases collected by Plasberg in his note on that passage).

1. *in cavea, etc.*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*).

1f. *is qui . . . pullarius*: Thoresen (*l.c.*; in his edition he brackets the words) regards this phrase as a gloss, the word *pullarius* having been already used in 1, 77 (though not there defined). But the clause is rather unnecessarily long for a gloss of this sort, and without it a subject is surely needed for *attulit*, unless (1) we are to imagine the official as pointing to the *pullarius*, or (2) we emend *attulit* to *attuli* (see note on *quae . . . ubi* above). If we retain the phrase there is a certain point in it; not only once was this forced form of auspices employed, but it is so customary that we have a regular functionary who gets from it his name *pullarius*.

2. *pullarius*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*); Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 274-275.

2. *haec, etc.*: the contemptuous expression perhaps has a double force: (1) the fact that the lowly chickens (cf. 2, 56: *haec igitur per gallinas Iuppiter . . . signum dabit?*) rather than the majestic

eagle (cf. 1, 26, n. (*aquilae*); 1, 106, n. (*hic Iovis*)) should be the messenger of the supreme god; and (2) the persistent inquiry of Carneades (cf. 1, 12, and n. (*Iuppiterne*)) whether the deity in any such mechanical manner as augury reveals his will to mankind.

2. *internuntiae*: is there perhaps a humorous comparison of these birds to carrier-pigeons? Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 10, 110: *quin et internuntiae in magnis rebus fuerunt (sc. columbae), epistulas adnexas earum pedibus obsidione Mvminensi in castra consulum Decumo Bruto mittente.*

2. *Iovis*: the especial deity presiding over auspices; cf. 2, 78; Valeton in *Mnemosyne*, 19 (1891), 409, and n. 1.

3. *nihil ad*: *sc. pertinet*; cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 15. The action of the chickens depends, not upon divine prompting, but upon their hunger (cf. 2, 73).

4. *necesse est, etc.*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*), where the derivations that follow are discussed.

6. *offa*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*offa*); 2, 74.

6. *tripudium*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*); Bücheler, *Umbria* (1883), 69.

6. *solistimum*: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necesse, etc.*); 1, 28, n. (*solidum*).

7. *divini quicquam*: cf. 2, 38: *aliquid divini*.

8. *tam*: the emendation of Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 37-38) to *fame* is unnecessary.

8. *coactum*: cf. 1, 27, nn. (*coactis; necesse, etc.*).

[469] 1. *argumento est*: cf. 1, 119, n. (*maximo est argumento*).

usos argumento est quod decretum collegi vetus habemus omnem avem tripudium facere posse. Tum igitur esset auspiciū (si modo esset ei liberum) se ostendisse; tum avis illa videri posset interpres et satelles Iovis; nunc vero inclusa in cavea et fame enecta si in offam pultis invadit et si aliquid ex eius ore cecidit, hoc tu auspiciū aut hoc modo Romulū

1. collegiū C (collogiū A¹, colligiū A²), vulg., Müller.

1. **decretum collegi**: the *decreta* of the augurs are mentioned also in *Leg.* 2, 31: *leges non iure rogatas* (sc. *quid religiosius quam*) *tollere, ut Titiam decreta collegi, ut Livias consilio Philippi consulis et auguris?* (and, in the same passage, the words: *quid magnificentius quam posse decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules?*); *Liv.* 4, 7, 3: *augurum decreto perinde ac vitio creati honore abiere*; *Fest.* p. 161 M.: *pro collegio quidem augurum decretum est, etc.*; cf. Regell, *De Augurum publ. Libris*, 1 (1878), 23; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *augures* (1896), 2323. Other priestly colleges also promulgated *decreta* (cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 395; 514), and, like the augurs (cf. *de Dom.* 39-40), *responsa*. May we perhaps consider this particular *decretum* the document referred to in the corrupt passage in 1, 28: *quod autem scriptum habetis favi (avi? or omni avi?) tripudium ferit?*

II. **omnem avem, etc.**: cf. 1, 27, n. (*neesse, etc.*); 2, 76; *Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen.* 1, 398: *multi tamen adserunt cygnos inter augurales aves non inveniri neque auguralibus commentariis eorum nomen inlatum, sed in libris reconditis lectum esse posse quamlibet avem auspiciū adtestari, maxime quia non poscatur. hoc enim interest inter augurium et auspiciū, quod augurium et petitur et certis avibus ostenditur, auspiciū qualibet avi demonstratur et non petitur, etc.*; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 530, n. 3. These references, however, apply to *auspicio* in general, and we are perhaps hardly justified in applying them to the type known as *tripudia*. For something connected with the wolf but corresponding somewhat to the *tripudium* from birds Wissowa, *op. cit.* 532, n. 5 cites *Plin.*

N. H. 8, 83; cf. Valetton in *Mnemosyne*, 18 (1890), 211-215 (but Scaliger's emendation of *Fest.* p. 297 M., which Valetton (p. 212, n. 7) accepts, is rather too daring to carry conviction).

3. **se ostendisse**: as Madvig (*Opusc. acad.* 2 ed. (1887), 497-498) points out, this infinitive is not to be joined with *esset liberum*, but is the subject of the *esset* before *auspiciū* (cf. Howard in *Harvard Stud. in class. Philol.* 1 (1890), 133), and it is unnecessary to emend, with Weidner (in *Philologus*, 38 (1879), 87), to *auspiciū, si, modo esset ei liberum, se ostendisset, tum, etc.* But, by stressing the mere fact of a bird's appearing—apart from any question of its eating—Cicero seems to disregard one of the essential elements of the *tripudium* (cf. the last note and that on 2, 72 (*pascentur*)).

3. **avis illa**: cf. 1, 74, where it is used of the cock.

3. **satelles Iovis**: cf. 1, 106, and n. (*Iovis . . . satelles*); 2, 72; *internuntiae Iovis*.

4. **pultis**: cf. 1, 72, n. (*offa*).

4. **invadit**: of greedy seizing of food also in *N. D.* 2, 124.

5. **Romulū**: cf. 2; 70, n. (*auspicato condidit*).

[470] 1. **de caelo servare**: cf. 1, 36, n. (*servantes*); 1, 107, 1, 130; *de Dom.* 40: *tibi M. Bibulus querenti s: de caelo servasse respondit*; *id.* 39; *de Har. Resp.* 48; *pro Sest.* 78; 129; in *Vat.* 15; 17; *de Prov. cons.* 45; 46; *Phil.* 2, 81; 2, 83; *Schol. Lucan.* 1, 601: *augur servare s. proprium augurum verbum cum de caelo servanti*; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 533.

auspicari solitum putas? 74. Iam de caelo servare non ipsos censes solitos qui auspicabantur? Nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat. Fulmen sinistrum auspicium optimum habemus ad omnis res praeterquam ad comitia; quod quidem institutum rei publicae causa est, ut comitorum vel in iudiciis populi vel in iure legum vel in creandis magistratibus principes civitatis essent interpretes. At Ti. Gracchi litteris Scipio et Figulus consules, cum augures iudicassent eos vitio creatos esse, magistratu se abdi-

1. servare vulg., servari C.

3. habemus *Morsus adloresque perique*, Müller; quod habemus C (cf. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (1918), 361), quam lectionem ita retinet Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsrecht*, I, 3 ed. (1887), 79 n. 4): ille renuntiat fulmen sinistrum, auspicium optimum quod habemus, etc.; quidem habemus *cod. Pithouus alter*.

2. imperant pullario: cf. 1, 27, n. (*necessè*, etc.); Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2: τῶν δὲ παρόντων τινὲς ἀντιδοκῶτων μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φερόμενοι ἀστρατῆν αὐτοῖς μὴνεὺν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν φασὶν τῆν οὐ γενομένην; and, for the part played by pullarii, Cic. Fam. 10, 12, 3: *recitatis litteris oblata religio Cornuto est pullariorum admonitu non satis diligenter eum auspicii operam dedisse.*

2. ille renuntiat: the asyndeton of this clause well represents the hurried and perfunctory character of the whole proceeding; cf. 2, 72, n. (*suspicit . . . circumspicit*).

2f. fulmen sinistrum: cf. 2, 43 nn. (*Iove tonante*, etc.; *optimum auspicium*); 2, 82, n. (*laevum*); Wissowa in *P.-W.* s.v. *augures* (1896), 2332; *id.*, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 533.

3. optimum: cf. Serv. Arn. 2, 693: *hoc auspicium cum de caelo sit verbo augurium maximum appellatur.*

4f. comitorum . . . interpretes: for the following story cf. 1, 33, n. (*scriptum apud te*) with the quotation of *N. D.* 2, 10-11, where the account appears in detail. This phrase is part of the indignant question asked by Gracchus of the haruspices (*N. D.* 2, 11): *an vos Tusci ac barbari auspiciorum p. R. ius tenetis et interpretes esse comitorum potestis?*

4. rei publicae causa, etc.: cf. 2, 28, n. (*rei publicae causa*, etc.); 2, 42, n. (*Iove tonante*, etc.); 2, 75.

5. iudicia populi . . . iure legum . . . creandis magistratibus: cf. Valeton

in *Mnemosyne*, 18 (1890), 219-235; also Cic. Leg. 2, 31: *quid gravius quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur 'alio die' dixerit? quid magnificentius quam posse decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules? quid religiosius quam cum populo, cum plebe agendi ius aut dare aut non dare? quid leges non iure rogatas tollere, etc.*; 3, 10: *omnes magistratus auspicium iudiciumque habent . . . creatio magistratum, iudicia populi, iussa vetita quom suffragio consiscuntur, optumatis nota, plebi libera sunt*; 3, 11: *qui agent auspicia servant, auguri publico parento.*

5. iure legum: cf. *de Dom.* 41; 71; in *Vat.* 22. Thoresen paraphrases: in *iubendis legibus.*

6. Scipio et Figulus: cf. 1, 33, n. (*scriptum apud te*). The year mentioned is 162 B. C. (cf. *Fasti Capitolini* (C. I. L. I, 1, 2 ed., p. 25, ann. 592): *P. Cornelius P. f. C. n. Scipio Nasica C. Marcius C. f. Q. n. Figulus facti ***** abdicarunt, etc.*; and many other passages collected by Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Cornelius* (1900), 1498; also Teuffel in Pauly, *Real-Encyclop.* 4 (1846), 1536 for Figulus).

7. augures iudicassent: as we learn from 1, 33 and *N. D.* 2, 10-11, the first declaration to this effect was made by the haruspices, but afterwards Gracchus wrote a letter to the college of augurs expressing his belief that, on account of a *vitium* in his procedure, *vitio creatos consules esse. augures rem ad senatum; senatus ut abdicarent consules; abdicaverunt.*

7. vitio: cf. 1, 29, n. (*vitio*).

caverunt. Quis negat augurum disciplinam esse? Divinationem nego. At haruspices divini; quos cum Ti. Gracchus propter mortem repentinam eius qui in praerogativa referenda subito concidisset in senatum introduxisset, non iustum rogatorem fuisse dixerunt. 75. Primum vide ne in eum dixerint qui rogator centuriae fuisset; is enim erat mortuus; id autem sine divinatione coniectura poterant dicere. Deinde fortasse casu, qui nullo modo est ex hoc genere tollendus. Quid enim scire Etrusci haruspices aut de tabernaculo recte capto aut de pomeri iure potuerunt? Equidem

B. pomerii C, vulg., Müller.

1. quis negat, etc.: cf. 1, 10, n. (ut et si divinatio sit).

1. augurum disciplinam: for other instances of this phrase (analogous to the *haruspicum disciplina*, for which see 1, 3, n. (*haruspicum disciplina*) above) cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 183, n. 6; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 527, n. 2.

2. at haruspices divini: Quintus in 1, 33 does not say precisely this, yet he remarks: *quod scriptum apud te est de Ti. Graccho, nonne et augurum et haruspicum comprobatur disciplinam?* and in *N. D.* 2, 11, which he has clearly in mind, Balbus is made to draw from the incident the conclusion here suggested: *magna augurum auctoritas; quid? haruspicum ars nonne divina?*

2. quos cum, etc.: cf. *N. D.* 2, 10-11 (quoted in 1, 33, n. (*scriptum apud te*) above).

2ff. Ti. Gracchus . . . introduxisset: in *N. D.* 2, 10 the account varies a trifle: *Gracchus . . . ad senatum retulit. senatus quos ad scelere referendum censuit. haruspices introducti responderunt non fuisse iustum comitiorum rogatorem.*

3. eius qui, etc.: the *primus rogator* of *N. D.* 2, 10; cf. 1, 33, n. (*rogatorem*).

3. praerogativa: sc. *centuria*; cf. 2, 83. From 1, 103 we learn: *praerogativam etiam maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt.* Hence the sudden death of its reporting officer is an indication that the *comitia* are *non iusta*, and the argument of Marcus in the next sentence is beside the point.

4. rogatorem: Hottinger thinks that Cicero intentionally omitted the modifying word *comitiorum* of 1, 33 and *N. D.* 2, 10 in order to make more plausible the ambiguity which he wished to attach to the word in the next sentence.

4. vide ne, etc.: cf. 2, 12, n. (*vide, igitur, ne*); and for the perfect subjunctive in this connection cf. *Ac.* 2, 92; *Fin.* 3, 10.

6. casu: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

6f. qui . . . tollendus: cf. 2, 19: *fortuna . . . sublata.*

7. Etrusci haruspices: the professional jealousy of a Roman augur toward intrusions upon his native practices by rivals imported from Etruria is probably here to be seen; cf. 2, 74, n. (*comitiorum . . . interpretes*).

8. tabernaculo: cf. 1, 33, n. (*tabernaculum . . . cepisset*).

8. recte capto: as opposed to the *tabernaculum vitio cepisset* of 1, 33.

8. pomeri: cf. 1, 33, n. (*pomerium*); Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 528, n. 8, and works there cited.

8ff. equidem adhaerent, etc.: cf. *Leg.* 2, 32: *est in collegio vestro inter Marcellum et Appium, optimos augures, magna dissensio (nam eorum ego in libros incidi), quom alteri placeat auspicia ista ad utilitatem esse rei publicae composita, alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare videatur posse;* also introd. pp. 27-28 supra; 1, 29, n. (*Appius*). For Marcellus and his views cf. also 2, 28, n. (*rei publicae causa, etc.*); 2, 70 n. (*auspicato condidit*). For Appius see intr.-d. p. 12; 1, 28, n. (*scriptum habetis*); 1, 29, nn. (*u. P. Clau-*

adsentior C. Marcello potius quam App. Claudio, qui ambo mei collegae fuerunt, existimoque ius augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea rei publicae causa conservatum ac retentum.

XXXVI. 76. Sed de hoc loco plura in aliis, nunc hactenus. Externa enim auguria, quae sunt non tam artificiosa quam superstitiosa, videamus. Omnibus fere avibus utuntur, nos admodum paucis; alia illis sinistra sunt,

dus; M. Crasso; veram, etc.); 1, 31, n. (*quis veterum scriptorum*); 1, 46, n. (*redeamus*); 1, 105; 1, 132, n. (*psychomantia*); Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Claudius* (1899), 2849-2853, who emphasizes (2853) the religious character of Appius. A jest upon his augural practices is found in Varr. *R. R.* 3, 2, 2: *ibi Appium Claudium augurem sedentem invenimus in subselliis, ut consuli, siquid usus poposcisset, esset praesto . . . ad quem cum accessissemus, Axius Appio subridens, 'recipis nos,' inquit, 'in tuum ornithona, ubi sedes inter aves?'*

As Wissowa points out (in *P.-W.* s.v. *augures* (1896), 2315), such a difference of opinion among augurs as to the significance of the art could not have arisen until the reality of the augural discipline had become no longer intelligible to the augurs themselves; cf. 1, 25, and n. (*nunc . . . ignorantur*).

If *collegae fuerunt*: the dates of cooptation of Marcellus and Appius are not known (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 365-366), but their membership in the college had overlapped that of Cicero, who was elected in 53; cf. 1, 105, n. (*collegae tui*). Cicero addresses ad *Fam.* 15, 8 to *Marcello conlegae* (i.e., his fellow-augur) in the autumn of 51, between which date and that of the writing of our work Marcellus seems to have died (cf. Münzer in *P.-W.* s.v. *Claudius* (1899), 2733); Appius died, apparently, about 48 (Münzer, *op. cit.* 2853).

2. *ius augurum*: cf. 2, 70, and n. (*ius augurium*)

2. *divinationis opinione*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 29: *deorum opinione*. For this theory of divination cf. 2, 70.

3. *constitutum . . . conservatum*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 64.

4. *loco*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*loco*).

4. *plura in aliis*: usually taken as a reference to the *De Auguriis*, for which cf. introd. p. 10, n. 13, and the works there cited. The expression *in aliis* is an unusual one; possibly *libris* may be supplied, though more likely Cicero is not thinking of any definite noun.

4. *nunc hactenus*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 24 (and Mayor's note); *Fin.* 4, 80.

4f. *externa . . . videamus*: cf. 1, 95.

5. *artificiosa . . . superstitiosa*: cf. 1, 84, n. (*constituerunt . . . condiderunt*).

6. *omnibus . . . paucis*: cf. 2, 73, n. (*omnem avem, etc.*); *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 32, 5: *cur ergo aquilae hic honor datus est, ut magnarum rerum faceret auspicia, aut corvo et paucissimis avibus, ceterarum sine praesagio vox est? quia quaedam nondum in artem redacta sunt, quaedam vero ne redigi quidem possunt ob nimium remotam conversationem; ceterum nullum animal est quod non motu et occurso suo praedical aliquid: non omnia scilicet sed quaedam notantur.* *Plin. N. H.* 10, 37-38 says: *sunt praeterea complura genera (sc. avium) depicta in Etrusca disciplina saeculis non visa . . . externorum de auguriis peritissime scripsisse Hylas nomine putatur. is tradit noctuam, bubonem, etc.*; cf. *Regell. De Augurum public. Libris*, 1 (1878), 37; *Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 530, n. 3; and, especially, *Detlefsen (in Hermes, 36 (1901), 6-15)*, who finds in *Plin. N. H.* 10, 6-42 large excerpts from the lists of *aves augurales* (*Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen.* 1, 398; *Mart. Cap.* 1, 26. *Amm. Marc.* 15, 7, 8) in the augural books.

alia nostris. Solebat ex me Deiotarus percontari nostri auguri disciplinam, ego ex illo sui. Di immortales! quantum differebat! Ut quaedam essent etiam contraria. Atque ille iis semper utebatur, nos, nisi dum a populo auspicia accepta habemus, quam multum iis utimur? Bellicam rem administrari maiores nostri nisi auspiciato noluerunt; quam multi anni sunt cum bella a proconsulibus et a propraetoribus administrantur qui auspicia non habent! 77. Itaque nec amnis transeunt auspiciato nec tripudio auspi-

1. augurii C, add.

4. iis vulg., Müller, hic C.

[472] 6. sinistra: evidently here used with reference to signification rather than to position; cf. 2, 82: *haud ignoro . . . sinistra nos dicere etiamsi dextra sint*; Fest. p. 339 M.: *sinistrae aves sinisterumque testis sinistimum auspicium, id est, quod sinat fieri*; Serv. Aen. 2, 693: *sinistrum autem a sinendo dictum, quantum ad auguria pertinet, quod nos agere aliquid sinat*.

1. Deiotarus: cf. 1, 26, and n. (*Deiotarum*); 2, 20; 2, 78; 2, 79.

1. auguri disciplinam: cf. N. D. 2, 9.

2. di immortales: cf. 2, 53, n. (*di immortales*).

2. quantum differebat: cf. 2, 28, n. (*an haec . . . contulerunt*); 2, 42; 2, 82.

3f. a populo auspicia: the auspices were divided into private (*auspicia privata*) and public (*auspicia publica populi Romani*), the latter of which were received from the people at election to office, as this passage states, and laid down (*posita*) at the end of one's term (cf. N. D. 2, 9: *tum enim bella gerere nostri duces incipiunt cum auspicia posuerunt*); cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 90, n. 1; Wissowa in *P.-W.* s. v. *auspicium* (1896), 2582.

4. quam multum, etc.: the context indicates that Cicero is hardly speaking here of the decay of private augury (cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 386, and n. 7) but rather of the disuse of public auspices by those officials who, in the dangers of foreign wars, might be supposed to stand most in need of divine counsel; cf. N. D. 2, 9: *itaque*

maximae rei publicae partes, in his bella quibus rei publicae salus continetur, nullis auspiciis administrantur, nulla peremnia servantur, nulla ex acuminibus, etc.

5. auspiciato: cf. 1, 3, n. (*auspiciato . . . condidisse*).

6. proconsulibus . . . propraetoribus: these compound forms are rare in Cicero (cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 11—whose suggestion that in our case the preposition *a* may be due to corruption would make the construction more difficult rather than less), and from various passages they have been removed by emendation, on the supposition that they are later modifications, yet cf. *Phil.* 14, 6: *a consulibus et a propraetore*; Peterson in *Class. Quart.* 4 (1910), 175 (who defends other cases).

For the matter here discussed see 1, 95, and nn. (*nihil in bello, etc.; habent auspicia*); Wissowa in *P.-W.* s. v. *auspicium* (1896), 2583, who points out that this neglect of auspices became regular, in the late republic, because Sulla separated the provincial administration from the magistracies, and in the empire, when wars were conducted by imperial legates. In *Leg.* 3, 10 Cicero lays down the principle: *omnes magistratus auspicium iudiciumque habent*, but how widely he intended the term *magistratus* to apply is not clear.

7. amnis transeunt: cf. N. D. 2, 9: *nulla peremnia servantur, nulla ex acuminibus*; Fest. p. 157 M. (quoted below); p. 245 M.: *peremne dicitur auspiciari qui amnem aut aquam quae ex sacro (ex agro suggested by Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 97, n. 1)*

cantur. Ubi ergo avium divinatio? Quae, quoniam ab iis qui auspicia

18. Verba ubi ergo . . . esse sublata, quae in codd. verba augur optimus sequuntur, haec Modvigio auctore transposuerunt Müller (Jahn. Jahrb. 89 (1864), 624-625), Thoresen, Bearings, ante verba itaque nec transposuit Forchhammer (Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 5 (1896), 36), Christ ad Bailei memora recitant.

uritur auspiciato transit; p. 250 M.: Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspiciato transcutunt, cum in campo quid agere volunt; quod genus auspici peremne vocatur (for the Petronia amnis cf. 1, 33, n. (scriptum apud te)); Valetio in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 209; Richter, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom, 2 ed. (1901), 225, and pl. 6; Domaszewski, Abh. zur röm. Relig. (1909), 217-220; Serv. Aen. 9, 24: augurum . . . fuerat consuetudo, ut si post acceptum augurium ad aquam venissent, inclinati aqua haurirent exinde et manibus et fuis precibus vota promitterent, ut visum perseveraret augurium, quod aquae intercessu dirumpitur (and cf. Valetio, op. cit. 210, and n. 2, who well points out that from this statement we may conclude that auspicia peremnia were observed, not by all who crossed rivers, but only by those citizens, magistrates, or priests who had occasion to cross a river between the time of the taking of auspices and the action with reference to which those auspices were taken, as, for example, by magistrates waging war, who had taken their auspices from Rome and for whom it was clearly undesirable to have to return to Rome ad repelenda auspicia (Mommsen, op. cit. 1, 99-101)). Mommsen (l.c.) suggests that the custom may have arisen from the situation of Rome on the Tiber, the boundary of Latin and Etruscan territories, and that each crossing of this stream was an initial act of war, while Frothingham (in Am. Journ. of Arch. 16 (1912), 110) would find in the custom the cause of the failure early to combine within the limits of one city the settlements on the different hills of Rome (cf. Kuntze, Prolegom. zur Gesch. Rom's (1882), 94). Bouché-Leclercq (Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 231, n.) holds Mommsen's suggestion a superficial one and quotes

Fest. p. 157 M.: manalis fons appellatur ab auguribus puleus perennis, neque tamen spiciendus videtur, quia flumen id spiciatur quod sua sponte in amnem infuat, and thinks that, as the Roman surveyors (whose art was closely allied to that of the augurs) did not attempt to project their lines across water-courses, so the augurs, not because water-courses 'broke' the continuity of auspices (as Servius says), but because they interrupted the continuity of the geometric figure of the templum, set these limits for practical reasons which their successors (in the time of Cicero) had forgotten, to the consequent neglect of the custom itself; cf. Kuntze, l.c.

Others would attempt to compare the peremnia with the numerous sacrifices made by the Greeks and orientals at the crossings of rivers (διαβαθήρια—cf. Stephanus, Thes. Gr. s.v. διαβαθήρια; Hes. Op. 737-739; μηδέ ποτ' αλευών ποταμῶν καλλιρροον ἕδωρ / ποσσὶ περᾶν, πρὶν γ' εἰς ἰδῶν ἐς καλὰ βίεθρα. / χεῖρας νυδάσσει πωλυράτην ἕδαι λευκῶ; Hdt. 6, 76; 7, 54 (where the Hellespont is treated like a river, as by Alexander; cf. Arr. Anab. 1, 11, 6); 7, 113; 9, 36; Aesch. Sept. 378-379; Xen. Anab. 4, 3, 18; Arr. Anab. 4, 4, 3 (Curt. 7, 7, 21-29); 5, 3, 6; 5, 28, 4; 5, 29, 5; Theopomp. (?) Hellen. (Oxyrhynch. Pap. 5, 159, lines 49-52); Diod. 2, 19, 10; Dion. Hal. 5, 28, 1; Tac. Ann. 6, 37, 2; Amm. Marc. 18, 7, 1; Stengel in Fleck. Jahrb. 37 (1891), 450-451; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 117). But although the purpose may possibly have been similar the methods there employed were so different as to vitiate the comparison. In the present passage, if we accept the emended order, the references of the preceding and following sentences, particularly the words ubi ergo avium divinatio, seem to imply that

nulla habent bella administrantur, ab urbanis retenta videtur, a bellicis esse sublata. Nam ex acuminibus quidem, quod totum auspicium militare

1. ab urbanis C. Christ, Boier, ad urbanas res Müller, Thoresen, Haeringo, in rebus urbanis Madvig.

Cicero supposed the *peremnia* to be dependent upon the observation of augural animals, Servius to the contrary. On the subject of the *peremnia* cf. also Regell in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 27 (1881), 625; Kuntze, *op. cit.* 92-98.

[473] 7. *auspicato*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*auspicato* . . . *condidisse*).

[474] 1. *ubi ergo*, etc.: the change of order indicated by Madvig and described in the critical note seems a necessary and easy way of restoring logical order to the illogical arrangement of the manuscripts.

1. *urbanis* . . . *bellicis*: cf. *Off.* 1, 74; 1, 82.

1. *urbanis*: for the *auspicia urbana* cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 528. Emendation of *ab urbanis* seems unnecessary; the contrast between officials in the city and events in war, though not strictly logical, is easily understood (to take *bellicis* as a masculine substantive would require a better parallel than I have been able to find).

2. *ex acuminibus*: Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsrecht*, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 87, n. 6) considered these among the *auspicia impetrativa*, regularly taken before the beginning of a battle. But he offers no suggestion of a method by which they could be so observed, and it seems much more likely, with most scholars (e.g., those cited by Martin in *Rev. arch.* 13 (1866), 172, n. 5; Martin himself leaves the question open), to take them as *auspicia oblativa*, of a type many times mentioned by ancient writers and falling under the category of the electric phenomenon of St. Elmo's Fire; cf. 1, 75, n. (*stellaeque*); 1, 121, n. (*caput arsisse*); also the abundant illustrations collected by Martin, *op. cit.* 168-179 and Frazer on Paus. 2, 1, 9; cf. Stemplinger, *Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 31-32. The *auspicia ex acumini-*

bus are mentioned in *N. D.* 2, 9 (quoted in the note on *amnis transeunt* above); cf. Arnob. 2, 67: *aut Marius discripien obeuntes spem proelii sumitis ex acuminibus auspicatis?* Among the earliest references Mayor (on *N. D.* 2, 9) would class *II.* 10, 153-154: τῆλε δὲ χαλαρὸς / λάμφ' ὡς το στεροσῆ παρὸς Διός; 13, 245 (much more doubtful); 22, 317-320: οἷος δ' ἀστὴρ . . . / Ἰσπεροι, . . . / ὡς ἀλκυῆς ἀτίλαμπ' εὐήκοος, ἦν ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεύς / πᾶλλω δεξιτερῆ. For later instances cf. *Bell. Afr.* 47, 6: *eadem nocte v legionis pilorum cacumina sua sponte arserunt*; Dion. Hal. 5, 46: *ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὕσῶν περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν ὀβελίσκων φλόγες ἀήπτοστο, καὶ δι' ἔλου τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸ σέλας ἦν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ λαμπάδων, καὶ κατίσχε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ. ἐκ τούτου κατέλαβον τοῦ φάσματος, ὥσπερ οἱ τερατοσκοποὶ ἀπίφαινον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις συμβαλεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν, ὅτι νιπῆρ αὐτοῖς ταχεῖαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σηματοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἐπειδὴ περ ἄταν εἰλεῖ <τῷ> πυρὶ καὶ οὐδὲν δ τι οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διαφθερεται*; Liv. 22, 1, 8: (sc. *nuntiatum est*) *in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumcivitatis vigilias equitū scipionem quem manus tenuerit arsisse*; 33, 26, 8: *ad Monetæ duarum hastarum spicula arserant*; 43, 13, 6: *Fregellis in domo L. Atræi hasta, quas filio militi emerat, interdium plus duas horas arsisse, ita ut nihil eius combureret ignis, dicebatur*; Virg. *Aen.* 5, 525-527: *namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo / signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit / consumpta in ventos*; Sen. *N. Q.* 1, 1, 14: *Gylippo Syracusas petenti visa est stella super ipsam lanceam constitisse. in Romanorum castris ardere visa sunt pila, ignibus scilicet in illa delapsis qui saepe fulminum modo ferire solent et arbusta; sed si minore vi uluntur defuunt tantum et insidunt, non feriunt nec vulnerant*; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 101: *existunt stellae et in*

est, iam M. Marcellus ille quinquiens consul totum omisit, idem imperator, idem augur optumus. Et quidem ille dicebat, si quando rem agere vellet, ne impediretur auspiciis, lectica operta facere iter se solere. Huic simile

mari terrisque. vidi nocturnis militum vigiliis inhaerere pilis pro vallo fulgorem effigie ea (cf. *Lyd. de Ostent. prooem. 5*); *Tac. Ann. 15, 7: pila militum arsere, magis insigni prodigio, quia Parthus hostis missilibus telis decertat* (cf. 12, 64); *Plut. Sull. 7*; *Sil. Ital. 8, 626: per sudum athenitis pila exarsere maniplis*; *Dio Chrys. Or. 12, p. 216 M.: ἀστὲρα πύματοντα συνεχῆς σπυθῆρας ἀποβάλλοντα, δεινὸν τίρας ναύταις ἢ στρατῶ;* *Procop. 4, 2, 5-7: τίρας ἐν τῶ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ* (in the army of Belisarius) *ἔλεγθαι τοῦδε. τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔαρα πυρὶ πολλῶ κατελάμπετο καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ ἀλχμαὶ καλεσθαι ἐπὶ πλείστον σφίσιν ἰδόκουν . . . συνέπεσε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρόνῳ πολλῶ ὑστερον. ὅτε δὴ αὐτὸ καὶ νῆας σύμβολον ἔτε παρὰ εἰδότες ἐπίστευον εἶναι, κτλ.;* *Potocki, Voyages dans les Steps d'Asirakhan et du Caucase, 1, 143* (ap. *Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 50 n. 2*) for the same phenomenon on the lanceheads of Cossacks on the steppes. Professor G. F. Moore (in a letter to the writer, 16 May, 1921) describes seeing it in 1863, just after the battle of Gettysburg, between Gettysburg and Harrisburg. "It was very hot weather . . . so that we marched chiefly at night . . . One night we had an electric storm, and all at once in the pitchy darkness little tongues of light appeared on every point of metal, the buttons on the men's caps, the bosses of the horses' bridles, and other things. It was a wonderful sight as the battery and train were stretched out over half a mile."

[475] 2f. totum . . . totum: cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 1, 19, n. (*stellantis*); etc.

[475] 2. militare: contrasted with the *urbanis* above.

1. M. Marcellus: the conqueror of Syracuse.

1. ille: cf. 1, 28, n. (*ille sapiens*).

1. quinquiens consul: B.C. 222, 215 (reckoned with his consulships on account of his election, but he was not allowed to assume the office: cf. *Liv. 27, 22, 1*), 214, 210, 208; cf. *Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2738-2753*. The number of his five consulships was a matter of remark (*id. 2753*).

1. omisit: *Mommsen (Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 88, n.)* suggests that the custom was already antiquated at the time of its abandonment by Marcellus, because of changes in the army affecting the use of spears, and *Bouché-Leclercq (Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 185)* observes that these signs seem to have passed from the list of the auspices into that of prodigies, with which the augural science did not concern itself.

1f. idem imperator, idem augur: cf. *ad Fam. 9, 2, 1: Caninius <tuus> idem et idem noster*.

2. augur optumus: he is mentioned as an augur by *Liv. 27, 36, 5*; *Plut. Marc. 2*.

3. ne impediretur auspiciis: for, as *Servius (Aen. 12, 259)* remarks, in *oblativis auguriis in potestate videntis est utrum id ad se pertinere velit an refuset et abominetur* (cf. 1, 103, n. (*accipio . . . omen*) above); cf. *Plin. N.H. 28, 17: haec satis sint exemplis ut appareat ostentorum vires et in nostra potestate esse ac prout quaeque accepta sint ita valere. in augurum certe disciplina constat neque diras neque ulla auspicia pertinere ad eos qui quamque rem ingredienti observare se ea negaverint, quo munere divinae indulgentiae maius nullum est*; *Cato ap. Fest. p. 234 M.: domi cum auspicamus honorem me deum immortalium velim habuisse. servi, ancillae, si quis eorum sub centone crepuit, quod ego non sensi nullum mihi vitium facit. si cui ibidem servo aut ancillae dormienti evenit quod*

est quod nos augures praecipimus, ne iuges auspicium obveniat, ut iumenta iubeant diiungere. 78. Quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut aut ne feri possit auspicium aut, si fiat, videri?

XXXVII. Nam illud admodum ridiculum, quod negas Deiotarum auspiciorum quae sibi ad Pompeium proficiscenti facta sint paenitere, quod fidem secutus amicitiamque populi Romani functus sit officio; antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse laudem et gloriam quam regnum et possessiones suas. Credo equidem, sed hoc nihil ad auspicia; nec enim ei cornix canere potuit recte eum facere, quod populi Romani libertatem defendere pararet; ipse hoc sentiebat, sicuti sensit. 79. Aves eventus significant aut adversos

B. equidem *Madrig, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoreson, Heringa*, id quidem CO.

comitia prohibere solet ne is quidem mihi vitium facit; Aug. de Doctr. Christ. 2, 24: *illa signa, quibus perniciose daemone societas comparatur, pro cuiusque observationibus valent. quod manifestissime ostendit ritus augurum, qui et antequam observent et posteaquam observata signa tenuerint id agunt ne videant volatus aut audiant voces avium; quia nulla ista signa sunt, nisi consensus observantis accedat.* It was this desire to avoid unfavorable omens that led to various customs of ceremonial silence (cf. 1, 102, n. (*faverent linguis*); Plin. N. H. 28, 11), the habit of rising in the dead of night to name a dictator (cf. Liv. 8, 23, 15-16), veiling at sacrifice (Virg. Aen. 3, 405-409), etc.

1. *iuges auspicium*: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 104 M.; *iuges auspicium est cum iunctum iumentum stercus fecit*; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 3, 537: *sed multi de libris augurum tractum tradunt; iugelis enim dicitur augurium quod ex iunctis iumentis fiat. observatur enim, ne prodiluro magistratus disiunctis bobus plaustrum obviam veniat* (there seems to be some mistake in the passage, which states exactly the contrary of what Cicero says; perhaps (with Dacier in his edition of Festus (1700), 195) we should insert *nisi* before *disiunctis*, or should emend to *indisiunctis*—the syllable *in-* being an easy palaeographical omission after the preceding *-ui*). Regell (Comm. in Libr. augural. Frag. (1893), 18, n. 46) suggests in this connection that we should associate with this, as a techni-

cal augural expression, Paul. ex Fest. p. 113 M.: *iniuges boves, qui sub iugo non fuerint*; also a couple of glosses (cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. 6, 610, s.v. *iugiles αμωθενμβροι*). Cf. also the *Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum in Concilio Liptinensi ann. 743* (Ducange, Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v. *stercoraces*): *de auguriis vel avium vel equorum vel boum stercoribus*; and, for varied omens from excrement, Bourke, *Scatologic Rites of all Nations* (1891), 246-248; Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of southern India* (1912), 58-59. On coincidence in such phenomena as that here noted cf. [Arist.] *Probl.* 7, 6: *διὰ τὴ . . . διατ' οὐρούσσια ἴωσιν, οὐρούσι, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ὄψοσγία, κτλ.*

2. *Iove*: cf. 2, 72, n. (*Iovis*).

4f. *negas Deiotarum, etc.*: cf. 1, 27; *acta sint* here represents the stronger expression *secunda eenerint* of the first book, as *amicitiam* here corresponds to *libertatem* in the first case; *laudem* and *regnum* are also here expansions of the other passage.

8. *nihil ad auspicia*: cf. 1, 66, n. (*minus ad*); 2, 72; Reid on Ac. 1, 15; Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des Cic. Stils* (1910), 89-90.

8. *nec enim, etc.*: cf. Aug. C. D. 4, 30: *Cicero augur inridet auguria et inridet homines corvi et corniculæ vocibus vitæ consilia moderantes.*

10. *sentiebat . . . sensit*: as Kühner-

aut secundos; virtutis auspiciis video esse usum Deiotarum, quae vetat spectare fortunam, dum praestetur fides. Aves vero si prosperos eventus ostenderunt certe fefellerunt. Fugit e proelio cum Pompeio; grave tempus! Discessit ab eo; luctuosa res! Caesarem eodem tempore hostem et hospitem vidit; quid hoc tristius? Is cum ei Trocmorum tetrarchiam eripuisset et adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui dedisset eidemque detraxisset

2. spectare *Marrus edioresque*, expectare C.

2. vero si prosperos *Marrus edioresque*, vero prosperos C, sed inter has voces in B una lit. crasa est.

5. Trocmorum *Brodaeus, Basier, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringa, trochamorum* C, Trogmorum *Daries, Christ.*

6. cui dedisset *ruig., Müller*, qui dedisset A¹B¹, quid dedisset A¹V, qui uidisset B¹.

Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 131, point out, the former verb refers to Deiotarus's own course of action, the latter to Cicero's judgment upon it.

1. *virtutis auspiciis*: explained more clearly below by the words *a virtute ipsius*, non ab auspiciis. Iortinus compares II. 12, 237-243: τὴν δ' ὀλωνοῖσι ταυπητέρησσι κελύεσι / κείθεσθαι, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέκου' οὐδ' ἀλεγιῶ, / εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἧῶ τ' ἡλιόν τε, / εἴτ' ἐκ' ἀριστερά τοι γε ποτὶ ζῆφον ἤρθευτα. / ἡμεῖς δὲ μέγαλοιο Διὸς θεώμυθα βουλή, / ὅς κ' αἰσι θητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει. / εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος, ἀμύθεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Cicero is, of course, here meeting the Stoic upon his own ground, since Stoic philosophy constantly insisted upon the supremacy and the sufficiency (ἀνάρκεια) of virtue over all other things (naturally including all that fortune might offer); cf. the fifth book of the *Tusculan Disputations* and *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, 16-18; 2, 2, n. (*virtutem . . . contentam*) above; also Hor. *Carm.* 3, 2, 17-20; 3, 3, 1-8.

1. *vetat*: it is undesirable, with Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 38; following the second hand of code. B) to read *vetant*, for *auspicia* may at one time forbid and at another command one to follow fortune (notice that the verb is present and hence general in meaning), but virtue would always, particularly in the Stoic creed which is here being appealed to, favor *fides* irrespective of *fortuna*.

2. *eventus*: cf. 1, 74, n. (*eventa*) for the Carneadean argument against Stoic empiricism.

4. *discessit*: cf. *pro Deiot.* 13: *itaque Pharsalico proelio facto a Pompeio discessit; spem infinitam persequi noluit; vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satis factum esse dixit; domum se contulit.*

4. *hostem et hospitem*: cf. 1, 84, n. (*constituerunt . . . coniderunt*); 2, 99, n. (*natura futura*). For the coupling of these words Allen compares Liv. 1, 58 8: *qui hostis pro hospite* (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2, 787); Ov. *Her.* 17, 10. The occasion described was in 47 B.C., when Caesar came to his country; see note on *Armeniam* below.

4. *hospitem*: cf. *pro Deiot.* 8: *per dexteram istam te (sc. Caesarem) oro, quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti . . . tu vetus hospitium renovare voluisti.* *Phil.* 2, 94: *quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? . . . compellat hospitem praesens, compularat, pecuniam imperarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis conlocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam; in Bell. Alex. 68, 1 Caesar is described as making some concessions in the case of Deiotarus veteri hospitio atque amicitiae.*

5. *tristius*: cf. 2, 24, n. (*tristissimas*)

5. *Trocmorum*; the eastern part of Galatia; cf. Liv. 38, 16, 11; Plin. *N. H.* 5, 146: *qui partem eam insidere Gallorum Tolisibogi et Voluri et Ambitoui vocantur; qui Maeoniae et Paphlagoniae regionem Trogmi . . . oppida Tecliosagum Ancyra; Trocmorum Tavium, etc.*; Strab. 4, p. 187; 12, p. 566; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρομολοῖ etc.

5. *tetrarchiam*: for the form cf. 2, 59,

Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissimo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem. Sed labor longius; ad propositum revertar. Si eventa quaerimus quae exquiruntur avibus nullo modo prospera Deiotaro; sin officia, a virtute ipsius, non ab auspiciis petita sunt. XXXVIII. 80. Omitte igitur lituum Romuli, quem in maximo incendio negas potuisse comburi; contemne cotem Atti Navi. Nihil debet

6. Navi B, Christ, auli A¹, nauli A¹ O, Boiter, Müller, Thorszen, Hoeringa.

n. (Politian). On the historical allusion see 1, 27, n. (a Caesare tetrarchia, etc.).

[478] 6. *adseculae suo*: Mithridates of Pergamum; cf. 1, 27, n. (a Caesare tetrarchia, etc.). In *Bell. Alex.* 78, 2-3 there is a less contemptuous account of him: *Mithridaten Pergamenum . . . regio genere ortum, disciplinis etiam regis educatum . . . regem Bosphori constituit . . . eidem tetrarchian Gallograecorum iure gentis et cognationis adiudicavit occupatam et possessam paucis ante annis a Deiotaro*; Dio Cass. 42, 48, 4 says: τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τετραρχίᾳ τε ἐν Γαλαρίᾳ καὶ βασιλεὺς θρόνῳ ἔδωκε; cf. also *Strab.* 13, p. 625.

[478] 6. *nescio cui*: contemptuous, as in 2, 9; 2, 94; 2, 113; 2, 134; *de Am.* 87.

1. *Armeniam*: Armenia Minor. For the facts see Niese in *P.-IV.* s.v. *Deiotarus* (1901), 2401, and especially *Bell. Alex.* 67, 1: *cum propius Pontium finisque Gallograeciae accessisset, Deiotarus, tetrarches Gallograeciae tum quidem paene totius, quod ei neque legibus neque moribus concessum esse ceteri tetrarchae contende- bant, sine dubio autem rex Armeniae minoris ab senatu appellatus, depositis regis insignibus neque tantum privato vestitu sed etiam reorum habitu supplex ad Caesarem venit oratum ut sibi ignosceret quod in ea parte positus terrarum quae nulla praesidia Caesaris habuisset exerciti- bus imperiisque <coactus> in Cn. Pompei castris fuisset.*

1. *magnificentissimo*, etc.: cf. *pro Deiot.* 19: *quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te (sc. Caesarem) cognovisti qualis rex Attalus in P. Africanum fuit, cui magnificen- tissima dona . . . misit ex Asia, quae Africanus inspectante exercitu accepit. quod*

cum praesens Deiotarus regio animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discessisti.

2. *spoliatum*: but cf. *Bell. Alex.* 68, 1-2: *de controversiis tetrarcharum postea se cogniturum esse dixit, regium vestitum ei (sc. Deiotaro) restituit. legionem autem eam quam . . . Deiotarus . . . constitutam habebat equitalumque omnem ad bellum gerendum adducere iussit.*

2. *labor longius*: cf. *Leg.* 1, 52: *quin labebar longius, nisi me relinuissem; pro Caecin.* 101: *non me praeterit . . . me longius esse prolapsum quam ratio . . . postulavit.*

3. *ad propositum revertar*: cf. *Off.* 2, 35; 3, 39; *Tusc.* 3, 11; also 1, 47 above.

5. *omitte*: cf. *Ac.* 1, 2; *Leg.* 3, 29.

5. *lituum Romuli*: cf. 1, 30.

5f. *maximo incendio*: the burning of the city by the Gauls. Most modern authorities (following Diod. 14, 115, 6-8; Liv. 5, 43, 1; Plut. *Camill.* 31; etc.; cf. Pais, *Storia di Roma*, 1, 2 (1899), 54, n. 4) understand that the city was practically razed to the ground; Roberts (in *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, 2 (1918), 55-65) argues, not entirely convincingly, that the damage was much less, and that many temples, in particular, escaped destruction. That is clearly not the view of Cicero, however, who would hardly have lost the opportunity of explaining the preservation of the *lituus* by the saving of the building in which it was deposited, had he possessed any ground for such an explanation.

6. *contemne*, etc.: cf. *N.D.* 3, 14: *unde porro ista divinatio, quis invenit fissum iecoris, quis cornicis cantum notavit, quis sortis; quibus ego credo, nec*

esse in philosophia commenticiis fabellis loci; illud erat philosophi potius, totius auguri primum naturam ipsam videre, deinde inventionem, deinde constantiam. Quae est igitur natura, quae volucris huc et illuc passim vagantis efficiat ut significant aliquid et tum vetent agere, tum iubeant aut cantu aut volatu? Cur autem aliis a laeva, aliis a dextra datum est avibus ut ratum auspiciam facere possint? Quo modo autem haec aut quando aut a quibus inventa dicemus? Etrusci tamen habent exaratum puerum auctorem disciplinae suae; nos quem? Attumne Navium? At aliquot annis antiquior Romulus et Remus, ambo augures, ut accepimus. An Pisdarum aut Cilicum aut Phrygum ista inventa dicemus? Placet igitur humanitatis expertis habere divinitatis auctores?

2. augurii C, edioresque.

possum Atti Navi quem commemorabas lituum contemnere, sed qui ista intellecta sint a philosophis deo discere, praesertim cum plurimis de rebus divini isti mentiantur—a passage obviously closely related to the present; cf. 1, 12, n. (*Carneades*) above; 1, 30, and n. (*integer*); 1, 31.

1. *commenticiis*: cf. 1, 68, n. (*non commenticiam rem*).

1. *fabellis*: often with an unfavorable meaning; cf. *N.D.* 1, 41; 3, 12; 3, 13; *pro Caed.* 64.

1. *illud erat philosophi*: cf. 2, 27, n. (*philosophi, etc.*).

2f. *naturam . . . inventionem . . . constantiam*: what is its nature (including both cause and function), how man discovered it, and whether it is unvaryingly true. The first two points are briefly discussed in the remainder of this section, the third in 2, 81-83.

3. *quae est . . . natura*: cf. 2, 18; 2, 143; also 1, 12, n. (*Iuppiterne*); 1, 120, and n. (*eodemque*).

5. *cantu aut volatu*: cf. 1, 120, and nn. (*alites; oscines*).

5. *aliis a laeva, etc.*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*a laeva*); Valeton in *Mnemosyne*, 17 (1889), 286, and n. 3.

6. *ratum . . . facere*: cf. 1, 85, n. (*faciat ratum*); 2, 63.

6. *quo modo, etc.*: cf. 2, 28, n. (*quam diuturna*); *N.D.* 3, 14, quoted in note on *contemne, etc.* above.

7. *tamen*: for this use of the word cf. Mayor on *N.D.* 1, 101. Slater (in *Class. Rev.* 37 (1923), 54) thinks *tamen* is meaningless and emends to *Tagen*, supposing *exaratum puerum* to be a marginal gloss, which, after the corruption of *Tagen* to *tamen*, crept into the text. This seems unnecessarily complicated, and I should retain *tamen*.

7. *exaratum*: cf. 2, 50-51.

8. *auctorem disciplinae*: for the phrase cf. *Fin.* 1, 29.

8f. *aliquot annis*: in 1, 31 the events relating to Attus Navius are set *multis annis post Romulum Prisco regnante Tarquinio*.

9. *antiquior Romulus et Remus*: for similar cases of agreement cf. Anz, *Ciceros Sprachgebrauch* (1884), 10.

9. *ambo augures*: cf. 1, 107; *cum fratre item augure*.

9. *accepimus*: cf. 1, 33, n. (*accepimus*).

10. *Pisdarum aut Cilicum aut Phrygum*: cf. 1, 2; 1, 25; 1, 92; 1, 94; 1, 105.

10f. *placet igitur . . . habere*: cf. *N.D.* 3, 11; *Fin.* 4, 50.

11. *humanitatis expertis*: cf. 1, 105, nn. (*collegae tui; Soranum*). On *humanitas* as a Stoic quality cf. Arnold, *Rom. Stoicism* (1911), 300; 381.

11. *divinitatis*: possibly chosen in

XXXIX. 81. At omnes reges, populi, nationes utuntur auspiciis. Quasi vero quicquam sit tam valde quam nihil sapere vulgare, aut quasi tibi ipsi in iudicando placeat multitudo! Quotus quisque est, qui voluptatem neget esse bonum? Plerique etiam summum bonum dicunt. Num igitur eorum frequentia Stoici de sententia deterrentur? Aut num plerisque

preference to *divinationis* in order to produce an *homoeoteleuton* with the contrasted *humanitatis* (cf. 1, 84, n. (*constituerunt . . . condiderunt*)). For *divinitas* in the sense of *divinatio* cf. 2, 119; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 149: *quod si quis praedictum credat simul fateatur necesse est maioris miraculi divinitatem Anaxagorae fuisse*; Davies also cites Lact. *Inst.* 1, 11, 10: *et primum imprudentia in eo non dei, cui nisi Themis futura dixisset ipse nesciret; si autem divinus non sit ne deus quidem sit, unde ipsa divinitas nominatur, ut ab homine humanitas*; 1, 13, 1; Serv. *Georg.* 2, 486: *gloria medicinae est . . . minor quam divinitatis et augurandi, quae ei Apollo obtulerat munera*; Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 12, 394: *sed et cithara et sagittae artes sunt, augurium vero munus; non enim sola arte verum etiam indulta divinitate colligitur*. The adjective *divinus* is more frequently used in this sense; cf. 2, 74, n. (*at haruspices divini*).

1. *at*: cf. 1, 24, n. (*at*).

1. *omnes*, etc.: cf. 1, 1, and n. (*consensus*); 1, 84.

1. *populi, nationes*: cf. 1, 84, and n. (*populi . . . nationes*).

2. *quasi vero*: cf. 2, 45, n. (*quasi*); 2, 59.

2. *valde*: this, of course, modifies *vulgare*, from which it is awkwardly separated by *quam nihil sapere*; the present order is perhaps due to the desire for a more effective *clausula*.

2 f. *quasi . . . placeat multitudo*: in the eyes of the Stoic *πᾶς ἀφ' ὧν μάκτρας* (cf. *Parad.* 27; *Tusc.* 4, 54; *S. V. F.* 2, nos. 657-670), and the true philosopher is rarely or never found (cf. 2, 61, n. (*sapientem fuisse*)), hence judgments depending upon *consensus* (cf. 1, 1, n. (*consensus*)) the

Stoic school should feel logically bound to reject; cf. *N. D.* 3, 11 (where see Mayor's note): *placet igitur tantas res opinione stultorum iudicari, vobis (sc. Stoicis) praesertim qui illos insanos esse dicatis!* The doctrine is also well set forth in Plat. *Crit.* p. 44 c: *ἀλλὰ τί ἡμῖν, ὦ μακάριοι Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς ὧν πολλῶν ὀφείης μέλας; οἱ γὰρ ἐπιεικίστατοι, ὡν μᾶλλον ἄξιον φροντίζειν, ἀγῆσονται αὐτὰ οὕτω πεπράχθαι ὥσπερ ἄν πραχθῆ;* and Allen cites the saying of Phocion as told by Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* p. 187 f.

3 f. *voluptatem neget esse bonum*: pleasure was regarded by Zeno among the indifferent things (Stob. *Ecl.* 2, p. 57 W. = *S. V. F.* 1, no. 190: *ἀδιάφορα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα: ζῶν θάνατον, δόξαν ἀδοξίαν, πόνον ἡδονήν, κτλ.*; Gell. 9, 5, 5: *Zeno censuit voluptatem esse indifferens, id est neutrum, neque bonum neque malum, quod ipse Graeco vocabulo ἀδιάφορον appellavit*), but other Stoics, probably in revulsion from Epicurean views, went yet further; cf. Sext. *Emp. adv. Math.* 11, 73: *οἶον τὴν ἡδονὴν ὁ μὲν Ἐπίκουρος ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φησιν, ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθίην κακόν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἀδιάφορον καὶ οὐ προσηγμένον, ἀλλὰ Κλεάνθης μὲν μήτε κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὴν εἶναι μήτε ἄξιαν ἔχειν ἐν τῷ βίῳ . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίδημος κατὰ φύσιν μὲν εἶναι ὡς τὰς ἐν μασχάλην τριχας, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἄξιαν ἔχειν, Παράτιος δὲ τινὰ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχειν, τινὰ δὲ παρὰ φύσιν; Arnold, *Rom. Stoicism* (1911), 315-316. Cicero in this sentence is not implying the numerical superiority of the avowed adherents of Epicureanism over those of Stoicism (in 2, 150 he suggests that but for the criticism of Carneades Stoicism would have swept the whole philosophical world before it), but is contrasting the austere*

in rebus sequitur eorum auctoritatem multitudo? Quid mirum igitur, si in auspiciis et in omni divinatione inbecilli animi superstitiosa ista concipiant, verum dispicere non possint? 82. Quae autem est inter augures conveniens et coniuncta constantia? Ad nostri auguri consuetudinem dixit Ennius:

Tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena.

4. augurii vulg., *Mallor*, auguri in *A*, auguris in *B*, augurii in *B*.

Stoic theory of the *summum bonum* with the natural inclinations and theories of the unphilosophical throng (*multitudo*), the more extremely hedonistic of whom—and not the Cyrenaics and Epicureans alone—are designated by the next sentence (*plerique . . . dicunt*).

[481] *Sf. num . . . sequitur . . . multitudo*: even the most convinced Stoic would admit that, as he did not follow the ideals and practices of the multitude, so it did not adopt his (the truth humorously presented by *Hor. Sat.* 1, 3, 133-136), and an austere independent attitude became the boast of the philosopher; cf. Arnold, *op. cit.* 356; 366.

1. *quid mirum . . . ai*: cf. 2, 114; etc.

2. *inbecilli animi*: cf. 2, 125: *qui . . . eam . . . superstitionem inbecilli animi atque anilis putant*; 2, 140.

3. *superstitiosa*: cf. 1, 132; 2, 148.

3. *dispicere*: for this word cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 61.

3. *augures*: in the wider application of the word; cf. 1, 3, n. (*augur*).

3f. *conveniens . . . coniuncta . . . constantia*: note the emphatic repetition of the prefix; cf. *Min. Fel. Oct.* 17, 2: *cohaerentia conexa concatenata*.

4. *constantia*: cf. 2, 28, n. (*an haec . . . contulerunt*); 2, 80, n. (*naturam . . . inventionem . . . constantiam*).

4. *Ennius*: cf. 1, 40, n. (*apud Ennium*). The line is *Ann.* 527 Vahlen, and was imitated by other writers; cf. *Non. p.* 408: *Varro Endymionibus (Menipp. fr. 103 Bücheler), dum sermone censuali variamus, interea tonuit bene tempestate serena*; *Virg. Aen.* 2, 693: *intonuit laevum* (and see the important note of Servius and the Scholia Danielis); 9, 630-

631: *caeli genitor de parte serena / intonuit laevum*. We may also compare a line of Cicero's *Marius* (1, 106 supra): *partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris* Giese would take our line as describing the omen which confirmed the assumption of power by Romulus; if so it should belong to the first book of the *Annales*. Vahlen, however, does not attempt to place it at any definite point in that work.

5. *laevum*: for the accusative cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2, 693; 9, 631 (both quoted in the last note); *Juv.* 14, 295: *aestivum tonat*. The question of right and left in augury has been treated in part in 1, 12, n. (*a laeva*) and works there cited, to which add: Bulenger in *Graevius, Theat. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 407-411; Bouché-Leclercq. *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 188, n. 5; Pottier in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 405-413; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 525, and n. 2; also above, 1, 29, 1, 106; 1, 108; 2, 43; 2, 74, and n. (*sinistra sinistrum*); 2, 76, and n. (*sinistra*). For thunder on the left further compare *Enn Ann.* 146 Vahlen: *olim de caelo laevum dedit inclutus signum*; *Ov. Fast.* 4, 833-834: *tonitrua dedit omina laevo / Iuppiter. et laevo fulmina missa polo*; *Dion. Hal.* 2, 5, 2-3: *τίθεται δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ ἀστρατὰς αἰσίου, εἴτε παρὰ τῆς ῥηγῶν διδαχθέντες, εἴτε πατέρων καθηγησαμένω κατὰ τοῦδε τινά, ὡς ἐγὼ πείθομαι, λογισμένω, ὅτι καθόρα μὲν ἔστι καὶ στάσις ἀρίστη τῶν οἰκωσῶν μαρτυρημένω ἢ βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν θύλου τε ἀναφορὰ γίνεται καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων . . . ἢ τε τοῦ κόσμου περιφορὰ . . . τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς βλέπουσιν ἀριστερὰ μὲν γίνεται <τὰ> πρὸς τὴν ἀρκτον ἐπιστρέφοντα μέρη, δεξιὰ δὲ <τὰ> πρὸς μεσημβρίαν φέροντα· τιμώτερα δὲ τὰ πρὸς τετραπέφυκα εἶναι τῶν ὑστέρων*; 2, 5, 5: *ὡς*

At Homericus Ajax apud Achillem querens de ferocitate Troianorum nescio quid hoc modo nuntiat:

Prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit.

ὅτι τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ πρὶν ἢ παρὰ Τυρρηγῶν μαθεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων προγόνοις αἰετοὶ ἐνομιζόντο αἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράται. Ἄσκανψ γάρ . . . τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αἰτουμένῳ θεοῦ αἰεταὶ σημεῖα δοῦναι τῆς ἐξέδου φασὶν αἰθρίας ὄψεως ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράται τὸν οὐρανὸν (and see the long account of Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 78, who quotes this among other reasons); Fest. p. 339 M.: *sinistrae aves . . . Varro lib. V epistolarum quaestionum ait, 'a deorum sede cum in meridie spectes, ad sinistram sunt partes mundi exorientes, ad dexteram occidentes; factum arbitror ut sinistra meliora auspicia quam dextra esse existimentur'* (cf. Varr. *L. L.* 7, 97); p. 351 M.: *sinistrum in auspiciando significare ait Ateius Capito laetum et prosperum auspicium*; Val. Max. 4, 7, 2: *sinistris . . . auspiciis*; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 142: *laeva (sc. fulgura) prospera existimantur quoniam laeva parte mundi ortus est*; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 493: *signa feras laevusque tones*; Lyd. *de Oestent.* p. 56 W.: *πᾶσα δὲ βροντὴ, καὶ τούτων αἱ μετέωροι καὶ διηχηστάται μάλιστα, σημαίνουσι τι, καὶ διαφέρονται <αἱ> ἐκ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τοῦ κόσμου*; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 54: *sciendum laevum, cum de humanis rebus est, esse contrarium, cum de caelestibus prosperum, ut (Aen. 2, 693) intonuit laevum, quia sinistra numinum intuentibus dextra sunt*; Schol. Dan. Virg. *Aen.* 2, 693: *intonuis laevum sinisterum prosperum; quia caeleste est; quae enim nobis laeva sunt <caelestibus> dextra sunt . . . sinistras autem partes septentrionales esse augurum disciplina consentit, et ideo ex ipsa parte significatiores esse fulmina quoniam altiora et viciniora domicilio Iovis*; 9, 628; Amm. Marc. 14, 11, 12: *numine laevo* (cf. 31, 4, 9); Claud. *de VI Cons. Hon.* 274-275; *sinistris / auguriis*, Arnobius (4, 5) argues against all such beliefs, for *mundus ipse per se sibi neque dexteris neque laevis neque superis neque imas neque anticas habet neque posticas*

(and cf. Ambros. *Hexaem.* 5, 34); *Doxogr. Gr.* 339; Valeton in *Mnemoseyne*, 17 (1889), 305-306.

[482] 5. *bene*: if this word be taken to modify *serena* (cf. the Greek *εὖδως*?) cf. Fenn. *Ann.* 32: *bene firmum*; 234: *bene saepe*; Porphyr. ad Hor. *Carm.* 3, 24, 50: (sc. *bene*) *pro valde positum, ut apud Ennium frequenter*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *bonus (bene)*, 2125-2126. But it is also possible to construe *bene* with *tonuit*, in the sense of 'favorably,' and it seems more likely that Cicero understood and quoted the passage with that meaning in view.

[482] 5. *tempestate serena*: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 457: *tempestatesque serena*. On thunder and lightning in a clear sky cf. 1, 18, n. (*luce serenanti*), to which add other examples collected by Regell, *Comm. in Libr. augur. Frag.* (1893), 12, n. 5; Xen. *Hell.* 7, 1, 31; App. *B. C.* 1, 110; Jul. *Capit. Ant. P.* 3, 5.

1. *Homericus*: cf. 1, 52, n. (*Homericum . . . versum*).

1. *Ajax*: Cicero has here made a mistake, for the speaker is Odysseus (cf. *Il.* 9, 223—the mention of Aias in that line probably misled him). For similar slips cf. 1, 31, n. (*Prisco . . . Tarquinio*); 2, 63.

1. *ferocitate Troianorum*: cf. *Il.* 9, 232-243.

3. *prospera, etc.*: *Il.* 9, 236-237: *Ζεὺς δὲ σφί Κρονίδῃ ἐνδίκῃα σήματα φαίνω / ἀστράττει*. Cf. *Rep.* 6, 17: *est hominum generi prosperus et salutaris ille fulgor qui dicitur Iovis*.

3. *fulgoribus*: for the form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 318-319.

[484] 1. *nobis . . . Graiis . . . barbaris*: on this three-fold division cf. 1, 47, n. (*barbaris*).

Ita nobis sinistra videntur, Graiis et barbaris dextra meliora. Quamquam haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint; sed certe nostri sinistrum nominaverunt externique dextrum, quia plerumque id melius videbatur. 83. Haec quanta dissensio est! Quid? quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis, aliter observant, alia respondent, non necesse est fateri partim horum errore susceptum esse, partim superstitione, multa fallendo?

XL. Atque his superstitionibus non dubitasti etiam omina adiungere. Aemilia Paulo, Persam perisse, quod pater omen accepit; Caecilia, se sororis filiae sedes suas tradere. Iam illa: favete linguis et praerogativam, omen comitorum—hoc est ipsum esse contra se copiosum et disertum. Quando enim ista observans quieto et libero animo esse poteris, ut ad rem gerendam non superstitionem habeas, sed rationem ducem? Itane? Si quis aliquid

9. se sororia *Christ, Baillet, Müller, Thoresen, Heerings*, sororis *AO*, se soris *B'*, sessoria *BY*.

1. *Graiiis . . . dextra meliora*: cf. *Xen. Cyrop.* 7, 1, 3: *βροντή δεξιά ἐφειγματο ὁ δ' εἶπερ ἠθέμεθα σοι, ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε* (cf. *Nic. Damasc. in Frag. Hist. Gr.* 3, 405); *Plut. de Gen. Socrati*. 26: *ἐκείνος δ' ἐπήστραψε δεξιῶν ἄνευ βροντῆς . . . καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἰόθει καλὸν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ὁδῶν*; *Paus.* 4, 21, 7: *καί, ἡστραπτε γὰρ τοῦτοις κατὰ δεξιά, ἀπέφαιεν Ἴεας ὁ μάρτυς ὡς αἰσιον εἶη τὸ σημεῖον*. For indications on the right other than thunder cf. *Il.* 10, 274: *δεξιῶν . . . ἐρωδιῶν*; 12, 239-240; *Od.* 15, 160; 15, 525; *Eur. Phoen.* 1189: *δεξιῶν Διὸς τίρας*; *Xen. Cyrop.* 2, 1, 1: *ἀετὸς δεξιός*; *Callim.* 1, 68-69: *ἠέκαστο δ' οὐρανῶν μέγ' ὑπεύροχον ἀγγελιώτην / σῶν τεράων, ἀτ' ἡμοῖσι φίλους ἐνδέξια φαίνοισι*; *Epiqr.* 8, 3-4; *Schol. A Il.* 12, 201: *ἄριστερὰ γὰρ σημεῖα τὰ ἀπείσια, δεξιά δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα*; *id.* 12, 239: *δεξιά μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ἄριστερὰ δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς λέγει*; *Artemid. Onirocr.* 2, 36: *Ἴρις δεξιά μὲν ὀρωμένη ἀγαθῆ, εὐώνυμος δὲ ποτηρὰ. δεξιῶν δὲ καὶ εὐώνυμον οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὀρωτὰ χρῆνοειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον*; *C. I. L.* IV, Suppl. 2, no. 4496 (from Pompeii and showing Greek influence): *auspicium dextr felix*; *Prud. c. Symmach.* 2, 493: *omine dextro* (cf. 2, 564); *Valentin in Mnemosyne*, 17 (1889), 300-308; *Pottier in Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 405-413; also the works mentioned in 1, 12, n. (*a laetia*). In *Apul. Met.* 2, 14 and *Paulin. Nol. Carm.* 17, 184 *dexter* is apparently used in a favorable

sense, but perhaps with reference to direction.

6. *non necesse est*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 40.

6. *partim . . . errore*: cf. 2, 113: *partim ficta aperte, partim effulsa temere*. For the substantial use of *partim* cf. *Fin.* 3, 51; *Tusc.* 5, 38; *Leg.* 2, 42.

6. *susceptum*: cf. 1, 7; 2, 84.

8. *omina adiungere*: cf. 1, 102.

9. *Aemilia, etc.*: cf. 1, 103, whereas she is called *Tertia*, her full name doubtless being *Aemilia Tertia*.

9. *omen accepit*: cf. 1, 103, n. (*accipio . . . omen*).

9. *Caecilia, etc.*: 1, 104.

10. *illa*: cf. 1, 14, n. (*illa*).

10. *favete linguis, etc.*: cf. 1, 102.

10. *praerogativam*: cf. 1, 103. The accusative is apparently the object of some verbal idea, recurring, perhaps, to *adiungere* above.

11. *hoc est ipsum esse*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 80: *hoc est verum esse*.

11. *copiosum et disertum*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 4: *copiosos et disertos*.

11. *quando*: for this word with the implication of 'never' cf. *Parad.* 44, and with the thought of the sentence cf. 2, 149-150, where, at greater length, Cicero

ex sua re atque ex suo sermone dixerit et eius verbum aliquod apte ceciderit ad id quod ages aut cogitabis, ea res tibi aut timorem adferet aut alacritatem? 84. Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisi inponeret, quidam in portu caricas Cauno advectas vendens 'Cauneas' clamitabat. Dicamus, si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum, caveret ne iret; non fuisse periturum,

J. Brundisi AB, Brundisii VO, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heringa.

4. advectas *vulg.*, Müller, advectans C.

shows how *superstitio* impedes the sober use of the mind.

[484] 13f. *si quis . . . dixerit . . . ea res:* on the syntax cf. Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 7 (1922), 142, n. 34.

1. *apte ceciderit:* cf. 1, 34, n. (*apte cadant*); also 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

3. *M. Crassus:* for the bad omens to Crassus before he started on his expedition to the east cf. 1, 29, n. (*M. Crasso*). The following incident is doubtless alluded to in 1, 30 in the words *nisi carisset*.

3. *Brundisi:* on the embarcation there cf. Plut. *Crass.* 17: *ὁ δὲ Κράσσοσ εἰς Βροντίσιον ἦλθεν. ἔτι δ' ἀστατοῦσιν χειμῶσι τῆσ θαλάσσης οὐ περιέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀνήχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε;* Regling in *Klio*, 7 (1907), 364, who sets the date as 29 Dec. (= 19 Nov.), 55 B.C.

4. *caricas Cauno advectas:* Caria was noted for its figs (cf. Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* 14; *Vil. Auct.* 19), to such an extent that the adjective *carica* is commonly used for 'fig,' even for those coming from other parts of the world, e.g., Plin. *N. H.* 13, 51; for the trade in them see Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere*, 8 ed. (1911), 97. It may be noted that the modern botanical name of the fig is *Ficus carica* L. The town of Caunus in southern Caria, in particular, was much noted for its fruit (the abundance of which, according to Strab. 14, p. 651, rendered the place unhealthy), and of its figs Athenaeus (3, p. 76a) remarks: *ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Καίου τῆσ Καρίας ἐπαινεῖται κοινῶσ* (i.e., is well known). They are mentioned by Celsus (5, 21) as of medicinal importance; by Columella 10, 414;

Petron. 44; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 16, 15; and by Plin. *N. H.* 15, 83, in connection with the present story: *ex hoc genere sunt . . . collana et caricae quaeque considentis navem adversus Parthos omen fecere M. Crasso, venales praedicantis voce, cauneae.*

4. *Cauneas:* sc. *ficus vendo*, or *emite* (so Madvig; cf. Thoresen ad loc.). The point of the story of course lies in the similarity of the word to the phrase *cave ne eas* (cf. *caveret ne iret* below), as run together in rapid speech. The confusion of the two syllables -*nēas* (this is probably a substantively used adjective in -*ēus* rather than in -*ēus*, and Latin rather than Greek in formation; cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 997) with an elided *nē ēas* offers no difficulty, but the identity or similarity of *cau-* and *cavē* has proved more troublesome to phoneticians. Lindsay (*Latin Lang.* (1894), 169) holds that in ordinary speech this verbal phrase was treated as a word-complex with a single accent: *cau(e)-n(e)-eas* (somewhat similar is the assumption underlying Lachmann's emendation of the MS. reading *causis* to *cave sis* in *Juv.* 9, 120); in *Class. Rev.* 8 (1894), 158 he connects this sort of unconventional pronunciation with the law of prosody known as the *brevis brevians*, and cites Quintil. 1, 6, 21 for the shortening of the second syllable of *ave* (for such cases in *ave* and *cave* cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *op. cit.* 110-111), also Phaedr. *App.* 21, 1-10, where the *caw* of a crow is confused with *ave* (in which we might perhaps find the *molif* for a story told by Macrobi. *Sat.* 2, 4, 29), etc. Birt (in *Rhein. Mus.* 61 (1898), Suppl. 25; 87; 137) asserts a

si omni paruisset. Quae si suscipiamus, pedis offensio nobis et abruptio

syncope of *cave* to *cav* before *neas*; Bergfeld (in *Glotta*, 7 (1915), 17) compares the disappearance of the *e* of *cave* to the process illustrated (*id.* 15) in the sequence **ōlfacere* > **ōlfacerē* > *ōlfacere*, etc., and will not admit exact equality of pronunciation between *cauneas* and *cave ne eas*, but only similarity. Cf. also Kühner-Holzweissig, *op. cit.* 85.

For somewhat similar omens cf. Suet. *Aug.* 92, where it is stated that Augustus would not begin any undertaking on the Nones of the month: *nihil in hoc quidem aliud devilians . . . quam δυσφημιαν nominis* (i.e., *Nonis* suggests *non is*); also the story of Mancinus setting out for Spain and deterred by a *vox improviso audita* (*Obseq.* 24; *Liv.* perioch. 55; *Val. Max.* 1, 6, 7): *mane Mancine*; Inwards, *Weather Lore*, 3 ed. (1898), 170 (quoting Swainson): "the fishermen about Finisterre say that if you hear the gulls cry 'caré, caré, caré,' it is time to wind up (*caretter*) the lines, for there will be no catch."

I. *suscipiamus*: cf. 1, 7; 2, 83.

I. *pedis offensio*: this is probably to be associated with the *caducum auspici-um* (cf. 1, 19, n. (*concidit*); 1, 77, n. (*Iovis Statoris*)), but it involves the additional feature of motion, and was most significant if one stumbled upon the threshold when setting forth (or in the case of a bride entering) upon some new undertaking, the omen in this case being further much complicated by the folk-beliefs attaching to the threshold (cf. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 136-146). To the numerous cases of stumbling on thresholds collected by Ogle (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 251-254 (stumbling elsewhere than on the threshold he treats on p. 252, n. 1; see also his note in *Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 40 (1909), lxvi; Smith on Tibull. 1, 3, 19-20) and others cited by Bulenger (in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 439; 473-474) and McCartney (in *Class. Weekly*, 13 (1920), 217) may be

added (without attempting to separate cases of stumbling at a threshold): Eur. *I. A.* 598-600; *Liv.* 8, 6, 2; *Dion. Hal.* 12, 16, 23; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 24: *etiam parva dicta in auguriis sternumenta et offensiones pedum*; *Tac. Germ.* 39; *Dio Cass.* 58, 5; 62, 22; perhaps *Plut. de Stoic. Repugn.* 30; *App. Syr.* 56; *Basil. Comm. in Is.* 2, 77 (*Pair. Gr.* 30, 248 A): *ἐπιταί τις, φησίν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τότε σημαίνει κατόπιον μὲ τις ἀρεκάλεσε καὶ ἐπιπόδιον τοῦτο ὁ ποῖς προσέπτασεν ἐξιδόντος τὸ ἐμάτιον ἀρεσχίθῃ*; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 1, 2 (cf. 23, 1, 6). Also cases in which stumbling was converted to a good omen, as by Scipio (*Frontin. Strat.* 1, 12, 1; *Nepot. Epit.* 7, 3); Caesar (*Suet. Iul.* 59; *Dio Cass.* 42, 58, 3, *Frontin. Strat.* 1, 12, 2), and William the Conqueror (Knowlson, *Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 164-165). For a Semitic instance see *1 Chron.* 13, 9 (cf. *2 Sam.* 6, 6); for stumbling as an omen among the Malays see Skeat, *Malay Magic* (1900), 533; in India, Thurston, *Omens and Superst. of southern India* (1912), 22; in Pennsylvania, Fogel, *Beliefs and Superst. of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1915), 85. The horse of Mungo Park is said to have stumbled at the start of his expedition to Africa (*Lockhart, Life of Scott* (1838), ch. 4).

Possibly in part connected with the same idea is the custom of starting an undertaking with the right (i.e., the auspicious) foot (cf. Ogle. *op. cit.* 254, n. 2, and add *Plin. N. H.* 11, 253; *Vitruv.* 3, 4, 4; *Suid. s.v. πρώτῳ ποδὶ*) and that of putting on the right shoe first (Ogle, *l.c.*: *Plin. N. H.* 2, 24; *Wagener, Pop. Assoc. of Right and Left in Rom. Lit.* (1912), 42-43; and many modern instances).

If. *abruptio corrigiae*: cf. Menand' *Superstii.* 109 Kock: ἀγαθὸν τί μοι γίνετα πολίται μοι θεοί: / ὑποδοόμενος τὸν ἐμάττα γὰρ τῆς δεξιᾶς (hence a lucky omen) / ἐπιπόδιον ἀπέρρη'. B. εἰκότως, ὦ φλήγαδες / σαερός γὰρ ἦρ, σὺ δὲ μικρολόγος ἐρ' οὐ θέλω / καυὰς πρῆσθαι; *Varr. Menipp.* 267 Büche-

corrigiae et sternumenta erunt observanda.

ler: et cum corrigia disrupta est, enatare cum reliqua, pedem paenulu scortea pertegere; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 221: mures . . . portendere . . . Carboni imperatori apud Clusium fasceis (sc. adrosis) quibus in calciatu utebatur exitium; Joan. Saresb. *Policrat.* 2, 8: Marcus evangelizandi causa Alexandriam proficiscens cum navim egressus rupisset calceum gratias agens iter suum expeditum esse protestatus est; see also *Is.* 5, 27: "none shall be weary or stumble among them . . . neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken"; Just. *Dial. cum Tryph.* 131: ὦν καὶ οἱ ἱμάντες τῶν ὑποδήματων οὐκ ἐρράγησαν, οὐδὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐπαλαίωθη, κτλ.; Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 6, p. 854: καὶ τοῦ ὑποδήματος τοῖς δεσμοῖς ὡς παλαιῶς διαρραγῆναι, οὐχ ὡς χρησμολόγους χαλεπὸν τι προαγορεύσαι; also the strange tale in Greg. Mag. *Dial.* 3, 20. For omens from the breaking of a shoestring in the Hebrides see *Folk-Lore*, 13 (1902), 50.

In the instances cited there seems to be inconsistency in the meaning of the breaking or loosing of the *corrigia*, some instances being lucky, others not. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 306) points out that knots and fastenings in the garment, such as the girdle and the shoestring, apparently serve as protective amulets for travellers and hunters. The breaking of a *corrigia* would allow the sandal to fall off and thus unshoe the man when setting out upon a trip. For others, however, the loosening of any sort of knot in the clothing may typify the release of the soul of the wearer from some spiritual compulsion and so be a favorable omen (cf. John of Salisbury, as quoted above; Frazer, *op. cit.* 3, 313). Thus the loosening of the shoelatchet of the bridegroom is still in places regarded as an important marriage custom (Frazer, *op. cit.* 3, 300; and, for the magic significance of going barefoot and the avoidance of bonds of all kinds, the large collections of Heckenbach, *De Nuditate sacra sacrisque Vinculis* (in *Religions-*

geschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 9, 3 (1911), passim)).

1. **sternumenta**: the ominous character of sneezing (a division of the form of divination known as *παλαμῶν*; cf. 1, 6, n. (*Posidonius*); Diels in *Abh. d. kgl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berl. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1907 (1908), 1-130, especially p. 10 for Cicero's neglect of this type in the present treatise, perhaps an account of its plebeian character), as I have attempted to show (in *Class. Philol.* 6 (1911), 429-443), is due to a belief, often probably not clearly realized, that the sneeze is the revelation of a demonic power temporarily, at least, resident in the sneezer (cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* 4, 94). The superstition is a very ancient one, continuing from Homer (*Od.* 17, 539-547) to the present day, and of wide geographical extension. Ancient passages in addition to those noted in the article cited are: Hippocr. *Prog.* vol. 1, p. 103 Kühn; Apul. *Met.* 9, 25; Solin. 1, 62; [Aug.] *Serm.* 278, 1 (*Patr. Lat.* 39, 2269); Apostol. 3, 64c (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 303); Georg. Monach. *Chron.* 2, 60; Nonn. *Dionys.* 7, 107; Schol. Theocr. 7, 96; Joan. Saresb. *Policrat.* 2, 1; also 2 *Kings*, 5, 35. Additional treatises are the following: Niphus in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 329-330; 349-450; Bulenger in the same collection, 5, 454-458; Potter in Gronovius, *Thes. Antiq.* 12 (1702), 327-329; Ludwig, *Omnia caute observanda* (1747), 120-123; Wilkin's ed. of Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, 1 (1852), 410-413; Hare, *Cities of S. Italy and Sicily* (1883), 9; Lawrence, *Magic of the Horseshoe* (1898), 206-238; the work of Schadee cited in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 7 (1904), 501; Diels, *op. cit.* 12, n. 6; Knowlson, *Origins of pop. Superst.* (1910), 174-179; Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 21-22; Shearin in *Journ. of Am. Folklore*, 24 (1911), 320; Steinbauer, *Der Prodigienlaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Gr.* (1911), 14, n.; Doutré, cited in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 15 (1912), 562; Thurston, *Omens and Superst. of southern*

XLII. 85. Sortes restant et Chaldaei, ut ad vates veniamus et ad somnia. Dicendum igitur putas de sortibus? Quid enim sors est? Idem prope modum quod micare, quod talos iacere, quod tesseras, quibus in rebus temeritas et casus, non ratio nec consilium valet. Tota res est inventa

India (1912), 16; 25; Wysz in *Schw. Volksk.* 2 (1912), 20-21; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 178-180; Toy, *Intrad. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 416, n. (with a different explanation from mine); Davis in *Journ. of Am. Folklore*, 27 (1914), 248, and n. 1; Fogel, *Beliefs and Superst. of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1915), 81; 83; 124; Lasch in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 18 (1915), 592; MacCulloch in *Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 9 (1917), 398; Wallis in *Scientific Monthly*, 9 (1919), 526-538; Stemplinger in *Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 35-36; *id.*, *Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 25-26.

1. **sortes:** cf. 2, 85-87.

1. **Chaldaei:** cf. 2, 87-99.

1. **ut . . . veniamus:** Thoresen well compares Madvig, *Adv. crit.* 2 (1873), 477 for parallel uses.

1. **vates:** cf. 2, 110-118.

1. **somnia:** cf. 2, 119-147.

2. **sors:** cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*).

3. **micare:** the game of chance known as *micare digitis*, the modern Italian *morra*. For descriptions see Bulenger in Gronovius, *Theat. Antiq.* 7 (1699), 912; Sanftlebius in the same collection, 7, 1206-1207; Jahn in *Annali dell' Instit.* 38 (1866), 326-329, and plates U, V; Heydemann in *Arch. Zeitung*, 29 (1871), 151-156; de Fouquières, *Les Jeux des Anciens* (1873), 290-294; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, 1, 2 ed. (1886), 836; Marindin in Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* 2, 3 ed. (1891), 171; Lafaye in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* 3 (1904), 1889-1890, s.v. *micatio*; Rankin on Suet. *Aug.* 13. Two players facing one another raised at a given signal fingers of the right hand, varying each time the number of those stretched out at full length, and each at the same time called out the total number of fingers raised by himself and his

opponent, the winner being the one who guessed correctly. The game, consequently, was largely a matter of chance, as is recognized by Cicero here and in *Off.* 3, 90: *nullum erit certamen, sed quasi sorte aut micando victus alteri cedit alter*, cf. Non. p. 347 M.: *micare est sortiri digitis*; Ptolem. *Chenn. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 190 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 617 B): *Ἐλλήνη πρώτη ἐκράθησε τὸν διὰ δακτύλων ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Ἀλαβάνδρῳ λαχοῦσα ἐβίαθη*; and the equation with the Greek *λαχμός* (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.* 2, 359, 2: *λαχμός haec micatio*); other passages in Lafaye, *op. cit.* 1889, n. 1. The game gave much opportunity for cheating, hence, to ensure simultaneous movement, the holding in the left hands of the players of the two ends of a stick, also the proverbial expression (*Off.* 3, 77): *dignum esse dicunt, quicum in tenebris micet*; cf. *Fin.* 2, 52, and other cases in Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 221-222.

3. **talos:** cf. 1, 23, and n. (*quattuor tali*), to which add articles in Gronovius, *Theat. Antiq.* 7 (1699), by Bulenger (930-934), Souter (1009-1096), Sanftlebius (1131-1212), and Calcagninus (1215-1232)

3. **tesseræ:** these differed from *tali* in that they were cubes of ivory, bone, or wood, with numbers on six (rather than on four) sides. For their use cf. Calcagninus, *op. cit.* 1225-1229; de Fouquières, *Les Jeux des Anciens* (1873), 302-324; Yates and Wayte in Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* 2, 3 ed. (1891), 799; Lafaye in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* 5, 125-129, s.v. *tessera*.

4. **temeritas, etc.:** cf. *N. D.* 2, 43 *nihil est enim quod ratione et numero moveri possit sine consilio—in quo nihil est temerarium, nihil varium, nihil fortuitum*; 2, 56; *Rep.* 1, 60 (where *consilium* and *temeritas* are contrasted); *Tusc.* 2, 47: *ut ratio coerceat temeritatem*; *de Am.* 20

fallaciis aut ad quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errorem. Atque, ut in haruspicina fecimus, sic videamus clarissumarum sortium quae tradatur inventio. Numerium Suffustium Praenestorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem, somniis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irradientibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est

3. Suffustium vulg., Maller suffuscium V, Suffucium Lambinus, O.

[488] 4. *tota res*: with this contemptuous use of the expression cf. *N. D.* 1, 107; 1, 108; *Fin.* 2, 103.

1. *quaestum . . . superstitionem . . . errorem*: cf. 2, 83: *errore . . . superstitione . . . fallendo*; with *ad superstitionem* Thoresen compares 2, 70: *ad opinionem vulgi*.

1. *ad quaestum*: cf. 1, 88, n. (*qui . . . quaestus causa*); 1, 132, n. (*ab iis drachmam*).

2. *fecimus*: 2, 50-51.

2. *clarissumarum sortium*: on Italic centres of sortilege cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*).

3. *Numerium*: on the form of the name cf. Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 164; 198; for its Samnite origin see Fest. p. 70 M. It appears at Praeneste on the famous *fibula Praenestina* (*C. I. L.* XIV, 4123 = Dessau 8561): *Manios med fhe shaked Numasioi*; also in *C. I. L.* XIV, 2863 (= Dessau 3684): *Orcevia Numeri, etc.* (the rest quoted in note on *colitur a matribus* below). Dessau (in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), 455, n. 1) cannot decide whether, in the latter inscription, *Numerius* is a *praenomen* or a *nomen* (as it sometimes appears); on the *fibula Praenestina*, contrasted with *Manios*, it appears to be a *praenomen*, and certainly so in our passage.

3. *Suffustium*: apparently not occurring elsewhere, but, in spite of the reading of codex V, probably not to be emended to *Suffucium* (with which cf. *Sufficius*; Schulze, *op. cit.* 239; 428; 518, n. 1).

3. *monumenta*: probably written memorials, but possibly inscriptions, which Cicero may himself have seen at the actual site of the *locus saepius*.

4. *honestum*: in the orations a frequent epithet of *homo*, and coupled with *nobilis* in 2 *Verr.* 5, 15.

4. *somniis crebris*: on repeated dreams cf. 1, 54 n. (*semel . . . iterumque neglexit*).

6. *perfracto saxo*: cf. 1, 23, n. (in *Chiorum lapicidinis*). On the chthonic origin of lots cf. 1, 34: *ut eae sunt sortes quas e terra editas accepimus*; the instances cited by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 2 (1880), 131, n. 5; 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*) above.

7. *in robore*: for *robur* as applied to the wood of all sorts of oak cf. Olch in *P.-W.* s.v. *Eiche* (1905), 2048; 2055-2058. Wagler (in *Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol.* 13, 2 (1891), 34-35) notes that the fact that these lots are on oak wood is not due to mere chance, but to the same association of prophetic power with that tree which is to be seen in the rites at Dodona (cf. 1, 3, n. (*Dodonaeo*) above) and in the oracle of Mars at Tiora (Wagler, *op. cit.* 23); cf. also Cook in *Class. Rev.* 17 (1903), 421; *id.* in *Folk-Lore*, 16 (1905), 284-285; Olch, *op. cit.* 2051-2052. Plaut. *Cas.* 384 mentions *sortes* of poplar or fir wood.

7. *priscarum litterarum*: for the archaic alphabet cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie lat.* 4 ed. (1914), 1-4; Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy* (1919), 37 ff.; examples will be found in Ritschl, *Priscae Latinitatis Monum. epigr.* (1862). Cf. also Marucchi in *Bull. d. Comm. arch. comun.* 41 (1913), 27, who judges from the expression *notis* that the *sortes* may not have contained entire words (cf. the *notae Tironianae*), but small units which had later to be grouped in order.

hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum

1. *saeptus*: cf. 1, 101, n. (*saeptam*).

1. *religiose*: for this technical usage cf. the passages cited by Vaglieri in *Bull. J. Comm. arch. comun.* 37 (1909), 260, n. 78.

1. *Iovis pueri*: sc. *aedem* or *sacellum*; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 232; also Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 260, n. 79.

The passage which follows, though reasonably clear if we had only Cicero's statement, becomes by comparison with other documents a matter of great perplexity and subject to diverse interpretations. In the first place there was apparently worshipped at this shrine or temple a triad consisting, like the Capitoline trinity, of one male and two female divinities (cf. Marucchi, *op. cit.* 28), which Degering (in *Götting. Nachrichten*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1897, 154, n. 2) and Thulin (in *Rhein. Mus.* 60 (1905), 260) compare also with other Italic-Etruscan triads (cf. Usener, *Dreihheit* (1903), 29-31).

Of this trinity the elder figure is Fortuna, commonly known by the epithet *Primigenia*, appearing in many Praenestine dedications (C. I. L. XIV, 2849-2888; 3003; cf. Dessau upon them (XIV, pp. 295-296); also C. I. L. I, p. 235). Since the time of Jordan (*Symbolae ad Hist. Relig. Ital. alterae* (1885); cf. Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpr.* (1920), 64) *Primigenia* has been commonly taken as passive, meaning 'first-born,' but, as Fowler (*op. cit.* 64-70; reversing his view expressed in *Rom. Ideas of Deity* (1914), 63) well remarks, the best evidence from other instances of *primigenius* points toward 'natural' or 'original' as the proper meaning. Similarly Fernique (*Étude sur Préneste* (1880), 78) had held *Fortuna Primigenia* to be, so to speak, a primary divinity who had given birth to all the others, even the mightiest, such as Jupiter and Juno, in origin, then, a goddess-mother, a nurturing divinity. That the Roman were themselves in doubt is

perhaps to be judged from Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 107: διὰ τί Ῥωμαῖοι τύχην σέβονται Πριμιγένηαν, ἢν ἄν τις εἰποι πρωτογένειαν; Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 256, n. 70, cites instances of the worship of *Τύχη Πρωτογένεια* at Itanus in Crete and at Delos, and Wissova, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 260, n. 3, admits this possible connection; the collocation in Dittenberger, *Oriental. Gr.* no. 119 of *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ* and *Τύχη Πρωτογένεια* suggests that of Jupiter and *Fortuna Primigenia*; that in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 2 ed. no. 765 (Delos) of Isis and *Τύχη Πρωτογένεια* recalls the possible conflation of these two at Praeneste, cf. C. I. L. XIV, 2867; Peter, *op. cit.* 1530-1533; Otto in *P.-W.* s.v. *Fortuna* (1910), 26-27, but, despite the additional equating in *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* 3, 291, 12 of *τυχη πρωτογενειας* and *fortuna primigenia*, these instances appear to cast no light on the cult at Praeneste. Plutarch, *i. e.*, continues: ἀρ' ὅτι Σερονίω κατὰ τύχην, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ θεραπευτῆδος γενομένη βασιλεύουσα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιφανῶς ὑπῆρξεν (οἴτω γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπειλήφασιν)· ἢ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τῆς Ῥώμης ἡ τύχη παρίσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν; ἢ φυσικώτερον ἔχει λόγον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον, ὡς τῆς τύχης πάντων οἷσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τύχην συνισταμένης, ὅταν τισὶν ὡς ἔτιχεν ἀποκειμένοις τάξις ἐγγίηται. Yet more important, Cicero's own explanation (*Leg.* 2, 28) is clearly expressed and favors the active meaning of the compound: *Fortunaque sit vel Huiusce diei (nam valet in omnes dies) vel Respiciens ad opem ferendam vel Fors, in quo incerti casus significantur magis vel Primigenia a gignendo comes* (and cf. the parallels in the excellent note in Vahlen's 2 ed. of the *De Legibus* (1883), 107-108), but the expression *a gignendo* seems to point definitely to an active rather than a passive meaning; cf. Fowler, *Rom. Essays and Interpr.* (1920), 69.

The second member of the group is *Iuppiter puer*. Here a point of contact must be sought, not so much with the

Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam apdetens castissime colitur a

Zeus κούρος of the hymn to Dictaeon Zeus (cf. Harrison in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 15 (1909), 328, etc.); Bosanquet, in the same annual, 342-350; Murray in the same, 359; and other works cited by Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresh.* 186 Supplbd. (1921), 291), but rather with *Iuppiter puer* as worshipped at Anxur (Serv. *Aen.* 7, 799: *circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxurus dicebatur . . . et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur*; cf. Aust in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Iuppiter*, 640; Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 258, n. 74.

Wissowa (*op. cit.* 260) suggests that from a misunderstanding of the inscriptions *Fortuna Iovis puer primigenia* (C. I. L. XIV, 2862 = Dessau 3685; cf. 2868 = Dessau 3686), in which *puer* is an archaic equivalent of *puella* (a usage occasionally appearing; cf. Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (1904), 137, n.; Otto in *P.-W.* s.v. *Fortuna* (1910), 24; Fowler, *op. cit.* 67), came an interpretation which set up a *Iuppiter puer*. This explanation, though not an impossible one if based on some hypothetical inscription not preserved to us, is an unlikely one if derived solely from those extant, for in 2862 the words *Iovis puero* do not agree and appear between a divided *Fortunae . . . Primigeniae*, while in 2868 (*Fortunae Iovi puero*), where the word order does not prevent, the cases are not favorable to the theory (for doubts, however, attaching to the proper reading of this inscription cf. Peter in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Fortuna* (1886), 1542; Otto, *l.c.*). More striking than these inscriptions is the more archaic no. 2863 (= Dessau 3864) which refers to *Fortuna Divo filia Primigenia*. Fowler (*l.c.*) notes the remarkable fact that this older inscription uses the familiar word *filia* while the two later employ the archaic (or archaistic?) use of *puer*. It should be stated in passing that indications of filiation, according to some scholars, do not appear elsewhere among native Italic divinities, except

under Greek influence; cf. Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 275, n. 72; Fowler ap. Farnell in *Hibbert Journ.* 4 (1906), 932; *id.*, *Roman Essays and Interpr.* (1920), 68; but for the contrary view, developed at some length, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 6, 3 ed. (1914), 230-236.

How to reconcile the *Fortuna* of Cicero, who appears as the mother, or at least the nurse, of Jupiter and Juno, with *Fortuna* as the daughter of Jupiter is the most puzzling point in the whole question. The situation is like that in Dante, *Parad.* 33, 1 (*Vergine madre, figlia del tuo Figlio*), but without the same method of explanation. The view of Mommsen (ap. Dessau in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), 454-455) that *Iuppiter* and *Iuppiter puer* are distinct deities cannot be accepted; cf. Peter, *op. cit.* 1544; Otto, *op. cit.* 24. Fowler (*l.c.*) assumes a misinterpretation by Praenestine worshippers of statues and inscriptions already existing, though he offers no such definite suggestion as Wissowa (see above), and not dissimilar seems the view of Fernique (*l.c.*). But there were many *Fortunae* in Latium, as Fowler admits (cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 74; *de Fort. Rom.* 10; Peter, *op. cit.* 1511-1529; Carter in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 31 (1900), 61-68), and it may be that in Fortune of Praeneste we have, not an originally unified cult, but, as Vaglieri (*op. cit.* 257, n. 72) and Thulin (in *Rhein. Mus.* 60 (1905), 260-261) suggest, a syncretism of two separate elements. Thulin would assume that there were two Etruscan goddesses of fate: *lethum* (corresponding to *Minerva*) the mother of *lina* (Jupiter) and *uni* (*Iuno*), and *cilens* (corresponding to *Favores*), the children of *lina* (Jupiter), and that at Praeneste both were represented by *Fortuna*; but Otto (*l.c.*) is probably right in not accepting this view. Thulin's theory would give a trinity corresponding exactly in personnel, though not in order of rank, to the Capitoline triad. Meister (*Lateinisch-griech. Eigennamen*, 1 (1916), 115)

matribus. 86. Eodemque tempore, in eo loco ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes,

1. est *Klots et Madrig, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringo*, sit C, sita *Pithonus*, sita est *Marnus*, 0 sita aedes est *Lambinus*.

compares the numerous Umbrian names of deities in which the epithet *Iovius* appears, and conjectures that originally there was worshipped at Praeneste a *Fortuna Iovia*, who under Greek or Greco-Etruscan influence was transmuted into a *Iovis filia*. This Hellenizing influence he sees not only in the cult statue as described by Cicero but also in the form of her epithet (at first *Primigenia*, later *Primigenia*), which betrays both by the connecting vowel and also by the formation of the second member a late imitation of Greek methods of word composition.

The third member of the group is Juno. *C. I. L. XIV, 2867* (from Praeneste) speaks of the *Iunonarium*, which may be a *cella* devoted to her worship (cf. Peter, *op. cit.* 1544), or even an entire temple, which Marucchi (*op. cit.* 30) thinks may have corresponded in position to the modern cathedral. Of further interest is an inscription found near the Porta del Sole in Praeneste and published by Marucchi (*op. cit.* 22-30), which names *Iuno Palosticharia*, whom Marucchi connects with this cult, and the strange epithet of whom he would derive from $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma + \sigma\tau\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$, 'Giunone la quale presidiava alla operazione di mettere in serie i tesselli delle sorti' (*id.* 27; but for a very different explanation of the name see Whatmough in *Class. Quart.* 17 (1922), 190).

One further view of the relationship of this triad merits notice, namely, that of Cook (in *Folk-Lore*, 16 (1905), 296-297), who notes (1) the identity at times existing between *Iuppiter* and *genius* (e.g., *Aug. C. D.* 7, 13: *quid est genius? deus, inquit, qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum signendarum . . . hic est igitur quem appellant Iovem*; this is not to be confused with the *genius Iovis*; cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 180, n. 11); (2) the fact that the name for the *genius* of a woman is

Iuno (Wissowa, *op. cit.* 175, n. 4; 182-183); and (3) that the third member, by her name, *Primigenia*, seems to be connected with the same birth-process. He accordingly interprets her epithet to mean 'first of the *genii* or birth-gods,' and explains the infants Jupiter and Juno on her lap as the typical male and female *genii* (further pointing out the frequent coupling of *Fortuna* and *genius* in inscriptions; cf. Peter, *op. cit.* 1522-1523). With this theory compare that of Mackail (*ap. Fowler, op. cit.* 69): 'Fortuna primigenia would be the power which determines the whole movement of any life from its outset.' The appropriateness of such an interpretation in the case of a divinity worshipped, like this one, by mothers (doubtless in connection with child-birth—*castissime colitur a matribus*), is obvious.

[490] 1. *lactens*: cf. 2, 47. Rath and other editors take the word in a substantial sense, to avoid tautology with *mammam adpetens* below. Giese considered the whole passage is *est . . . matribus* as a later addition, and Thoresen goes so far as to bracket it because of the succession of participles without connectives (*lactens . . . sedens . . . adpetens*) Ernesti, Hottinger, and Baiter have, partly for the same reason, bracketed *lactens* and thereby reduced the number of participles to two (with which cf. *in Cat.* 3, 19 *Romulus quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum alque lactantem uberibus lupinis inhiantem fuisse meministi*), while Kayser inserted *et* before *mammam*. I cannot agree with Giese that the examples of such asyndeton between participles which Wopkens has collected (*Lectio. Tuill.* 2 ed. (1829), 193-196) are not to the point, and I should retain the manuscript tradition.

[491] 1. *in gremio sedens*, etc.: Fernique (*op. cit.* 214, no. 240) mentions two terra-

mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam eoque conditas

1. nobilitate Erlang., Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Bearings, nobilitatem C.

cotta figurines from Praeneste in the Barberini collection representing a woman seated and nursing an infant, and states that similar ones have been found at Capua and Paestum. For various other supposed representations of this cult, some of them doubtless votives offered to the goddess, cf. Peter, *op. cit.* 1543; Otto, *op. cit.* 25. The work of Snijder, *De Forma Matris cum Infante sedentis apud Antiquos* (1920) has not been accessible to me; cf. Reinach in *Rev. arch.* 13 (1921), 160-161.

[491] *lf. colitur a matribus*: in addition to the votives mentioned in the last note may be cited an archaic inscription (C. I. L. XIV, 2863 = Dessau, 3684): *Orcevia Numeri nationu gratia Fortuna Divo filiae Primogenia donum dedi, i.e., Orcevia Numeri (uxor) nationis gratia Fortunae, Iovis filiae primigeniae, donum dedi.* Mommsen (ap. Dessau in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), 455) compared Paul. ex Fest. p. 167 M.: *in pecoribus quoque bonus proventus felurae bona natio dicitur*, and explained the inscription as set up in thanks for an increase in flocks. But in connection with Cicero's statements we may better, I believe, interpret *natio* of a birth in the family, that is, of a child of Orcevia; cf. Jordan, *op. cit.* 4; Otto, *l.c.*; *N. D.* 3, 47: *Natio quoque dea putanda est . . . quae quia partus matronarum laetatur a nascentibus Natio nominata est.* For votive offerings in connection with childbirth cf. Rouse, *Greek votive Offerings* (1902), 251-258.

[492] *l. in eo loco, etc.*: from the difference in terminology it appears (as Peter, *op. cit.* 1543, points out) that the (*aedes*) *Iovis pueri* and the *aedes Fortunae* are distinct structures (yet cf. the view of Nibby, *Analisi*, 2 (1837), 508; Fernique, *op. cit.* 114). This fact need not, of

course, prevent the worship in both places of a triad like that already discussed. Vaglieri (*op. cit.* 240; 274, n. 129) attempts to locate the *aedes Iovis pueri* at the site of the present cathedral; but see above.

For the remains of the imposing temple of Fortune at Praeneste, in addition to occasional references in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, cf. Fernique, *op. cit.* 97-117; Blondel in *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* 2 (1882), 168-198, and pl. IV and V; Fernique in the same journal, 2 (1882), 199-202; Peter, *op. cit.* 1546; Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 221-241; Otto, *op. cit.* 27; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 260, n. 2.

1. *mel*: in the prophetic significance of bees cf. 1, 78, n. (*Platoni*), and for that of honey Allen and Sikes on Hom. *Hymn. Herm.* 559. The *Thriae*, reputed teachers of divination and the eponymous originators of *θραῖα* or lots (Schol. Callim. 2, 45) fed upon honey (Hom. *Hymn. Herm. l.c.*). Honey is frequently described as flowing forth from hollow oaks (cf. Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* 57 (1902), 181; also Theophr. fr. 190, who speaks of one type of honey as falling from the sky, *εὐρισκεται δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις τῆς δρυὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς φιλύρας*). Of the association of honey and the olive I have noted no other instance, and Plin. *N. H.* 21, 71 says: *cum olivae florem ab his (sc. apibus) non attingi conslet* (but cf. *id.* 11, 18), yet the hollow trunks of olives would easily furnish a home for wild bees.

1. *olea*: Praeneste was apparently notable for its olives; cf. Cramer, *Aeneid. Gr.* 4 (1841), 315, lines 25-26: *τροῖς εἰς ἔλαιον εἰσὶν εὐρωεῖς πόλεις, / Νίκαια καὶ Πραυνεστός, ἢ τ' Ἐρεχθίδος*. Henzen (in *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1859, 230, n.) calls attention to an ancient Greek custom of placing a leaf of olive in the urn from which

sortis, quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur. Quid igitur in his potest esse certi, quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur? Quo

lots were to be drawn, and suggests that the olive, as an *arbor felix*, typified good fortune.

[493] 1. *haruspices*: whether at Rome or local ones at Praeneste is not clear. *C. I. L. XIV*, 2992 (from Praeneste) is in memory of one L. Nivellius, an haruspex, whom Dessau would consider a Roman public haruspex and Vaglieri (*op. cit.* 264, n. 88) a municipal one, but Vaglieri does not venture to connect him in any way with the management of the temple of Fortune.

[493] 1. *nobilitate*: cf. 1, 79: *haruspices . . . responderunt . . . nihil nobilius fore*.

[493] 2. *arcam*: it does not appear from the Latin that the *sortes* were drawn from this box but rather that they were kept in it when not in use. Suet. *Tib.* 63 says: *vicina vero urbi oracula etiam disicere conatus est, sed maiestate Praenestinarum sortium territus destitit, cum obsignatas depectasque Romam non reperisset in arca nisi relata rursus ad templum*. I know of no parallel for the use of such a wooden receptacle save that Arnold (*Ephod and Ark*, in *Harv. theol. Stud.* 3 (1917), 132-134) explains the ark of Yahwe as having been originally a repository for lots. Usually lots were drawn from some sort of vessel; e.g., an *urna* (2, 69; 2 *Verr.* 2, 42; Sen. *Controv.* 1, 2, 7; Tert. *de Spect.* 16), a *hydria* (2 *Verr.* 2, 127), sometimes with water in it (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 8, 4; Paus. 4, 3, 5; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 385; etc.; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 191, n. 4), a *sitella* (Plaut. *Cas.* 342; 363; Liv. 41, 18, 8), a *φιάλη* (Robbins in *Class. Philol.* 11 (1916), 278-292), a *cortina* (cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 211, n. 4), a *κάλπις* (Luc. *Hermot.* 40; 57; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 384, 5), or even a helmet (*Il.* 3, 316; 7, 176; etc.), or were thrown upon a table (Paus. 7, 25, 10; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 337; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 1, 191; Halliday, *op. cit.* 206-207) or into a fountain (Suet. *Tib.* 14).

Three inscriptions from Praeneste (*C. I. L. XIV*, 2852 of 136 A. D. = Bücheler, *Carm. epigr.* no. 249, 17); 2937 (of the Empire); 2972 (243 A. D.) mention a *Iuppiter Arkanus* (or *Arcanus*), whose epithet is commonly associated with this *arca* (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4 (1882), 149; Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 261, n. 80; Otto, *op. cit.* 26). Bouché-Leclercq remarks that in this way Fortune seems to have been the dispenser (cf. *Fortunae monitu*) of the revelations of Jupiter. The relation of *Iuppiter Arkanus* to *Iuppiter puer* is not clear.

1. *tolluntur*: like *ducuntur* below, a technical term in the drawing of lots; cf. Tibull. 1, 3, 11-12 (see next note); *C. I. L. V*, 5801; Wissowa in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 821. On the methods of sortilege cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*).

2. *pueri*: Vaglieri (*op. cit.* 225) and Thulin (in *Rhein. Mus.* 60 (1905), 260) have taken him to typify *Iuppiter puer*, but (as noted by Otto, *op. cit.* 25) so widespread is the use of a boy for the drawing of lots that this view is unnecessary. Cf. Tibull. 1, 3, 11-12: *illa sacras pueri sortes iter sustulit; illi / rettulit e trinis omina certa puer*; Luc. *Hermot.* 57: *ἐς κάλπις ἐμβαλῶν γραμμάτια ἔχοντα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐκάστου τοῖσιν κίβητε παιδα τῶν ἀνήθων ἀμφιβαλῆ τινα, προσελθόντα πρὸς τὴν κάλπις, ἀελίσσθαι ὅ τι ἐν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἔλθῃ τῶν γραμματίων*. Smith, (on Tibull. 1, 3, 11-12) compares Boiardo, *Orland. innam.* 1, 1, 57; Ariost. *Orland. fur.* 30, 24; and the modern customs in the drawing of the Italian state lottery; for parallels from India see Thurston, *Omens and Superst. of southern India* (1912), 42; 47; for Morocco, Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 160-161. The mantic influence of children was apparently due in part to their lack of intentional bias (cf. 1, 121, n. (*scribit Herodotus*)) and in part to their pure and virginal simplicity, which made them fit vehicles for the expression

modo autem istae positae in illo loco? Quis robur illud cecidit, dolavit, inscripsit? Nihil est, inquit, quod deus efficere non possit. Utinam sapientis Stoicos effecisset, ne omnia cum superstitiosa sollicitudine et miseria crederent! Sed hoc quidem genus divinationis vita iam communis explosit; fani pulchritudo et vetustas Praenestinarum etiam nunc retinet

of the divine will; cf. Apul. *Apol.* 43: *illud mecum reputo, posse animum humanum, praesertim puerilem et simplicem seu carminum avocamento sive odorum delentamento soporari et ad oblivionem praesentium externari et paulisper remota corporis memoria redigi ac redire ad naturam suam, quae est immortalis scilicet et divina, atque ita velut quodam sopore futura rerum praesagare* (and cf. Abt, *Die Apol. des Apuleius* (1908), 258-259); Porphyr. *Ep. ad Aneb.* 21 (in Parthey's ed. of *Iambl. de Myster.* xxxvi): *ὅτι δὲ πάθος ψυχῆς αἰτίων τῆς μαρτείας τεκμήριον . . . τὸ εἶναι μὴ πάντα ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπλουτέρους καὶ νέους ἐπιτηδεωτέρους πρὸς αὐτὴν*; [Clem.] *Recognit.* 2, 13; *Vit. Athanas.* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 258 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 1320): *ἐπιπολεῖ τιμὴ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπλότητι*; and the examples cited by Smith on *Tibull.* 2, 5, 64.

A representation of this boy has been found on *denarii* of M. Plaetorius Cestianus (ca. 69 B. C.); cf. Babelon, *Monnaies de la Républ. rom.* 2 (1885), 315, no. 10; Dressel, *Sitz. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1907, 371; Wissowa in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 821; Dressel in *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, 33 (1921), 24-32 (with plate). Many scholars have misinterpreted this figure as that of a goddess *Sors*; others (cf. the second work of Dressel, 28) have taken the object which the boy carries for the *arca* mentioned by Cicero (yet the inscription on it, as Dressel well argues, would then be not *SORS* but *SORTES*), but Dressel believes it to be the *puer* holding a *sors*, whether representing one of the *sortes Praenestinae* or one of some other set is not certain. Some further interpretation of the lots when drawn may well have been given by the *sortilegi*, one of whom is mentioned in *C. I. L.* XIV, 2989 (= Dessau 6254); cf. also the *sacerdos Fortunae Primig.* appear-

ing in *C. I. L.* XIV, 3003 (= Dessau 6255).

[494] 2. *ducuntur*: a common technical expression for lots; cf. 1, 34; 2, 38; 2, 70; 2 *Verr.* 4, 143; *Virg. Aen.* 6, 22; n. on *lolluntur* above.

[494] 2f. *quo modo*, etc.: with the question here raised compare the similar doubts in regard to the legend of Tages in 2, 51.

2. *nihil est*, etc.: cf. *N. D.* 3, 92: *vos enim* (sc. *Stoici*) *ipsi dicere soletis nihil esse quod deus efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo*.

4. *vita communis*: cf. 1, 50, n. (*vita communis*).

5. *explosit*: for the expression cf. 2, 148; *Off.* 1, 6; *Fin.* 4, 47; 5, 23.

5. *fani pulchritudo*: cf. *Juv.* 14, 88-90: (*Cretonius*) *nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat / culmina villarum Graecis longeque petitis / marmoribus vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem*, where the scholiast remarks: *Fortunae vero apud Praeneste aedem pulcherrimam ferunt fuisse*.

5f. *retinet* . . . *nomen*: for various references in Latin literature to the Fortune of Praeneste and her temple see Vaglieri, *op. cit.* 256, n. 71. Through motives of rivalry and suspicion of a neighboring town her worship was apparently not at first favored by Rome (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 150; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 260), but in 204 B. C. it was introduced into the city of Rome (Peter in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Fortuna* (1886), 1516-1517; Carter in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 31 (1900), 67-68; Otto in *P.-W.* s.v. *Fortuna* (1910), 29; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 260-261). For the later history of the cult, which during the empire apparently regained a good deal of its lost

sortium nomen, atque id in volgus. 87. Quis enim magistratus aut quis vir inlustrior utitur sortibus? Ceteris vero in locis sortes plane refrixerunt. Quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam. Ergo hoc divinationis genus omittamus.

XLII. Ad Chaldaeorum monstra veniamus; de quibus Eudoxus, Pla-

prestige, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 4, 151-153; Peter, *op. cit.* 1545-1546; Otto, *op. cit.* 27-29.

1. **quis enim magistratus, etc.:** cf. 1, 12, n. (*sortium*). The statement is perhaps true for Cicero's own day, but Dessau (*C. I. L.* XIV, pp. 295-296) notes that from the imperial period we have dedications put up by all classes, including two (nos. 2849, 2866) by Roman senators.

2. **ceteris . . . in locis:** he is very likely thinking of such places as the shrine of Fortune at Antium, for which cf. Peter, *op. cit.* 1546-1548.

2. **refrixerunt:** cf. *ad Att.* 2, 1, 6; *Phil.* 5, 30; *pro Planc.* 55.

3. **quod:** object of *dicere*, but resumed by the infinitive clause, as in 1, 102 by an *ut* clause; cf. 2, 62; *N. D.* 2, 24, and Mayor's note.

3. **Carneadem:** cf. introd. pp. 24-25; 1, 7, n. (*Carneade*); 1, 12, n. (*Carneades*). Fragments of his sayings and letters are collected by Vick, *Quaest. Carneadeae* (1901), 21-22. He may have visited Praeneste on the occasion of his famous mission to Rome in 155 B. C. (cf. Vick, *op. cit.* 27-28).

3. **Clitomachus:** cf. introd. p. 22, n. 100; 25, and n. 115.

3f. **fortunatiorem . . . Fortunam:** for the play on the duality of appellation and deity cf. Axtell, *Deification of abstract Ideas in Roman Lit. and Inscr.* (1907), 76, who cites 2 *Verr.* 3, 131: *quo ex iudicio te ulla Salus servare posset*; cf. *N. D.* 3, 61.

4. **Praeneste:** on the form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 329. Neuter city names in -e (*Arelate, Bibracte, Caere, Praeneste,*

Reate, Argeste) have the ablative and locative in the same form as the nominative.

6. **ad Chaldaeorum, etc.:** the following passage (2, 67-2, 99), containing a refutation of astrology, does not correspond to any portion of the first book, in which astrology is given only passing notice (e.g., 1, 2; 1, 47; 1, 132). Its source is Panaetius (cf. 2, 88; 2, 97; introd. pp. 25-26; Thiaucourt, *Essai sur les Traits philosoph. de Cic.* (1885), 271-273), and probably represents our earliest philosophic polemic against astrology; cf. Wendland, *Philos. Schrift über die Vorsehung* (1892).

33. Panaetius himself probably derived his argument from Carneades (in his polemic against Chrysippus; cf. Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie* (1896), 1813, and the works there cited; but also Pfeiffer, *Stud. s. antiken Sternnglauben* (1916), 60, who suspects a Peripatetic source, probably Critolaus), and the relationship between them and subsequent writers on the same subject is set forth in an interesting *stemma* by Boll, *Studien über Claudius Ptolemaeus* (1894), 182. For a fundamental historical treatment of the arguments against the art cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 570-627. The only other important discussion of astrology by Cicero is in *Fat.* 12-16, the account in *Rep.* 6, 17 being of an imaginative character (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 548; Wedel (*The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 14) remarks: 'Cicero, who as philosopher fulminated against astrology, as rhetorician accepted its tenets'). Wedel is mistaken, however, in his statement (*op. cit.* 153) that the opposition of Cicero and Sextus Empiricus to astrology was not designed to replace it

tonis auditor, in astrologia iudicio doctissimorum hominum facile princeps, sic opinatur, id quod scriptum reliquit, Chaldaeis in praedictione et in notatione cuiusque vitae ex natali die minime esse credendum.

with a more plausible theory of the universe but merely 'because they were followers of the New Academy and were sceptical of all science.' In so far as this assertion relates to Cicero it falls far short of the truth, for though it might seem to derive support from part of 2, 150 it fails to consider sufficiently the purpose of the whole work as set forth in the full context in 2, 148-2, 150; cf. introd. pp. 10-13.

It should be observed that in the following account Cicero is little concerned with the technical *minutiae* of astrology, with which he was naturally less familiar than with those of augury, but rather with the larger and more general principles involved, the successful refutation of which would bring with it the discarding of lesser details.

[496] 6. *monstra*: cf. 1, 3, n. (*monstris*); 1, 93. The idea of prediction (*monco*) is doubtless uppermost in the word, but there is more than a shade of disparagement as well.

[496] 6. *Eudoxus*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 22: *dicebat enim Gallus sphaerae illius alterius solidae atque plenae vetus esse inventum, ut eam a Thalete Milesio primum esse tornatam, post autem ab Eudoxo Cnidio, discipulo, ut ferebat, Platonis . . . cuius omnem ornatum et descriptionem sumpsi ab Eudoxo multis annis post non astrologiae scientia sed poetica quadam facultate versibus Aratum extulisse*; Gisinger, *Die Erdbeschreibung des Eudoxos von Knidos* (1921), 23. For the life of Eudoxus cf. Hultsch in *P.-W.* s.v. *Eudoxos* (1907), 930-950, who sets his ἀρχή at 368-365 B.C. He was a mathematician of distinction and practically the founder of scientific astronomy (*id.* 939).

The statement in our text has aroused doubt, on account of the early date at which, if it be correct, it is supposed that astrology must have been known to the

Greek world. Thus Unger (in *Philologus*, 50 (1891), 220; cf. Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie* (1896), 1811) would ascribe the statement to Eudoxus of Rhodes (of the third century; cf. Jacoby in *P.-W.* s.v. *Eudoxos* (1907), 930), and Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 62, n. 3) somewhat hesitatingly suggests a possible interpolation as having occurred. Bouché-Leclercq admits, however, that Eudoxus of Cnidus from *Hdt.* 2, 82 might have known of the practice before it had become generally known in Greece (which it appears to have been as early as Theophrastus; cf. Riess, *l.c.*), and Usener (*Epicurea* (1887), xi; followed by Kroll in *Neue Jahrb.* 7 (1901), 561, n. 2) believes that he learned of it during travels in Egypt (cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* 931-932.)

[496] 6f. *Platonis auditor*: in addition to the passage cited in the last note cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* 932.

1. in *astrologia . . . princeps*: the various references to him as an ἀστρολόγος (e.g., *Diog. L.* 8, 86; *Gell.* 17, 21, 23; *Didymus* (in *Frag. Philos. Gr.* 2, 60); *Geminus, Isagoge*, 14; *Hier. Chron.* ann. Abr. 1624; *Chron. Pasch.* P. 167c; *Prob. ad Virg. Ecl.* 3, 40; cf. *Suid.* s.v. Εὐδόξος) are doubtless to be understood in the sense of 'astronomer'; *Sext. Emp.* 5, 1 classes Eudoxus and Hipparchus with the practitioners of 'astronomy,' who possess, to be sure, the ability to predict certain natural celestial and meteorological changes, but are already differentiated from the genethliologists.

1. *facile princeps*: for the phrase cf. *Ac.* 2, 2; *Rep.* 2, 34; *Tim.* 2; *2 Verr.* 1, 64; *pro Cluent.* 11; *post Red. in Sen.* 5.

2. *scriptum reliquit*: on the Φαρόμα, the only work of Eudoxus of which we possess any definite knowledge, cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* 940-941.

88. Nominat etiam Panaetius, qui unus e Stoicis astrologorum praedicta reiecit, Anchialum et Cassandrum, summos astrologos illius aetatis qua erat ipse, cum in ceteris astrologiae partibus excellerent, hoc praedictionis genere non usos. Scylax Halicarnassius, familiaris Panaeti, excellens in astrologia idemque in regenda sua civitate princeps, totum hoc Chaldaicum praedicendi genus repudiavit. 89. Sed ut ratione utamur omissis testibus, sic isti disputant qui haec Chaldaeorum natalicia praedicta defendunt. Vim quandam esse aiunt signifero in orbe, qui Graece ζῳδιακός dicitur, talem

4. Halicarnassius Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa. halicarnasius AV, Christ, Baier, alicarnassius B, Halicarnasseus O.

4. Panaetii C, vulg., Müller.

8. ζῳδιακός vulg., zodiacos BV, zodiacus A, sed y in ras.

[497] 3. cuiusque: genethliology, or the casting of individual horoscopes, is much less ancient than more general types of astrology and (in spite of constant references of it to the *Chaldaei*, as in the following passage) does not appear in Babylonia (cf. 1, 2, n. *ultimis*); Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 49-50, but is the earliest form of astrology attested for Greece (*id.* 27, n. 2) and is often considered as a Greek invention (Jastrow in *Proc. Am. philos. Assoc.* 47 (1908), 669), though Budge (*Egyptian Magic* (1901), 229) holds it to be of Egyptian origin. Not a few of the logical objections later raised against astrology could have been avoided if the 'art' had been limited as it was by Eudoxus.

1. nominat: probably in his *περὶ προνοίας*; cf. introd. pp. 15; 26. Panaetius perhaps introduced the views of these astrologers into his work as a stronger argument against their colleagues in the same way in which Cicero has here brought in the opinion of Panaetius himself against the beliefs of his fellow Stoics.

1. Panaetius: for his views on divination cf. 1, 6, n. (*negare*). Some traces of his influence in the following passage are noted in introd. p. 26, n. 118.

1. unus e Stoicis: cf. 1, 6, where, as here, Panaetius is made practically the only exception among the Stoics. For the Stoic inclination towards astrology cf. Wendland, *Philos. Schrift über die Vor-*

sehung (1892), 34, n. 2; Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Astrologie* (1896), 1813-1814; Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 31-34; 572; 594 (in the second passage he points out the many places at which astrology agreed with Stoic tenets, in its assertion of the *συμπάθεια τῶν ὅλων* (cf. 2, 34, n. (*συμπάθειαν*) above), resemblances of part to whole, kinship of man and the universe, theory of the microcosm, etc.)

2. Anchialum: apparently not otherwise known.

2. Cassandrum: perhaps the same person whom Censorinus (18, 11) mentions among those who have estimated the length of the *annus magnus*.

2. illius aetatis: the middle and latter part of the second century.

4. Scylax: also unknown.

6. omissis testibus: cf. 2, 27, n. (*argumentis, etc.*).

8. vim quandam esse: *quandam* is here perhaps used to aid in translating (cf. 1, 1, n. (*quandam*) above) the Greek *δύναμιν*. With the introduction into the art of astrology of an effective *vis* there arises that confusion of sign and cause which the philosophical tried to avoid: cf. 1, 29, and n. (*non causas adferunt*); 1, 34, n. (*ratione*); 1, 109; 1, 127; 1, 131, and n. (*non me, etc.*); Orig. ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6. 11. p. 283 b-c: *ῥήθησαν τοὺς ἀφ' ὧν τὰ σημεῖα σιῶνται λαμβάνειν αἰτίους ὑπάρχον τούτων ἢ σημαινέω δὲ λόγους φησί*. Geminius in his *Isagoge* is at several points careful

ut eius orbis una quaeque pars alio modo moveat inmutetque caelum, perinde ut quaeque stellae in his finitumisque partibus sint quoque tempore, eamque vim varie moveri ab iis sideribus quae vocantur errantia; cum autem in eam ipsam partem orbis venerint in qua sit ortus eius qui nascatur, aut in eam quae coniunctum aliquid habeat aut consentiens, ea triangula

3. vocantur *Morsus*, O. Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, vocentur C. Christ.

5. habet Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, habet C. Christ, Baiter.

to guard the reader against this misunderstanding (e.g., *Patr. Gr.* 19, 844A-B; 845 A; 849C); cf. also Sallustius, *de Diis et Mundo*, 9 (in *Frag. Philos. Gr.* 3, 39): τὸ δὲ καὶ πατέρων εὐγένειαν ἢ δυσγένειαν προλιγεῖν, ὡς οὐ πάντα ποιοῦντων, τινὰ δὲ σημαίνοντων μόνων τῶν ἀστέρων διδάσκει; Boeth. *de Diis et Praesens*. p. 395 Orelli & Baiter: *ex quo intelligi datur, sidera infrequenter orta non facere quae proveniunt sed futura praenuntiare; ait enim, significant. alioquin qui has stellas putant habere hanc potestatem ut volentes nociva decernant magnam caelo faciant iniuriam. in huiusmodi vero Israelitu Posidonii atque Iulii Firmici sive reliquorum mathematicorum regnat oratio, etc.*; Bouché-Leclercq, *L' Astrologie grecque* (1899), 603. For the passage which follows see also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 181, n. 1, who calls attention to the general vagueness of Cicero's expression and the confused nature of his ideas about astrology.

[498] 8. *signifero in orbe*: for the phrase cf. 1, 17, and n. (*signorum in sede localit*); *N. D.* 2, 53 (and Mayor's note); *Arat.* 563-565 Müller: *zodiacum hunc Graeci vocitant nostrigue Latini / orbem signiferum perhibebunt nomine vero; / nam gerit hic volvens bis sex ardentia signa; Censorin.* 8, 4: *circulus est, ut ferunt, signifer, quem Graeci vocant zodiacum.*

[498] 8. ζῳδιακός: on the use of the Greek form cf. 1, 1, n. (μαρτυρήν); Rose in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 41 (1921), 101. On the derivation and origin of the term see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 52-62; 124, n. 2.

1. *una quaeque pars*: Cicero is probably here thinking of the twelve major divisions (Sext. Emp. 5, 5: δεκάθε

ζῳδία) rather than of the subdivisions of these (each ζῳδιον = 30 μοῖραι: (the *portionculae* of Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 14), each μοῖρα = 60 λεπτά (Sext. Emp. *l.c.*; cf. Censorin. 8, 5); for other smaller divisions cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 258, n. 2; Housman, ed. of Manil. 2 (1912), xiii; also 2, 95, n. (*dissimilis . . . naturas*) below).

2. *in his . . . partibus*: of course, as had long been known, the planets were 'in' particular parts of the zodiac only by optical illusion, but in reality far removed from them; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 574. It is noticeable that Cicero makes no use of the technical term οἰκῶν ('houses') in his discussion of astrology, and this is an additional indication of the philosophical rather than technical character of the objections raised against astrology by his source, Panaetius.

3. *eamque vim, etc.*: Boll, *Stud. über Claudius Ptolemaeus* (1894), 235, remarks upon the appearance as early as this of a combination of zodiacal and planetary astrology.

3. *quae vocantur errantia*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*verbo . . . falsis . . . re vera*); 2, 17; 2, 146; Firm. Mat. *Mathes.* 1, 4, 5. Of these the scholiast on Prud. *Apoth.* 211 (ed. Burnam) remarks: *vaga sidera vocal VII planetas quae interpretantur erratio <a>e, non quod ipse errent sed quod homines errare faciunt.*

4. *in qua sit ortus*: i.e., in the zodiacal sign rising above the eastern horizon at the moment of the child's birth; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 257-258, who points out that astrology apparently earlier observed in this connection the rising of extra-zodiacal stars, but grad-

illi et quadrata nominant. Etenim cum tempore anni tempestatumque caeli conversiones commutationesque tantae fiant accessu stellarum et

1. nominant *Marsus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Hearings*, nominent *C.*

1. tempore *C* (def. *Alanus, Deiter in Philologo, 46 (1888), 177*); temporum *Höttinger, Christ*; cum caeli conversiones tempestatumque commutationes (temp. anni *ut gloss om.*) partim ex suis *codd. interp. Davirius*; tempore anni tempestatum caelique conversiones commutationesque *Giese*; tempore anni tempestatum atque caeli conversiones, etc. *Madvig (Fin. 1, 3), Baier, Thoresen*; temporum anni tempestatumque ac caeli *coni. Müller (p. xi), qui iam in textu praebet: cum † tempore anni, etc. (ita Hearings)*.

ually limited itself to those within the zodiac, and, in default of convenient stars, accepted the zodiacal sign or a part of it.

[499] 5. *aut in eam, etc.*: for the various astrological aspects cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 165-179; Housman, ed. of Manilius, 2 (1912), xi-xvi. Cicero mentions only two of the possible terms (*triangula* and *quadrata*), but we may have conjunction, opposition (when the planets are separated by 180 degrees), and triangular (with a separation of 120 degrees), quadrate (90 degrees), and sextile (60 degrees) aspects. Censorin. 8, 6-10 mentions four aspects (κατὰ ἐξάγωνον, κατὰ τετράγωνον, κατὰ τρίγωνον, and *contrarium*), Firmicus Maternus (*Mathes.* 2, 23, 3-6) the same four, Geminus (*Isagog.* 1, 9) three (κατὰ διάμετρον, κατὰ τρίγωνον, κατὰ τετράγωνον), and Sextus Empiricus, like Cicero, only two: ἐπιβλέπειν δὲ λέγονται ἀλλήλους καὶ συμφωρεῖν ἀλλήλους, ὡς οἱ κατὰ τρίγωνον ἢ τετράγωνον φαινομενῶς. κατὰ τρίγωνον μὲν οὖν σχηματίζονται καὶ ἐπιθεωροῦσιν ἀλλήλους ἄσπερες οἱ ἐπὶ τριῶν ζῳδίων ἔχοντες τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα· κατὰ τετράγωνον δὲ οἱ δυοῖν. Cicero's general vagueness and carelessness (cf. n. on *vim esse quandam* above) make it unwise to seek too close a logical correspondence between *triangula* . . . *et quadrata* and what goes before, and to emend (with Thoresen in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 38-39) the words *cum autem* to *cum aut*. It is possible that *triangula* and *quadrata* are singled out on the principle noted by Censorin. 8, 9: *quae duae visiones* (i.e., aspects) *τετράγωνοι εἰ τρίγωνοι περὶquam efficaces incrementum partus multum adminiculant* (on the superiority of the τρίγωνον to other forms cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 169, n. 2; also Manil.

2, 352-353 (and Housman's note on 2, 352-357). Against conclusions from trine and quadrate aspects Sallustius exclaims (*de Diis et Mundo*, 9): εἰ δὲ τρίγωνα καὶ τετράγωνα λήξουσιν, ἄσπερον τὴν μὲν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετὴν πανταχοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν μίμνει, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἐκ τῶν τόπων μεταβάλλεσθαι.

[499] 5. *coniunctum*: cf. Firm. *Mat. Mathes.* 2, 23, 1: *explicandum est cur quaedam loca cum horoscopo diximus radiationis societate coniungi, quaedam vero aversa esse ab horoscopo et quodam modo aliena*; 2, 23, 3; al.

[499] 5. *consentiens*: cf. Sext. Emp. 5, 39 (quoted in note on *aut in eam, etc.* above); Manil. 2, 270-272: *nec satis est proprias signorum noscere formas; / consensu quoque fata moventi et foedere gaudent / atque aliis aliciae succedunt sorte locoque*; 2, 345; 2, 358-359; *quin dubia alternis davo sunt commercia signis / multa nec magno consensu foedera servant*; 2, 385-386; Schol. Germ. *Aral.* p. 223 Breysig: *aspiciunt inter se stellae ex quinto signo, quod dicitur trigonum, et habent maximam consensionem . . . cetera dissident vel leviter aspiciunt, ut tertium quodque, quod dicitur hexagonum.*

1. *etenim*: in the sense of 'and further'; cf. 2, 142; Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 3; Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 16.

1. *cum tempore, etc.*: this passage has been much emended but I prefer to retain the manuscript reading with (approximately) the interpretation of Deiter, who understands *tempestatum* to refer to units of time and *caelum* to weather (though he is, I believe, mistaken in thinking that the *tempestatum* are periods longer than a year; cf. 1, 52, n. (*tempestatum*) above; the word *caeli* is hardly to be taken, as by

recessu, cumque ea vi solis efficiantur quae videmus, non veri simile solum sed etiam verum esse censent perinde, utcumque temperatus sit aër, ita pueros orientis animari atque formari, ex eoque ingenia, mores, animum, corpus, actionem vitae, casus cuiusque eventusque fingi. XLIII. 90. O delirationem incredibilem! Non enim omnis error stultitia dicenda est. Quibus etiam Diogenes Stoicus concedit aliquid, ut praedicere possint

Allen, with *tempestatum*, this use of the phrase in *Lucr.* 4, 168-169 (which he cites as a parallel) being in a different sense). The meaning will then be: 'Further, since within the space of a year and of the seasons such great contrasts and changes of weather occur, etc.' Some of these terms are found, though in a rather different relation, in *N. D.* 1, 4: *tempestates c- temporum varietates caelique mutationes*; cf. 3, 16; *Tusc.* 1, 68; *Parad.* 51; and on the basis of these Hottinger's emendation of *emporis* to *temporum* may seem to receive some support. *Aug. C. D.* 5, 6 (quoted in note on *vi solis* below) might suggest an emendation of *tempore* to *tempora*.

[500] 2f. *accessu . . . recessu*: cf. 2, 34; *N. D.* 2, 34; 2, 49; 3, 24.

1. *vi solis*: inference from the effects of solar influence and that of the moon (cf. 2, 33-2, 34) apparently confirmed the defenders of astrology in the belief that such came also from the stars; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 572, n. 2; also Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 3: *atque eos, quoniam viderent terrena quaedam inter homines sita caelestium rerum sensu atque ductu moveri, quale est quod oceanus quasi lunae comes cum ea simul senescit adolescitque, hinc videlicet sibi argumentum ad suadendum paravisse ut crederemus omnia rerum humanarum et parva et maxima tamquam stellis atque sideribus evincta duci et regi*; *Aug. C. D.* 5, 6: *cum igitur non usquequaque absurde dici posset ad solas corporum differentias adflatu quosdam valere sideres, sicut in solaribus accessibus et decessibus videmus etiam ipsius anni tempora variari et lunaribus incrementis atque decrementis augeri et minui quosdam genera rerum, etc.*

1f. *veri simile . . . verum*: Academic and Stoic degrees of certainty, contrasted as in *N. D.* 3, 95 (cf. Pease in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 44 (1913), 27).

2. *perinde utcumque . . . ita*: cf. *pro Cluent.* 70: *perinde ut . . . ita*.

2. *temperatus aër*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 117: *aër . . . fertur ad caelum cuius tenuitate et calore temperatus vitalem et salutarem spiritum praebet animantibus*.

3. *orientis*: i.e., *nascentis*; cf. *ortus eius qui nascatur* above.

3. *animari atque formari*: cf. 1, 131. and n. (*animat, format*).

3. *ex eoque*: for the position of the enclitic cf. Reid on *Ac.* 1, 24.

3. *ingenia, etc.*: for the different details of life foretold by astrology cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Asiologie grecque* (1899), 403-457 (based on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*), including length of life, as well as time and manner of death (404-428), physical character (428-433), mental character (433-436), social position (436-447), affections (447-455), and travels (455-456); and, for the expressions here used, see *Aug. C. D.* 5, 1 (quoted in the note on *geminorum, etc.* below).

4. *actionem vitae*: on the phrase cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 62; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 3.

5. *delirationem*: cf. *Aug. Conf.* 7, 6: *mathematicorum . . . inopia deliramenta*.

5. *error stultitia dicenda*: the attraction of the gerundive to the gender of the predicate is discussed by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 40.

6. *quibus, etc.*: the following frag-

dumtaxat qualis quisque natura et ad quam quisque maxime rem aptus futurus sit; cetera quae profiteantur negat ullo modo posse sciri; etenim geminorum formas esse similis, vitam atque fortunam plerumque dis-

ment = S. V. F. 3, 217, no. 36. The word *quibus* doubtless refers to *Chaldaei* or a similar word understood.

[501] 6. *Diogenes*: of Babylon, for whom cf. 1, 6, and nn. (*quem subsequens; unum librum; Babylonius*). The cause which led him to reject parts of the astrological teaching may have been the polemic of Carneades (cf. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schifsen*, 2, 1 (1882), 253-254; Schmekel, *Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa* (1892), 320, n. 3). What Diogenes still conceded to astrology was merely, as Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 594, n. 1) remarks, what was conceded to the *physiognomonici*.

1. *aptus*: cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 442, for aptitudes and definite acts foretold by the stars.

3. *geminorum, etc.*: two converse arguments appear very prominently among those urged against astrology: (1) those born under astrological conditions presumably the same have unlike fates (2, 95; 2, 97; and the present illustration from the experience of twins); (2) those born under presumably different astrological conditions have the same fate (2, 97 for those who died at Cannae); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 581, and n. 5. Of the former of these the argument from twins is the strongest form, because (1) the interval between the two births is here reduced to a minimum and their conception might be thought of as absolutely synchronous (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 588, n. 1) and (2) there is here the most complete freedom from conflicting influences of heredity (cf. Hippocr. *de Vict. Rat.* 1, p. 653 Kühn, who explains the physiological reasons for the likenesses of twins), and consequently many opponents of divination stress the notorious

differences in the lives of various sets of twins; cf. Pers. 6, 18-19: *discrepat hic alius. geminos, horoscope, varo / producis genio* (where the scholiast remarks *horoscope licet geminos sub una hera producas, dissimilibus tamen fatis et voluntatibus eos in vitam trahis*); Sen. *de Ben.* 7, 1, 5: *licet nescias . . . cur pariter natis fata diversa sint maximisque rerum spatiis distent quorum inter ortus minimum interest*; Lamprid. *Commod.* 1, 4 *cum autem peperisset (sc. Faustina) Commodum atque Antoninum* (twins, as is shown by 1, 3), *Antoninus quadrimus elatus est, quem parem astroorum cursu Commodi mathematici promittebant*; Favorin. ap. Gell. 14, 1, 26: *si tam partum atque rapidum est momentum temporis in quo homo nascens fatum accipit ut in eodem illo puncto sub eodem circulo caeli plures simul ad eandem competentiam nasci non queant, et si idcirco gemini quoque non eadem vitae sorte sunt, quoniam non eodem temporis puncto editi sunt, pelo, inquit, respondeam. cursum illum temporis transvolantis . . . quoniam pacto aut consulo adsequi queant aut ipsi perspicere et reprehendere, etc.*; Orig. ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6, 11, p. 294c-d *ἐν γοῦν τοῖς διδύμοις γεννωμένους πολλὰς τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ ἀκαριαῖον ὥρας ἐστί, καὶ πολλὰ παραλλαγὰ τῶν συμβαινόντων καὶ τῶν πραττομένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀπαρτώων, ὡς φασὶ ἐκεῖνοι, κατὰ τὴν αἰτλαν τῆς σχίσματος τῶν ἀστέρων, κτλ.*; Anon. *Hermippus*, 2, 47 *ὁρῶμεν γὰρ διδύμα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν σχεδὸν γενόμενα, καὶ δύο κατὰ ταῦτόν τεσθ' ὅτε ἀπέτεκον, ὧν τὸ μὲν μικρὸν διακτῶν ἐτελεύτησε, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν χρόνον κερε γέμετο*; Aug. *C. D.* 5, 1: *quid fit quod nihil umquam dicere potuerunt cur in vitiis geminorum, in actionibus, in eventis, in professionibus, artibus, honoribus, ceterisque rebus ad humanam vitam pertinentibus atque in ipsa morte sit plerumque tanta diversitas ut similiores eis sint . . . multi*

parem. Procles et Eurysthenes, Lacedaemoniorum reges, gemini fratres fuerunt. At ii nec totidem annos vixerunt; anno enim Procli vita brevis fuit, multumque is fratri rerum gestarum gloria praestitit. 91. At ego id

extranei quam ipsi inter se gemini perexiguo temporis intervallo in nascendo separali, in conceptu autem per unum concubitum uno etiam momento seminati? Chapter 2 of the same book is entitled: *de geminorum simili dissimilique valetudine*, and develops the subject at length, beginning with the statement: *Cicero (de Fat. fr.; cf. de Fat. 5) dicit Hippocratem, nobilissimum medicum, scriptum reliquisse quosdam fratres, cum simul aegrotare coepissent et eorum morbus eodem tempore ingravesceret eodem levaretur, geminos suspicatum. quos Posidonius . . . eadem constitutione astrorum natos eademque conceptos solebat asserere.* In chapter 3 he cites the defence made by Nigidius against the argument from twins; in ch. 4 instances Jacob and Esau as examples of twins of diverse lives (and in *de Doctr. Christ.* 2, 33-34 and *de Gen. ad Litt.* 2, 36 he uses the same illustration); and in ch. 6 discusses twins differing in sex; cf. *de div. Quaest. ad Simplic.* 1, 2, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 40, 112); also Caesarius, *Dial.* 2, 109 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 981-984); Greg. Mag. *Homil.* 10, 4 (*Patr. Lat.* 76, 1112B); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 588-591; 620-622 (who discusses the modifications of the doctrine by both sides, as a result of philosophical controversy). Chiefly through the influence of Augustine the argument from twins passed into the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Aelfric, Wyclif, Coluccio Salutati, et al.); cf. Wedel, *The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 11, n. 3; 46, n. 2; 80; 86; 130

[502] 3f. *similis . . . disparem*: cf. *N.D.* 1, 98.

1. *Procles et Eurysthenes*: cf. *Hdt.* 6, 52: 'Ἀριστοδῆμψ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῆ ὀνόμα εἶναι 'Ἀργεῖην . . . ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν 'Ἀριστοδῆμων τὰ τέκνα πόσῃ τελευτᾶν. Λακεδαιμονίου δὲ τοῖς τότε ὄντας βουλευσαί κατὰ νόμον βασιλεία τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι . . . ἀπο-

ρίοντος δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενοι δ τι χρῆσονται τῷ πρήγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελύειν σφείας ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδιά ἠγήσασθαι βασιλείας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραιότερον . . . καὶ οἱ ὄνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένα, τῷ δὲ Προκλῆα. τοῖτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτοῖς τὴν δὲ ἀδελφούς ὄντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆσι ἀλλήλοισι; Paus. 3, 1, 7; 3, 1, 9. These twins became the ancestors of the two branches of the Spartan kingly house, usually known, not after them, but after descendants, as Agids and Eurypontids; cf. Stoll in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Eurysthenes* (1886), 1431; Niese in *P.-W.* s.v. *Eurysthenes* (1907), 1353 (who notes that Eurysthenes was traditionally dated as from 1104/3-1062/1 B.C.).

1. *reges*: Cicero here overlooks one argument later raised in such connections, namely, that kings could feel no confidence that their children had been born under such planets as to be destined for royal power; cf. Basil, *Hexaem.* Homil. 6, 7; Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 18.

1. *gemiini fratres*: no objection to this phrase need arise from Quintil. *Inst.* 9, 4, 24 (*quaedam ordine permutato fiunt supervacua, ut fratres gemini; nam, si praecesserint 'gemiini,' 'fratres' addere non est necesse*) for Cicero need not have been bound by the rules and judgments transmitted to us by Quintilian.

2f. *nec . . . -que*: cf. 1, 68. n. (*neque . . . -que*).

2. *Procli*: probably genitive; cf. *Nep. Ages.* 1, 3: *duos . . . reges . . . ex duobus familiis Procli et Eurysthenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis Spartae reges fuerunt*; also Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 364, for similar cases from Cicero.

3. *is*: referring to Eurysthenes, as the nearer. His superiority over his brother is perhaps inferred from the greater

ipsum, quod vir optumus Diogenes Chaldaeis quasi quadam praeveraricatione concedit, nego posse intellegi. Etenim cum, ut ipsi dicunt, ortus nascentium luna moderetur, eaque animadvertant et notent sidera natalicia Chaldaei, quaecumque lunae iuncta videantur, oculorum fallacissimo sensu iudicant ea quae ratione atque animo videre debebant. Docet enim ratio mathematicorum, quam istis notam esse oportebat, quanta humilitate luna feratur terram paene contingens, quantum absit a proxima

2. cum Lombinus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoreson, Hoeringo, cur C.

importance of the kingly line of his descendants (the Agids). That he was prior in birth is stated by Hd^o. 2, 52; cf. Paus. 3, 2, 1.

1. **quasi quadam**: cf. 1, 1, n. (*quandam*). This doubly apologetic expression is used on account of Cicero's employment of the legal term *praeveraricatio*, the giving away of one's case by collusion, or, as here, by negligence.

2f. **ortus nascentium**: cf. 2, 89: *ortus eius qui nascatur*.

3. **luna moderetur**: for the influence of the moon on the physical life of the infant at birth cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 499-500; 521, n. 1. Its effects upon the growth of plant and animal life, as accepted by popular belief (without necessary astrological influence), are discussed in 2, 33, and notes.

3. **animadvertant et notent**: cf. 1, 12, and n. (*animadversa et notata*); for the latter word see also 1, 94, n. (*cantus . . . notaverunt*).

4. **lunae iuncta**: cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 245-247.

4f. **fallacissimo sensu**: various opponents of astrology (e.g., Origen ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6, 11, p. 294-295) emphasize the impossibility, especially with the minute subdivision of the signs of the zodiac (cf. 2, 89, n. (*una quaeque pars*) above; Sext. *Emp.* 5, 99), of making an exact and instantaneous observation of all the points which the art demands; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 589, n.

5. **animo videre**: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 37: *nihil enim animo videre poterant; ad oculos*

referebant; 1, 62; *N. D.* 1, 49; 2, 99 *quae si, ut animis sic oculis videre possumus*; so also with *cerno* (cf. 1, 126, n. (*cerni . . . videant*); *Ac.* 2, 22 (and Reid's note); *N. D.* 3, 20: *modo possemus . . . ut cetera oculis sic animo hoc cernere*; *de Sen.* 82; *Tim.* 11: *qui animo cernuntur et ratione intelleguntur (= νοητά)*).

6. **ratio mathematicorum**: cf. *Fis.* 5, 9. The word *mathematicus* is regularly used by Cicero of a 'mathematician' in our sense of the term, especially of an astronomer. It was apparently not till the empire that it came to be applied to astrologers; cf. Gell. 1, 9, 6: *geometriam, gnomonicam, musicam, ceterasque item disciplinas altiores μαθηματα veteres Graeci appellabant; vulgus autem, quos gentilicio vocabulo 'Chaldaeos' dicere oportet, 'mathematicos' dicit*.

7. **humilitate**: Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 192-199, points out that the terms *ἕψος, ὑψιλότης, ἕψωμα, altitudo*, and *βάθος, ταπεινωσις, ταπεινωμα, deiectio*, and *humilitas* are used in two senses: (1) declension of the planets toward the north (the top of the world) or the south respectively, and (2) the farthest point (apogee) and nearest point (perigee) of the planet with reference to the earth; cf. Theo Smyrn. p. 179 Hiller: *ἕψος τε καὶ βάθος, ὅτι μὲν ἀπογειώτερα, ὅτι δὲ προσγειώτερα θεωρούμενα*. It is clearly in the latter sense that Cicero employs the term, his argument being that the moon, at its nearest point to the earth, is at such a vast distance from the other planets as to receive no effects from them, and that, *a fortiori*, the earth can receive none.

Mercuri stella, multo autem longius a Veneris, deinde alio intervallo distet a sole, cuius lumine conlustrari putatur; reliqua vero tria intervalla infinita et immensa, a sole ad Martis, inde ad Iovis, ab eo ad Saturni stellam, inde ad caelum ipsum, quod extremum atque ultimum est. 92. Quae potest igitur contagio ex infinito paene intervallo pertinere ad lunam vel potius ad terram?

1. Mercuri C. Christ, Mercurii O. Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringa.

[504] 7f. quantum . . . multo autem longius: an awkward but not unparallelled shift from the relative to the direct form of expression.

[504] 7f. quantum absit, etc.: the relative distances of the planets as here stated (earth, moon, Mercury, Venus, sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) do not agree with those set forth in *N. D.* 2, 52 (based on a different source: [earth, moon, sun,] Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) and *Rep.* 6, 17 (earth, moon, sun [with Venus and Mercury revolving around it; cf. Vitruv. 9, 1, 6], Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). These differences are due, as Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 19 recognizes, to diversity of opinion on the matter between the Egyptian and the Chaldaean astronomers. For the relations of other classical writers to these two theories cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 52; and, especially, Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 105-109. On the fixing of the number of the planets at seven cf. *id.* 573, n. 2; Favorinus (ap. Gell. 14, 1, 11-12) objects to this limitation.

[504] 7f. proxima Mercuri stella: but cf. *N. D.* 2, 53: *infima est quinque errantium terraeque proxima stella Veneris.* For the intrusion of the names of divinities by which the earlier names of the planets were replaced cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 66-71; Gundel, *De Stellarum Appellatione et Religione Rom.* (1907), 113-116.

2. cuius lumine conlustrari: cf. *N. D.* 1, 87: *huius (sc. solis) hanc lustrationem eiusdem incensa radii menstruo spatio luna complet; quinque autem stellarum eundem orbem tenentes, aliae propius a terris, aliae remotius . . . eadem spatia conficiunt;* Firm. Mat. *Mathes.* 1, 10, 14:

tuque, luna, semper aucta luminibus solis augusta radiatione fulgescis.

2. lumine conlustrari: cf. 1, 17, n. (*conlustrat lumine mundum*).

2. tria: Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 39) notes that there are really four intervals here mentioned. Yet Cicero does not consider the last (*inde ad caelum ipsum*), for the astrologers made no account of the *caelum* itself, and its distance was, therefore, of no importance.

3. infinita et immensa: cf. *N. D.* 1, 26; 2, 15.

4. caelum . . . extremum atque ultimum: cf. *N. D.* 2, 101: *restat ultimus et a domiciliis nostris altissimus omnia cingens et coercens caeli amplexus, qui idem aether vocatur* (cf. *N. D.* 1; 37).

5. contagio ex infinito: cf. 2, 33-34; Anon. *Hermippus*, 2, 44: *νοῦν δὲ ἄχρονος ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρισμένα συνάπτειν μηδὲ γῆν δὲ φασὶν οὐρανῷ μίγνυσθαι;* and Pfeiffer, *Stud. z. antiken Sternglauben* (1916), 57 cites also Geminus, p. 186, 17M.: *ἀφ' ὧν οὐδεμία δύναμις τίττει πρὸς ἡμᾶς.* But two answers to this objection were employed: (1) the sun and moon are also distant yet influence mundane life (2, 89, n. (*vi solis*) above) and (2) the stars are not causes but merely signs (2, 89, n. (*vim quandam esse*) above). As Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 572) points out, Chaldaean astrology had arisen at a time when the vast planetary distances later calculated by Greek astronomers were as yet undreamed of.

6. vel potius ad terram: for mankind is less interested in the question of the possibility of interaction of the moon

XLIV. Quid? cum dicunt, id quod iis dicere necesse est, omnis omnium ortus, quicumque gignantur in omni terra quae incolatur, eosdem esse, eademque omnibus qui eodem statu caeli et stellarum nati sint accidere necesse esse, nonne eius modi sunt ut ne caeli quidem naturam interpretes istos caeli nosse appareat? Cum enim illi orbis qui caelum quasi medium dividunt et aspectum nostrum definiunt, qui a Graecis *ὀρίζοντες* nominantur, a nobis finientes rectissime nominari possunt, varietatem maximam

6. *ὀρίζοντες vulg., Müller, orientes C.*

and planets than with the transmission of their resultant effects to life upon the earth.

1. quod iis dicere necesse est: cf. 2, 21: *quod certe vobis ita dicendum est; N. D. 1, 84: istud quidem ita vobis dicere necesse est.*

1. omnis omnium: for the polyptoton cf. 1, 6, n. (*Stoicis Stoico*); 2, 8, n. (*Stoice Stoicorum*); and, for the repetition of omnis, Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des Ciceron. Stils* (1910), 44-45.

2. omni terra quae incolatur: cf. *Rep.* 6, 21: *omnis enim terra quae colitur a vobis; N. D. 2, 165* (and Mayor's note); also 2, 93, n. (*quae nos incolimus*) below.

3f. caeli . . . caeli . . . caeli: cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); etc.

4. necesse esse: note the cacophonous repetition.

6. *ὀρίζοντες*: cf. 1, 1, n. (*μαντική*); Rose in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 41 (1921), 106. For the definition cf. Hygin. *Astron.* 1, 4: *horizon appellatur is qui terminat ea quae perspicui aut non videri possunt*; Manil. 1, 663-665; Vitruv. 6, 1, 5; Sen. *N. Q.* 5, 17, 3: *hanc lineam quae inter aperta et occulta est, id est hunc circumulum Graeci ὀρίζοντα vocant, nostri finitorem esse dixerunt, alii finientem*; Ach. Tat. *Isagog.* 22: *λέγεται δὲ ὀρίζων διὸτι ὀρίζει τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον*; Chalcid. in *Tim.* 65: *dicitur etiam circumulus finalis, quem noster visus imaginatur, ὀρίζων Graeco nomine, limilans mundum, etc.*; Method. *Conv. decem Virg.* 14 (*Patr. Gr.* 18, 164 C); Prob. ad *Virg. Georg.* 1, 244-246; Serv. *Aen.* 5,

835; Macrobi. *Sat.* 7, 14, 15: *hinc est quod ubicumque terrarum steteris videris ibi quandam caeli conclusionem videre, et hoc est quod horizontem veteres vocaverunt*; *Somn. Scip.* 1, 15, 17-19; Amm. Marc. 18, 6, 22; Mart. Cap. 6, 603; *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed. no. 761, line 36.

7f. varietatem maximam habeant: cf. Favorin. ap. Gell. 14, 1, 8: *non . . . potest . . . ratio Chaldaeorum observationis manere si quis ea tui velit sub diversis caeli regionibus. nam quanta . . . partium circulatorumque caeli ex divergentia et convexionibus mundi varietas sit, quis non videt?* Sext. Emp. 5, 80: *οἱ δὲ λόφοι ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ἀστεροσκοπικαὶ γίνονται οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ πάντοτε διαμέρουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μοῖραν ἑτεροιοῦνται καὶ μεταβάλλονται τοῦ κόσμου ἦτοι κατακλυμοῖς ἐξ ὀμβρῶν ἢ σεισμοῖς γῆς ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ τοιοῦτοις παθήμασι ἐνοχλοῦνται: ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦτων ἐξαλλαγὴν μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς τῶν ἀστέρων γίνεσθαι παρατήρησι. ἀλλ' ἑτέραν μὲν τὴν ἀφ' ἑβήρου συμβαίνει παρατήρησι, διαφέρουσαν δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ χρεματοῦ βλέπουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ὀφθῆναι μὴ πάντως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεωρηθήσεται; Hippolyt. *Refut.* 4, 5 (*Patr. Gr.* 16, 3066 B-C): *ἀλλ' οἰδὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ἑβῆν πάντῃ οἱ αἰτίοι φανήσεται ἀνίσχων ἀστὴρ, ἀλλ' ὅπου μὲν ὠροσκοπὸς νομισθήσεται τὸ ἀπόκλιμα, δεῦν δὲ ὠροσκοπὸς ἢ ἐπαναφορὰ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τότε ἐπιφανείαν διτῶν ἢ ταπεινῶν ἢ ὑψηλοτέρων, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οὐκ ἀκριβῆς φανήσεται ἢ προαγόμεναι, πολλῶν κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρῃ γεννημένων, ἄλλοι ἄλλως τὰ ἀστρα θεωροῦντος; Gemin. *Isagog.* 14 (*Patr. Gr.* 19, 845D-848A): *ἴθι οἰδὲ προληπτικῶν τὰς αὐτὰς ἐπισημασίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀστέρων: ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν κλιμάτων παραλλαγὰς διαφέρουσι***

habent aliique in aliis locis sint, necesse est ortus occasusque siderum non fieri eodem tempore apud omnis. 93. Quodsi eorum vi caelum modo hoc modo illo modo temperatur, qui potest eadem vis esse nascentium, cum caeli tanta sit dissimilitudo? In his locis quae nos incolimus post solstitium Canicula exoritur, et quidem aliquot diebus, at apud Troglodytas, ut

5. Troglodytas vulg., Müller, trogloditas C.

καὶ τὰς ἐπιτολάς καὶ τὰς δύσεις τῶν ἀστρῶν γίνεσθαι. καὶ ὅθ' ἕκαστον ὄρῃζοντα ἴδια σημεῖα ἔχειν τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄερα μεταβολῆς. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ παράτημα οὐ δύναται συμφωνεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῃ: ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη διαφόρους τὰς παρατήρησεις εἶναι ἐν διαφόροις ὄρῃζουσι, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν ἑτέρα λαμβάνεσθαι ἄστρα ἐπισημασίας ἐπιτελοῦντα; Macrobius. Somn. Scip. 1, 15, 18-19: *horizon semper quantacumque locorum transgressione mutatur. hinc autem quem diximus admittit aspectum aut in terris aequa planities aut pelagi tranquilla libertas, qua nullam oculis obicit offensam, etc.* But, as Bouché-Leclercq (*op. cit.* 580-581) points out, Cicero, Favorinus, and Sextus (and those who follow them) were probably not abreast of the best astrological practice of the day, which recognized and accepted these facts and tried to reconcile them with the astrological system by the theory of ἀναφοραί, or ascensions, for which cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 259-269.

2f. modo hoc modo illo modo: for the awkward repetition cf. 1, 108, n. (*simul*); 2, 94, n. (*saepe sunt*).

3. vis: in the sense of *indoles*, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests; cf. 1, 1, and n. (*ad deorum vim*); *Fin.* 5, 43. Hottinger notes that *vis* may be contrasted with *vi* just above.

4. quae nos incolimus: cf. 2, 92, n. (*omni terra quae incolitur*); *N. D.* 2, 95; 2, 164; *Tusc.* 1, 68.

4f. post solstitium Canicula, etc.: cf. Sext. Emp. 5, 84-85: *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ πάντων ἰσοχρόνως ἀναφαίνεται ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν θάττον, τοῖς δὲ βράδιον . . . ἑκαλοῦσθεὶ τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ δοκεῖν ὠροσκοπεῖν ἡψίδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦτοις ἦθη δοκοῦν ἀνατελεῖναι τοῦτ'*

ἄλλοις ἀκμὴν ὑπόγειον ὑπάρχειν . . . καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει πρόδηλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστῆρας, καθάπερ ἀρετῶρος καὶ εὔνα, μὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῖς ἐν παντὶ κλίματι κατοικοῦσι φαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄλλοις κατ' ἄλλον. For observations as to the rising of Canicula cf. 1, 130, and n. (*ortum Caniculae*); in *Fal.* 12 its rising is taken as a hypothetical astrological illustration. Other prognostics from its rising are collected by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 367.

Plin. *N. H.* 18, 288 says: *plenilunium nocet ad IIII Non. Iul., cum Aegypto canicula exoritur (= 4 July), vel certe XVI Kal. Aug., cum Italiae (= 16 July).* For what point in Egypt his observation is intended to hold he does not explain, but surely not for any as far south as the land of the Troglodytes.

5. Troglodytas: these cave-dwellers (cf. Arist. *Hist. An.* 9, p. 597 a 9; Sen. *N. Q.* 4a, 2, 18; Plin. *N. H.* 5, 45; Mart. Cap. 6, 674; perhaps their cave life was designed to escape from the great heat, for which cf. Sen. *l. c.*; Strab. 2, p. 133; Diod. 3, 32, 2; Mart. Cap. 6, 702; and especially Lyd. *de Mens.* 4, 107) lived on the west shore of the Red Sea, opposite Arabia (Strab. 1, p. 42; 16, pp. 776; 780; 17, p. 819; Diod. 3, 15, 1; Curt. 4, 7, 18; etc.), and not far from Ethiopia (Strab. 2, p. 131; 16, p. 769; Diod. 1, 30, 3; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 31; 8, 25; Heliod. *Aethiop.* 8, 16; Mart. Cap. 6, 702). From their extreme southern position their land is occasionally cited, as here, in astronomical accounts (e.g., Mart. Cap. 6, 593; Beda, *de Nat. Rer.* 46). When no further qualification is given these Troglodytes of the Red Sea are usually understood, but other cave-dwellers of the same designa-

scribitur, ante solstitium, ut, si iam concedamus aliquid vim caelestem ad eos qui in terra gignuntur pertinere, confitendum sit illis eos qui nascuntur eodem tempore posse in dissimilis incidere naturas propter caeli dissimilitudinem; quod minime illis placet; volunt enim illi omnis eodem tempore ortos qui ubique sint nati eadem condicione nasci. XLV. 94. Sed quae tanta dementia est, ut in maxumis motibus mutationibusque caeli nihil intersit qui ventus, qui imber, quae tempestas ubique sit?—quarum rerum in proxumis locis tantae dissimilitudines saepe sunt ut alia Tusculi,

tion are known from Libya (Hdt. 4, 183 (and note of How and Wells); Plin. *N. H.* 5, 43; Mela, 1, 23; 1, 44; Oros. 1, 2, 89-90; Isid. *Eym.* 14, 5, 4-6; 16, 12, 5; 16, 14, 1; for modern Troglodytes in southern Tunisia cf. Johnson in *Nat. geogr. Mag.* 22 (1911), 787-841) and ancient ones were known in the Caucasus (Strab. 11, p. 506), Scythia (Strab. 7, p. 318; Amm. Marc. 22, 8, 43; Mart. Cap. 6, 663), and on the western ocean (Hanno, *Peripl.* 7, in *Geogr. Gr. min.* 1, 6).

[507] 5f. **ut scribitur**: the source is not named. Vitruv. 9, 5, 4 tells of astronomical information about the far south being derived from merchants travelling beyond Egypt, but a more definite source may perhaps be suggested in the second century geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus (cf. *Geogr. Gr. min.* 1, liv-lxxiii; 111-195), a writer much used by Diodorus and Pliny, and the author of five books on the Red Sea and five on the Troglodytes (Phot. *Bibl.* 213 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 700A)). His work would have been available to Panaetius, of whom he was a contemporary (and that it was known to Posidonius, at least, seems clear; cf. Leopoldi, *De Agatharchide Cnidio* (1892), 30-32; Philippon in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 106).

1. **ut ai iam**: cf. 2, 129; *Tusc.* 1, 50.

3. **in dissimilis naturas**: cf. 2, 95; and, for the expression, *N. D.* 1, 23: *nullo modo viderunt animi natura intelligentis in quam figuram cadere posset*. The word *incidere* conveys the idea of falling by chance; cf. 2, 128.

5. **eadem condicione nasci**: cf. 2, 92; answered in 2, 95.

6f. **ut . . . nihil intersit**: brachylogy for *ut nihil interesse existimetur*, as Hottinger suggests.

6. **motibus mutationibusque**: cf. *N. D.* 3, 27; *Fin.* 5, 71; *Ac.* 2, 119.

7. **qui imber**: the objections of Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 31) to this phrase, which he brackets in his edition, are unconvincing. For the effects of the atmosphere cf. 1, 79, n. (*aliae quae acuta, etc.*); 2, 89; Wendland, *Philos. Schrift über die Vorschung* (1892), 81, and nn. 3 and 4.

8. **in proxumis locis, etc.**: cf. Gemin. *Isagog.* 14 (*Patr. Gr.* 19, 848 A-B): *ἐξ οὗ φανερόν ὅτι οὐ φυσικῶς αἱ τῶν ἄστρων ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ ὕψεις τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄρα πᾶθ' ἀπογενῶσιν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ὀρίζοντα διάφοροι παρατηρήσεις γηγύνασι, καὶ τῶν ἄστρων μεταβολαί, διόπερ οὐδὲ πᾶσαι ἐπισημασίαι, ἐν τοῖς παρατήγμασιν ἀγόμεναι, αἰεὶ συμφωνοῦσιν· ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ὅτε καθόλου οὐ γίγνωται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μεγίστου περιέχουσαι χειμῶνας ἐπιτολαὶ καὶ ὕψεις εὐθὺς ἀποτελοῦσιν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε κατὰ μὲν τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο, ἐπὶ χώρας δὲ ὑμβρος, κτλ.*

8. **saepe sunt**: because of *saepe* twice appearing immediately below Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 39) would emend to *esse possunt*. But such awkward repetitions are numerous in Cicero; cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 2, 93, n. (*modo hoc modo illo modo*); etc.

8. **Tusculi**: doubtless selected as an example because the place at which this dialogue is laid; also Cicero's experience in passing from the Campagna to the

alia Romae eveniat saepe tempestas; quod qui navigant maxime animadvertunt, cum in flectendis promunturiis ventorum mutationes maximas saepe sentiunt—haec igitur cum sit tum serenitas tum perturbatio caeli, estne sanorum hominum hoc ad nascentium ortus pertinere non dicere (quod non certe pertinet), illud nescio quid tenue, quod sentiri nullo modo, intelligi autem vix potest, quae a luna ceterisque sideribus caeli temperatio fiat, dicere ad puerorum ortus pertinere? Quid? quod non intellegunt semi-

5. quod non certe pertinet C, quod certe non pertinet *Schuetz, O*, quod certe pertinet *Davies*; *suspecta visio Hottingeri* (collato 2, 21), *del. Christ, Baier, Müller, Heeringa*; *reintend Moser, Giesl, Allen, Thoresen*; *def. Madrig* (*Emendat. in Cic. Lib. philol. 1* (1826), 36-38).

Alban Hills may well have furnished him with many illustrations of this.

2. in flectendis promunturiis: cf. *ad Au.* 5, 9, 1: *Leucata[m] flectere molestum videbatur* (Enn. *Ann.* 328 Vahlen says *Leucata[m] campsant*). Apparently not elsewhere in Latin of rounding a cape (though occasionally of turning the *mea* in a race course), and an imitation of the Greek use of *κάμπτω*; e.g., *Idt.* 4, 42; 4, 43; 7, 122; al.

4. nascentium ortus: cf. 2, 91.

5. quod non certe pertinet: a phrase often misunderstood and unnecessarily deleted. The argument is this: is it consistent for astrologers not to say that these very perceptible atmospheric differences have any effect upon birth—though, in my judgment, it is not all certain that they do—, and yet to say that those imperceptible astral influences are effective in this way? Through the words *non dicere* Cicero is making an admission for the sake of argument, but lest this should be understood as an expression of his real conviction he adds the cautious parenthesis *quod non certe pertinet* (cf. 2, 106; *quod absurdum est*; 2, 131: *quod numquam faciam*). In the clauses outside the parenthesis the antithesis is between *hoc . . . non dicere* and *illud . . . dicere* (not, as Rath suggested (emending to *non pertinere dicere*), between *non pertinere . . .* and *perlinere*). We perhaps do not even need, with Moser, to explain *non dicere* as equivalent to the Greek *ὄ φάσαι = negare*; that the astrologers should press a far less important

consideration while neglecting a far more important one was sufficiently discreditable to their scientific claims. Again, the form of the parenthesis is correct as it stands; Cicero does not mean to assert that the weather has no effect upon children at their birth (as the emendation of Schuetz would state: *quod certe non pertinet*), but rather, with Academic suspense of judgment, to declare that it is not clear that it has any such effect. The similarity of the gloss in 2, 21 is accidental and specious rather than real, and it has no relation to this passage, but in 2, 106 we have a real parallel; cf. the note there on *quod absurdum est*.

5. nescio quid: contemptuous; cf. 2, 79, n. (*nescio cui*).

7f. *seminum vim*: again Marcus meets Quintus upon the Stoic ground, for that school laid great emphasis, in its doctrine of determinism, upon the importance of the seed; cf. 1, 128, n. (*ut in seminiibus vis*). Cf. Anon. *Hermippus*, 2, 48-49: ἤδη δὲ που δύο ἡ καὶ τρεῖς ἐκ ταύτου γεγονότες αἵματος χρόνῳ ὑστερον τῆ ἁμοῖα περιπεσόντες ἡσθ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγίνοντο. πότερ' οὖν <δτι> οἱ ἀστέρες παραπλησίως ἐν τῆ γενέσει ταύτων ἰσχηματίζοντο (cf. *Aug. C. D.* 5, 2; 5, 5), ἡ δτι κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τὸ σπέρμα νοσούν ἡσθ' ὑστερον τοῖς γενομένοις ἐπήγαγεν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτω τάληθες εἶναι τίθεμαι . . . ἡσθ' οὖν γὰρ καὶ ὑγείας καὶ μακροβιότητος καὶ βραχυβιότητος ἐνεργοῦσι μὲν καὶ αἱ κατὰ τόπους διαφοραὶ, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς θερμότητος καὶ ψύξεως καὶ εὐφύας καὶ ἀφύας ποιοῦσι: δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἡλικιῶν μεταβολαὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τοῦ σπέρματος, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν ἔχοι.

num vim, quae ad gignendum procreandumque plurimum valeat, funditus tolli, mediocris erroris est? Quis enim non videt et formas et mores et plerosque status ac motus effingere a parentibus liberos? Quod non contingeret si haec non vis et natura gignentium efficeret, sed temperatio lunae caelique moderatio. 95. Quid? quod uno et eodem temporis puncto nati dissimilis et naturas et vitas et casus habent, parumne declarat nihil

6. declarat *Davies, Christ, Boiser, Müller, Thoresen, Harnings, declarant C.*

δύναμις καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια; cf. 2, 53; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 585, n. 4. Firm. Mat. *Mathes.* 1, 5, 5-6, on the other hand, emphasizes the great difference between the members of the same family: *unde constat generis quidem nostri substantiam et ipsam nudis ac solius corporis formam ex quattuor elementorum commixtione providi numinis artificio esse formatam, colores vero nobis ac formas, mores etiam et instituta de nulla re alia nisi stellarum perenni cursu agitatione distribui.*

1f. *funditus tolli*: cf. 1, 5, n. (*funditus sustulit*); 1, 9; 2, 148.

2. *erroris est*: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 80.

3. *status ac motus*: frequently coupled; cf. *Fin.* 3, 56; 4, 32; 5, 35; 5, 37; 5, 47; *Off.* 1, 102; 1, 126; *Tusc.* 3, 53.

3. *effingere a parentibus*: perhaps cf. *Tim.* 34: *celera . . . impressa ab illis quae imitabatur ecfinxerat.* The imitation is unconscious, like that of 2, 58: *umor . . . sudorem videtur imitari.*

3f. *quod non contingeret ai*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 87.

4. *vis et natura*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*vis et natura*). The *vis et natura gignentium* represent internal causes as opposed to the external influences of the moon.

4f. *temperatio . . . moderatio*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 92; *moderatione et temperatione.* Note the chiasmic arrangement. It may be, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests, that *caeli* is here an objective genitive, as in *caeli temperatio* above, in which case it will mean the tempering effect which the moon exercises upon the other heavenly bodies and hence the resultant effect upon those being born. The omission of

mention of the planets, however, makes the expression ambiguous, and *caeli* may be subjective, including both planets and fixed stars.

5. *uno et eodem*: cf. 2, 97: *unus et idem*; Meader in *Univ. of Michigan Stud. Humanist.* ser. 3 (1910), 21.

5. *temporis puncto*: for the expression cf. *N. D.* 1, 52; 1, 57; 2, 94; *Leg.* 2, 14; *Tusc.* 1, 82.

6. *dissimilis . . . naturas*: cf. 2, 93. The argument is found in its most pronounced form in the case of twins (2, 90, and n. (*geminorum, etc.*)), but is often cited in that appearing here; cf. *Plin. N. H.* 7, 165: *alia mortalitatis inconstantia: Homerus eadem nocte natos Hectorem et Polydamanta tradidit, iam diversae sortis viros. C. Mario Cn. Carbone III cos. a. d. V Kal. Iunias M. Caelius Rufus et C. Licinius Calvus eadem die geniti sunt, oratores quidem ambo, sed iam dispari evenit. hoc etiam iisdem horis nascentibus in toto mundo cotidie evenit, pariterque domini ac servi gignuntur, reges et inopes; Sext. Emp. 5, 88-89: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθ' ὁλοσχερῶς γεννῶντες οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔφησαν βίωσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν λόγῳ χάριν ἐβασίλευσαν, οὐ δὲ ἐν πῶσις κατεγήρασαν. οὐθεὶς γοῦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδότι γίγνησθαι ἰσος πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην σωματικῶν χθόντων αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ Πλάτωνι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, κτλ. (repeated by Hippol. *Refutat.* 4, 5); 5, 99; *Ambr. Hexaem.* 4, 14: (according to the astrologers) *brevis enim atomo exiguoque momento distare nativitalem inopis et potentis, egentis et divitis, innocens et noxii, et plerumque eadem hora generari longaevitati debitum et prima pueritiae aetate moriturum, si reliqua disparia sint et puncto**

ad agendam vitam nascendi tempus pertinere? Nisi forte putamus neminem eodem tempore ipso et conceptum et natum quo Africanum. Num quis igitur talis fuit?

XLVI. 96. Quid? illudne dubium est quin multi, cum ita nati essent

aliquo discreta. hoc quemadmodum possint colligere respondeant, etc.; 4, 18: cotidie ergo reges nascerentur nec regalis in filios transmitteretur successio sed semper ex diverso statu qui ius imperialis adquirerent potestatis orerentur; Aug. C. D. 5, 7: considerent quam innumerabilia sub uno temporis puncto vel nascantur vel oriantur vel inchoentur et tam diversos exitus habeant ut istas observationes cuivis puero ridendas esse persuadeant, etc.; Conf. 7, 6 (telling of an actual observation of the unlike fate of two children, one free and one a slave, born simul, ita ut easdem constellationes usque ad easdem minutias utrique nascenti facere cogerentur); de Gen. ad Litt. 2, 35: cum multa corpora diversorum generum vel animalium vel herbarum et arborum uno simul puncto temporis seminentur unoque puncto temporis innumerabiliter multa nascantur, non tantum diversis, sed etiam iisdem terrarum locis tantae sunt varietates in progressibus, in acibus et passionibus eorum ut vere isti, sicut dicitur, perdant sidera, si ista considerant. The typical astrological defence is found in Manil. 2, 707-712: idcirco, quamquam signis nascantur eisdem, / diversos referunt mores inimicaque vota; / et saepe in pecudes errant humana, maremque / femina subsequitur; miscentur sidere partibus, / singula divisis variant quod partibus astra / dodecalemoriis proprias multantia vires; cf. 2, 89, n. (una quaeque pars) above. To this we have a rejoinder in Sext. Emp. 5, 99: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ, ὡς ἀπώτερον ἐλέγομεν (5, 88-89, quoted above), τῶν ἐν τοῖσι τῷ ζῳδῷ γεννημένων οὐδ' αἰ μορφᾶν εἶναι αἰ ἀτάλ οὐτε τὰ ἥθη εἶναι ὁμοία, ἕκαστος εἰ μὴ τὰς μοίρας εἰς ἑκαστον διακεῖται ζῳδῶν καὶ τὰ λεπτὰ φήσουσι τῆς τοιαύτης διαφορᾶς εἶναι ποιητικά. ὁ πάλιν ἔστιν ἀδύνατον. ἠθάλαμεν γὰρ τὴν ἐν τοῖσι αἰετοῖσι χρόνος τῆς ἀποτέλεως καὶ ὠροσκοπήσεως ἀκριβέαν ἀύστατον; cf. also Aug. Conf. 7, 6 (quoted above).

[510] 6. *parumne declarat*: cf. *Tusc.* 3, 48.

1. *ad agendam vitam*: cf. 2, 89: *actionem vitae*.

1. *nisi forte*: cf. 2, 108; *pro Mil.* 84; *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1, 19; the expression is, of course, sarcastic; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 416.

2. *eodem . . . ipso*: for the combination of these words cf. Meader, *op. cit.* 41-44.

2. *conceptum et natum*: on the important question whether the moment of conception or that of birth determined the horoscope cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 373-383.

2. *Africanum*: on Africanus as the type of a man of importance cf. 2, 66, and n. (*Africanus*). The argument is much the same as that in 2, 97, where Homer appears as the example (cf. 2, 97, n. (*videsne*)); cf. also several of the instances cited in the note on *dissimilis . . . naturas* above; and those cited by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 587, n. 1 (especially Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 29).

4. *multi, etc.*: Philo, *de Prov.* 8.3 contains a somewhat similar reference to the overcoming of natural handicaps; cf. Wendland, *Philos. Schrift über die Vorsehung* (1892), 33; also the important passage—too long to be here quoted—in *Fat.* 10-11. Ambrose (*Hexaem.* 4, 13) combats the astrological fatalism which would leave no room for individual improvement or reform, thus cutting at the root of all moral responsibility (*id.* 4, 19).

At some time not certainly known but as early as St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa.* 1, 1, 115, 4; cf. Wedel, *The mediaeval Allitude toward Astrology* (1920), 67-68) there arose the notion that the influence

ut quaedam contra naturam depravata haberent, restituerentur et corrigerentur ab natura cum se ipsa revocasset, aut arte atque medicina? Ut quorum linguae sic inhaerent ut loqui non possent eae scalpello resectae liberarentur. Multi etiam naturae vitium meditatione atque exercitatione sustulerunt, ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum rho dicere nequiret,

3. *cae Manuius, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, hae C.*

of the stars was limited in its application to corporeal objects, and that, by the emancipation of one's soul from bondage to the body, *vir sapiens dominabitur astris* (i.e., can escape altogether from astrological fatalism); cf. Wedel, *op. cit.* 135-141 for the development of this doctrine in the later middle ages. May the idea perhaps have been suggested by such passages as Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 18, in which he considers the arts of the Chaldaeans a spider's web, ensnaring the weak-minded, but powerless to catch and injure the sensible?

1. *contra naturam*: apparently meaning contrary to the natural norm or average, for the defects are not the result of bad habit or training but are congenital. In *Fin.* 2, 33 Cicero says: *ut bacillum aliud est inflexum et incurvatum de industria, aliud its natum, sic ferarum natura non est illa quidem depravata mala disciplina sed natura sua*. The peculiarities of individual birth (*natura sua*) may thus be, considered in a broader sense, abnormal (*contra naturam*).

2. *ab natura*: perhaps, as Wopkens (*Lect. Tull.* 2 ed. (1829), 385) suggests, *natura* is here personified; yet cf. *N. D.* 2, 134, and Mayor's note; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 495.

3. *linguae, etc.*: for the *frenum* of the tongue cf. Galen, *de Usu Part.* 11, 10, pp. 883-885 Kühn. Fronto, p. 149 Naber speaks of the *vox vincula* of stammerers (cf. *id.* p. 159), and Aug. *Conf.* 1, 14 says: *in tuam invocationem rumpebam nodos linguae meae*. The operation of cutting the *frenum* was apparently the simple one often employed today for the relief of the tongue-tied.

3. *scalpello*: on the forms of the scalpel cf. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* (1907), 24-28. Monaco (*Handbook of the Antiquities in the Nat. Mus. at Naples*, 12 Eng. ed. (1906), 84, no. 78121) describes an instrument 'with flattened extremity, bifurcated for cutting the frenum of the tongue, as used in modern surgery'; an illustration of this is given in the Chiurazzi-De Angelis catalogue of reproductions of objects in the Naples museum (1910), 415.

4. *meditatione atque exercitatione*: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 41; Suet. *Nero*, 20: *mediari exercerique*; also *meditando* in *de Or.* 1, 260 (quoted in the next note). The word *meditatio* = the Greek *μελέτη*.

5. *ut Demosthenem*: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*).

5. *Phalereus*: on the form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 363; 367; 469. The writer here cited is Demetrius of Phalerum, the fourth century statesman and scholar, whose life is described by Diog. L. 5, 75-81 (with a list of his works in 5, 80-81; cf. also Martini in *P.-W.* s.v. *Demetrius* (1901), 2817-2841). The title of the work from which Cicero here draws is uncertain, but it may have been a monograph on Demosthenes (cf. Martini, *op. cit.* 2830-2831), for we have several references to Demetrius as an authority on that subject: *Q. Cic. Comment. Petit.* 2: *saepe quae de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione scripsit Demetrius recordare*; Philodem. *Rhet.* 1, 196-197 Sudhaus; Dion. Hal. *Demosth.* 53: *καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὡς κράτιστα ἔασι μάλιστα, οὐ μικροῦ πόνου καταργήσασθαι, καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πένου ἔστιν*

exercitatione fecisse ut planissime diceret. Quodsi haec astro ingenerata et tradita essent, nulla res ea mutare posset. Quid? dissimilitudo locorum

χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες; Plut. *Dem.* 9; 11: τοῖς δὲ σωματικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπέτηεν ἀσκησιν, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκοίην πρὸςβίτου γεγοῦστος: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρροῦν εἰς τὸ στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ ῥήσεις ἅμα λίγωσα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν γυμνάζειν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σιμ' ἀναβάσει διαλεγόμενον καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ἅμα τῷ πνεύματι πικνουμένην προφερόμενον εἶναι αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἶκος, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἰστάμενον ἐξ ἐναντίας τεραίνειν.

[512] 5. rho: for the difficulty of Demosthenes with this letter cf. *de Or.* 1, 260: *Demosthenem in quo tantum studium fuisse tantusque labor dicitur ut primum impedimenta naturae diligentia industriaque superaret; cumque illa daltus esset ut eius ipsius artis cui studeret (i.e., ῥητορικῆ) primam litteram non posset dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planius esse locutus putaretur, etc.* (copied by Val. Max. 8, 7, ext. 1); Quintil. *Inst.* 1, 11, 4-5: *quarundam (sc. litterarum) enim vel exilitate vel pinguedine nimia laboramus, quasdam velut acriores parum efficitur et aliis non dissimilibus sed quasi hebetioribus permixtissimus. quippe rho litterae, qua Demosthenes quoque laboravit, labda succedit, etc.*; Plut. *Dem.* 6: ἦν δὲ τις, ὡς δοκεῖ, καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθίνα καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων τῷ διεσπάζειν τὰς περὶ ῥόδους; *de Orat.* *Vit.* p. 844d-e: *λίγουσι δ' αὐτὸν . . . τὸ τε ῥῶ μὴ διωκόμενον λέγειν ἐκπονησά, κτλ.*; Diog. L. 2, 108: *ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν βομβοστωμυλῆσαν. ἐκίκε γὰρ αὐτοῦ (Eubulides) καὶ Δημοσθένει ἀπηκοῖαν καὶ ῥωβικώτερος ὄν παύσασθαι*; Zosim. *Ascalon. Vit. Dem.* (*Frag. Orat. Al.* ed. Müller, 2 (1858), 523): *καὶ γὰρ τὸ στόμα τραυλὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενῆς (cf. Liban. Vit. Dem.). . . ἐπηρεωθῆσατο δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τούτων τῶν τρόπων: τὸν μὲν τραυλισμὸν ἐμβάλλω. τινὰς*

ψήφους ἐν τῷ στόματι καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου συνεχῶς ἔπος τι λέγων, τὸ ῥόχθει γὰρ μέγα κύμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπειροῦ' (*Od.* 5, 402). οὕτως δὲ τοῦτο ἐπηρεωθῆσατο ὥστ' εἰσελθόντα εἰπεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκεῖνο ἐπιπροφερόμενον ἤκω φέρων ὑμῖν τὸ ρ καταρρητορευμένον.' διὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἶπε τὸ ρ, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οἱ τραυλοὶ αἶε περὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο σφάλλονται, τὸ λ ἀντὶ τοῦ ρ προφίροντες; *ANON. Vit. Dem.* (ap. Müller, *op. cit.* 2, 525): *τῶν τε γὰρ στοιχείων οὐκ ἐτραποποιεῖ τὸ ρ . . . καὶ τὸ τε ρ κοικιλῶν ἐν τῷ στόματι γυμνάσας, κτλ.*; Hier. *adv. Rufin.* 1, 17: *Demosthenes plus olei quam vini expendisse dicitur . . . quod ille in una littera fecit exprimenda, ut a cane rho disceret, tu in me criminari quare homo ab homine Hebraeas litteras didicerim*; Phot. *Bibl.* 265 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 181 B-C): *λίγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν πολλὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐλαττώματα μελήτη διορθώσασθαι . . . τῶν δὲ στοιχείων τὸ ῥῶ τῆ γλώττῃ μὴ πεφυκότα λέγειν πόνω προσλαβεῖν τὸ δύνασθαι. Helbig-Amelung (Führer durch die östfentl. Samml. klass. Alter. in Rom. 1, 3 ed. (1912), 18) would detect in the peculiarly drawn back lower lips of the statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican an indication of the physical cause of this difficulty in pronunciation, and Thalheim (in *P.-W.* s.v. *Demosthenes* (1905), 171-172) thinks this peculiarity may have been responsible for his nick-name of βάλαιος (Aeschin. 1, 126; 1, 131; 1, 181; 2, 99; *Dem.* 4; et al.), though the ancient explanations of that name are quite different.*

For other references to the removal of linguistic defects by Demosthenes cf. *Fin.* 5, 5; Quintil. *Inst.* 10, 3, 30; 11, 3, 54; *Luc. Encom. Dem.* 14. Cicero is perhaps especially sympathetic with this experience of Demosthenes since he had himself in his youth suffered much from physical difficulties in speaking (*Brut.* 313-314; *Plut. Cic.* 3).

2. *dissimilitudo locorum*: Boll (*Stud. über Claudius Ptolemaeus* (1894), 187-

nonne dissimilis hominum procreaciones habet? Quas quidem percurrere oratione facile est, quid inter Indos et Persas, Aethiopas et Syros differat corporibus, animis, ut incredibilis varietas dissimilitudoque sit. 97. Ex quo intellegitur plus terrarum situs quam lunae tactus ad nascendum

2. Aethiopiae et Syros codd. dett. Moseri, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringe, et aethiopiae syros AV.

188) well remarks that Cicero's source, Panaetius, evidently was unfamiliar with astrological teaching which relied upon precisely these geographic (and accompanying ethnographic) idiosyncrasies as a justification and proof of the art, namely by the theory of κλίματα (for which see Wendland, *Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung* (1892), 33-36; Boll, *op. cit.* 181-235; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 327-347), and he therefore infers that the doctrine must have been introduced after the time of Panaetius (not necessarily after Cicero, who did not keep abreast of the innovations in the art) and before the fourth book of Manilius, in which it already appears. According to this doctrine different parts of the globe are each under the especial control of a particular zodiacal sign or planet or aspect, and this control is more powerful than the horoscope of the individual. Thus racial peculiarities were thought to be explained. In the face of this theory Boll (*op. cit.* 185) notes that the attacks of the critics were modified so that against genethliology they pointed to the identity of customs in any given nation, no matter under what star men were born, while against this newer astrological geography or ethnography they cited (1) the cases of individuals or minority races who differed from those with whom they lived, and (2) the fact that races emigrating to other lands still retained their peculiar customs (cf. [Clem.] *Recognit.* 9, 21; Bardesanes ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6, 10, p. 275 b-c; the stock example of this was the practice of circumcision by the Jews; cf. *Recognit.* 9, 28; Wendland, *op. cit.* 30-32 (for cases from Philo, Bardesanes, Origen, and Procopius); Salust. *de Diis et Mundo*, 9 (*Frag. Philos. Gr.* 3, 39); Caesar. *Dial.* 110 (*Patr.* 38, 985);

Greg. Nyss. *c. Fat.* (*Patr. Gr.* 45, 169C) See also Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 584, n. 1.

1. *nonne*: for its deferred position cf. 1, 89, n. (*nonne*).

1. *habet*: cf. 1, 62: *quod habet inflationem . . . is cibis*.

2. *Indos, etc.*: many examples from these and other races are given in the passages cited in the preceding note and in their contexts, the general principle being, as Caesarius (*Dial.* 109 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 980)) remarks of the Chinese, ἰσχυρότερος τῆς ἀνάγκης τῶν ἀστρῶν . . . ὁ πατριος νόμος. Cf. the conclusion of Bardesanes (ap. Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 6, 10, p. 278 a-b) κρατεῖ δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη μοίρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμος καὶ ἔθος διὰ τὸ ἀντιεξούσιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζει ἢ γίνεσθαι τοὺς Σήρας μὴ θίλοντας φονεῦν, ἢ τοὺς Βραχμῶνας κρεοφαγεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀθελντιεῖν μὴ γαμεῖν, ἢ τοὺς Ἰνδοῖς μὴ καίεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς Μήδους μὴ ἑσθιέσθαι ὑποκινῶν, ἢ τοὺς Πάρθους μὴ πολυγαμεῖν . . . ἀλλ', ὡς προείπον, ἕκαστον ἔθος καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρῆται τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐλευθερίᾳ ὡς βούλεται καὶ οὐτε βούλεται, καὶ βούλεται τῇ γενέσει καὶ τῇ φύσει δι' ἣν περιλείπεται σάρκα. In the present passage we have two groups, in each of which are two peoples, contrasted in both physical and mental characteristics with each other.

3f. *ex quo intellegitur*: cf. 1, 70, n. (*ex quo intellegitur*).

4. *plus terrarum situs, etc.*: cf. Sext. Emp. 5, 101-102; *Pyrrhon. Hyp.* 1, 14, 80. Wendland (*Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung* (1892), 37, n. 2) well points out that, while the criticism of Carneades is purely negative, Panaetius here offers a positive explanation of the phenomena in question. For the astrological answer to the

valere. Nam quod aiunt quadringenta septuaginta milia annorum in periclitandis experiundisque pueris quicumque essent nati Babylonios posuisse, fallunt; si enim esset factitatum non esset desitum; neminem autem habemus auctorem qui id aut fieri dicat aut factum sciat. XLVII. Videsne me non ea dicere quae Carneades, sed ea quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit? Ego autem etiam haec requiro: omnesne qui Can-

objection raised cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 583, n. 2.

[514] 4. *lunae tactus*: cf. the *tactus* of the sun, described in *N. D.* 2, 40. Emendation to *tractus, status*, etc. is superfluous.

1. *quadringenta*: cf. 1, 36, and n. (*quadringenta*); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 575, n. 2. Favorinus (ap. Gell. 14, 1, 2) states that *disciplinam istam Chaldaeorum Iantrae vetustatis non esse quantae videri volunt*; and Sextus Empiricus (5, 105) raises a more definite objection: *ἔπει οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀστέρων συσχηματισμὸς διὰ μακρῶν. ὡς φασιν, χρόνων θεωρεῖται, ἀποκαταστάσεως γινομένης τοῦ μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοῦ δι' ἑνεαεκασιχίλων ἑννακασίων καὶ ἑβδόμηκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἑτῶν, ὃ φθάσει ἀθρωπίνῃ τήρησις τοῖς τοσούτοις αἰῶσι συνδραμεῖν ἐπὶ μιᾷ γενέσει καὶ ταῦτα, οὐχ ἀπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἴηαι τοῦ κόσμου φθορᾶς, εἰρήκασου ὡς τινες, μεσολαβοῦσι αὐτῆν ἢ πάντως γε τῆς κατὰ μέρος μεταβολῆς ἐξαφανιζούσης τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορικῆς παραδόσεως*; but cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 574, n. 2. Arnold (*Rom. Stoicism* (1911), 6, n. 9) would reduce the difficulty by assuming that the original tradition asserted observations through only 470 years, which number was later increased to 470,000. Our passage (*quadringenta . . . factum sciat*) is quoted by Pica della Mirandola, *Disput. adv. Astrol.* 11 (1557 ed., p. 146 verso).

2. *periclitandis*: cf. *Off.* 3, 73; *de Am.* 63.

3. *factitatum*: cf. 1, 92.

5. *videsne*: cf. introd. pp. 25-26. There seems little doubt that the astrological discussion thus far is taken from Panaetius. The next sentence, however, seems to make Cicero himself authority for what follows. Yet, as Schmekel well

points out (*Die Philos. d. mill. Stoa* (1892), 176-177; cf. Wendland, *op. cit.* 36-37; Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus* (1905), 79, n. 6), the arguments that follow so closely agree with what we find in Favorinus, Sextus, and others, that they seem derived from a common source, and this doubtless Carneades (through Clitomachus), whom Cicero probably used more at length in the lost parts of the *De Fato*. This assumption will also the more easily help us to understand the clear logical doublet presented by the cases of Africanus (2, 95) and Homer (2, 97), here awkwardly separated (though logically of exactly the same force) because hastily borrowed from different but parallel originals (Schmekel, *op. cit.* 176).

5f. *princeps Stoicorum Panaetius*: cf. 1, 6, and n. (*princeps . . . disciplinae*).

6. *haec*: in defending this reading of the manuscripts against *hoc*, the emendation of Marsus, Christ very properly remarks that *haec* applies to the following questions: *omnesne . . . uerint* and *qui ingenio . . . quoque uno*.

6. *omnesne*, etc.: cf. 2, 90, n. (*geminorum*, etc.); Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 27-28: *quid esset quod aduersum hoc dici posset requirebat, quod homines utriusque sexus, omnium aetatum, diversis stellarum uolibus in uita editis, regionibus sub quibus geniti sunt longe distantibus, omnes tamen isti aut hiantibus terris aut labentibus tectis aut oppidorum expugnationibus aut eadem in uariis fluctu obruti eodem genere mortis eodemque ictu temporis inuicem simul interirent. 'quod scilicet,' inquit, 'numquam eveniret, si momenta nascenti singulis adtributa suas unumquidque leges*

nensi pugna ceciderint uno astro fuerint; exitus quidem omnium unus et idem fuit. Quid? qui ingenio atque animo singulares, num astro quoque uno? Quod enim tempus quo non innumerabiles nascuntur? At certe similis nemo Homeri. 98. Et, si ad rem pertinet quo modo caelo adfecto compositisque sideribus quodque animal oriatur, valeat id necesse est non in hominibus solum verum in bestiis etiam; quo quid potest dici absurdius?

3. nascuntur C, Christ, Thoresen (qui 2, 61 confert), nascantur Salisb., O. Müller, Heeringa.

haberen'; [Clem.] *Recognit.* 9, 30: *sicut in eos fecit* (sc. Deus) *qui diluvio perierunt, qui utique omnes una die, immo una hora extincti sunt, cum certum sit non eos esse secundum genesis ordinem una hora natos*; Sext. Emp. 5, 91-92: ὄρωντες γὰρ πολλούς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας διαφέροντας καὶ κατὰ μορφὰς σωμάτων καὶ κατὰ ἄλλας ἀπληθείας ιδιότητας παθῶν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τέλει περιπεπωκότας, καὶ ἦτοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπολομένους ἢ ἐν συμπτώμασι οἰκῶν ἀποληφθέντας ἢ ναυαγίῳ καταποντισθίντας, οἷς εἴτερον ἔξω, πῶς ἐν ὁ Κελδαῖος προκηκεῖ τὴν ἐσομένην τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν, ἀξιον διαπορεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀκίδι τοῦ τοξότου γεννηθεὶς κατὰ τὸν μαθηματικὸν σφαγήσεται λόγῳ, πῶς αἱ τοσαῦται μυριάδες τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσταγυνισθόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν Μαραθῶνι ὑφ' ἐν κατασφάγησαν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν ὡροσκόπος. καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐν τῇ κάλυδι τοῦ ὕδροχου γεννηθεὶς ναυαγήσει, πῶς οἱ ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀνακομισθόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας συγκατεποντώθησαν; κτλ. (cf. Hippolyt. *Refutat.* 4, 5, who adds to the case of the battle of Marathon also that of Salamis); Greg. Nyss. c. *Fatum* (*Patr. Gr.* 45, 164D-165B; with many examples, including the Flood, the destruction of Sodom, the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, earthquakes, etc.), who concludes: ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις μία τῶν ἀστρῶν συνδοσις τὰς ὡνάδας τῶν γενέσεων ἔβουσε, καὶ πᾶσιν ὁ Κερκίνος ὡροσκοπῶν τὴν μοῖραν ἐτέβαλε; καὶ μὴν αἱ μυρίαὶ τῶν ἡλικῶν τε καὶ ἀξιωματῶν διαφοραὶ τὸ μὴ πάντας ἀλλήλους κατὰ ταῦτόν τῃ γενέσει συνεχεθῆναι διαμαρτύρονται. εἰ οὖν ὁ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως χρόνος ἐκάστῳ διάφορος, ἢ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ταυτότης οὐδέμιν παραλλαγὴν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αἰτίας ὠφέετο; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 582, n. 1, who cites the use of the same argument by Calvin.

[515] 6. *Cannensi pugna*: cf. 2, 71.

2. ingenio . . . singulares: cf. 1, 53: *singulari vir ingenio*.

3. uno: the deletion of this word by Thoresen (*Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 39-40; and in his edition) is unnecessary.

4. Homeri: cf. n. on *videsne* above. For Cicero's judgment of Homer cf. Lange in *Diss. philol. Hal.* 4 (1880), 253-257.

6. in bestiis etiam: cf. Diod. Tars. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 223 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 846C-D): ἔτι δὲ ἐὶν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκάστῳ τῶν γινόμενων τὰ συμβήσομενα λέγουσιν, ἀνθρώπων, φημί, καὶ βοῦ καὶ ὄρνέων καὶ πτόλων καὶ πόλεων, καὶ πάντων ὧν τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἔχειν ἰσχυρίζονται, πῶς γῆ καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γενέσεων τοὺς καιρούς, τὰ πάθη τούτων καὶ τὰς κινήσεις καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς ἐπαγγέλλονται λέγειν; . . . πῶς γὰρ ἐν ἡ αὐτῇ τοῦ ὁρόμου γένεσις κίνα καὶ λίοντα ἐργάσαιτο καὶ ἀθροῦν καὶ ἱπποῦ, τοὺς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διαλλάττοντας; πῶς δ' ἐν εἰν ποικίλην χρωμάτων, σχημάτων, ποιότητων, μὴ πάντα ποικίλην γενέσει ἀποτελοῦσιν, ὡς φασιν; . . . καὶ πῶς ἐν τοσοῦτον ἀπειρον πλῆθος τῶν καιρῶν ἀναπέσουσιν; ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔξουσιν, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάδες ἡμερῶν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐπλήρουν; Favorin. ap. Gell. 14, 1, 31: *si vitae mortisque hominum rerumque humanarum omnium tempus et ratio et causa in caelo et apud stellas foret, quid de muscis aut vermiculis aut echinis, nullis aliis minutissimis terra marique animalibus dicerent? an isto quoque isdem quibus homines legibus nascerentur isdemque isdem extinguerentur? ut aut ranunculis quoque et culicibus nascendi fata sint de caelestium siderum motibus adtributa, aut, si id non putarem,*

Lucius quidem Tarutius Firmanus, familiaris noster, in primis Chaldaicus

1. Lucius A. B. Christ, Baier, L. O. Müller, Thoresen, Heringa.

nulla ratio videretur cur ea siderum vis in hominibus valeret, deficeret in ceteris; Sext. Emp. 5, 94: ἄλλος δὲ τις ἀπορῆσει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων· εἰ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς συσχηματισμοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀποτελέσματα κίφικον ἐκβαίνει, ἔχρησεν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖς τοῦ ζῴου μορίῳ κἀνωρος ἅμα καὶ ἀθρώπου γεννηθέντων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκολουθεῖν τῶν βίων ἐκβασις, κτλ.; Orig. ap. Eus. Pr. Ev. 6, 11, p. 281b: τῆ τῶν καλουμένων πλανημένων ἀστέρων ἐπιπλοκῆ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν τῷ ζῴιακῷ πάντων νομιζομένων (sc. τῶν ἄνῳων) συμβαίνει τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστον ἀθρώπων, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἀλόγων ζῴων; Aug. C. D. 5, 7: quis enim est iam excors ut audeat dicere omnes arbores, omnes herbas, omnes bestias serpentes avrs pisces vermiculos momenta nascendi singulalim habere diversa? solent tamen homines ad lemplandam peritiam mathematicorum adferre ut eos constellationes mutorum animalium . . . sic desipiunt homines ut existiment cum homo nascitur ceteros rerum ortus ita inhiberi ut cum illo sub eadem caeli plaga nec musca nascatur, etc.; Conf. 7, 6: flagrabant . . . ita ut mutorum quoque animalium, si quae domi parerent, observarent momenta nascentium atque ad ea caeli portionem notarent, unde illius quasi artis experimenta colligerent; also the curious passage in Cedren. Hist. (Patr. Gr. 121, 82C). But for a partial defence of the astrological theory from these misunderstandings by its opponents cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 585, n. 4, who also notes (586, and n. 2) the later applications of astrology to animals and (587) even to the mineral kingdom.

[516] 6. quo . . . absurdius: cf. N. D. I, 38; de Sen. 66.

1. Tarutius Firmanus: the gentile name is a rare one; the cognomen is thought by Haakh (in Pauly, *Realencyclop.* s.v. *Tarutius* (1852)), to mean 'from Firmum.' Plin. N. H. ind. to book

16 reads: L. Tarutius qui Graece de astris scripsit.

Our accounts of this man are few but definite: Plut. Rom. 12: ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Βάρρωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον χρόνοις . . . ἦν Ταρουτίος ἰταῖρος αὐτοῦ, φιλόσοφος μὲν ἄλλως καὶ μαθηματικός, ἀπτόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν πίνακα μεθόδου θεωρίας ἵνεκα καὶ δοκῶν ἐν αὐτῇ περιττός εἶναι. τοῖς τοῦ προβαλεῖν ὁ Βάρρων ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν Ῥωμίλου γενέσει εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ἀποτελεσμάτων περὶ τὸν ἀνδρα ποιησάμενος τὸν συλλογισμόν (i.e., the reverse operation of the ordinary casting of horoscopes) . . . ἐποίησεν οὖν τὸ προσταχθῆν ἐν Ταρουτίῳ, καὶ τὰ τε πάθη καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιπέων καὶ χρόνον ζωῆς καὶ τρόπον τελευτῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα συνθεῖς, εὖ μάλα θαυραρηκῶτως καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀπεφῆγατο τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ῥωμίλου σύλληψιν ἔπει πρῶτῳ τῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν μηνὶ κατ' Αἰγυπτίου Καῖα (is this perhaps an indication that Tarutius was using Egyptian tables for his calculations?), τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, τρίτης ὥρας, κατ' ἡν ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε παντελῶς (this looks suspiciously similar to the eclipse at the founding of the city; cf. I, 108, n. (*interca*, etc.); can the phrase κατ' ἡν . . . παντελῶς perhaps have been misplaced from the horoscope of the city a few lines below?). He then gives the exact hour of the birth of Romulus, κτισθῆναι δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆ ἑσπέρῃ Φαρμουσί μηνὸς Ἰστανίου, μεταξὺ δευτέρας ὥρας καὶ τρίτης; cf. *Lyd. de Mens.* 1, 14: Ῥωμίλος δὲ κτίσει τὴν Ῥώμην τῆ πρό δεκαμιάς Καλεσδῶν Μαῖου, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἑσπέρῃ, ἢ ὡς ἴτεροι κατὰ τὸ δέυτερον τῆς ὀγδόης· ἢ δὲ ὡρα τῆς πόλεως ὡρα δευτέρα πρό τρίτης, ὡς Ταρουτίος ὁ μαθηματικός κατεστήριξεν, διὸς μὲν ἔχθσει . . . Ἡλίου δὲ Τάβῳ καὶ Σελήνης ζυγῷ (cf. *in iugo cum esset luna* below), κτλ.; Solin. 1, 18: *Romulus . . . auspicato mutorum fundamenta iecil duodeviginti natius annos, XI K. Maii, hora post secundam ante tertiam, sicut L. Tar-*

rationibus eruditus, urbis etiam nostrae natalem diem repetebat ab iis Parilibus quibus eam a Romulo conditam accepimus, Romamque in iugo cum esset luna natam esse dicebat nec eius fata canere dubitabat. 99. O vim maxumam erroris! Etiamne urbis natalis dies ad vim stellarum et

runtius prodidit, mathematicorum nobilissimus, Iove in piscibus . . . sole in tauro, luna in libra constitutis. et observatum deinceps ne qua hostia Parilibus caederetur ut iste dies a sanguine purus esset, etc.; Peter in Rhein. Mus. 57 (1902), 243.

1. *urbis . . . natalem*: for the foundation of Rome as set upon 21 April see the passages cited by Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* 1 (1853), 444, n. 1; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 325, n. 2; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 201, nn. 2-3. In the *Fasti Caeretani* (C. I. L. I, 1, 2 ed. (1893), p. 213) on 21 April we read: *PAR<ILIA> ROMA COND<ITA>*; in the calendar of Philocalus (*id.* p. 262): *N<ATALIS> VRBIS*; in that of Polemius Silvius (*id.* p. 263): *natalis urbis Romae . . . Parilia dicta de partu Iliac* (a derivation found also elsewhere; cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 200, n. 1); cf. Mommsen in C. I. L. I, 1, 2 ed., 315-316; also Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. vet.* 2, 6 (1828), 501 for a coin of about 121 A.D. inscribed *ANN. DCCCLXXIIII NAT<ALI> VRB<IS> P<ARILIA> CIR<CENSES> CON<STITVTI>*. For the observation of the birthday of Rome (still celebrated) and those of other cities (cf. Schmidt, *Geburstag im Allertum* (in *Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, 7, 1 (1908), 79-83).

2. *Parilibus*: the word is commonly derived by dissimilation from *Palilia* (cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), 562; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 199-200; for varying views *id.* 200, n. 1 and the note on *urbis . . . natalem* above), which, following Varro (*L. L.* 6, 15) and others (cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 200, n. 2), is in turn connected with *Pales*. Mommsen (in C. I. L. I, 1, 2 ed. (1893), 315) thinks both *Parilia* and *Pales* are connected with *pario*, but Walde (*op. cit.* 541) suggests *pello* (cf.

opilio). *Pales* was a deity concerned with shepherds, of uncertain gender (cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 200, and nn. 3-5; more recently the discovery of further fragments of the *Fasti Antiatates* mention a festival on 7 July in honor of *Palibus II*; cf. Mancini in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1921, 101-102). For the details of the festival cf. Schwegler, *op. cit.* 1, 444-446; Fowler, *Roman Festivals* (1908), 79-85; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 324-348; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 199-201.

2. *accepimus*: cf. 1, 33, n. (*accepimus*).

2 f. *in iugo . . . luna*: this use of *iugum* (=the sign *Libra*) seems to be hardly paralleled in Latin; in Greek, however ζυγός is so used (cf. Bouché-Leclercq *op. cit.* 141-142). That this was the sign in which the moon was at the time indicated is also stated by Lydus *de Mens.* 1, 14 and Solinus, 1, 18 (both quoted in the note on *Tarutius Firmanus* above); cf. Manil. 4, 773-775: *Hesperiam sua libra tenet, qua condita Roma / orbis et imperio retinet discrimina rerum / lancibus et possitis gentes lollique premittit*.

3. *fata canere*: for the phrase cf. *pro Sest.* 47; also 1, 115 above: *vales cecinisse dicuntur*; other examples, especially from poetry, will be found in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *cano* (1906), 271.

4. *etiamne urbes, etc.*: cf. *Plut. Rom.* 12: ἐπει καὶ πόλεις τύχῃσιν, ὡς καὶ ἀνθρώπων, κίριον ἔχειν οἰοῦναι χρόνον, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γαστρώσεως πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐποχὰς θεωρούμενον; Prudent. *c. Symmach.* 2, 71-74: *sicut variae nascentibus, inquit, / contingunt pueris animae, sic urbibus offert / hora diesque suum, cum primum moenia surgunt / aut fatum aut genium cuius moderamine regnent;* 2, 369-373: *at solers orator / (i.e., Symmachus) ait, fataliter urbem /*

lunae pertinebat? Fac in puero referre ex qua adfectione caeli primum spiritum duxerit; num hoc in latere aut in caemento ex quibus urbs effecta est potuit valere? Sed quid plura? Cotidie refelluntur. Quam multa ego Pompeio, quam multa Crasso, quam multa huic ipsi Caesari a Chaldaeis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi senectute, nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum! Ut mihi permirum videatur quemquam exstare qui etiam nunc credat iis quorum praedicta cotidie videat re et eventis refelli.

sortitam, quonam genio proprium exigit aevum. / cunctis nam populis seu moenibus inditur, inquit, / aut fatum aut genius, mostrarum more animarum, / quae sub disparili subeunt nova corpore sorte (after which some MSS. quote from Symmachus: *varios custodes urbibus mens divina distribuit. ut animae nascentibus ita populis fatales genii dividuntur*); 2, 449-453: *restat ut et fatum similis dementia cunctis / aedibus imponat, paries ut quisque sub astro / fundatus structusque suo, qua sorte maneret, / quando autem rueret, primis acceperit horis. / ascribunt saxis Lachesis male fortia fila, / lectorumque trabes fuis pendere rotatis / credunt, atque ipsis tribuunt decreta ligillis; / ceu distet, cuius stellae sit fraxinus ortu / eruta, quae summum conscenderet ardua culmen*; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 585, n. 1, who remarks that the same criticisms would apply to the augural and other religious rites in connection with the founding of cities.

1. *pertinebat*: for the use of the imperfect cf. Plasberg on *N. D.* 1, 100. Thoresen renders by *pertinere dicebat*, and compares Hor. *Carm.* 1, 27, 19.

1. *fac . . . referre*: cf. 2, 106: *fac dare deos, etc.*

1. *adfectione caeli*: cf. *Fat.* 8: *sic astrorum adfectio valeat.*

1. *primum*: probably an adjective rather than an adverb; cf. *extremus spiritus* in *Fin.* 2, 99; *Tusc.* 1, 89; 1, 96, *de Sen.* 27.

2. *latere . . . caemento*: Rome was not yet of marble, as Augustus boasted to have remade it (*Suet. Aug.* 28). On the materials used for construction cf. the passages collected by Nissen, *Pompeian-*

ische Studien (1877), 25; Middleton, *Remains of anc. Rome*, 1 (1892), 10-14; Porter, *What Rome was built with* (1907); Platner, *Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome*, 2 ed. (1911), 25. The word *latus* unmodified by *coctus* or a similar adjective regularly refers to sunbaked brick, and *caementum* is, of course, here used of cut stone rather than 'cement' (a meaning which it did not acquire until much later).

3. *cotidie refelluntur*: the argument of empiricism is best met, as here, by a refusal to admit as facts the claims of the defenders of divination; cf. 1, 12, n. (*eventa*). Diels (in *Abh. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1915, no. 7 (1916), 95, n. 4) compares Philodem. *περὶ θεῶν* col. 25: καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχόντων ἀπόβασιν.

3. *quam multa, etc.*: cf. 2, 53.

4. *Pompeio . . . Crasso . . . Caesari*: grouped as in 2, 22-24; cf. 2, 22, n. (*Crasso, etc.*); 2, 53, n. (*Pompeio*). The passage is cited by Pico della Mirandola, *Disput. adv. Astrol.* 2 (1557 ed., p. 83 verso).

4. *huic ipsi Caesari*: cf. 2, 52. The expression points clearly to his recent death.

5. *nisi*: for the repetition cf. 1, 84, n. (*si . . . si . . . si . . . qui . . . qui*).

5. *cum claritate*: for this phrase see Durand in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 181, n. 1. Caesar's death was not in a distant and foreign land, like those of Pompey and Crassus, and Durand thinks that his name may have been here interpolated by Cicero himself after the *Ides of March* without modifying the phrase *cum claritate*.

XLVIII. 100. Restant duo divinandi genera quae habere dicimur a natura, non ab arte, vaticinandi et somniandi; de quibus, Quinte, inquam, si placet, disseramus. Mihi vero, inquit, placet; his enim quae adhuc disputasti prorsus adsentior, et, vere ut loquar, quamquam tua me oratio confirmavit, tamen etiam mea sponte nimis superstitiosam de divinatione Stoicorum sententiam iudicabam; haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in mentibus hominum tamquam oraculum aliquod ex quo futura praesentiant, si aut furore divino incitatus animus aut somno relaxatus solute moveatur ac libere. His de generibus quid sentias et quibus ea rationibus infirmes audire sane velim.

XLIX. 101. Quae cum ille dixisset, tum ego rursus quasi ab alio principio sum exorsus dicere. Non ignoro, inquam, Quinte, te semper ita sensisse, ut de ceteris divinandi generibus dubitares, ista duo, furoris et somni, quae a libera mente fluere viderentur, probares. Dicam igitur de

15. somni C, vulg., Muller.

1. **restant . . . genera:** for the expression cf. *Ac.* 2, 7; *Rep.* 3, 46.

1f. **a natura:** cf. 1, 11, n. (*duo sunt enim*).

2. **vaticinandi et somniandi:** cf. 1, 12.

3. **mibi vero, inquit:** cf. *N. D.* 3, 65.

4. **prorsus adsentior:** cf. *Fin.* 1, 28; *N. D.* 3, 21; *Leg.* 2, 12; 2, 17; 2, 45; *de Am.* 57; Rolfe in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 51 (1920), 32, and n. 5.

4. **vere ut loquar:** cf. 2, 148: *ut vere loquamur*.

6. **me Peripateticorum, etc.:** on the Peripatetic affinities of Quintus cf. introd. p. 17 and n. 72; for the views of the Peripatetics on divination see 1, 5, n. (*Peripateticis*).

7. **Dicaearchi:** cf. 1, 5, n. (*Dicaearchus*); also introd. p. 25, n. 117; Jaeger, *De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 29-30.

7. **Cratippi:** cf. 1, 5, nn. (*Cratippus; tribuit . . . reiecit*).

8. **tamquam oraculum:** cf. the view of Aristotle in 1, 81 above.

9. **furore:** cf. 1, 1, n. (*furore*).

10. **solute . . . libere:** cf. 1, 4, n. (*solutio et libero*); 1, 129 n. (*per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur*).

12f. **quasi ab alio principio:** 2, 1-25 had constituted a *tamquam levis armaturae prima orationis excursio* (2, 26), which was followed by a repetition of the definition of kinds of divination and general remarks (2, 26-27), after which Cicero began the discussion of artificial divination (2, 28: *ut ordiar ab haruspicina, etc.*). This is the sort of divination most easily open to attack, because of the element of human coniectura involved in it, as Quintus virtually admitted in 1, 124, and now that Marcus has demolished its claims in a manner to satisfy even its defender (cf. 2, 100: *prorsus adsentior*), he begins a second attack, this time upon natural divination (2, 101-147), and starts *quasi ab alio principio*. With this structure of the book, involving a general beginning and two subordinate beginnings of its main divisions, we may perhaps compare the Virgilian scheme in the *Aeneid* (1, 1-7 general statement; 1, 8-11 invocation for the first six books; 7, 37-45 invocation for the last six books).

istis ipsis duobus generibus mihi quid videatur, si prius et Stoicorum conclusio rationis et Cratippi nostri quid valeat videro. Dixisti enim et Chrysippum et Diogenem et Antipatrum concludere hoc modo: 'si sunt di neque ante declarant hominibus quae futura sint, aut non diligunt homines, aut quid eventurum sit ignorant, aut existumant nihil interesse hominum scire quid sit futurum, aut non censent esse suae maiestatis praesignificare hominibus quae sunt futura, aut ea ne ipsi quidem di significare possunt. 102. At neque non diligunt nos (sunt enim benefici generique hominum amici), neque ignorant ea quae ab ipsis constituta et designata sunt, neque nostra nihil interest scire ea quae futura sunt (erimus enim cautiores, si sciemus), neque hoc alienum ducunt maiestate sua (nihil est enim beneficentia praestantius), neque non possunt futura praenosceri. Non igitur di sunt nec significant nobis futura; sunt autem di; significant ergo; et non, si significant futura, nullas dant vias nobis ad significationum scientiam (frustra enim significarent), nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio.' O acutos homines! Quam paucis verbis confectum negotium putant! Ea sumunt ad concludendum quorum iis nihil conceditur. Conclusio autem rationis ea probanda est in qua ex rebus non dubiis id quod dubitatur efficitur.

L. Videsne Epicurum, quem hebetem et rudem dicere solent Stoici,

6. hominum *Davies et codd. lib. 1, 82, Christ, Baier, Maller, Thorsen, Heringa, hominem C.*

[520] 13f. *te semper ita sensisse*: there has been little in the exposition of Quintus in the first book to correspond to the statement which follows, but we must suppose him to be thought of as defending, like a lawyer, the side of the argument which had fallen to him.

[520] 15f. *dicam . . . si prius . . . videro*: for this form of expression cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 64.

1f. *conclusio rationis*: cf. 2, 103; *Fin.* 1, 30; 3, 59.

2. *dixisti*: the following passage (through 2, 102) is quoted almost verbatim from 1, 82-83.

3. *Chrysippum*: cf. 1, 6, nn. (*Chrysippus; duobus libris*).

3. *Diogenem*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*unum librum*).

3. *Antipatrum*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*duo Antipater*).

10. *futura sunt*: 1, 82 has *eventura sunt*.

13. *igitur di sunt*: 1, 83 has *igitur sunt di*.

13. *significant nobis futura*: 1, 83: *significant futura*.

14. *si significant futura*: 1, 83: *si significant*.

14. *dant vias nobis*: 1, 83: *vias dant nobis*.

14. *significationum*: 1, 83: *significationis* (which also appears in the repetition in 2, 106 below).

16. *acutos*: contrasted with *Epicurum . . . hebetem* below; cf. *Fat.* 9; *Tusc.* 4, 32.

16f. *confectum negotium*: cf. *Fat.* 26; *Off.* 3, 59.

20f. *videsne Epicurum . . . quem ad modum . . . concluderit*: for the prolepsis cf. 2, 80: *volucris . . . efficiat ut significant*; *N. D.* 1, 88 (and the parallels cited in Plasberg's note); *pro Planc.* 52.

20. *hebetem et rudem*: coupled in *de Or.* 1, 248. For slurs upon the lack of

quem ad modum, quod in natura rerum omne esse dicimus, id infinitum esse concluderit? 'Quod finitum est,' inquit, 'habet extremum.' Quis hoc non dederit? 'Quod autem habet extremum, id cernitur ex alio extrinsecus.' Hoc quoque est concedendum. 'At quod omne est, id non cernitur ex alio extrinsecus.' Ne hoc quidem negari potest. 'Nihil igitur cum habeat extremum infinitum sit necesse est.' 104. Videsne ut ad rem dubiam concessis rebus pervenerit? Hoc vos dialectici non facitis, nec solum ea non sumitis ad concludendum quae ab omnibus concedantur, sed ea sumitis quibus concessis nihilo magis efficiatur quod velitis. Primum enim hoc sumitis: 'si sunt di, benefici in homines sunt.' Quis hoc vobis dabit? Epicurusne, qui negat quicquam deos nec alieni curare nec sui? An noster

1. infinitum vulg., Müller, finitum C.

7. concessis rebus C. Christ, a concessis rebus Müller, Thorsen, Heeringe, concessis rebus non dubiis Heisinger, Baiter, concessis rebus veris Heisinger.

education traditionally ascribed to Epicurus cf. 2, 116; *N. D.* 1, 72 (and the passages cited in Mayor's note); 1, 85; Sext. Emp. 1, 1: ἐν πολλοῖσι γὰρ ἀμαθῆσι Ἐπίκουρος ἐλέγχεται οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖσι κοιναῖσι ὁμιλίαισι καθαρῶν; Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 88-90. But cf. *Ac.* 2, 97: *inde quam sit cautus is (sc. Epicurus) quem isti (the Stoics) tardum putant.*

1. omne: τὸ πᾶν; cf. Plut. *adv. Colot.* 13, p. 1114: καὶ γὰρ Ἐπίκουρος δὲνα λέγει τὸ πᾶν ἀπειρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀγίνητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον, κτλ. (cf. 8, p. 1111).

1. omne esse: esse is not necessary to the sense and is deleted by Madvig, followed by Christ and Baiter; but cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 126.

2. quod finitum, etc.: cf. Diog. L. 10, 41 (Usener, *Epicurea*, 7): ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπειρὸν ἐστὶ. τὸ γὰρ πεπερασμένον ἄρουν ἔχει: τὸ δὲ ἄρουν παρ' ἑαυτὸν τι θεωρεῖται. ὥστε οὐκ ἔχον ἄρουν πέρασ οὐκ ἔχει: πέρασ δὲ οὐκ ἔχον ἀπειρὸν ἐν εἰῆ καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένον; Simplic. in Arist. *Phys.* 3, 4, p. 203 b 20 (Usener, *op. cit.* 211-212): τῆσδε τὰ καὶ δυσαντιβλεπτον τὸ φαίνεσθαι πᾶν τὸ πεπερασμένον ἀεὶ πρὸς τι περαῖνον. εἰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ πεπερασμένον πρὸς ἄλλο τι ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐν περαίνει, τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐκεῖνο πρὸς θ περαίνει ἢ ἀπειρὸν ἐστὶν ἢ πεπερασμένον· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπειρὸν, ἔχομεν ἀτόπην διὸ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπειρὸν· εἰ δὲ πεπερασμένον ὅσον ἢ γῆ, καὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς ἄλλο περαίνει, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀπειρὸν·

εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀπειρὸν, ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπειρὸν: οὐδὲν γὰρ τελευταῖον ληφθήσεται πέρασ, εἴπερ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς ἄλλο τι περαίνει. τοῦτω δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ὡς μάλιστα . . . οἱ περὶ Ἐπίκουρον πιστεύοντες ἀπειρὸν ἔλεγον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, διότι πᾶν τὸ πεπερασμένον παρὰ τι περαυνόμενον ἔξωθεν τι ἔχει; Alex. Aphrod. *Quaest.* 3, 12, p. 200 Sp. (Usener, *op. cit.* 212); Lucret. 1, 958-987—important, but too long to be here quoted.

2f. quis hoc non dederit: cf. 2, 104: *quis hoc vobis dabit*; *Fin.* 4, 48; 4, 49; Reid on *Ac.* 2, 68.

7. concessis rebus: easily understood either as ablative absolute or as ablative of the way by which; hence it is unnecessary to emend.

7. vos dialectici: in spite of 2, 100 Quintus is here still classed with the Stoics.

8. non sumitis: offset to *sumitis* below, as *non dicere* and *dicere* in 2, 94.

8f. ea sumitis, etc.: cf. *Fin.* 4, 52: *vides igitur te aut ea sumere quae non concedantur aut ea quae etiam concessa te nihil iuvent.*

10. si sunt di benefici . . . sunt: in the Stoic argument quoted in 2, 102 the thought is not put in this bald and clearly illogical form, but in the more enticing fashion of a parenthetical reason: *sumi enim benefici, etc.*; cf. the change of form

Ennius? Qui magno plausu loquitur adsentiente populo:

Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum,

Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus.

Et quidem cur sic opinetur rationem subicit; sed nihil est necesse dicere quae sequuntur; tantum sat est intelligi, id sumere istos pro certo quod dubium controversumque sit. **LI. 105.** Sequitur porro, nihil deos ignorare, quod omnia sint ab iis constituta. Hic vero quanta pugna est doctissimorum hominum negantium esse haec a dis immortalibus constituta! At nostra interest scire ea quae eventura sunt. Magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea melius esse quam scire. Negant id esse alienum maiestate deorum.

in 2, 105 below: *quod omnia sint ab iis constituta.*

[522] 11. *qui negat* etc.: the first of the *κέραι δόξαι* of Epicurus (Diog. L. 10, 139 = Usener, *Epicurea*, 71) reads: τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀθάρατον οὐκ εἶναι πράγματα ἔχει οὐκ ἄλλω παρίχει (cf. *N. D.* 1, 45 (and the notes of Mayor and Plasberg): *quod beatum aeternumque sit id nec habere ipsum negoti quicquam nec exhibere alteri*; 1, 51; 1, 56: *nec melius eos quos intellegimus nec sibi fingere ullam molestiam nec alteri quaerere*; *Leg.* 1, 21: *libri . . . in quo scripsit nihil curare deum nec sui nec alieni* (introd. p. 30, n. 171 supra); also the other passages collected by Usener, *op. cit.* 241-244; and introd. p. 30, n. 173 above; 2, 40, n. (*inter duos mundos*)).

[522] 11. *nec . . . nec*: instead of *aut . . . aut*; cf. *Tusc.* 3, 4; *Leg.* 1, 21 (quoted in the preceding note); *ad Att.* 5, 1, 5; 14, 20, 3.

2f. *ego deum*, etc.: for these lines from the *Telamo* (316-317 Vahlen) and their context see 1, 132, and n. (*sed superstitioni, etc.*).

4. *rationem*, etc.: cf. *N. D.* 3, 79: *Telamo autem uno versu locum locum conficit cur di homines negant: nam si curent bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest (Telam. 318 Vahlen)*; and the passages cited by Reid on *Ar.* 1, 120; Anon. trag. ap. Simplic. in Epict. p. 357 (= *Trag. Gr. Frag.* 930, no. 465 Nauck): τολῶ καταπειν, μήπορ' οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί / κακοὶ γὰρ ἀτυχοῦντες ἐκπλήσσονται με.

5. *sumere . . . pro certo*: cf. 2, 21, n. (*pro certo*); 2, 196: *pro certis*.

6. *nihil deos ignorare*: cf. 1, 82, n. (*ignorant*).

6f. *quod omnia sint*: cf. 2, 104, n. (*si sunt di benefici . . . sunt*).

7. *pugna*: for the metaphor cf. Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* 25.

8. *negantium . . . constituta*: among opponents of the theory of divine creation the Epicureans were doubtless the most conspicuous, though how well—from Cicero's standpoint—the word *doctissimorum* would apply to them may be questioned. A full discussion of the Epicurean objections is found in Lucr. 2, 167-183.

8. *at*: cf. 1, 24, n. (*at*).

9. *Dicaearchi*: cf. 1, 5, n. (*Dicaearchus*).

9. *liber*, etc.: for its possible relation to Plutarch's treatise *εἰ ἡ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσις ἀφίλιμος* (the fragments of which are found in the edition of Bernardakis, 7, 111-112) cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 2 (1895), 209, n.; also Martini in *P.-W.* s.v. *Dikaiarchos* (1903), 558. Other treatments of the same topic are those of Favorinus (ap. Gell. 14, 1) and Diogenianus (ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3); cf. 2, 22, n. (*ne utilem quidem*); also 1, 119, n. (*ut videret . . . non ut caveret*); 2, 54, n. (*quae cavere nequeamus*).

10. *alienum maiestate*: cf. 1, 82, n. (*alienum . . . maiestate*).

[524] 1. *scilicet*: cf. 2, 44, n. (*scilicet*).

[524] 1. *casas . . . introspicere*: cf. 2, 109; 2, 129; *N. D.* 1, 54: *quis enim non timeat omnia providentem et cogitantem et*

Scilicet casas omnium introspicere, ut videant quid cuique conducatur. 'Neque non possunt futura praenoscerere.' 106. Negant posse ii quibus non placet esse certum quid futurum sit. Videsne igitur quae dubia sint ea sumi pro certis atque concessis? Deinde contorquent et ita concludunt: 'non igitur et sunt di nec significant futura'; id enim iam perfectum arbitrantur. Deinde adsumunt: 'sunt autem di,' quod ipsum non ab omnibus conceditur. 'Significant ergo.' Ne id quidem sequitur; possunt enim non significare et tamen esse di. 'Nec, si significant, non dant vias aliquas ad scientiam significationis.' At id quoque potest, ut non dent homini, ipsi habeant; cur enim Tuscis potius quam Romanis darent? 'Nec, si dant vias, nulla est divinatio.' Fac dare deos (quod absurdum est); quid refert si accipere non possumus? Extremum est: 'est igitur divinatio.' Sit extremum, effectum tamen non est; ex falsis enim, ut ab ipsis didicimus, verum effici non potest. Iacet igitur tota conclusio.

8. dant *codd. interpol. Moseri, Christ, Baizer, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringa, dare C.*

12. est est *codd. aliqui Davissii at Moseri, Christ, Baizer, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringa, est C.*

animadvertentem et omnia ad se pertinere putantem, curiosum et plenum negoti deum? Min. Fel. Oct. 10, 4-5: *Christiani quanta monstra . . . confingunt deum illum suum . . . in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique et occultas cogitationes diligenter inquirere, discurrantem scilicet atque ubique praesentem; molestum illum volunt, inquietum, impudenter etiam curiosum, etc.* Another phase of the matter is treated in 1, 12, and n. (*Iuppiterne*).

1. *casas*: probably not here equivalent to *domus*, as in the vulgar Latin (cf. Grandgent, *Introd. to vulg. Lat.* (1908), 9), but, as in *Tusc.* 5, 97, of huts, the smallness of which is contrasted with the greatness of the gods; cf. 2, 34, n. (*Iucello . . . quaesticulus*); 2, 129, n. (*grabatos*).

4. *contorquent*: with this metaphorical use cf. *Ac.* 2, 75 (and Reid's note); *Tusc.* 3, 22; 3, 63 (and Kühner's note); *Fat.* 17.

5. *et sunt*: in 2, 102 *et* does not appear; the *nobis* which there precedes *futura* is here omitted.

6f. *non ab omnibus conceditur*: cf. 1, 10; for the stock examples of agnosticism (e.g., Protagoras) and atheism (Diagoras of Melos and Theodore of Cyrene) see *N. D.* 1, 2 (imitated by Min. Fel. Oct. 8, 2-3).

8. *nec, etc.*: varied a little from 2, 102, *nec* replacing *et non*; *futura* being omitted; *non . . . aliquas* corresponding to *nullas*, and *scientiam significationis* (cf. 1, 83) to *significationem scientiam*.

9. *potest, ut*: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares *pro Cluent.* 103.

10. *Tuscis . . . Romanis*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 11: *an vos Tusci ac barbari auspicionum populi Romani ius tenentis et interpretes esse comitorum potestis?*

11. *nulla*: corresponding to *non* in 2, 102.

11. *fac dare*: cf. 2, 99, n. (*fac . . . referre*).

11. *quod absurdum est*: Ernesti, Kayser, and others have been troubled by these words, and some have considered them a gloss. But as Cicero in 2, 94 felt obliged to make perfectly clear by the parenthetical phrase *quod non certe pertinet* that his concession was only for the sake of argument, not from conviction, so he does here by this similarly parenthetical phrase.

13. *falsis, etc.*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 44: *non concludi argumentum non potest nisi eis quae ad concludendum sumpta erunt ut probatis ut falsa eiusdem modi nulla possint esse.* Yet for exceptions cf. *Arist. An. prior.* 2, 2, p. 53 b 4-10.

LII. 107. Veniamus nunc ad optimum virum, familiarem nostrum, Cratippum. 'Si sine oculis,' inquit, 'non potest exstare officium et munus oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi non fungi suo munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis ut vera cerneret, is habet sensum oculorum vera cernentium. Item igitur si sine divinatione non potest officium et munus divinationis exstare, potest autem, cum quis divinationem habeat, errare aliquando nec vera cernere, satis est ad confirmandam divinationem semel aliquid ita esse divinatum nihil ut fortuito cecidisse videatur. Sunt autem eius generis innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem confitendum est.' Festive et breviter; sed cum bis sumpsit quod voluit etiamsi faciles nos ad concedendum habuerit, id tamen quod adsumit concedi nullo modo potest. 108. 'Si,' inquit, 'aliquando oculi peccent, tamen, quia recte aliquando viderunt, inest in iis vis videndi; item si quis semel aliquid in divinatione dixerit, is etiam cum peccet tamen existumandus sit habere vim divinandi.' LIII. Vide, quaeso, Cratippe noster, quam sint ista similia; nam mihi non videntur. Oculi enim vera cernentes utuntur natura atque sensu, animi si quando vel vaticinando vel somniando vera viderunt usi sunt fortuna atque casu; nisi forte concessuros tibi existumas eos qui somnia pro somniis habent, si quando aliquod somnium verum evaserit, non id fortuito accidisse. Sed demus tibi istas duas sumptiones (ea quae

13. viderunt *Modvig, Christ, Boiter, Müller Thoresen, Heeringa*, viderint *C.*

14. dixerit *C, Christ, Boiter, Thoresen*, dispexerit *Müller, Heeringa*, viderit *cod. Reg., O*, vera dixerit *Lambinus*.

[524] 13. *ab ipsis*: particular stress being laid by the Stoics upon logic.

[524] 14. *iacet*: cf. 2, 24, n. (*iaceat*).

1 f. *familiarem nostrum, Cratippum*: cf. 1, 5.

2 ff. *si sine*, etc.: quoted nearly verbatim from 1, 71.

6. *autem, cum quis*: 1, 71 has *autem quis, cum*.

8. *ita esse*: 1, 71: *esse ita*.

8. *nihil ut*: 1, 71: *ut nihil*.

10. *festive*: cf. 2, 35, n. (*at quam festive*).

10 f. *faciles . . . ad*: cf. *de Or.* 2, 190; *Brut.* 180; *Liv.* 8, 11, 10: *ad credendum . . . faciliores*; *Tac. Hist.* 1, 19; etc.

12. *si . . . aliquando*, etc.: a further compression of the statement of Cratippus in 2, 107.

14. *dixerit*: the manuscript reading may here be retained, *aliquid . . . dicere* being apparently equivalent to speaking

the truth in prophecy (as opposed to *nihil dicere*).

15 f. *vide . . . quam sint ista similia*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 9: *quam simile istud sit, inquit, tu videris. nam ego, etc.*

15. *Cratippe*: for the apostrophe cf. 1, 23, n. (*Carneades*); 2, 109; *Fat.* 13; *Ac.* 2, 123; *Fin.* 2, 22; *Tusc.* 3, 37. *Rudberg (Forschungen zu Posidonios (1918), 43)* considers such apostrophe of an absent philosophical opponent as an especial characteristic of the style of Posidonius; but the evidence is not sufficiently abundant to form a clear judgment on this question.

16. *natura*: cf. 2, 9: *natura ipsa sentiamus*.

18. *nisi forte*: cf. 2, 95, n. (*nisi forte*).

19. *si . . . aliquod somnium verum evaserit*: cf. 2, 146.

20. *fortuito accidisse*: cf. 1, 71, n. (*fortuito cecidisse*).

20. *sumptiones*: *sumptio* may be

λήμματα appellat dialectici, sed nos Latine loqui malumus), adsumptio tamen (quam πρόσληψιν iidem vocant) non dabitur. 109. Adsumit autem Cratippus hoc modo: 'sunt autem innumerabiles praesensiones non fortuitae.' At ego dico nullam (vide quanta sit controversia); iam adsumptione non concessa nulla conclusio est. At impudentes sumus, qui, cum tam perspicuum sit, non concedamus. Quid est perspicuum? 'Multa vera,' inquit, 'evadere.' Quid, quod multo plura falsa? Nonne ipsa varietas, quae est propria fortunae, fortunam esse causam non naturam

1. λήμματα vulg., Müller, lemmata C.

1. adsumptio Pearce, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, praesensio C.

2. πρόσληψιν Ernesti, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, proleptism A, proleptism BV.

2. iidem O, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, *idem B, idem Christ, Baier.

used (1) for either premiss of a syllogism (as *sumptiones* (= λήμματα) here for the major and the minor premisses) or (2) for the major premiss (cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 44).

1. λήμματα: for the Greek term cf. I, 1, n. (μαρτυρήν); it occurs in Arist. *de soph. Elench.* 33, p. 183 a 15, et al.; Clem. *Strom.* 8, 6, p. 916 P. It may also be used in the narrower sense of major premiss (Diog. L. 7, 76: λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν . . . τὸ συνεισηγμένος ἐκ λήμματος καὶ προσλήψεως καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς, ὅλον δὲ τοιοῦτος, εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστί· ἡμέρα δὲ ἐστί· φῶς δὲ ἐστί. λήμμα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ εἰ ἡμέρα ἐστί, φῶς ἐστί· πρόσληψις τὸ ἡμέρα δὲ ἐστί· ἐπιφορὰ δὲ τὸ φῶς δὲ ἐστί. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrih. Hyp.* 2, 144 ff. uses the terms πρώτων (or πρότερον) λήμμα and ἔτερον (or δεύτερον) λήμμα for the major and minor premisses respectively, while for the second he also employs the term πρόσληψις (e.g., 2, 149; the word appears once in Arist. *An. prior.* 2, 5, p. 58 b 9; cf. Plut. *de E ap. Delph.* 6, p. 387c; etc.).

1. appellat dialectici: for the similar taking over of the technical terms used by the dialecticians cf. *Tusc.* 4, 21; *Fat.* 20. His principle is doubtless that stated in *Ac.* 1, 25: *enitar ut Latine loquar, nisi in huiusce modi verbis, ut philosophiam aut rhetoricam . . . appellem . . . dialecticorum vero verba nulla sunt publica, suis usuntur, et id quidem commune omnium fere est arrium; aut enim nova sunt rerum novarum facienda nomina aut ex aliis transferenda.*

1. Latine loqui malumus: cf. 1, 1 n. (*nos melius*); 2, 11, n. (*si necesse sit, etc.*).

1. adsumptio: cf. 2, 109; the word is often used in the first book *De Inventione*. Thus in *de Inv.* 1, 67 he asserts that there are five parts in argument: (1) *propositio* (the major premiss); (2) *approbatio* of the *propositio*; (3) *adsumptio* (the minor premiss, *per quam id quod ex propositione ad ostendendum pertinet adsumitur*); (4) *approbatio* of the *adsumptio*; and (5) *complexio*, or conclusion. Some emendation, like that of Pearce, seems necessary here.

3 f. sunt, etc.: cf. 2, 107, which, however, is not here rendered verbatim.

5. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).

5. impudentes sumus: cf. *N. D.* 1, 13: *tum demum mihi procaz Academia videbitur, si aut consenserint omnes aut erit inventus aliquis qui quid verum sui invenerit*; *Ac.* 2, 115: *utrum igitur nos impudentes, qui labi volumus, an illi adrogantes, qui sibi persuaserint scire se solos omnia?* (cf. *Ac.* 2, 126; *N. D.* 1, 69).

7. inquit: cf. Plasberg on *N. D.* 1, 87; 2, 137 infra.

8. varietas . . . propria fortunae: cf. *N. D.* 1, 43: *fortunam, quae amica varietatis constantiam respuit*; *Off.* 1, 90: *varietatem . . . fortunae*; *Fin.* 2, 10; 4, 17.

8. fortunae, fortunam: on the juxtaposition cf. Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. Entwicklung d. ciceron. Stils* (1910). 56.

8. fortunam esse causam: cf. 1, 23,

esse docet? Deinde si tua ista conclusio, Cratippe, vera est (tecum enim mihi res est), non intellegis eadem uti posse et haruspices et fulguratores et interpretes ostentorum et augures et sortilegos et Chaldaeos? Quorum generum nullum est ex quo non aliquid sicut praedictum sit evaserit. Ergo aut ea quoque genera divinandi sunt, quae tu rectissime inprobas, aut, si ea non sunt, non intellego cur haec duo sint quae relinquis. Quae ergo ratione haec inducis, eadem illa possunt esse quae tollis.

LIV. 110. Quid vero habet auctoritatis furor iste quem divinum

n. (casu); Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 10 (*Patr. Gr.* 83, 1068A): τὸ ἀληθεύειν ποτὲ τοῖς καλοῦ-
μένων μάταις ἐν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσιν οὐκ ἐπιστήμης ἀλλὰ τυχεῖς αἰτίας ἔργον ἂν εἴη. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μηδέποτε τοῦ προκειμένου τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ πάντοτε μηδ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μηδ' ὡς ἐξ ἐπιστήμης, ὅταν τις καὶ ποτε τυγχάνῃ, τύχης ἔργον καλεῖν προεὐλήφωμεν; Diogenianus ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 3, p. 137b-c: τὸ γὰρ ἀποβαίνειν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν ὡς προλέγουσιν οἱ μάταις οὐ τοῦ ματαίως ἐπιστήμην εἶναι σημεῖον ἂν εἴη, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τυχεῖως συμπίπτειν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσι συμφύσους τὰς ἐκβάσεις· ὅπερ οὐδεμίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιστήμην ὑποδείκνυσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξότην ἂν εἴσοιμεν ἐπιστήμονα τὸν ἀταξί ποτὲ τυχόντα τοῦ σκοποῦ, πολλὰκις δὲ ἀποτυγχάνοντα, οὐδὲ λατρὸν τὸν ἀναιροῦντα τοῖς πλεοῦς τῶν θεραπευομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἔρα δὲ ποτε διασώσασαι δυνηθέντα. . . ὅτι δὲ ἀποτυγχάνεται τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἐαλομένοις μάταισιν ὁ πᾶς τῶν ἀθρώπων βίος μάταις ἂν εἴη, κτλ.

[526] 8f. *naturam esse*: for the repetition of the verb cf. Plasberg on *Ac.* 2, 36.

1. *Cratippe*: cf. 2, 108, n. (*Cratippe*).

1. *tecum*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 61: *nam cum illo malo disserere*; 1, 87: *iam enim cum ipso Epicuro loquar*.

2. *eadem, etc.*: Cratippus would limit legitimate divination to the forms of the 'natural' type (cf. 2, 100), but Cicero asserts that, after all, natural and artificial, official and illegitimate divination stand or fall together; cf. 1, 132, n. (*non me, etc.*).

2f. *haruspices . . . fulguratores . . . interpretes ostentorum*: the three-fold division of the Etruscan discipline so often met with already; cf. 1, 12, n. (*exti-*

spicum aut monstra, etc.). Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 40-41) raises the objection that *haruspex* is a general term including *extispices* and the two other groups here mentioned, and he would therefore either substitute for *haruspices* at this point the word *extispices*, or, preferably (as in his edition), bracket *et fulguratores et interpretes ostentorum* as a gloss added by someone who did not understand the inclusive character of the word *haruspices*. But it appears that *haruspex* may be used in the narrower as well as in the wider sense (cf. Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1906), 3), so that we are fully justified in retaining here the reading of the MSS.

2. *fulguratores*: a rare word, especially in this sense; cf. Non. p. 63 M.: *fulguratores. ut extispices et aruspices ita hic fulgurum inspectores. Calo in Moribus Claudii Neronis: haruspicem, fulguratorem siquis adducat; C. I. L. XI, 6363 = Dessau 4958 (from Pesaro): haruspex fulgurator; Serv. Aen. 3, 359: aut furor est, ut in vaticinantibus; aut ars ut in aruspiciibus, [fulguritis sive] fulgoratoribus, auguribus; Thulin, *op. cit.* 1, (1906), 4.*

3. *sortilegos*: cf. 1, 132, n. (*sortilegos*).

3. *Chaldaeos*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*Chaldari non ex artis*).

5. *inprobas*: cf. 1, 5; 2, 100.

6f. *relinquis . . . tollis*: cf. 1, 5: *sustulit . . . reliquit* (and note on *reliquit*).

8. *furor*: cf. 1, 1, n. (*furore*). In 2, 100 it is described as *divinus*, but in the word *vocatis* Cicero is perhaps thinking

vocatis, ut quae sapiens non videat ea videat insanus, et is qui humanos sensus amiserit divinos adsecutus sit? Sibyllae versus observamus, quos illa furens fudisse dicitur. Quorum interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur eum quem re vera regem habebamus appellandum quoque esse regem, si salvi esse vellemus. Hoc si est in libris, in quem hominem et in quod tempus est? Callide enim qui

2. Sibyllae *vulg.*, Müller, sybillae AB, sibillae V.

3. quadam *codd. dett. Moseri, Christ, Boiser, Müller, Thoreson, Heringa*, quaedam C.

rather of the view of the advocates of divination in general than of particular remarks of Quintus; yet cf. such passages as 1, 34; 1, 38; 1, 66; 1, 80; 1, 81; 1, 89; 1, 122; and especially 2, 100.

1. *sapiens . . . insanus*: cf. 1, 85, n. (*furens . . . sapiens*).

2. *Sibyllae*: cf. 1, 4, n. (*Sibyllinis . . . versibus*); 1, 34, n. (*Sibylla Erythraea*); and, for her divine inspiration, Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 927, n. 9.

3. *fudisse*: cf. 1, 18, n. (*fundebant*); Reid on *Ac.* 2, 74.

3. *nuper*: for the allusion to the date cf. introd. p. 14. The event to which reference is here made is described by other authors: Suet. *Iul.* 79: *varia fama percrebruit . . . proximo . . . senatu Lucium Cottam* (the *interpres* of our passage) *quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum ut, quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci, Caesar rex appellaretur*; Dio Cass. 44, 15, 3: *λόγου γάρ τινας, ἐπ' οὖν ἀληθοῦς εἶτε καὶ ψευδοῦς, οἷά που φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι, διελλόντος ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένων διαβροῦντων ὅτι ἡ Σιβύλλα εἰρηκεῖα εἰη μήποτ' ἐν τοῖς Πάρθοις ἄλλως πως πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἄλῳσαι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπέκλεισιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσασθαι. τοῦτό τε πιστεύσαντες ἀληθῆς εἶναι . . . ἐπίσπευσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν*; App. *B. C.* 2, 110: *καὶ λόγος ἄλλος ἔφοιτα Σιβύλλειον εἶναι προαγόρευμα μὴ πρὶν ὑπακούεσθαι Ῥωμαίους Παρθυαλοῦς, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσει. καὶ τινες ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐτόλμων λέγειν ὅτι χρὴ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ ἦν, δικτάτορα . . . καλεῖν . . . τῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν, ὅσα*

Ῥωμαίους ὑπέκοα, ἀντικρυς ἀνεκτεῖν βασιλεία; Plut. *Caes.* 60: *λόγου τινα κατέσπευον . . . ὡς ἐκ γραμμάτων Σιβυλλείων ἀλώσιμα τὰ Πάρθων φαίνοντο Ῥωμαίους σὺν βασιλεῖ στρατευομένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως ἀπίστευτα ὄντα. καὶ . . . ἐτόλμων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι βασιλεία . . . κείνους οὐκ ἐφη βασιλεῖν ἀλλὰ Καίσαρα καλεῖσθαι.*

Of this L. Aurelius Cotta Cicero remarks (*ad Fam.* 12, 2, 3; written in September, 44): *L. Cotta familiaris meus fatali quadam desperatione, ut ait, minus in senatum venit.* On the falsification of the Sibylline oracles for political purposes cf. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 537, n. 4. In Procop. *Hist. Bell.* 5, 24, 28-29 occurs the statement *ἐν . . . Ῥώμῃ τῶν τινες πατριῶν τὰ Σιβύλλης λόγια προέφερον, ἰσχυρίζομενοι τὸν κείνον τῇ πόλει ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα γεγενῆσθαι μόνον. χρῆναι γὰρ τότε βασιλεία Ῥωμαίους καταστῆναι τινα, ἐξ οὗ δὴ Γετικὸν οὐδὲν Ῥώμῃ τὸ λοιπὸν δεήσει.* Is the likeness of this Sibylline prediction to ours purely fortuitous, or was the statement imputed to Cotta remembered and included in the third collection of Sibylline oracles made after the second had been burned by Stilicho in 405 A.D.? Or may there really have existed an oracle mentioning a king as the one who should lead the Romans to triumph over a barbarous foe, and then may this oracle have been applied by Cotta to Caesar as a leader against the Parthians (doubtless with other political purposes as well), as later, in the account of Procopius, it was applied to some other champion against the Goths? The last two sentences in this section certainly indicate that the form of the prediction—if such really

illa composuit perfecit ut, quodcumque accidisset, praedictum videretur hominum et temporum definitione sublata. 111. Adhibuit etiam latetram obscuritatis, ut iidem versus alias in aliam rem posse accommodari viderentur. Non esse autem illud carmen furentis cum ipsum poëma declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis et motus), tum vero ea quae ἀκροστιχίς dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis versus litteris

J. iidem O. Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, idem C. Christ, Boiser.

6. ex primis versus litteris V (quam locutionem def. Vahlen in *loc. cit.* ad Enni (1903), 239), ex primi versus litteris AB, ex primis versus litteris codd. *interp.* Moseri, Ernesti (v. Graf in *P.-W.* s. v. *Akrostichis*, 1200), Davies, Boiser, Thoresen, ex primis cuiusque versus litteris Christ ('nisi malis ex primi versus scil. prima littera primis cuiusque versus litteris'—enuntiatum nec Müllero nec mihi perspicuum), ex primis primi cuiusque versus litteris Müller in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 612, atque in edit. Teubneriana, Heeringa.

existed—was general, and to be applied according to circumstances.

[528] 4. quem re vera regem habebamus: cf. 2, 6, and n. (*in unius potestate*).

[528] 6. in quem hominem, etc.: Procop. *Hist. Bell.* 5, 24, 33-34 remarks: δοκεῖ γάρ μοι οὐ ταύτην δὴ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἕφεσον τὸ μαρτεῖον δηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἕτεραν τινὰ ἢ ἢν ἐμβάσαν ἢ ὑστερόν ποτε ἐσομένην. τῶν γὰρ Σιβύλλης λογίων τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξευρεῖν ἀνθρώπων οἶμαι ἀδύνατον εἶναι. . . ταύτην τε ἀδύνατά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ὄψεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν Σιβύλλης λογίων ἐνεεῖναι, ἢν μὴ ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸς ἐκβάτος ἦν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τοῦ λόγου ἐς κείραν ἐλθόντος ἀκριβῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἐμφανῆς γίνονται.

4. carmen: for this word in the sense of 'oracle' Diels (*Sibyllin. Blätter* (1890), 26, n. 2) compares Liv. 1, 45, 5; 23, 11, 4; cf. also 2, 112 infra.

5. artis et diligentiae: cf. *Ac.* 2, 45.

5. incitationis: cf. 1, 89.

6. ea quae: = *id quod*, but attracted by ἀκροστιχίς into the feminine; Thoresen compares in *Caecil.* 5; *Fin.* 4, 76.

6. ἀκροστιχίς: for the Greek word cf. II, 1, n. (μαρτυρία). Chance acrostichs occur in Homer (*Eustath.* ad *Il.* 24, 1, p. 1335; *Gell.* 14, 6, 4; Graf in *P.-W.* s. v. *Akrostichis* (1894), 1200), and often in other writers; cf. the enormous collection of such made by Hilberg in *Wiener Stud.* 21 (1899), 264-305; 22 (1900), 317-318. Though intentional employment of acrostichs may have appeared at a much earlier date (*Diog. L.* 8, 78 says that

Epicharmus παραστιχίδια τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ὑπομημάτων πεποίησεν, οἷς διασαφεῖ ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὰ συγγράματα, but cf. Diels, *op. cit.* 34, n. 1; *id.*, *Frag. d. Vorsokrat.* 1, 3 ed. (1912), 116; see also the tale of Dionysius Metathemenus in *Diog. L.* 5, 92-93; *Suid.* s. v. παραστιχίς), the first certain examples are from the Alexandrian period (Diels, *op. cit.* 33-34), and the oldest one preserved to us is the Εὐδῶδου τίχη (see Wachsmuth's 2 ed. of *Lyd. de Ostent.* (1897), lxxviii-lxix; etc.). For many subsequent Greek ones cf. Diels, *op. cit.* 34-35; Graf, *op. cit.* 1200-1205. Among the Romans the trick was apparently introduced by Ennius, it is uncertain in what work; Vahlen numbers this 53 of the *incerta*; may it perhaps be from the beginning of his *Epicharmus* (cf. Skutsch in *P.-W.* s. v. *Ennius* (1905), 2600; Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokrat.* 1, 3 ed. (1912)? But Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 122, wisely holds this to be uncertain. Ennius seems to have been imitated in the empire by one Bacchus (or Battus) in a scholium on *Ov. Ibis*, 257 (printed on p. 461 of Merkel's ed. of 1837), the initial letters of the eight lines of which read ENNIANI Q (cf. Schmidt in *Rhein. Mus.* 20 (1865), 456-457). Many other Latin writers also used acrostichs (Diels, *Sibyllin. Blätter*, 35-36; Graf, *op. cit.* 1205-1207), especially acrostichs containing the name of the author, as in the *Pinax* of Aurelius Opilius (*Suet. de Gram.* 6), and most strikingly in the case of the *Ilias Latina* (the large literature on which

aliquid conecitur, ut in quibusdam Ennianis: Q. ENNIVS FECIT. Id

1. Q. Auratus, vulg., Müller, quae C.

acrostich is cited by Schanz, *op. cit.* 2, 2, 3 ed. (1913), 121-122). Still other acrostichs are alphabetic in character (cf. *Ps.* 119; parts of *Lamentations*; Moore, *Literature of the Old Test.* (1913), 226-227; also Krumbacher, *Byz. Literaturgesch.* 2 ed. (1897), 718-720; Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dict. d'Arch. chrét. et de Liturgie*, 1, 1 (1907), 364-369), and finally, often in connection with telestichs and other similar forms, very elaborate types were evolved, of which Commodianus, Porphyrius Optatianus, and their successors (cf. Graf, *op. cit.* 1206; Leclercq, *op. cit.* 369-371) were the most notable composers. For the use of acrostichs in Byzantine literature see also Krumbacher, *op. cit.* 697-700; *id.* in *Sitzb. d. bayr. Akad.* 1903, 551ff.; Maas, *Frühbyz. Kirchenpoesie*, 1 (1910), 12-32. They appear in inscriptions as well (e.g., *C. I. L.* III, 6306; V, 1693; 3216; 6723; 6725; 6731; VI, 7946; 34001; VIII, 251; 4681; 7156; 9170; 16463; 20249; 20250; 25425; IX, 4796; XII, 631; Dessau 9351; cf. Lauth in *Sitzb. d. bayr. Akad.* Philos.-philol. Cl. 1877, 222-225; a Greek acrostich inscription is published by Gastinel in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 15 (1895), 485-491). The work of Castellani *L'acrostico nella letteratura latina pagana e cristiana medioevale* (cf. *Boll. d. Filol. cl.* 29 (1922), 15) has not been accessible to me.

We must now consider the use of acrostichs in oracles. Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 6, in describing the official replacing of the Sibylline oracles after the burning of the Capitol in 83 B.C., says: οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐκ πολλῶν εἰσι συμφορητοὶ τόπων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων κομισσθίντες, οἱ δ' ἐξ Ἑριθρῶν . . . οἱ δ' ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν μεταγραφέντες ἐν οἷς εὐρισκοῦνται τινες ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις, ἐλέγχονται δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀκροστιχίαι· λέγω δ' ἃ Τερτίσιος Οὐάριων ἰσθόρηκεν ἐν τῆθθολογικῇ πραγματείᾳ. This some writers (most recently Mayor in

Virgil's Messianic Eclogue (1907), 101; cf. Smith on Tibull. 2, 5, 17-18) have misunderstood, supposing that the acrostichs occurred in the artfully composed (and hence spurious) oracles. But, as Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 295, n 1), Diels (*op. cit.* 25-28), and Wissowa (*Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 539) well recognize, the purpose of the acrostichs was to prevent unauthorized insertions and excisions from impairing the integrity of the collection, and they were thus an evidence of genuineness (cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 383, n. 9), as were acrostichs designed to testify to the authorship of a literary work. Just how early acrostichs were so used is uncertain. Diels (*op. cit.* 33) reasons that if Sibylline oracles were recognized as genuine only when containing acrostichs then the oracles traditionally sold to the Tarquin (cf. 1, 4, n. (Sibyllinis . . . versibus)) must have been thought of, at least, as of this sort. An example is, according to Diels (*op. cit.* 28-33), to be found in two oracles preserved by Phlegon, *Mirab.* 10 (which Diels publishes in full; *op. cit.* 111-115). For other possible cases cf. Pomtow, *Quaest. de Orac.* (1881), 25-26; Diels, *op. cit.* 36; and the Christian Sibylline oracle (8, 217-250 Rzach) of which a Latin acrostich version appears in Aug. C. D. 18, 23 (cf. Diels, *l.c.*; Leclercq, *op. cit.* 356-357).

[529] 6. ex primis versus: a difficult passage, as the critical note will indicate. The vulgate reading *versuum* is easily understood but fails to explain why A, B, and V agree in exhibiting *versus*, and the insertion of *cuiusque*, as by Christ and Müller, though making good sense, lacks manuscript support, other than its presence in the first sentence of 2, 112. One might, perhaps, accept the reading of AB—*ex primi versus litteris*—and assume that the first verse of a Sibylline oracle

certe magis est attenti animi quam furentis. 112. Atque in Sibyllinis ex primo versu cuiusque sententiae primis litteris illius sententiae carmen omne praetextitur. Hoc scriptoris est non furentis, adhibentis diligentiam, non insani. Quam ob rem Sibyllam quidem sepositam et conditam habe-

1. Sibyllinis vulg., *Müller*, sybillinis *AB*, sibillinis *V*.¹

was repeated, letter by letter, in the acrostich, so that one in the first line had the key to the whole (as seems to be described in the first sentence of 2, 112), yet this was not a necessary or even a normal feature of acrostichs in general, and the comparison with the poem of Ennius is, with such an interpretation, not a happy one, for the marginal (or vertical) reading of the acrostich, *Q. ENNIVS FECIT*, was surely not the reading of the first verse of the poem. It seems a natural procedure (1) to define the acrostich as made up from the first letters of successive lines; (2) to compare it with the method used by Ennius, and then—and not till then—(3) to state that in the Sibylline oracles the first verse furnished the legend for the acrostich. I am inclined, therefore, with Vahlen to accept the reading of *V*: *deinceps ex primis versus litteris*, of which Vahlen remarks: *sententiae satisfacit, modo 'deinceps' recte interpretare: ut se excipiant primae versus litterae*. Further, *primis* might, at the hands of one thinking of the first sentence of 2, 112, easily have suffered corruption to the *primi* of codices *A* and *B*.

[530] 1. *Q. ENNIVS FECIT*: cf. the note on *Ἀκροστιχίς* above. Adoption of the happy and easy emendation of Auratus renders unnecessary the lengthy discussions of various editors who have taken the clause (*quae Ennius fecit*) as a gloss on *Ennianis* or else have rejected both phrases alike. The term *fecit* (*ἔποίησεν*) is doubtless used in the sense of 'make poems'; cf. *Theo. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *facio* (1913), 91.

1. *atque*, etc.: according to the interpretation which I have accepted in the note on *ex primis versus* above, this sentence is not a mere repetition (as some

earlier editors supposed; Frenzel took the words *atque . . . insani* for a gloss), but differentiates the particular type of the Sibylline acrostichs from acrostichs in general.

1f. *ex primo versu*, etc.: cf. 2, 111, n. (*ex primis versus*); Diels, *op. cit.* 26-28; also the critical note of Christ on this passage.

2. *sententiae*: here used of the oracle treated as a unit. As Diels (*l. c.*) points out, however, the number of its lines could not have been always adapted to the number of letters in its first line.

2. *carmen*: cf. 2, 111, n. (*carmen*).

3. *non furentis*: in the fulness of conversational style the following *non insani* does not render this phrase so much out of place as Thoresen (who brackets it) would suppose.

4. *Sibyllam . . . sepositam*, etc.: cf. Liv. 22, 9, 7-8 (217 B.C.): *Q. Fabius Maximus dictator . . . percipit ut, quod non ferme decernuntur nisi cum laetra prodigio nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iuberentur*; Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 5: *ἡ πόλις ἀναλαβοῦσα τὴν τῶν χρησμῶν προστασίαν ἀνδρας τε τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῶν φίλακας . . . καὶ δημολοῦσι αὐτοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τὰς ἐπισκῆψεις τῶν χρησμῶν τοῖς ἀνδράσι ποιῆσθαι . . . χρώσται δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἢ βουλὴ ψηφίσθαι, στάσεως καταλαβοῦσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ δυστυχίας τινὸς μεγάλης συμπεσοῦσθαι κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ τεράτων τινῶν . . . φατέτωσιν, κτλ.*; Dio Cass. 39, 15: *ὁ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδὲν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο, ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι*; Gran. Lic. 35 init.: *placuit, id quod nunquam alias <ac> pro collegio, quid in libris fatalibus scriptum esset palam recitare*; also 1, 97, and nn. (*decemviro; ad libros ire*) above; Bouché-Le-

amus, ut, id quod proditum est a maioribus, iniussu senatus ne legantur quidem libri valeantque ad deponendas potius quam ad suscipiendas religiones; cum antistitibus agamus ut quidvis potius ex illis libris quam regem proferant, quem Romae posthac nec di nec homines esse patientur.

LV. At multi saepe vera vaticinati, ut Cassandra:

Iamque mari magno . . .

eademque paulo post:

Eheu videte . . .

113. Num igitur me cogis etiam fabulis credere? Quae delectationis habeant quantum voles, verbis sententiis numeris cantibus adiuventur; auctoritatem quidem nullam debemus nec fidem commenticiis rebus adiungere. Eodemque modo nec ego Publicio nescio cui nec Marciis vatibus nec

9. delectationis vulg., Müller, delectationes C.

clercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 293-294; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 3, 2 (1888), 1061; Carter, *The Relig. of Numa* (1906), 67-68. This same feeling of caution lies at the bottom of many of the movements against astrologers and other diviners, particularly during the empire. For a similar feeling among the Greeks cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 51-53, and note the provision of Aeneas Tacticus (10, 4): μήδὲ θεοσθαί μάρτυρ ἰδίᾳ ἄνερ τῶν ἀρχόντων.

2. valeantque ad, etc.: cf. 2, 97.

2f. ad suscipiendas religiones: cf. Carter, *op. cit.* 64-65; 70-103; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 50-52 for the part played by the Sibylline Books in the introduction of new cults into Rome. Cicero may perhaps speak with a little of the jealousy which might naturally be felt by augurs towards a rival college. The art of the augurs was, however, less open to the objection which he here raises.

3. antistitibus: i.e., the *XVviri sacris faciendis*; cf. 1, 4 n. (*Sibyllinis . . . versibus*). Liv. 10, 8, 2 speaks of them as *antistites . . . Apollinaris sacri*. They stood in the relation of *προφήται* to the prophecies concealed in the books, and, as Cicero implies in the word *quidvis* just below, were probably in a position to color the revelations, at least by judicious

selection. Augustine (*C. D.* 3, 17), perhaps with our passage in mind, suggests even more in the direction of personal influence: *in quo genere oraculorum, sicut Cicero in libris de divinatione commemorat, magis interpretibus ut possunt seu volunt dubia coniectantibus credi solet.*

4. regem: a term notoriously distasteful to the Romans from the time of Brutus on; cf. *Off.* 3, 83: *ecce tibi qui rex populi Romani dominusque omnium gentium esse concupiverit idque perfecterit hanc cupiditatem si honestam quis esse dicit amens est, etc.*; Suet. *Iul.* 80: *subscripsere . . . statuae . . . ipsius Caesaris: Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est; hic, quia consules eiecit rex postremo factus est.* Liv. 6, 20, 5 remarks: *illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines quae et quanta decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum sed invisa etiam reddiderit.* Cicero was himself occasionally accused of being a *rex* (cf. *pro Sull.* 21; *ad Att.* 1, 16, 10), and the words *regnum* and *regnare* are not infrequently used, by him and by others, with this invidious meaning.

4. proferant: cf. 1, 46, n. (*proferam*).

5. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (*at*).

6. iamque mari magno: cf. 1, 67.

8. eheu videte: cf. 1, 114.

9. fabulis: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*); 2, 22; *N. D.* 2, 71: *his fabulis*

Apollinis opertis credendum existimo, quorum partim ficta aperte, partim effutita temere numquam ne mediocri quidem cuiquam, non modo prudenti probata sunt. 114. Quid? inquires, remex ille de classe Coponi nonne ea praedixit quae facta sunt? Ille vero et ea quidem quae omnes eo tempore ne acciderent timebamus. Castra enim in Thessalia castris conlata audiebamus, videbaturque nobis exercitus Caesaris et audaciae plus habere, quippe qui patriae bellum intulisset, et roboris propter vetustatem; casum autem proeli nemo nostrum erat quin timeret, sed ita ut constantibus hominibus par erat, non aperte. Ille autem Graecus quid mirum si

3. Coponi C, *Christ*, Coponii O, *Baile*, *Müller*, *Thoresen*, *Hoeringa*.

8. proeli C, *vulg.*, *Müller*.

spretis ac repudiatis; *Off.* 3, 99; *Rep.* 6, 3: non somniantium philosophorum esse commenta nec fabulas incredibiles.

[532] 10. numeris cantibus: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 104: tibicines . . . cautus numerosque moderantur.

[532] 11. fidem . . . adiungere: cf. *Ac.* 1, 41. For auctoritatem . . . adiungere cf. *Tusc.* 5, 83; *Rep.* 2, 15.

[532] 11. commenticia: cf. 1, 68, n. (non commenticiam rem); also 1, 42; Reid on *Ac.* 2, 125.

[532] 12. eodemque modo: cf. 1, 114.

[532] 12. Publicio: cf. 1, 115.

[532] 12. nescio cui: cf. 2, 79, n. (nescio cui).

[532] 12. Marcii: cf. 1, 89, n. (Marcios quosdam fratres); 1, 115.

1. Apollinis opertis: cf. 1, 115, and n. (*Apollinis operta*).

1. partim ficta, etc.: cf. 2, 83.

2. effutita temere: cf. *N. D.* 2, 94: temere de mundo effulsiunt.

2. mediocri: i.e., the average man, the 'man in the street,' as opposed to the *prudens*, or man of superior intelligence. For the phrase *mediocris (homo)* cf. *N. D.* 1, 86; *de Prov. cons.* 38; *pro Balb.* 14; also cf. *Rep.* 3, 19; *Off.* 2, 30; the objections and emendations of Delaruelle (in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 251-252) are far-fetched and improbable.

2. ne . . . quidem . . . non modo: for this form of connection cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 65-66.

3. inquires: cf. 2, 56; 2, 117.

3. remex ille, etc.: cf. 1, 68-69.

3. nonne: for its position cf. 1, 89, n. (nonne).

4. ille vero, et . . . quidem: cf. *N. D.* 2, 27.

5. castra . . . castris conlata: for the events of this period see Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*, 3, 2 ed. (1906), 454-455; for the expression cf. *Liv.* 4, 27, 5: *castris castra collata sunt*.

7. roboris propter vetustatem: cf. 1, 35: *vetustate robustas*.

9. Graecus: Thoresen considers that the word contains a slur, and compares *Fin.* 2, 80: *sit ista in Graecorum levitate perversitas*; *pro Lig.* 11: *externi sunt isti mores aut levium Graecorum aut immanium barbarorum*; *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 2, 4: *cum Graecorum querelas nimium valere sentirem propter hominum ingenia ad fallendum parata*; to which may be added: *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 1, 16: *e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates praeter hominum perpauorum si qui sunt velere Graecia digni*; *sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eruditi*; *pro Flacc.* 24: *hominibus levitate Graecis, crudelitate barbaris*; also the occasional uncomplimentary references to *Graeculi* and their habits (e.g., *de Or.* 1, 47; 1, 102). Such contemptuous remarks are of course frequent in some other Roman writers.

9. quid mirum si: cf. 2, 81, n. (*quid mirum . . . si*).

magnitudine timoris, ut plerumque fit, a constantia atque a mente atque a se ipse discessit? Qua perturbatione animi quae sanus cum esset timebat ne evenirent, ea demens eventura esse dicebat. Utrum tandem, per deos atque homines! Magis veri simile est vesanum remigem an aliquem nostrum

1. *magnitudine, etc.*: cf. 1, 68, n. (*remigem quandam*); also the remark of Procop. *Hist. Bell.* 5, 9, 3: τοῖς παρούσῳ ἀπορούμενος, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀθρώποις ἐκ μαγτείας ὀρμῶν εἴθε.

1. *timoris*: cf. 1, 80: *ut pellantur animi vehementius saepe . . . cura et timore.*

1f. *a se . . . discessit*: cf. *Fin.* 5, 33; *Brut.* 273. The phrase *a se* does, to be sure, mean much the same as the preceding words *a mente*, but that appears an inadequate reason for rejecting *atque a mente* as some scholars would do, e.g., Thoresen in his edition.

3f. *per deos atque homines*: cf. *pro Caccin.* 83: *omnes homines deosque testor*; Plaut. *Capl.* 727; *Men.* 990; *Mil. gl.* 541; *Trin.* 520; Hirzel, *Der Eid* (1902), 15.

4. *magis veri simile, etc.*: the objection to revelation given, not to the educated and intelligent, but to ignorant and superstitious mediums is found elsewhere; cf. 1, 85; 2, 66; *N. D.* 3, 11: *Tyndaridas . . . existimas . . . victoriam populi Romani Vatinius potius, homini rustico, quam M. Catoni qui tum erat princeps nuntiavisset*? Other authors who speak similarly are Arist. *de Div. per Somn.* 1, p. 462 b 20-22: τὸ τε γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν πέμποντα, πρὸς τῆ ἀλλήλογίᾳ, καὶ τὸ μὴ τοῖς βελτίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τυχοῦσι πέμπειν ἄστον; 2, p. 463 b 15-17: πάνυ γὰρ εὐτελεῖς ἄνθρωποι προσωρατικοὶ εἰσι καὶ εἰδυμένοι, ὡς οὐ θεοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλ' ὄσον ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ λάλος ἢ φθῆσις ἐστὶ καὶ μελαγχολική, παντοπατὰς ὄψεις ὀρώσω (cf. 1, 81, n. (*Aristoteles*) above); 2, p. 464 a 20-22 (quoted in 2, 126, n. (*illud . . . requiro cur*) below); Apul. *Apol.* 41: *an hariolis licet iocinera rimari, philosopho contemptuari non licebit* (said in a different connection, but implying the same fundamental notion); Arnob. 7, 43 (discussing the story told by Cicero in 1,

55 above): *si sibi Iuppiter ludos scrupulosius fieri restituisque quaerebat . . . nonne rectius fuerat consulere ut ad ipsum veniret, sacerdotum ad aliquem publicorum, pontificem maximum aut ad flaminem suum Dialem eique per somnium et praesulis vitium et funestis causam temporis indicaret? quae fuerat ratio ut ruri hominem suetum, obscuritate incognitum nominis, urbanarum nescium rerum . . . voluntatis suae deligeret nuntium et expetitae satisfactionis auctorem?* The answers made to this objection appear in Arist. *op. cit.* 2, p. 464 a 17-27: αὐτὰ δ' αἱ κινήσεις φαντάσματα ποιοῦσιν, ἐξ ὧν προοῶσι τὰ μέλλοντα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα συμβαίνει τὸ πάθος τοῦτο τοῖς τυχοῦσι καὶ οὐ τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις. μὲθ' ἡμέραν τε γὰρ ἐτίθεται ἂν καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς, εἰ θεὸς ἦν ὁ πέμπων· οὗτω δ' εἰκὸς τοῖς τυχοῦσι προοῶν· ἢ γὰρ διάνοια τῶν τοιούτων οὐ φροντιστικὴ ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἱερῶν καὶ κινή πάντων, καὶ κινήσεια κατὰ τὸ κινῶν ἄγεται. καὶ τοῦ εἶλου τῶν ἐστατικῶν προοῶν αἴτιον ἐστὶ αἱ οἰκείαι κινήσεις οὐκ ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἀπορατίζονται τῶν ἑσπικῶν οὖν μάλιστα ἀσθάνονται; Iambl. *de Myster.* 3, 24, p. 157 Parthey: τὸ δ' εἶναι μὴ πάντας ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπλουτέροις καὶ πῖους ἐπιτηθεϊστέροις θελοῖ τοῦτο ὡς εἰς καταδοχὴν τῷ ἔξωθεν ἐκμισθῆναι καὶ κατέχοντι πνεύματι οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσω ἑτοιμότεροι. Cf. also the principle set forth in *Matt.* 11, 25; *1 Cor.* 1, 27.

4. *vesanum*: a rare word in Cicero, but found in *de Dom.* 3; cf. Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kennniss d. Entwicklung d. ciceron. Stils* (1910), 105-106.

[535] 1. *me*: on the vanity of Cicero cf. 1, 24, n. (*non nulla etiam*); 1, 80: *etiam in te . . . et, ut ad leviora veniamus, in Aesopo*; Petersson, *Cicero* (1920), 356-358.

[535] 1. *Catonem*: cf. Luc. 9, 554-555: *nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturus / dicturosque magis quam sancto vera*

qui ibi tum eramus, me, Catonem, Varronem, Coponium ipsum, consilia deorum immortalium perspicere potuisse?

LVI. 115. Sed iam ad te venio,

O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,

Catonis? Cato, Varro, Coponius, and Cicero are all mentioned in I, 68 as present on the occasion described.

1. *Coponium ipsum*: as being the commander of the fleet and hence apparently the proper one to receive the important revelation.

4. *o sancte*, etc.: the passage is from an unknown poet (*Trag. Rom. Frag. ex incert. incertorum* 19-20 Ribbeck; Ribbeck adds: *dubium vix est quin Enniana haec sint*), the words somewhat suggesting a Latin version of Eur. *Or.* 591-592: ὄρᾳ δ' Ἀπόλλων', ὅτι μεσομήλου ἔδρας / ναίων βροτοῖσι στόμα γέμει σαφίστατον. The first verse of the Latin appears also in Varr. *L. L.* 7, 17: *o sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum optines. umbilicum dictum aiunt ab umbilico nostro, quod is medius locus sit terrarum, ut umbilicus in nobis; quod utrumque est falsum; neque hic locus est terrarum medius neque noster umbilicus est hominis medius . . . praelerea si quod medium id est umbilicus † ut pila terrae, non Delphi medium; et terrae medium non hoc, sed quod vocant Delphis in aede ad laus est quiddam ut thesauri specie, quod Graeci vocant ὀμφάλων, quem Pythonos aiunt esse tumulos; ab eo nostri interpretes ὀμφάλων umbilicum dixerunt.*

The significance of the *umbilicus terrarum* (ὀμφάλων γῆς) and similar expressions has been the subject of much discussion, of which the fullest treatment is found in three studies by Roscher: (1) *Omphalos* (in *Abh. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 29, 9 (1913)); (2) *Neue Omphalosstudien* (in the same series, 31, 1 (1915)); (3) *Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern* (in *Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 70, 2 (1918)). In addition to these collections of material and the discussions cited by Roscher cf. especially Weniger, *Allgr.*

Baumkultus (1919), 60-61; Deubner in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 20 (1921), 412-413; Schwendemann in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 20 (1921), 481-484; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 186 (1921), 110-112; Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee in frühen Griechenland* (1921), 44-48. The controversy concerning the Delphic ὀμφάλων centres about the question whether that object (which has actually been found, in the form of a seventh century poros stone 0.275 m. high, inscribed E and ΓΑ; cf. Courby in *Comptes rend. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* 1914, 257-270; but see Ehrenberg, *op. cit.* 47, n. 3) represented, as Varro (*l.c.*) is the first ancient writer to assert, and as Miss Harrison (in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 19 (1899), 225-251; and in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 24 (1900), 254-262), Rohde (*Psyche*, 4 ed. (1907), 133), and others (cf. Schwendemann, *op. cit.* 482) have maintained, the tomb of the Python, or whether it was, as Roscher asserts, originally regarded as the centre of the earth, with the legend connecting it with the Python as a later development (Schwendemann (*op. cit.*) also furnishes evidence pointing in that direction).

Roscher also, particularly in his third work, traces the idea of the ὀμφάλων through many other nations: Chinese, Siberian Turkish tribes, Hindus (to the works he cites should be added Thurston, *Omens and Superst. of southern India* (1912), 211), Assyrians and Babylonians, in Palestine and Arabia (especially localized at Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethel, etc., among the Jews, and at Mecca among the Moslems), Egypt (to which add Homolle in *Rev. des Études grecques*, 32 (1921), 338-358), at the Ammonium (add Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 355-358), among the Etruscans and Italic peoples (where he finds a point of contact in the *mundus*

Unde superstitiosa primum saeva evasit vox fera.

and the *lapis manalis*; but cf. Deubner, *op. cit.* 414; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 111; to the Italian cases add also Reate (Varro ap. Solin. 2, 23; Mart. Cap. 6, 640), the Celts (add Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 24), the Magyars, the Peruvians, the California Indians, and in Celebes (cf. Roscher, *Omphalos*, 9, n. 13). See also Frazer on Paus. 7, 21, 2 and 10, 16, 3 for a large collection of cases.

Among the Greeks the idea was localized at many points. The navel of the sea occurs in *Od.* 1, 50; the oldest case of *ὀμφαλὸς γῆς* Roscher (*Omphalos*, 10) finds ascribed to Epimenides (Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 1). Of places on Greek soil he considers that the oracle at Branchidae was the original claimant (*op. cit.* 44), but after its destruction in 494 B. C. its position was taken by Delphi, and he collects abundant literary (*op. cit.* 54-80; to which may be added: *Priapea*, 75, 5; Aristid. *Or.* 13, p. 153; Tat. *adv. Graec.* 8) and monumental (*op. cit.* 80-105) traces of the Delphic localization, as also for similar references to other spots in Greece (Delos, Paphos, Athens, Eleusis), Sicily (Enna; add: 2 *Verr.* 4, 106; also Callim. in *Cer.* 15 (generally bracketed); Diod. 5, 3, 2; *Oxyrh. Pap.* 4, 81, no. 665, line 1), etc.). For a *μεσόμφαλον* [at Constantinople cf. Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 769 C); Anon. *de Antiq. Constantinop.* 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 1240); Oberhammer in *P.-IV.* s.v. *Constantinopolis* (1900), 968. Radet (in *Rev. des Études anc.* 19 (1917), 98-100) would locate one at Gordium in Phrygia.

The significance of the *ὀμφαλὸς*, if not originally, at least after its development, appears to have had two especial phases: (1) centrality (cf. the *umbilicus soli* of the *gromatici* in Junius Nipsus (*Gromatic. vet.* 1, 285; 287; 288 Lachmann); also many references are given in Roscher's studies); (2) a connection between the upper and the under world, (cf. Lejay in *Rev. de Phil.* 41 (1917), 185-187) especially such as that found at a *Plutonium* (cf. 1, 79, n. (*mortifera*)), an oracle (e.g., Delphi, as

in our passage, or the island of Ceram in the East Indies, for which cf. Frazer on Paus 10, 16, 3 (on such *ὀμφαλὸς* cf. Gruppe. *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 777, n. 2); see also that ancient etymology which derived *ὀμφαλὸς* from *ὀμφή*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 79, n.), or other places of access to the underworld (e.g., in the vicinity of Enna; and cf. Joan. Scylitzes, *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 122, 412 A) of Anthias near the Taurus: *ψυχαγωγία οὐ μικρὰ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καταδρομαῖσι, καὶ ὅλον ὀμφαλὸς ἐκείνη τῆς γῆς*. A somewhat typical instance of the combination of these two points is found at Ampsanctus (cf. 1, 79, n. (*Ampsancti*) above), of which Virgil (*Aen.* 7, 563) says: *est locus Italiae medius*; and Serv. ad loc. explains: *hunc locum umbilicum Italiae chorographi dicunt . . . ibi aditus esse dicitur inferorum*.

We need not assume that all these *ὀμφαλὸς* were marked by definite monuments of the familiar form; in fact Gruppe (in *Burs. Jahresb.* 186 (1921), 112) believes the monuments to have originated, not from an attempt to represent the human navel, but from boundary stones and other landmarks, and Roscher's connection between the concave opening into the earth and the convex form of monument is, perhaps, the least convincing point in his elaborately developed theory. Of course, if one should admit that the monuments and their associated literary concepts arose from an imitation of the navel of the body an opportunity would be found for coupling these, as Roscher does, with numerous superstitions associated with the umbilical cord, for which cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 182-201. The use of the terms *ὀμφαλὸς* and *umbilicus* was apparently not considered at all indelicate, even up to the middle ages; cf. Fletcher in *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* 20 (1921), 2, n. 2; and note also our modern phrase 'navel' orange.

The metre of the beginning of the

Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen inplevit partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione saepissime, partim flexiloquis

first line has caused difficulty to editors, but it can be best solved by supposing that the second syllable of *Apollo* is regarded as metrically short (for such shortenings cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 230; also Müller's critical note on this passage). Possibly at the time when the line was written the *l* in the word had not yet been doubled; we possess various Latin inscriptions in which it is still single (cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 3, 1 (1914), 517), but even that may be an inadequate explanation (cf. Evans, *Allitteratio Latina* (1921), 169). The other remedy, to omit the initial *o*, is not permissible because of its occurrence in the quotation of the line by Varro as cited above.

[535] 4. *certum*: Roscher (*Omphalos*, 65) takes this word as meaning that, though other places, such as Branchidae, Paphos, etc., may also claim to be the centre of the earth, yet the real centre is at Delphi.

[535] 4. *obsides*: *optines* in the version preserved by Varro.

[536] 1. *superstitiosa*: cf. 1, 66, n. (*superstitiosis*); 2, 148, n. (*superstitione*).

[536] 1. *saeva evasis*: cf. 1, 108, n. (*in infera*).

[536] 1. *fera*: Thoresen (following Gruter) reads *foras*. But the three adjectives (with asyndeton), *superstitiosa*, *saeva*, *fera*, are more effective than two.

1. *Chrysippus . . . volumen inplevit*: cf. 1, 6, and n. (*de oraculis*); 1, 37.

2. *casu*: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

2f. *flexiloquis et obscuris*: these words are again combined by Amm. Marc. 18, 5, 6; 31, 2, 11 (cf. introd. p. 31, n. 178 above), and *flexiloquus* apparently occurs in Latin only in these three cases, though compounds in *-loquus* are not rare in the language, thirty-four being listed by Gradenwitz, *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum* (1904), 536.

The ambiguities of oracles were, of

course, proverbial. In addition to the cases noted at 1, 52, n. (*Homericum . . . versusum*) cf. Aesch. *Prom.* V. 661-662: ἤποι δ' ἀναγγέλλοντες αἰολοστόμους / χρῆσμοῖσι δασήμοις δυσκαίρωσι τ' εἰρημίνοις; *Agam.* 1255. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 54: *per amibages, ut mos oraculis*; Luc. *Deor. Dial.* 16, 1: ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων προσποιεῖται . . . μαρτεβεσθαι καὶ καταστησάμενος ἰργαθῆρια τῆς μαρτικῆς τὸ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸ δὲ ἐν Κλάρω καὶ ἐν Διδύμοις ἐξαπατῶ τοὺς χωρμένους αὐτῷ λοξὰ καὶ ἐταμφοτερίζοντα πρὸς ἐκάτερον τῆς ἐρωτήσεως ἀποκριόμενος, ὡς ἀκίνδυνον τὸ σφάλμα καὶ πλουτεῖ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦστού; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 495: *pezis ambagibus augur Apollo*; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 6; *Tert. Apol.* 22: *in oraculis aemula quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus sciunt Croesi, sciunt Pyrrhi* (and Mayor's note on *ambiguitates* for additional instances); *Eus. Pr. Ev.* 4, 1, p. 131c: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ποιήματα καὶ τὰς τῶν χρῆσμων συνθέσεις οὐκ ἀφῶν ἀνδρῶν, εὐ μάλα δὲ πρὸς ἀπάντη ἐσκευωρημένων πλάσματα τυγχάνειν, μὴ καὶ ἀμφιβόλῃ συγκαίεμα τρόπῳ, πρὸς ἐκάτερα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως προσδοκώμενων οὐκ ἀφῶς ἐφαρμόζειν; p. 132 c-d: τῶν χρῆσμων ἀμφιβολαῖσι δημάτων καὶ ἀσαφείαισι ἐπισκοποῦντων, εἰς τὸ μὴ τινα συνείναι τὸ χρῆσθῆν, τῇ δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀδηλιὰ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐφυγεῖν; *Aug. C. D.* 3, 17; *Synes de Insoptn.* 3 (*Patr. Gr.* 66, 1288A) οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ χρῆσθῆρια πᾶσι συνετὰ φθίγγεται, καὶ λοξίας ἐκείθεν ὁ Πυθοῦ χρῆσμοδός, κτλ.; *Schol. Eur. Or.* 165: *λοξίας ὁ Ἀπόλλων καλεῖται διὰ λοξὰ καὶ διεπλῶς ποσοῦμενα ἑμαρτεβεσθαι*; *Nonnus ad Greg. Naz. Or. I. c.* *Iul.* 96 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 1033D-1036A); *Suid.* s.v. *λοξίας*: ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ λοξὴν τῶν ἀποπέμψων λοξῶς γὰρ ἑμαρτεβεσθαι (but this explanation of the epithet is not the universal one; cf. Oenopides ap. *Macrobi. Sat.* 1, 17, 31; etc.; and *Plut. de Garrul.* 17 remarks: αὐτὸς δ' ὁ θεὸς οὐ φιλοσύντομος ἔστι καὶ βραχυλόγος ἐν τοῖς χρῆσμοῖσι, καὶ λοξίας καλεῖται διὰ τὸ φεύγειν τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν μάλλον ἢ τὴν ἀσαφείαν); *Basil. Seleuc. Vit. Theclae* (*Patr. Gr.* 85, 564 A-D); and

et obscuris, ut interpres egeat interprete et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit, partim ambiguis et quae ad dialecticum deferendae sint. Nam cum illa sors edita est opulentissimo regi Asiae:

Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim,

various cases noted in *Class. Philol.* 12 (1917), 8-11; as well as those in the succeeding notes.

1. ut interpres egeat interprete: Jaeger (*De Oraculis quid vel. Philosophi iudicaverint* (1910), 77, n. 4) well compares Elias, *Proleg. Philos.* 4 (*Comm. in Arist.* 18, 1, 7): ἡ γὰρ ἢ ἢ Πυθία τίρας ὁδεῖτο Πυθίας; and Jerome (*Ep.* 140, 1) extends the principle more widely to the explanations made by scholars. Cf. Plato, *Ion*, p. 535 a.

1. referenda: cf. 1, 31, n. (*referenti*).

2. ad dialecticum: the Auct. ad *Herenn.* 2, 16 speaks of *cognitionem amphibolarum eam quae ab dialecticis proferatur*.

2. defendendae: for this use of the word cf. 1, 97, n. (*delata*); the feminine—the reading of the manuscripts—doubtless refers to *sortes*; *deferenda*—from the interpolated MSS. of Davies, which has been adopted by some editors—has reference to *oracula*.

2. illa: cf. 1, 14, n. (*illa*).

3. opulentissimo: on the proverbial wealth of Croesus cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 98-99.

4. Croesus, etc.: an oft-repeated oracle; cf. Hdt. 1, 53-54: Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀνδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἰθιῶν βασιλεὺς . . . νῦν ἡμῶν ἐπειρωτῆ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας . . . οἱ μὲν (i.e., his envoys) ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ αἰγνώματι συνίδραμον, προλιγούσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν αεταλῶσαι . . . ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλῶσαι τὴν Κίρου βασιληίην, κτλ.; cf. 1, 71; 1, 75; 1, 86: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδεις ἔσχον καὶ ἀβὸν Κροῖσόν ἐξώγησαν . . . κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον . . . καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἑνωτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν; 1, 91; Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 5, p.

1407 a 36-38: πάσχουσιν οἱ ἀκραταὶ ὅταν οἱ πολλοὶ παρὰ τοῖς μάντεσσι: ὅταν γὰρ λέγῳσι ἀμφίβολα, συμπαρατίθουσιν. Κροῖσος: Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλῶσαι; the oracle is quoted in Diod. 9, 31, 1; Schol. Soph. *Trachin.* 1; Schol. Eur. *Or.* 165; Max. Tyr. 5, 2; 13, 5 Hobein; cf. Luc. *Iur. confut.* 14: ἔω γὰρ λέγῳσι ὡς καὶ ἀμφίβοτα καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τοῖς πολλοῖς χρᾶν εἰώθατε οὐ πάνυ ἀσοαφοῦντες, εἰ ὁ τῶν Ἄλυν διαβάς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἢ τὴν τοῦ Κίρου ἀμφοῦ γὰρ δύναται ὁ χρησμός; *Iur. Itag.* 20 (and the scholiast, p. 64 Rabe); 43, Oenomaus ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 5, 20 (who quotes the oracle, with the omission of the first word); Theodoret. *Gr. Affect.* 10 (*Patr. Gr.* 83, 1070A); Basil. Seleuc. *Vit. Theclae* (*Patr. Gr.* 85, 564 B); Georg. Monach. *Chron.* 1, 12 (p. 19 de Boor; with insertion of *ποταμὸν* between Ἄλυν and διαβάς; so also Malalas, *Chronogr.* 6, p. 155 Dind.); Schol. Lucan. 3, 272; Nonnus ad Greg. Naz. *Or. 1 c. Iul.* 96 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 1036A); Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 89 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 433); Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 285B; in 276C the oracle is modified to read Κροῖσος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄλυν ποταμὸν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλῶσαι); Suid. s.v. Λαξίας; Heude, *Oracula Graeca* (in *Diss. philol. Hal.* 4 (1877), 61, no. 96). For additional vaguer allusions cf. 1, 37, n. (*Croeso*). *Marm. Par.* 42; Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 9 (10), p. 304 R; Luc. *Alexand.* 48; [Luc.] *Philopatr.* 5; Tert. *Apol.* 22; Philost. *Epist. Apollon.* 56; Hier. *Ep.* 84, 4; Mar. Merc. *Sudnot. in Verb. Iulian.* 6, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 48, 138); Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 9; Joann. Saresb. *Policrat.* p. 462B. For another Latin verse translation cf. Chalcid. in Plat. *Tim.* 169, p. 221 Wrobel: *perdet Croesus, Halyn transgressus, maxima regna*, which Jerome (in *Is.* 12, p. 504 Vall.) preserves in a reversed and unmetrical form: *Croesus transgressus Halym maxima regna*

hostium vim se perversurum putavit, pervertit autem suam. 116. Utrum igitur eorum accidisset, verum oraculum fuisset. Cur autem hoc credam umquam editum Croeso? Aut Herodotum cur veraciorem ducam Ennio? Num minus ille potuit de Croeso quam de Pyrrho fingere Ennius? Quis enim est qui credat Apollinis ex oraculo Pyrrho esse responsum:

Aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse?

perdet. On the subject of this oracle cf. also Benedict, *De Orac. ab Herod. commemoratis*, I (1871), 23-26.

For similar significance ascribed to the crossing of a river cf. 2, 24, n. (*non transisset Crassus Euphraten*). According to Steph. Byz. s.v. Πανδοσία, Alexander the Molossian was deceived by a like oracle: Πανδοσία τραπέλωνε, πολὺν ποτε λαὸν δλέσσευς. ἔδοξε γὰρ πολεμίων, οὐκ οἰκίων φθορὰν δηλοῦσθαι.

[538] 4. *Halyn*: on the accusative form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 370.

[538] 4. *penetrans*: an unusual sense of the word if it be taken as corresponding at all closely to the Greek διαβάς, but it may be more easily explained as a free rendering in which Cicero thinks of Croesus as passing within the boundary which that river constituted.

[538] 4. *opum vim*: for the ending of an hexameter in which a polysyllable is followed by a monosyllable cf. 1, 108, n. (*lux*); to which add Quintil. *Inst.* 8, 3, 20; Serv. *Aen.* 5, 481; 8, 83; Norden, 2 ed. of *Virg. Aen.* 6 (1916), 439; Wreschniok, *De Cic. Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907), 15. With the actual ending here found cf. *Enn. Ann.* 161: *nituntur opum vi* (the same in 412 and *Virg. Aen.* 12, 552); *Anthol. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, p. 35, line 42.

3. *Herodotum*, etc.: in *Leg.* 1, 5 Cicero remarks: *et apud Herodotum, patrem historiae, et apud Theopompum sunt innumerabiles fabulae.* On Cicero's use of Ennius as an historical source cf. Zingler, *De Cic. Historico Quaest.* (1900), 8-9; Peter, *Wahrheit u. Kunst* (1911), 279.

4. *fingere*, etc.: cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 26, 6: *de Pyrrho Ennius Apollinis Pythi*

responsa confinxit, cum iam Apollo versus facere desisset; cuius tunc caulium illud et ambiguum defecit oraculum cum et politiores homines et minus creduli esse coeperunt.

6. *aio te*, etc.: the verse is from the *Annales* of Ennius, line 179 Vahlen. Quotations of the line by fourteen other Latin authors have been collected by Vahlen in his note (to which add Boeth. in *Lib. de Interp. Ed. sec.* 2, 4, p. 82 Meiser); cf. also introd. p. 31, n. 182 above. The version found in *Aug. C. D.* 3, 17 is probably to be regarded as merely a prose paraphrase from memory: *dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Romanos.* Allusions without quotation are to be found in *Hier. Ep.* 84, 4; *Oros.* 4, 1, 7. Valesius (on *Amm. Marc.* 23, 5, 9) in 1636, conjecturing, probably correctly, that Ennius had translated the verse from a Greek source, made the rather happy retranslation: *νικᾶν σ', Αἰακίδη, Ῥωμαίων φημι δύνασθαι.*

For this fallacy of amphibole, or ambiguous grammatical structure, cf. Gibson, *The Problem of Logic* (1908), 285; Joyce, *Principles of Logic* (1908), 269, who remarks that this particular example 'has appeared in almost all logical treatises from the time of Boethius to our own days as the typical example of this fallacy.' It may be noted, however, that Boethius (*l. c.*) cites the verse, not as an example of amphibole, but of something composed *ex orationibus, non ex affirmationibus.* The relation of Latin word order to the ambiguity in question is discussed by Roberts in *Class. Rev.* 26 (1912), 177-179. Similar instances may be found in *Aesch. Choeph.* 885: *τὸν γῶντα ἀλκυ τοῖς τέρηκτότα λέγω* (recognized in the succeeding lines as equivocal in form); *Hier. in Mich.* 2, 7, p.

Primum Latine Apollo numquam locutus est; deinde ista sors inaudita Graecis est; praeterea Pyrrhi temporibus iam Apollo versus facere desierat; postremo, quamquam semper fuit, ut apud Ennium est,

519 Vall. (quoting a version of Ter. *Hec.* 201 different from that usually accepted); Boeth. *Elench. Soph. Arist.* 1, 3, (*Patr. Lat.* 64, 1010C): *propter autem amphiboliam sunt orationes tales: velle capere me pugnantis.*

[539] 6. *aio*: perhaps we ought here to follow Vahlen and write *aio*, for Quintil. *Inst.* 1, 4, 11 remarks: *sciat etiam Ciceroni placuisse aio Maiiamque geminata i scribere*, but to avoid too far-reaching changes for which the MSS give no support I have preferred to follow the usual tradition. The alliteration between *aio* and *Aeacida* is noteworthy, coming, as it does, at the beginning of the verse and in a subsequent stressed syllable (for the importance of such rhymes cf. the work of Evans, *Allitteratio Latina* (1921), 43). It might be considered an indication that the verse was originally composed in Latin (cf. the principle used by Porphy. ap. Hier. in *Dan.* prol. pp. 619-620 Vall.), but see the preceding note. For stylistic objections to the genuineness of oracles cf. Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 5-7; Pease in *Class. Philol.* 12 (1917), 14, and n. 4.

[537] 6. *Aeacida*: this patronymic is also applied by Virgil (*Aen.* 6, 839) to Pyrrhus; cf. Hygin. ap. Gell. 10, 16, 16. For the vocative ending in *-dd* cf. Ov. *Her.* 3, 87; *Met.* 7, 798; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 435.

1. *Latine*: as Allen observes, this argument is unsound; Ennius is not pretending to give the oracle in its original form but to translate its substance.

1. *sors*: cf. 2, 70, n. (*sortes eae quae ducuntur*).

1f. *inaudita Graecis*: we have later, however, a somewhat different tradition preserved by Dio Cass. 9, fr. 40, 6: *δρι Πύρρος πέμψας ἐς Δωδώνην ἐμαρτέυτο περὶ τῆς στρατίας: καὶ οὐ χρησμοῦ ἰθὺς, ἀ-*

ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆ, Ῥωμαίους π- κήσων, συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ βολήμα (δεινὴ γὰρ ἐξαπατῆσαι τινα ἐπιθυμία τοῖς) οὐδὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἔμεινεν.

2. *desierat*: cf. 1, 38, n. (*iam diu non facit*). Our passage does not, however, assert that the oracular utterances had entirely ceased, but implies that they were given, if at all, in prose; cf. Strab. 9, p. 419: *τὴν Πυθίαν . . . ἀποθεσιζῶν ἑμαρτὰ τε καὶ ἄμαρτα*; Plut. *de Pyth. Or.* 19; 23; and for such prose oracles Demosth. 43, 66; and one of the Pythian Apollo found at Delos and published by Homolle in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 4 (1880), 473-474 (cf. 476); Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle* (1918), 190, n.

3. *ut apud Ennium est*: for the phrase cf. 1, 40; 1, 88; 1, 107. The verse is *Ann.* 180-181 Vahlen, and with the sentiment cf. Hesiod, fr. 205 (225) Rzach: *ἄλλη μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδῳ, / τοῦ δ' Ἀμυθασίδαις, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' Ἀ- τρεΐδῳ.* From the form of Cicero's quotation it might be guessed that these lines are not far removed from that containing the oracle; an elaborate, but highly hypothetical reconstruction of the whole passage is given by Kvěčala in *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnas.* 57 (1906), 101-104, who would further restore the first line in Ennius to read *<sed> semper fuit stolidum, etc.*, taking the words *semper fuit*, the latter with a lengthened penult, from Cicero's introductory phrase.

[541] 1. *stolidum*: a favorite word with Ennius; cf. Fest. p. 317 M.: *stolidus, stultus. Ennius lib. I (Ann. 105): nam vi depugnare suos stolidi soliti sunt. et in Alexandro (50): hominem appellat: 'quid lascivis, stolidus?' non intellegit.*

[541] 1. *genus*: cf. 1, 91, n. (*genera*).

[541] 2. *bellipotentis, etc.*: on the effective antithesis cf. Skutsch in *P.-W.* s.v.

stolidum genus Aeacidarum,

Bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientipotentis, tamen hanc amphiboliam versus intellegere potuisset, 'vincere te Romanos' nihilo magis in se quam in Romanos valere; nam illa amphibolia quae Croesum decepit vel Chrysippum potuisset fallere, haec vero ne Epicurum quidem. LVII. 117. Sed, quod caput est, cur isto modo iam oracula Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra aetate, sed iam diu, iam ut nihil possit esse contemptius? Hoc loco cum urguentur, evanuisse aiunt vetustate vim loci eius unde anhelitus ille terrae fieret, quo Pythia mente incitata oracula ederet. De vino aut salsamento putes loqui, quae evanescent vetustate; de

Ennius (1905), 2607. The adjective *bellipotens* is not infrequent in poetry of the empire, probably under the influence of Ennius and then of Virgil, always occurring in the first or second foot of the hexameter; cf. Müller in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *bellipotens* (1906), 1815; *sapientipotentis* is a bold invention of Ennius apparently not later repeated by any other; Thoresen adopts here the unnecessary emendation of Nauck: *sapientiloquentes*—a word not elsewhere attested.

2. *magis*: on the prosody cf. 1, 40, n. (*artubus*).

3. *amphiboliam*: the word occurs in Cicero only in the present passage and in *ad Fam.* 7, 32, 2 (where it is written in the Greek form).

5. *vel Chrysippum*: for Chrysippus as a type of the subtle reasoner cf. *de Or.* 1, 50: *eum quem acutissimum ferunt, Chrysippum*; Diog. L. 7, 180: *ὁὕτω δ' ἐπιβολὸς ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγένετο ὥστε δοκεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι ἐὶν παράθεοις ἢν διαλεκτικῇ οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ἡ Χρυσίππειος*; Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* 4: *τούτου* (i.e., Chrysippus) *γὰρ οὐτ' ἀμεινον οὐδεὶς τὰς διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠερίβωσεν, οὕτε, κτλ.*

5. *Epicurum*: as a type, in the eyes of his opponents, of ignorance and lack of logic; cf. 2, 103, n. (*hebetem et rudem*); *N. D.* 2, 49: *quae, si bis dina quot essent didicisset Epicurus, certe non diceret.*

6. *caput*: cf. *ad Au.* 1, 17, 4; 2, 6, 1; *pro Mil.* 53; *Off.* 2, 75; *Fin.* 4, 8; 4, 23; *Tusc.* 3, 76; *Leg.* 1, 34; *de Am.* 45; *de Or.* 1, 87; 1, 150.

6f. *cur . . . oracula . . . non eduntur*: cf. 1, 38, where this object has been anticipated; Wolff, *De novissima Oraculorum Aetate* (1854), 1.

8. *loco*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*loco*).

8. *evanuisse aiunt*: cf. 2, 45, n. (*urges*).

8. *evanuisse aiunt*: but in 1, 38 the suggestion is more cautiously made: *potest . . . vis illa terrae . . . evanuisse*; and for the omission of the qualifying word *potest* cf. 1, 118, n. (*potest*). On the subject matter Davies appositely quotes Julian ap. Cyril. Alex. c. *Iul.* 6 (*Patr. Gr.* 76, 804 A): *τὸ γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἀφισομόσον πνεῦμα σπανιάκις μὲν καὶ ἐν ὄλοις γίνεται, καὶ οὕτε πάντα ἄνδρα τούτου μετασχέιν. ῥῥῥῥῥῥ οὕτε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ. ταύτη τοι καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐπέλιπεν, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς τοῦτο σώζεται. φάινεται δὲ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητῆ χρησθήρια ταῖς τῶν χρόνων εἰκοντα περιβάδις.*

9. *anhelitus . . . terrae*: cf. 1, 38, n. (*vis illa terrae*); 1, 115: *anhelitus . . . terrarum.*

9. *mente incitata*: cf. 1, 38: *mentem Pythiae . . . concitabat.*

10. *salsamento*: apparently here in the sense of *muria*. Columella (who in 12, 5 describes the manufacture of vinegar out of *vinum rapidum*) in 12, 6 says: *muriam duram* (i.e., long retaining its savor) *sic facito, etc.*; cf. also *Matth.* 5, 13, which in the Vulgate employs the same verb as that here used: *quod si sal evanuerit in quo salietur?* The divine *afflatus*, which in 1, 38 Quintus had likened to a river that had after a time disappeared, Marcus here, less fairly, compares to a

vi loci agitur, neque solum naturali sed etiam divina; quae quo tandem modo evanuit? Vetustate, inquires. Quae vetustas est quae vim divinam conficere possit? Quid tam divinum autem quam adflatus e terra mentem ita movens ut eam providam rerum futurarum efficiat, ut ea non modo cernat multo ante sed etiam numero versuque pronuntiet? Quando ista vis autem evanuit? An postquam homines minus creduli esse coeperunt? 118. Demosthenes quidem, qui abhinc annos prope trecentos fuit, iam tum *φιλιππίσειν* Pythiam dicebat, id est, quasi cum Philippo facere. Hoc autem

8. *φιλιππίσειν* *vulg.*. Müller, *Slippizin AV*, *philipizin B*.

liquid whose substance remains but whose essential quality has perished, and in attacking such a simile he is but demolishing a man of straw.

[541] 10. *evanescent vetustate*: for the phrase cf. 1, 38; *Rep.* 5, 2; *Leg.* 2, 24; 2, 33.

1. *vi . . . divina*: cf. 1, 80, n. (*vim . . . divinam*).

2. *inquires*: cf. 2, 56; 2, 114.

3. *autem*: for the deferred position of this word cf. *quando ista vis autem* below; also 2, 127; *Off.* 1, 73; *Brut.* 275; *pro Cluent.* 167; *Plasberg* on *Ac.* 1, 26.

4. *cernat*: cf. 1, 126, n. (*cerni . . . videant*); also 1, 111: *multo ante prospiciunt*.

5. *numero versuque*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 22: *explere numeros et conficere versus*.

6. *an*: for this type of ironical question introduced by *an* cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 520.

6. *minus creduli*: cf. *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 6: *defecit oraculum cum et politiones homines et minus creduli esse coeperunt*.

7. *annos prope trecentos*: Demosthenes died in 322, but the date which Cicero is here considering must be the period of his intense opposition to Philip before the latter's death (336), i.e., about 292 years before the composition of this work.

8. *φιλιππίσειν*: for the use of a Greek word cf. 1, 1, n. (*μαρτυρήν*); on the formation cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Ausf. Gram. d. gr. Spr.* 2, 1, 3 ed. (1898), 113; the work

of Müller, *Zur Gesch. der Verba auf -ειν im Griech.* (1915), has not been accessible to me. The statement here made is repeated by *Min. Fel. Oct.* 26, 6: *Demosthenes, quod sciret responsa similia, philippisein Pythiam querebatur*. For the facts cf. *Aeschin. c. Ctes.* 130: *Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀπέλεγε φιλιππίσειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσαι*; *Plut. Dem.* 20: *ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης λέγεται . . . οὐτε χρησμοῖς ἐὰν προσέχων οὐτε μαγίας ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ἱκανοῦν ἐπιφιλιππίσαι, ἀναμνησκὼν Ἑταμιονίων τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ Περιελίου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τοιαῦτα διέλλας ψυγίματα προφάσεις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λογισμοῖς*. In the third *Philippic*, 32, Demosthenes charges that Philip *ἔχεα . . . καὶ τροματίζων τὸ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θερταλοῦ καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτιόνας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἔπασσι μέτεστι*. The advice said to have been given by the Pythia to Philip, if known as early as the time of Demosthenes, could hardly have been reassuring; cf. *Paroem. Gr.* 2, 146, no. 29; *Suid.* s.v. ἀργυρία. On the whole matter cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 186-187; Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle* (1918), 167, n. 1. The expression *φιλιππίσειν* is found in the extant works of Demosthenes applied to human sympathizers with Philip: *c. Theocr.* 37; *de Cor.* 176; cf. *Schol. Dem.* p. 79, 7; 178, 16 *Dind.*; *Phot. Bibl.* 265 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 184A). The corresponding noun is *φιλιππιωμός*; cf. *Schol. Dem.* p. 275, 12 *Dind.*; *Greg. Naz. Ep.* 50 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 104A).

. *id est, etc.*: this explanation was naturally unnecessary for Quintus but might be of use to the reader less familiar

eo spectabat ut eam a Philippo corruptam diceret; quod licet existumare in aliis quoque oraculis Delphicis aliquid non sinceri fuisse. Sed nescio quo modo isti philosophi superstitiosi et paene fanatici quidvis malle videntur quam se non ineptos. Evanuisse mavultis et extinctum esse id quod, si umquam fuisset, certe aeternum esset, quam ea quae non sunt credenda non credere.

LVIII. 119. Similis est error in somniis; quorum quidem defensio repetita quam longe est! Divinos animos censent esse nostros eosque esse tractos extrinsecus, animorumque consentientium multitudine completum esse mundum; hac igitur mentis et ipsius divinitate et coniunctione cum externis mentibus cerni quae sint futura. Contrahi autem animum Zeno

1. quod *A¹ B¹ V*, quam lectionem def. Forchhammer (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 5 (1896), 25). quo *A¹ B¹*, Giese, Allen, Christ, ex quo marg. edit. Lomb. Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Hoerings.

with Greek, so that, on account of the unusualness of φιλιππιζειν and the use of quasi—savoring of Cicero's own methods of translation (cf. 1, 1, n. (quandam) above)—I am disposed to accept the clause as genuine, in spite of the doubts of some editors.

[542] 8. cum Philippo facere: cf. 1, 84, n. (mecum facit).

1. eo spectabat ut: for the phrase cf. *pro Lig.* 13.

1. quod: cf. Plasberg on *Ac.* 2, 79; 2, 127 infra: *quod quoniam, etc.*

2. in aliis quoque, etc.: in the history of the Delphic oracle we have to deal, not only with attempts to control the oracle for political purposes (cf. Pomtow in *P.-W.* s.v. *Delphoi* (1901), 2535), but also with various charges of actual bribery or favoritism alleged to have been due to bribery; cf. the story of Lysander (1, 96, n. (*Lycurgus*) above); the case of Cleomenes (Dempsey, *op. cit.* 66, n. 3); the relations of the oracle in the conflicts of Pelasgi and Boeotians (Ephor. ap. Strab. 9, p. 402); its bribery by Heraclides Ponticus (Diog. L. 5, 91) and by Nero (Dio Cass. 63, 14); cf. Orig. c. *Cels.* 8, 46: ἡ μὲν Πυθία λανθάνει δτι καὶ νοθεύεισα ἔχρησέ ποτε.

2f. nescio quo modo: parenthetical; Allen compares *Off.* 1, 61; 1, 146; see also 2, 119 below.

3. superstitiosi et paene fanatici: cf. *de Dom.* 105: *quid tibi necesse fuit anili superstitione, homo fanatice.*

4. ineptos: cf. 2, 121.

7. similis, etc.: the concluding main section (dreams) of the division concerned with natural divination begins here and extends through 2, 147.

7. in somniis: a few lines below we have the phrase *in somniis*, and Reid (on *Ac.* 2, 88; cf. *id.* on *Ac.* 2, 52) seems to regard the two as more or less alike in meaning. But the second is in the regular sense noted by Reid (*Ac.* 2, 52) and equivalent to 'during sleep' (as in 1, 46; 1, 49; 1, 51; 1, 52; 1, 54; 1, 55; 1, 57; etc.), while the present phrase means 'in the case of dreams.'

8. repetita . . . longe: cf. *Leg.* 1, 28. In the present passage the phrase means how far-fetched.'

8. divinos: cf. 1, 64, and n. (*deorum cognatione*).

9. tractos extrinsecus: cf. 1, 70, and n. (*animos hominum, etc.*); Bonhöffer, *Epictet u. die Stoa*, 1 (1890), 79-80, who thinks the phrase a translation of the Greek ἑτραπὲν ἐλακπιεσθαι.

9. animorum . . . multitudine, etc.: cf. 1, 64, and n. (*plenus . . . animorum*); the adjective *consentientium* is here inserted to express the relationship of συμπάθεια thought of as existing between these *animi* mutually and between them and the *mundus* as a whole.

10. divinitate: cf. 2, 80, n. (*divinitatis*).

11. cerni: cf. 1, 126, n. (*cerni . . . videant*).

et quasi labi putat atque concidere, et id ipsum esse dormire. Iam Pythagoras et Plato, locupletissimi auctores, quo in somnis certiora videamus praeparatos quodam cultu atque victu proficisci ad dormiendum iubent; faba quidem Pythagorei utique abstinere, quasi vero eo cibo mens, non venter infletur. Sed nescio quo modo nihil tam absurde dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum. 120. Utrum igitur censemus dormientium animos per sene ipsos in somniando moveri, an, ut Democritus censet, externa et adventicia visione pulsari? Sive enim sic est sive illo modo, videri possunt permulta somniantibus falsa pro veris. Nam et

1. et id ipsum *Schäus, O. Baiter, Thoresen*, et ipsum *C. Christ*, id ipsum *Müller, Heeringa*.

[543] 11. **contrahi . . . animum, etc.:** this passage = *S. V. F. 1*, no. 130; cf. *Diog. L. 7*, 158: τὸν δὲ ὕπνον γίνεσθαι ἐκλυομένου τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τόνου περὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικόν; *Aët. Plac. 5*, 24, 4: Πλάτων (Στράτων conjectured by Corsinus; Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ is the reading of Galen. *de Hist. Philos. 128* (*Doxogr. Gr. 646*) who quotes the entire passage) οἱ Στωικοὶ τὸν μὲν ὕπνον γίνεσθαι ἀνίσει τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ πνεύματος, οὐ κατὰ ἀναχαλασμὸν καθάπερ ἔπι τῆς γῆς, φερομένου δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μεσόφρονος: δὴα δὲ παρτελήθῃ γίνηται ἢ ἀνεσις τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ πνεύματος τότε γίνεσθαι θάνατον; *Tert. de An. 43*: Stoici somnium resolutionem sensualis vigoris affirmant . . . superest, si forte cum Stoicis resolutionem sensualis vigoris somnium determinemus, quia corporis solius quietem procuret, non et animae; *Stein, Die Psychol. der Stoa*, 1 (in *Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol. u. Arch. 3* (1886)), 62, n.; 141; *Arnold, Roman Stoicism* (1911), 160.

1. et id ipsum esse: cf. 1, 104: *sed id ipsum est*.

1 f. Pythagoras et Plato: cf. 1, 60-62.

2. locupletissimi auctores: cf. 1, 37, n. (*locuplete auctore*).

3. cultu atque victu: for the phrase cf. 1, 61; *Tusc. 5*, 63; 5, 72; *Off. 1*, 12; 1, 106; 1, 158; 2, 15; 2, 86; *de Sen. 56*; *de Am. 86*; *Parad. 50*; *Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 14.

3. proficisci ad dormiendum: cf. 1, 62: *ad somnium proficisci*; 1, 121.

4. faba . . . abstinere: cf. 1, 62,

and n. (*Pythagoreis, etc.*), to which add *Frazer on Paus. 8*, 15, 4; *Wright in Class. Rev. 35* (1921), 155.

4. quasi vero: cf. 2, 59, n. (*quasi vero*).

5. nihil tam absurde, etc.: this is the answer of the Academic to the Stoic's dependence upon authority; cf. 1, 62, n. (*auctoritate*); 2, 139; see also *Varr. Menipp. 122* Bücheler: *po-tremo nemo aegrotus quicquam somniat / tam infandum quod non aliquis dicat philosophus*; possibly also *de Am. 45*: *nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam (sed nihil est quod illi non persequantur argutiis)*.

6 f. utrum . . . ne . . . an: for parallels cf. 2, 120; *Mayor on N. D. 2*, 87; *Reid on Ac. 2*, 71.

7. per sene ipsos, etc.: cf. 2, 126; 2, 139; *Ac. 2*, 48: *vel ipsi per se motu mentis aliquo vel obiecta terribili re extrinsecus*.

7. ut Democritus: this passage = *Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokrat. 2*, 3 ed. (1912), 48, no. 137; cf. *Aët. Plac. 5*, 2, 1 (*Doxogr. Gr. 416*): Δημόκριτος τοὺς ἀέροινοι γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων παραστάσεις; 1, 5, n. (*Democritus*) above; also 2, 126; 2, 137-139; *Ac. 2*, 48.

8. externa et adventicia: coupled also in 2, 126; *N. D. 2*, 26; *Fin. 5*, 59.

8. visione: here used for the εἰδῶλον or imago, as in *N. D. 1*, 109.

9. falsa pro veris: cf. 2, 121.

[545] 1. navigantibus moveri videntur, etc.: cf. *Ac. 2*, 81: *videsne navem illam?*

navigantibus moveri videntur ea quae stant, et quodam obtutu oculorum duo pro uno lucernae lumina. Quid dicam insanis, quid ebriis quam multa falsa videantur? Quodsi eius modi visis credendum non est, cur somniis

stare nobis videtur, at eis qui in navi sunt moveri haec villa; Lucr. 4, 385-388: nec possunt oculi naturam noscere rerum. / proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere noli. / qua vehimur navi fertur, cum stare videtur; / quae manet in statione, ea praeter creditur ire; Sen. N. Q. 7, 25, 7: sic naves, quasvis plenis velis cant, videntur tamen stare; Sext. Emp. Pyrrhon. Hyp. 1, 107: παρά δὲ τὸ κινεῖσθαι ἢ ἡμεῖν ἀνόμοια φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα, ἐπεὶ ἄπερ ἐστῶτες ὁρῶμεν ἄκρεμῶντα ταῦτα παραπίοντες κινεῖσθαι δοκοῦμεν; adv. Math. 7, 414; Reid on Ac. 2, 81.

2. duo pro uno: cf. Ac. 2, 80: *Timagoras Epicureus negat sibi umquam, cum oculum torsisset, duas ex lucerna flammulas esse visas; opinionis enim esse mendacium, non oculorum; Arist. de Insomn. 3, p. 461 b 31-462 a 5: ὡσπερ οὖν ἐν τινα λαθάνοι ἰσθαλλόμενος ὁ δάκτυλος τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ μόνον φαίνεται ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῖε εἶναι δύο τὸ ἓν, ἀν δὲ μὴ λαθάνῃ φαίνεται μὴ οὐ δοῖε δὲ, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, ἐὰν μὴ αἰσθάνηται ὅτι καθέξει καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐν ᾧ ἢ αἰσθησὶς τοῦ ὑπνωτικοῦ, φαίνεται μὲν, λέγει δὲ τι ἐν αὐτῷ ὅτι φαίνεται μὲν Κορίσκοι, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ Κορίσκοι; Eth. Eudem. 7, 13, p. 1246 a 28-29: οἷον ἢ ὀφθαλμὸς ἰδεῖν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως φαριδεῖν διαστρέφοντα, ὥστε δύο τὸ ἓν φαῖναι; Probl. 3, 30; 31, 17: διὰ τί εἰς τὸ πλάγιον κινουῖσι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν οὐ φαίνεται δύο τὸ ἓν, κτλ.; Lucr. 4, 447-452: at si forte oculo manus unī, subdita subter / pressit eum, quodam sensu fit uti videntur / omnia quae tuimur fieri ut bina iuendo, / bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis / binaque per totas aedis geminare supellex / et duplicis hominum facies et corpora bina; Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 7, 192: ὁ δὲ παραπίοντας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὡς ὅτ' οὐοῖν κινεῖται; Reid on Ac. 2, 80.*

2. insanis: cf. 2, 121; the case of two suns seen by Pentheus (Eur. Bacch. 918; Virg. Aen. 4, 470) falls under this

category; cf. Plut. de comm. Notit. 44: *εἰ γε τοῦ μὲν Πενθῆους ἀνοίοντες ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ λέγοντες ὡς δύο μὲν ἥλιους ὄρᾳ, διττὰς δὲ Θῆβας οὐχ ὄρᾳν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ παρορᾳν λέγομεν, ἐκτρεπόμενον καὶ παρακινουῖντα τοῖς λογισμοῖς τοῦτους δ' οὐ μίαν πόλιν ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπων καὶ ζῶα καὶ δένδρα πάντα καὶ σκεῆ καὶ ὄργανα καὶ ἰμάτια διττὰ καὶ διφυᾶ τειθεμένου οὐ χεῖρην ἔωμεν, ὡς παρανοεῖν ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ νοεῖν ἀναγκάζοντας; Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 7, 192: ὁ δὲ μεμηνῶς δισσὰς ὄρᾳ τὰς Θῆβας καὶ δισσοῖν φαντάζεται τὸν ἥλιον. In Ac. 2, 90 Cicero classes together the visio of jurentes and that of somniantes.*

2. ebriis: cf. Arist. de Insomn. 3, p. 461 a 21-25: *ὅτι δὲ τετραγαμίαι φαίνονται αἱ ὄψεις καὶ τερατώδεις καὶ οὐκ ἔρωμινα τὰ ἐνύκνια, οἷον τοῖς μελαγχολικοῖς καὶ πυρῆτοισι καὶ οἰνωμένοις: πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη πνευματώδη διὰ πολλῆν ποιεῖ κίνησιν καὶ παραχῆν.*

3. quodsi, etc.: Sander (*Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 18-20; but cf. Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 565, and Sander's rejoinder in *Philologus*, 75 (1919), 393) points out that we have in this sentence and in two others below (in this section and in 2, 122) beginning with the same word *quodsi* nearly identical statements, and that the course of thought is much broken, notably after *videantur* and after *quam casu dicere* in 2, 121 and after *motus somniantes* in 2, 122, from which he draws the conclusion that we have here three or four distinct versions by Cicero which he had jotted down but not worked over, all of which were inserted by someone else who later edited our work. These three would be: (1) *quodsi eiusmodi* (2, 120) . . . *videantur* (2, 121), followed by an 'aliena sententia'; (2) *quodsi ceteris* (2, 121) . . . *somniantes* (2, 122); (3) *quodsi insanorum* (2, 122) to the end of 2, 123. In regard to the repetition of *quodsi* it is remarkable that

credatur nescio. Nam tam licet de his erroribus, si velis, quam de somniis disputare, ut ea quae stant, si moveri videantur, terrae motum significare dicas aut repentinam aliquam fugam, gemino autem lucernae lumine declarari dissensionem ac seditionem moveri. LIX. 121. Iam ex insanorum aut ebriorum visis innumerabilia coniectura trahi possunt quae futura videantur. . . . Quis est enim qui totum diem iaculans non aliquando

2. stant si moveri vulg., Christ, Müller, Heeringa, stant moueri AV, stant moderi B, stant moveri si coni. Christ, Baier, Thoresen.

4. moveri C, Christ; del. Müller, Baier, Thoresen, Heeringa.

Sander does not stress the first sentence in 2, 122: *quodsi ita natura*; but the repetition of *quodsi*, like that in various cases already noted (cf. 1, 3, n. (*videretur*); 1, 72, n. (*subito ex tempore*); 1, 99, n. (*disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat*); 1, 129, n. (*sentiunt . . . sentiat*); 2, 121, n. (*aliquando*); 2, 127, n. (*iam vero quid*)), though not an embellishment of Cicero's style, is by no means out of keeping with it. Were it not for the *quodsi* before *ita natura*, which seems not to trouble Sander, we might find other passages in which *quodsi* is used with as frequent repetition as in these sections (e.g., *N. D.* 2, 86-88). On the ground of repetition, then, this is to be considered a clumsy and somewhat extreme case, but hardly more than that. Nor can I agree that in 2, 121 the passage *quis est enim . . . casu dicere* is irrelevant, for it is an effective refutation of the inspired character of these dreams which happen to have proved true, by means of comparisons drawn from other fields. With the words *quodsi ceteris* (2, 121) the author sums up the conclusions from these parallel fields of observation, exposed as they likewise are to the possibility of deception, and applies the results to dreams as well. In strict logic the first part of 2, 122 (*quodsi ita . . . somniantes*) would go more neatly and consecutively after *falsa videantur* in 2, 120, but we cannot safely judge this hastily composed work by the most rigid logical standards (which is the fundamental error of many of Sander's criticisms), and after Cicero had once introduced, as a kind of afterthought, his

little joke about the binding of sleepers, it was but natural that he should sum up this part of the discussion with the sentence beginning *quodsi insanorum* (2, 122).

4. **dissensionem ac seditionem**: cf. *Rep.* 6, 1: *dissensio civium, quod seorsum eunt alii ad alios, seditio dicitur*; also 1, 121 above.

4. **moveri**: this verb is a not unnatural one with *dissensionem ac seditionem* (cf. Allen's citation of *bellum moveri* in Sall. *Catil.* 30, 2), though its genuineness has been doubted because of its occurrence just above (cf. Müller in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 131).

6. **videantur**: after this word Christ (followed by Baier, Müller, Thoresen, and Heeringa) indicates a lacuna (the substance of which he supplies in some such way as: *quid igitur mirum est si quae somniantibus vera videantur?*), for, he remarks, what follows relates, not to the delusions of the drunken or the insane, but to dreams. Yet, as Drechsler (in *Wien. Stud.* 8 (1886), 168) observes, the supplementary sentence of Christ is illogical, since the one before it means only that the visions of insane or drunken men may be falsely interpreted in countless instances as referring to the future, not that such visions are in countless instances fulfilled, and hence that it is small wonder if dreams also many times come to fulfillment. Drechsler's own remedy for the situation is to transpose the sentence *quis est enim . . . conliniet* to a position after *totas noctes . . . evadere*. The *enim* of the former of these sentences is then readily understood, but Drechsler fails

conliniet? Totas noctes somniamus (neque ulla est fere qua non dormiamus), et miramur aliquando id quod somniamus evadere? Quid est tam incertum quam talorum iactus? Tamen nemo est quin saepe iactans Venerium iaciat aliquando, non numquam etiam iterum ac tertium. Num igitur, ut inepti, Veneris id impulsu fieri malimus quam casu dicere? Quodsi ceteris temporibus falsis visis credendum non est, non video quid praecipui somnus habeat in quo valeant falsa pro veris. 122. Quodsi ita

1. somniamus CO, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, dormimus Muretus, Christ, Baier, Vahlen (in Herm. 17 (1882), 595-596).

1. dormiamus CO, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, somniamus Muretus, Christ, Baier, Vahlen (l. c.).

to notice that the transition from *quae futura videantur* to *totas noctes*, etc. is then an abrupt and no more logically convincing one than before. I am inclined, therefore, to retain the indication of a lacuna and to suppose it to have been filled by some such words as these: *quin etiam nonnulla quae exitus habuisse videantur*.

[546] 6. *quis est*, etc.: cf. Arist. *de Div. per Somn.* 2, p. 463 b 20-21: ὡσαυτὲ γὰρ καὶ λίγεται· ἂν πολλὰ βάλληται, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοῖον βαλεῖται.

[546] 6. *aliquando*: awkwardly used three times in this section.

1. *conliniet*: a rare word, but used in *Fin.* 3, 22.

1. *totas*: the emendation by Schuetz to *tot* (approved by Vahlen in *Hermes*, 17 (1882), 595-596) is quite unnecessary; *tot noctes* in 2,141 is not an exact parallel.

1f. *somniamus . . . dormiamus*: so the MSS. agree in reading, and though at first sight the emendation of Muretus to *dormimus . . . somniamus* seems attractive, yet it is very difficult to see why, if it were the original reading, it should have been corrupted, by a transposition of words and of moods at the same time, into what the MSS. offer us. Nor is it true, as Müller well notes (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 614), that we sleep 'all the nights,' while if one interpret *totas noctes* as 'whole nights through' it is too feeble an expression for sleeping, though well chosen for the subjective impression of dreaming; again it may be questioned whether the common psychology of Cicero's time would have maintained

that 'there is scarcely any night in which we do not dream.' Of greater force than the arguments against the emendation is the fact that the reading of the MSS. makes perfectly intelligible sense, as Allen (*ad h. loc.*), Müller (*l. c.*), and Thoresen (*ad h. loc.*) recognize: 'we dream whole nights through'; then, to indicate the opportunity for these long series of dreams, Cicero adds: 'and there is almost no night in which we do not (have opportunity for dreaming while we) sleep.'

2. *et*: for this use in surprised or indignant questions cf. 2, 69, n. (*et*).

2. *evadere*: as in 2, 108; 2, 109; 2, 146.

3. *talorum*: cf. 1, 23, n. (*quattuor tali*).

4. *Venerium*: cf. 1, 23, nn. (*quattuor tali; Venerium*).

4. *iterum ac tertium*: for the phrase cf. Cato ap. Charis. *Inst.* 2, p. 222 Keil, and for *tertium* and *tertio* the story of Cicero's advice to Pompey, as told in *Gell.* 10, 1, 7.

5. *inepti*: cf. 2, 118.

5. *casu*: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

6. *quodsi ceteris*, etc.: on this and the two following sentences beginning with *quodsi* cf. 2, 120, n. (*quodsi*, etc.).

6f. *quid praecipui*: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 38: *aliud . . . praecipui*.

7f. *ita natura paratum . . . ut*: cf. *Plin. Ep.* 8, 20, 1: *ita natura comparatum ut* (and other cases in Merrill's note); also 2, 25 above.

[548] 2. *cubitum irent*: cf. *pro Sex. Rosc.* 64.

natura paratum esset ut ea dormientes agerent quae somniant, alligandi omnes essent qui cubitum irent; maiores enim quam ulli insani efficient motus somniantes. Quodsi insanorum visis fides non est habenda quia falsa sunt, cur credatur somniantium visis quae multo etiam perturbatiora sunt non intellego; an quod insani sua visa coniectori non narrant, narrant qui somniaverunt?

Quaero etiam, si velim scribere quid aut legere aut canere vel voce vel fidibus aut geometricum quiddam aut physicum aut dialecticum explicare, somniumne expectandum sit an ars adhibenda; sine qua nihil earum rerum nec fieri nec expediri potest. Atqui ne si navigare quidem velim, ita gubernem ut somniaverim; praesens enim poena sit. 123. Qui igitur convenit aegros a coniectore somniorum potius quam a medico petere medicinam? An Aesculapius, an Serapis potest nobis praescribere per somnum cura-

10. gubernem *Wesenberg, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa*, gubernarem *CO*.

13. somnum *Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa*, somnium *C, Christ, Baiter*.

2. maiores, etc.: Chalcid. in Plat. *Tim.* 248 remarks: *multa quidem incognita, inopinataeque neque umquam tentata animis somniamus.*

5. an quod, etc.: so Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 12: *somniorum autem rata fides et indubitabilis foret si ratiocinantes coniectura fallerentur interdum.* In 1, 24 Quintus had admitted that the weak point in *opinabilis divinalio* was the element of *coniectura*; cf. 2, 55; 2, 66; 2, 127. Indeed it might almost be said that in cases where the interpretation of dreams (or of oracles) is entrusted to a professional *coniectior* natural divination passes over into artificial.

5. coniectori: cf. 1, 45; 1, 132, nn. (*Isiacos coniectores; interpretes somniorum*); 2, 123; 2, 124; 2, 129; 2, 134; 2, 144; Quintil. 3, 6, 30: *somniorum atque omnium interpretes coniectores vocantur*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 60 M.: *coniectior interpretes somniorum.*

5f. narrant, narrant: for similar cases in Cicero of verbal parataxis cf. Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. Entwicklung d. ciceron. Stils* (1910), 56.

7. quaero etiam, etc.: this passage applies, in an even more effective way as related to oblique forms of divination

such as dreams, the inquiry raised in 2, 9-12, namely, what type of difficulties divination may be thought to explain.

7. canere, etc.: cf. 2, 9.

8. geometricum: cf. 2, 10.

8. physicum aut dialecticum: cf. 2, 10, n. (*philosophia*); 2, 11; *Ac.* 1, 25; *Fin.* 3, 4: *itaque et dialectici et physici verbis utuntur suis . . . geometrae vero et musici, grammatici etiam*; 3, 72.

10. navigare, etc.: cf. 2, 13.

11. praesens . . . poena: cf. *Leg.* 2, 25.

11. qui igitur, etc.: cf. 2, 13; *N. D.* 3, 91: *nec ego multorum aegrorum salutem non ab Hippocrate potius quam ab Aesculapio datam iudico.* For the phrase *qui igitur convenit* cf. *Fin.* 2, 32; *N. D.* 2, 87.

13. Aesculapius: into the various theories of the origin and significance of this divinity (cf. Thraemer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Asklepios* (1884), 621-623; Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 1440-1445) we need not here go, save to say that, in some of his manifestations, at least, he seems to have had a chthonic character (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 932; 1444-1445), as his symbol, the snake, indicates, and that he seems often to have been associated with Apollo (cf. Macrob. *Sat.*

tionem valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest? Et si sine medico medicinam dabit Minerva, Musae scribendi, legendi, ceterarum artium

1, 20, 4-5; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 3, 44) n relationship, symbols, functions (particularly healing and prophecy, as *larpmarris*; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 272-275; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 37, n. 1), and cult (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 1451, n. 6; al.). Prominent in his widespread worship (Walton in *Cornell Stud. in class. Philol.* 3 (1894), 95-121; Thraemer, in *P.-W. s.v. Asklepios* (1896), 1662-1677, who lists 186 definite localities of his worship) was the part played by incubation (cf. 1, 96, n. (*excubans*) above), which was practiced at many centres (see the evidence collected by Thraemer, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 623-626; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 932, n. 6), of which the most famous was Epidaurus (cf. Cavvadias, *TO IEPON TOT AΣKAPHIOT* (1900), especially 253-292 on the treatment of the sick there). A branch of the cult at Epidaurus was in 291 B. C. established, by command of the Sibylline Books, at Rome on the island in the Tiber (Thraemer in *P.-W. s.v. Asklepios*, 1676; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 307-309), and at this shrine also incubation was employed (cf. Thraemer, *op. cit.* 1676; *C. I. L.* VI, 8; *I. G.* XIV, 966—four Greek inscriptions from the time of the Antonines, discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 297-299; Deubner, *op. cit.* 44-48; Besnier, *L'Île Tibérine dans l'Antiq.* (1902), 203 ff.; Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (1909), 115-116; votive inscriptions there are also *C. I. L.* VI, 1-20; 30842-30846; *I. G.* XIV, 967-968). That it is the Roman branch of the cult which Cicero here has in mind is likely, because of its nearness.

Deubner (*op. cit.* 44, n. 4) points out that in the four inscriptions published in *I. G.* XIV, 966 the god did not heal

directly but rather prescribed a method of cure (as is here stated in the words *praescribere per somnum curationem valetudinis*), but Lefort (in *Mus. Belge*, 10 (1906), 21-37; 101-126) has made a more probable differentiation on chronological rather than local grounds, believing that in the fifth and fourth centuries the cure rested on pure miracle, i.e., direct healing by the god, while later, in the Roman period, the god prescribed to those who practiced incubation at his temples the means by which they were to be cured; cf. Weinreich, *op. cit.* 111-112.

[548] 13. *Serapis*: this deity (the more usual Greek form of whose name is Σαρ rather than Σερ; cf. Roeder in *P.-W. s.v. Sarapis* (1920), 2395) is often associated with Aesculapius (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3 (1880), 386, n. 3; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2 (1906), 1456, n. 3; 1575, n. 2; Roeder, *op. cit.* 2422). For the introduction and status on Italian soil of Sarapis, Isis, and other Egyptian divinities cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.* 2 ed., 351-359; Roeder, *op. cit.* 2416-2417. As in the case of Isis (cf. 1, 132, n. (*Isiacos coniectores*) above) so in the rites of Sarapis incubation played a part (cf. Wolff, *De noviss. Orac. Aetate* (1854), 13-16; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 3, 379-384; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 931, n. 3; 1575, n. 2; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 117-126; also Artemid. *Onirocr.* 5, 92-94), and it is noteworthy that the god is sometimes represented in the form of a snake (Roeder, *op. cit.* 2426), doubtless with reference to a chthonic element in his character, as in that of Aesculapius.

[548] 13. *per somnum*: cf. 1, 16, n. (*ex somnio*). Müller's emendation of the manuscript reading *somnium* to *somnum* is based on the fact that the latter is a regular phrase in many writers and the former apparently is not.

scientiam somniantibus non dabunt? At si curatio daretur valetudinis, haec quoque quae dixi darentur; quae quoniam non dantur medicina non datur; qua sublata tollitur omnis auctoritas somniorum.

LX. 124. Sed haec quoque in promptu fuerint; nunc interiora videamus.

4. quoque C, cuique *Herelius* (quem refutavit *Madvig* (Fin. 1, 12)), 'fortasse quidem . . . promptum B'; *Christ* in *adnot.*, qui tamen in *textu obolum inseruit*; *delevarunt Baizer, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringe*; *Delaruelle* (in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 252-253) *comi.*: sed haec quae in promptu fuerunt omittamus; nunc interiora videamus.

[548] 13 f. *curationem*: Lefort (*op. cit.* 102, n. 1) takes this in the sense of 'remedy,' and compares *Off.* 1, 83. It might, however, indicate a regimen of cure rather than an actual drug.

[549] 1. *gubernantibus*: for the connection of seafaring men with the worship of Neptune cf. *Wissowa, op. cit.* 2 ed. 228, and n. 10.

[549] II. *sine medico* . . . *Minerva*: *Wissowa (op. cit.* 254-255) believes that from this reference to the healing power of *Minerva* we need not assume the influence upon her cult of that of 'Ἀθηνᾶ Ἱγυία but merely her position as patron goddess of physicians. As *Minerva medica* she was worshipped not only at Rome (*id.* 255, n. 1) but also near *Placentia (id.* 255, n. 2).

2. *haec* . . . *quae dixi*: for such phrases see *Plasberg* on *Tim.* 7.

3. *qua sublata tollitur*: with the phrase cf. 2, 42; 2, 148; *N. D.* 1, 4; *Ac.* 2, 33; 2, 39; 2, 62; *Off.* 3, 28; *Tusc.* 4, 46; *de Am.* 19; 47; 82; 102; etc.

4. *haec quoque in promptu*: many older and all modern editors have deleted, emended, or obelized this, on the ground that there is nothing with which the *haec* modified by *quoque* can be properly contrasted. *Delaruelle* (see the critical note above) thought the formula of transition was not in accord with Cicero's usual practice, while *Sander (Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div. (1908), 20)*, whose general thesis is the unfinished condition of our work, assumes before *sed haec quoque* a lacuna going back to Cicero himself, so that *haec* refers, not to 2, 123, but to something that Cicero intended to insert here. *Müller* (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89

(1864), 131), not without much plausibility, held *quoque* to have been added after *haec* through the influence of *haec quoque* in the last sentence of 2, 123.

Yet some justification may perhaps be found for *quoque* without resort to any of these hypotheses. In his discussion of dreams, beginning in 2, 119, Cicero has first treated the matters which came readily to him (*in promptu*), by what in 2, 26 he calls a *levis armaturae prima orationis excursio*, after which he is to come to closer grips with the subject (the parallelism in form between these two passages is noteworthy: *sed haec fuerit . . . nunc comminus agamus* of 2, 26 corresponding closely to the structure of the present sentence). In this preliminary treatment there are two main subdivisions: (1) 2, 119-2, 122 middle, dealing with the inadequacy of the theories offered in defence of dreams; and (2) from the middle of 2, 122 to 2, 123, in which Cicero inquires why, if dreams are prophetic, we do not apply them in a much wider field. The distinction between these two subdivisions I have attempted, unlike *Müller*, to indicate by the introduction of a new paragraph in 2, 122, and it is to the points raised in this second division, introduced, it will be noted, by the words *quaerendum*, that *haec quoque* seems particularly and not unnaturally to refer. With the form of expression here found cf. also 1, 4; *Ac.* 2, 10: *a me enim ea quae in promptu erant dicta sunt, a Lucullo autem recondita desidero*; *Fin.* 2, 119; *Off.* 1, 6; 1, 95: *ut non recondita quadam ratione cernatur sed sit in promptu*; 2, 74; etc.

4. *interiora*: cf. *de Domo*, 138: *quae sunt . . . a me . . . disputata . . . sunt*

Aut enim divina vis quaedam consulens nobis somniorum significaciones facit, aut coniectores ex quadam convenientia et coniunctione naturae, quam vocant *συμπάθειαν*, quid cuique rei conveniat ex somniis, et quid quamque rem sequatur intellegunt, aut eorum neutrum est, sed quaedam observatio constans atque diuturna est, cum quid visum secundum quietem sit, quid evenire et quid sequi soleat. Primum igitur intellegendum est nullam vim esse divinam effectricem somniorum. Atque illud quidem perspicuum est, nulla visa somniorum proficisci a numine deorum; nostra enim causa di id facerent ut providere futura possemus. 125. Quotus igitur est quisque qui somniis pareat, qui intellegat, qui meminerit? Quam multi vero qui contemnant eamque superstitionem inbecilli animi

3. *συμπάθειαν* vulg., Müller, *sympathian* AV, *sympathiam* B.

3. ex somniis C, *dal. Davies, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringa; def. Wopkens, Moser, Giese, Allen.*

... *sumpta de medio* . . . *illa interiora iam vestra sunt*; Mayor on *N. D.* 3, 42.

1 ff. *aut, etc.*: the three methods by which Cicero considers that dreams might be defended are: (1) divine revelation; (2) a pseudo-philosophic application of the doctrine of *συμπάθεια*; (3) purely scientific empiricism—in other words, a series passing from pure religion, without scientific elements, through a borderland of religion and science combined, to a purely scientific domain where religion has no essential part. Of these headings the first extends from 2,124 to 2,142; the second from 2,142 to 2,145; and the third is despatched in 2,146; while the three are summed up in the first sentence of 2,147. This threefold division, though at first sight suggesting that of Posidonius as set forth in 1,125 (cf. 2, 27), is by no means identical with it. Though it is here applied to dreams its arguments are not so limited, and have already been found in connection with various other types of divination.

1. *divina* . . . *vis*: cf. 1, 80, n. (*vim* . . . *divinam*).

1. *somniorum significaciones*: cf. 2, 125.

2. *convenientia et coniunctione naturae*: cf. 2, 34: *coniunctione naturae* . . . *convenientiam naturae*; *N. D.* 3, 28: *convenientia consensuque naturae*; *Off.* 1, 100.

The word *convenientia* may also suggest the large element in dream divination which depended upon the noting of resemblances; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 310.

3. *συμπάθειαν*: cf. 2, 34 n. (*συμπάθεια*); 2, 142.

3. *ex somniis*: another phrase often obelized or deleted (especially since the time of Davies). But Wopkens (*Lect. Tull.* 2 ed. (1829), 391-392) well pointed out that it is to be construed, not with *intellegunt*, as many have understood, but with the preceding *quid*, and he compares 2, 134: *id . . . ex ovo videbatur . . . declarasse*. The words *cuique rei* and *quamque rem* will then refer to acts for which a sympathetic analogy is discovered in dreams, and the task of the *coniectores* is to discover what feature among many in dreams (*quid . . . ex somniis*) is appropriate to those acts and, by supposed analogy, what results may be expected to follow the acts.

3f. *quid quamque rem sequatur*: cf. *Fat.* 9.

5. *observatio* . . . *diuturna*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*diuturna observatione*); 1, 126.

5. *secundum quietem*: cf. 1, 43, n. (*secundum quietem*); 2, 126.

7. *effectricem*: also in *Fin.* 1, 67; 2, 55; 2, 87; *Tim.* 37; apparently lacking elsewhere.

atque anilis putent! Quid est igitur cur his hominibus consulens deus somniis moneat eos qui illa non modo cura sed ne memoria quidem digna ducant? Nec enim ignorare deus potest qua mente quisque sit, nec frustra ac sine causa quid facere dignum deo est quod abhorret etiam ab hominis constantia. Ita si pleraque somnia aut ignorantur aut negleguntur, aut nescit hoc deus aut frustra somniorum significatione utitur; et horum neutrum in deum cadit; nihil igitur a deo somniis significari fatendum est.

LXI. 126. Illud etiam requiro, cur, si deus ista visa nobis providendi causa dat, non vigilantibus potius det quam dormientibus. Sive enim externus et adventicius pulsus animos dormientium commovet, sive per se ipsi animi moventur, sive quae causa alia est cur secundum quietem aliquid videre, audire, agere videamur, eadem causa vigilantibus esse poterat; idque si nostra causa di secundum quietem facerent vigilantibus idem facerent, praesertim cum Chrysippus Academicos refellens permulto

14. cum *Victorius, Christ, Boiler, Müller, Thoresen, Hearings*, ut C.

[551] 8f. *nostra . . . causa*: cf. 2, 126; 2, 132; 2, 133: *mea causa*.

[551] 11. *inbecilli animi*: cf. 2, 81; 2, 140.

1. *anilis*: cf. 1, 7, n. (*anili superstitione*); to which add Firm. Mat. *de Errore*, 17, 4.

2. *ne memoria quidem*: cf. 2, 141, where Cicero says: *mihi quidem praeter hoc Marianum nihil sane quod meminero*.

3f. *frustra et sine causa, etc.*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 61: *inconstantis et temeritate . . . quae digna certe non sunt deo*.

6. *nescit hoc deus*: cf. 1, 83, n. (*ignorant*).

7. *cadit, etc.*: cf. 2, 18; *N. D.* 2, 77: *minime cadit in maiestatem deorum* (and Mayor's note); *pro Reg. Deiot.* 16.

8. *illud . . . requiro cur*: for the expression cf. *N. D.* 3, 8; and for the thought 1, 85 above: *cur autem deus dormientes nos moneat, vigilantes neglegat?* also Arist. *de Div. per Somn.* 2, p. 464 a 20-22: *μὲν ἡμῶν τε γὰρ ἐγλυφ' ἄν* (sc. *τὰ ἐβύπνια*) *καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς, εἰ θεὸς ἦν ὃ πῆμνω;* and on the subject of day visions cf. Hey, *Der Traumglaube der Antike*, 1 (1908), 14. For Cicero's somewhat kindred objection to natural divination on the ground of its being given to the ignorant rather than to

the wise cf. 2, 114, and n. (*magis veri simile, etc.*)

10. *externus et adventicius, etc.*: cf. 2, 120, nn. (*ut Democritus; externa et adventicia*).

10f. *per se ipsi*: cf. 1, 129, n. (*per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur*).

11. *secundum quietem*: cf. 1, 43, n. (*secundum quietem*).

13. *nostra causa*: cf. 2, 124, n. (*nostra . . . causa*).

13f. *vigilantibus idem facerent*: for this use of *facere* cf. 2 *Verr.* 4, 49: *Eupolemo . . . non idem fecit?*

14f. *praesertim cum . . . dicat*: a brachylogy for *praesertim cum, ut Chrysippus dicit, permulto clariora et certiora sint*; cf. 2, 51, n. (*quid adferri potest cur*); 2, 63, n. (*quod apud Homerum, etc.*); 2, 143.

14. *Chrysippus*: cf. 1, 6, nn. (*Chrysippus; uno de somniis*); 1, 39. This fragment = *S. V. F.* 2, no. 62. The Stoic theory of cognition, as set forth by Chrysippus (see the evidence in *S. V. F.* 2, nos. 52-121), laid great stress upon the feeling of conviction derived from certain types of impressions, the *καταληπτικαὶ φαντασίαι*. Sceptic opponents replied that

clariora et certiora esse dicat quae vigilantibus videantur quam quae somniantibus. Fuit igitur divina beneficentia dignius, cum consulerent nobis, clariora visa dare vigilantibus quam obscuriora per somnum. Quod quoniam non fit, somnia divina putanda non sunt. 127. Iam vero quid opus est circumitione et anfractu, ut sit utendum interpretibus somniorum potius quam derecto deus, siquidem nobis consulebat, 'hoc facito, hoc ne feceris' diceret idque visum vigilantibus potius quam dormienti daret?

LXII. Iam vero quis dicere audeat vera omnia esse somnia? 'Aliquot

3. somnum *Halm, Christ, Baiter, Maller, Thoresen, Heeringa, somnium CO.*

the impressions derived from dreams were also vivid, not to say convincing (as Tennyson says, 'dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?'), but that both classes were equally unreliable; cf. *Ac. 2, 47: nam cum dicatis, inquirunt, visa quaedam mitti a deo, velut ea quae in somnis videantur quaeque oculis auspiciis exlis declarentur—haec enim aiunt probari Stoicis, quos contra disputant—quaerunt quonam modo falsa visa quae sint ea deus efficere possit probabilia; but Lucullus, following Antiochus (who in these questions favored the Stoic contentions), denied the identity of dreams and waking impressions (*Ac. 2, 52: at enim dum videntur eadem est in somnis species eorumque quae vigilantes videmus! primum interest; sed id omittamus. illud enim dicimus non eandem esse vim neque integritatem dormientium et vigilantium nec mente nec sensu; and Chrysippus himself had carefully distinguished between φαντασται and φαντάσματα (cf. *Aët. Plac. 4, 12, 1-6 (Doxogr. Gr. 401-402 = S. V. F. 2, no. 54); Diog. L. 7, 50: διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα: φαντάσματα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ δόκησις διανοίας οἷα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὄψους, φαντασία δὲ ἐστὶ τίπρωσις ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτέστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρυσίππος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ περὶ ψυχῆς ὑπόσταται*), but Cicero seems to have done injustice to the Stoic case in rendering both in the one word *visa* (cf. Reid on *Ac. 2, 47*, who quotes Macrobian *Somn. Scip. 1, 3, 2*).**

2. *divina beneficentia . . . cum consulerent*: for the loose syntax cf. 2, 31, n. (*Pherecydeum . . . quis*).

4. *iam vero quis*: note the repetition (*iam vero quis*) in the second sentence below, and cf. 2, 129, n. (*quodsi, etc.*).

5. *circumitione et anfractu*: with the phrase cf. *Aug. Conf. 6, 6: aerumnosis anfractibus et circuitibus*.

5. *interpretibus*: cf. 2, 122, n. (*an quod, etc.*).

6. *derecto*: cf. *de Leg. agr. 2, 44: derecto et palam*.

6f. *consulebat . . . diceret*: cf. 2, 20, n. (*si fatum fuerat effugisset*). The indicative may perhaps emphasize the idea of reality or certainty asserted by the Stoics for their view of providence.

6f. *hoc ne feceris*: for instances of this form of prohibition in Cicero (in opposition to the views of Elmer in *Am. Journ. of Philol. 15 (1894), 134*) cf. Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic. (1901), 300*; also see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 189, and n. 1*.

7. *vigilanti . . . dormienti*: cf. 2, 126.

8. *quis dicere audeat*: cf. *Fin. 5, 93; Off. 1, 5*.

8. *omnia . . . somnia*: for the homoeoteleuton cf. 1, 83, n. (*constituerunt . . . condiderunt*); 1, 111, n. (*natura futura*).

8. *aliquot, etc.*: *Enn. inc. fab. 429 Vahlen*. In connection with this line (quoted by no other Latin author) two questions arise: (1) the form quoted by

somnia vera,' inquit Ennius, 'sed omnia non necesse est.' Quae est tandem ista distinctio? Quae vera, quae falsa habet? Et si vera a deo mittuntur falsa unde nascuntur? Nam si ea quoque divina, quid inconstantius deo? Quid inscitius autem est quam mentes mortalium falsis et mendacibus visis concitare? Sin vera visa divina sunt, falsa autem et inania humana, quae est ista designandi licentia ut hoc deus, hoc natura fecerit potius quam aut omnia deus, quod negatis, aut omnia natura? Quod quoniam illud negatis, hoc necessario confitendum est. 128. Naturam autem

1. omnia non nunc necesse est *B* (sed nunc punctatum), omnia non nunc haec esset *AV*, omnia necesse est *Erlang.*, omnia non est necesse *Marsus, O*, omnia noenum necesse est *Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haering*, aliquot sunt vera somnia, at non omnia est necesse vel aliquot sunt vera somnia, omnia esse non necessest *Ribbeck*, somnia vera aliquot, verum omnia noenu necessest *ex Ilbergi comiect. Vahlen in priore Enni editione, in secunda autem (1903) comiectit: somnia aliquot vera sunt, sed non necesse est omnia.*

Cicero, which need not have been complete or wholly metrical, and (2) the original form in Ennius. From Christ on various editors have corrected *non nunc* to *noenum*, and this, if *aliquot* (regarded as a paraphrase by Cicero) be replaced by its synonym *quaedam*, makes a passable hexameter verse, and in that case is not a fragment of the dramatic works of Ennius (cf. Zillinger, *Cicero u. die altröm. Dichter* (1911), 124, n. 3). But *noenum* (or *noenu*) is an archaic form (cf. Lucil. 987 Marx and Varro ap. Non. pp. 143-144 M.; Lucr. 3, 199; 4, 712), appearing with certainty in no other place in Ennius (in *Ann.* 446 Vahlen it has been introduced by emendation), and Vahlen (on our line) rightly doubts its insertion here. On the whole, then, it appears safest to read for Cicero's version *sed omnia non necesse est* (the reading of the corrector of *B*). For the restoration of Ennius we may accept the suggestion of Vahlen (see the critical note above), or may, perhaps, keep nearer the order in Cicero by reading *aliquot somnia vera <sunt>*, *sed omnia non necesse est*, treating *somnia* and *omnia* by synzesis as dissyllables. Lucian Müller (*Quintus Ennius* (1884), 125) wished to reconstruct the passage in trimeters: *<nam> somnia aliquot vera sunt; sed omnia / noenum necessest*, and Baehrens (*Frag. Poet. Rom.* (1886), 123), assigning the fragment to the *Epicharmus* of Ennius, read it thus: *aliquot somnia vera sunt, soenum necesse est omnia*. With the

subject matter Vahlen compares *N. D.* 1¹ 70: *Zeno autem (sc. dixit) non nulla visa esse falsa, non omnia*.

2. *quae vera, etc.*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 47-48, where it appears that in the case of *visa*, as in that of dreams, there is no *distinctio* between true and false.

3. *falsa unde*: the demonic theory of divination, later adopted by the Christians, furnished an answer to this question of Cicero; cf. 1, 64, n. (*plenus . . . animorum*).

3f. *quid inconstantius deo*: cf. 2, 38.

4. *quid inscitius . . . est quam*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 36.

4. *autem*: on the position of the word cf. 2, 117, and n. (*autem*).

4f. *mentes . . . concitare*: cf. 1, 38, n. (*mentem . . . concitabat*).

5. *sin vera, etc.*: two possibilities are here named, which correspond to the first two set forth in 2, 126: *externus et adventicius pulsus . . . per se ipsi animi moventur*, but in the rest of the sentence (*hoc deus, hoc natura*) we seem to have a suggestion of the supernatural and scientific explanations noted in 2, 124.

5. *falsa et inania*: for this collocation cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 34.

6. *designandi*: cf. 1, 82, and n. (*designata*).

6. *licentia*: cf. 2, 150; Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 65.

7f. *quod quoniam*: cf. *Fin.* 3, 59; also

eam dico qua numquam animus insistens agitatione et motu esse vacuus potest. Is cum languore corporis nec membris uti nec sensibus potest, incidit in visa varia et incerta ex reliquiis, ut ait Aristoteles, inhaerentibus earum rerum quas vigilans gesserit aut cogitaverit; quarum perturbatione mirabiles interdum existunt species somniorum; quae si alia falsa, alia vera, qua nota internoscantur scire sane velim. Si nulla est, quid istos interpretes audiamus? Sin quaequam est, aveo audire quae sit; sed

1. aveo vulg., Muller, ab eo C¹, habeo C².

Plasberg on *Ac.* 2, 79; *quod* is probably here the connective conjunction = 'where-as.'

1. *qua numquam, etc.*: to understand this sentence aright we must, with Hottinger and others, interpret *insistens* in the sense of *quiescens* (it is thus used, with *animus* or *mens* as subject, in *N. D.* 1, 24; 1, 54; *Tusc.* 4, 41; cf. also *N. D.* 2, 51; 2, 103; etc.), and make *numquam* modify *potest* (though Allen and Thoresen would make *numquam* modify both *insistens* and *potest*): "but by 'nature' I mean that (condition) by which the soul can never, even when at rest, be free from activity and movement." With the latter part of the sentence cf. *Off.* 1, 19; *agitatio mentis, quae numquam acquiescit, potest nos in studiis cognitionis etiam sine opera nostra continere*; [Arist.] *Probl.* 30, 14, p. 957 a 9-15: περισταμένον γὰρ τοῦ θερμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος εἰς τὸν ἐντὸς τόπον, τότε πλεῖστη καὶ σφοδρότατη κίνησις ὑπάρχει, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τότε ἡμεῖν καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν μὴδὲν ἴδωσιν ἐνύπνιον. συμβαίνει δὲ τούτωντιον διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν πλεῖστη κινήσει εἶναι καὶ μὴδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡμεῖν, οὐδὲ διανοεῖσθαι δύναται; also the Epicurean theory as set forth by Cassius to Brutus (*Plut. Brut.* 37): δηλοῦσι δὲ αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου τροπαὶ τῶν ὀνείρων, ἃς γίνεσθαι τὸ φανταστικὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βραχείας παροδοῦν καὶ πάθη καὶ εἰδῶλα γινόμενον. κρεῖσθαι δ' αἰετὶ πᾶφυκε κινήσει δ' αὐτῶν φαντασία τις ἢ νόησις.

1. agitatione et motu: cf. *N. D.* 2, 135; also, for the thought, 1, 61 above; 2, 130 below.

2. Languore corporis, etc.: cf. 2, 139.

3. incidit in visa: cf. 2, 93, n. (*in dissimilis . . . naturas*).

3. ait Aristoteles: cf. *de Insomn.* 3, p. 461 a 18-23: ἐν τῷ καθιέδω τὰ φαντάσματα καὶ αἱ ὑπόλοιποι κινήσεις αἱ συμβαλόνσαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθημάτων ὅτε μὲν ὑπὸ μείζονος οὐσίας τῆς εἰρημίνης κινήσεως ἀφανίζονται πάντως, ὅτε δὲ τετραγαμίαι φαίνονται αἱ ὄψεις καὶ τερατώδεις καὶ οὐκ ἔρρωμένα τὰ ἐνύπνια, οἷον τοῖς μελαγχολικοῖς καὶ πυρρίττοις καὶ οἰνωμένοις; *de Div. per Somn.* 1, p. 463 a 21-30: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐνὶ γὰρ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον φαντασμάτων αἰτία εἶναι τῶν οὐκ εὐκλεῖων ἐλάστω πράξεων οὐκ ἄλογον ὥσπερ γὰρ μέλλοντες πράττειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν οὕτως ἢ πεπραχότες πολλάκις εἰθνηοῦν τούτους σύνεσμεν καὶ πράττομεν (αἴτιον δ' ἐστὶ προωδοκοιημένην τυγχάνει ἡ κίνησις ἀπὸ τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀρχῶν), οὕτως πάλιν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον κινήσεις πολλάκις ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν πράξεων διὰ τὸ προωδοκοιῆσθαι πάλιν καὶ τούτων τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νυκτερινοῖς; *Probl.* 30, 14, p. 957 a 21-25: τὸ τε ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶν ὅταν διανοομένοις καὶ πρὸ ὁμμάτων τιθεμένοις ὕπνοις ἐπέλθῃ. διὸ καὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα δρῶμεν ἢ πράττομεν ἢ μέλλομεν ἢ βουλόμεθα· περὶ γὰρ τούτων μάλιστα πλεῖστακις λογισμοὶ καὶ φαντασίαι ἐπιγίνονται; also the passages cited in 1, 45, n. (*quaeque agunt vigilantes*) above, to which add *Rep.* 6, 10: *fit enim fere ut cogitationes sermonesque nostris pariant aliquid in somno tale quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet saepissime vigilans solebat cogitare et loqui.*

5. f. falsa . . . vera . . . internoscantur: cf. *Ac.* 2, 33; 2, 48.

6. nota: cf. 1, 64, n. (*sapientia insignitae notae veritatis*).

haerebunt. LXIII. 129. Venit enim iam in contentionem utrum sit probabilius, deosne immortalis, rerum omnium praestantia excellentis, concursare omnium mortalium qui ubique sunt non modo lectos verum etiam grabatos, et cum stertentem aliquem viderint, obicere iis visa quaedam tortuosa et obscura, quae illi exterriti somno ad coniectorem mane deferant, an natura fieri ut mobiliter animus agitatus quod vigilans viderit dormiens videre videatur. Utrum philosophia dignius, sagarum superstitione ista interpretari an explicatione naturae? Ut si iam fieri

3. concursu omnium C, add. *vestustiores, Christ, Bailow*, circumcursare omnium *Commerarius*, coconcursare circum omnium *Müller* (in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864) atque in *edit.*), *Thoresen, Heringa*.

[555] 6. *scire sane velim*: with a similar sarcastic touch in *N. D.* 3, 42.

[555] 7. *aveo audire*: cf. 1, 11, and n. (*aveo*); *N. D.* 2, 2; *Tusc.* 1, 16; 1, 112.

1. *haerebunt*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 14 (and the parallels in Reid's note); *Off.* 3, 117; etc.; Otto, *Sprichwörter d. Römer* (1890), 32, no. 12.

1. *venit . . . in contentionem*: cf. *Off.* 2, 71; also several times in the orations.

1f. *utrum . . . ne . . . an*: cf. 2, 120, n. (*utrum . . . ne . . . an*).

2. *probabilius*: cf. 2, 28, n. (*persuaders, etc.*).

3. *concurrare . . . lectos*: inasmuch as the constructions used with *concurso* are varied (*inter, per, circum*, and the ablative of place) and we have examples in Cicero of the use of the accusative (*ad Fam.* 7, 1, 5: *ut nostras villas obire et mecum simul lecticula concurrare possis*; *pro Mur.* 44: *omnes fere domos omnium concurrant*; 2 *Verr.* 5, 80: *obire provinciam et concurrare consuerunt*; cf. Lucil. 164 Marx: *concurrant agros*), it seems unnecessary to insert a preposition (with Müller and others). With the subject matter cf. 2, 105, and nn. (*casas . . . introspicere; casas*); the use of the word *stertentem* here adds to the contemptuousness of the whole expression.

3. *omnium mortalium qui ubique sunt*: cf. *Fin.* 2, 6: *omnes mortales qui ubique sunt*; 2, 13; *Tusc.* 1, 35; *N. D.* 2, 104; also 2, 93 above.

4. *grabatos*: the word is defined in a twelfth century gloss (quoted by Lindsay in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. u. Gram.* 10 (1898), 228): *grabatum est lectus pauperum, ubi tantum capiti quid substratum est; dictum a graba, quod est caput*; and in this sense it is used by Lucil. 251 (where see the note of Marx); Catull. 10, 22; *Morretum*, 5; Petron. 97; Sen. *Ep.* 18, 7; 20, 11; Mart. 1, 53, 5; 6, 39, 4; 12, 32, 11. In the Greek *κράβατος* has a similar connotation of meanness or poverty; cf. Stephanus, *Thes. Gr. Ling.* s. v.

4. *aliquem . . . iis*: a shift from the singular to the plural, which, when the former is indefinite, has many parallels in Latin and other languages.

4. *obicere*: cf. 1, 81, n. (*obiciuntur*), 2, 131.

5. *tortuosa*: on this word cf. Seyffert on *de Am.* 65, who points out that it here = *implicata, quae multiplices vias interpretandi habent*.

6. *deferant*: cf. 1, 97, n. (*delata*).

6. *mobiliter . . . agitatus*: cf. 2, 128: *agitazione et motu*; also 1, 61, n. (*agitata*).

6f. *vigilans . . . dormiens*: cf. 2, 128.

7. *philosophia dignius*: cf. 2, 27, n. (*philosophi, etc.*).

7. *sagarum*: cf. 1, 65, n. (*sagae*).

8. *superstitione*: cf. 1, 66, n. (*superstitiosus*).

8. *explicatione naturae*: cf. *Fin.* 3, 73; 4, 11; 5, 12; *Tusc.* 5, 68.

8. *ut*: for cases of *ut* in the sense of

possit vera coniectura somniorum, tamen isti qui profitentur eam facere non possint; ex levissimo enim et indoctissimo genere constant. Stoici autem tui negant quemquam nisi sapientem divinum esse posse. 130. Chrysippus quidem divinationem definit his verbis: vim cognoscentem et videntem et explicantem signa quae a dis hominibus portendantur; officium autem esse eius praenoscere dei erga homines mente qua sint quidque significant, quemadmodumque ea procurentur atque expientur. Idemque somniorum coniectionem definit hoc modo: esse vim cernentem

'for example' cf. Reid on *1c.* 2, 33; and for *ut si iam* see 2, 93, n. (*ut si iam*) above.

1. *coniectura*: cf. 1, 42, n. (*coniecturam*).

2. *ex levissimo*: this agrees with the qualifications made by Quintus in 1, 132; cf. Didymus (in *Frag. Philos. Gr.* 2, 67): *μόνον δὲ φασὶ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ μάττω ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ ῥήτορα . . . διὰ τὸ προσδεῖσθαι εἰς τινα τούτων καὶ θεωρημάτων τῶν ἀναλήψεως.*

2f. *Stoici . . . negant*: = *S. F. V. 3*, no. 607; cf. Stob. *Ecl.* 2, p. 170 (like the fragment of Didymus above quoted); 2, p. 183 (*S. V. F. 3*, no. 605): *καὶ μαντικὸν δὲ μόνον εἶναι τὸν σπουδαῖον, ὡς ἂν ἐπιστήμην ἔχοντα διαγνωστικὴν σημεῖων τῶν ἐκ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων πρὸς ἀνθρώπινον βίον τεχνόντων. διὸ καὶ τὰ εἰρη τῆς μαντικῆς εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν, τὸ τε ἀνειροκριτικὸν καὶ τὸ οἰωνοσκοπικὸν καὶ θυτικὸν καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλα τοῖτοις ἐστὶ παραπλήσια; also *S. V. F. 3*, nos. 604; 606; 608. Wachsmuth (*Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Manik und Daemonen* (1860), 24, n. 29) compares with our passage the last sentence of 1, 121.*

4. *Chrysippus*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*duobus libris*), and, for definitions of divination, 1, 9, n. (*de divinatione*). This fragment = *S. V. F. 2*, no. 1189, and with it should be compared Sext. Emp. 9, 132: *πρὸς τοῖτοις εἰ μὴ εἰσι θεοὶ οὐδὲ μαντικὴ ὑπάρχει, ἐπιστήμη οὐσα θεωρητικὴ καὶ ἐξηγητικὴ τῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις δεδομένων σημεῖων; Stob. *Ecl.* 2, p. 170: *εἶναι δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν φασὶν ἐπιστήμην θεωρηματικὴν σημεῖων τῶν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων πρὸς ἀνθρώπινον βίον συντεχνόντων.* On the failure of Cicero in*

this book to answer this definition of divination cf. Hartfelder, *Die Quellen von Ciceros zwei Büchern de Div.* (1878), 19-20. William would find in Diog. Oenoand. fr. 31, 10 a possible trace of a similar definition of divination (see his note on that passage, p. 93).

4 f. *cognoscentem . . . videntem . . . explicantem*: the first two of these words may refer to the observations of artificial and natural divination respectively (cf. 1, 11, n. (*duo sunt enim*) above), the third to the explanation of the observations; cf. also the note on *cernentem* below.

6. *mente qua sint*: cf. 2, 125; *Leg.* 2, 41: *qua sit mente futurus deus.*

7. *quemadmodumque*: the position of *-que* seems to indicate that *quemadmodum* should be regarded as a single word.

7. *procurentur atque expientur*: on the combination of these sometimes analogous, sometimes synonymous terms cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 51, n. 1; also 1, 3, n. (*procurandis*); Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis* (1921).

8. *coniectionem*: in the sense of 'interpretation' the word appears only here.

8. *cernentem*: cf. 1, 126, n. (*cerni . . . videns*). From the likeness in the form of this definition (*vim* followed by two participles and the words *quae a dis hominibus* followed by a verb of foretelling) to that just given above of divination in general we might guess that Chrysippus began his work on dreams (cf. 1, 6, n. (*uno de somniis*) above) with a definition based, with the appropriate substitutions, upon that with which he began his work *περὶ μαντικῆς* (cf. 1, 6, n. (*duobus libris*)).

et explanantem quae a dis hominibus significantur in somnis. Quid ergo? Ad haec mediocri opus est prudentia an et ingenio praestanti et eruditione perfecta? Talem autem cognovimus neminem. LXIV. 131. Vide, igitur, ne, etiamsi divinationem tibi esse concessero, quod numquam faciam, neminem tamen divinum reperire possimus. Qualis autem ista mens est deorum, si neque ea nobis significant in somnis quae ipsi per nos intellegamus, neque ea quorum interpretes habere possimus? Similes enim sunt dei, si ea nobis obiciunt quorum nec scientiam neque explanatorem habeamus, tamquam si Poeni aut Hispani in senatu nostro loquerentur sine interprete. 132. Iam vero quo pertinent obscuritates et aenigmata somniorum? Intellegi enim a nobis di velle debebant ea quae nostra causa nos monerent.

6. significant *Salish*, O, *Baier*, *Müller*, *Thoresen*, *Heeringa*, significat C, *Christ*.

8. nec scientiam *Erlang*, *Christ*, *Baier*, *Müller*, *Thoresen*, *Heeringa*, nescientiam C, neque scientiam *Salish* at O.

That the first participle (*cernentem*) does not correspond even more exactly to the two in the general definition (*cognoscentem et videntem*) may be due to the fact that what is here being described is not dream-divination as a whole but simply *somniorum coniectionem*, i.e., the intuitions (often of a professional) which follow mere untutored observation; cf. the note on *cognoscentem . . . videntem . . . explicantem* above.

1. quid ergo: cf. 2, 69; 2, 138; etc.

2. mediocri . . . prudentia: cf. IV. D. 1, 61.

6. ingenio praestanti: cf. *Fin.* 2, 51; *Rep.* 6, 18. For the linking of *ingenium* and *eruditio* cf. *Off.* 1, 119: *aut excellenti ingeni magnitudine aut praecleara eruditione atque doctrina*; these two requisites are here emphasized to make it clear that the ordinary practitioners of the art (*ex levissimo . . . et indoctissimo genere*, as Cicero says in 2, 129) are entirely unqualified.

3f. vide, igitur, me: cf. 2, 12, n. (*vide, igitur, ne*).

6. si neque, etc.: this is the objection against which the Stoic reasoning had expressed itself in 1, 83 (= 2, 102) above; but cf. also 2, 55.

6. significant: in view of the next sentence, in which the gods (rather than

the *mens deorum*) appear as the subject, the plural reading seems a trifle more plausible than the singular.

7ff. *similes . . . sunt . . . tamquam si*: cf. *de Sen.* 17: *similes sunt ut si*; *Off.* 1, 87: *similiter jacere . . . ut si*; Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 202.

8. obiciunt: cf. 1, 81, n. (*obiciuntur*).

8. explanatorem: cf. 1, 116; *Rep.* 3, 33.

9. si Poeni, etc.: cf. *Fin.* 5, 89: *ita, quem ad modum in senatu semper est aliquis qui interpretem postulet, sic isti nobis cum interprete audiendi sunt*. On the subject of interpreters of foreign languages in antiquity, particularly interpreters into Greek or Latin, see Rolfe in *Class. Journ.* 7 (1911), 126-129; Gehman, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients* (1914), especially pp. 49-56. Snellmann, *De Interpretibus Romanorum* (1914, 1919) has not been accessible to me. It is noteworthy that the examples here chosen are from Punic and Iberian languages rather than from Greek, which, as a matter of fact, was sometimes spoken in the Roman senate (cf. Gehman, *op. cit.* 54-56), beginning with Molo the rhetorician (*Val. Max.* 2, 2, 3).

11. nostra causa: cf. 2, 124, n. (*nostra . . . causa*).

Quid? poeta nemo, nemo physicus obscurus? 133. Ille vero nimis etiam obscurus Euphorion, at non Homerus. Uter igitur melior? Valde Heracli-

1. nemo, nemo vulg., Christ, Baizer, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, nemo C, nemo Pith., nemo nec Salisz.

1. **nemo**: cf. 1, 86, n. (*nemo* . . . *philosophus*); note also the chiasmatic order.

1. **ille vero**: cf. 2, 114; Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 27.

2. **Euphorion**: for his life and works cf. Skutsch in *P.-W.* s.v. *Euphorion* (1907), 1174-1190. His obscurity (doubtless that of Alexandrian erudition and recondite detail; cf. Luc. *quomodo Hist. conscrib.* 57; Skutsch, *op. cit.* 1183) is particularly mentioned by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5, 8, p. 676 P.: Εὐφορίων γὰρ ὁ ποιητῆς καὶ τὰ Καλλιμάχου Αἴτια καὶ ἡ Λυκάφρονος Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια γυμνάσιον εἰς ἐξήγησιν γραμματικῶν ἔκκεται πωσίον. The expression *ille* . . . *Euphorion* points to the admiration in which his works were held by many of Cicero's contemporaries (cf. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (1901), 88, n. 1), but whether the passage in *Tusc.* 3, 45 (*o poetam egregium! quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur*) implies a criticism of Euphorion himself or only of some Roman writers is not certain; on the general question cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 56-58; Zillinger, *Cic. u. die altröm. Dichter* (1911), 17-20; Messer in *Mnemosyne*, 45 (1917), 78-92. The contrast between him and Homer (or in *Tusc.* 3, 45 Ennius) is doubtless that of the Alexandrian (i.e., modern) and the classical tradition (cf. Skutsch in *P.-W.* s.v. *Euphorion*, 1182); see also Lucian, *l.c.*, for a similar one.

2f. **Heraclitus obscurus**: the obscurity of Heraclitus, which Wellmann (in *P.-W.* s.v. *Herakleitos* (1913), 505) thinks was due to his partly intentionally, partly unintentionally picturesque, antithetical, and oracular style of prose, was proverbial in antiquity; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 5, p. 1407 b 13-15: οὐδ' ἄ μὴ ῥάδιον διαστίζαι, ὥσπερ τὰ Ἡρακλείτου. τὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείτου

διαστίζαι ἔργον διὰ τὸ ἀδηλον εἶναι ποτὶρω προσκεῖται, τῷ ὕστερον ἢ τῷ πρότερον (and he gives an instance); [Arist.] *de Mundo*, 5, p. 396 b 20: τὸ παρὰ τῷ σκοτεινῷ λεγόμενον Ἡρακλείτω; Diog. L. 2, 22: φησὶ δ' Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ (sc. Socrates) δόντα τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἔρῃσθαι, τί δοκεῖ; τὸν δὲ φάσαι, ἄ μὴ συνηκα γενναῖα: οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄ μὴ συνηκα: πλὴν Δηλίου γέ τινας δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ (cf. Suid. s.v. *Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ*); 9, 6: ἀνίσθηκε (sc. Ἡρακλείτος) δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῶν, ὡς μὲν τινας, ἐπιτηδεύσας ἀσαφέστερον γράψαι, ὡς οἱ δυνάμειοι προσίοιεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ δημῶδους ἐκαταφρόνητον β. τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ὑπογράφει λίγων, τοῖς δ' ἐπι κοκκωσῆς ὀχλολόδορος Ἡρακλείτος / αἰνικτῆς ἀνόρουσε'; 9, 7; 9, 16 (with two quatrains appearing also in *Anth. Pal.* 7, 128; 9, 540); Strab. 14, p. 642: Ἡρακλείτου τε ὁ σκοτεινὸς καλούμενος (cf. [Heracl.] *Quaest. Hom.* 24, p. 37 Bonn.: ὁ γούν σκοτεινὸς Ἡρακλείτος ἀσαφῆ καὶ διὰ συμβόλων εἰκάσθησθαι δυνάμενα θεολογεῖ τὰ φυσικά; Suid. s.v. Ἡρακλείτος); Luc. *Vit. Aucl.* 14, where an interlocutor of Heraclitus says: αἰνίγματα λίγεις, ὦ οὗτος, ἢ γρίφους συντίθης; ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ Λοξίας οὐδὲν ἀποσαφεῖ. ΗΡΑΚ. οὐδὲν γὰρ μοι μέλει ὑμῶν; Demetr. *de Eloc.* 192: τὸ δὲ ἀσύνητον καὶ διαλελυμένον ὄλον ἀσαφεῖ πᾶν· ἀδηλος γὰρ ἢ ἐκάστον κῶλον ἀρχὴ διὰ τὴν λύσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ Ἡρακλείτου καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα σκοτεινὰ ποιεῖ τὸ πλεῖστον ἢ λύσιν; *Er. istol. Gr.* p. 280, no. 1, init. (Darius to Herodotus); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5, 8, p. 676 P.: καὶ μυρία ἐπι μυρίοις εἰροίμεν ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν αἰνιγματωδῶς εἰρημένα, ὅπου γε καὶ ὅλα βιβλία ἐτικεκρυμμένην τὴν τοῦ συγγραφέως βούλησιν ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡς καὶ τὸ Ἡρακλείτου περὶ φύσεως, δε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σκοτεινὸς προσηγόρευται; cf. 5, 13, p. 699 P.; and Plat. *Theaet.* p. 180a complains of the enigmatical statements of the followers of Heraclitus. Among Latin writers references to his obscurity are not rare; cf. *N. D.* 1, 74: nec consulto dicis occulte tam

tus obscurus, minime Democritus; num igitur conferendi? Mea causa memones quod non intellegam? Quid me igitur mones? Ut si quis medicus aegroto imperet ut sumat

Terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam,

quam *Heraclitus*; 3, 35: *qui quoniam quid dicere intellegi noluit omittamus*; *Fin.* 2, 15: *quod duobus modis sine reprehensione fit, si aut de industria facias, ut Heraclitus, cognomento qui σκοταίρις perhibetur, quia de natura nimis obscure memoravit, aut, etc.* (Madvig on this passage thinks that Cicero merely follows the common tradition about Heraclitus, rather than expressing an independent opinion); *Lucr.* 1, 639-640: *clarus <ob> obscuram linguam magis inter inanis / quamde gravis inter Graios qui vera requirunt*; *Liv.* 23, 39, 3: *Heraclitus, cui Scolino cognomen erat* (but the man of whom Livy writes cannot be the philosopher); *Aetna*, 536-537: *cogitet obscuri verissima dicta libelli, / Heraclite, tui*; *Sen. Ep.* 12, 7: *Heraclitus, cui cognomen fecit orationis obscuritas*; *Fronto*, p. 114 Naber: *Heraclitus obscurus involvere omnia*; *Tert. adv. Marc.* 2, 28: *Heraclitus ille tenebrosus*; *Hier. Chron. Euseb. ann. Abr.* 1517: *Heraclitus cognomento tenebrosus*; Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Philos. Gr.* 8 ed. (1898), 24. But cf. Diels, *Herakleitos von Ephesos* (1901), iii.

1. *minime Democritus*: for his works cf. 1, 5, n. (*Democritus*). Ancient testimonial to his style are collected by Diels, *Die Frag. der Vorsokrat.* 2, 3 ed. (1912), 21, including *de Or.* 1, 49; *Orat.* 67; *Dionys. de Comp. Verb.* 24. *Democritus* is here contrasted with *Heraclitus*, as in *Juv.* 10, 28-35 (and other passages cited by Mayor on those lines) the two are juxtaposed as laughing and weeping respectively.

1. *mea causa*: cf. 2, 124, n. (*nostra . . . causa*).

2. *ut si quis medicus*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 78: *ut si medicus*; Reid on *Ac.* 2, 33; Nutting in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1922), 231.

4. *terrigenam, etc.*: this verse was

without sufficient reason ascribed by Voss to Lucilius (=1377 Marx; cf. the exegetical note of Marx on the line). *Athen.* 2, p. 63 a-b says: *Ἡσίοδος δὲ τῶν κοχλίων φερόμενον καλεῖ* (*Op.* 571). *καὶ Ἀναξίλας δὲ ἀπιστότερος εἶ τῶν κοχλίων πολλῶ πάνυ, / οἱ περιφέρουσι ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὰς οἰκίας . . . προβάλλεται δὲ ἐάν τοῖς συμποσίοις γράφου τάξιν ἔχον περὶ τῶν κοχλίων οὕτως: ὕλογεῖς, ἀνάκαυτος, ἀναματος, ὕγκειλευθος*. From this passage and *Hesiod.* 1. c. (ἀλλ' ὄνόν' ἐν φερόκοις ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐμ φυτὰ βαίω) Marx would reconstruct as the Greek original of our line: *ὕλογεῖς, φερόκοις, ἀναματος, ἐμ φυτὰ βαίω*, and thinks the translation is that of Cicero himself. On ancient uses of snails in medicine, etc., cf. *Plin. N. H.* 30, 44-46.

4. *herbigradam*: only here; cf. the compound *lardigrada* in the following verses.

4. *domiportam*: the Greek *φερόκοις*, which *Hesychius*, *Photius*, *Suidas*, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* define as ὁ κοχλίας. *Greg. Naz. Carm.* 1, 2, 1, 535 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 562; cf. *Cosmas Hierosol. in Patr. Gr.* 38, 635) uses the word of the tortoise. On the conceit (as applied to the snail) cf. one of the riddles of *Symposium* (*Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed. 227, no. xviii): *porto domum mecum, semper migrare parata, / misalatoque solo non sum miserabilis exul, / sed mihi concilium de caelo nascitur ipso*.

[561] 1. *hominum more*: cf. *Ar. Ran.* 1058: *οὐ χρὴ φράζειν ἀνθρωπείως*; *Strato ap. Athen.* 9, p. 383 b: *ἀνθρωπίνως λαλεῖν*; *Petron.* 90: *saepius poetice quam humane locutus es*; *Luc. Lexiph.* 20: *ὡς ἀνθρώπινα ἤδη φρονιῆς καὶ λέγας*; *Romans*, 6, 19: *ἀνθρώπινον λέγω*.

[561] 1. [*dicere*]: when this word is retained, as some editors would do, it is usually explained as an *anacoluthon*.

potius quam hominum more cocleam [dicere]. Nam Pacuvianus Amphio

1. dicere *codd.*, *Christ*, *secluserunt Lombinus, Denis, Baier, Thoresen*, *diceret Wopkens, Müller, Haeringo*, *dicit Wopkens, Rath*, *dicens Foertsch*.

The correction to *diceret* is easy but does not improve the case much, for we must then assume the ellipsis of the protasis of a condition of which *diceret* is the apodosis—the protasis perhaps implied in the words *hominum more* (= *si hominum more uteretur*, according to Polster, *Quaest. crit. in Cic. de Div. Lib.* (1874), 1-2); the case cited by Müller in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 89 (1864), 611 from 2, 127 (*potius quam . . . daret*) is hardly an exact parallel). It seems wiser to delete *dicere*, supposing it to have been a gloss added, without an attempt to fit it into the construction of the sentence explained, to the words *hominum more*.

1. Pacuvianus Amphio: cf. 1, 24, n. (*Pacuvius*); 1, 131. The lines here quoted = Pacuv. *Antiope*, 2-4 (*quadrupes . . . sono*) and 7 (*non intellegimus . . . dixeris*) Ribbeck. Between lines 4 and 7 Ribbeck would insert two quoted by Non. p. 170 M.: *ita saeptuose (saeptuosa Ribbeck) dictione abs te datur, / quod coniectura sapiens aegre contulit*, and on the strength of the ascription by Nonius to the *Antiope* he would conclude that our lines also are derived from that play. Zillinger (*Cic. u. die altröm. Dichter* (1911), 125, n. 3) makes a somewhat more successful arrangement by placing the two lines quoted by Nonius immediately after *non intellegimus . . . dixeris*, which restores a point to *ita* in the former of them. For the reconstruction of the plot of this play cf. Ribbeck, *Die röm. Tragödie* (1875), 281-301. In *Fin.* 1, 4 Cicero implies that it was a close translation of the *Antiope* of Euripides. The passage here quoted is evidently a riddling description of the tortoise-shell used in the lyre (from its origin the lyre itself is also called *testudo*; for its association with Amphion, to whom it was given by Hermes, cf. Stoll in Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s.v. *Amphion* (1884), 312-313; Wernicke in *P.-W. s.v. Amphion* (1894), 1947; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 5, 5, and Frazer's note), given by Amphion

to others who are by the unvarying testimony of the MSS. called *Attici*. Many editors have found it hard to understand any connection in which *Attici* could appear in the tale, and have accordingly made various emendations (see the critical note). But the birth of Amphion and his brother Zethus was localized at Eleutherae (Apollod. *l.c.*; Paus. 1, 38, 9), and there they were supposed to have lived till manhood (cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 15, 9). Amphion is also associated with Mt. Aracynthus, an uncertain locality, but at times thought of as situated in Attica (Sext. *Emp. adv. Math.* 1, 257: 'Ἀράκυνθος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔστιν ὄρος; perhaps cf. *Virg. Ecl.* 2, 24, and *Serv. ad loc.*; *Schol. Stat. Theb.* 2, 239; *Vib. Seq. in Riese, Geogr. Lat. min.* (1878), 154; *Hirschfeld in P.-W. s.v. Arakynthos* (1895), 377 is perhaps incautious in considering the localization in Attica as a mistake). Furthermore, among the fragments of the Euripidean play is one (179 Nauck) which takes definite note of Attic localities: *Ὀλῶν / σύγχροτα ναῶν πύθια ταῖς τ' Ἐλευθεραῖς*. That there may have been, then, in Euripides or in Pacuvius, or more likely in both, some persons—shepherds, messengers, or others—who, if not so designated in the play, may yet have been alluded to by Cicero by the expression *Attici* is so entirely within the bounds of possibility that there seems no need to alter the reading of the MSS.

The Euripidean original of our lines is not preserved, but of great interest is a passage (too long to be here quoted in full) in the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles, 292-305 Pearson (first published in *Oxyrh. Pap.* 9 (1912), 55-56; cf. 80-81), which is thought (cf. *Hunt in Oxyrh. Pap.* 9, 34; *Pearson, op. cit.* 1 (1917), 230, n. 4) to have suggested it.

Such riddles were very congenial to the inquiring minds of the Greeks, and appear often in Greek literature and in

Quadrupes tardigrada, agrestis, humilis, aspera,
Capite brevi, cervice anguina, aspectu truci,
Eviscerata, inanima, cum animali sono

cum dixisset obscurius, tum Attici respondent:

Non intellegimus, nisi si aperte dixeris.

At ille uno verbo: testudo. Non potueras hoc igitur a principio, citharista, dicere?

LXV. 134. Defert ad coniectorem quidam somniasse se ovum pendere

4. Attici C. Christ, Bailer, Müller, Heeringa, † Attici Thoresen, Attice Botke, astici Oralli, Ribbeck. russ. Bergk, Baebicci Walcker, Marruol Palster (Quaest. crit. in Cic. de Dir. Lib. (1874), 2-3).

Latin imitators; among the Romans most notably in Symphosius (*Anth. Lat. ed. Riese*, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 221-246), who has one riddle on the tortoise (no. xx) which strongly suggests ours: *tarda, gradu lento, specioso praedita dorso; / docta quidem studio, sed saevo prodita fato / viva nihil dixi; quae sic modo mortua canto.* On the whole subject of riddles cf. Ohlert, *Rätsel u. Rätselspiele der alten Griechen*, 2 ed. (1912); Schulz in *P.-W.* s.v. *Rätsel* (1914), 62-125 (with elaborate citation of literature). Particularly good examples will be found in Athen. 10, pp. 448b-459c and in the fourteenth book of the *Anthologia Palatina*; cf. also the description of the crab in [Hom.] *Batrachom.* 294-299. An extreme imaginary case is derided by Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon. Hyp.* 2, 211-212.

1. *quadrupes, etc.*: cf. Tert. *de Pallio*, 3: *est et quadrupes, tardigrada, agrestis, humilis, aspera; testudinem Pacuvianam putas? non est; caput et alia bestiola versiculum, de mediocribus oppido sed nomen grande.* On the species of tortoise found in Greece and the use of the shell for making the lyre cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 247-249.

1. *tardigrada*: a rare word, perhaps found only here and in Mar. Vict. *Art. Gram.* 1, p. 23 Keil (where it is cited as an example of a compound word). The tortoise often appears as a type of slowness of movement, as in *Fab. Aesop.* 420 and 421 Halm; Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 346.

1. *agrestis*: that is, as Keller (*op. cit.* 2, 258; 600) points out, to distinguish it from a domesticated animal. The word is also by Cicero himself combined with *asper* in 1, 75.

2. *capite brevi*: these words are unnecessarily inverted by Ribbeck; cf. Zillinger, *op. cit.* 125, n. 2.

3. *inanima, cum animali sono*: cf. *Hymn. Herm.* 38: ἦν δὲ θάρης, τότε αἰ μάλα καλὸν αἰετοῖς; Soph. *Ichneut.* 292-293 καὶ πῶς πίθωμα τοῦ θανόντος φθίγμα τοιοῦτο βρίμειν; / πιθοῦ: θανὼν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνή. ζῶν δ' ἀναυδὸς ἦν ὁ θῆρ; Eur. *Ion.* 881-88: ἄρ' ἀγραῖλοις/ ἀφρασίον ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀχει; N. cand. *Alexiph.* 560a-561: ἀβήσσαν (σ. χελώνη) ἔθηκεν ἀναίσθητόν περ κοῦσαν / Ἑμεῖς—σάρκος γὰρ ἀπ' οὐν νόσφι σσε χέλιω. Symphos. xx (quoted in the note on Pacuvianus *Amphio* above); Ambr. *de Interpell. Iob et David*, 4, 36: *testudo enim dum vivit luto mergitur; ubi mortua fuerit legmen eius aplatur in usum comendi et pigri gratiam disciplinae, ut septem vocum discrimina numeris modulantisibus obloquatur*

4. Attici: see the note on Pacuvianus *Amphio* above.

5. *nisi si*: for this locution cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 417.

6. *igitur*: on the deferred position of the word cf. 1, 27, n. (*igitur*).

8. *defert*: cf. 1, 97, n. (*delatus*). With the following story (= S. V. F. 2 no. 1201) cf. Phot. *Lex. s.v. πορρῆς* (=

ex fascea lecti sui cubicularis (est hoc in Chryssippi libro somnium); respondit coniector thesaurum defossum esse sub lecto. Fodit; invenit auri aliquantum idque circumdatum argento; misit coniectori quantum visum est de argento. Tum ille: 'nihilne,' inquit, 'de vitello?' Id enim ei ex ovo videbatur aurum declarasse, reliquum argentum. Nemone igitur umquam alius ovum somniavit? Cur ergo hic nescio qui thesaurum solus invenit? Quam multi inopes digni praesidio deorum nullo somnio ad thesaurum

2. thesaurum A¹B, Christ, Baillet, Thoresen, thesaurum A¹V, Müller, Heeringa.

6. thesaurum C, Christ, Baillet, Thoresen, thesaurum Müller, Heeringa.

S. V. P. 2, no. 1202): *οτι δε το ωχρον νεοττον ελεγον μαρτυρει και Χρυσιππος εν τῷ περι χρησμων' δυαρ γαρ τινα φασιν θεασάμενον εκ της κλινης αυτου κρέμασθαι ψά προσαναθεσθαι δνειροκριτη, τον δε ειπειν' ορυττων θησαυρον ευρησεις κατα τον τόπον εκεινον' ευροντα δε σταμνιον, εν ᾧ ἀργυριον ην και χρυσιον, ενεγκειν τι του ἀργυριου τῷ μάντει' τον δε μάντιν ειπειν' του δε νεοττου οδέν μοι δίδωσι; (= Suid. s.v. νεοττός; Apostol. 12, 7 (Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 543); Arsen. 37, 15); 2, 142 infra. The expression του νεοττου οδέν μοι δίδωσι; seems to have become proverbial.*

[562] 8. *ovum*: on dreams of eggs cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 43: *ὡς λατροῖς και ζωγράφοις και τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν πορισμοῖς συμφίρει τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ μὲν ὀλίγα κέρδους ἐστὶ σηματικά διὰ τὸ τρέφειν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ φροντίδος και ἀνίας, πολλάκις δὲ και δικῶν, κτλ.* Some modern superstitions relate dreams of eggs to trouble impending; cf. Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* (1915), 75; for other associations of the egg cf. Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 186 (1921), 137-138, and the works there cited.

1. *fascea*: one of the straps or ropes by which the mattress was supported; cf. Mart. 5, 62, 6; 14, 159; *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* 3, 321: *curia fastia lecti*; also known as *lorum*, *instita*, or *cadurcum*; cf. Girard in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *lectus* (1904), 1021.

1. *lecti . . . cubicularis*: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 59.

1. *Chryssippi libro*: cf. 1, 6, n. (*uno de somniis*); yet it should be noted that

our Greek sources (quoted in the note on *defert* above) ascribe this to his book on oracles (cf. 1, 6, n. (*de oraculis*) above).

1. *somnium*: Allen (ad h. loc.) understands this as a genitive plural (as in 1, 42; 1, 66), modifying *libro*. But such a plural form from neuters is rare and chiefly limited to poetry (Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 461), so that it seems preferable to understand this as a neuter nominative, modified by *hoc*.

2. *thesaurum*: on the consultation of seers about buried treasure cf. Plat. *Leg.* 11, p. 913a-b. Such dreams of treasure are frequent in Greece today (Lawson, *Mod. Gr. Folklore and anc. Gr. Relig.* (1910), 301. Cf. also 2, 13, n. (*thesaurum*)).

3f. *quantulum visum est*: cf. in *Carcil.* 57: *mulieri reddidit quantulum (sc. pecuniae) visum est*.

4. *vitello*: in spite of the word *νεοττός* in the Greek versions cited in the note on *defert* above, it is tempting to guess (following the suggestion of Victorius) that the original form of the story in the Greek may have used for the yolk of the egg the word *χρωσῶν* (cf. Athen. 9, p. 376d: *τῶν ᾠῶν τὰ χρωσᾶ*; p. 406a), in which case the symbolism would have been even more close.

4. *ex*: cf. 2, 124, n. (*ex somniis*).

6. *ovum somniavit*: with this transitive use of *somnio* cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 666: *quis somniavit aurum*; *Rud.* 597; Ter. *Eun.* 194; Columell. 1, 8, 2; Suet. *Galb.* 18.

6. *nescio qui*: cf. 2, 79, n. (*nescio cui*).

reperendum admonentur! Quam autem ob causam tam est obscure admonitus ut ex ovo nasceretur thesauri similitudo, potius quam aperte thesaurum quaerere iuberetur, sicut aperte Simonides vetitus est navigare?

135. Ergo obscura somnia minime consentanea maiestati deorum.

LXVI. Ad aperta et clara veniamus, quale est de illo interfecto a caupone Megaris, quale de Simonide, qui ab eo quem humarat vetitus est navigare, quale etiam de Alexandro, quod a te praeteritum esse miror. Qui, cum Ptolomaeus, familiaris eius, in proelio telo venenato ictus esset

2. thesauri A¹V, Christ, Baier, Thoresen, thesauris A¹, thesauro B, thesauri Müller, Heeringa.

3. thesaurum A¹BV, Christ, Baier, Thoresen, thesaurum A¹, Müller, Heeringa.

B. qui, cum Christ, Baier, Thoresen, qui^{oo} cum A¹, quidcum I¹, quod cum I¹ (quod probavit Raik), quippe cum Beradius, Quinte Poëster (Quaest. crit. in Cic. de Div. Lib. (1874), 4), Müller, Heeringa; verbum Alexander ad. Kayser.

8. Ptolomaeus Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, ptolomeus A¹, ptolomeus B, Ptolemaeus vulg. (sic infra).

2. *ex ovo nasceretur*: there is perhaps some humor in the expression, as Thoresen (in his critical appendix) observes.

3. *Simonides*: cf. 1, 56.

4. *maiestati deorum*: with which the Stoics, in 1, 82-83 (2, 101-102; 2, 105), had attempted to reconcile the existence of divination.

5. *de illo interfecto*: cf. 1, 57.

6. *Simonide*: cf. 1, 56.

8f. *qui cum . . . Alexander*: for the numerous and ingenious attempts to cure the anacoluthon see the critical note. But so frequent are anacolutha in Cicero (cf. Schuppe, *De Anacol. Cicero*. (1860)), particularly those in which some misuse of the relative is involved, and so much more common and violent in his dialogues, where he is trying to reproduce the language of conversation (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 585-586), that I believe it safer to follow the reading toward which the MSS. seem to point. Of the various emendations that of Kayser seems the best, for *Alexander* might perhaps have been added as a gloss explanatory of *adsidens*.

8. *Ptolomaeus*, etc.: for the event here described cf. 2, 141; Diod. 17, 103, 3-8 (at Harmatelia in India): τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἄλλοι τρωθέντες εἰς τοὺς ἰσχύατους ἦλθον κινδύνου: ὁ γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐδήςος κεχρισμένος ἦν φαρμάκου θανασίμου

δυνάμει . . . κατασκέαστο δὲ ἡ τοῦ φαρμάκου δύναμις ἐκ τινος ὕψους θηρευόμενος καὶ τούτων εἰς τὸν ἥλιον περῶν τιθεμένων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος μίλας ἀφρότ ἀπέριε καὶ σηπηθῶν ἔγενετο. αἰτη δὲ . . . δευροῦ θανάτου ἀπειργάζετο . . . ἐπὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ὑστερον μὲν βασιλεύσαντι, τότε δὲ ἀγαπωμένῳ μεγάλως ἠχθέσθη (sc. δ' Ἀλέξανδρος) . . . ὁ . . . βασιλεὺς εἶδεν ὄντα κατὰ τὸν ἔστυον, καθ' ἣν ἔδοξεν ὄραν δράκοντα βοτάνην ἐν τῷ στόματι κρατεῖν καὶ δεῖξαι ταύτης τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ φύεται. ἐγερθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν βοτάνην ἀναζητήσας καὶ τρίψας τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατέπλασε καὶ πλείν δοῦν ἰγίτη κατέστησε. γνωσθεὶς δὲ τῆς εὐχρηστίας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τυχόντες τῆς ὁμοίας θεραπείας διεσώθησαν; Strab. 15, p. 723: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρίταις τὰ τοξείματα χρεῖσθαι θανασίμου φαρμάκου ἐφασαν . . . τρωθέντα δὲ Πτολεμαῖον κινδυνεύειν: ἐν ἔστυῳ δὲ παραστάτα τινὰ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δεῖξαι βίβαν αὐτόφρεμον, ἣν κελύσαι τρίβοντα ἐπιτίθεται τῷ τραυμάτι: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἔστυου γενόμενος, μεμηγμένον τῆς βίβως εὐρεῖν ζητούonta τὴν βίβαν πολλὰ πεφυκῖαν καὶ χρῆσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους: ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐρρωμένους τὸ ἀλέξῃα ὑπὸ κούρι γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. εἰκὸς δὲ τινα μηνῦσαι τῶν εἰδόντων, τὸ ἢ μὴ ὄντας προσετέθη κολακείας χάριν; Curt. 9, 8, 20-27: veneno tinxerant (sc. Agriani) gladios . . . Ptolemaeus, lacte humecto leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulnere adfectus, regis sollicitudinem in se converterat . . . qui ei proedio et

eoque vulnere summo cum dolore moreretur, Alexander assidens somno est consopitus. Tum secundum quietem visus ei dicitur draco is quem mater Olympias alebat radiculam ore ferre et simul dicere quo illa loci nasceretur (neque is longe aberat ab eo loco), eius autem esse vim tantam

*sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolemaeo adsiderat, lectum in quo ipse adquiesceret iussit inferri. in quem ut se recepit prolinus altior insecutus est somnus. ex quo excitatus per quietem vidisse se exponit speciem draconis oblatam herbam ferentis ore quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset . . . inventam deinde—quippe a multis simul erat requisita—vulnere inposuit, prolinusque dolore finito intra breve spatium cicatrix quoque obducta est; Just. 12, 10, 2-3: ad urbem Sambi regis oppidani . . . sagittas veneno armant . . . cum inter multos vulneratus etiam Ptolemaeus esset moriturusque iam iamque videretur, per quietem regi monstrata in remedia veneni herba est, qua in potu accepta statim periculo liberatus est maiorque pars exercitus hoc remedio servata; Oros. 3, 19, 11: in expugnatione civitatis (of king Ambira) magnam partem exercitus sagittis hostium veneno inditis amisit (sc. Alexander), ac post herba per somnium sibi ostensa et in potum sauciis data cum reliquis subveniretur urbem expugnavit et cepit. There will be observed between these accounts decided differences in the localization of the event, in the revealer of the remedy (see especially Strabo's version), and in other details. Strabo is suspicious, and Arrian, as noted by Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*, 1 (1903), 6, n. 1), does not mention the incident. Cicero is the only one to connect the snake seen in the dream with the pet of Olympias, and Orosius does not mention Ptolemy. On remedies for snake venom revealed in dreams cf. 1, 16, nn. (*ad morsus serpentium; ex somnio*).*

[564] 8. *telo venenato*: the use of such is by Greek and Roman writers usually attributed to barbarians; cf. Yates and Smith in Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* 2, 3 ed. (1891), 587-588; but also Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1907), 120-121; Scott in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1924), 240-241.

1f. *somno est consopitus*: cf. *Τυσκ.* 1, 117: *somno consopiri*.

2. *secundum quietem*: cf. 1, 43, n. (*secundum quietem*).

2f. *quem . . . Olympias alebat*: on pet snakes cf. 1, 36, n. (*duobus anguibus*); and for their vogue in Macedonia especially Luc. *Alex.* 7. May this have been the snake of which we hear, in connection with Olympias, in various other authors? Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 2: *ὥσθη δὲ τότε καὶ δράκων κοιμημένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι· καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμανρώσαι λέγουσιν*; Paus. 4, 14, 7: *Νικοτελείη γὰρ τῆ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἀριστομένους) δαίμονα ἢ θεὸν δράκοντι εἰκασμένων συγγενέσθαι λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδῃ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδάμῃ Σικυωνίου οἶδα εἰρηκότας*; Luc. *Alex.* 7: *ὅθεν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος μῦθον διαφοιτῆσαι πάλαι εἰκόσ, ὅπῃτε κἀκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, δράκοντος οἶμαι ἔγκυκαθεύοντος αὐτῆ τοιοῦτον*; *Dial. Mori.* 13, 1: *περὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ὁμοία ἐλάττο, δράκοντα ὁμιλεῖν αὐτῆ καὶ βλέπεσθαι ἐν τῆ εἰρήῃ, εἶτα οὕτω σε τεχθῆναι, κτλ.*; Just. 11, 11, 3: *mater eius Olympias confessa viro suo Philippo fuerat Alexandrum non ex eo se sed ex serpente ingentis magnitudinis concepisse*; 12, 16, 2; Ps. Callisth. 1, 12-13 (of Armenian Version (= Jul. Val. 1, 6-11)); Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1, 2, 15, 91-92 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 773): *καὶ σε, δρακοντιάδῃ, . . . Ἀλέξανδρε (and Cosmas Hierosol. in his commentary on this passage (Patr. Gr. 38, 434) remarks: δρακοντιάδης ἑστίν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὄφει ἐξομοιωθεῖς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν Φιλίππου γυναῖκα ἐμολχευσε; cf. Patr. Gr. 38, 404); Fulgent. de Aetat. Mundi et Hom. 37; Ptol. Chenn. Nov. Hist. 3, 4: *οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ οὐχ ὁ Φίλιππος γίνονται ἀλλὰ τινε τοῖνομα Δράκων, γένος Ἀρκάς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ δράκοντος μῦθον βῆναι*; 3, 18. Note also the snake on the headpiece of a figure thought to be*

ut Ptolomaeum facile sanaret. Cum Alexander experrectus narrasset amicis somnium, emissi sunt qui illam radiculam quaerent; qua inventa et Ptolomaeus sanatus dicitur et multi milites qui erant eodem genere teli vulnerati. 136. Multa etiam sunt a te ex historiis prolata somnia, matris Phalaridis, Cyri superioris, matris Dionysi, Poeni Hamilcaris, Hannibalis, P. Deci; pervulgatum iam illud de praesule, C. Gracchi etiam et recens Caeciliae, Baliarici filiae, somnium. Sed haec externa ob eamque

2. emissi sunt Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa, emisisse V as corr., Christ, et misisset A, et misisset B ex misisset V, emisit cons. Halm, vino ex male inuncto et enato, emissos esse Klots.

5. Dionysi AV, Christ, dyanosi B, Dionysii Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa.

6. Deci A'B, Christ, Decii A'VO, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa.

6. C. Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa, g AB, om. VO, sed ule in loco exanido habet V.

Alexander on a cameo at Vienna (Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1 (1900), pl. liii, 1; 2 (1900), 250-251; Hekler, *Gr. and Rom. Portraits* (1912), xvii). For similar traditions of others cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 866, n. 1; Cook in *Encycl. Brit.* 24, 11 ed. (1911), 678; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 80-81.

[565] 3. *radiculam* . . . *ferre*: on the snake as the bringer of healing herbs cf. Halliday, *Gr. Divination* (1913), 88, and n. 4, and works there cited. The snake as a symbol of Asclepius is, of course, familiar; cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.* 2, 444, n. 1. If we accept the account of the legend in Diodorus (quoted in the note on *Ptolomaeus*, etc. above), there is an added appropriateness in supposing the snake to have pointed out the cure for snake venom—a somewhat varied form of the common superstition of 'a hair of the dog that bit you'; cf. Seren. Sammon, 82, 9: *sanat quae sauciat ipsa*; the numerous cases cited by von Leutsch in *Paroemiogr.* 2, 763 and by Schmidt in Roscher, *Ausj. Lexikon*, s.v. *Telephos* (1916), 284; also Stemplinger, *Sympathiegläub u. Sympathikuren in Altertum u. Neuzeit* (1919), 48-49. Somewhat similar properties to those possessed by this herb are ascribed by Pliny, *N. H.* 8, 97; etc., and by other writers to the plant *dictamnus* (cf. Schmidt in *P.-W.* s.v. *Dictamnus* (1905), 582-583, to which add Tert. *de Poenis.* 12; *Et. Mag.* s.v. *ἀσθός*), which freed stags from arrows which had hit them and was of value against snake-

poison, and its powers may perhaps have furnished the motif for the description of those of the herb in this legend.

[565] 3. *quo* . . . *loci*: cf. *ad Att.* 8, 10: *nescire quo loci esset*. This construction (found also with *eo* and *eodem*) is rare in Cicero; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 430.

5. *matris Phalaridis*: cf. 1, 46.

5. *Cyri superioris*: cf. 1, 46, where he is called *Cyro illi principi*.

5. *matris Dionysi*: cf. 1, 39.

5. *Hamilcaris*: cf. 1, 50.

6. *Hannibalis*: cf. 1, 48-49.

6. *Deci*: cf. 1, 51.

6. *de praesule*: cf. 1, 55.

6. *C. Gracchi*: cf. 1, 56.

7. *Caeciliae*: cf. 1, 4; 1, 99.

7. *externa*: cf. 1, 29, n. (*ut P. Claudius*). Yet the last four instances mentioned are not foreign but Roman. It may, then, be the case that *externa* here = *aliena*, the dreams of others than ourselves, as Rath, Kayser, and Thoresen believe, or, as suggested by Hottinger, that *haec externa* refers to the first part of the preceding list, and *non nulla etiam ficta* to the Roman examples at the end. The use of *etiam*, however, rather suggests that the *non nulla* form a part of the larger group *haec*, and if this be so the former interpretation is to be preferred.

[567] 1. *ficta*: cf. 2, 27.

[567] 2. *nostris somniis*: cf. 1, 58-59.

causam ignota nobis sunt, non nulla etiam ficta fortasse. Quis enim auctor istorum? De nostris somniis quid habemus dicere? Tu de emerso me et equo ad ripam, ego de Mario cum fascibus laureatis me in suum deduci iubente monumentum. LXVII. Omnium somniorum, Quinte, una ratio est; quae per deos immortalis videamus ne nostra superstitione et depravatione superetur. 137. Quem enim tu Marium visum a me putas? Speciem, credo, eius et imaginem, ut Democrito videtur. Unde profectam imaginem? A corporibus enim solidis et a certis figuris vult fluere imagines; quod igitur Mari corpus erat? Ex eo, inquit, quod fuerat. Ista igitur me imago Mari in campum Atinatem persequabatur?— Plena sunt imaginum omnia; nulla enim species cogitari potest nisi pulsu imaginum.—138. Quid

2. emerso A¹, Davies, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heringo, verso A¹BVO.

9. Mari A, Christ, Marii BVO, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heringo.

10-11. Verba plena . . . omnia, quae in codd. vocabulum fuerat sequuntur, ex Christi con. ita transpomerunt Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heringo.

2. habemus dicere: cf. Reid on *Ac.* 2, 43; Landgraf on *pro Rosc. Am.* 100.

2. emerso: cf. 2, 140; also, for the phrase, 2, 67.

4f. omnium . . . una ratio: cf. 2, 60, n. (*omnium . . . una ratio*). The truth of a general principle must not be allowed to be weakened by individuals who misinterpret and exaggerate the importance of their own particular (*nostra*) experiences.

7. speciem: 'the technical term to denote the mental impression made by the *imagines*,' according to Mayor on *N. D.* 1, 49 (where Cicero says: *cum infinita simillarum imaginum species ex innumerabilibus individuis existat, etc.*), who cites also *N. D.* 1, 107: *fac imagines esse quibus pulsentur animi; species dumtaxat obicitur quaedam . . . quae autem istae imagines vestrae et unde? a Democrito omnino haec licentia; de Fat.* 43: *visum obiectum inprimis illud quidem et quasi signabit in animo suam speciem*; cf. also the last clause in the present section.

7. imaginem, ut Democrito videtur: cf. 1, 5, n. (*Democritus*); 1, 80, n. (*negat enim*); and especially 2, 120 (*ut Democritus*).

8. a corporibus, etc.: with this passage cf. Aug. *Ep.* 118, 27: *qui* (sc. *Democritus*) *deos esse arbitraretur imagines, quae de solidis corporibus fluere solidaeque*

ipsae non essent . . . nutavitque sententia ut aliquando naturam quandam de qua fluere imagines deum esse diceret, qui tamen cogitari non posset nisi per eas imagines quas fundit ac mittit; cf. the last clause in the present section.

8. fluere imagines: cf. 2, 139; *N. D.* 1, 49: *imaginum species . . . affluit*; 1, 109: *fluentium . . . visionum*; 1, 114: *imagines semper affluant*.

9. quod igitur Mari corpus, etc.: with these objections compare those advanced by Cotta in *N. D.* 1, 106-107: *ut igitur T. Gracchum cum video contionantem in Capitolio de Marco Octavio deferentem stellam tum . . . tu* (sc. *dicis*) . . . *et Gracchi et Octavi imagines remanere quae in Capitolium cum pervenerim tum ad animum meum referantur . . . quid est quod minus probari possit, omnium in me incidere imagines, Homeri, Archilochi, Romuli, Numae, Pythagorae, Platonis, etc.*

9. inquit: cf. 2, 109, n. (*inquit*).

10. campum Atinatem: cf. 1, 59, and n. (*campi Atinatis*).

10f. plena . . . imaginum omnia: cf. Anon. *Hermipp.* 122 (Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokrat.* 2, 3 ed. (1912), 21, no. 78): *τὸ μῦθος τοῦ Δημοκρίτου <οὐ> καλῶς ἂν εἶχοι παραλιπεῖν, δι' εἰδῶλα αὐτοῖς* (sc. *τοῖς δαιμονίας*) *ὀνομάσθαι μυστῶν τε εἶναι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦτο* (also 2, 136, no. 5); 1, 64, n. (*plenus . . . animorum*) above.

ergo? Istae imagines ita nobis dicto audientes sunt ut simul atque velimus accurrant? Etiamne earum rerum quae nullae sunt? Quae est enim forma tam invisitata, tam nulla, quam non sibi ipse fingere animus possit? Ut quae numquam vidimus ea tamen informatam habeamus, oppidorum situs, hominum figuras. 139. Num igitur, cum aut muros Babylonis aut Homeri faciem cogito, imago illorum me aliqua pellit? Omnia igitur quae volumus nota nobis esse possunt; nihil est enim de quo cogitare nequeamus;

[567] 11. *nulla*, etc.: cf. note on a *corporeibus*, etc. above.

[567] 11. *pulsu*: cf. 2, 126; 2, 139; etc.

[567] 11 f. *quid ergo*: cf. 2, 69; 2, 130.

1. *dicto audientes*: cf. *Rep.* 1, 61.

1. *simul atque velimus*: cf. *ad Fam.* 15, 16, 2 (to C. Cassius): *doceas tu me oportebit . . . in meane potestate sit spectrum tuum, ut, simul ac mihi conlubitum sit de te cogitare, illud occurrat; neque solum de te, qui mihi haeres in medullis, sed si insulam Britanniam coepero cogitare eius εἰδῶλον mihi advolabit ad pectus? Lucr. 4, 779-799: quaeritur in primis quare, quod cuique libido / venerit, extemplo mens cogitet eius id ipsum. / anne voluntatem nostram simulacra tuentur / et simul ac volumus nobis occurrit imago, / si mare, si terram cordist, si denique caelum? / . . . propterea fit uti quovis in tempore quaeque / praesto sint simulacra locis in quisque parata: / tanta est mobilitas et rerum copia tanta; Diog. L. 10, 48: ἡ γένεσις τῶν εἰδῶλων ἔμα νοήματι συμβαίνει: καὶ γὰρ βεῦσις ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων τοῦ ἐπιπολῆς συμβαίνει, κτλ.*

2. *rerum quae nullae sunt*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 107-108: *Orpheum poetam docet Aristoteles numquam fuisse . . . at Orpheus, id est, imago eius, ut vos vultis, in animum meum saepe incurrit . . . quid quod earum rerum quae numquam omnino fuerunt neque esse potuerunt, ut Scyllae, ut Chimaerae; quid quod hominum locorum urbium earum quas numquam vidimus; quid quod simul ac mihi collibitum est praesto est imago, quid quod etiam ad dormientem veniunt invocatae?*

2. *quae est*, etc.: cf. *N. D.* 1, 39: *eos ne coniectura quidem informare possumus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur*

cogitatione posse depingere; also 2, 146 below, for the possibilities of thought in dreams.

3. *invisitata*: cf. 1, 93, n. (*invisitata*).

3. *nulla*: cf. 1, 81, n. (*nullae*); 2, 16, n. (*quam . . . nulla*).

4. *quae numquam vidimus*: cf. notes on *simul atque velimus* and *rerum quae nullae sunt* above.

5. *muros Babylonis*: perhaps here mentioned as one of the seven wonders of the world, in the canon of which they were included from the time of Antipater of Sidon, early in the first century before Christ (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 58; for other lists of these wonders cf. von Rohden, *De Mundi Miraculis Quaest. selectae* (1875); Schott, *De septem Orbis Spectaculis Quaest.* (1891), and the works there cited; Banks, *The seven Wonders of the World* (1916), in which pp. 39-77 deal with the walls of Babylon). In Julian, *Or.* 2, p. 83c the walls of Babylon are cited, as here, as a typical wonder (cf. 3, p. 127a). The classic account of the walls of Babylon is found in Hdt. 1, 178-179; on the subject cf. also Baumstark in *P.-W.* s.v. *Babylon* (1896), 2696-2697.

5f. *Homeri faciem*: cf. *N. D.* 1, 107: *omnium in me incidere imagines. Homeris, Archilochi, Romuli, Numae, Pythagorae, Platonis, nec ea forma qua illi fuerunt.*

6. *omnia igitur*, etc.: a *reductio ad absurdum* which eliminates these extravagant claims for the importance of the effects of the *imagines*, after which he concludes, with not too cogent reasoning, that the *imagines* cannot be held to be the explanation of normal dreams.

nullae ergo imagines obrepunt in animos dormientium extrinsecus nec omnino fluunt ullae, nec cognovi quemquam qui maiore auctoritate nihil diceret. Animorum est ea vis eaque natura ut vigeant vigilantes nullo adventicio pulsu sed suo motu incredibili quadam celeritate. Hi cum sustinentur membris et corpore et sensibus omnia certiora cernunt, cogitant, sentiunt. Cum autem haec subtracta sunt desertusque animus languore corporis, tum agitur ipse per sese. Itaque in eo et formae versantur et actiones, et multa audiri, multa dici videntur. 140. Haec scilicet in inbecillo remissoque animo multa omnibus modis confusa et variata versantur maximeque reliquiae rerum earum moventur in animis et agitantur de quibus vigilantes aut cogitavimus aut egimus, ut mihi temporibus illis multum in animo Marius versabatur recordanti quam ille gravem suum casum magno animo, quam constanti tulisset. Hanc credo

2. *ullae Davies, Christ, Baier, Muller, Thomsen, Heringa, ille C.*

1. *nullae, etc.*: cf. *Ac.* 2, 125: *et si nunc aut si etiam dormientes aliquid animo videre videamus, imagines extrinsecus in animos nostros per corpus irrumperet tu vero ista ne asciveris neve fueris commenticiis rebus adsensus.*

2. *fluunt*: Hottinger well explains this as = *effluunt a corporibus.*

2 f. *maiore auctoritate nihil diceret*: cf. 2, 119, n. (*nihil tam absurde, etc.*); on the word *auctoritate* cf. 1, 62, n. (*auctoritate*); for *nihil diceret* cf. *de Fat.* 32; *Tusc.* 1, 14; 2, 45; 4, 46; also the Greek *οὐδὲν λήγειν* (*Ar. Nub.* 644; 781; *Eq.* 334; *Vesp.* 75), which may have been in Cicero's source at this point.

3. *vigeant vigilantes*: with the alliteration cf. 1, 74: *silere soleret*; also *certiora cernunt, cogitant* below. For *vigeant* cf. 1, 21, n. (*vigenti numini*).

4. *adventicio pulsu*: cf. 2, 120; 2, 126.

4. *incredibili quadam*: cf. *N. D.* 2, 138; *Ac.* 1, 46; 2, 2 (and Reid's note); *Rep.* 3, 4; *de Or.* 1, 14; 1, 172; etc.

5. *sustinentur membris*: cf. *Tim.* 19. Marcus, then, holds the normal action of the body to be an aid to the greater correctness of sensation and the mental processes based upon sensation.

When the body is weakened the mind no longer has its support but it still continues those processes—like a fireless cooker, if one may be allowed the comparison!—, and there results a rather confused jumble of the thoughts of the waking hours (*reliquiae, etc.*).

5. *certiora*: rather than *certa*, as befits the Academic suspense of judgment of the author; cf. *N. D.* 3, 95 *michi Balbi* (sc. *disputatio*) *ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propensior* (and Mayor's note). The adjective is contrasted with *confusa et variata* in 2, 140.

6. *cum autem, etc.*: cf. 1, 60-61, 2, 128.

6 f. *animus . . . agitur*: cf. 2, 128, n. (*agitatione et motu*); 2, 129; *Rep.* 6, 29, *de Sen.* 78.

9. *remisso . . . animo*: cf. *Off.* 1, 104; *de Sen.* 81: *dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt.*

11. *de quibus vigilantes*: cf. 1, 45, and n. (*quaeque agunt vigilantes*); 2, 128.

11. *aut*: the construction logically would be *aut de quibus . . . cogitavimus aut quae egimus.*

causam de illo somniandi fuisse. **LXVIII.** Tibi autem de me cum sollicitudine cogitanti subito sum visus emersus de flumine. Inerant enim in utriusque nostrum animis vigilantium cogitationum vestigia. At quaedam adiuncta sunt, ut mihi de monumento Mari, tibi, quod equus in quo ego vehebar mecum una demersus rursus apparuit. **141.** An tu censes ullam anum tam deliram futuram fuisse ut somniis crederet, nisi ista casu non numquam forte temere concurrerent? Alexandro draco loqui visus est. Potest omnino hoc esse falsum, potest verum; sed utrum est non est mirabile; non enim audivit ille draconem loquentem sed est visus audire, et quidem, quo maius sit, cum radicem ore teneret locutus est. Sed nihil est magnum somnianti. Quaero autem cur Alexandro tam inlustre som-

4. Marii codd., vulg., Müller.

8. utrum est Klotz, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heringa. utrum sit CO.

8. non est vulg., Müller, non esse C.

[569] **12. Marius versabatur:** as a fellow townsman and one who had, like Cicero himself, experienced exile, Marius and his fortunes would be a natural subject to engage Cicero's waking thoughts. Cf. the list of instances in which he cites Marius, now as an *exemplum virtutis*, now as the contrary, and again with neither praise nor blame, as given by Litchfield in *Harv. Stud. in class. Philol.* 25 (1914), 51, n. 4.

2f. in utriusque nostrum animis: *utriusque*, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) remarks, is here used in an unusual sense. Perhaps the plural idea in it, however, may be explained on the analogy of the occasional employment of *uterque* with a plural verb; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 22.

4. monumento Mari: cf. 1, 59.

4. equus in quo: for the use of the preposition cf. *pro Mil.* 28; 55.

5. demersus rursus: note the awkward homoeoteleuton; cf. 1, 111, n. (*natura futura*).

5. an tu censes: cf. *N. D.* 1, 77; *Rep.* 1, 19; also *an censes* (2, 22; 2, 36 above; *de Sen.* 82).

6. anum . . . deliram: cf. 1, 7, n. (*anili superstitione*); Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 28 (with the additions by Sonny in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. u. Gram.* 9 (1896), 55; Sutphen in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 22 (1901), 11; Weymann

in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. u. Gram.* 13 (1904), 264; cf. Reiter on Hier. in *Hierem.* 3, 70, 4, where Jerome says *quod anus delira confingit*). With the whole phrase cf. *Tusc.* 1, 10: *adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?*

6. casu: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

7. forte temere: coupled also in *de Fat.* 6; for other cases, particularly often in Livy, cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. fors* (1921), 1130.

7. Alexandro, etc.: cf. 2, 135.

8. utrum: for this use of the word cf. Moore on *de Sen.* 58.

10. et quidem, etc.: an ironical addition.

10. maius: cf. *N.D.* 2, 115; *de Fat.* 17: *maius est enim . . . perdiscere*; and the use of *magnum* in the next sentence.

11. quero . . . cur: a further exemplification of the method of Carneades against which Quintus (in 1, 23; 1, 86; 1, 109; cf. 2, 46) had protested.

11f. cur . . . somnium: on the omission of a past tense of the subjunctive of the copula, which is rather an unusual phenomenon, cf. Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* 18, 5.

11f. tam inlustre . . . tam certum: cf. *Rep.* 1, 4: *tam certis tamque inlustribus*.

[571] **1. mihi quidem, etc.:** cf. 2, 121, n. (*somniamus . . . dormiamus*).

[571] **2. nihil, etc.:** Themist. *de Insomnia*.

nium, tam certum, nec huic eidem alias nec multa ceteris; mihi quidem praeter hoc Marianum nihil sane quod meminerim. Frustra igitur consumptae tot noctes tam longa in aetate. 142. Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operae et lucubrationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam, nec tam multum dormiens ullo somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus, nec mihi magis umquam videor quam cum aut in foro magistratus aut in curia senatum video somniare.

LXIX. Etenim (ex divisione hoc secundum est) quae est continuatio coniunctioque naturae, quam, ut dixi, vocant *συμπάθειαν*, eius modi ut

10. *συμπάθειαν* *νῆξ.*, *Μάλλω*, *sympathian* C.

1, p. 276 Spengel remarks: *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν-πρίω μᾶλλον μνημονεύουσιν ἀναστάτες δ εἶδον οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἠεκηότες μεμῆσθαι τὰ βέλματα.*

3. *tam longa in aetate*: sixty-two years.

3. *nunc quidem*: for the bearing of this passage on the question of the date of the work cf. introd. p. 14; also 1, 11, and n. (*hoc autem tempore*).

4. *forensis opera*: cf. *Fin.* 1, 10; *Ac.* 2, 2; *pro Mur.* 41; in *Pis.* 64; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 8; *opella forensis*.

4. *lucubrationes*: these may be either in the early morning (cf. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 1, 2 ed. (1886), 258, and n. 3) or in the evening; cf. *Plin. N. H.* 18, 233: in *lucubratione vespertina ridicas V, palos X, totidem antelucana*, where he is, however, speaking of manual rather than mental labor.

4. *meridiationes*: the word is found only here, but the verb *meridio* (= *μεσημβριάζω*) is not infrequent. The custom of the siesta was a common one, except among the very busy. A speaker in *Varr. R. R.* 1, 2, 5 says: *aestivo die, si non diffinderem meo insilitio somno meridiē, vivere non possum*. Pliny implies (*Ep.* 7, 4, 4) that this was particularly a summer custom (cf. 9, 36, 3; 9, 40, 1-2: *nihil* (sc. *hieme permuto*) *nisi quod meridianus somnus eximitur*); cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.* 268-269; Fowler, *Social Life at Rome* (1909), 274-275; Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer* (1911), 383.

6. *tantis . . . de rebus*: Durand (in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 179, n. 5) thinks these words an allusion to all that occurred after the return to Brundisium, rather than a vague reference to the murder of Caesar, for just after the Ides of March the senate and magistrates were hardly the mere phantoms here portrayed.

9. *etenim*: a word of transition, not from the sentence immediately preceding, but from the first division of the thought to the second, for which use cf. *Madvig* on *Fin.* 1, 3; also 2, 89, n. (*etenim*) above.

9. *ex divisione*: that is, from the threefold explanation advanced in 2, 124 (where see the note on *aut*, etc.). This second division, dealing with *συμπάθεια*, extends through 2, 145.

9. *quae est*, etc.: in a somewhat similar manner in *de Fat.* 7-8 Cicero argues that though the *astrorum adfectio*, like the *locorum natura*, may account for some things, yet it surely cannot be held as generally influential over details, as Chrysippus would maintain. Again, with the specific objection here raised to assuming a connection between *thesaurus*, *hereditas*, *honor*, and *victoria* on the one hand and dreams on the other, cf. the very similar argument in 2, 33-34, as applied to liver divination. And even the too credulous Pliny (*N. H.* 28, 228) revolts against accepting an extreme case in the field of curative magic.

9. *coniunctio . . . naturae*: cf.

thesaurus ex ovo intellegi debeat? Nam medici ex quibusdam rebus et advenientis et crescentis morbos intellegunt, non nullas etiam valetudinis significationes, ut hoc ipsum, pleni enectine simus, ex quodam genere somniorum intellegi posse dicunt. Thesaurus vero et hereditas et honos et victoria et multa generis eiusdem qua cum somniis naturali cognatione iunguntur? 143. Dicitur quidam cum in somnis complexu Venerio iungeretur calculos eiecisse. Video sympathiam; visum est enim tale

1. thesaurus C, Christ, Baier, Thoresen [thesaurus Müller, Beringa.
2. advenientis vulg., Müller, advenientes C.
3. enectine Lambinus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Beringa, enectine C.
4. thesaurus C, Christ, Baier, Thoresen, thesaurus Müller, Beringa.
5. qua Martius, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Beringa, quae C.
7. sympathiam C (sympatiam A), Christ, Baier, sympathiam Müller, Thoresen, Beringa.

2, 34; 2, 124; in each of which places the phrase is equivalent, as here, to *συνπάθεια*; also *N. D.* 3, 28.

[S71] 10. *συνπάθειαν*: cf. 2, 34, n. (*συνπάθειαν*).

1. *thesaurus ex ovo*: cf. 2, 134.

1. *medici, etc.*: cf. 1, 24, n. (*an medicina*); 1, 112; 2, 13; 2, 16; 2, 145. For the significance of dreams in medical prognosis cf. [Hippocr.] *de Insomn.* p. 2 Kühn: ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος παθήματα προσημαίνει, πλησμονῆς ἢ κενώσεως ὑπερβολῆν τῶν ἐμφύτων ἢ μεταβολῆν τῶν ἀθίων, κρινουσι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ μὲν τυγχάνουσι τὰ δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ οὐδέτερα τούτων γινώσκουσι διότι οὖν γίνεται οὐθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐπιτύχωσιν οὐθ' ὅτι ἂν ἀμαρτῶσι, κτλ. (the rest of the treatise contains particular instances); *Plat. Rep.* 9, p. 571c-572b (translated by Cicero in 1, 60-61 above); *Arist. de Div. rer. Somn.* 1, p. 463a 4-6: λίγουσι γοῦν καὶ τῶν λατρῶν οἱ χαριεστες ὅτι δεῖ σφόδρα προσίχειν τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις (cf. *Themist. de Insomn.* 1, p. 276 Spengel; 2, p. 282); *Galen. de Insomn.* p. 832 Kühn: τὸ ἐνυπνιον δὲ ἡμῖν ἐνδείκνυται διάθεσιν τοῦ σώματος, κτλ.; *Plut. de tuenda Sanit.* 14, p. 129b: καὶ τῶν ἐνυπνίων τὴν ἀποσίαν (sc. δεῖ φυλάττειν), ἄνωγ' ὡς μὴ νόμιμοι μὴδὲ συνήθειαι φαντασίαι, πλῆθος ἢ πᾶχος ὑγρῶν ἢ πνεύματος ταραχὴν ἐντὸς κατηγοροῦσαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματα τὸ σῶμα μνησὶ πρὸς νόσον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν; *Aët. Plac.* 5, 2, 3: Ἡρόφιλος τῶν ἀνέλκων τοὺς μὲν θεωρεῖται . . . τοὺς δὲ φυσικοὺς ἀνεύδωλοποιουμένης ψυχῆς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῆ καὶ τὸ πάντως ἐσόμενον. To the part

of dreams in modern theories of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy we here need merely allude.

3. *enecti*: cf. 1, 61; 2, 73.

4. *thesaurus*: cf. 2, 18 (where, as here, it is coupled with *hereditas*); 2, 33, 2, 134; *Themist. de Insomn.* 1, p. 275 Spengel.

4. *hereditas*: cf. 2, 18; 2, 32.

5. *naturali cognatione*: cf. 2, 34.

6. *dicitur quidam, etc.*: Sander (*Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div.* (1908), 20-21), by raising difficulties in regard to *igitur* in the second sentence after this, finds justification for supposing that this sentence and the next were written by Cicero on the margin of his unfinished MS and later by an editor awkwardly inserted where they stand. The assumption is entirely unnecessary.

6. *complexu Venerio*: cf. *Apul. Apol.* 12: *Venerem . . . serva corpora complexu vincientem.*

7. *calculos eiecisse*: for the phrase cf. *Plin. N. H.* 20, 23; 28, 42; *Suet. Aug.* 80. This disease and its treatment, both medical and surgical, are discussed by the ancient medical writers in many passages. For the expulsion of *calculi* under strong nervous stimuli cf. *Hippocr. Coac. Praenot.* p. 336 Kühn: τρομώδεια πρεσβυτέρουσι ἐν πυρετῶ, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιφανόμενα λιθιδία που διουρέου. On the supposed effects of sexual intercourse upon this disease cf. *Galen. in Hippocr. Epidem.* 5, p. 289 Kühn.

obiectum dormienti ut id quod evenit naturae vis, non opinio erroris effecerit. Quae igitur natura obtulit illam speciem Simonidi a qua vetaretur navigare? Aut quid naturae copulatum habuit Alcibiadis quod scribitur

[572] 7. *sympathiam*: Müller would adopt the accusative in -an, but the evidence for it is here far weaker than in 2, 59 (where see the note on *Polition*) and 2, 79 (*tetrarchian*).

[572] 7f. *visum est . . . tale obiectum dormienti* ut: cf. *Ac.* 2, 49: *si tale visum obiectum est a deo dormienti ut, etc.* On *obiectum* cf. 1, 81, n. (*obiciuntur*).

1. *ut id, etc.*: a brachylogy, as Hottinger suggested, for *visum quod dormienti fuit obiectum tale est ut clarum sit id quod evenit naturae vim non opinionis errorem effecisse*; cf. 2, 126, n. (*praesertim cum . . . dicat*). But I do not feel that Hottinger was correct in supposing the *electio calculatorum* to have been the cause which suggested the dream; rather it was the effect of the nervous reactions induced by the dream, and the Latin of the passage shows that this was clearly Cicero's own view; cf. Thoresen in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 41-42.

1. *opinio erroris*: this expression Thoresen (*l.c.*) considers so difficult as to require emendation (his being *beneficio erroris*, i.e., *iuvante somnio*). But though the use of the genitive is a very free one we need not reject the words; *naturae vis* and *opinio erroris* are contrasted by a neat chiasmus, and as the *vis* belongs to or takes its rise from *natura* so the *opinio* may well do from *error*.

2. *quae . . . natura*: cf. 2, 80, and n. (*quae est . . . natura*).

2. *igitur*: Sander (*op. cit.* 21) considers this an unsuitable connective here (cf. note on *dicitur quidam, etc.*, above). But the sense is perfectly clear: granted that there was a relation between the preceding *visum* and the *natura* from which it came, what, then, is that relation as shown in the dream of Simonides—what *natura* is responsible for his vision?

2. *Simonidi*: cf. 1, 56.

3. *Alcibiadis . . . somnium*: cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 9: *Alcibiades quoque miserabilem exitum suum haud fallaci nocturno imagine speculatus est: quo enim pallio amicae suae dormiens operatum se viderat interfectus et insepullus iacens conlectus est*; Plut. *Alcib.* 39: *ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν κώμῃ τιτὶ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης τότε διαιτῶμενος, ἔχων Τιμάνδραν μὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἑταίρας, θύῳ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδε τοιαύτην ἑδῶκε περικεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἑσθῆτα τῆς ἑταίρας, κείνην δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις ἔχουσαν αὐτοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον ὡσπερ γυναικὸς ὑπογράφουσαν καὶ ψιμιθίουσαν . . . οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτοντος καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπελθόντων, ἡ Τιμάνδρα τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελετο, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς περιβαλοῦσα καὶ περικαλύψασα χιτωνίσκος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπέδουσε λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως*; Suid. s.v. Ἀλκιβιάδης: *μέλλοντος δὲ Λυσάνδρου αὐτὸν ἀναίρειν, παρ' ᾧ διέτριβεν εἰς κώμην τῆς Φρυγίας ἑταίρα σπύων, θύρα ἦν τεθεαμέντος τοῦτονδε ἑδῶκε τὴν ἑσθῆτα τῆς ἑταίρας ἔχων κατεσθαι δίχα τῆς κεφαλῆς. οἱ δορυφόροι δὲ ἱπποτάτας ἰψήσαν τὴν σκηνήν, ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν βία τιτρώμενος διωχθεὶς. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφελόντες αὐτοῦ φαρναβάδῳ κομίζουσαν. Two further accounts of his death agree in some details with Cicero's description but make no mention of the dream: Nep. *Alcib.* 10, 6: *at mulier quae cum eo vivere consuevit muliebri sua veste conlectum aedifici incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad virum interimentum erat comparatum*; Hier. *adv. Iovin.* 1, 44: *Alcibiades . . . fugit ad Pharnabazum, qui . . . iussit eum interfici. cumque suffocato caput esset ablatum et missum Lysandro in testimonium caedis expletas reliqua pars corporis iacebat insepulla. sola igitur concubina contra crudelissimi hostis imperium, inter extraneos et imminente discrimine, funeri iusta persolvit, mori parata pro mortuo quem vivum dilexerat.**

somnium? Qui paulo ante interitum visus est in somnis amicae esse amictus amiculo. Is cum esset proiectus inhumatus ab omnibusque desertus iaceret, amica corpus eius textit suo pallio. Ergo hoc inerat in rebus futuris et causas naturalis habebat, an et ut videretur et ut eveniret casus effecit?

LXX. 144. Quid? ipsorum interpretum coniecturae nonne magis ingenia declarant eorum quam vim consensumque naturae? Cursor ad Olympia proficisci cogitans visus est in somnis curru quadrigarum vehi. Mane ad coniectorem. At ille: 'Vinces,' inquit; 'id enim celeritas significat et vis equorum.' Post idem ad Antiphontem. Is autem: 'Vincare,' inquit, 'necesse est; an non intellegis quattuor ante te cucurrisse?' Ecce alius cursor (atque horum somniorum et talium plenus est Chryssippi liber,

11. amicae . . . amictus amiculo: cf. 1, 72: *expeditionem exercitum educeret*; 2, 74: *silere soleret*; de *Fat.* 19: *certa caesarum casurum*; etc.

2. proiectus: cf. 1, 56, n. (*proiectum*).

2. inhumatus: cf. *Tusc.* 1, 104: *Dioigenes . . . proici se iussit inhumatum*.

3. inerat: cf. 2, 18.

4. causas naturalis: cf. de *Fat.* 9; 11; 14; 32.

4. et ut . . . et ut: an unusual correlation; in *Leg.* 3, 38 we find *ut . . . et valeant et ulantur*.

5. casus: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

6. ipsorum interpretum, etc.: cf. 2, 145. The same criticism might be made of some more modern attempts to ascertain the symbolic meaning of dreams.

6. coniecturae: cf. 1, 42, n. (*coniecturam*).

6. nonne: on the position of this word cf. 1, 89, n. (*nonne*).

7. declarant . . . vim: cf. 1, 93.

7. cursor, etc.: this example is assigned by Diels (*Die Frag. der Vorsokrat.* 2, 3 ed. (1912), 305) to Antiphon's work *περὶ κρίσεως οὐρανῶν*, for which cf. 1, 39, n. (*Antiphontis*) supra, and the works there cited.

7. ad Olympia: Cicero uses this term for the Olympic games in *Tusc.* 2, 41; de *opt. Gen. Or.* 8; cf. his quotation from Ennius in de *Sen.* 14.

8. proficisci cogitans: for the construction cf. *N. D.* 3, 4, and Mayor's note.

8. curru quadrigarum: the expression also occurs in Isid. *Etym.* 18, 35, 1; cf. *Plin. N. H.* 8, 182: *bigarum . . . curru*; *Virg. Georg.* 4, 389: *curru . . . equotum* (so in *Ciris*, 395; *Cul.* 127). For such dreams cf. *Artemid. Onirocr.* 1, 56, p. 54 Hercher: *συνωρίς δ' οὐδὲν ἱπποῦ κέλητος διαφέρει, εἰ μὴ τοῖς ποσοῦσι θάνατος γὰρ αὐτοῖς προαγορεύει, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄρμα τέτρωρον, δ καὶ αὐτὸ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπίσημ τῷ κέλητι σημαίνει, ἀθλητῶν δὲ τοῖς μὲν τὰ βαρῆ ἀθλοῦσιν ἀγαθὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ νικηφόρον, εἰσελάσσοι γὰρ τοῖς δὲ τρίχουσι ἦταν σημαίνει, οὐ γὰρ λεανὸν εἶναι τοῖς ποσὶ τοῖς ἰβίαις χρῆσθαι φησι τὸ ὄραρ.*

8 f. mane ad coniectorem: sc. *detulit*.

10. Antiphontem: cf. 1, 39, n. (*Antiphontis*).

12. talium: the addition of *interpretationum* (by Diels, *Die Frag. der Vorsokrat.* 2, 3 ed. (1912), 305) is unnecessary; *talium* unmodified may be so understood, or it may be that the dream books of Chrysippus and Antipater, like that of Antiphon (cf. Sauppe, *De Antiphonte Sophista* (1867), 18 = *Ausgew. Schriften* (1896), 525), were not absolutely limited to the discussion of dreams.

12. Chryssippi liber: cf. 1, 6, n. (*uno de somniis*).

plenus Antipatri)—sed ad cursorem redeo: ad interpretem detulit aquilam se in somnis visum esse factum. At ille: 'Vicisti; ista enim avis volat nulla vehementius.' Huic eidem Antipho: 'Baro,' inquit, 'victum te esse non vides? Ista enim avis insectans alias avis et agitans semper ipsa postrema est.' 145. Parere quaedam matrona cupiens, dubitans essetne praegrans, visa est in quiete obsignatam habere naturam. Rettulit.

2. *avis C*, avi Lambinus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa.

3. huic eidem Lambinus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, huic equidem AB², Allen, huic est quidem B², huic quidem Erlang., Moser, Giess, huic aequae idem H. Schoene, Diels, huic aequae fidem con. Allen.

1. *plenus Antipatri*: since Antipater's work was in two books it is not unlikely that the number of *plenus* is here due to attraction from the preceding *plenus* or else to mere carelessness; cf. 1, 6, n. (*duo Antipater*). For the allusion to Antipater cf. also the introd. p. 25, n. 112.

1. *detulit*: cf. 1, 97, n. (*delata*).

2. *vicisti*: the perfect used of a future event considered as lying beyond all doubt; cf. *ad Att.* 14, 20, 3: *cui si esse in urbe toto licebit vicimus*. This vivid and generally figurative use may be taken in a more strict and literal sense when applied to matters of divination, where past, present, and future are less strongly differentiated; cf. 1, 63, n. (*meminit, etc.*); 1, 125, nn. (*fatum aulem; fluens*). See also the words *victum te esse* below.

2. *ista . . . avis*: the reading of the MSS is here intelligible: 'since no bird (*avis . . . nulla*) flies with greater force than that (*ista*).' In view of Cicero's habits of repetition, the phrase *ista enim avis* just below (where *ista* is, of course, not ablative but nominative) need cause us no scruple in retaining here the reading of C.

3. *huic eidem*: no one of the emendations here proposed is at all certain, but this is as satisfactory as any, *huic eidem* (for the combination cf. 2, 141) well contrasting the two diametrically different interpretations given of the same dream to the same man.

3. *baro*: on the uncertain derivation of the word cf. Wölfflin in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. u. Gram.* 9 (1896), 13-14;

Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), 84. It appears first in Lucil. 1121 Marx (there spelled *varonum*), in four other places in Cicero (*Fin.* 2, 76: *nos barones stupemus*; *ad Fam.* 9, 26, 3: *ille baro te putabat quaesiturum unum caelum esset an innumerabilia*; *ad Att.* 5, 11, 6; *Ep. fr.* 6, 4, p. 298 Müller), and in various later writers, in Pers. 5, 138 being used, as here, in the vocative. The scholiast on Persius explains it thus: *varones dicuntur servi militum qui utique stultissimi sunt, servi scilicet stultorum*.

3. *victum te esse*: cf. the note on *vicisti* above.

4. *insectans . . . et agitans*: cf. *Leg.* 1, 40: *agitant insectanturque*; *pro Mur.* 21: *agitatur . . . insectatur*; *Tac. Dial.* 4, 2: *agitare et insequi* (and Gudeman's note).

5. *dubitans essetne praegrans*: De lauelle (in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 236-238) objects to the present position of this phrase (which Hottinger had considered as a marginal gloss intruded into the text), (1) because it involves the juxtaposition of two participles and (2) because he believes it has no point before the dream, and he would accordingly transpose it to a place after *rettulit*. But the juxtaposed participles in two clauses have rather the effect of chiasmus (which Cicero often employs), and the clause has a perfectly good meaning where it stands, for the dream increased the woman's doubts to such an extent that she felt impelled to lay the matter before a *consecrator*.

6. *in quiete*: cf. 1, 53, n. (*in quiete*).

6. *obsignatam . . . naturam*: for

Negavit eam, quoniam obsignata fuisset, concipere potuisse. At alter praegnantem esse dixit; nam inane obsignari nihil solere. Quae est ars coniectoris eludentis ingenio? An ea quae dixi et innumerabilia quae conlecta habent Stoici quicquam significant nisi acumen hominum, ex similitudine aliqua coniecturam modo huc, modo illuc ducentium? Medici signa quaedam habent ex venis et ex spiritu aegroti multisque ex aliis futura praesentiunt; gubernatores cum exsultantis lolligines viderunt aut

6. et ex spiritu A¹B¹, Christ, Baier, ex spiritu A¹B¹, et spiritu Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa.

8. viderunt C, Christ, Baier, Madvig (Emendat. Liv. 2 ed. (1877), 745; Opusc. acad. 2 ed. (1877), 743), Müller, Thoresen, Haeringa, viderint Erlang., O, Shutsch (in Glotta, 3 (1912), 367).

this use of *natura* cf. 1, 36, n. (*natura*), to which add Min. Fel. Oct. 9, 4; and, especially, Aug. Op. imperf. c. Iulian. 5, 17 (Patr. Lat. 45, 1450): *usus feminae naturalis est. cum eius masculus illo membro utitur quo natura eiusdem generis animantium propagatur: propter quod etiam ipsum membrum 'natura' proprie dici solet: unde Cicero ait mulierem vidisse se in somnis praesignatam habere naturam.* On the general question cf. Arist. de Gen. Anim. 4, 4, p. 773 a 17 ff.; Plin. N. H. 7, 69: *quasdam concreto genitalis gigni infausto omine Cornelia Gracchorum mater indicio est* (imitated by Solin. 1, 67), and with the dream here described cf. Plut. Alex. 2: *ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος . . . μετὰ τὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὄντα αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγίδα τῆ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναίκος: ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφραγίδος, ὡς ἔρετο, λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μάντεων ἰφορωμένων τὴν ἄβιν, ὡς ἀκριβοστράτας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀριστάνδρος ὁ Τελμησσεὺς κίεν εἶπε τὴν ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγίσσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κίεν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ λουστῶν τὴν φύσιν; Tert. de Anim. 40: *Philippus Macedo nondum pater Olympiadis uxoris naturam obsignatam esse viderat anulo, leo erat signum. crederat praecusam genituram (opinor quia leo semel pater est); Aristodemus vel Aristophon coniectans immo nihil vacuum obsignari filium et quidem maximi impetus portendi. Alexandrum qui sciunt leonem anuli recognoscunt. Ephorus scribit.* See also the account in Jul. Val. 1, 8 (important but too long to be here quoted). Cicero's account appears to be a somewhat faded version of this tradition.*

With the idea expressed in the word

obsignatam cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 56 M.: *clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam parius facilitatem; Pfeiffer, Stud. s. antiken Sternglauben (1916), 124-125.*

[575] 6. rettulit: cf. 1, 31, n. (*referrem*). With the brevity of expression cf. the narration of the two preceding dreams.

2. inane obsignari nihil solere: but cf. what Quintus Cicero writes to Tiro (ad Fam. 16, 26, 2): *ut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagonas etiam inanis obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse quae furtim essent exsiccatae!*

3 f. innumerabilia . . . conlecta . . . Stoici: cf. 1, 37: *collegit innumerabilia oracula Chrysiippus.*

4. conlecta habent: for this practically auxiliary use of *habeo* cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 763-764.

4. nisi acumen hominum, etc.: cf. 1, 39: *Antiphontis interpretatione explicata declarant illa quidem acumen interpretis, sed exemplis grandioribus decuit uti.*

5. coniecturam . . . ducentium: cf. 2, 55, and n. (in . . . *contrarias partis . . . diducitur*).

5. medici, etc.: cf. 1, 24, n. (*an medicina*); 2, 142, n. (*medici, etc.*).

7. gubernatores: cf. 1, 24, n. (*an medicina*); 1, 112; 2, 12; 2, 13; 2, 16.

7. exsultantis lolligines: identified by Keller (*Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 (1913), 515) as *Lolligo vulgaris* Lam., common in the Mediterranean. For their significance as weather signs cf. Theophr. de Sign. Temp. 40: *καλοῖαι ἐκ τοῦ ῥότου περὶ ἄνω καὶ*

delphinos se in portum concientes tempestatem significari putant. Haec ratione explicari et ad naturam revocari facile possunt, ea vero quae paulo ante dixi nullo modo.

LXXI. 146. At enim observatio diurna (haec enim pars una restat) notandis rebus fecit artem. Ain tandem? Somnia observari possunt? Quonam modo? Sunt enim innumerabiles varietates. Nihil tam praepostere, tam incondite, tam monstruose cogitari potest quod non possimus somnari; quo modo igitur haec infinita et semper nova aut memoria conplecti aut observando notare possumus? Astrologi motus errantium stellarum notaverunt; inventus est enim ordo in iis stellis qui non putaba-

τεύθεις χειμέριαι; Plin. *N. H.* 18, 361: *praesagiunt et animalia: delphini tranquillo mari lascivientes flatum ex qua venient parte item spargentes aquam iidem turbato tranquillitatem. lolligo volitans conchae adhaerescens . . . tempestatis signa sunt*; 32, 15: *Trebius Niger xiphian, id est gladium, rostro mucronato esse, ab hoc naves perfossas mergi in oceano ad locum Mauretaniae qui Collae vocetur, non procul Lixo flumine, idem lolligines evolare ex aqua tradit tanta multitudine ut navigia demergerent* (cf. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 6, 47); Plut. *Aet. phys.* 18 discusses the question διὰ τί τεύθεις φαινομένη σημείων ἐστί μεγάλου χειμῶνος; . . . ταχὺ δὴ προαισθάνεται δι' ἐπύκθαιαν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἴδεν . . . ἡ . . . τεύθεις ἐξάλλεται, φεύγουσα τὸ ψῦχος καὶ τὴν ἐν βίβει παραχῆν τῆς θαλάττης· καὶ γὰρ ἔχει μάλιστα τῶν μαλακίων εἰθρυττον καὶ ἀπάλων τὸ σαρκώδες; Maass, *Atalea* (1892), 157-158; McCartney in *Class. Weekly*, 14 (1921), 97.

1. *delphinos*: *Delphinus delphis* L. (cf. Keller, *op. cit.* 1 (1909), 408). Theophr. *de Sign. Tempest.* 19 says: *δελφίς παρὰ γῆν κολυμβῶν καὶ ἀναδύμενος πικρὰ ὕδωρ ἢ χειμῶνα σημαίνει*; Plin. *N. H.* 18, 361 (quoted in the preceding note); Isid. *Etym.* 12, 6, 11: *quando autem pracludunt in fluctibus et undarum se motibus saltu praecipiti ferunt tempestates significare videntur* (repeated by [Hugo de S. Vict.] *de Best.* 55). McCartney (*l.c.*) compares Dante, *Inf.* 22, 19-21: *Come i delfini, quando fanno segno / ai marinari con l'arco della schiena, / che s'argomentin di campar lor legno.*

4. *at enim, etc.*: for the third division (*haec . . . pars una restat*), which occupies this single section, cf. 2, 124, n. (*aut, etc.*). On the use of *at* cf. 1, 24, n. (*at*). The attack is here made upon the often invoked Stoic argument from empiricism; cf. 1, 12, n. (*eventa*).

4. *observatio diurna*: cf. 1, 12, n. (*diurna observatio*).

5. *fecit artem*: cf. 1, 25, n. (*ars est effecta*), to which add Manil. 1, 61-65: *per varios usus artem experientia fecit / exemplo monstrante viam, speculataque longe / deprendit tacitis dominantia legibus astra / et totum aeterna mundum ratione moveri / fatorumque vices certis discernere signis.*

5. *ain ta dem*: cf. *Fin.* 4, 1; *Rep.* 1, 23; *Leg.* 1, 53; 2, 24; 3, 14; *pro Planc.* 49; *ad Att.* 6, 2, 8.

6. *nihil, etc.*: for the thought cf. 2, 138.

7. *incondite*: cf. *Rep.* 2, 19: *fabulas fictas etiam non numquam incondite.*

7. *monstruose*: the word seems to appear only here.

9. *observando notare*: cf. 1, 127: *observando notatus est.*

9f. *motus . . . notaverunt*: cf. 1, 2.

9f. *errantium stellarum*: cf. 1, 17, n. (*verbo . . . falsis . . . re vera*); 2, 89, n. (*quae vocantur errantia*).

10. *ordo*: a part of that universal order upon which the Stoics laid such stress (particularly in connection with the 'argument from design'), which Marcus does not attempt to deny and in fact

tur. Cedo tandem, qui sit ordo aut quae concursatio somniorum; quo modo autem distingui possunt vera somnia a falsis? Cum eadem et aliis aliter evadant et isdem non semper eodem modo; ut mihi mirum videatur, cum mendaci homini ne verum quidem dicenti credere soleamus, quo modo isti, si somnium verum evasit aliquod, non ex multis potius uni fidem derogent quam ex uno innumerabilis confirment.

147. Si igitur neque deus est effector somniorum neque naturae societas ulla cum somniis neque observatione inveniri potuit scientia, effectum est ut nihil prorsus somniis tribuendum sit, praesertim cum illi ipsi qui ea vident nihil divinent, ii qui interpretantur coniecturam adhibeant, non naturam, casus autem innumerabilibus paene saeculis in omnibus plura

6. derogent . . . confirment Lambinus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Beringe, derogant . . . confirment CO, def. Moser.

acknowledges in 2, 148, and which even a writer like Lucretius admits (5, 1183-1240) to have been a cause of the belief of mankind in the existence of superhuman beings. It appears frequently in other works (cf. *N. D.* 2, 15-16; 2, 43; 2, 56; 2, 97; Hortens. fr. 53 Müller); for the real order underlying the seeming irregularity of the planets cf. *N. D.* 2, 51-55.

1. cedo: also used by Cicero in *N. D.* 1, 75; *Fin.* 2, 25; *Rep.* 1, 58; *de Sen.* 20; and 18 times in the orations; cf. Hand, *Tursellinus*, 2 (1832), 12-13; Laurand, *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic.* (1907), 279.

1. concursatio: cf. 2, 141: *concurrenti*.

4. mendaci homini, etc.: apparently a more or less proverbial expression; cf. Hier. *Ep.* 6, 1: *antiquus sermo est: mendaces faciunt ut nec vera dicentibus credatur; Fab. Aesop.* 353 Halm (the story of the boy who cried 'wolf'), concluding: *ὅτι τοσούτων ἐφέλος τῷ ψεύσει ὅτι καὶ ἀληθῆ λόγων πολλάκις οὐ πιστεύεται*; Arist. ap. Diog. L. 5, 17: *ἐρωτηθεὶς τί περιγίνεται κέρδος τοῖς ψευδομένοις, ἔστω, ἔφη, λόγῳ ἀληθῆ μὴ πιστεύεσθαι*; Phaedr. 1, 10, 1-2: *quicumque turpi fraude semel innotuit / etiam si verum dicit amittit fidem*; Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 219; also 2, 11, n. (*ψευδόμενον vocant*) above.

5. si somnium verum evasit aliquod: cf. 2, 108.

6. fidem derogent: cf. *pro Quinct.* 75; *pro Font.* 23; *pro Flacc.* 5; 9; *pro Caecin.* 3.

7. si igitur, etc.: there are here summed up (*neque deus . . . neque naturae societas . . . neque observatione*) the three main divisions noted in 2, 124 (where see the note on *aut*, etc.) and occupying the intervening sections.

7. effector: cf. 2, 55, n. (*effectores*)

8. scientia: cf. 1, 3, n. (*scientiam*).

8f. effectum est ut: cf. *Off.* 1, 160, 2, 15; and frequently *efficitur ut*.

9. nihil prorsus: cf. 2, 12; *Ac.* 2, 55; *Fin.* 2, 43; *Tusc.* 2, 45.

10. coniecturam: cf. 1, 42, n. (*coniecturam*).

11. casus: cf. 1, 23, n. (*casu*).

11. innumerabilibus paene saeculis: if these countless ages can be employed by Stoic and other defenders of divination to justify the argument from empiricism (cf. 1, 2 supra, where the same phrase is used), much more, where no cooperative and organized observation is involved, might they be used to justify the counter explanation of coincidences as due to chance. The Academic is here, then, following the example of Carneades, in his attack upon Stoic dogmatism approaching very closely to the doctrines of the Epicureans. But the explanation of apparent-

mirabilia quam in somniorum visis effecerit, neque coniectura, quae in varias partis duci possit, non numquam etiam in contrarias, quicquam sit incertius. LXXII. 148. Explodatur igitur haec quoque somniorum divinatio pariter cum ceteris. Nam, ut vere loquatur, superstitio fusa per gentis oppressit omnium fere animos atque hominum inbecillitatem occupavit. Quod et in iis libris dictum est qui sunt de natura deorum et hac disputatione id maxime egimus. Multum enim et nobismet ipsis et

3. igitur in marg. ad. Lambini 1584 add., Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, om. CO.

ly prophetic dreams as due to chance is found in other schools of thought as well; e.g., in Arist. *de Div. per Somn.* 463 a 31-b 11.

[578] 11. in omnibus: for the omission of *aliis* cf. Madvig on *Fin.* 1, 18.

1 f. in varias partis duci: cf. 2, 55, n. (in . . . contrarias partis . . . diducitur).

3. explodatur: cf. 2, 86, n. (*explodit*).

4. pariter cum ceteris: cf. *Tusc.* 5, 118: *pariter cum aliis*.

4. nam, etc.: Thoresen (in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi*, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 42-43) thinks that this sentence is parenthetical and that it interrupts the thought and leaves nothing satisfactory to which *eam* in the second sentence below may refer. He accordingly suggests the insertion (though in his edition he does not actually go so far) after *ceteris* of the words *superstitionis generibus* (or *erroribus*). But, as he admits (42, n. 1), a pronoun outside a parenthesis may sometimes refer to a substantive within it, and, further, we need not take this sentence as parenthetical but rather as amplifying the idea of the prevalence of mantic superstition suggested in *ceteris* with its summing up of the numerous types which he reviews in 2, 149. In short, no change is needed.

4. ut vere loquamur: cf. 2, 100: *vere ut loquar*.

4 f. superstitio . . . oppressit . . . animos: cf. *Lucr.* 1, 62-65 (making no distinction between *religio* and *superstitio*): *humana ante oculos foede cum vita iaceret / in terris oppressa gravi sub religione / quae caput a caeli regionibus ostendebat / horri-*

bili super aspectu mortalibus instans, etc. (cf. Merrill's note); 6, 52-55: *cetera quae fieri in terris caeloque tuentur / mortales, pavidis cum pendent mentibus saepe, / et faciunt animos humilis formidine divom / depressosque premunt ad terram propterea quod / ignorantia casuarum conserere deorum / cogit ad imperium res et concedere regnum*; *N. D.* 1, 45; 1, 55-56; *Fin.* 1, 60: *superstitio qua qui est imbulus quietus esse numquam potest*; *Plin. N. H.* 10, 137: *etiam sine his* (some superstitious beliefs he has just mentioned) *inmensa vitae ambage circa auguria*; *Sext. Emp.* 5, 2: οὐ Χαλδαῖοι . . . ποικίλως μὲν ἐπιτρέφοντες τῷ βίῳ, μεγάλην δ' ἡμῶν ἐπιειχίζουσι δεισιδαιμονίαν, μὴδὲν δὲ ἐπιτρέποντες κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐνεργεῖν; also 2, 149, n. (*quod . . . verteris*). Theophrastus (*Char.* 16) gives a picture of the habits of a superstitious man, and even by the Stoics superstition was reckoned among the *πάθη* (*affectus*) which were to be avoided or eliminated; cf. the passages cited by Norden in *Fleck. Jahrb.* Supplbd. 18 (1892), 340-341. On Cicero's attack upon it here and in what follows cf. introd. p. 37, n. 242 above; Stoerling, *Quaest. Ciceron. ad Relig. spectantes* (1894), 29-32.

6. dictum est: cf. *N. D.* 2, 72 (after a definition of superstition, presently to be considered): *ita factum est in superstitioso et religioso alterum viti nomen, alterum laudis*.

6. de natura deorum: for this title cf. 1, 7, n. (*de natura deorum*), to which add: Plasberg in his editio minor of the *De Natura Deorum* (1917), iii, n. 1; Tolkieln in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 477-479; Kroll in *Glotz*, 13 (1923), 160.

nostris profuturi videbamus si eam funditus sustulissemus. Nec vero

[579] 7. hac disputatione, etc.: a decided indication of the purpose of our work; cf. introd. pp. 10-13.

1. profuturi: cf. 2, 1, n. (*prodesse, etc.*).

1. funditus sustulissemus: cf. 1, 5, n. (*funditus sustulit*).

[581] 1. superstitione: cf. 1, 7, n. (*superstitione*); 1, 126, n. (*superstitiose . . . physice*); and, for Cicero's views on superstition, Stoerling, *op. cit.* 14-32. The word *superstitio* is frequently contrasted, as here, with *religio*; e.g., *N. D.* 1, 117: *horum* (i.e., the atheists) *enim sententiae omnium non modo superstitionem tollunt, in qua inest timor inanis deorum, sed etiam religionem, quae deorum cultu pio continetur*; 2, 71: *non enim philosophi solum, verum etiam maiores nostri superstitionem a religione separaverunt* (and see numerous other passages in Mayor's note, to which add: *Tac. Hist.* 5, 13; *Cornutus, de Nat. Deor.* 35: *ὡς εἰς τὸ εὐσεβεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τὸ δεισιδαιμονεῖν*). The attempts to discriminate between the two terms have been largely unsuccessful because (1) they have been necessarily in considerable measure subjective, and (2) they have often been based upon etymologies which have not commanded general acceptance.

Of the etymologies proposed for *superstitio* the following may be here mentioned: (1) the fanciful one in *N. D.* 2, 72: *qui totos dies precabantur et immolabant ut sibi sui liberi superstites essent superstitioni sunt appellati, quod nomen patuit postea latius* (cf. *Lact. Inst.* 4, 28, 4; 4, 28, 9; 4, 28, 13; *Non. pp.* 431-432 M.; *Isid. Etym.* 10, 244; *Hahn, De Superstitionis Natura* (1840), 18, who suggests an (unlikely) modification of Cicero's explanation); (2) *Lact. Inst.* 4, 28, 13-15: *superstitiosi autem vocantur non qui filios superstites optant—omnes enim optamus—sed aut ii qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt aut qui parentibus suis superstites colebant imagines eorum domi tamquam deos penales. nam qui novos sibi*

ritus adsumebant, ut deorum vice mortuis honorarent quos ex hominibus in caelum receptos putabant, hos supersticiosos vocabant, eos vero qui publicos et antiquos deos colerent religiosos nominabant; cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 72; (3) *Donat. ad Ter. Andr.* 487: *superstites sunt senes et anus, quia aetate multis superstites iam delirant. unde et superstitioni, qui deos nimis timent, quod est signum deliramenti*; cf. *Serv. Aen.* 8, 187: *aut ab amiculis dicta superstitione, quia multae superstites per aetatem delirant et stultae sunt*; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 3, 6: *alii dicunt (sc. superstitionem dictam) a senibus, quia multis annis superstites per aetatem delirant et errant superstitione quadam, nescientes quae vetera colant aut quae veterum ignari disciscant*; also the passage from an anonymous mythographer discussed by *Hahn, op. cit.* 23-24; and *Hahn, op. cit.* 19-20; (4) *Serv. l.c.*: *aut secundum Lucretium* (1, 66; but the etymology is not there emphasized) *superstitio est superstitionum rerum, id est, caelestium et divinarum, quae super nos stant, inanis et superflua timor* (this view is condemned by *Isid. Etym.* 8, 3, 7); 12, 817: *superstitio autem religio, metus, eo quo superstit capiti omnis religio*; *Hahn, op. cit.* 20-21, who on pp. 24-25 gives his adherence to this view, and understands the use of *superstitiosus* in *Plautus* and other early Latin writers (cf. 1, 66, n. (*superstitionis*); 1, 132, n. (*superstitiosi*); *Riese in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 26 (1895), 41; *Otto in Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 551; 14 (1911), 422) as applied to one who understands signs in the sky; (5) *Non. p.* 432 M.: *sed vere superstitioni proprietatem ex hoc habent quod prae cultura deorum supersedeant cetera, id est, negligant; iidem et religiosi, quasi relinquasi omnium ceterorum sacrificiis deseriant*; (6) *superstitio* is often explained as a superadded, superfluous attachment to religious observances, which, if regarded with moderation, are wholesome and salutary, in other words, as a sort of fanati-

(id enim diligenter intellegi volo) superstitione tollenda religio tollitur.

cism; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8, 187: *superstitio est timor superfluus et delirius*; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 3, 6: *superstitio dicta eo quod sit superflua aut superinstituta observatio*; Bruno Carthus. in *Coloss.* 2 (*Patr. Lat.* 153, 389): *superstitio dicitur verae religioni superaddita falsa religio*; also the views of modern scholars as noted by Hahn, *op. cit.* 22, n. 28 (to which add: Grimm, *Deutsch. Myth.* 2, 4 ed. (1875), 925, who considers it an *Überglaube* (cf. *Aberglaube*, Low Ger. *Biglove* = *Beiglaube*, Dan. *overtro*, etc.), a holding to beliefs already abandoned by men of enlightenment; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 4 (1882), 320: 'un surcroît,' not contained in the state religion; Bréal et Bailly, *Dict. Etym. Lat.* 3 ed. (1891), 371: 'une pratique religieuse qui n'est pas obligatoire, qui est en trop'; (7) closely connected with the last-mentioned theory is that which considers a superstition as a survival from an earlier and lower plane of culture; thus Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1, 4 ed. 72; Riess in *P.-W.* s.v. *Aberglaube* (1894), 29 (in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 26 (1895), 41, though still adhering to this view, he is less certain of it); Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 1; but, as Otto (in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 550) well points out, this meaning belongs to modern and evolutionary views of religion, rather than to that of the Romans; (8) the view of Nettleship (in *Journ. of Philol.* 6 (1876), 98-99; cf. his *Lect. and Essays on . . . Lat. Lit. and Scholarship* (1885), 51, and n. 1) starts from an old Latin use of *superstes* meaning a 'witness,' and supposes *superstitio* to mean (a) 'being present at'; (b) 'knowledge of a thing'; (c) 'pondering over a thing'; and for the second step he compares the Greek *ἐπι-σταν-ταί*; (9) 'standing over' a thing (in wonder); cf. Vaníček, *Etym. Wörterbuch d. lat. Spr.* 2 ed. (1881), 321; (10) the theory of Otto (in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 550-554; cf. 14 (1911), 421-422), who well points out that *superstitiosus*

(*superstitio* does not occur before Cicero) is early used in the sense of 'prophetic,' without any unfavorable connotation, but then, much less convincingly, argues that *superstitio* is to be compared with *ἐκτρααίσις*, and refers (552), not, like *ἐκτρααίσις*, to the actual escape of the soul from the body, but to its 'Hinaufsteigen' into the throat, mouth, or nose, from which the term, he thinks, was later applied more widely. Among so many, and, on the whole, so unlikely hypotheses one is loath to select any one for adherence; the sixth of those enumerated, however, though not agreeing with the etymology recorded by Cicero, perhaps represents not unfairly the complex of ideas which he included under the term, and in his views he would have probably agreed with Fest. p. 289 M.: *religiosi dicuntur qui faciendarum praetermittendarumque rerum divinarum secundum morem civitatis dilectum habent, nec se superstitionibus implicant*; cf. Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 10.

I. tollenda . . . tollitur: cf. 2, 123, n. (*qua sublata tollitur*).

I. religio: another word of a most controversial character, whether studied with reference to its etymology or from the side of its history. The latter question is far too extensive to be here considered, so that the attempt will be made merely to inquire what the term probably meant to a Roman reader. Of the etymologies proposed, (1) may be quickly dismissed, namely that found in Non. p. 432 M.: *religiosi quasi relinquosi omnium ceterorum sacrificiis deserviant*; cf. Macrobr. *Sat.* 3, 3, 8: *Servius Sulpicius religionem esse dictam tradidit quae propter sanctitatem aliquam remota ac seposita a nobis sit, quasi a relinquendo dicta ut a carendo caerimonia*. Two other theories were more evenly supported by scholars: (2) *N. D.* 2, 72: *qui autem omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegerent sunt dicti religiosi a*

Nam et maiorum instituta tueri sacris caerimoniisque retinendis sapientis

relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo, ex diligendo diligentes, ex intellegendo intellegentes. his enim in verbis omnibus inest vis legendi eadem quae in religioso (and cf. Gell. 4, 9, 1-2: *Nigidius Figulus . . . in undecimo commentariorum grammaticorum* (fr. 4 Swoboda) *versum ex antiquo carmine refert memoria hercle dignum* (*Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 297, no. 81): *religentem esse oportet, religiosus ne suas . . . religiosus is appellabatur qui nimia et superstitiosa religione sese alligaverat, eaque res vitio assignabatur*); of later writers who have supported this view there may be named (in addition to some older scholars listed by Kobbert, *De Verborum 'Religio' atque 'Religiosus' apud Romanos* (1910), 2), Vaniček, *op. cit.* 247 (who compares *neg-legere*, ἀ-λέγω, etc.); Bréal et Bailly, *Dict. étym. Lat.* 3 ed. (1891), 156; Wiedemann in *Beiträge z. Kunde d. indog. Spr.* 27 (1902), 240, n. 1; Fowler in *Trans. third internat. Congr. for the Hist. of Relig.* (1908), reprinted in his *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 7-15; Reinach, *Orpheus*, Engl. tr. (1909), 2; Otto in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 533-548; 14 (1911), 406-421; Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), 647; (3) the view set forth by Lactantius (*Inst.* 4, 28, 3): *hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti deo et religati sumus; unde ipsa religio nomen accepit, non, ut Cicero interpretatus est, a relegendo*; 4, 28, 12: *diximus nomen religionis a vinculo pietatis esse deductum, quod hominem sibi deus religaverit et pietate constrinxerit, quia servire nos ei ut domino et obsequi ut patri necesse est. eo melius ergo id nomen Lucretius interpretatus est, qui ait religionum se nodos solvere* (*Lucr.* 1, 932; but cf. Merrill on *Lucr.* 1, 109); cf. also Nigidius Figulus ap. Gell. 4, 9, 2 (quoted above), who uses the term *alligaverat* (and for similar phrases in other authors cf. Mayor on *N. D.* 2, 72; Kobbert, *op. cit.* 59-60); the views of older scholars will be found in Kobbert, *op. cit.* 2-3, who himself argues strongly and at length for this theory;

but cf. also Reinach, *l.c.*; Bréal in *Rev. arch.* 16 (1910), 175 (who thinks the original meaning is to be seen in such phrases as *religio est*, *religioni est*, etc. (cf. 1, 77 above), in which *religio* means 'scruple'); Otto in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 14 (1911), 408-421 (especially 409-411). The evidence seems, on the whole, to point toward the second as more probably the real etymology and to the third as a common—perhaps the commoner—ancient popular etymology for the word. Both the second and the third lead themselves well to an idea of taboo, which may have been early prominent.

Fowler (*op. cit.* 7-15) traces four stages in the meaning of the word in Latin: (1) a feeling of fear or awe of semi-civilized man in the presence of the supernatural (cf. Cicero's youthful definition in *de Invent.* 2, 66: *religionem eam quae in metu et caerimonia deorum sit appellanti*, as contrasted with *pietas* towards parents; 2, 161: *religio est quae superioris cuiusdam naturae, quam divinam vocant, curam caerimoniamque adfert*; *Part. orat.* 78: *in communione autem quae posita pars est iustitia dicitur, eaque erga deos religio, erga parentes pietas*), a feeling which underlies and prompts the propitiatory cult; (2) the cult by which man strives to propitiate the unseen powers, together with the scruple he feels if the propitiation is in the least degree imperfect (thus, later in life, Cicero in *Leg.* 2, 25 uses *religiones* in the sense of 'cults,' and in several other places in that work (cited by Fowler, *op. cit.* 11) he employs the term for particular cults or for all cults together; cf. 1, 89 above; in *N. D.* 2, 8 *religione neglecta* means the disregard or disrespect for a ritual act); (3) in the same age, in philosophical works like those of Lucretius or Cicero, the word came to stand for the whole sphere of worship, including both feeling and cult, as viewed from the standpoint of the philosopher; (4) later it might also mean 'the compe-

est, et esse praestantem aliquam aeternamque naturam et eam suspicendam admirandamque hominum generi pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum caelestium cogit confiteri. 149. Quam ob rem, ut religio propaganda etiam est, quae est iuncta cum cognitione naturae, sic superstitionis stirpes omnes eligendae. Instat enim et urget, et quo te cumque verteris

5. eligendae Gruter (coll. *Tusc.* 3, 83-84) et Madvig (Emend. *Liv.* 2 ad. (1877), 183, n. 1), Baizer, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa (cf. eiusdem Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes (1906), 71), eiciendae C, Christ, eiciendae vulg., O, elidendae Manut.

ting divisions of that sphere of worship and belief,' each one being now a *religio*, and the Christian faith being for the Christian the *vera religio*. As contrasted with *superstitio* it is in the second of these senses that Cicero here uses the word, as the following sentence indicates.

The treatment by Kobbert in *P.-W.* s. v. *Religio* (1920), 565-575 came to my notice too late for incorporation in the paragraphs above.

[582] 1. *maiorum instituta tueri*: cf. 2, 28; 2, 71; *N. D.* 3, 5: *eo, credo, valebat, ut opiniones quas a maioribus accepimus de diis immortalibus, sacra, caerimonias, religionesque defenderem. ego vero eas defendam semper semperque defendi; nec me ex ea opinione quam a maioribus accepi de cultu deorum immortalium ullius umquam oratio aut docti aut indocti movebit* (and cf. Mayor's note); 1, 8, n. (*ne . . . videatur*) above; this attitude is condemned by *Lact. Inst.* 2, 6, 7-16. It is this double principle in Cicero's thought which explains in *Leg.* 2, 32-33 sentiments so little in harmony with those here expressed; cf. introd. pp. 10-11, and nn. 15 and 16. For the phrase *maiorum instituta* cf. *Off.* 1, 116; *N. D.* 1; 30; 2, 79; *Rep.* 3, 6; 5, 1; *Tusc.* 1, 2; 4, 1.

[582] 1. *sacris caerimoniisque*: cf. *N. D.* 3, 5 (quoted in the last note); *Leg.* 2, 20.

[582] 1f. *sapientis est*: a rather frequent phrase in the philosophical works (though in this one only here); cf. Merguet, *Lexikon s. d. philos. Schr.* 3 (1894), 450.

1. *praestantem . . . naturam*: often applied to the divine nature; cf. *N. D.* 1, 45; 1, 47; 1, 56; 1, 96 (*praestans* coupled with *aeterna*); 1, 100; 1, 116; 1, 121; 2, 46.

2. *pulchritudo mundi*: upon which much emphasis was laid by the Stoics; cf. the *ornatum mundi* of *N. D.* 2, 17 (recalled in 3, 18 by the same phrase that is used here); 2, 93-95. Like the *ordo . . . rerum caelestium* it was a part of the fundamental Stoic 'argument from design'; cf. 2, 146, n. (*ordo*).

4. *iuncta cum cognitione naturae*: cf. *Fin.* 4, 11: *similia dici possunt de explicatione naturae, qua et hi utuntur et vestri, neque vero ob duas modo causas, quomodo Epicuro videtur, ut pellatur mortis et religionis metus; sed etiam modestiam quandam cognitio rerum caelestium offert iis qui videant quanta sit etiam apud deos moderatio, quantus ordo, et magnitudinem animi deorum opera et facta cernentibus, iustitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas quod sit summi rectoris ac domini numen, quod consilium, quae voluntas; cuius ad naturam apta ratio vera illa et summa lex a philosophis dicitur*; also 1, 126, n. (*superstitiose . . . physice*) above for instances in which *natura* (*physis*) and *superstitio* are contrasted, (to which add *Fin.* 1, 63: *omnium autem rerum natura cognita levamur superstitione*). For the phrase *cognitio naturae* cf. *Fin.* 4, 8; 5, 53; *Tusc.* 1, 48; *Leg.* 1, 61; *Off.* 1, 153; *Hortens.* fr. 50 Müller.

5. *stirpes omnes eligendae*: the reading of the MSS. (*eiciendae*), though retained by some editors, makes poor sense, and the best evidence of similar passages in the *Tusculan Disputations* (3, 83: *stirpes . . . aegritudinis . . . omnes eligendae sunt*; 3, 84: *haec sunt illae fibrae stirpium, quae initio dixi, perso-*

persequitur, sive tu vatem sive tu omen audieris, sive immolaris sive avem aspexeris, si Chaldaeum, si haruspitem videris, si fulserit, si tonuerit, si tactum aliquid erit de caelo, si ostenti simile natum factumve quippiam; quorum necesse est plerumque aliquid eveniat, ut numquam liceat quietam mente consistere. 150. Perfugium videtur omnium laborum et sol-

quendae et omnes eligendae—in both cases some editors emend to *elidendae*; cf. the emendation of Manutius on our passage), as well as the fact that *ricio* seems not to be elsewhere used in the sense of 'weed out,' while *eligo* is the word so used by Varro (*R. R.* 1, 47) and Columella (4, 5), favors the emendation of Gruter strongly supported by Madvig.

[583] 5. *instat*: cf. Lucr. 1, 65 (quoted in 1, 148, n. (*superstitio . . . oppressit . . . animos*)).

[583] 5. *quo . . . verteris*: cf. 2, 24, and n. (*quoquo se verterint*); for the tmesis cf. *Tusc.* 2, 15: *quo ea me cumque ducet*; 2, 7, n. (*qua re cumque*) above. With the general thought of this passage cf. 2, 83; 2, 148, n. (*superstitio . . . oppressit . . . animos*); [Basil.] *Comm. in Is.* 2, 78 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 248-249); Petrararch, *Sen.* 1, 7 (quoted by Wedel, *The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 84). The series which follows (*sive tu vatem . . . factumve quippiam*) contains a list of different kinds of divination arranged in no logical order (save that the different parts of thunder-divination are combined), by the very disorder of its arrangement perhaps intentionally typifying the confused and unreasonable jumble of the whole subject.

2. *Chaldaeum*: cf. 1, 2, n. (*Chaldaei non ex artis*).

3. *tactum . . . de caelo*: cf. 1, 92, n. (*de caelo tacta*).

3. *natum*: cf. 1, 93, n. (*hominum pecudumve conceptu et salu*).

4. *necesse est*, etc.: the argument is not dissimilar to that in 2, 121 based on the frequency with which dreams occur and the consequent probability that some of them will contain coincidences.

4f. *quieta mente*: on this idiom, developing into the Romance adverb, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. d. roman. Sprachen*, 2 (1894), 638-639; Lindsay, *Latin Lang.* (1894), 552; Graudgent, *Introd. to vulg. Latin* (1908), 26; Shorey and Beeson in *Class. Philol.* 5 (1910), 83-86; Grebe, *Studia Catulliana* (1912), 113-114; Radin in *Class. Journ.* 16 (1920), 49-51; McCartney in *Class. Philol.* 15 (1920), 216-217; Diels in *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. kl.* 1922, 46; and, for the order of words in the phrase, Ullman in *Class. Journ.* 14 (1919), 409. To the examples cited in the preceding articles may be added: Vitruv. 9, 6, 3; *Sen. Dial.* 2, 9, 3; 7, 20, 1; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 331-332; *Sil. Ital.* 2, 210; 2, 618; 3, 674; 4, 193; 5, 242-243; 5, 569; 6, 616-617; 8, 349; 10, 426; 10, 449; 10, 627; 13, 40; 15, 58; 16, 191; 16, 210; 17, 30-31; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 29, 8; [Damas.] 84, 2 *Ihm.*; *Claud. Bell. Gild.* 492; *Hier. Ep.* 98, 25, 1; 119, 10, 1; in *Eccl.* p. 445 Vall.; in *Is.* 1, p. 43 Vall.; in *Hierem.* 2, 104; in *Mich.* 1, p. 439 Vall.; in *Mal.* p. 948 Vall.; in *Gal. prol.* pp. 367-368 Vall.; in *Eph.* 2, p. 609, 3, pp. 637; 650 Vall.; *Aug. C. D.* 8, 22; 8, 23; *Panegy. Lat.* 2 ed. 196; 223; 225; *Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese, 2, no. 632, 11; *C. I. L.* III, 9586; 9610, VI, 23472; VIII, 7007; XII, 533; 592, l. 21-22; 944, l. 32; 2058; XIII, 4733.

5. *consistere*: cf. *Phil.* 2, 68: *nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere*; 2 *Verr.* 1, 7: *consistere eius animum sine furore atque amensia non sinunt*.

5f. *perfugium . . . somnus*: cf. *Plaut. Rud.* 593-597: *miris modis di ludos faciunt hominibus; / . . . / ne dormientis quidem sinunt quiescere. / velui ego hac nocte quae praecessit proxima /*

licitudinum esse somnus. At ex eo ipso plurimae curae metusque nascuntur; qui quidem ipsi per se minus valerent et magis contemnerentur nisi somniorum patrocinium philosophi suscepissent, nec ii quidem contemptissimi sed in primis acuti et consequentia et repugnantia videntes, qui prope iam absoluti et perfecti putantur. Quorum licentiae nisi Carneades restitisset haud scio an soli iam philosophi iudicarentur. Cum quibus omnis fere nobis disceptatio contentioque est, non quod eos maxime

mirum atque inscilitum somniasi somnium; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 21: *vix prope est iudicare virum magis conducat generi humano quando aliis nullus deorum respectus aliis pudendus. externis famulantur sacris . . . imperia dira in ipsos ne somno quidem quiete inroganti;* Plut. *de Superst.* 3: οἱ δοῦλοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιλαθάνονται καθέδουτες, τοῖς πεθέταις ἐτελαφρύνει τὸν δεσμόν ὁ ἕκτος, φλεγμοναὶ περὶ τραύματα καὶ νομαὶ σαρκὸς θηριώδεις καὶ περιωδυνίαι κοιμημάτων ἀφίσταται: "ὦ φίλον ἔκτου θίλγητρον ἐπίκουρον ἦσθου, / ὡς ἤδύ μοι προσήθεις ἐν δίορτί γε" (Eur. *Or.* 211-212). τοῦτ' οὐ δίδωσι εἰπεῖν ἢ δεισιδαιμονία (μὴν γὰρ οὐ σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν ἔκτου, οὐδὲ τῇ ψυχῇ ποτε τοῦν δίδωσι ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ ἀναβαρῆσαι τὰς πικρὰς καὶ βαρεῖας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄξας ἀπασαμένη) . . . ἀλλ' ὁ γε κοινὸς οὐκ ἀήδως εἰρηκὲ που πρὸς τοῖς καταχρυσούντας τὰ κλινίδια καὶ καταργρούντας "ὅ τι μόνον ἡμῖν προικ' ἔδωκεν οἱ θεοὶ / τὸν ἔκτου, τί τοῦτο πολυτελὲς σαυτῷ ποιεῖς;" (Comic. inc. p. 438, no. 150 Kock). ἴσται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν δεισιδαίμονα εἰπεῖν ὁ τι τὸν ἔκτου οἱ θεοὶ λήθην κακῶν ἔδωσαν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνάπαισι, τί τοῦτο κολαστήριον σαυτῷ ποιεῖς ἐπίμονον καὶ ὀδυνηρὸν, τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς εἰς ἄλλον ἔκτου ἀποδῶναι μὴ δυναμένης; Aug. *C. D.* 22, 22: *ipse postremo somnus, qui proprie quietis nomen accepit, quis verbis explicit sacre somniorum visis quas sit inquietus et quam magnis, licet falsarum rerum, terroribus, quas ita exhibet et quodam modo exprimit ut a veris eas discernere nequeamus, animam miseram sensusque perturbet?* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 27, 2: (*impuri spiritus*) *vilam turbant, somnos inquietant, etc.*; also *Job*, 7, 13-14. And cf. *Arist. de Somno et Vigil.* 2, p. 455 b, for the importance of sleep as a period of respite.

3. *patrocinium . . . suscepisset:* for the phrase cf. *N. D.* 1, 6; 1, 11; *Rep.* 3, 8; 2 *Verr.* 4, 81; *Phil.* 7, 3.

3f. *nec ii quidem contemptissimi:* cf. *N. D.* 1, 4: *sunt autem alii philosophi, et ii quidem magni atque nobiles* (there, as here, of the Stoics; for opposite expressions, used of Epicureans and others, cf. 1, 62, n. (*minutos*) above); *Ac.* 2, 76: *Cyrenaeici . . . minime contempti philosophi.*

4. *acuti:* cf. 1, 48, n. (*homine acuto*); and *acutissime* below.

4. *consequentia et repugnantia:* cf. *Fin.* 1, 63: *consequentium repugnantiumque ratio potest perspicere*; 5, 83: *quid sequatur, quid repugnet vident*; *Tusc.* 5, 68: *quid cuique rei sit consequens, quid repugnans*; *Ac.* 2, 91: *quid sequatur quamque rem, quid repugnet*; and *repugnans* is often contrasted with *consentaneus, consensiens, congruens, and conveniens*; cf. Reid and Plasberg on *Ac.* 1, 19.

5. *absoluti et perfecti:* very frequently combined; cf. *Fin.* 4, 37; 5, 69; *N. D.* 2, 34; 2, 38; *Off.* 3, 14; *de Or.* 3, 84; *Orat.* 207; *Part. orat.* 94; *Auct. ad Herenn.* 2, 28; etc.; also *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 177-178 for instances from other authors and for other cases of *absolutus* applied to persons; cf. Gudeman on *Tac. Dial.* 5, 2.

5. *licentiae:* for this use of the word cf. 2, 127, and n. (*licentia*).

5f. *Carneades restitisset:* cf. *Ac.* 2, 28: *Antipatro . . . Carneades acutius esistebat.* For his attitude toward the Stoics cf. 1, 7, n. (*Carneade*), and the numerous passages noted by Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skepticismus* (1905), 66, n. 7.

contemnamus sed quod videntur acutissime sententias suas prudentissimeque defendere. Cum autem proprium sit Academiae iudicium suum nullum interponere, ea probare quae simillima veri videantur, conferre causas et quid in quamque sententiam dici possit expromere, nulla adhibita sua auctoritate iudicium audientium relinquere integrum ac liberum,

[585] 6. **soli iam philosophi**: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 53: *quamvis licet insectemur istos* (i.e., the Stoics), *ut Carneades solebat; melius ne soli philosophi sint.*

1f. **acutissime . . . prudentissimeque**: cf. *Tusc.* 4, 48: *prudenter acuteque.*

2. **proprium ait Academiae, etc.**: cf. introd. p. 24, n. 110; 1, 7, n. (ne . . . adsentiamur); *N. D.* 1, 11-12: *haec in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi nullamque rem aperte iudicandi profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram viguit aetatem . . . non enim sumus ii quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quaedam adiuncta esse dicamus tanta similitudine ut in iis nulla insit certa iudicandi et assentiendi nota; Tusc.* 5, 11; 5, 83: *utamur igitur libertate, qua nobis solis in philosophia licet uti, quorum oratio nihil ipsa iudicat, sed habetur in omnis partis, ut ab aliis possit ipsa per sese, nullius auctoritate adiuncta, iudicari; Ac.* 1, 45.

2f. **iudicium interponere**: cf. *pro Balb.* 42; 53.

3. **quae simillima veri videantur**: such expressions abound in Cicero's philosophical works; e.g., *Tusc.* 4, 47; 5, 11; and frequently in the *Academica*.

4. **in quamque sententiam**: cf. 2, 1; *N. D.* 1, 11: *iis* (the Academics) . . . *quibus propositum est veri reperiendi causa et contra omnes philosophos et pro omnibus dicere*; 2, 168; *Fin.* 2, 2; 5, 10: *ut non contra omnia semper, sicut Arcesilas, diceret, et tamen ut in omnibus rebus quidquid ex utraque parte dici possit expromeret; Ac.* 1, 45; 2, 7: *in utramque partem dicendo eliciant et tamquam exprimant aliquid quod aut verum sit aut ad id quam*

proxime accedat; 2, 60: *dicunt veri inveniendi causa contra omnia dici oportere et pro omnibus; Tusc.* 2, 9: *michi semper Peripateticorum Academiaeque consuetudo de omnibus rebus in contrarias partis disserendi . . . placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re veri simile esset inveniri; Off.* 2, 8: *contra autem omnia disputatur a nostris, quod hoc ipsum probabile elucere non posset nisi ex utraque parte causarum esset facta contentio; Rep.* 3, 8: *neque sit ignota consuetudo tua contrarias in partis disserendi, quod ita facillime verum inveniri putes; de Or.* 3, 80.

5. **integrum ac liberum**: coupled in *N. D.* 2, 31: for the expression *relinquere integrum* cf. *pro Q. Rosc.* 35; *Ac.* 2, 8: *liberiores et solutiores sumus quod integra nobis est iudicandi potestas; Tusc.* 4, 7: *defendat quod quisque sentit; sunt enim iudicia libera.*

[587] 1. **a Socrate**: cf. *Ac.* 1, 16; 1, 44; *N. D.* 1, 11 (quoted in note on *proprum sit Academiae, etc.*) above; *Tusc.* 4, 7: *nos institutum tenebimus nulliusque unius disciplinae legibus adstricti . . . quid sit in quaque re maxime probabile semper requiremus*; 5, 11.

[587] 2. **Quinte frater**: the proper name is not usually added by Cicero to the vocative *frater*; yet cf. *Leg.* 3, 26: *o Quinte frater; de Or.* 1, 1: *Quinte frater*. The purpose in the present instance is perhaps, as in the *De Oratore*, to bring forward a little more prominently the name of the person to whom the work is, in effect, dedicated (cf. introd. pp. 15-16).

[587] 3. **quae cum essent dicta**: for such phrases at the end of dialogues cf. *N. D.* 3, 95: *haec cum essent dicta, ita discersimus, etc.* (also 3, 94: *quae cum dixisset Cotta finem*); *Fin.* 2, 119: *quae cum essent dicta finem fecimus et ambulandi et disputandi;*

tenebimus hanc consuetudinem a Socrate traditam eaque inter nos, si tibi, Quinte frater, placebit, quam saepissime utemur. Mihi vero, inquit ille, nihil potest esse iucundius. Quae cum essent dicta surreximus.

5, 96: *quod cum ille dixisset et satis disputatum videretur in oppidum . . . perreximus omnes*; Aug. *de Vit. beat.* 3, 22: *quod cum omnes se libentissime habere dixissent surreximus*. There being here no audience (as in the *De Natura Deorum*), no definite expression of opinion is sought.

Goedeckemeyer (*op. cit.* 148) considers the failure to express a final decision an example of Cicero's use of the Academic method. But Cicero's summing up in these last sections is sufficiently decisive and effective, and against it Quintus enters no protest or announcement of a future rebuttal (as does Balbus in *N. D.* 3, 94). This is perhaps in itself an indica-

tion that Cicero realized that Cotta in the *De Natura Deorum*, through excess of scepticism, had overstated the case against the Stoic belief in providence, while in the present work he could not acknowledge that any further defence of *superstitio* was possible. It must not be forgotten, also, that Quintus was not really so much a Stoic as a Peripetetic (cf. introd. p. 17, and n. 72), and possibly Marcus felt that he had sufficiently sacrificed him as the exponent of views which he really did not hold.

3. *surreximus*: cf. 1, 8, n. (*ambulandi*); 2, 8, n. (*ambulatum . . . consedimus*); *de Or.* 3, 230: *sed iam surgamus, inquit*.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA*

BOOK ONE

- 10 b, n. 13, l. 15: *for 2, 75 read 2, 76.*
- 12 b, n. 30a, l. 27: on other obscurantists cf. Stoerling, *Quaest. Ciceron. ad Relig. spectantes* (1894), 15-18.
- 13 b, n. 34: I cannot accept the view that the motive of Cicero's attack is not opposition to superstition but a New Academic hostility toward all science, in this case the pseudosciences of astrology, augury, etc.; cf. Wedel, *The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 153, following Boll in *Sitzb. d. kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-philol. u. hist. Cl.* 1899, 1, 102, n.
- 14, l. 23: on the inconcinnities in this work—well matched in other authors—cf. Albertini, *La Composition dans les Ouvrages philos. de Sénèque* (1923), 319-320.
- 15, l. 18: Mr. W. A. Falconer, in *Class. Philol.* 18 (1923), 310-327, argues strongly, and I believe convincingly, against M. Durand's view of the date of our work. His positive theory—which appears less sure than his demolition of M. Durand's hypothesis—is that the *De Divinatione* was begun prior to the Ides of March and probably completed as far as 1, 119, when the author was interrupted by the chaos following Caesar's murder; that later, from time to time, he worked upon it; that if the version we have is the final one, then he never revised it, and hence, because of its many palpable defects, never authorized its publication, but that it was published after his death or has come down to us from some pirated copy made during his life time.
- 16 a, n. 62, l. 12: the types of Cicero's dialogues are also noted by Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. d. gr. Skeptisismus* (1905), 145, n. 2.
- 18, l. 31: *for suffi read sufficient.*
- 19 b, n. 85, l. 18: also Svoboda in *Listy filologické*, 41 (1919), 3-13; 65-79; 129-161; 257-268; 327-336.
- 23 b, n. 102, l. 11: *for 34 read 7-8.*
- 26 a, n. 121, l. 3: *for marriage read wponolas.*
- 27, l. 1: *for philosophical read philosophical.*
- 29, l. 17: for possible imitation by Ovid of one passage in our work cf. 2, 63, n. (*ferre, etc.*).
- p. 35, l. 9: Sabbadini, *Storia e Critica di Testi Latini* (1914), 13, states that Jean de Montreuil at the end of the thirteenth century possessed the *De Divinatione*.
- p. 36, l. 13: cf. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* 241, for Pietro Candido's judgment of our work.
- p. 36, l. 15: Cf. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Cod. lat. e gr.* 1 (1905), 153, for the possession by Politian of an '*antiquissimus liber*' of the *De Divinatione*, and for the knowledge of the work by Guglielmo da Pastrengo of Verona (in his work *De Originibus Rerum*, fol. 3^v; 6; 16^v; 29^v; etc.) and by Giovanni da Verona cf. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* 1, 19 and 2 (1914), 194, respectively.
- 37, l. 3: for the acquaintance of Diderot with this work cf. Zieliński, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 2 ed. (1908), 314.
- 39 b, l. 2: add the statement in *Sext. Emp.* 7, 131 as to the views of Heraclitus on *consensus* as an evidence of truth; but also [Athanas.] *Consul. quarund. Propos.* 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 28, 1341 D).
- 40 a, l. 12: cf. also Rose in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 41 (1921), 91-116.
- 40 b, l. 23: for a very different interpretation of the word by the Christians cf. *Orig. Homil.* 16 in *Num.* 7 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 699).
- 42 a, l. 30: Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 80 D; 177 A) also mentions Atlas in this connection with astrology; and cf. Cosmas Hierosol. in *Greg. Naz. Carm.* 64 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 491).

*References are to pages, Books I and II being paged consecutively. A number without a letter added refers to the text or the critical apparatus; an added a denotes the first column of notes on a page and an added b the second column.

43 a, l. 42: Chaldaean claims are also supported by [Basil.] *Comm. in Is.* 13, 275 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 604 A); Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 101 C). For an important summary of the views of ancient writers on this subject see Bouché-Leclercq, *L' Astrologie grecque* (1899), 51, n. 1.

45 b, l. 22: add Stürmer, *Dio, Rhapsoden der Odyssee* (1921), 569-576, on the number three in Homer.

46 b, l. 12: Roscher, *Der Omphalogedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern* (1918), 81, thinks the cult at Siwah was only a branch of that at Thebes.

45 a, l. 5: on these oases cf. also Mason in *Bull. 1125 of U. S. Dept. of Agr.* (1923), 3-12.

47 b, l. 31: important on the derivation of *augur* is also Flinck, *Auguralia u. Verwandtes* (1921), 1-22 (who considers it cognate with *augco*); cf. Wissowa in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 41 (1921), 916.

49 a, l. 4: but Philippson (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 101) well points out that *consulo aliquid* may also be used.

52 b, l. 42: Zimmermann (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 41 (1921), 1056) would derive *sispes* from *se+spes*.

53 a, l. 6: add Rein, *Die Schlangenhöhle von Lanuvium*, in *Ann. Acad. Sc. Fennicae*, 2 ser. 11 (1919), 1-38.

55 a, l. 32: add Pfeiffer, *Stud. z. antiken Sternnglauben* (1916), 61, n. 3.

55 b, l. 1: add *N. D.* 1, 72: *quae Epicurus oscitans hallucinatus est*.

55 b, l. 18: Rudberg, *Forschungen zu Poseidonios* (1918), 32 discusses the scorn of Posidonios for Epicurus.

59 b, l. 21: after 2, 100 add 2, 109.

60 a, l. 24: cf. 1, 128; Rudberg, *op. cit.* 179-180.

62 a, l. 36: the interest of Posidonius in divination is discussed by Rudberg, *op. cit.* 4-5.

64 a, after l. 25: add: *praestantissimi*: this word, which really applies to Panaetius, is by Delaruelle (in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 246-247) curiously misapplied to Carneades, producing a distortion of the sense, and a need, as he feels, of deleting the word *Academiae*.

65 b, l. 5: add *de Dom.* 105.

65 b, l. 15: *for* Minucius. Felix read Minucius Felix. Add Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 33: *aniles . . . fabulae*.

65 b, l. 37: cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 1 (1895), 543, n. 1.

68 b, l. 44: on the figurative use of *arx* cf. Boeth. *Cons.* 1, pr. 3; *de Fid. cath.* 1. 30 Stewart and Rand; Rudberg, *op. cit.* 206.

69 a, l. 3: Shorey (in *Class. Philol.* 17 (1922), 172-173) compares rather Plat. *Phaed.* p. 76 c: *el μή τὰυτὰ οὐδὲ ράδε*.

69 b, l. 36: on the connection between belief in divination and that in the gods cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1, 4, 14-16; Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 1473.

70 a, l. 23: for such apologies cf. Plat. *Theag.* p. 121a.

70 a, l. 41: add Donat. *Vit. Virg.* 35: *ut reliqua vita tantum philosophiae vacaret*.

72 b, l. 47: add Weniger in *Sokrates*, 5 (1917), 308; *id.* in Roscher, *Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Thriai* (1922), 867-871.

73 b, l. 44: for *sortes Ovidianae* cf. Stemplinger, *Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 52.

74 a, l. 11: for *sortes Biblicae* add Stemplinger in *Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 45-46.

74 b, l. 19: Philippson (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 102-106) suggests that the empirical method of Posidonius is probably derived not so much from the similar Epicurean teachings as from the practice of the empirical physicians.

75 a, l. 45: for demons as the instigators of the flight of ominous birds cf. Orig. *Homil.* 16 in *Num.* 7 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 698); [Basil.] *Comm. in Is.* 2, 78 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 249 B).

75 b, l. 9: cf. Gossen-Steier in *P.-W. s.v. Krähe* (1922), 1561-1566.

75 b, l. 30: cf. also *Ac.* 2, 128: *non enim magis . . . approbant lucere nunc quam, cum cornix cecinerit, tum aliquid eam aut iubere aut velare*.

76 a, l. 30: the prophetic power of ravens is also treated by Dyer, *Folk-Lore of Shakespeare* (1884), 149-150; Fraser, *Folk-Lore of the O. T.* 3 (1918), 25-26.

77 a, l. 5: insert Hier. *ProL. in*

Explan. S. Lucae ab Origine (Patr. Gr. 13, 1799): cum a sinistro oscinem corvum audiam crocitantem, etc.; Furlani in *Rendic. d. r. Acc. d. Lincei*, cl. d. sc. mor. stor. e philol. 28 (1920), 359-361.

78 a, l. 10: in [Clem.] *Homil.* 8, 14 it is asserted that the powers of roots were disclosed to men by the demons, for the human mind unaided would never have discovered them.

80 a, l. 10: Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, Riverside ed. 115, quotes Josselyn (1638) as saying: 'the resounding of the sea from the shore and murmuring of the wind in the woods, without apparent wind, showeth wind to follow.'

80 a, l. 43: for *Etudes* read *Études*.

80 a, l. 47: for Neptunus used by metonymy cf. Naev. fr. com. 121 Ribbeck.

81 b, l. 19: cases of *montes* in the sense of 'sea-cliffs' are also found in Virg. *Ecl.* 8, 59; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 40.

84 b, l. 24: for such transfers of animal names from one class to another cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 29, 14 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 92 B): *προσομοῦσι ἡμῖν τὸν κίνα, τὸν χερσαῖον καὶ τὸν θαλάσσιον, διωσύνμα τε ὄντα καὶ κερτῶν λεγόμενα*.

86 a, l. 5: for cicadas feeding on dew add: Arist. *H. A.* 4, 7, p. 532 b 13; 5, 30, p. 556 b 15; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 195 (cf. 7, 189); and for their 'song' cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 28, 24 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 60 A): *τίς ὁ θεὸς τέττιγι τῆρ ἐπὶ στήθους μαγάδα*; Boeth. in *Lib. de Interp. Ed. sec.* (*Patr. Lat.* 64, 423): *cicada per pectus sonitium mittit*.

86 a, l. 7: on crickets as signs of rain cf. Dyer, *Folk-Lore of Shakespeare* (1884), 252, who quotes White, *Nat. Hist. of Selborne*.

86 a, l. 32: Harder (in *Glotta*, 12 (1922), 137-144) has a long discussion of the *δολογῶν* and *acredula*, and concludes it to be some sort of bird, possibly the wryneck or some kind of warbler, but not the nightingale.

86 b, l. 12: Pentadius also employs this type of verse; cf. *Anth. Lat.* ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., nos. 234; 235. On such repetitions in Cicero's prose works cf. Fronto, p. 108 Naber.

86 b, l. 23: add Arist. *H. A.* 4, 9, p. 535 b 7.

88 a, l. 38: on frogs as signs of rain cf. McCartney in *Class. Weekly*, 14 (1921), 93, n. 50.

88 b, l. 4: add Virg. *Georg.* 3, 431: *ranisque loquacibus*.

89 a, l. 20: cf. Ambr. *Hexaem.* 6, 67: *erigit et bucula ad caelum oculos sed quid spectet ignorat, etc.*

89 b, l. 33: on the erect posture of man cf. Arist. *de Somn. et Vigil.* 3, p. 457 b 25; *de Juvent.* 1, p. 468 a 5; Boeth. *Cons.* 5, poet. 5, 11-13; Basil. *Homil. in illud: Attende tibi ipsi*, 8 (*Patr. Gr.* 31, 216 C); [Basil.] *de Hominis Struct.* 2, 13 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 57C); Caesarius, *Dial.* 3, 140 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 1085); Ambr. *Expos. Ps.* 118, 10, 7; Dickerman, *De Argumentis quibusdam apud Xen. Plat. Arist. obviis e Structura Hominis et Animalium peccatis* (1909), 92; Rudberg, *Forschungen zu Poseidonios* (1918), 65, and n. 1.

91 a, l. 3: on three mediaeval seasons for ploughing cf. Tille, *Yule and Christmas* (1899), 47.

92 b, l. 23: for scammony as a purgative add: Hippocr. *de Rat. Vict. in Morb. acut.* p. 81 Kühn; Roger Bacon, *Op. maius*, part 5 (1, 377 Bridges).

94 a, l. 34: cf. Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 42 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 785 B): *πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐκ' ὀφελῶν τοῖς κάμουσι διδοται βοσφηματα*; also the instance in 2, 135; 2, 141 below.

94, b, l. 12: add *N. D.* 1, 99: *cerebrum cor pulmones secur; haec enim sunt domicilia vitae*.

95 a, l. 3: lungs of a dove and exta of a puppy and those of a boy are mentioned by Juv. 6, 549-552; Frazer on Paus. 6, 2, 4 notes the use of fowls' livers in divination in Celebes.

95 a, l. 11: for human exta add Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 517 A; 573 B; cf. 588 B); Phot. *Bibl.* 258 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 152).

98 a, l. 5: for baste in consultation of entrails add Caesarius, *Dial.* 3, 118 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 1005): *καὶ σπλάγχνω οὐρανῶ κατατομῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώτων σπαιρόντων οὐ μακρόν τῷ αἵματι χραίνονται*; Psell. *de*

Daemon. 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 877); also among the Celts (Frazer on Paus. 10, 21, 1).

98 a, l. 5: for still another theory of liver divination, that of Ithering, cf. 2, 30, n. (*Democritus, etc.*). Plato's theory is set forth in *Tim.* p. 71a f.

98 a, l. 12: cf. *Onasand. Strateg.* 10, 28: *καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὰς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων κινήσεις καὶ ἀνατολὰς καὶ δώσεις καὶ σχημάτων ἐγγίσεις τριγώνων καὶ τετραγώνων καὶ διαμέτρων ἢ θυτική διὰ σπλάγχτων ἀλλοιομόρφῳ θεωρίᾳ προσμαίειν, ὡν αἱ παρὰ μικρὸν διαφοραὶ καὶ συνάμεισι καὶ ἀποθειώσεις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὴ μᾶλλον δ' ὥρα καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐποίησαν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους.*

98 a, l. 15: a connection between astrology and the parts of the liver is also to be seen in Psell. *de Daemon*. 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 877).

98 b l. 3: for extispicy in Calabria today see Stemplinger, *Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 50.

99 a, l. 23: on fictile statues at and near Rome cf. Walters, *Hist. of anc. Pottery*, 2 (1905), 371; Curtis in *Art and Arch.* 9 (1920), 276-277 and figg. 5 and 6; Chase in *Class. Journ.* 16 (1921), 277-278.

99 b, l. 34: in *Aug. c. Acad.* 1, 17 a diviner locates a lost article.

100 a, l. 3: Hendrickson (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 27 (1906), 197, n. 1) discusses the convention in literary dialogues of quoting ἀπὸ μύθου a supply of erudite illustrations.

102 a, l. 14: the following fragment has been annotated by Heikel, *Adversaria ad Cic. de Consul. suo Poema* (1912), 84-93, which was not available to me at the time my notes were written. The few additional matters that he offers which seem of particular significance here are incorporated below. Certain likenesses between Cicero's poem and Lucretius are collected by Merrill in *Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol.* 5 (1921), 143-154. To Koch, *Ciceronis Carmina historica restituta atque narrata* (1922), I have not had access; cf. Klotz in *Philol. Woch.* 43 (1923), 34-35.

104 a, l. 33: Wedel, *The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 91-94,

describes the terror created in Europe by such a planetary conjunction in 1186 A.D.

105 b, l. 23: cf. the different kinds in the classification in Achill. Tat. *Isagog.* 34.

107 a, l. 12: on comets in general note the long article by Gundel in *P.-W.* s.v. *Kometes* (1921), 1143-1193. Their foreshadowing of the death of princes is also treated by Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900), 286-287 (= *Kl. Schr.* 4, 307-308); Pfeiffer, *Gestirne u. Wetter* (1914), 3; Smith on Tibull. 2, 5, 71 (to which add Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 122, 257 C-D)), and their generally ominous character is discussed by Boll in *Zeitschr. f. d. neuest. Wiss.* 18 (1918), 47, n. 1; Stemplinger in *Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 37-38; Wedel, *op. cit.* 94-95 (and works there cited).

107 b, l. 27: for Plaut. read Plut.

107 b, l. 36: cf. Tavenner in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 8 (1920), 52-56.

108 b, l. 5: on this pillar shape cf. Gundel, *op. cit.* 1178, who considers it a kind of comet.

109 a, l. 44: additional cases of lighting from a clear sky are Suet. *Aug.* 95; *Act. Martyr. S. Callisti*, 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 10, 113), in the latter of which it is reported as having killed four priests.

109 b, l. 41: for 11(1908) read 21 (1908).

110 a, l. 36: for 1, 21 read 1, 22.

112 a, l. 26: Suet. *Aug.* 29 is not entirely to the point here; but to the cases mentioned may be added Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 4, 2, p. 135 a-b; *Act. Martyr. S. Callisti, l.c.*

115 a, l. 42: on the Capitoline wolf see also Rodocanachi tr. by Lawton, *The Roman Capitol* (1906), 96, n. 4; Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (1922), 253, n. 4. The legend is discussed by De Sanctis in *Riv. di Filol.* 38 (1910), 71-85, and tales of animals suckling children are treated by Frazer on Paus. 2, 26, 4; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (1910), cxlii.

115 b, after l. 23 add: *uberibus*: on this word cf. Heikel, *op. cit.* 90-91.

116 b, l. 30: on hexameter rhyme add Smith on Tibull. 1, 1, 54, and works there cited; Evans, *Allitteratio Latina* (1921), 2.

117 b, l. 41: add Anon. *de Antiq. Constantinop.* 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 1197-1200).

With this statue may also be compared one at Rhegium which prevented harm from Aetna and warded off barbarians; cf. Candidus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 80 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 261 A).

119 a, after l. 2 add: *flamma ferroque*: for this particular alliterative phrase cf. Smith on Tibull. 1, 9, 21.

121 a, l. 22: the time referred to was at his return from Greece in 76, at the age of thirty.

122, a, l. 29: for the use of *numeri* cf. *Sen. Controv.* 6, 5; 7, praef. 2.

122 b, l. 28: the *Venus* is also treated by Schol. *Pers.* 3, 48. In 2, 121 of our work is said that the ignorant sometimes thought it actually guided by the agency of *Venus* herself.

123 b, l. 10: the references to the Coan *Venus* are collected by Reinach in *Recueil Milliet: Textes gr. et lat. relatifs à l'Hist. de la Peinture anc.* 1 (1921), 332-339.

126 a, l. 7: add Hippocr. *de prisc. Medic.* p. 33 Kühn. For blame of medicine because not all the sick recover cf. Hippocr. *de Arte*, pp. 8; 13 Kühn; Basil. *Regulae fusius tract.* 55, 3 (*Patr. Gr.* 31, 1048 A-B).

126 a, l. 30: on the difference between diviners and scientific specialists cf. Athanas. *Vit. Anton.* 33 (*Patr. Gr.* 26, 892 B-C).

129 a, l. 24: add Callim. ap. Suid. s.v. *Σιμωνίδης*.

129 a, l. 32: Anaxagoras is said to have foretold the collapse of a house (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 1, 2).

129 b, l. 21: for the eagle as a type of kingship cf. also Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 93; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 186 (1921), 138-139; and for omens from eagles add Dyer, *Folk-Lore of Shakespeare* (1884), 118.

131 b, l. 5: in Suet. *Jul.* 81 the death of Caesar is said to have been foreshadowed by certain horses which refrained from food.

135 a, l. 37: on the use of *exempla* by Posidonius cf. Rudberg, *op. cit.* 16.

139 b, l. 14: for the distinction between sign and cause add: Boeth. *Cons.* 5, 4: *omne etenim signum tantum quid sit ostendit, non vero efficit quod designet*; Anon. *Quaest. et Resp. ad Orithodoxos*, 58 (*Patr. Gr.* 6, 1300): *οτι ἴσται ἢ πρόγνωσις αἰτία τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι αἰτιον τῆς προγνώσεως. οὐ γὰρ τῆ προγνώσει ἔεται τὸ μέλλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μέλλοντι ἢ πρόγνωσις: καὶ οὐδαμῶς ὁ προγιγνώσκων αἰτίας ἔστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι*; Martin in *Rev. arch.* 9 (1864), 179, n. 7. At some length Origen attempts to show that God's prescience does not necessarily imply his causation and a consequent lack of human freedom; cf. in *Gen.* 3, 5-6 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 61C-65B). In 3, 9 (*Patr. Gr.* 12, 69C) he remarks that the stars are signs, not causes, of human events; cf. 3, 10 (12, 76A).

140 b, l. 22: Professor J. C. Rolfe informs me that the University of Pennsylvania possesses, in its collection of antiquities, a bronze *lituus* about two feet long, originally held in the hand of a large statue.

140 b, l. 26: Flinck (*Auguralia u. Verwandler* (1921), 38-47) treats the *lituus* at length, thinking it to be etymologically connected with *litare*, and to be Italic rather than Etruscan (p. 45).

141 a, l. 17: on the *caduceus* cf. Frazer on Paus. 5, 27, 8; Boetzkes, *Das Kerykeion* (1913); *id.* in *P.-W.* s.v. *Kerykeion* (1922), 330-340 (with bibliography); on the magic wand in general Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dict. d'Arch. chrét.* 2, 1 (1910), 69-70; Plummer, *op. cit.* 1 (1910), cl, nn. 2-3; clxxiv; Lankester, *Diversions of a Naturalist* (1915), 383-395; Gundel in *P.-W.* s.v. *ῥαβδουαρτεία* (1920), 13-18.

143 a, l. 2: other such escapes from conflagrations are those of statues of Jupiter and Minerva (Zosim. 5, 24, 10-14); of a Gospel MS (Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 1129A)); and of a rod cut by St. Finan (*Vit. S. Finani*, 4, in Plummer, *op. cit.* 2 (1910), 87; cf. *id.* 1 (1910), cxxviii, n. 2); also Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 7, 31; *Mirac.* 1, 52.

144 a, l. 44: cf. also [Tert.] *adv. Marc.* 2, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1068C): *viticulae in gracili latet ingens corpore botrus; / si quaeras, non est; cum vult Deus esse videtur.*

145 a, l. 12: Flinck (*op. cit.* 28) thinks that the Attus Navius story points to a time when the augur with his *lituus* sought to influence magically the production of grapes in vineyards.

145 b, l. 25: I cannot accept the view of Nissen (*Orientation*, 1 (1906), 275) that in this repeated division we have a reference to the sixteen regions of the Etruscans (for which cf. 2, 42, of our work).

147 b, l. 21: on 'thunderstones' cf. also Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 5 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 617); Skeat in *Folk-Lore*, 23 (1912), 60-80.

148 a, l. 37: *for qu cum read quod cum.*

150 a, l. 25: *for 1, 75 read 2, 75.*

151 b, l. 9: the historical character of Epimenides is also defended by Ramsay (*Quart. Rev.* no. 459 (1919), 378; cf. *Boll. d. filol. class.* 28 (1921), 44-45). Other similar cases of sleepers are given in the appendix to the second edition of Frazer's *Pausanias* (5 (1913), 487-488), among whom may be mentioned the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (cf. *Greg. Tur. Mirac.* 1, 95; *Phot. Bibl.* 253 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 100-101); *Cedren. Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 645A-B)).

152 b, l. 3: Schiche (*De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875), 10) thinks the mention of the Erythraean rather than of the Cumaean Sibyl an indication of a Greek source at this point.

152 b, l. 17: for the expression *aequalis sortibus* cf. Greenidge, *The legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* (1901), 395.

153 b, l. 9: Philippson (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 101) compares the Greek phrase *φύσει ἀβήλω*.

154 a, l. 31: Diodorus of Tarsus ap. *Phot. Bibl.* 223 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 860A) remarks that no position of the skies has ever made a mule bear or beget; cf. also *Hdt.* 7, 57; *Arist. Metaph.* 7, 9, p. 1033 b 33; 1034 b 3; *Mayor* on *Juv.* 13, 66.

154 b, l. 17: on scruples against breeding mules see Frazer on *Paus.* 5, 5, 2.

156 a, l. 45: Henderson, *op. cit.* 53 quotes Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, 165, for a Welsh belief that 'every farmhouse had two snakes; they never appeared until just before the death of the master or mistress of the house; then one snake died.' *Porphy. Vit. Plotin.* 2 says that a snake slipped from under the bed of Plotinus and disappeared in a hole, and that Plotinus immediately thereafter died. For the connection of the dead with snakes see Fowler, *Aemas at the Site of Rome* (1918), 113-114; Deubner in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 20 (1920), 146; Frazer on *Apollod. Bibl.* 3, 5, 4; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 186 (1921), 133; Rose in *Class. Quart.* 18 (1923), 57 and n. 1.

156 b, l. 22: on the sight of snakes mating cf. Frazer on *Apollod. Bibl.* 3, 6, 7.

156 b, l. 39: Nonn. ad *Greg. Naz. Orat. I c. Iul.* 72 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 1024 A-B) describes this sort of omen under the head of *οἰκασκοπητικόν*.

157 b, l. 5: for the reading of this passage see also Delaruelle in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 240-241.

157 b, l. 25: add *Tusc.* 5, 77; *Phot. Bibl.* 82 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 284 B).

157 b, l. 35: add *Lucan.* 1, 601.

159 a, l. 16: on the fondness of Chryseippus for collections of facts cf. *Tusc.* 1, 108.

159 b, l. 29: for the effect of the birth of Christ on pagan oracles cf. Athanas. *de Incarn. Verbi*, 47 (*Patr. Gr.* 25, 180B); *Vit. Anton.* 79 (*Patr. Gr.* 26, 953A); [Basil.] *Comm. in Is.* 2, 96 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 276A); *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 5, 32 (*Patr. Gr.* 35, 704C); *Theodoret. Gr. Aff.* 10 (*Patr. Gr.* 83, 1061B); cf. *Hilar. Tract. in Ps.* 137, 10 (*Patr. Lat.* 9, 789A); also a modern Greek tradition noted by Dodwell, *Class. and topogr. Tour through Greece*, 1-(1819), 195.

161 a, l. 39: cf. *Robinson* in *Class. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 46; Frazer on *Apollod. Bibl.* 1, 2, 1.

162 a, l. 17: Lucian (*V. H.* 2, 33) parodies Antiphon's interpretation of dreams.

162 a, l. 42: for the 38-year reign of Dionysius cf. also Hellad. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 279 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 305).

162 b, after l. 4 add: **Syracosiorum**: Schiche (*De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div.* (1875), 16) thinks that the use of this form rather than *Syracusianorum* is an indication of a Greek source at this point.

163 a, l. 44: add Suet. *Aug.* 94 for the dream of the mother of Augustus before his birth.

164 a, l. 41: for priests taking their titles from animals cf. Frazer on Paus. 8, 13, 1 (and his addenda in volume 5, 621); on the *Galeotae* also his note on 6, 2, 4.

164 b, l. 39: for other references to the story of Ilia cf. Smith on Tibull. 2, 5, 51-54.

165 b, l. 38: add Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2, 1, 45, 231 ff. (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 1369); Wendland, *Antike Geister- und Gespenstergeschichten* (in *Festschr. f. Jahrhundertfeier d. Univ. Breslau* (1911), 33 ff.).

166 a, l. 32: for *αελευσονται* read *κελευσονται*.

166 a, l. 33: for *αικισθεισαν* read *αικισθεισαν*.

166 a, l. 34: Frazer, *Folk-Lore of the O. T.* 2 (1918), 438-455, describes the similar exposure of other kings and chiefs, and thinks (454-455) that the water ordeal was to show that the children were legitimate. This was especially necessary in the case of children of supernatural birth, which cynics might interpret as illegitimate.

167 a, l. 17: McCartney (in *Class. Philol.* 15 (1920), 219) holds the expression *blanda voce* to be adverbial, equivalent to *blande*, and cites other instances.

168 a, l. 13: add Schol. Lycophr. *Alex.* 86; Robert, *Bild u. Lied* (1881), 234; Pearson, *Frag. of Sophocles*, 1 (1917), 57-59.

168 b, l. 13: cf. Quintil. *Inst.* 3, 6, 30: *coniectura dicta est a coniectu, id est directione quadam rationis ad veritatem, unde etiam somniorum atque ominum interpretes coniectores vocantur.*

170 b, l. 24: on the connection between shepherds and kings cf. Basil. *Homil. in Mamantem*, 3 (*Patr. Gr.* 31, 593 B).

171 a, l. 41: the same tale appears in Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 692 D).

171 b, l. 22: for the reversed direction of the sun cf. Frazer on Apollod. *Epitome* 2, 12-13.

172 b, l. 22: add Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2, 1, 1, 291 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 992): *φροντισιν ημαρτας γαρ ομοια φασματα νυκτος*; Basil. *Homil. in Ps.* 23 (*Patr. Gr.* 29, 353C): *επι πολυ τα καθ' εσπον φαντασματα της μεσημερινης εννοιας εστιν απηχηματα*; *Reg. brev. tractat.* 22 (*Patr. Gr.* 31, 1097 C); Psellus, *de omnifaria Doctr.* 85 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 740): *οι δε ολον απηχηματά εσσι των ημεριων προξων.*

173 a, l. 25: on the etymology of *verrucco* see also Dohring, *Etymol. Skizzen* (1912), 43.

174 a, l. 33: Shorey (in *Class. Philol.* 17 (1922), 173) compares, for the rhythm and structure of the sentence, *Orat.* 214 *patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit*.

174 a, l. 36: on the cruelty of Phalaris see also Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny* (1922), 275, n. 1.

175 a, l. 18: cf. Schol. Clem. *Protrept.* 50, 7 Stählin: *θνος οι Μάγοι Καλδαίων*

176 a, l. 7: cf. Chalcid. in Plat. *Tim.* 131: *cuncta Graecia, omne Latium, omnisque barbaria.*

177 b, l. 34: Sander (*Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quod scripsit de Div.* (1908), 6-8) proposed to rearrange the order of the sentences thus: (end of 1, 46) . . . *regnare coepisset. (1, 47) discedo . . . reverlar. qua nocte . . . natam. est profecto . . . Alexander est mortuus. haec de Indis et magis. (1, 48) redeamus ad somnia.* This view has been very properly rejected by Heeringa (in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 563; for Sander's rejoinder see *Philologus*, 75 (1919), 384-394), and it may in addition be said that the phrase *discedo parumper*, as is shown by the present tense, is not an announcement by Cicero of what he was about to do but a paren-

thetic and somewhat apologetic recognition of what he was already doing.

178 b, l. 37: on Cicero's use of alliterative pairs cf. Wölfflin in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 462-463.

179 b, l. 2: for the shrine of Juno Lacinia add Eustath. *Comm.* 371 (*Geogr. Gr.* 2, 283); Frazer on Paus. 6, 13, 1.

179 b, l. 42: on temple-robbery cf. 2, 68.

180 a, l. 23: punishment by blindness is discussed by Frazer on Paus. 3, 19, 13.

182 a, l. 20: add Virg. *Aen.* 6, 224.

183 a, l. 10: add Soph. fr. 534 Pearson; Frazer on Paus. 9, 30, 4; Ogle in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 258, n. 3 (who cites also Apollon. Rhod. 3, 1039; Eustath. ad Hom. *Od.* 22, 481, pp. 1934-1935); Thurston, *Omens and Superst. of southern India* (1912), 37-38. The idea also appears prominently in the *Arabian Nights* in the story of the sisters who envied their younger sister.

184 a, l. 14: for a similar prediction to the leader of the Mamertines cf. Diod. 22, 13, 3-5. In the story of Roland Charlemagne vows not to make peace till he has dined in the castle of Montalban, and the vow is fulfilled by his dining there as a prisoner, in a manner similar to that in the story of Hamilcar.

184 a, l. 27: the objections urged by Sander (*op. cit.* 8-10) to this sentence are disposed of by Heeringa (in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 563).

187 a, l. 27: cf. the aetiological play upon the name of the town of Caere (*χαῖρε*) in Strab. 5, p. 220.

187 b, l. 14: Hesiod mistook the place where he was to die on account of the geographic ambiguity of the Delphic oracle about it (*Hes. et Hom. Certamen*, 16); Valens confused with the tomb of Mimas, where he actually did die, Mt. Mimas where he thought he was doomed to meet his death (Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 597 C-D)); the oracle *Africa capta mundus cum nato peribit* really referred, not to the world and its offspring, but to a general named Mundus and his

son (Procop. *Hist. Bell.* 5, 7, 6-7); Malias dreamed he was at Thessalonica and the interpreter explained this as a bad omen, the name being equivalent to *θῆς ἀλλω πλαῖν* (Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 825-828)).

187 b, after l. 25 add: Xenophon: for Cicero's knowledge of Xenophon cf. Münscher in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 13 (1920), 76.

190 a, l. 28: for thrice repeated dreams cf. Hdt. 7, 12-17; *Apocal. Pauli*, init.; Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 1076A); Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch, u. Volksglaube in Schlesien*, 2 (1906), 201 (for the belief that a thing thrice dreamed comes true).

191 a, l. 7: for such rhetorical plurals cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2, 169.

192 a, l. 40: on *instauratio* cf. Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis* (1921), 54-72.

193 b, ll. 15-16; for 2, 56 read 2, 136.

194 a, l. 22: but Philippson (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 101-102) would not insert *eum*, and believes that it was Coelius who had retailed the story to many before the death of Gracchus. After the previous statement *C. vero Gracchus multis dixit* he considers that it would be superfluous here to repeat *dixisse multis* with reference to Gracchus as a subject. But the repetition appears to lend a certain force, and I can hardly feel that any more reliability is given to the prediction by supposing Coelius rather than Gracchus to have frequently related it before its fulfilment.

195 b, l. 16: Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1 (1886), 617-618, tells of a man having thrice dreamed that the chancellor was being shot in the Parliament house at the very time that Spencer Perceval was being assassinated there.

196 a, l. 23: *bulbulus* here means not 'ploughman' but driver of a *plaustrum*, which was doubtless drawn by oxen (as in the passage quoted from the *Lex Iulia municipalis*); cf. Ov. *Trist.* 3, 12, 30; *ex Pont.* 4, 7, 10; *Carm. Epigr.* 269, 2.

198 a, l. 33: for the phrase *solis locis* cf. the instances cited by Smith on Tibull. 4, 13, 12.

198 b, l. 5: Litchfield (in *Harv. Stud. in class. Philol.* 25 (1914), 51, n. 4) cites many passages expressing Cicero's view of Marius, sometimes favorable, sometimes the reverse.

198 b, after l. 34 add: *lictori . . . proximo*: his chief attendant; cf. 2 *Verr.* 5, 142; *Sall. Jug.* 12, 3 (where it is used of an analogous Numidian official); *Val. Max.* 2, 2, 4; *C.I.L.* VI, 1883; 1884; Lécrivain in *Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.* s.v. *lictor* (1904), 1240.

199 a, l. 11: add the *monumenta regis* of *Hor. Carm.* 1, 2, 15.

200 b, l. 22: add (for Caesar) *Cedren. Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 336 C); cf. also *Anon. Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos*, 20 (*Patr. Gr.* 6, 1265-1268), where the question is raised *εἰ σὺ φρονι λογισμῷ κατεχόμενοι οἱ μοναχοὶ τὰς γαμικὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπεστράφησαν, διὰ τί ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἑνὸν φαντασίαις τὰ ἀβολήγητα πάσσοι, καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰς τυχεύσας ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς οὐκ εἶν ἐν τῇ φαντασίᾳ νομίζουσι*; and the answer is made that it is due to the machinations of the evil one.

201 a, l. 46: cf. [*Clem.*] *Recognit.* 2, 2; *Drechsler, l.c.*; *Stemplinger in Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 42, for Schopenhauer's theory of dreams after midnight.

202 a, l. 10: cf. *Asterius, Homil.* 14 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 372 D): *τοῦ ἡσθευτοῦ . . . ἑνὸν ἀλυτοῦ καὶ ἀφαντασιαστοῦ.*

203 b, l. 40: add: *Nonn. ad Greg. Naz. Orat. I c. Iul.* 17 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 993 C); *Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. Hist.* 8 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 622). *Wright* (in *Class. Rev.* 35 (1921), 155) suggests an etymological connection between *εὐνομος* and *κύνος*.

205 a, l. 16: add *Aug. Enarrat. in Ps.* 49, 12; *vox divina et prophetica, videns futura tanquam praesentia*; *Eunap. Vit. Philos.* p. 500; *Boeth. Cons.* 5, pr. 6. For the three fates as corresponding to past, present, and future cf. *Plat. Rep.* 6, p. 617c; [*Arist.*] *de Mundo*, 7, p. 401 b 15 ff.; for the unity of past, present, and future, *Plat. Lach.*, p. 198 d.

205 a, l. 36: to the examples given by *Lasaulx* add: [*Clem.*] *Homil.* 2, 6; *Recognit.* 1, 21; 10, 51; [*Tert.*] *adv. Marc.*

3, 5; [*Basil.*] *Comm. in Is. proem.* 3 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 124 B); cf. also *Dyer, Folk-Lore of Shakespeare* (1884), 28; *Wedel, The mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 79.

205 b, l. 30: add the remark of *Gorgias* just before his death (*Ael. V. H.* 2, 35): *ἤδη με ὁ ἑνὸς ἀρχεται παρακαταρθεσθαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ*; and cf. *Robert, Thanasios* (1879), 4 ff.

206 b, l. 3: *Professor J. C. Rolfe* calls to my attention the presentiment which *Augustus* had of his own death; *Suet. Aug.* 99; cf. also *Dyer, op. cit.* 362-363, and [*Plat.*] *Epinom.* p. 985c.

208 a, l. 45: cf. *Pohlenz in Nachr. d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, philol.-hist. Kl.* 1921, 192-194.

209 a, l. 19: to the passages cited by *Tambornino* add: *Anon. in Iob*, 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 17, 410 A-B); *Eus. Demons. Ev.* 5, proem. (*Patr. Gr.* 22, 337 A ff.; 345 D f.); *Comm. in Ps.* 77, 11-12 (*Patr. Gr.* 23, 912C); *Athanas. Vit. Anton.* 31 (*Patr. Gr.* 26, 889A ff.); [*Athanas.*] *Vit. S. Syncler.* 87 (*Patr. Gr.* 28, 1540-1541); [*Basil.*] *Comm. in Is.* 2, 77 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 248 B-C); 8, 218 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 496-497).

209 a, l. 27: *Philippson* (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 102) thinks *insignitiae* must refer, not to *veritatis*, but to *notae*, and that it translates *επακροφραγισμός* (cf. *S. V. F.* 2, no. 65, l. 42).

210 b, l. 21: for *Sagicitas* read *Sagacitas*.

211 a, ll. 11-13: this note should be deleted.

217 a, l. 12: the phrase *supra dixi* is appropriate for a written work rather than for a dialogue; cf. 2, 33; 2, 43, n. (*alio loco*).

218 b, l. 6: the seven eagles on the breast of the young *Marius* (*App. B. C.* 1, 61) were an omen of his seven consulships.

218 b, l. 20: cf. *Cichorius, Röm. Studien* (1922), 182-184.

220 a, l. 18: on divination from horses add *Stübe* in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 41 (1921), 1174; *Stemplinger, Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 48-49. The

chthonic character of the horse is discussed by Abt, *Die Apol. d. Apuleius* (1908), 128, and n. 6.

220 b, l. 14: on bees add: Frazer on Paus. 10, 5, 9; Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6, 706 ff.; Weicker, *Der Seelentogel in der alten Litt. u. Kunst* (1902), 29-30; Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 82-85; Waser in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 16 (1913): 353-354; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahreshb.* 186 (1921), 130-131; Stemplinger, *op. cit.* 32. Fronto, p. 137 Naber says: *sicut in extis diffissa plerumque minima et tenuissima maximas significant proprietates, ut formicularum et apicularum ostentis res maximae portenduntur.*

221 b, l. 39: add Lanciani in *Bull. d. Comm. arch. comun.* 45 (1917), 3.

222 a, l. 30: add Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 413 A); Plummer, *Vit. Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (1910), cxxxix, n. 2

222 b, l. 40: on Trophonius cf. also Nonn. ad Greg. Naz. *Orat. I c. Iul.* (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 988 A-B); ad *Orat. in sancta Lumina*, 6 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 1069 C); Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 64 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 512).

223 a, l. 11: add Arist. *H. A.* 4, 9, p. 536 a 27.

224 a, l. 8: Xenophanes knew the phenomenon but explained it without reference to the Dioscuri; cf. Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokrat.* 1, 3 ed. (1912), 53, n. 39.

224 a, l. 22: add the study of St. Elmo's Fire in antiquity by Martin in *Rev. arch.* 13 (1866), 168-179; for later traditions cf. Irving, *Life of Columbus*, 1 (1828 ed.), 306-307; *Folk-Lore Journ.* 1 (1883), 345; 396; 3 (1885), 306; Dyer, *Folk-Lore of Shakespeare*, (1884), 83-84.

226 b, l. 36: Domaszewski, *Relig. d. röm. Heeres* (1895), 115-116, thinks this the only evidence for army divinities during the time of the Republic.

226 b, l. 44: on omens from stumbling horses cf. Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 761 A); Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne*, 32.

228 a, l. 32: other cases of rivers running backward are noted by Smith on Tibull. 1, 2, 44.

229 b, l. 20: for Ambrose add Arator, *Ep. ad Parthen.* 45-46.

229 b, l. 32: add Stemplinger, *op. cit.* 50.

229 b, l. 44: add Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1, 2, 10, 43-44 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 684): *τῆ Πλάτωνος γλώσσαν, ἡ μελισσῶν / ἔστι.*

231 a, l. 26: add Rein in *Ann. Acad. Sc. Fennicae*, 2 ser. 11 (1919), 23, nn. 5-6.

232 a, l. 46: on the suffocating effects of the *Charonia* cf. Aret. *de Caus. acut. Morb.* 1, 7.

232 b, l. 18: a list of entrances to the underworld is also given by Ganschiniets in *P.-W. s.v. Katabasis* (1919), 2383-2387.

233 a, l. 33: add Damasc. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 242 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 1281 A). In Psell. *de Daemon. Operat.* 12 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 848 C) the term *Charonion* has become almost proverbial: *τὸν χαρωνίου πνεύματος τρόπον*; cf. also Zenob. 6, 41; Diogenian. 8, 68.

234 a, l. 27: on the differences of character in different lands cf. 2, 96-97; the influence of Posidonius on our passage is asserted by Munz (in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 40 (1920), 282-288) and Norden (*Die german. Urgesch. u. Tac. Germania* (1920), 118-120).

234 b, l. 38: add Hippocr. *de Vict. Rat.* 2, pp. 666 ff. Kühn.

238 a, l. 12: the *Epistologr. Gr.* pp. 298-305 mention a supposed work of Democritus on insanity.

240 a, l. 22: on actors carried by inspiration out of themselves cf. Plat. *Ion*, p. 535 b.

240 b, l. 11: yet Ambr. *de Parad.* 11 says: *sensum animi mentisque . . . quam αἰσθῆναι vocant Graeci.*

241 b, l. 25: for a theory that the Apollo Belvidere represents the god in the act of repelling the Gauls see Frazer on Paus. 10, 23, 1.

241 b, l. 41: in a similar way the apostle Peter promised the Romans to defend the *murus ruptus* on the Pincian Hill, so that they need not be alarmed; Procop. *Hist. Bell.* 5, 23, 5-6.

244 b, l. 28: cf. Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 42 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 785 C): *ἀγαθὸς ἔστιν ὁ Θεός· ἀγαθὸς δὲ ὡν εὐεργετικὸς ἔστιν· αὐτὸς δὲ εὐεργετικὸς καὶ προσηλυτικὸς.*

246 a, l. 31: cf. Anton. *adv. Gentes* (*Patr. Lat.* 5, 262 B): *hinc miseras maclat pecudes; mentesque deorum / quos putat irasci calido in pulmone requirit.*

247 a, l. 5: cf. Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 17: *noxia eum stella conspexit. Saturni ei sidus occurrit; etc.*

247 a, l. 43: on the names of the magnet cf. Hellad. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 279 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 304).

247 b, l. 35: Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 1, 2, 583 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 624) speaks of the magnet as a wonder, and it is often so alluded to in similes, etc. (cf. Rudberg, *Forschungen zu Poseidonios* (1918), 168), particularly by church writers, e.g., Tert. *adv. Hermog.* 44; Clem. *Eclg. ex Script. prophet.* 27 (*Patr. Gr.* 9, 712); Orig. *Comm. in Matt.* 10, 19 (*Patr. Gr.* 13, 884); Ambr. *Ep.* 45, 14; [Basil.] *de Virgin.* 3 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 676B); Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 21, 31 (*Patr. Gr.* 35, 1120 A); *Carm.* 2, 1, 11, 720 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 1079); Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 643; 38, 651); Nemes. *de Nat. Hom.* 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 40, 508 C).

248 b, l. 25: for double comparison add Eur. *Med.* 553-554.

250 a, l. 40: on Amphiloehus and Mopsus cf. Frazer on Apollod. *Epitom.* 6, 19.

255 a, l. 25: divination among the Druids is touched upon by Plummer, *Vit. Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 1 (1910), clx; Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 96.

255 a, l. 35: on Posidonius and the Druids cf. Rudberg, *op. cit.* 79.

255 b, l. 31: on *φωσιολογία* add Rudberg. *op. cit.* 95 n. 2.

256 b, l. 5: on the name *Telmessus* (also applied to a river in Sicily) cf. Ribezzo in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 4, 3 (1920), 70.

257 a, l. 1: add: Tat. *Orat. adv. Gr.* 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 6, 804 A); Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 4, 109 (*Patr. Gr.* 35, 645 A); Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. *Hist.* 20 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 626).

257 a, l. 7: add Schol. Clem. *Protrept.* 34, 21 Stählin.

259, crit. n., l. 1: the reading of Davies is also favored by Thormeyer, *De Val. Max. et Cic. Quaest. crit.* (1902), 80.

260 b, l. 11: add: Tat. *l.c.*; Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. *Hist.* 21 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 626).

260 b, l. 28: [Basil.] *Comm. in Is.* 2, 78 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 249 C) ascribes the invention of augury to the Cretans; Nonn. ad Greg. Naz. *Orat. 1 c. Iul.* 72 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 1024 A) to Telegonus.

262 b, l. 5: Harris, *The Cult of the heavenly Twins* (1906), 10-23, discusses various ideas of taboo connected with twins.

262 b, l. 8: Cedrenus describes various such births, e.g., quadruplets (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 601), Siamese twins (121, 589; 604), and a boy with one eye, four hands, and a beard (121, 597).

264 a, l. 16: Schönberger (in *Bayr. Bl. f. Gymnas.* 1919, 101) and Stemplinger (in *Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 36) would derive *prodigium* from *prod+ago*, 'das vor dem eigentlichen Unglück Vorgetriebene.'

266 b, l. 13: the emendation of Delaruelle (in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 248-249), who changes *vigilantibus* to *vigilantibus* is unnecessary and injures the meaning.

267 b, l. 38: add Frazer, *Folk Lore of the O. T.* 2 (1918), 42-52.

268 a, l. 15: for incubation in Perthshire cf. Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1 (1886), 79.

268 a, l. 20: add Stemplinger, *Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (1922), 36-41.

269 a, l. 4: on two suns cf. *Rep.* 1, 31. Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2, 1, 11, 562 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 1068) remarks *ὅσω μὲν ὁ ἄλλω φλόου φάσις*. On three suns cf. Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* 4, 31; 5, 24; Dyer, *op. cit.* 66-67.

270 a, l. 9: add Cedren. *Hist.* (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 737 a): *βρονγὴς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φοβωράτος*. The Christian 'last trump' should perhaps rather be traced to Hebrew origins.

270 a, l. 34: on *χάσματα* in the sky cf. Psell. *de omnif. Doctr.* 92 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 744).

270 b, l. 28: Delaruelle (*op. cit.* 241-243) unnecessarily questions the reading of this passage.

271 a, l. 28: on the verification of one oracle by another cf. Eur. *Ion*, 302; also Zosim. 3, 11.

271 b, l. 28: on a sweating column in Santa Sophia in Constantinople cf. McMillan's *Guide to Greece*, 3 ed. (1908), 144.

271 b, l. 35: other instances of weeping statues are noted by Smith on Tibull. 2, 5, 77. And cf. the various manifestations of this sort listed by Euseb. *de Martyr. Palaest.* 9 (*Patr. Gr.* 20, 1496); Glaber, *Hist.* 2, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 142, 634).

272 a, l. 27: on the rarity of such linguistic formations as *androgynus* cf. Eitrem, *Beiträge zur gr. Religionsgesch.* 3 (1920), 144.

273 a, l. 25: add Plat. *Phaed.* p. 112 a: γίγνεται δὲ ἕκαστοι (sc. οἱ ποταμοὶ) τοιοῦτοι δὲ ὄσας ἂν καὶ τῆς γῆς βίωσιν.

273 a, l. 21: add Plummer, *op. cit.* 1, cli, n. 2; Welch in *Ann. Brit. Sch. at Athens*, 33 (1919), 124.

273 a, l. 37: Agatharchides ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 250 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 9B) remarks that the Red Sea is very red at sunrise.

273 b, l. 39: add Glaber, *Hist.* 2, 10 (*Patr. Lat.* 142, 642-643) for a prolonged rain of stones.

274 a, l. 22: for rains of blood add Greg. Naz. *Epigr.* 90, 1 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 125); Plummer, *op. cit.* 1, clxxxvii, n.; Douglas, *Siren Land* (1911), 52-53; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, giving a report of a rain of blood at Monte Carlo in November, 1920 (the despatch dated 8 November); Wight in *Class. Weekly*, 14 (1921), 183. Professor W. A. Heidel (in a letter dated 10 May, 1921) tells me of a bloody snow eight inches deep which he witnessed at Chicago in 1896. For algae, especially *Sphaerella nivalis* Sommerf. of the *Volvocaceae*, as causing red snow in polar and high alpine regions cf. De-Toni, *Syllage Algarum*, 1 (1889), 552-553, and works there cited; Engler and Prantl, *Natürl. Pflanzenfamilien*, 1, 2 (1897), 39.

274 b, l. 23: a rain of silver is also

mentioned by Cedrenus (*Patr. Gr.* 121, 505 B).

274 b, l. 34: for a rain of wheat cf. Zosim. 1, 67; and for rains of animals see McCartney in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 51 (1920), 112; for other sorts Stemplinger, *op. cit.* 31.

276 a, l. 24: add Schol. Clem. *Protr.* 30, 5 Stählin: Κρητῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοῖς Τρωσὶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενων πληθύνον τῆς Τρωάδος οἱ μῦθι νύκτωρ ἐπέβησαν τοῖς τελαμῶνας τῶν δασίλων αὐτῶν διέτρυγον, καὶ ἐπέβησαν ἰδρύσαντο μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐπινοήσαντες δὲ αὐτὸ Σμύθιον Κρητῶν ἐπιχωρίων γλώττη: σμύθου γὰρ τοῖς μύθοι οἱ Κρήτες καλοῦσιν.

276 b, l. 5: add Theophr. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 278 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 297): οἱ μύθοι ἱστοροῦνται καὶ σίδηρον κατασθῆναι καὶ χρυσόν.

277 b, l. 26: in connection with the level of the lake before the emissarium was built—and hence the purpose of the latter—may be mentioned the legend that the palace of Amulius Silvius was struck by lightning and submerged beneath the lake, and, more significant, the statement of Diod. 7, 5, 11 Vogel ap. Euseb. *Chron.* (1, p. 289 Schöne): *ostendunt hinc usque rerum vestigia Romani iuxta stagnum habitantes, columnas subter aquis in altum visas, quae inibi in profunditate regiae domus exstant*; Dion. Hal. 1, 71, 3: καὶ οὖν ἐπὶ διαλαμπούσῃ τῆς λίμνης ἐν μέρει τριῖ, ὅταν ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ ὕδαμα καὶ σταθερὸς ὁ βυθὸς γένηται, παστάδων ἑρείκια καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγωσι ἴχνη φάσονται (copied in Euseb. *Chron.* (1, p. 273 Schöne)). If buildings originally stood at an even lower level than that of the emissarium it seems not unlikely that that outlet was designed to save still other such structures which were threatened but not yet destroyed.

277 b, l. 48: Frank, *Econ. Hist. of Rome* (1920), 7, n. 7 thinks that the tunnel at Veii known as the 'Ponte Sodo' may have been, by later tradition, ascribed to the sappers of the army of Camillus, and that 'the stories of mining operations at the siege of Veii may account for the strange tales that connected the emissarium of Lake Albanus with the Veian siege.'

279 b, l. 18: add Zosim. 2, 1-2.

281 a, l. 33: add Dessau 9418: *templ. sicut conseptum est.*

283 a, l. 9: cf. Strong, *Apotheosis and after Life* (1916), 275, n. 27.

283 a, l. 30: Greenidge, *The legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* (1901), 137, n. 2, thinks that if there is any distinction between *lites* and *iurgia* the latter may be equivalent to *arbitria*.

284 a, l. 12: for *Felix* read *Fausto*. Sulla himself adopted the title *Felix*.

284 a, l. 22: add Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 397 b: πολλά δ' ὡσπερ εὐχόμενοι τίθενται, οἷον Εὐτυχίδαρ καὶ Σωσῆα καὶ Θεόφιλον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ.

284 b, l. 24: add Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 397b; Amerius (Amelius), according to Porphyry. *Vit. Plot.* 7; also Joan. Scylitz. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 122, 420 A): ἐν Ἐλευσινύλαι, ἣν οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀγροικώτερον κυκλήσασιν Ἐλευσινούπολιν δ καὶ αὐτὸ οἰωνὸς οὐ χρηστός ὄψε. *Hellad. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 279 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 321) says οτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δὲσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιῶσι μὲν φροντίς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις; cf. *id.* p. 324. To the bibliography may be added Nyrop, *Navnets magt*, in *Mindre Afhandl.* (1887), 118-209; Schmidt, *Die Bedeutung des Namens im Kult u. Aberglauben* (1912).

285 a, l. 9: Zosim. 3, 22, 8 says that the soldiers who first came successfully out of a certain Roman military mine into a hostile town were named *Superanius*, *Magnus*, and *Iovianus*.

285 a, l. 17: cf. 2, 74, n. (*praerogativa*).

286 a, l. 37: for the cock of Honorius add Cedren. *Hist. (Patr. Gr.* 121, 640 B). In Procop. 5, 9, 3-6, three groups of swine, representing Goths, Romans, and soldiers of the emperor, are said to have been starved and the observation carefully made as to which set died first.

286 b, l. 3: on omens from chance acts of children cf. Hdt. 1, 114 (Cyrus made king by his playmates); Phot. *Bibl.* 258 (*Patr. Gr.* 104, 132), where the boy Athanasius is made a bishop by his playmates, ἐπιπολεῖ τινὶ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπλότητι; and the Triclin. Schol. Aesch. *Prom.* V. 887 (in *Harv. Stud. in class. Philol.* 32

(1921), 69) for omens drawn by Pittacus from cries of children.

288 b, l. 8: this inscription = Dessau 9337; cf. also Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 123.

288 b, l. 17: for a different treatment of the *auguria salutis* cf. Flinck, *Auguralia u. Verwandtes* (1921), 18-19; 50-58.

289 b, ll. 25-32: Professor Plasberg in a letter (31 December, 1921) points out that his note was not intended to indicate the grouping of *sapienter* and *aiebant* but merely to give an instance of an asyndeton (beginning with these words) with an adverbative meaning.

292 a, after l. 29 add: *caeli pater*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9, 630: *caeli genitor*; perhaps both are Ennian; cf. 2, 82, n. (*Ennius*).

293 b, l. 34: Philippson (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 102) holds the words in *monte* to be a gloss which has crowded out an original line.

295 a, l. 1: for Tarquitiu read Tarutiu.

295 b, l. 17: add Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6, 88.

298 a, l. 26: Achill. Tat. *Isagog.* 1 says that human beings might have discovered astronomy, ψυχὴ γὰρ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, κατελθοῦσα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ἀναλείουσα ἐς γαληνὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, πάντα τὰ συνήθη θαυρεῖ: καὶ ἐπισπᾶται πρὸς δὴ καὶ ἀναχθῆναι ἐπέγεται.

298 a, l. 32: on the relation of human souls to the divine cf. Pfeiffer, *Stud. z. antiken Stern glauben* (1916), 115, n. 8; 116, n. 1.

299 a, l. 3: cf. Fronto, p. 8 Naber: *valium impetus divinatio nuncupatur.*

300 b, l. 29: for the larger aspects of the story of Thales (or Democritus) and the olive crop cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.* 93-103.

301 b, l. 38: Schlachter, *Alles u. Neues über die Sonnenfinsterniss des Thales* (1898) has not been accessible to me.

302 a, l. 4: a Id Georg. Mon. *Chron.* 2, 60.

303 b, l. 37: on Pherecydes and Pythagoras add Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, 1, 4 ed. (1923), 444-445.

305 b, l. 7: Philippson (in *Philol. Wochenschr.* 42 (1922), 102) emphasizes the awkwardness of Cicero in quoting, as an example of those inspired by music or scenery, the prediction of Cassandra.

and that a prediction not in prose (*versis*) but in verse. The infelicity must be admitted, but it may be explained by referring the introductory phrase *quo de genere* not to emotional souls thus inspired but, as stated at the beginning of 1, 114, to *is quorum animi sprelis corporibus evolvant*, etc. And as to the form of Cassandra's prophecy, Cicero quotes from the verse account in Ennius but without implying thereby that the original prophecies of Cassandra were supposed to be in verse.

306 a, l. 23: cf. Delaruelle in *Rev. de Philol.* 35 (1911), 243-244.

306 b, l. 32: Shorey (in *Class. Philol.* 17 (1922), 173) prefers as a source of the passage to select Plat. *Phaedr.* pp. 247-249; *Meno*, p. 81 b.

307 a, l. 17: for the coupling of these four metals in three members cf. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 502: χαλκόν, σίδηρον, ἀργυρον χρυσόν τε.

309 b, l. 24: Shorey (*l.c.*) compares *Lucr.* 2, 769-770.

311 a, l. 14: cf. *Arist. de Juvent.* 2, p. 468 b 15; *Chalcid.* in *Plat. Tim.* 214: *crocodilos . . . anulis cordibus aliquamdiu vivere . . . hoc idem in testudinibus observatum marinis et terrestribus capris.*

311 b, l. 25: cf. *Achill. Tat.* 1, 3, 2: φιλεῖ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸ μέλλον ἀθρόωποις πύκτωρ πολλαῖς λαλεῖν· οὐχ ἵνα φυλάξωται μὴ παθεῖν (οὐ γὰρ εἰμαρμένης δύναται κρατεῖν) ἀλλ' ἵνα κουφότερον πάσχοντες φέρωσι.

314 a, l. 8: add *Stemplinger* in *Ncue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 37. A two-headed calf presaged the war of the Romans and Chosroes, according to *Evagr. Hist. eccl.* 5, 8.

314 b, l. 20: on the son of Croesus cf. also *Sen. Controv.* 7, 5, 13.

315 a, l. 11: for *Herodotus read Herodotus.*

315 b, l. 19: on speaking infants add *Paulin. Vit. Ambros.* 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 14, 29 A); *Plummer, Vit. Sanctiorum Hiberniae*, 1 (1910), clxxxvii, n.

316, l. 3: for *adcommodatus read adcommodatis.*

316 a, l. 11: add *Lyd. de Ost.* p. 9 *Wachsmuth*: λέγειν ὡς ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς πολλαῖς ἀθρόωπων διουσημῆαι γυγνάσαι, ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ἀσκαρίου καὶ Σερβίου Τύλλου τοῦ βηγγῶς καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ τῆν μεγάλην ταύτην συστραμένου πόλις: οἳ ἄρα οὐ τὸ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεῖθεν κατεμνηνέτο κράτος, κτλ.

316 a, l. 25: add: *Paulin. Vit. Ambros.* 42 (*Patr. Lat.* 14, 42 A); *Damasc. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 242 (*Patr. Gr.* 103, 1265 C); *Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc.* 6, 24.

316 a, l. 38: a very different explanation of the burning bush is given by *Haupt (Proc. Am. philos. Soc.* 48 (1909), 354-355), who takes it for a cloud of volcanic steam seen from a distance rising over a shrub on the mountain.

317 a, l. 10: *Girolamo Cardano* believed that he had an attendant demon like *Socrates* and a few other distinguished men; cf. *Garnett in Encycl. Brit.* 5, 11 ed. (1910), 315.

318 b, l. 25: add [*Socr.*] *Ep.* 1. 9 (*Epistologr. Gr.* pp. 610-611): κλειστοὶ δὲ μοι ἠπίστησαν ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Δηλῶ μάχῃ: παρῆν γὰρ τότε τῇ στρατείᾳ καὶ συνεμαχόμεν παρῆμιε τῆς πόλεως ἐξεληλυθίας. ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ ἅμα πολλοὶ ὑπαπήμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ διαβάσεώς τιμος ἐγενέμεθα συνίβη μοι τὸ εὐθὺς σημεῖον. ἐκίστην οὖν καὶ εἶπον ἄνδρες, οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ταύτην πορεύεσθαι τοῦ γὰρ δαιμονίου μοι ἡ φωνὴ γίγνοιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους πρὸς ὀργὴν ὡσπερὶ παίζοντες ἐμοῦ ἐν οὐκ ἐπιτηδελῶ καιρῷ ὀρμήσαντες εὐθείαν ἐβιάδιζον, ὄλιγοι δὲ τινες ἐπεισθήσαν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐμολ συναπετρέποντο. καὶ οἰκαδε πορεύομενοι διεσώθημεν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἦσαν τις ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας ἐφῆ ἀπολωλέναι· εἰς γὰρ τοὺς ἰπτίας ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτανύοντα ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως, κτλ.

320 a, l. 8: for this excuse for the failure of diviners cf. [*Clem.*] *Recognit.* 10, 12.

321 a, l. 34: add *Boeth. in Cic. Top.* 4, p. 367 *Orelli-Baiter*: *causatum enim dicitur esse praecedentium futurum subsequentiisque rerum perplexionem quandam atque catenaē more continentiam.*

321 b, l. 17: cf. *Sallust. de Diis et Mundo*, 9 (*Phil. Gr. Frag.* 3, 38): εἰμαρμένη καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς σώμασι.

φαίσεσθαι τὸν εἰρμὸν, περὶ ἧν καὶ ἡ μαθηματικὴ ἐρρηται τέχνη.

321 b, l. 26: add Gundel in *P.-W.* s.v. *Heimarmene* (1912).

322, a, l. 28: for 2, 128 read 2, 148.

325 b, l. 5: add *Tusc.* 1, 38: *magni aulem est ingeni sevocare mentem a sensibus.*

326 a, l. 20: add Euseb. c. *Hieroclem*, 14 (*Patr. Gr.* 22, 820, and n. 95).

327 b, l. 26: for signs from the risings and settings of stars, particularly of Sirius, cf. Hippocr. de *Aëre, Locis, et Aquis*, pp. 543-544 Kühn: καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ κνῶσις ἐκπολῆ ὕδωρ ἐπιγίνεται καὶ χειμῶν καὶ οἱ ἡπτοῖαι πνεύσωσιν, ἐπιπὶ παύσασθαι καὶ τὸ μετῴκωρον ὑγιήρον γίνεσθαι: ἡ δὲ μὴ, κινδύνους θαλάττης τε γινέσθαι τοῖσι παιδίοισι καὶ ῥῆσι γυναῖξιν; *id.* p. 547: δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄστρων τὰς ἐπιτολάς φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ κνῶσι; *de Rat. Vict.* 1, p. 628 Kühn: ἄστρων τὴν ἐπιτολὰν καὶ ὄψεις γινώσκων δεῖ, βῶσι ἐπίσθηται τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ὑπερβολὰς φυλάσσειν καὶ σίτω καὶ ποτίω καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ τοῦ ὄλου κόσμου, ἐξ ὧντερ αἱ νοῦσοι πᾶσι ἀσθροποιῶσι φέονται; *Gemin. Isagog.* 14; *Chalcid.* in *Plat. Tim.* 184; *Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrol. grecque* (1899), 367, and n. 2; *Bernays* in *Abh. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1882 (1883), 44, n. 3; *Pfeiffer, Gestirne u. Welter* (1914), 14-16; *id., Stud. s. antiken Sternkauben* (1916), 14-16. Gundel, *De Stellarum Nominibus* (1907), 43 (cf. *Flinck, Auguralia v. Verwandtes* (1921), 24), thinks the *augurium comarium* was taken by the Romans from the rising of Sirius as portending a fruitful or an unfruitful year. Yet if this be so why did not Cicero mention it in this very appropriate context?

330 a, l. 28: cf. *Apul. de Deo Socr.* 20: *qui nimia omnium superstitione non suo ple corde sed alterius verbo reguntur.*

331 b, l. 35: additional expressions of this thought will be found in the work of Miss Beers, *Euripides and later Greek Thought* (1914), 41-43.

332 a, l. 33: cf. *Diod. ap. Achill. Tat. Isagog.* 5: *κόσμος ἅπτεν οὐκλήτηρον θεοῦ.*

334 b, l. 22: on the spiritistic interests in Cicero's day cf. Norden, second ed. of *Virg. Aen.* 6, p. 4; *Stemplinger* in

Neue Jahrb. 47 (1920), 46-47. Laberius wrote a pantomime called *Necromantia* (cf. Ariosto's *Il Nigromante?*). See also Smith on *Tibull.* 1, 2, 45-48.

335 a, l. 5: *Hilar. Tract. in Ps.* 57, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 9, 370 A) mentions the *Marsorum canus*.

337 a, l. 31: cf. *Ambr. Hexaem.* 4, 14: *quid sibi imminet ignorant (sc. Chaldaei): possunt aliis quae futura sunt denuntiari? ridiculum est credere, quia si possent sibi potius providerent; Disp. S. Archelai cum Manete*, 46 (*Patr. Gr.* 10, 1506-1507); *similis . . . astrologo describenti quidem caelestia, ignorantis vero quae suae domui geruntur*; [*Basil.*] *Comm. in Is.* 2, 77 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 248 B-C), of the bird ignorant of its own fate but trusted by the believer in augury; *Cyril. Hierosol. Catech.* 6, 30 (*Patr. Gr.* 33, 593 A): ὁ . . . τὰ μέλλοντα εἶδέναι ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τῆν ἴδιαν φυγὴν καὶ κατάληψιν οὐκ ἔγνω; *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 39, 5 (*Patr. Gr.* 36, 340 B): *Χαλδαίων ἀστρονομία καὶ γασθριαλογία, τῆ τῶν οὐρανίων κινήσει συμφέρουσα τὰ ἡμῶν, τῶν μὲν ἐαυτοῦς ὅ τι ποτε εἶδεν ἢ ἴσονται γυνῶσι δυναμένων.*

338 a, l. 2: on the greed of diviners add [*Basil.*] *Comm. in Is.* 8, 220 (*Patr. Gr.* 30, 500 D); also the verse ascribed to Aesop (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 228, no. 1): *ἔπει δὲ χαλκοῦ φόβος ὁ μαρτύεται*, which is quoted or imitated by *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 4, 121 (*Patr. Gr.* 35, 661 A); *Carm.* 1, 2, 10, 375 (*Patr. Gr.* 37, 707); *Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. Carm.* 119 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 567).

BOOK TWO

352 b, l. 27: for had 57- read had so.

352 b, l. 28: for 7 so read 575-.

360 b, l. 30: on blind poets at Borysthenes cf. *Dio Chrys. Or.* 36, 10.

361 b, l. 21: on the real size of the heavenly bodies cf. [*Plat.*] *Epinom.* p. 983a; *Arist. de Sens.* 7, p. 448 b 13; *de Somniis*, 1, p. 458 b 28; *Gomperz, Gr. Denker*, 1, 4 ed. (1922), 437, n.

387 a, l. 7: for Gröber read Gröbe.

387 b, l. 31: cf. the fall of the statue of Bitys (or Mitys) on his murderer; Arist. *Poet.* 9; *mirab. Ausc.* 156.

388 b, l. 32: much to the point is the fragment of Sotades preserved in Julian of Halicarnassus, *Comm. in Iliad (Rhein. Mus.* 55 (1900), 334): *εἰ μετὰ τὸ μαθεῖν οὐκ ἦν παθεῖν ἃ δεῖ παθεῖν δεῖ γὰρ μαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ παθεῖν μετὰ μάθω, τί δεῖ μαθεῖν; οὐ δεῖ μαθεῖν ἄρα δεῖ παθεῖν, δεῖ γὰρ παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτ' οὐ θέλω μαθεῖν παθεῖν με γὰρ δεῖ* (and see on p. 339 Kaibel's restoration of the verses).

394 a, l. 40: for Etru can read Etruscan.

404 b, l. 24: Greg. Tur. *Mirac.* 1, 74 mentions dried flowers as blooming on the festival of a saint. And cf. *Cl. Rev.* 37 (1923), 165-166.

409 a, l. 35: on the moon and the tides cf. [Arist.] *de Mundo*, 4, p. 396 a 26 ff., perhaps under the influence of Posidonius.

410 a, l. 38; on three hundred as an indefinite number add Smith on Tibull. 1, 4, 69.

412 b, l. 5: on *συννάθημα* add Gundell n P.-W. s.v. *Heimarmene* (1912); Pfeiffer, *Stud. s. antiken Stern glauben* (1916), 63, n. 3. Röhr in *Philol.* Supplbd. 17, 1 (1923), 34-76.

416 a, l. 44: add Kircher, *Die Sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (1910).

422 b, l. 15: for 1, 3 read 1, 2.

424 b, l. 16: for 21 read 19.

429 a, l. 25: delete this dittographic line.

433 a, l. 3: on the idea of the statue latent in the block of stone add Arist. *Metaphys.* 3, 5, p. 1002 a 21; 5, 7, p. 1017 b 7; 5, 23, p. 1023 a 12; 9, 6, p. 1048 a 32; *de Gen. An.* 1, 18, p. 724 a 24.

434 a, l. 11: on the centaurs as the children of a cloud add Dio Chrys. *Or.* 4, 130-131.

434 a, l. 43: add the work of Deonna on the origin of monsters in art (*Rev. des Ét. gr.* 28 (1915), 288-349).

440 a, l. 23: the neglect of extispicy by Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, and others is discussed by Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 210.

445 a, l. 40: for dumb fish add Lycophr. *Alex.* 1375.

460 b, after l. 13 add: *Flaminiana . . . ipse*: cf. 2, 126: *divina . . . cum consulerent (sc. dei)*; McCartney in *Class. Philol.* 18 (1923), 295, n. 1.

On rhythmic *clausulae* in the *De Divinatione* cf. Bornecque, *Les Clausules métriques lat.* (1906), 296-304.

Böhmer, *Probe eines Commentars s. Cic. de Div.* (1870), with notes on 1, 1-6, I discovered too late to use.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

The following appendix is not intended to serve as the prolegomena to a critical edition but rather as an amplification of that part of the introduction which deals with the later influence of the *De Divinatione*. While, then, I have made the information as precise as the inconsistent and often unsatisfactory sources allowed, in order that the student of the text might find here some aid for his researches, I have not attempted the complicated task of indicating manuscript relationships or of appraising the critical value of different editions—a task properly belonging to a critical rather than to a primarily exegetical edition.

MANUSCRIPTS

In the preparation of the following list I have received very important assistance from Dr. J. B. Hofmann, of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* in Munich, who has consulted a number of manuscript catalogues not accessible to me. In addition to the 96 MSS here cited it is likely that not a few others, particularly of the fifteenth century, still remain unnoted. With the exception of the last four in the list the MSS are arranged by centuries.

For certain older catalogues mentioning MSS of this work cf. the introd. 33, n. 206; 36, n. 238 a; also Becker, *Catal. Bibliothecarum antiqui* (1885), 201 (for a catalogue made in the twelfth century of the library at Beckum, of which no. 77 reads: *in alio Tullius de natura deorum libri III, de divinatione libri II, Timaeus Platonis ab eo translatus, et de Fato liber I, ad Ortensium liber I, et de legibus libri III*); Sabbadini, *Storia e Critica di Testi Latini* (1914), 13, who states that Jean de Montreuil at the end of the thirteenth century had, among other works of Cicero, a copy of the *De Divinatione*. Apparently lost is the MS containing the *De Fato, De Divinatione, Timaeus*, and *Philippics*, which Nicolas Le Fèvre in a letter of 18 Nov., 1582, states that he saw in the library of the abbey of Mont-St. Michel; cf. Omont, *Cat. gén. des mss. des Bibl. publ. des Départm.* 10 (1889), 3.

S. IX. Leyden, Bibl. Publ. Lat. 118 (Heinsianus). Parchment. Folio. 102 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 53^v-78^v, stopping with 2, 128), *De Legibus*.

In Beneventan script, probably written at Cassino, where Leo Ostiensis (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Scr.* 7, 747) says that the *De Natura Deorum* was written down while Desiderius was abbot (1058-1087). The work of six scribes. Probably the copy noted in an index of the library at Cassino of the year 1532 (in Cod. Vat. 3961; cf. *Bibl. Carinensis*, 1 (1873), LXXXV). Brought from Italy about 1649-1654. Once the property of N. Heinsius. For the history of this MS and an account of the various collations of it see Plasberg, in the work mentioned below, i-ii.

Cf. *Cat. Libr. Bibl. publ. Univ. Lugd.-Batav.* 1 (1716), 330, no. 118; Moser, ed. of the *De Div.* (1828), xxi; Deiter, *De Cic. Cod. Leidensi no. 118 denuo collato* (1882), attempting to correct the errors of Baiter's collation; Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques Latins* (1885), pl. XXXVIII, 2, and p. 10 (facsimile of f. 39^v = N. D. 2, 167-3, 4); Schwenke in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 348; Plasberg, *Cicero De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Legibus Codex Heinsianus (Leidensis 118), phototypice editus* (1912), with a facsimile copy of the entire MS; Loew, *The Beneventan Script* (1914), 17.

S. IX. Rome, Vat. Reginensis 1762. Parchment. 226 folia.

Excerpts made by the Presbyter Hadoardus (cf. introd. pp. 32-33 above), of which those on ff. 44-53 are from the *De Divinatione*.

For a description of the MS cf. Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 397-588 (445-453 contain the excerpts from the *De Divinatione*, and 547-550 a collation of them with other MSS). Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 807, rejects Mollweide's dating of Hadoardus's excerpts.

S.IX/X. **Leyden, Vossianus 84.** Parchment. Folio. 120 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 36^v-66^r), *Timaeus, De Fato, Topica, Paradoxa, Lucullus, De Legibus*.

Probably written in France, by four copyists, and given to a monastery or church by one Bishop Rudolphus (on the different bishops of this name cf. Chatelain, p. 29, n. 1). Later it belonged to Alex. Petavius. It has been used by many editors and is commonly known as A. It contains the same list of works as Cod. Voss. 86 and Cod. Marcianus 257.

Cf. *Cat. Libr. Bibl. publ. Univ. Lugd.-Batav.* 2 (1716), 374; Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xx; Friedrich in *Philol. Anzeiger*, 15 (1885), 515-518; Deiter, *De Ciceronis Codicibus Vossianis LXXXIV et LXXXVI denuo excussis* (Progr. Auricae, 1885/1886), 36-59; Chatelain, *Paltogr. des classiques lat.* (1885), pl. XXXVIII A, and p. 29 (facsimile of f. 27^v = N. D. 2, 163 f.); Friedrich in *Neue Jahrb.* 139 (1889), 281 ff.; Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 523-524; *id.*, in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 348; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341-342; 368; Plasberg, *Cic. Op. philol. Cod. Leid. Voss. Lat. fol. 84 phototypice editus* (facsimile of the entire MS; Plasberg dates it from the end of S.IX or the beginning of S.X); *id.* ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xxi. See also introd. 34, above.

S.IX/X. **Vienna, Hofbibliothek,** $\frac{189}{\phi 208}$. Parchment. 4to. 128 folia.

De Natura Deorum (incomplete), *De Divinatione* (ff. 40^v-82^v), *Timaeus, De Fato, Paradoxa, Lucullus*.

In the fifteenth century it belonged to the Falcontini monastery at Antwerp, then to Theodor Poelmann, 'Cransnigensis,' by whom it was given (as appears from a note on fol. 1) to Johannes Sambucus, 'Tiraviensis Pannonicus.'

Cf. Eadlicher, *Cat. Cod. philol. Lat. Bibl. Palat. Vindob.* (1836), 26-27, no. LV; Halm, *Zur Handschriftenkunde der Ciceron. Schriften* (1850), vii, and n. 9; Detlefsen, *Ueber eine Cic. HS der k. k. Hofbibliothek*, in *Sitzb. d. k. Akad. z. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 21 (1856), 110-129; *Tabulae Cod. MSS. . . in Bibl. Palat. Vindob. asservatorum*, 1 (1864), 26, no. 189 (dated as S.X); Müller in *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 10 (1864), 144 (who thinks it the nearest approach to the archetype of existing MSS); Chatelain, *Paltogr. des classiques lat.* (1885), Pl. XXXVIII, 1, and p. 10 (calling it a ninth century MS and giving a facsimile of f. 24^v (= N. D. 2, 168-3, 4)); Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 524; *id.*, in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 349 (who collated it in 1887); Boesch in *Schedae philol. H. Usenero oblatae* (1891), 83; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341 ('S.IX/X'); Plasberg, ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xxi (end of S.IX. or early S.X).

S.X. **Leyden, Vossianus 86.** Parchment. Folio. 192 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus, De Fato, Topica, Paradoxa, Lucullus, De Legibus.

Contains the same works as Cod. Voss. 84. At one time it belonged to Alex. Petavius. Used by many editors; commonly called B. Dieckhoff considers it the best MS for the *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*.

Cf. *Cat. Libr. Bibl. publ. Univ. Lugd.-Batav.* 2 (1716), 374, no. 86; Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xxi (who thought it of S.XI); Deiter in *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 37 (1882), 314-317 (with supplementary readings to those of Baiter's edition); *id.*, *De Ciceronis Codicibus Vossianis LXXXIV et LXXXVI denuo excussis* (Progr. Auricae, 1885/1886); Chatelain, *Paltogr. des classiques lat.* (1885), pl. XXXIX, 1, and p. 11 (facsimile of f. 44 = N. D. 2, 165 to

the end of the second book); Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 524; *id.*, in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 348; Dieckhoff, *De Ciceronis Libris de Natura Deorum recensendis* (1894), 79; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341-342; 368; Plasberg, ed. of *N. D.* (1917), vii; *id.*, ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xxi-xxii.

S.X. Florence, Marcianus 257. Parchment. 4to. 90 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 28^v-50^r), *Timaecus, De Fato, Topica, Paradoxa, Lucullus, De Legibus*.

A note on the title page reads: *Werinarius eps ded. s^ce Marię*; one on another leaf: *conatus S. Marci de Flo^a. ordis pdic. De hereditate Nicolai nicoli viri doctissimi florentini*. Schwenke thinks that it once belonged to the cathedral at Strassburg to which Bishop Werinarius (1001-1029) had given it, and that it was brought to Italy by Poggio in the fifteenth century. He also believes that the *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione* in it are copied from Cod. Leid. Voss 86. Reifferscheid thought it to have come to Italy through Poggio, to have been given to his friend Niccolò de' Niccoli, and at his death to have come to the library of S. Marco.

Cf. Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibl.* 1 (1739), 426, no. 122; Reifferscheid in *Rhein. Mus.* 17 (1862), 295-296 (who dates it in S.XI); Ebeling in *Philologus*, 43 (1884), 705-707 (who dates it in S.XI and gives some readings from the *De Divinatione*); cf. the review by Schwenke in *Burs. Jahresb.* 47 (1888), (289-290); Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 524; *id.*, in *Burs. Jahresb.* 47 (1888), 271; *id.*, in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 348-349; Chatelain, *Paléogr. des classiques lat.* (1885), pl. xxxvii, and p. 10 (dating it in S.IX; the plate shows f. 21 = *N. D.* 2, 161-3, 2); Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341; Mollweide in *Wiener Stud.* 33, 278-279; Plasberg, ed. of *N. D.* (1917), xi; *id.*, ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xxiii.

S.X. Rome, Vat. Palat. 1519. Parchment. Oblong folio. 88 folia.

De Natura Deorum (very incomplete), *De Divinatione* (beginning on an unnumbered leaf between ff. 40 and 41, and ending on f. 85^v), *Walafrid Strabo, Carmina de Hortorum Cultura*.

Cf. Halm, *Ueber die Hss der Cic.* (1849), 176, no. 1519; *id.*, *Zur Handschriftenkunde der Ciceronischen Schriften* (1850), 17, no. 76; Ebeling in *Philologus*, 43 (1884), 702-705 (who notes that the MS was used by Pithou (cf. Moser's edition of the *De Div.* (1828), xx), Gruter, and Baier, and (pp. 704-705) gives a few readings from the *De Div.*); Chatelain, *Paléogr. des classiques lat.* (1885), pl. XL, 1, and p. 11, who dates it from S.IX and gives a facsimile of f. 40^r (= *De Div.* 1, 3-5); Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 540; *id.*, in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 349 (dating it from S.XI, and believing it to be copied, so far as relates to the *De Natura Deorum* and the *De Divinatione*, from the preceding (Vossianus 86)); Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 342 (S.XI); Plasberg, ed. of *N. D.* (1917), ix (not after the middle of the tenth century); Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (1918), 324ff. (S.XI).

S.XI. Munich, University Library, 528. Parchment. 4to. 153 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 53^v-92^r), *Timaecus, De Fato, Paradoxa, Lucullus, De Legibus*.

Derived from Cod. Marcianus 257; written in two or three hands, with some corrections by Johannes Aventinus. On inner cover a note in a sixteenth or seventeenth century hand reads: *fuit hic liber aut Aventini aut ad tempus monasterium Biburgense* (in Lower Bavaria) *illi commodaret, dictiones n. (= nempel or enim?) in libri marginibus manu Aventini scriptae sunt*. Later the MS belonged to the Jesuit college at Ingolstadt.

Cf. Halm, ed. of philos. works (1861), praef.; Schwenke in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 5 (1889), 524; *id.*, in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 349 (he collated it in 1883); Dieckhoff, *De Ciceronis Lib. de Nat. Deor. recensendis* (1894), 73 ff.; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341; Plasberg, ed. of *N. D.* (1917), xi; *id.*, ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xxiv.

S.XII. **Berlin, Phillipsianus 1794.** Parchment. 4to. 73 folia.

ff. 3-18 *Phil.* 1-2; f. 19 *Or. post Red. in Sen., Phil.* 3-4; ff. 25*-26* *Versus Rivalloni archid. Nannetensis*; ff. 27-47 *De Legibus*; ff. 48*-73* *De Divinatione*, breaking off at 2, 135: *vim tantam ut*.

The MS belonged to the Meerman library, then to Sir Thomas Phillips of Middle Hill, Worcestershire; was removed in 1862 to Thirlstane House, Cheltenham (where it was described by Nutt in 1885 as Cod. Cheltenhamensis 1794), and purchased by the Royal Library at Berlin. For the completion of the second book see below.

For descriptions see Davies, 2 ed. of *De Div.* (1730), praef.; Haenel, *Catal. Libr. mss.* (1830), 859, no. 1794; Nutt in *Academy*, 27 (1885), 332-333; Rose, *Verzeichn. der von der kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin erworbenen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillips*, 1 (1893), 439-441.

Completed by the following:

S.XII. **Parisinus 8049 (olim Colbertinus 1781).** Parchment. 4to.

ff. 1-17* *De Divinatione*, 2, 135 (*ptolomeum facile sanaret*)—end; ff. 18 ff. Petronius, *Satires*.

Cf. *Catal. Codd. mss. Bibl. Regiae*, 4 (1744), 422; Bücheler, ed. of Petronius (1862), xxi; Rose, *op. cit.* 441, who states that the MS was used by Pithou in his edition of 1587.

S.XII ex. **Oxford, Merton 311.** Parchment. Small folio. 134 folia.

De Officiis, Epitaphia Ciceronis, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (breaking off at 1, 106: *duros ultra labores*; this book is called the fourth of the *N. D.*, and occupies ff. 70-80), *Phil.* 1-3 and part of 4, and, in different hands of S.XIII, *Palladius, De Re rust.*

According to E. M. Thompson (cf. Mayor, p. xlv) the MS was written in England towards the end of the twelfth century. Thomas Trilleck, Bishop of Rochester (1364-1372), sold it to William Reade, fellow of Merton and Bishop of Chichester (1368-1385), who gave it to Merton College (this is stated in a note on the fly-leaf). Reid thinks this the most important English MS of the philosophical works and the best of all save *ABV*, being superior to *H*.

Cf. Bernard, *Catalogi ll. mss. Angl. et Hibern.* 1, 2 (1697), 23, no. 778, 311; Davies, 2 ed. of *De Div.* (1730), praef.; Coxe, *Cat. Codd. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie ass.* 1 (1852), 123; Mayor in *Journ. of Philol.* 12 (1883), 248-255 (reprinted in his ed. of the *N. D.* 3 (1885), xlv-liv); Reid in *Journ. of Philol.* 17 (1888), 294-302 (cf. Schwenke in *Burs. Jahresb.* 76, 228; Reid gives readings from *De Div.* 1, 1-106); Schwenke in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 350; Plasberg, ed. of *N. D.* (1917), vi.

S.XIII. **Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 240 (126).** Vellum.

A miscellaneous MS, in several hands (S.XIII-XV), containing chiefly writings from Augustine; perhaps coming from a nunnery. P. 536 contains a slight excerpt from the *De Divinatione* (2, 133): *similes sunt medico cuidam nomine pacuusio*.

Cf. James, *Cat. of the MSS in the Libr. of Gonville and Caius Coll.* 1 (1907), 292.

S.XIII. **Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 6339 (olim Masarin.).** Parchment.

De Natura Deorum (the beginning lost), *De Divinatione*.

Cf. *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae*, 4 (1744), 231; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 153.

S.XIII. **Escorial, Q. I. 21.** Parchment. Folio.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, De Officiis.

Cf. Haenel, *Catalogi ll. mss.* (1830), 942.

S.XIII. ex. Escorial, V. III. 6. Parchment. Folio. 240 folia.

Lucullus, De Natura Deorum, Tusculans, Timaeus, De Legibus, De Finibus, De Divinatione (ff. 168^v-188^v), *De Fato*, various orations.

Cf. Haenel, *Catalogi U. mss.* (1830), 941; Hartel, *Bibl. Patrum Lat. Hispanica*, 1 (1887), 252.

S.XIII/XIV. Brit. Mus. Regius 5 D X. Vellum.

ff. 157^v-158^r excerpt from the *De Divinatione*, beginning: *utrum dii nichil agant* (cf. 2, 40). For a similar excerpt cf. Durham, Cathedral Library, B. 2. 20. In this MS the excerpt is interpolated between Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* and *Epistles*.

Cf. *Cat. of western MSS in the old Royal and King's Collection*, 1 (1921), 112.

S.XIV. in. British Museum, Egerton 2516. Vellum. Large 8vo.

M. T. Ciceronis opera quaedam, including *De Amicitia, De Divinatione* (ff. 70-77), *Tusculans, De Senectute*.

Cf. *Cat. of Add. to the MSS in the Brit. Mus.* 1870-1881 (1882), 304.

S.XIV. Durham, Cathedral Library, B. 2. 20.

Contains chiefly tractates of Augustine; then excerpts from the *De Divinatione*, beginning: *utrum dii nichil agant* (cf. 2, 40). For a similar excerpt cf. the British Museum Cod. Regius 5 D X.

Cf. Schenkl, *Bibl. Patr. Latin. Britannica*, 3, 2 (1898), 80, no. 4404.

S.XIV. Cambridge, St. John's College 97 (D 32). Vellum.

Contains, in *Willelmi poliistor. defloratio*, on f. 164 excerpts from the rhetorical works, *De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione*, and *Academica*.

From St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

Cf. James, *Descr. Cat. of the MSS of the Libr. of St. John's Coll., Camb.* (1913), 128.

S.XIV. (1329). Verona, Capit. 168 (155).

An anonymous florilegium, with extracts from various of the philosophical works, including the *De Officiis, De Natura Deorum, Tusculans, De Divinatione* (ff. 3, 10^v, etc.), *De Legibus, De Finibus, De Senectute, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis, Academica posteriora*.

Cf. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Cod. lat. e gr. ne' Secoli XIV e XV*, 2 (1914), 90-97.

S.XIV. Paris, Bibl. Nat. anc. Fonds Lat. 6283. Parchment.

Chalcidius *Tim.*, *De Natura Deorum, Timaeus*, liber suppositicius *De Laude ac Defens. Phil.*, *De Divinatione, De Fato*.

Cf. *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae*, 4 (1744), 224; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 152.

S.XIV. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 6334. Parchment.

Tusculans, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus.

Cf. *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae*, 4 (1744), 231; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 152; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xxix.

S.XIV. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 6340. Parchment.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione liber primus.

Cf. *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae*, 4 (1744), 231; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 153.

S.XIV. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 7698. Parchment.

De Inventione, Ad Herennium, De Officiis, De Amicitia, De Senectute, Tusculans, Paradoxa, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, works of Seneca.

Cf. *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Regiae*, 4 (1744), 385; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 153; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xxx.

S.XIV. Troyes (Cod. Trecensis, 552), Municipal Library QQ. III. 10.

Hier. In *Iob*, Cic. *De Officiis, Tusculans, De Natura Deorum, 'De Divinationibus'* (ff. 211^v-230), as in Munich 277 and Brit. Mus. add. MSS. 19586, *De Fato, De Amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa, Academica priora, De Legibus, De Oratore, et al.*

De Nolhac states that there is before the *De Divinatione* a short mediaeval work on dreams, also a life of Cicero which asserts: *scripsit et de Fato duobus libris*, which De Nolhac thinks may refer in part to the *De Divinatione* (not mentioned in the list). The notes date from after 1344 (De Nolhac, 194, n. 21), and notes were also added by Petrarch expressing his admiration for passages in the *De Divinatione* (De Nolhac, 196, n. 5; 197, n. 1). An inscription reads: *Cod. oratorii Collegii Trecensis*.

Cf. Grosley, *Vie de P. Pithou*, 2 (1756), 281; Haenel, *Catalogi ll. mss.* (1830), 489; *Cat. gén. des MSS des Bibl. Publ. des Départm.* 2 (1855), 239; Sabbadini in *Rendic. del. r. Istit. lomb. di sc. e lett.* 39 (1906), 374-375; De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme* (1907), 228; Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Cod. lat. e gr. ne' Secoli XIV e XV*, 2 (*Bibl. Stor. del Rinascim.* 5 (1914), 115-121).

Moser in his ed. of the *De Div.* (1828), xx says that P. Pithou entered readings of a MS of which he gives no account in the margin of an edition of Lambinus preserved in the library at Heidelberg (and cf. Christ in his ed. (1861), 481). Pithou (1539-1596) was a native of Troyes, and it would be of interest to discover whether this may have been the MS from which he drew his readings.

S.XIV. Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelferb. 4306 (Gudianus 2). Parchment. Folio. 256 folia.

De Officiis, De Senectute, De Amicitia, In Catilinam, Tusculans, De Oratore, Orator, Rhetoricorum libri II, part of the *Ad Herennium, Paradoxa, De Legibus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione* (ff. 133^v-148), *De Fato*, various orations, *Synonyma Tulliana, Partitioes oratoriae, Timaeus, De Finibus, Academica IV, Philippics 1-5, Boethius, Comm. in Topica, Macrobius, Somnium Scipionis*.

Written in France, and thought by Schwenke to be probably derived from Cod. Vindob. 189 (corrected). On p. 1 a seventeenth century hand has written: *Derochefor*.

Cf. Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xxii; Giese, ed. of *De Div.* (1829), viii; Halm, *Zur Handschriftenkunde der Ciceronischen Schriften* (1850), 7, no. 25; Reid, ed. of *Acad.* (1885), 66; Schwenke in *Class. Rev.* 4 (1890), 350; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xxxiv; Hellemann, *Die Hss. der Herz. Bibl. Wolfenbüttel*, 4 (1913), 78, no. 4306.

S.XIV. Vienna, Hofbibliothek $\frac{124}{\phi 98}$. Folio. 227 folia.

De Natura Deorum (libri quattuor), *De Divinatione* (ff. 30^r-53^r), *Timaeus, De Fato, De Officiis* (4 books 1), *Tusculans*, epigrams on Cicero's tomb, fragment of *De Republica* 3 ap. Lact. *Inst.* 6, 8, *Somnium Scipionis*, part of *Ad Familiares*, 2, 2, Albertus Magnus, *De Meteoris* and *De Mineralibus*, Cic. *Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Deiotaro*, Ps. Sall. *In Ciceronem*, Ps. Cic. *In Sallustium, In Catilinam*.

Like Vienna 189, this codex once belonged to Joannes Sambucus.

Cf. Endlicher, *Cat. Cod. philol. Lat. Bibl. Palat. Vindob.* (1836), 27-29, no. LVI; *Tabulae Cod. MSS. . . in Bibl. Palat. Vindob. asservatorum*, 1 (1864), 18, no. 124.

S.XIV (?). **Vienna, 12525 (Suppl. 336).** Parchment. Folio. 4 folia.

De Divinatione, 2, ch. 18-31 (18-33 according to Moser); 36-41.

Four leaves used as a book cover and detected by Professor Warmkoenig of Liège and sent to Creuzer. Collated by Moser.

Cf. Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xvii; *Tabulae Cod. MSS . . . in Bibl. Palat. Vindob. asservatorum*, 7 (1875), 108, no. 12525.

S.XIV. **Escorial, R. I. 16.** Parchment. Folio.

Tusculans, De Divinatione.

Cf. Haenel, *Catalogi ll. mss.* (1830), 941.

S.XIV. **Escorial, T. III. 17.** Parchment. 4to.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione.

A note reads: *Zanes Marcus clarissimi simulatque callidissimi scriptoris Petri Sirocisi discipulus Parmae oriundus velocissime celeberrimeque ac etiam lubentissime Rainaldo scripsit.*

Cf. Haenel, *Catalogi ll. mss.* (1830), 941.

S.XIV med. **Milan, Ambrosianus E 15 inf.** Parchment. 198 folia.

De Officiis, Tusculans, De Natura Deorum, Timaeus, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione (ff. 121^v-143), *De Fato, De Legibus, De Finibus.*

A note reads: *Marcus de Raphanellis scripsit.* Sabbadini thinks it was probably written in Milan.

Cf. Sabbadini in *Athenaeum*, 1 (1913), 13-16; *id.*, *Storia e Critica di Testi Latini* (1914), 93-94; 152.

S.XIV. **Rome, Vaticanus 3242.** Parchment. 77 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 44-77).

The inventory of Latin MSS in the library of Fulvio Orsini seems to indicate that this codex belonged to Pope Nicholas III; if that be correct its date must be earlier than De Nolhac indicates, for Nicholas III was pope from 1277-1280.

Cf. De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (in *Bibl. de l'École des hautes Études. Philol.-Hist. Series*, 74 (1887) 192, and n. 3; 366, no. 103).

S.XIV (1380). **Erfurt, Amplonianus Q. 393.** Paper.

ff. 81-111 contain excerpts from the *De Officiis, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Paradoxo* (sic), *De Tusculanis Quaestionibus, De Finibus, De Creacione Mundi (Timaeus), De Divinatione, De Fato*, etc.

Cf. Schumm, *Beschr. Verzeichn. der Amplonian. Handschr.-Sammlung* (1887), 656

S.XIV/XV. **Escorial, R. I. 13.** Parchment. 254 folia.

A MS containing chiefly Quintilian and Poggio Bracciolini's *Ad Guarinum Veronensem* f. 1^v has an excerpt from the *De Divinatione* (2, 110): *Sibylle versus observamus quos illa furens*, etc.

Cf. Antolín, *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la real Bibl. del Estorial*, 3 (1913), 456

S.XV (1404). **British Museum, Harleianus 2511.** Parchment. 4to. 168 folia.

De Natura Deorum, Divinatione (book 2 called the '*De Fato*,' and dated 1404), *Timaeus*

A worthless MS written by an ignorant scribe. It has a lacuna from 2, ch. 56 to 2, ch. 60 (cf. Munich 15741), and in its readings agrees with Munich 15741.

Cf. *Catal. of the Harleian MSS in the Brit. Mus.* 2 (1808), 697; Allen, ed. of the *De Div.* (1839), iii; Mayor, ed. of the *N. D.* 1 (1891), 46.

S.XV (1419). **Bologna 1100 (2232)**. Parchment. 118 folia.

Verrines, De Divinatione.

A note reads: *Qui me finiebat Iohannes de Polonia nomen habebat. Anno MCCCCXIX die ultima mensis augusti.* Bought at Venice by P. Fabretti 11 Jan., 1532.

Cf. Frati, *Indice dei Codici lat. conservati nella R. Bibl. universitaria di Bologna*, in *Studi italiani di Filologia classica*, 17 (1909), 11-12.

S.XV (1426). **Milan, Ambrosianus D 113**. Paper. 157 folia.

Tusculans, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 113ff.), *De Fato*; interspersed with extracts from Suetonius.

Several subscriptions show that it was written during June and July, 1426, by Modesto Decembrio.

Cf. Sabbadini, *Storia e Critica di Testi Latini* (1914), 176-178.

S.XV (1444). **Cambridge (Eng.), Dd, 13, 2**. Vellum. Large folio.

De Senectute, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 52r-81r), *De Fato, Lucullus, De Republica, Timaeus, Paradoxa*, 13 orations, Ps. Cic. in *Sallustium*, Ps. Sall. in *Ciceronem, Philippicis, De Officiis, Tusculans*.

A subscription reads: *per manus Theodorici Nycolai Werken de Abbenbroeck* (in S. Holland) *liber explicit anno domini 1444*. The writer was, then, a Hollander, but he seems to have written in England. The MS was given to the library by Archbishop Rotherham about four centuries ago. On the margin are many notes ascribed to William of Malmesbury (died ca. 1142), nearly all in the first person, so that it appears that this MS is derived from one annotated by William himself.

Cf. Davies, 1 ed. of the *De Divinatione* (1721), praef.; 2 ed. (1730), praef.; *Cat. of MSS preserved in the Library of the Univ. of Cambridge*, 1 (1856), 507; Reid, ed. of *Academica* (1885), 66-68; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* 1 (1891), 47; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xl-xli.

S.XV med. **Brit. Mus. add. MSS 11932**. Paper. 4to.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, Timaeus.

Written in S. Germany or N. Italy. From the library of Bishop Butler.

Cf. *Cat. of Add. to the MSS in the Brit. Mus. in the Year 1841* (1850), 19; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* 1 (1891), 46.

S.XV (1459). **Oxford, Bodleian 2497**. Parchment.

De Officiis, De Senectute, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis, Tusculans, De Finibus, Academica I, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 246-281), *De Fato, De Legibus, Timaeus*.

An inscription reads: *Istud volumen scriptum & compositum fuit opera Vespasiani librarij Florentini in civitate Florentie de anno 1459.*

Cf. Bernard, *Catalogi ll. mss. Angliae et Hibern.* 1, 1 (1697), 129, no. 2497, 2; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 142; Madvig, 3 ed. of *De Fin.* (1876), xiv; Reid, ed. of *Acad* (1885), 65; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xlii; Madan and Gaster, *Summary Cat. of western MSS in the Bodleian Libr. Oxford*, 2, 1 (1922), 397.

S.XV (ca. 1460). **Dresden, Dc 106**. Parchment.

De Finibus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 104-139), *De Amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa, Tusculans, De Fato, De Legibus, Academica, De Republica, Somnium Scipionis*.

Written in Italy; 'e bibl. Wertheriana.'

Cf. Giese, ed. of *De Div.* (1829), ix; Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katal. der Hss der kgl. Bibl. Dresden*, 1 (1882), 311.

S.XV (1463). Toledo 100, 18. Parchment. 4to.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione.

Cf. Haenel, *Catalogi ll. mss.* (1830), 994.

S.XV (1465). Munich 277. Folio. 193 folia.

Epitaphia Ciceronis, Tusculans, 'De Divinationibus'—so called in Brit. Mus. add. MSS 19586 and Troyes QQ. III. 10—(ff. 78-114), frag. of Macrobian *Somn. Scipionis, De Natura Deorum* (by another hand).

A note reads: *liber H. Schedelii ex bibl. electorali.* The MS was written at Padua in 1465.

Cf. Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xx (who says it was collated by Lozbeck); *Cat. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Reg. Monac.* 1, 1, 2 ed. (1892), 71; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xl.

S.XV (1466). Erlangen 847. Paper. Folio. 467 pages.

De Officiis, In Pisonem, Ps. Sall. in Ciceronem, Ps. Cic. in Sallustium, Timaeus, De Divinatione libri III (Book 3 = *De Fato*; cf. Leid. Voss. 14) on ff. 72^r-111^v, *De Natura Deorum, De Finibus, Lucullus*, four orations; then, in another hand, *De Amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa*.

A note in the front reads: *Liber beate marie virginis im haylsbrun*; one at the end: *Liber S. marie in fonte solutis* (a Cistercian abbey at Heilsbronn, 20 miles west of Nürnberg). On fol. 35 is a note: *explicunt libri tres de officiis marci tullii ciceronis scripti per me bernhardum groschedel de remingen. Anno 1466 proxima feriali die post bartholomei*; on the last page: *comparatus est hic praesens liber per fratrem conrad haunolt in studio heydelbergensi pro VI quasi fl. vel ultra anno 1466.* Halm thinks that the MS was written at Heidelberg, for it agrees closely with Cod. Palatinus (Vaticanus) 1525; cf. Halm, *Ueber die HSS des Cic.* (1849), 170-171. The *De Divinatione, De Natura Deorum*, and *De Fato* were collated by Fleckeisen.

Cf. Halm, *Zur Handschriftenkunde der Ciceronischen Schriften* (1850), 2-3, no. 8; Irmscher, *Hss.-Katalog der kgl. Univ.-Bibl. Erlangen* (1852), 220; Madvig, 3 ed. of the *De Finibus* (1876), xv-xxi (who uses it as the basic MS for the *De Finibus*); Reid, ed. of the *Academica* (1885), 66.

S.XV (before 1467). Munich 15741 (olim Salisburgensis aul. 41). 4to. Paper. 142 folia.

Timaeus, 'Liber Perydination id est de Fato,' De Divinatione (ff. 40-142).

Careless copy of a good original. On cover: *iste libellus est domini Bernardi electi Chymensis emptus Florentiae ab Vespasiano pro III ducatis a. 1467 per Io. Trost.* For certain affinities of this MS cf. Brit. Mus. Harleianus 2511.

Cf. Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xxi (who speaks of a collation by Krabinger); xxiv; Christ, ed. of *De Div.* (1861), 481 (who says 'quem ipsi inspezimus'); *Cat. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Reg. Monac.* 2, 3 (1878), 31.

S.XV (1467). Rome, Vat. Palat. 1525. Paper. Folio. 438 folia.

De Officiis, De Finibus, De Inventione, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 134-158), *De Fato, Timaeus, Lucullus*, various orations, *De Senectute, Paradoxa, Philippics, Tusculans*.

Dated on f. 215 as 1467. Chatelain (p. 7) calls it Italian writing, but in his addenda (p. 34) corrects this statement to German writing.

Cf. Halm, *Ueber die HSS des Cic.* (1849), 165-171; Chatelain, *Paléogr. des classiques lat.* (1885), pl. XXV, and p. 7 (facsimile of f. 311—the beginning of the *Pro Caecina*).

S.XV. **Dublin. Property of S. Allen.** Parchment. 4to.

Academica posteriora, De Legibus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, Timaeus, Somnium Scipionis, Academica I.

An elegant and well-preserved manuscript, probably brought from Italy by Conrad von Uffenbach, whose bookplate it bears. Later it became the property of Creuzer who used it in his editions of the *De Legibus* and the *De Natura Deorum*. Still later it came into the possession of H. Allen (Alanus), probably after 1839, for he makes no mention of it in his edition of the *De Divinatione*, and from him it passed to his son, S. Allen.

Mai, *Catal. Bibl. Uffenbachianae* (Frankfurt) (1720), 222 describes the Cod. Uffenbachianus IV, 161 (containing the *De Legibus, De Natura Deorum, and De Divinatione*), but remarks '*nunc desideratur*,' and inquiry at the city library of Frankfurt elicits the fact that that library now possesses no MS of the *De Divinatione*. It seems possible that Mai's description is an incomplete one of the same MS which is noted more completely by Moser, ed. of the *N. D.* (1818), xiv-xv (who dates it S.XIV 'ut vid.'): *id.*, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xvii; Halm, ed. of *Acad.* (1862), 56; Reid, ed. of *Acad.* (1885), 64; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* I (1891), lxx; Plasberg, ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xvii, n. 6.

S.XV. **Haigh Hall (Lancashire) 56.** Parchment.

The *De Divinatione* alone.

Toward the end large lacunae, which the first hand had left open, have been filled in by a sixteenth century hand.

Cf. Schenkl *Bibl. Patr. Lat. Britannica*, 3, 3 (1905), 57, no. 4826.

S.XV. **Manchester (Eng.), John Rylands Library 56.** Vellum. 91 folia.

De Divinatione alone.

Written in two Italian hands.

Cf. James, *Descr. Cat. of Latin MSS in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, 1 (1921), 120, no. 56.

S.XV. **Oxford, Bodleian Lincoln 38.** Parchment. Folio.

De Oratore, Tusculans, De Senectute, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis, Ad Q. Fr. de Mag. ger., Academica, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 109^v-132), *De Legibus, Topica, Synonyma, De Fato, Timaeus*, etc.

Ex dono R. Flemmyng.

Cf. Bernard, *Catalogi ll. mss. Angliae et Hibern.* 1, 2 (1697), 39, no. 1299, 12; Coxe *Cat. Codd. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie ass.* 1 (1852), 30.

S.XV. **Oxford, Magdalen College 62.** Paper. 4to. 82 folia.

De Divinatione (ff. 1-73), *De Fato*.

Cf. Bernard, *Catalogi ll. mss. Angliae et Hibern.* 1, 2 (1697), 74, no. 2203, 62; Coxe, *Cat. Codd. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie ass.* 2 (1852), 38; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 144.

S.XV. **Oxford, Balliolensis CCXLVIII.** Parchment.

Contains nearly all of Cicero's works. Beautifully written, in Italy.

Cf. the prefaces to the first and second editions of the *De Div.* by Davies (1721, 1730); Hottinger, ed. of the *De Div.* (1793), xi; Reid, ed. of *Acad.* (1885), 65; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xliii.

S.XV. **British Museum, Regius 15 C IX.** Paper.

Seneca, *Controv.*, *Vita*, *Epist.*, Quintil. *Instit. orat.*, Cic. *De Div.* 1, 1-1, 38: *quosdam evanuisse* (ff. 108-120).

Cf. the prefaces to the first and second editions of the *De Div.* by Davies (1721, 1730); Casley, *Cat. of King's Libr. MSS* (1734), 243; Allen, ed. of *De Div.* (1839), iii; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* 1 (1891), lxx; Warner and Gilson, *Cat. of western MSS in the old Royal and King's Coll.* 2 (1921), 168.

S.XV. **Brit. Mus. add. MSS 19586.** Vellum. Folio.

De Inventione, *Ad Herennium*, *De Oratore*, *Orator*, *De opt. Gen. Orat.*, *Partitiones*, *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *Tusculans*, *Timaeus*, '*De Divinationibus*'—so called in Cod. Monac. 277 and Troyes QQ. III. 10—(ff. 197-221), *De Natura Deorum*, orations.

Cf. *Cat. of Add. to the MSS in the Brit. Mus. for 1848-1853* (1868), 256; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* 1 (1891), 47.

S.XV. **Codex Meadianus.**

One of the six MSS used by Davies in his second edition of the *De Divinatione* (1730), and said by him to be somewhat later than the fourteenth century. He also employed it for the *Tusculans*, *De Legibus*, and *De Natura Deorum*, and called it about 300 years old. Cf. Mayor, edition of the *N. D.* 1 (1891), lxx. I have not identified this MS with any of those already mentioned, for lack of sufficient available data.

S.XV. **Paris, Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Lat. 9320.** Parchment.

Academica, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione* (ff. 59-85), translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* by Leonardo Arretino, etc.

Deslisle, *Invent. des MSS. lat.* (1863), 27; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 172.

S.XV. **Laon 454.** Paper. 4to.

De Natura Deorum, *De Divinatione*, *Timaeus*.

Cf. *Cat. gen. des mss. des Bibl. publ. des Départm.* 1 (1849), 240.

S.XV. **Saint Omer 652.** Paper. 4to.

Frag. of Hier. *Comm. in Epist. ad Galat.*, Cic. *Tusculans*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, *Lucullus*, *Timaeus*, *Philippics*, Ps. Apul. *Asclep.*

From the abbey of St. Bertin, in Gothic cursive.

Cf. *Cat. gen. des mss. des Bibl. publ. des Départm.* 3 (1861), 283.

S.XV. **Brussels (anc. Bourg.) 15429.** Paper. 77 folia.

De Divinatione alone, complete.

Italian MS from the library of M. le Chancelier d'Aguesseau.

Cf. *Catal. des MSS de Bibl. Royale de Belgique (anc. Bibl. de Bourgoyne)*, 1 (1842), 309, no. 15429; Thomas, *Catal. des MSS des Classiques latins de la Bibl. Royale de Bruxelles* (1896), 92, no. 285 (15429).

S.XV. **Leyden, Perizonianus 25.** Parchment. Folio. 325 folia.

De Officiis, *De Finibus*, *Academica post.*, *Tusculans*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione* (ff. 233^v-267^r), *De Fato*, *De Legibus*, *Prophetia de Carolo Magno*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, *Paradoxa*.

Handsomely written in Gothic characters. Boesch states that in the *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, and *De Legibus* this MS agrees closely with Cod. Vindobon. 18⁹¹

(which Halm thinks came from Holland to Austria). It once belonged to an Abbot Sellarius, then to the Bibliotheca Hulsiana.

Cf. Geel, *Cat. ll. mss. qui inde ab 1741 Bibl. Lugd.-Batav. accesserunt* (1852), 135, no. 445; Boesch in *Schedae philologiae H. Usenero . . . oblatae* (1891), 76-87; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xxxix; Plasberg, ed. of *Acad.* (1922), xvi-xvii (who dates it S.XIV/XV).

S.XV. **Leyden, Vossianus 14.** Parchment. Large folio.

Tusculans, De Finibus, De Officiis, De Senectute, De Amicitia, Somnium Scipionis, De Divinatione libri III (cf. Erlangen 847), *Paradoxa*.

A careless and ignorant copy of a good original. Formerly the property of J. H. Boistallerius, then of Melchis. Thevenot.

Cf. *Catal. Libr. Bibl. publ. Univ.-Lugd.-Batav.* 2 (1716), 368; Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xx; Dougan, ed. of *Tusc. I-II* (1905), xxxix.

S.XV. **St. Gallen 850.** Parchment. Folio. 420 folia.

Tusculans, De Finibus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione.

Handsome Italian writing.

Cf. Haenel, *Catalogi ll. mss.* (1830), 713, no. 850; Scherrer, *Versichnis der HSS der Stiftsbibl. von St. Gallen* (1875), 288.

S.XV. **Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelferb. 3260 (Aug. 22, 6).** Parchment. 4to. 130 folia.

De Divinatione (ff. 1-77*), f. 76* containing a lacuna from 2, 143-148; then the *De Legibus*.

Written in Italy about 1460-1470. At the end a note: *Frater Basilius* (perhaps the writer?); on the inner front cover: *Cl. V. Nicolao Heinsio Carolus Dati D. D.* Very similar to Cod. Gudianus 2.

Cf. Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xii; Giese, ed. of *De Div.* (1829), viii; v. Heinemann, *Die HSS der Hers. Bibl. Wolfenbüttel*, 2, 4 (1900), 312, no. 3260.

S.XV. **Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelferb. 3574 (Aug. 54, 9).** Parchment and paper. 4to.

f. 1 contains the last four lines of the second book of the *De Divinatione*, with the statement: *M. T. Ciceronis ad D. Brutum de divinatione liber secundus et ultimus explicit feliciter*. This is followed by the *De Fato*, *De Amicitia*, and an Italian tractate.

v. Heinemann, *Die HSS der Hers. Bibl. Wolfenbüttel*, 2, 5 (1903), 68, no. 3574.

S.XV. **Ulm, Library of the gymnasium.** Paper. Folio.

Lucullus, De Inventione, Topica, De Fato, De Divinatione, miscellaneous works on rhetoric, metre, etc., *Ad Herennium*, extract from Quintilian, *De Oratore, De Epistulis scribendis, Liber Differentiarum Ciceronis, Liber de Proprietate Sermonum*.

At the end of the *Lucullus* is this note: *et sic est finis per me Johannés Figel de Bybraco, libri Ciceronis ad Hortensium in die Kiliiani*. The MS formerly belonged to the monastery of Wengen in Ulm, and was collated by Leonard Kreuzer. It is fully described by Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xvii-xx.

S.XV. **Breslau (Rehdigeranus 64 (XXV = S. I. 4. 15)).** Paper. 187 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 29*-70*), *De Fato, Timaeus, Somnium Scipionis, Tusculans*.

Cf. Heindorf, ed. of *N. D.* (1815), vii; Moser, ed. of *De Div.* (1828), xx (for whom it was collated by Schoenborn and Held); Ziegler, *Cat. Cod. Lat. qui in Bibl. urtica Wratislaviensi adservantur* (1915), 30.

S. XV. **Schlägl (Upper Austria), Cod. Plagensis 152 (817).** Paper. 4to.

f. 2 contains an excerpt in red ink from *De Divinatione*, 2, 2: *quinque subsequi sunt libri Tusculanarum . . . ipsa contentam esse*; ff. 2-106 *Tusculans*.

Written in Italy. The property of Johann von Rabenstein.

Cf. Vielhaber & Indra, *Cat. Codd. Plagensium* (1918), 233.

S. XV. **Schlägl (Upper Austria), Cod. Plagensis 58 (454 b.)** Paper. 4to. 150 folia.

Contains, among other things, *Timaeus*, *Lucullus*, *De Divinatione* (ff. 99-123), *Topica*, and writings of Petrarch.

The property of Johann von Rabenstein.

Cf. Vielhaber & Indra, *Cat. Codd. Plagensium* (1918), 164, no. 106.

S. XV. **San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. comunale 62.** Paper. Folio.

De Natura Deorum, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, *De Legibus*, *Partis. orat.*, *In Catilinam*, *Ps. Sall. In Ciceronem*, *Ps. Cic. In Sallustium*, *Epitaphia Ciceronis*.

Cf. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Bibl. d'Italia*, 3 (1893), 119, no. 62.

S. XV. **Parma, Bibl. Ducal.** Paper. 4to.

De Divinatione, *Topica*, *De Fato*.

'Inter codices ad Rossianam bibl. non pertinentes.' Blume, *Bibl. H. mss. Italic.* (1834), 236.

S. XV. **Bologna 1096 (2228).** Parchment. 370 folia.

De Officiis, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *Paradoxa*, *Tusculans*, *De Finibus*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione* (ff. 265^r-301^r), *De Fato*, *De Legibus*, fragm. of *Academica*, *Timaeus*, *Somnium Scipionis*.

Bought at Venice by P. Fabretti 11 Jan., 1532.

Cf. Frati, *Indice dei Codici lat. conservati nella R. Bibl. universitaria di Bologna*, in *Studi italiani di Filologia classica*, 17 (1909), 11.

S. XV. **Florence, Laurentianus Medicus 83, 3.** Paper. Large folio. 107 folia.

De Natura Deorum, *De Divinatione* (ff. 24^r-43^r), *De Finibus*, *Tusculans*.

A note at the end of the *De Divinatione* reads: *Marci Tulli Cic. de divin. liber sec. explicit 18 Julii 1469* (wrongly given by Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibl.* 1 (1739), 401 as *15 Julii*, 1596).

Cf. Bandini, *Catal. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Laurent.* 3 (1776), 208; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 130 (who dates it in S. XIV).

S. XV. **Florence, Laurentianus Medicus 83, 4.** Parchment. 4to. 126 folia.

De Natura Deorum, *De Divinatione* (ff. 65^r-118^r), *De Fato*.

Cf. Bandini, *Catal. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Laurent.* 3 (1776), 208; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 131.

S. XV. **Florence, Laurentianus Medicus 83, 6.** Parchment. 4to. 126 folia.

De Natura Deorum, *De Divinatione* (ff. 67-117), *De Fato*.

A note at the end reads: *Bernardo Portinario Iohannes Arretinus plurimam salutem dicit. Vale diu felixque sis*.

Cf. Bandini, *Catal. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Laurent.* 3 (1776), 209; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 131.

- S.XV. **Florence, Laurentianus Mediceus 83. 7.** Parchment. 4to.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 86-151), *De Fato, De Legibus*, etc.
 Cf. Bandini, *Calal. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Laurent.* 3 (1776), 210; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 131.
- S.XV. **Florence, Laurentianus Mediceus Fesulanus 188.** Parchment. Folio.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 210^r-239^r).
 Cf. Bandini, *Bibl. Leopoldina Laurentiana*, 3 (1793), 129.
- S.XV. **Florence, Laurentianus Strossianus XLV.** Paper. Large 8vo.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 84^r-146^r).
 Cf. Bandini, *Bibl. Leopoldina Laurentiana*, 2 (1792), 383.
- S.XV. **Cesena, plut. XVIII, 1.** Parchment. 334 folia.
Tusculans, De Finibus, De Divinatione (about two pages lacking at the end), *De Natura Deorum, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Officiis, Paradoxa*, etc.
 Cf. Zazzeri, *Sui Codici . . . della Bibl. Malatestiana di Cesena* (1887), 401.
- S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Urbinas 319.** Parchment.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 59^r-114), *De Legibus, Academica, Timaeus, De Fato*.
 A note on the margin of f. 53 reads: *hic deficit in vetustissimo codice*.
 Cf. Stornajolo, *Codd. Urbinates Lat.* 1 (1902), 277.
- S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Lat. 1759.** Parchment. 173 folia.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 49^v-86), *Timaeus, De Fato, De Finibus*.
 Cf. Nogara, *Codd. Vatic. Lat.* 3 (1912), 224.
- S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Ottobon. 1372.** Paper.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione.
 Cf. Moser, ed. of *N.D.* (1818), xvi (who calls the MS *Ld*).
- S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Ottobon. 1622.** Parchment.
De Natura Deorum. De Divinatione.
 Cf. Moser, ed. of *N.D.* (1818), xvi.
 One of the two preceding is doubtless the same as the Cod. Petav. 468, noted by Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibl.* 1 (1739), 90 as containing these two works and being from the library of Alex. Petavius. The Codices Ottoboniani include some Regimenses and the latter some of the books of Petavius.
- S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Ottobon. 1414.** Parchment.
De Natura Deorum, De Legibus, Academica, Topica, Somnium Scipionis, De Divinatione.
 Cf. Moser, ed. of *N.D.* (1818), xvi (who does not make clear, however, the order of the works above mentioned).
- S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Palat. 1518.** 58 folia.
De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 74^r-130^r), *De Fato*.
 Cf. Halm, *Ueber die Hss des Cic.* (1849), 176, no. 1518.

S.XV. **Rome, Vat. Palat. 1524.** Parchment. Folio. 357 folia.

De Amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa, De Finibus, De Officiis, Tusculans, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 281^v-322^v), *De Fato, De Legibus*.

Cf. Halm, *Ueber die Hss des Cic.* (1849), 177, no. 1524. Information as to this and the preceding codex was kindly furnished by Monsig. Mercati, prefect of the Vatican Library.

S.XV. **Naples, Library of Monastery of S. Severino.**

De Divinatione alone.

A Marino Tomacello liber conscriptus XV saeculo.

Cf. Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 115.

S.XV. **Naples, Borbonicus IV. G. 3.** Parchment. 4to.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione: (breaking off at 2, 111: *attenti animi*).

Cf. Janelli, *Cat. Bibl. Lat. MSS quae in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adseruantur* (1827), 214, no. 311.

S.XV. **Mt. Athos 4023.** Paper. 8vo. 270 folia.

f. 264^v excerpts from Latin authors, including the *De Divinatione*; f. 269^v short excerpt from the *De Divinatione*.

Cf. Lambros, *Cat. of the Greek MSS on Mt. Athos*, 2 (1900), 12, no. 4023.

S.XV. **In trade.** Vellum. Small folio. 169 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione.

Beautifully written MS by an Italian scribe; complete, but a few leaves transposed.

From the Askew and Wodhull collections, with autograph of the latter, dated 1786.

Cf. catalogue of Alfred Bull, London, 1915, 25, no. 322.

S.XV ex. **New York, Morgan Library.** Parchment. 272 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (pp. 57-98), *De Officiis, De Amicitia, Paradoxa, De Senectute, Academica I, Timaeus, Somnium Scipionis, De Republica, De Legibus, De Fato*.

Written in Italy for King Matthias Corvinus. Once in the library of Cardinal York at Frascati.

Cf. Cat. XII of T. De Marinis & Cia., Florence (1913), 14, no. 10 (before the MS had been sold to the Morgan Library); De Ricci in *Philol. Quart.* 1 (1922), 102.

S.XV ex. **British Museum, Harleianus 4662.** Parchment. 173 folia.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione (ff. 107-155), fragment of *Macrob. Somn. Scip., Paradoxa*.

Written in Italy. The MS contains an argument to the *De Natura Deorum* and a fragment of an argument to the *De Divinatione* not found in the editions.

Cf. *Cat. of the Harleian Coll. of MSS . . . in the Brit. Mus.* 2 (1759), no. 4662; *Cat. of the Harleian MSS in the Brit. Mus.* 3 (1808), 186-187, no. 4662; Allen, ed. of the *De Div.* (1839), iii; Mayor, ed. of *N.D.* 1 (1891), 46.

S.XV ex. **British Museum, Harleianus 5114.** Parchment.

De Legibus, Lucullus, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Officiis.

Finely written, in Italy.

Cf. *Catal. of the Harleian Coll. of MSS . . . in the Brit. Mus.* 2 (1759), no. 5114; *Catal. of the Harleian MSS in the Brit. Mus.* 3 (1808), 247, no. 5114; Allen, ed. of the *De Div.* (1839), ii; Klotz in *Neue Jahrb.* 11 (1841), 1, 307-311; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* 1 (1891), 46.

S.XV ex. **Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica 1511 (V.3.18).** Paper. 4to.

f. 1-101 excerpts from the orations, *De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, Academica.*

Cf. Narducci, *Cat. Codd. mss in Bibl. Angelica (olim Coenobii S. Augustini in Urbe)*, 1 (1893), 652.

The following MSS have been placed last, because, from the data available to me, it has not been possible to give any precise estimate of their date.

Syon Monastery, Isleworth.

De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Legibus, De Quaestionibus Academicis, De Finibus, De Petitione Consulatus, De Fato, Timaeus, Somnium Scipionis, and some non-classical works.

Cf. Bateson, *Cat. of the Lib. of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (1898), 20-21, no. 6 C.

Durham, Cathedral Library, 87.

Contains, among other works, *De Divinatione, Senecae Proverbia*, etc.

Cf. Bernard, *Catal. Libr. mss Angliae et Hibern.* 2, 1 (1697), 7, no. 152, 87.

Cambridge (Eng.), Bibl. publ. 93.

De Senectute, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, Academica.

Cf. Bernard, *Catal. Libr. mss Angliae et Hibern.* 1, 3 (1697), 167, no. 2273, 93; Deschamps, *Essai bibliographique* (1863), 145.

Codex Eliensis.

Davies in his editions of the *De Divinatione* (1721, 1730) in the introduction makes no mention of this MS, but in his notes occasionally cites its readings (of which *cecidere* (1, 18) and *peperisti* (1, 66) are adopted in our text). He apparently made independent use of this codex for each of these editions, for in 1, 66 he cites it in his second edition but not in his first. In the *De Divinatione* he always cites the MS in the singular, but in the preface to the second edition of the *Tusculans* (1723) he refers to three *codices Elienses*. In the preface to his first edition of the *De Natura Deorum* (1718) he says: *usum editionis Stephanicae cum duobus optimis MSS collatae dedit summus mei, dum in vivis erat, patronus, Joannes Morus (John Moore), nuper Eliensis episcopus*. In the preface to his edition of the *De Legibus* (1728) he remarks: '*Eliens*.' *varias lectiones significat, quas ex MS quodam vir doctus editioni Roberti Stephani A. D. MDXXXIX adlevit. Iste codex, quantum judicare datur, non magnam partem se tulit vetustatem.*

Cf. Madvig, 3 ed. of *De Fin.* (1876), xii-xiv; Mayor, ed. of *N. D.* 1 (1891), lrvii-lxix; Reid, ed. of *Acad.* (1885), 69-70 (based on Mayor's first ed. (1880)).

This MS is not in the remains of Bishop Moore's library, which came to the University of Cambridge in 1715.

EDITIONS

The uncertainties involved in the compilation of a list of editions and translations of the *De Divinatione* are very considerable. Comparatively seldom was the work published by itself, and it generally appears, either in editions of the complete works or, less frequently, with the other philosophical works. In the case of complete editions our various bibliographical helps¹ are tantalizingly incomplete and frequently conflicting in statements, particularly in regard to dates and number of volumes of editions.² The following catalogue, therefore, can by no means be regarded as free from error.

Editions here cited without further qualification are to be understood as containing Cicero's complete works, and this feature of the list may perhaps interest students of other works than the *De Divinatione*.

1471. Rome. Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz. Folio. 2 vols. (sometimes bound as one). The *editio princeps* of the whole body of the philosophical works. The *De Divinatione* is in vol. 1 (according to Deschamps, 86), ff. 49^r-87^r (according to Hain, 1, no. 5231) or 50^r-88^r (according to the *Cat. gén. des Incun. des Bibl. publ. de France*, 2 (1905), no. 3766), though Brunet says vol. 2, ff. 39-64. Deschamps (86-87) states that only four perfect copies are known, one being in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Cf. Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 447. Moss, 1, 335-336.
1471. Venice. V. de Spira. Published by Gaignat and Duc de la Valière (according to Harwood, 212). 4to. 1 vol. Contains *N. D.*, *De Div.*, *De Fato*, *Leg.*, *Ad Herenn.*, *De Disciplina militari*, and a life of Cicero made up from Plutarch (Deschamps, 95-96). The *De Divinatione* is found on ff. 66^r-111^r (according to Hain, 1, no. 5334) or 67^r-112^r (*Cat. gén. des Incun. des Bibl. publ. de France*, 2, no. 3671). Deschamps (*l.c.*) says: "Ce fut sur les manuscrits retrouvés et transcrits par Nicolas Niccoli qu'elle fut exécutée par l'imprimeur allemand, sous la direction de Raphael Jovenzonius, et non pas, comme on aurait pu le supposer, d'après l'édition collective des *Opera philosophica*, imprimée à Rome la même année." See Moss, 1, 336-337. (Cf. 1499)
- 1475? Without indication of place, printer, or date, but supposed to be about 1475 (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 451, n.). An edition of the philosophical works, listed by Hain (1, no. 5230) as *Ac.*, *Leg.*, *Off.*, *De Sen.*, *De Amic.*, *Parad.*, *Fin.*, *Tusc.*, *N. D.*, *De Div.*, *De Fato*, *Tim.*; also Arati *Phaenomena*. 144 folia.

¹ I may here mention, in addition to the well-known manuals of Harwood (1790), Hain (1826ff.), Dibdin (1827), Moss (1837), Brunet (1861), Engelmann-Preuss, 8 ed. (1882), Proctor (1898), Copinger (1899ff.), and Klussmann (1912), the *Essai bibliographique sur M. T. Cicéron* by P. Deschamps (1863), and the bibliography repeated by the Delphin edition of 1830 from the Bipontine edition of 1780 (enlarged from Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina* and the preface of the 1774 edition of Ernesti). Use has also been made of various library catalogues, and numerous European catalogues of second-hand books have been scrutinized. A list of codices, editions (1465-1500), and translations of the philosophical works, existing in manuscript form in the Bodleian Library (auctarium 30412 (4.59)) and probably composed and written by Huber, came to my attention too late for me to investigate it.

² The peculiar ways in which individual copies have been bound thus often gain an apparent but undue importance. Again, the dates of reprints, particularly those of stereotyped editions, are subject to great irregularity, since the different volumes of a set, because of varying demands for the different parts, might pass out of print (and so have to be reprinted) at very unequal intervals.

1487. Venice. Folio. Containing only the *De Divinatione* (Harwood, 213; Hain, 1, no. 5337).
1489. Reggio d'Emilia. Bazalerius (*sic*) de Bazaleriis (*sic*). Folio. Contains the *De Div.* and *Leg.* (Hain, 1, no. 5339). Is this edition correctly dated and distinct from the 1499 Reggio edition (q.v.)?
1490. Milan. Folio. A collection of the rhetorical and philosophical works, according to Hain (1, no. 5095), who does not make clear whether this includes our work.
1494. Venice. Cristofer de Pensis de Mandello (Cristoforo Pincio). Folio. Contains (according to Hain, 1, no. 5340) *Leg., Ac., De Div.,* (ff. 35^r-65^r), *N. D., Fin., De Petit. Cons., De Fato, Tim., Somn. Scip.* The *Cat. gén. des Incun. des Bibl. publ. de France*, 2 (1905), no. 3791, says that that the *De Divinatione* extends from f.35^r to f.56^r (may Hain's 65^r be a misprint for 56^r?). The *Descr. Cat. of Books printed in the fifteenth Century in the Library of Henry Walters* (1906), 147-148, has this edition, but the Walters copy seems to lack the *N. D.* and the *De Div.*
1496. Venice. Per Symonem Papiensem dictum Biuilacqua. Folio. Contains (Hain, 1, no. 5232) *Fin., N. D., De Div.* (ff.79^r-100^r), *Leg., Ac., De Fato, Tim., Somn. Scip.*
- 1498-1499. Milan. Alexander Minutianus. Folio. 4 vols. The *editio princeps* of Cicero's complete works. Volumes 1-2 appeared in 1498, 3-4 in 1499 (Dibdin, 1, 390; Deschamps, 49; Harwood, 213 dates the *De Divinatione* as 1498), volume 4 containing the philosophical works (*Leg., Off., De Sen., De Amic., Parad., Fin., Tusc., N. D., De Div., Tim.,* etc.); cf. Hain, 1, no. 5056; Brunet, 2, p. 6; Deschamps, l.c.; *Cat. gén. des Incun. des Bibl. publ. de France*, 2, no. 3583. Lengthy accounts will be found in Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 389-391; Moss, 1, 285-288. This was not an original recension, but merely a reprinting of editions of separate works already published.
1499. Place not stated. Contains (Hain, 1, no. 5336) *N. D., De Div. libb. III* (*sic*), *De Fato, Leg., Disciplina milit.* Perhaps a reprint of the 1471 Venice edition?
1499. Reggio d'Emilia. Bazalerius (*sic*) de Bazaleriis (*sic*). Folio. Contains only the *De Div.* (Hain, 1, no. 5338; *Census of fifteenth Century Books owned in America* (1919), nos. 5338, 5339). (Cf. 1489)
- 1502-1523. Venice. Aldus. 8vo. 9 vols. The philosophical works (according to Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 392), occupy vols. 8-9 and date from 1523. After the death of Aldus in 1515, when only the *Libri oratorii* had been completed, the remainder was published by Andreas Asulanus who employed Andreas Naugerius to superintend a great part of it (cf. Moss, 1, 289). (Cf. 1540-1546 and other editions there cited)
1507. Paris. B dius Ascensius. 8vo. The *Cat. of Books concerning the Greek and Latin Classics in the Central Public Libraries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (1912), 99, cites this edition of the complete works, *cum explanatione J. Badii Ascensii*. (Cf. 1510-1511)
1508. Venice. Petrus Marsus. Printed by Lazarus Soardus. Folio. Contains the *N. D.* and *De Div.* (cat. 50 of R. Atkinson (1922)). Orelli (Edition, 4, 2, 127) remarks: "*habet præstantissimas interdum lectiones, sæpe prorsus singulares. ex hoc autem vel simili forte ducta est recensio Manutiana et Lambiniana, quæ haud raro contra Victorium huiusque sequaces cum Marso conspirant.*" Moser's edition, 728-736, gives a collation of this edition of the *De Divinatione* with that of Ernesti (dating this 1507; Orelli and Atkinson's catalogue say 1508). (Cf. 1542)

- 1510-1511. Paris. Io. Badius Ascensius. Folio. 4 vols. (the philosophical works in vol. 4, 1511, according to Moser, edition, xxiii). Brunet (2, 6) dates this edition 1510-1511, and says (as do Moss, 1, 288, and Deschamps, 50) that it reproduced the 1498-1499 Milan edition. Dibdin (1, 4 ed. 391), in dating this 1511-1522, is apparently confusing the *Ascensiana prima* and the *Ascensiana secunda*; the Newcastle-upon-Tyne catalogue cites a 1507 8vo edition. (Cf. 1507; 1521-1525)
- 1521-1525. Paris. Io. Badius Ascensius. Published by Jehan Petit. Folio. 4 vols. The volume containing the philosophical works dates from 1521 (according to Moser' edition, xxiii, and cat. of R. C. Macmahon (1920), no. 56). This edition followed chiefly the Aldine edition of 1502-1523 (Moss, 1, 288-289).
1523. See 1502-1523.
1528. Basel. Michael Bentinus. Published by A. Cratander. Folio. 3 vols. Dated 1528 by Hottinger (edition, xii), Dibdin (1, 4 ed. 393), Moss (1, 289-290), Deschamps (p. 51), et al.; 1527, by Moser (edition, xxiii).
1534. Basel. J. Camerarius. Published by Johann Herwagius (Herwagen). Folio. 2 vols. (Moss, 1, 290), or 4 tom., 2 vol. (Bipont. index). (Cf. 1534-1537, 1540).
- 1534-1537. Venice. Petrus Victorius (Vettori). Published by L. A. Junta. Folio. 4 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 4 (1536), 308-364). Several times in the sixteenth century reprinted (Deschamps, 51). The orations are in the recension of Naugerius, the remaining three volumes are by Victorius (cf. Sandys, *Hist. of class. Scholarship*, 2 (1908), 137). Graevius said that Cicero owed more to Victorius than to all later editors combined. (Cf. 1534, 1538-1539, 1540).
- 1538-1539. Paris. Petrus Victorius. Published by R. Stephanus (Étienne). Folio. 4 vols. (the philosophical works in vol. 4 (1538), the *De Divinatione* being on pp. 240-285). Other forms of division are 6 tom. in 2 vols. (Brunet), 4 tom. in 2 vols. (Deschamps, 51), and 3 vols. (cat. 118 of Hoepli (1898), no. 1560). A copy of the Juntine edition (cf. 1534-1537, 1543-1544, 1555).
1540. Basel. J. Camerarius. Published by J. Herwagius. Folio. 4 vols. (Moss, 1, 290) or 5 vols. in 2 (the University of Illinois copy), the *De Divinatione* being in vol. 4, 220-261. (Cf. 1534)
1540. Lyons. J. M. Brutus. Published by S. Gryphius (Greiff). 8vo. 9 vols. Reproduces the edition of Victorius (cf. 1534-1537). Frequently reprinted (cf. 1546-1551, 1550, 1555, 1559, 1570ff., 1578, 1585-1587). See Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 395.
- 1540-1546. Venice. P. Manutius. 8vo. 10 vols. (the two volumes of philosophical works, of which the second contains the *De Divinatione*, were published in 1541, and (according to Brunet, 2, 16) these were republished in 1546, 1552, 1555-1556, 1562, 1565, each time in 2 vols. 8vo). Dibdin (1, 4 ed. 396) mentions also a reprint of the entire work in 1569-1570. The text reproduces that of the Aldine edition of 1502-1523, q.v. (Cf. 1578-1583)
1541. Strassburg. Johann Sturm. Published by Wendelin. 8vo. — vols. (vol. 2 (1541) contains the *N.D., De Div., De Fato, Somn. Scip., Leg., Tim., De Petit. Cons.*). Based on the edition of Victorius (cf. 1534-1537). Later reprints appeared in 1548, 1557, 1571, 1574, and 1578, q.v.
1542. Paris. Marsus. Ex off. M. Vascosani. 4to. *De Divinatione* alone (cat. 190 of Blackwell (1923), no. 937). (Cf. 1508)
- 1543-1544. Paris. Published by R. Stephanus (Étienne). 8vo. 9 vols. or 13 vols. (according to Brunet and Deschamps, 50), or 8 vols. (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 397; Moss, 1,

- 292; Deschamps, *l.c.*). A copy of the 1538-1539 reproduction of the Juntine edition (1534-1537). The first work in which Stephanus used the Italic letter (Dibdin, *l.c.*). (Cf. 1546-1547, 1554-1555)
- 1543-1545. Paris. Colinaeus (Simon de Colines). 12mo. 10 vols. 1543-1545 (according to Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 397); Brunet and Deschamps, 51, date this 1543-1547.
1546. Venice. Manutius. 8vo. 2 vols. (containing the philosophical works, according to Brunet, 2, 16). (Cf. 1540-1546)
- 1546-1547. Paris. R. Stephanus. 16mo. 10 vols. (Brunet's Supplement). (Cf. 1540-1546, 1543-1544)
- 1546-1551. Lyons. Gryphius. 16mo. 10 vols. The Bipontine index mentions a 12mo, 9 vol. form. (Cf. 1540)
1548. Strassburg. J. Sturm. (Cf. 1541)
1550. Lyons. Gryphius. 12mo. 10 vols. (according to Harwood, 202; is this distinct from the last-mentioned?). (Cf. 1540)
1551. Basel. 8vo. 10 vols. (according to the Bipontine index).
1552. Venice. P. Manutius. 8vo. 2 vols. (containing the philosophical works, the *De Divinatione* occupying ff. 80^v-139^v of vol. 2). (Cf. 1540-1546, 1565)
1552. Paris. I. Longolius. Published by J. Gueullantius. On this edition of the *De Divinatione* see Giese's edition, ix, which describes the notes as very elementary.
- 1554-1555. Carolus Stephanus. Folio. 4 tom. in 2 vols. (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 397; Deschamps, 50). Brunet says this edition was based on that of P. Manutius (1540-1546). An incorrect and superficial text.
1555. Lyons. Gryphius (cf. Moss, 1, 291).
- 1555-1556. Venice. P. Manutius. 8vo. 2 vols. (of the philosophical works; Harwood, 202, mentions a 12mo, 11 vol. edition of the complete works as published by Aldus at Venice in 1555). (Cf. 1540-1546)
1557. Strassburg. J. Sturm. (Cf. 1541)
1559. Lyons. Gryphius. (Cf. 1540)
- 1560-1568. J. Boulierius. Apud J. Frellonium (cf. Moser's edition, xxiii; Bipontine index).
- 1560-1562. Venice. P. Manutius. 8vo. 10 vols. (2 vols. of the philosophical works, dated 1562 (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 396), or 1560 (cat. 11 of Dunster House Bookshop (1923), no. 32)). (Cf. 1540-1546)
1565. Venice. P. Manutius. 8vo. 2 vols. (of the philosophical works; the *De Divinatione* occupying ff. 91^v-158^v of vol. 2). (Cf. 1540-1546, 1552)
- 1565-1566. Paris. Dionysius Lambinus (Denys Lambin). Published by J. a Puteo (J. du Puys), or (according to Brunet) by Bernard Turrisanus. Folio. 4 vols. The first of the numerous Lambinus impressions of Cicero, in spite of some bold alterations the standard sixteenth century edition of Cicero. Brunet states that this contained 4 tom. in 2 vols. (cf. Moss, 1, 294), and is dated 1565-1566 (Deschamps, 52, says 4 tom. in 2 vols., 1565-1567; the copy in the library of the University of Illinois has 4 tom. in 2 vols., 1565-1566, the *De Divinatione* being in vol. 4, 254-301 (1565)). (Cf. 1572-1573, 1577-1578, 1580, 1581, 1584, 1585, 1588, and the note on that edition)
- 1569-1570. Venice. P. Manutius edition. 8vo. 10 vols. (2 of the philosophical works, with the annotations of Lambinus, according to Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 396). The Bipontine index gives this edition as having 9 vols. (Cf. 1540-1546)
- 1570ff. Lyons. Gryphius. 16mo. 11 tom. in 9 vols. (cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6033). Doubtless the same as the *Brulina editio* which Moser (edition, xxiii) dates 1571, and Moss (1, 291) sets at 1575. (Cf. 1540, 1578)

1571. Strassburg. J. Sturm. (Cf. 1541)
- 1572-1573. Paris. Lambinus. Published 'apud Benenatum.' 8vo. 8 tom. in 9 or 10 vols. Brunet remarks that the notes of Lambinus have been retained, but a poorer text substituted for that found in his first edition. It is upon this edition, however, that the later reimpressions of the Lambinus Cicero are based. This edition was superintended by the sons of Lambinus after he had himself died (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 398, n.). The Bipontine index lists a folio form (1573) and an octavo in 9 vols. (1573-1580). (Cf. 1565-1566)
1574. Strassburg. J. Sturm. Published by Rihel. 2 tom. in one vol., containing the philosophical works (cat. 253 of Zahn & Jaensch (1913), no. 540). (Cf. 1541)
- 1577-1578. Lyons. Lambinus edition. Published by P. Santandreaus. Folio. 4 tom. in 2 vols. (according to cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6034). (Cf. 1565-1566)
- 1578-1583. Venice. Aldus (nepos). Folio. 10 vols. The text is based on that of P. Manutius, but with many errors. The philosophical works are in parts 8 and 9 (1583). Deschamps, 53, says that the 10 tomi were usually bound in 4 or 6 vols. Cat. 602 of J. Baer, no. 668, describes one bound in 5 vols. Brunet states that this complete edition of Cicero is merely the union of several volumes published from 1578 to 1583 and now appearing with more general title-pages; cf. Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 398-399. The edition is accompanied by a good commentary; cf. Deschamps, *l.c.* (Cf. 1540-1546, 1582?)
1578. Lyons. Gryphius. 8vo. See 1570-1578. Deschamps, 51, also speaks of a 1579 edition, which is perhaps part of this.
1578. Strassburg. J. Sturm. (Cf. 1541)
1580. Lyons. Lambinus edition (according to Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 398). (Cf. 1565-1566)
1581. Strassburg. Lambinus edition, 8vo. 9 vols. (Dibdin, *l.c.*; also Moser's edition, xxiii). (Cf. 1565-1566)
1582. Venice. Manutius edition. Aldus. Folio. 4 vols. (according to Harwood, 202). (Cf. 1540-1546, 1578-1583)
1584. Geneva. Fulvius Ursinus (F. Orsini). Folio. 2 vols. of the complete works (the copy in the library of the University of Illinois has 4 vols. with the *De Divinatione* in vol. 4, 254-301, as in the 1565-1566 edition, q. v.). Notes by Lambinus and Ursinus. Dibdin (1, 4 ed. 399) states that the notes had been published at Antwerp, and Sandys, *Hist. of class. Scholarship*, 2(1906), 154, dates the notes of Ursinus on Cicero as 1579f.
1584. Paris. Lambinus edition. Folio. 2 vols. (Cf. 1566)
1585. London. Lambinus edition. Published by J. Jackson & E. Carpenter. 8vo. 9 vols. (Cf. 1565-1566)
- 1585-1587. Lyons. Gryphius. 8vo. 9 vols. (cf. Deschamps, 51). (Cf. 1540)
1588. Lyons. Lambinus edition, with notes of Gothofredus (Denis Godefroy). 'Sumptibus Sibyllae a Porta'. 4to. 4 vols. Cf. 1565-1566. This reediting of the edition of Lambinus by Gothofredus had several reimpressions (1594, 1596, 1606, 1608, 1616, 1617, 1624, 1632, 1646, 1659-1660).
1588. Lyons. Folio. 2 vols. (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 399). With notes of former commentators, especially Lambinus.
1588. Basel. Alexander Scot. An edition of the complete works of this date is noted by Sandys, *Hist. of class. Scholarship*, 2 (1908), 146.
1590. Frankfurt. Published by A. Wechel's heirs. 8vo. 10 vols. (9 tom. in 8 vols. according to cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6035). Based on the edition of Manutius (1540-1546), 'with learned notes and commentaries' (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 400). Reprinted in 1603, 1606, 1609, q.v.

1594. <Leyden> (the Bipontine index and Moss, 1, 294, say Geneva). Lambinus edition reedited by Gothofredus (cat. 221 of Liebisch (1914), no. 33). (Cf. 1588)
1596. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. 4to. 1 vol. (according to cat. 358 of Basler Buch- u. Antiquariatshandlung, no. 1264), 2 vols. (according to the Bipontine index). (Cf. 1588)
1603. Hannover. Reprint of the Wechel edition (1590). 12mo.
1606. <Geneva.> Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. Published by S. Choüet. 4to (according to cat. 379 of Kerler, no. 10023). (Cf. 1588)
1606. <Geneva.> Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. Published by P. de la Rouière. 4to. 4 tom. in 1 vol. (according to cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6036), folio, 2 vols. (according to the Bipontine index). (Cf. 1588)
1606. Frankfurt. Wechel edition (1590). 8vo. 5 vols. (according to cat. 19 of R. Atkinson (1916), no. 332), 10 vols. (Bipontine index).
1608. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. 8vo. 2 vols. (according to cat. 42 of Bangel & Schmitt (1919), no. 2035). (Cf. 1588)
1609. Frankfurt. Wechel edition (cf. 1590). 8vo. 10 vols. (cf. Bipontine index).
- 1615-1616. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. Published by P. de la Rouière. Folio. 4 tom. in 2 vols. (cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6037). (Cf. 1588)
1617. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. 4to. 4 tom. in 2 vols. (Bipontine index; cat. 358 of Basler Buch -u. Antiquariatshandlung, no. 1266). (Cf. 1588)
- 1618-1619. Hamburg. Jan Guilielmus and Jan Gruter. Published by Frobenius. Folio. 4 tom. in 2 vols. The text of Victorius corrected and annotated with the posthumous notes of Guilielmus (died 1584) and the notes of Gruter, "and with unjustifiable strictures on the text of Lambinus" (Sandys, *op. cit.* 2, 361). This is the first edition in which the Ciceronian text was divided into chapters (Deschamps, 53), and it served as the basis of almost all the seventeenth and early eighteenth century editions (e.g., 1642, 1661, 1665, 1677ff., 1680-1681, 1687, 1692, 1724, 1747).
1620. Basel. 12mo. 9 vols. (according to the Bipontine index).
1624. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. 8vo. 1 vol. (according to cat. of Hoeppli (1898), no. 1562); 2 tomi (Bipontine index). (Cf. 1588)
1632. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. 4to. 4 tom. in 1 vol. (cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6038). (Cf. 1588)
1642. Leyden. Published by Elzevir. 12mo. 10 vols. (the philosophical works in vols. 7-8). A beautiful and correct edition (Dibdin), based on the text of Gruter (1618-1619), according to Brunet (2, 8). Reprinted in 1665, q.v. (Cf. also 1658-1659)
1646. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. Published by S. Choüet. 4to. 1 vol. (cat. 358 of Basler Buch -u. Antiquariatshandlung, no. 1265), 4 tom., 2 vols. (Bipontine index). (Cf. 1588) Is this the same as the Lambinus-Gothofredus edition of 1646, 4to, 4 vols., <Paris>, noted in cat. 379 of Kerler, no. 10024; cat. 221 of Liebisch (1914), p. 68, no. 35?
- 1658-1659. Amsterdam. Published by J. Blaeu. 12mo. 10 tom. in 9 vols. (the philosophical works in vols. 7-8). Based on the Elzevir edition of 1642?
- 1659-1660. Geneva. Lambinus-Gothofredus edition. Published by S. Choüet. 4to (cat. 221 of Liebisch (1914), no. 36 also mentions an 8vo Geneva edition of 1660). (Cf. 1588)

1661. Leyden (Bipontine index; cat. 358 of Basler Buch -u. Antiquariatshandlung, 1268; Deschamps, 53). Cornelius Schrevelius (K. Schrevel). Elzevir press. 4to. 1 vol. (of 1339 pages; sometimes counted as two, but with continuous pagination; cf. Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 401-402). The *De Divinatione* occupies pp. 1150-1180. Based on Gruter's edition (1618-1619), with notes of Gruter and Schrevelius. Republished in 1687, q.v.
1665. Amsterdam. Published by L. & D. Elzevir. 4to. 2 vols. (Brunet, Supplement, 265). (Cf. 1642)
- 1677ff. Amsterdam and the Hague. Variorum edition. 8vo. 21 vols. Begun in 1677 and not finished till the eighteenth century. The original plan of Graevius was continued by Burman and Pearce and completed by Davies. The text is largely that of Gruter (1618-1619), according to Deschamps, 54. (Cf. 1721, which may be considered part of this work)
- 1680-1681. London. Thomas Gale (cf. Moss, 1, 295; Dunmore, Dring, Tooke, Sawbridge, and Mearne, according to Brüggemann, *A View of the English Editions, Translations, and Illustrations of the ancient Greek and Latin Authors* (1797), 481). Folio. 4 tom. in 2 vols. (Brunet, 2, 10, who states that it is a less correct impression of the Gruter edition of 1618-1619; cf. Dibdin, 1, 4, ed. 400). (Cf. 1757)
1687. Basel. C. Schrevelius. Published by Chotet and Cramer. 4to. 4 vols. (paged continuously), the philosophical works being in vol. 4. (Cf. 1661)
1687. Venice. C. Schrevelius. 4to. 4 vols. (Bipontine index). (Cf. 1661)
1692. Leyden. J. Gronovius. 4to. 4 tom. in 2 vols. (the cat. no 163 of W. Heffer (1917), says 11 vols; Harwood, 202, says 12mo, 11 vols; the Bipontine index mentions a 12mo ed. in 5 vols). A rather poor edition (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 402), based on that of Gruter (1618-1619).
1721. Cambridge (Engl.). John Davies. University Press. 8vo. Edition of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato*, with notes of Manutius, Victorius, Camerarius, Lambinus, and Ursinus. (Cf. 1677ff., of which this is part. A second edition appeared in 1730.)
1724. Amsterdam. Isaac Verburgius. Published by Wetsten. In several forms: folio, 2 vols. (the philosophical works in vol. 2); 4to, 4 vols.; 8vo, 11 vols., 11 vols. in 12, 12 vols. (Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 402; Moss, 1, 296), or 12 vols. in 16 (Brunet; Engelmann-Preuss, 127). A variorum edition, the text based on that of Gruter (1618-1619), with the notes of Victorius, Camerarius, Ursinus, Manutius, Lambinus, Guilielmus, Gruter, J. F. and J. Gronovius, Graevius, et al. (Cf. 1731)
1730. Cambridge (Engl.). John Davies. University Press. 8vo. Second edition, '*melior et emendatior*'. (Cf. 1721; also 1793, 1828)
1731. Venice. Verburgius edition. 8vo. 12 vols. (Engelmann-Preuss, 127). (Cf. 1724)
- 1737-1739. Leipzig. J. A. Ernesti. 8vo. 6 vols. (according to Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 403; Moss, 1, 296), or 5 vols. (according to others, but perhaps not reckoning the *Clavis Ciceroniana*). An important edition, repeatedly republished but in less satisfactory form (cf. 1756-1757, 1761, 1774-1777, 1776, 1776-1777, 1804, 1810, 1814-1821, 1815-1817, 1816, 1819, 1819-1830, 1820, 1820-1824, 1827).
- 1740-1742. Paris. Josephus Olivetus (P. J. de Thoulié, S. J.). Published by Coignard, Guérin, Desaint, & Guérin. 4to. 9 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 3, 3-98 (1740)). This edition, based on Victorius, Manutius, Lambinus, and Graevius, from which Olivetus chose the readings which he preferred (Brunet, 2, 11), became more popular than it deserved, with many reprints (e.g., 1743-1746,

1745-1747, 1748-1749, 1753, 1758, 1772, 1773, 1776, 1783, 1787, 1797, 1820).

Of the first edition 650 copies were printed (Brunet, 2, 11; Deschamps, 55).

1742. Padua. J. Facciolati. 8vo. 11 vols. (Cf. 1753, 1772)
- 1743-1746. Geneva. Second Olivetus edition. Published by the Cramer heirs and Fr. Philibert. 4to. 9 vols. (Cf. 1740-1742)
1745. London. I. P. Miller (according to Engelmann-Preuss, 151). (Cf. 1772)
- 1745-1747. Amsterdam. Olivetus edition. 9 vols. (Cf. 1740-1742)
1747. Berlin. Gruter edition. 8vo (according to Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 400). (Cf. 1618-1619)
- 1748-1749. Glasgow. Olivetus edition. Published by R. and A. Foulis. 12mo. 20 vols. (the philosophical works in vols. 11-15). (Cf. 1740-1742)
1753. Padua. J. Facciolati. 4to. 9 vols. Based on the Olivetus edition (cf. 1740-1742, 1742, 1772).
- 1756-1757. Halle. Ernesti edition. 8vo. 4 vols. in 5 or in 6 parts. Dated 1758, by Dibdin, 1, 4ed., 403, and Moss, 1, 296-297. (Cf. 1737-1739)
1757. Berlin. 8vo. Copy of 1680-1681 ed. (q.v.), according to Bipontine index.
1758. Geneva. Third Olivetus edition (according to the title-page). Delphin edition (Cf. Engelmann-Preuss, 127). Published by Cramer. 4to. 9 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 3, 2-121). Inferior to the Paris edition, according to Brunet. (Cf. 1740-1742)
1761. Halle. Ernesti edition of the *De Divinatione* (see Engelmann-Preuss, 155). (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1763-1768. Paris. J. N. Lallemand. Published by Barbou. 12mo. 14 vols. (the philosophical works in vols. 8-10). The text is that of Olivetus (1740-1742), with some variants and corrections (Deschamps, 57). (Cf. 1795)
1772. Berlin. Published by Haude & Spener. 8vo. 4 vols. of the philosophical works (according to Engelmann-Preuss, 151), following Miller's edition. (Cf. 1745)
1772. Venice. J. Facciolati. Publ. by A. Graziosi. 4to. 9 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 3, 1-94). Reproduces the Olivetus edition (1740-1742; cf. 1742).
1773. Padua. Olivetus edition, published by J. Manfrè. 8vo. 16 vols. Harwood, 203, dates this as 1772. (Cf. 1740-1742)
- 1774-1777. Leipzig and Halle. Ernesti edition. 8vo. 4 or 5 vols. in 5, 6, or 8 parts. The *De Divinatione* in this edition dates from 1776, and occupies vol. 4, part 1, 610-716. (Cf. 1737-1739)
1776. Halle. Ernesti edition of the *De Divinatione*. 8vo. 1 vol. (Engelmann-Preuss, 155). (Cf. 1737-1739)
1776. Padua. Olivetus edition. 8vo. 16 vols. (Cf. 1740-1742)
1776. Würzburg. Publ. by J. J. Stahel. 8vo. 8 vols. (Cf. 1740-1742)
- 1776-1777. Leipzig. Ernesti edition. Editio minor. 5 vols. (Engelmann-Preuss, 128). (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1777-1787. Naples. Garatonius edition. 8vo. 20 vols. of the complete works (see Harwood, 204; Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 406-407). Moss, 1, 299, says that this edition was to have had 38 vols., but reached only the 17th; whether it includes the *De Divinatione* is not stated.
- 1780-1787. Zweibrücken. Societas Bipontina (cf. Sandys, *op. cit.* 2 (1908), 397). 8vo. 13 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 11, dating from 1781). Cf. Dibdin, 1, 4 ed., 407; Moss, 1, 299, who dates it 1780-1791.
1783. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 4to. 10 vols., with an eleventh containing the notes from the Paris edition of Olivetus. Vols. 2-3 contain the philosophical works. According to Brunet this edition is based on the Olivetus edition, but lacks many important features. Added are collations of 24 Oxford and 2 York MSS. Vol. 10 contains Ernesti's *Clavis*. (Cf. 1740-1742)

- 1783-1787. Leipzig. 20 vols. in 10 (according to cat. 405 of Fock, no. 1934; I have no other information about this edition).
- 1783-1823. Mannheim. Published by Löffler. 8vo. 20 vols. (5 vols. dating from 1823, according to Engelmann-Preuss, 152). The volume containing the *N. D.*, *De Div.*, and *De Fato* dates from 1823 (Engelmann-Preuss, 158).
1787. Padua. Olivetus edition. 8vo. 16 vols. Poorly printed, according to Brunet. (Cf. 1740-1742)
1790. Vienna. 8vo. 2 vols. The catalogue of Klincksieck (1910), no. 773, mentions an edition of the philosophical works 'in us. inventut. Acad.' (Cf. Engelmann-Preuss, 151). Whether this edition contains the *De Divinatione* I have not ascertained. (Cf. 1800-1803)
1793. Leipzig. J. J. Hottinger. Published by S. L. Crusius. 8vo. Edition of the *De Divinatione*, with text (based mainly on that of Davies (1730)) and critical and exegetical notes. (Cf. Translations, 1789)
1795. Paris. Lallemand edition (1763-1768), with the Latin text following the French translation of R. Desmarais. Published by Barbou frères in the year III of the Republic. (Cf. Translations, 1795)
1797. Madrid. Olivetus edition, '*operas dirigente P. J. Peryra.*' Royal Press. 4to. 14 vols. Contains also Ernesti's *Clavis*. (Cf. 1740-1742)
- 1800-1803. Vienna. Published by Beck. 8vo. 2 vols. of the philosophical works (see Engelmann-Preuss, 151). A reprint of the 1790 edition.
1802. Vienna. 16 vols. Text and German translation of the complete works, according to Engelmann-Preuss, 127.
1804. Leyden and Amsterdam. Ernesti edition. Published by Luchtman & P. de Hengst. 12mo. 3 vols. containing the philosophical works, the *De Divinatione* being in vol. 3. See Engelmann-Preuss, 151. (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1804-1820. Halle. R. G. Rath. Published by C. A. Kummel, 8vo. 1 vol. edition of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato*. Based on the text of Davies (1730), with notes of Davies, Gruter, Rath, and others. Part of a reëditing of the edition of Davies, by Rath, in 6 vols. (1804-1820), this being vol. 4 (though the title-page says nothing of this), and dated 1807.
1807. See 1804-1820.
1810. Oxford. Ernesti edition. Published by Collingwood. 8vo. 8 vols. Handsomer but less correct than the Leipzig edition of 1774-1777, according to Brunet. (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1814-1821. Leipzig. Ernesti edition. Published by Tauchnitz. 12mo. 12 vols. Stereotyped. (See cat. 42 of Bangel & Schmitt (1919), no. 2040; is this perhaps the same as the 12mo 11 vol. edition (Leipzig, 1814-1821) noted in cat. 405 of Fock? Or as the Tauchnitz 12mo 12 vol. edition of 1815 ff. (Engelmann-Preuss)? Or as the 24mo 13 vol. edition of 1816-1822 (?), with the philosophical works in vols. 10-13 (1820), of the Harvard College Library?) (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1814-1823. Leipzig. C. G. Schütz. Published by E. Fleischer. 8vo. 20 tom. in 16 or in 28 vols. (Cf. Engelmann-Preuss, 128), the *De Divinatione* being in vol. 1: (1816), 269-448. Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, 3 (1908), 46, n. 4. dates this edition as 1814-1821, as does cat. 602 of J. Baer, no. 675a; Dibdin, 1, 4, ed., 408, says 1814-1818; Brunet (2, 13) and the catalogue of the Harvard College Library give 1814-1823. Brunet considers it an ill-printed edition marred by many conjectures. The elaborate index extends through four volumes.

- 1815-1817. Boston. Ernesti edition. Published by Wells and Lilly. 12mo. 32 vols. (according to Engelmann-Preuss, 128, and Deschamps, 57 (who dates it 1818); 20 vols. (according to the catalogue of the Harvard College Library), 8vo, 16 vols. (according to Dibdin, 1, 4, ed. 404). Vols. 14-17 contain the philosophical works. Erroneously thought by Dibdin (*l.c.*) to be the first ancient classic printed in the New World (an edition of the *De Officiis* appeared at Philadelphia in 1793). (Cf. 1737-1739)
1816. Oxford. Ernesti edition. 8vo. 8 vols. (according to Moss, 1, 300). (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1816-1818. Paris. French translation, with Latin text opposite. Published by Fournier. 8vo. 29 vols. (Engelmann-Preuss, 128). Moss, 1, 361, speaks of 26 vols., 1818. (Cf. Translations, 1816-1818)
1819. London. Ernesti edition. Published by Dove (apud R. Priestley). 8vo. 8 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 4, part 1, 567-666). An elegant but incorrect text (Brunet). (Cf. 1737-1739)
- 1819-1830. London. Valpy's Delphin Classics. 8vo. 12 parts in 17 vols. (the philosophical works in vols. 14-16).
- 1820-1824. Leipzig and Halle. Ernesti edition. 8vo. 5 tom. in 8 vols. (is this the same as the 8vo, 10 vol. 1820 edition of Halle and Berlin, mentioned by Dibdin, 1, 4 ed. 403?). This seems to be the latest reprint of the Ernesti edition as such.
1820. London. <John Carey.> 'The Regent's Classics.' Published by Rodwell. 18mo. 12 vols. '*Ex edit. Oliveti et Ernesti sedula recensione accurata.*' (Cf. 1737-1739, 1740-1742)
- 1821-1825. Paris. J. V. LeClerc. Published by Lefèvre. 8vo. 30 vols. Latin text and French translation; cf. Deschamps, 106; Engelmann-Preuss, 128. (Cf. 1823-1825, 1823-1827; also Translations, 1821-1825)
1823. See 1783-1823.
- 1823-1824. Turin. 8vo. 16 vols. (cat. 602 of Baer, no. 677).
- 1823-1825. Paris. J. V. LeClerc and J. A. Amar. Published by Lefèvre. 12mo. 18 vols. Latin text and French translation. Text and Latin by LeClerc, arguments and tables by Amar (according to Brunet). (Cf. 1821-1825, 1823-1827; also Translations, 1823-1827)
- 1823-1827. Paris. LeClerc edition, reprinted by A. Lequien. 12mo. 35 vols. in 36. Latin text and French translation (Engelmann-Preuss, 128). (Cf. 1823-1825; also Translations, 1823-1827)
- 1826-1831. Zürich. J. C. Orelli. Published by Orelli, Fuesslin & Co. 4 tom. in 7 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 4, part 2, 127-218 (1828)), to which may be added vol. 5, containing the scholiasts (1833), and vols. 6-8, containing the *Onomasticon*, etc. (1836-1838). This very important critical edition made much use of about a dozen of the more important earlier editions. (Cf. 1845-1862, 1851-1856)
- 1826 ff. Milan. Published by Bettoni. 8vo. 40 vols. Latin text and Italian translation, with notes, introduction, and indexes (Engelmann-Preuss, 128). (Cf. Translations, 1826 ff.)
1827. Leipzig. K. F. A. Nobbe. Published by Tauchnitz. Folio. 1 vol. of the complete works, with the *De Divinatione* on pp. 1011-1038. Based on the text of Ernesti (1737-1739). (Cf. 1827-1828, 1849-1850, 1850, 1866-1873, 1869)
- 1827-1828. Leipzig. K. F. A. Nobbe. Published by Tauchnitz. 16mo. In at least 11 vols. (the *De Divinatione* being in vol. 11, 251-359). (Cf. 1827)

- 1827-1832. Paris. J. W. Rinn, V. LeClerc, and N. Bouillet. Published by Lemaire. 8vo. 20 vols. (vols. 9-14 (edited by Bouillet, according to Brunet and Engelmann-Preuss) contain the philosophical works, and date (according to cat. 414 of List and Francke (1910), no. 1811) from 1828-1831). See also Deschamps, 57-58, who reckons 19 vols. in 5 parts.
1828. Frankfurt. G. H. Moser. Published by H. L. Brönnner. 8vo. *Variorum* critical and exegetical edition of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato*, based on the text of the second edition of Davies (1730), with many notes by Fr. Creuzer and K. P. Kayser. An indispensable but often exasperating edition; cf. the preface to Giese's edition, vii-viii. (Cf. Translations, 1828)
1829. Leipzig. A. O. L. Giese. Published by C. H. F. Hartmann. 8vo. Edition of the *De Divinatione* alone. As dependent as Moser upon the work of earlier scholars, but showing more thorough digestion of their critical and exegetical materials.
1829. Brussels. L. Tencé. 12mo. The first three volumes of an edition of the complete works (Engelmann-Preuss, 128), but whether these three contain the *De Divinatione* I have not ascertained.
- 1830-1837. Paris. Panckoucke series. 8vo. 36 vols. Latin text and French translation by various hands (the *De Divinatione* by de Golbéry). (Cf. 1840, 1866-1874, 1872-1892; also Translations, 1830-1837)
1834. Prag. Ign. Seibt. Published by Rziwnatz. 8vo. 1 vol. An edition of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato*, with German notes and grammatical observations (Engelmann-Preuss, 155).
1839. London. Henricus Alanus (H. E. Allen). Edition of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato* (Allen also edited the *N. D.*, *Off.*, *De Sen.*, *De Amic.*, and *Fin.*). The notes are largely critical and stylistic, and are often of value.
1840. Paris. Panckoucke series. 8vo. 36 vols. Latin text and French translation, repeating that of 1830-1837, q.v. (Cf. Translations, 1840)
- 1840-1841. Paris. Nisard series. Dubochet & Cie. (Didot). 8vo. 5 vols. Latin text and French translation by various hands (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 4). (Cf. 1852, 1859; also Translations, 1840-1841)
- 1845-1862. Zürich. J. C. Orelli, J. G. Baiter, and K. F. Halm. Published by Fueslin & Co. 8vo. 4 tom. in 6 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 4, 481-566). After the death of Orelli (1849) Baiter and Halm continued the revision of the Orelli edition (cf. 1826-1831). The recension of the *De Divinatione* is the work of W. Christ. One title page of vol. 4 reads 1861, a second 1862, but the preface is dated May, 1862, and Engelmann-Preuss, 129, date the volume 1861-1863. Christ's apparatus is our most important aid for the study of the text of this work.
- 1848-1863. Venice. Antonelli. 4to. 9 vols. The complete works (according to Pagliani, *Cat. gen. della Libreria Ital.* 1 (1901), 550; cat. 421 of Fock, no. 2293). I know no more of this work; but cf. 1863.
- 1849-1850. Leipzig. Nobbe edition. Tauchnitz. 16mo. 11 tom. in 19 (the *De Divinatione* in tom. 9, 160-280). (Cf. 1827-1828)
1850. Leipzig. Nobbe edition. Tauchnitz. 4to (or large 8vo). 1 vol., with the *De Divinatione* on pp. 1137-1167. (Cf. 1827-1828)
- 1851-1856. Leipzig. R. Klotz. Published by Teubner. 8vo. 5 tom. in 11 vols. (Brunet says 6 tom. in 11 vols.). The *De Divinatione* is in tom. 4, vol. 2 (1855), 127-221. The text is based chiefly on Orelli's edition (cf. 1826-1831). Engelmann-Preuss date this edition as 1850-1857. Various reprints, e. g., 1868-1872, 1879.

1852. Paris. Nisard series. 8vo. 5 vols. (according to cat. 53 of Sotheran (1916), no. 569). Latin text and French translation. The *De Divinatione* is in vol. 4. (Cf. 1840-1841; also Translations, 1852)
1859. Paris. Nisard series. Published by Didot. 8vo. 5 vols. Latin text and French translation. (Cf. 1840-1841; also Translations, 1859)
- 1860-1869. Leipzig. J. G. Baiter and C. L. Kayser. Published by Tauchnitz. 8vo. 11 vols. in 9 (the *De Divinatione* in vol. 7, 123-216 (1864)). A well-known critical edition.
1862. See 1845-1862.
1863. Naples. 8vo. Complete works with an Italian translation (Pagliaini, *op. cit.* 1 (1901), 550). Is this related to 1848-1863? (Cf. Translations, 1863)
- 1866-1873. Leipzig. Nobbe edition. Published by Holtze. 16mo. 11 vols. (the *De Divinatione* being in vol. 9). See Engelmann-Preuss. (Cf. 1827)
- 1866-1874. Paris. Published by Garnier frères. 12mo. 20 vols. Latin text with French translation by various hands, vol. 19 containing the *De Divinatione* translated by de Golbéry and revised by Deltour (Engelmann-Preuss, 132). (Cf. 1830-1837; also Translations, 1866-1874)
- 1868-1872. Leipzig. Klotz edition. Teubner. 8vo. 5 tom. in 10 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in tom. 4, vol. 2 (1869)). A reprint of 1851-1856. Engelmann-Preuss, 131, describe this as of 5 tom. in 11 vols., 1869-1874 (the *De Divinatione* in part 4, vol. 2 (1874), 127-221).
1869. Leipzig. Nobbe edition. Tauchnitz. 4to. 1 vol. (Cf. 1827)
1872. See 1868-1872.
- 1872-1892. Paris. Published by Garnier frères. 20 vols. Latin text with French translation by various hands. Vol. 19 (1892) contains (pp. 1-177) de Golbéry's translation of the *De Divinatione*, revised by Deltour. This is doubtless the edition described in cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6071 as of 20 vols. (1880), edited by Guerle and Charpentier and published by Garnier. (Cf. 1830-1837; also Translations, 1872-1892)
1875. Paris. Nisard series. Published by Didot. 5 vols. Latin text and French translation by various hands (*De Divinatione* in vol. 4). (Cf. 1840-1841; also Translations, 1875)
- 1878-1898. Leipzig. C. F. W. Müller. Published by Teubner. 8vo. 4 tom. in 10 vols. (the *De Divinatione* in tom. 4, vol. 2 (1878), 143-251). The standard text edition at the present time. Stereotyped and bearing many other dates, according to the various reimpressions (e.g., 1890, 1898, 1903, 1905, 1915). (Cf. also 1894, 1909, 1921)
1879. New York. Klotz edition. Published by Harpers. 8vo. One volume contains the *N. D.*, *De Div.*, and *De Fato* (cf. Klusmann, 265).
1890. See 1878-1898.
1892. See 1872-1892.
1894. Copenhagen. Valdemar Thoresen. Published by R. Kleins Eftf. 8vo. An edition of the *De Divinatione*, based largely on Müller's edition, but with some bold emendations, and with excellent Danish notes and a short critical appendix.
1898. See 1878-1898.
1903. See 1878-1898.
1905. See 1878-1898.
1909. Leyden. D. Heeringa. Published by G. F. Théonville. 8vo. Edition of the *De Divinatione*, based on Müller's text, with rather elementary and scanty notes in Dutch.

1912. Leyden. O. Plasberg. In the series of *Codices Graeci et Latini* published by Sijthoff. Folio. A facsimile of the *Codex Leidensis Heinsianus* 118, with a palaeographic introduction and an account of the history of the MS.
1915. Leyden. O. Plasberg. In the same series. Folio. A facsimile of *Codex Leidensis Vossianus* 84, with a similar introduction.
1915. See 1878-1898.
- 1921-1923. Urbana, A. S. Pease. *The University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, 6, nos. 2 and 3 (dated May and August, 1920, but appearing in April and May, 1921). 8vo. Book I of the *De Divinatione*, with a text based on that of Müller (1878-1898), and with exegetical notes. Book II, part 1 (= vol. 8. no. 2), dated May, 1923, appeared in Nov. 1923.
1923. London and New York. W. A. Falconer. Loeb Classical Library. Text and English translation of *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*, and *De Divinatione* (pp. 213-568). (Cf. Translations, 1923)

TRANSLATIONS

1670. Paris. P. du Ryer. 12mo. 12 vols. French translation of the complete works, according to Moss, 1, 361, and cat. 50 of Burgersdijk & Niermans (1914), no. 6074.
1710. Paris. Abbé Regner Desmarais. Published by G. Dupuis. 8vo. 1 vol., containing a French translation of the *De Divinatione*, followed by notes of no great value. Republished in 1741, 1795, 1810. Moss, 1, 366, notes a reprint in 1711 at Amsterdam, but this is perhaps a misprint for the 1741 reprint, which he fails to mention.
1741. Amsterdam. Desmarais translation. Published by F. l'Honoré & fils. A reprint of the 1710 translation of the *De Divinatione*, to which is added a translation by Desmarais of an oration of Isocrates.
- 1783-1799. Paris. 8 vols. New French translation of all Cicero's works (cat. 405 of Fock. no. 1947).
1789. Zürich. J. J. Hottinger. Published by Orell (*sic*), Gessner, ruesali & Co. 8vo. 1 vol. A German translation of the *De Divinatione*, with a few footnotes (Cf. Editions, 1793)
1795. Paris. Desmarais translation of the *De Divinatione*, followed by the Lallemand Latin text. Published by Barbou frères. 8vo. 1 vol. The translation is a reprint of that of 1710, to which is added a French translation of the spurious *Consolatio* (by Morabin). Moss, 1, 364, describes a 12mo, 10 vol. translation of the philosophical works (1796), in which the *De Divinatione* is translated by Desmarais, and which is probably this. (Cf. Editions, 1795)
1802. Vienna. 16 vols. Text and German translation of the complete works, according to Engelmann-Preuss, 127. (Cf. Editions, 1802)
1807. Frankfurt. J. F. von Meyer. Published by J. C. Hermann. 8vo. 1 vol. German translation of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato*, with footnotes. This is the 18th part of a *Sammlung der neuesten Uebersetzungen der römischen Prosaiker*.
1810. Paris. Desmarais translation of the *De Divinatione* (Moss, 1, 366). (Cf. 1710.)
- 1816-1818. Paris. 8vo. 29 vols. French translation, with the Latin text opposite. Published by Fournier. See Engelmann-Preuss, 128. Moss, 1, 361 speaks of 26 vols., 1818. (Cf. Editions, 1816-1818)

- 1821-1825. Paris. French translation by various hands, opposite the Latin text. Edited by J. V. LeClerc. Published by Lefèvre. 8vo. 30 vols. Cf. Deschamps, 106; Engelmann-Preuss, 128. Republished in 1823-1825, 1823-1827. (Cf. Editions, 1821-1825)
- 1823-1825. Paris. J. V. LeClerc and J. A. Amar. Published by Lefèvre. 12mo. 18 vols. Latin text and French translation. Text and Latin notes by LeClerc, arguments and tables by Amar. (Cf. 1821-1825; also Editions, 1823-1825)
- 1823-1827. Paris. LeClerc edition, reprinted by A. Lequien. 12mo. 35 vols. in 36. Latin text and French translation (Engelmann-Preuss, 128). (Cf. 1821-1825; also Editions, 1823-1827)
- 1826 ff. Milan. Published by Bettoni. 8vo. 40 vols. Latin text and Italian translation (Engelmann-Preuss, 128). (Cf. Editions, 1826 ff.)
1828. Stuttgart. G. H. Moser. Published by J. B. Metzler. 12mo. A German translation, by various hands, of the complete works, in 19 vols. (79 Bändchen), dating from 1826-1843, the series being known as *Römische Prosaiker in neuen Uebersetzungen* (vols. 7-8 = Bändchen 16-17) contain the *De Divinatione* (1828). (Cf. Editions, 1828)
1828. Prenzlau. E. W. Eckermann. Published by Ragoczy. 12mo. 2 vols., containing a German translation of the *De Divinatione* and the *De Fato*, with a few footnotes. These are parts 15 and 17 of the 4th section of a series entitled *Uebersetzungsbibliothek der gr. u. röm. Klassiker*.
- 1830-1837. Paris. Panckoucke series. 8vo. 36 vols. Latin text and French translation by various hands (the *De Divinatione* by de Golbéry). (Cf. 1840, 1866-1874, 1872-1892; also Editions, 1830-1837)
- 1835-1840. Stuttgart. 22 vols. German translation of the complete works (a reprint of 1828?), according to cat. 358 of Basler Buch- u. Antiquariatshandlung, no. 1282.
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