

NOTES ON CICERO, *IN PISONEM*

THE following notes on the *In Pisonem* are largely based on the commentary of R. G. M. Nisbet (Oxford, 1961) ('N'). The references to the speech are by section and line of his text, and where my note is based on one of his I add a reference to the page of his commentary.¹

1. 20 (p. 58) *vultus* . . ., *qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est*: 'thoughts are usually revealed by the face.' Add to Otto's, Seyffert-Müller's, and N.'s examples: Curtius 8. 6. 22 'vultus haud sane securi animi index', Juv. 9. 18 ff. 'deprendas animi tormenta latentis in aegro / corpore, deprendas et gaudia; sumit utrumque / inde habitum facies', *Paneg. Lat.* 2(12). 37. 2 'ita intimos mentis adfectus proditor vultus enuntiat, ut in speculo frontium imago exstet animorum', *ibid.* 4(10). 1. 2 'nec operta mentium rimari necesse est; exstat in vultu cuiusque hilaritatis publicae decus, et in serenis frontibus animorum indicia perleguntur', *ibid.* 4(10). 13. 1 'confessus est se inconsultior dolor nec timuit deprehendi, et male clausi signa maeroris per vultus indices exierunt', *Ach. Tat.* 6. 6. 2 *ὁ γὰρ νοῦς οὐ μοι δοκεῖ λελέχθαι καλῶς ἀόρατος εἶναι τὸ παράπαν φαίνεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῷ προσώπῳ*.

1. 22 (p. 59) *decepit fefellit induxit*: for *congeries* of three verbs cf. S.H.A. *Hadr.* 15. 10 'professores omnium artium semper ut doctior risit contempsit obtrivit'; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 1. 8 'una eademque vis inruens bonos probat purificat eliquat, malos damnat vastat exterminat'.

2. 7 (p. 60) Cicero's boasting. As he is replying to an attack by Piso, he can be defended by the principle: *αὐτὸν ἐπαυεῖν ἀμέμπτως ἐστὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἂν ἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιῆς πρὸς διαβολὴν ἢ κατηγορίαν* (Plut. *Mor.* 540 c = *De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* 4). (W. Allen does not refer to this work in *TAPA* lxxxv [1954], 121 ff.) Cf. Livy 27. 21. 4 'hanc tribuni orationem ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum, . . .' (209 B.C.), Livy 38. 50. 11 (Scipio Africanus in 187 B.C.) 'iussus dicere causam sine ulla criminum mentione orationem adeo magnificam de rebus ab se gestis est exorsus, . . . dicebantur enim ab eo eodem animo ingenioque quo gesta erant, et aurium fastidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in gloriam referebantur', Cic. *Dom.* 96 'dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus,—nihil enim umquam de me dixi sublatius adsciscendae laudis causa potius quam criminis depellendi' (cf. Allen, loc. cit. 129).

From 31. 12 to 33. 10, 'tune . . . optatior', Cicero glories in the very action which Piso had made a ground for insult, his going into exile. *fuga* (33. 10) is doubtless an expression Piso had actually used in his speech, cf. N. on 21. 5. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 541 e *τοῦτο γοῦν λαμπρὰν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρρησίαν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν κόρον ἀφήρει τῶν ἐπαίνων οἷς παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ τι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου κέχρηται σεμνυνόμενος οἷς ἐνεκαλεῖτο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρεσβεύμασι καὶ ψηφίσμασιν*.

6. 2 'mihi togato senatus, non ut multis bene gesta, sed ut nemini conservata re p., singulari genere supplicationis deorum templa patefecit.'

¹ I am very greatly indebted to Professor Nisbet for his interest and help, and I have benefited from the comments of Professor W. S. Watt and Professor Gordon Williams.

52. 7 'mihi, quod ante me nemini, pecunia publica aedificandam domum censuerunt.'

Cicero states that his honours were unprecedented. This reflects not just his vanity as an individual, but the keen interest naturally felt in something unprecedented. Cf., e.g., Livy, *Per.* 89 '(Pompey) quattuor et viginti annos natus, adhuc eques R., quod nulli contigerat, . . . triumphavit', *Per.* 129 'M. Agrippa navali corona . . . donatus est, qui honos nulli ante eum habitus erat'; Suet. *Iul.* 26. 2 'munus populo epulumque pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo'; ibid. 25. 2 'Germanos qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato maximis adfecit cladibus; adgressus est et Britannos ignotos antea . . .' W. Steidle ('Sueton und die antike Biographie', *Zetemata* i [1951], 42) comments: 'Auffallend ist der Hinweis auf bisher unbekannter Völkerschaften und darauf, daß Cäsar eine Leistung als erster vollbracht hat. Es sind dies Kennzeichen, die das Kapitel in Zusammenhang mit dem *res-gestae*-Stil bringen . . .'

Moreover Cicero's boasting of his own achievements need not have aroused offence, as Caesar and Augustus each refers to himself in the same way: *BG* 2. 35 'ob eas res . . . dierum xv supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli', *Res Gestae* 12. 1 'ex senatus auctoritate . . . pars praetorum et tribunorum pl. . . obviā mihi missa est in Campaniam, qui honos ad hoc tempus nemini praeter me est decretus'. Compare the *primus ego* . . . theme in literature (Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 48, A. Kleingünther, *Philol.*, suppl. 26, 135 ff.).

Compare also *Pis.* 36. 18 '(ex vobis audio) nullis comitiis umquam neque multitudinem hominum tantam neque splendidiorem fuisse' with *Res Gestae* 10. 2 'quod sacerdotium . . . cuncta ex Italia ad comitia mea confluyente multitudine, quanta Romae numquam fertur ante id tempus fuisse, recepi . . .'

7. 11 (p. 65) *quo quidem tempore* . . . : for the honour of being escorted home cf. *Laelius* 12, *De domo* 76, Vell. Pat. 2. 14. 1, Val. Max. 2. 1. 9, Plut. *Cam.* 42. 4 καὶ τὸν Κάμिलλον οἴκαδε κρότῳ καὶ βοῇ προέπεμπον, *Cato min.* 18. 3, 42. 5,¹ and (in Spain) *Sert.* 20. 3.

7. 14 *ut nihil sine consilio senatus* . . . *egerim*: Cicero takes credit for consulting the senate, the duty of a good consul. Rutilius claims to have done the same as *praefectus urbi* (1. 155 ff.): 'pande precor, gemino placatum Castore pontum, / temperet aequoream dux Cytherea viam, / si non displicui, regerem cum iura Quirini, / si colui sanctos consulique patres.'

9. 5 (p. 67) *inspectante*: 'looking on and doing nothing'. Doubtless this was a traditional element in a reproach; cf. C. Gracchus in Plut. *C. Gracchus* 3. 3 (*ORF*², frag. 31) "ὑμῶν δὲ ὀρώντων," ἔφη, "Τιβέριον ξύλοις συνέκοπτον οὔτοι, . . ." The vehemence of the reproach is reflected in the fact that it is at this point in his report of Gracchus' words that Plutarch introduces direct speech. (*vobis inspectantibus* occurs seven times in Cicero's speeches.)

16. 21 (p. 77) *mactatus essem*: for the same idea cf. Livy 22. 6. 3 'iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo', Florus 1. 21 'strictae in principum colla secures legatorum manibus litavere', ibid. 2. 6. 14 'Strabo Pompeius . . . non prius finem caedium fecit, quam Asculi eversione manibus tot exercituum, consulum direptarumque urbium diis litaretur utcumque.'² Con-

¹ Cf. also Plut. *Aem.* 10, 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντός οἴκαδε προπεμφθέντα λαμπρῶς.

² Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4. 40 'damnatus Publius et Sorani manibus satis factum.'

versely, the devoted soldiers of Otho kill *themselves* by his pyre (and elsewhere) (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 49), and Clitophon tries to kill himself over the coffin of the supposedly dead Leucippe, as an offering to her (Ach. Tat. 3. 16. 2-5).¹

18. 12 (p. 78) *lugere non sineret*: for historical examples of the prohibition of the expression of grief cf. Plut. *C. Gracchus* 17. 5 ἀπειπαν δὲ πενθεῖν ταῖς γυναιξί (the widows of C. Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus), Suet. *Tib.* 61.2 'interdictum ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent.'

28. 5 (p. 91) *sororius adulter*: 'such accusations were conventional in invective'; cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 54. 2 ἀλλ' ὃ γε Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ (Cato's half-sister, Servilia) βλασφημιῶν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐφείσατο.

37. 24 (p. 98) *ex hara*: for the association of pigs, rather than any other animal, with pleasure cf. Claudian, *In Ruf.* 2. 483 ff.:

(Rhadamanthys) truculentos ingerit ursis,
praedonesque lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit.
at qui desidia semper vinoque gravatus,
indulgens veneri, voluit torpescere luxu,
hunc suis immundi pingues detrudit in artus.
qui iusto plus esse loquax arcanaeque suavit
prodere, piscosas fertur victurus in undas,
ut nimiam pensent aeterna silentia vocem.

Both idleness and sensual indulgence (485-6) were charges made against Epicureans by their opponents, though Claudian need not have been thinking of them specifically here. For idleness cf. *Sest.* 22 'videbamus genus vitae, desidiam, inertiam'; *Pis.* frag. vii N. 'quid illo inertius, . . . ?'

43. 26 *morbum aut mortem*: for the alliteration cf. E. Wölfflin, *Ausg. Schriften*, 267; *TLL* viii. 1479. 44-8. The words are associated in meaning, as *morbis* often means a fatal disease, and may have been felt to be related etymologically. The reluctance of some later Latin writers to use *morbis* may have been due to a desire for euphemism (Wölfflin, op. cit. 196 ff.).

44. 7 *M. Marcellus*, . . . , *summa virtute pietate gloria militari, periit in mari; qui tamen ob virtutem gloria et laude vivit*: *ob* governs *virtutem* twice elsewhere in Cicero: *De inv.* 2. 114 'qui . . . ob egregiam virtutem tali honore dignati sunt', *Verr.* 5. 110 'at eum tu ob virtutem corona ante donaras'. *ob v.* occurs twice in Plautus (never in Terence): *Amph.* 260 'ob virtutem ero Amphitruoni patera donata aurea est', *ibid.* 534 'hanc pateram, quae dono mi illi ob virtutem data est'. In all four passages a reward is given. In *Verr.* 5. 110 and *Amph.* 260 the verb is *dono*; there are further examples of its use with *ob v.* and other phrases with *ob* to indicate the reason for giving a reward in *TLL* v. 2012. 82 ff.,² where it is noticeable that there are no examples of *propter* in a context of this kind. A reward is given also in *Isid. Or.* 9. 3. 33 'ordinarius est, qui per ordinem militat . . . extraordinarius vero, qui ob virtutem promovetur ex ordine', *Livy, Per.* 7 '(M. Valerius Corvus) consul . . . , cum annos xxiii haberet, ob virtutem creatus est', *Sil. Ital.* 9. 68 f. (a prisoner-of-war) 'regi / Autololum dono datus ob virtutis honorem' (*ob virtutis honorem* is more convenient metrically than *ob virtutem*). It would seem likely that *ob v.* occurred in formulas used in conferring

¹ See addenda for Tac. *Hist.* 1. 49.

² Not included is Servius *auctus*, *Aen.* 8. 652 'sane hic Manlius post defensum Capi-

tolium pro praemio singulis libris farris ob virtutem a populo donatus est' (cf. *Livy* 5. 47. 7).

decorations. We have no examples of the phrase in speeches of generals, but no doubt it had the same function as *ob eas res* in the first, and the *quia* clause in the second, of the following passages: Cic. *Verr.* 3. 187 'ob eas res te . . . hoc anulo aureo dono', and Phaedrus, *app.* 8. 28

hostis abscidit caput,
victorque rediit. his tunc Pompeius super
'Corona, miles, equidem te dono libens,
quia vindicasti laudem Romani imperi.'

Cf. an inscription of the time of Commodus from Carlisle (R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, no. 946, p. 315).¹ Owing to its fragmentary condition it is not reliable evidence for this usage. I. A. Richmond's restoration is: 'pro sa[lute ipsius et] commiliton[um caesa manu] barbaroru[m ab ala Augusta] ob virtu[tem appellata]'. This gives a context similar to the previous passages. But Rostovtseff had proposed 'ob virtu[tem dedicavit]', and this would be different.

ob is common in similar contexts; its use with *dono* was noticed above. The *corona civica* was given to Augustus and to other emperors *ob civis servatos* (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, i, Plate 18, Val. Max. 2. 8. 7, Sen. *De clem.* 1. 26). Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 282,

Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat
servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.

This passage is not mentioned in *TLL* with the other examples of *dono* with *ob*, perhaps because, as in some translations, *ob* was taken with *laetus*. But it goes with both *donat* and *laetus*.² *ob* is also common in inscriptions recording the award of *dona militaria*, e.g. *ILS* 2648 'donis donato ob res prosper. gest. . .'. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2. 2. 32 'clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis'. Here *ob* goes with both *clarus* and *ornatur*; it seems unnecessary to suppose, with Lachmann, that Horace was imitating Lucr. 1. 639 'clarus ob obscuram linguam'.

It seems that in *Pis.* 44 *ob virtutem* recalls an official formula, thereby adding a solemn touch. Its use here is particularly interesting because *vivil*, unlike the verbs in the other examples, does not by itself suggest a reward. But the idea that glory was the reward of virtue was so familiar to Cicero that it was natural for him to write *ob v.*, even without a verb of giving. Cf. N. on *Pis.* 57. 3, and for posthumous glory in particular cf. also *Ad Her.* 4. 57, Cic. *Arch.* 28-30, *Phil.* 14. 32 f.

We may notice that Cicero did not write *propter virtutem*. *propter* is commoner in him than *ob* (leaving aside fixed phrases like *ob eam causam* and *quamobrem*), and governs *virtutem* nine times in the speeches and three times in the philosophical works. In our passage and in others like it *ob* retains something of the meaning 'in return for', and so is not exactly synonymous with *propter*, but Verrius Flaccus regarded the words as synonyms, even in contexts like ours: 'ob praepositio . . . ponitur . . . in vicem praepositionis quae est propter, ut ob merita, ob superatos hostes' (Festus, p. 186 L.). It would seem that Cicero, who to some extent avoided *ob* as archaic, admitted it here in a fixed formula (cf. B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, p. 78 n. 65).

I add a few observations to illustrate the suitability of *ob* for use in formulas. We have seen that it was probably used in formulas conferring decorations; its

¹ I owe this and some other references to Mr. E. J. P. Raven.

² Sabbadini's comma after *donat* is misleading.

use in the decreeing of *supplicationes* is suggested by *CIL* xiv. 3613 'senatus dis immortalibus supplicationes binas ob res prospere ab eo gestas . . . decrevit' (to P. Sulpicius Quirinus, legate of Augustus). Cf. *Res Gestae* 4. 2, *Cic. Fam.* 15. 4. 11, *Phil.* 14. 24 and 37, *Caes. BG* 2. 35. 4 'ob easque res . . . supplicatio decreta est'. No doubt it is due to a recollection of the official formula that Caesar uses *ob* here; in his two references to later *supplicationes* (*BG* 4. 38. 5 and 7. 90. 8) he avoids it, perhaps because he disliked the archaic word. Cf. also Livy 10. 21. 6, 41. 28. 1, 45. 2. 8, Suet. *Nero* 10. 2, and Cato (in Gell. 6. 4. 5 and Festus p. 400. 9 L.) 'ut populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam supplicatum eat, quam re male gesta coronatus veneat'. Contrast the construction with *ob* in the first clause with the ablative absolute in the second.

ob is also often used to state the occasion for a sacrifice. In the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* it is very common, at all periods, in this context, e.g. (G. Henzen, p. xlii) 'ob ramum vetustate delapsum . . . sacrificium piaculare fecit'. Cf. Paul. Fest. p. 246 L. 'id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum', Fest. p. 508 L. ('victima') quae ob hostis victos immolatur'. Juvenal's only example of *ob* occurs in such a context (12. 14 ff.) 'et grandi cervix (of a bull) iret ferienda ministro / ob reditum . . . / . . . amici'. On the other hand he has *propter* sixteen¹ times. The point is rather that *ob* was suited to this context than that it was archaic.

Another context in which *ob* became established in a formula was the statement of the reason for erecting a monument in a man's honour, e.g. *ILS* 1255 'ob egregia in rem publicam merita', and the common phrase 'ob merita' (e.g. *ILS* 6717). Its place is, however, sometimes taken by *pro* (e.g. *ILS* 1278), and occasionally by *propter* (e.g. *ILS* 6822).

46. 14 (p. 108) *nolite* . . . : for a supposedly historical example of madness as a consequence of crime cf. Josephus, *BJ* 7. 451 (Catullus, governor of Libya) νόσος καταληφθεὶς πολυτρόπῳ καὶ δυσιάτῳ χαλεπῶς ἀπήλλαττεν, οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον κολαζόμενος, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ νόσος βαρυτέρα. δέμασι γὰρ ἐξεταράττετο καὶ συνεχῶς ἐβόα βλέπων εἰδῶλα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένων ἐφεστηκότα . . .

51 f. Cicero describes his return to Rome, cf. *Sest.* 131. We may allow for some rhetorical exaggeration, though Plutarch (*Cic.* 33. 5) says that his boast (*In sen.* 39) that the whole of Italy almost carried him back on her shoulders fell short of the truth. Compare Caligula's progress to Rome on his accession (Suet. *Cal.* 13): 'itaque ut a Miseno movit quamvis lugentis habitu et funus Tiberi prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas ardentisque taedas densissimo et laetissimo obviorum agmine incescit, super fausta nomina sidus et pullum et alumnum appellantium'. In particular cf. *agmine* with *agmen* in *Pis.* 51. 18. On his way to Rome Antony was honoured by being met by the citizens of Aquinum and Anagnia (*Phil.* 2. 106). With *Pis.* 51. 21 f. 'quid effusiones hominum ex oppidis, quid concursus . . .' cf. *Paneg. Lat.* 4(10). 32. 5 'itaque tanti per Italiam concursus hominum excitabantur, tantae ex oppidis effusiones, . . .'

On *egressum* (52. 26) N. comments on the senate meeting Cicero, but Cicero claims that the whole people also went out. Cf. *Att.* 4. 1. 5 'ad urbem ita veni ut nemo *ullius ordinis* homo nomenclatori notus fuerit qui mihi obviam non venerit . . . cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infima

¹ Or eighteen, if the examples in the doubtful lines 12. 50 f. are included; cf. Axelson, op. cit. 79.

plebe completi erant' (the temple of *Honos* and *Virtus* stood outside the *porta Capena*, v. Platner and Ashby, *Top. Dict.* 259). Q. Cicero had been similarly honoured in the preceding year (*Sest.* 68).

The entry of a great man into the city, with the welcome he receives, is a traditional topic. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 34. 2 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπήντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα γυναιξί τε καὶ τέκνοις παρ' ἄμφω τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ. With ἅμα γυναιξί τε καὶ τέκνοις cf. *Pis.* 51. 22 f. 'cum coniugibus ac liberis' and (below) Dio 51. 19. 2. Plut. *Numa* 7. 1 ἀπήντα δὲ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔρωτι θαυμαστῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός. Livy 5. 23. 4 'adventus quoque dictatoris (Camillus) omnibus ordinibus obviam effusis celebratio quam ullius unquam antea fuit'. Livy 22. 61. 14 'quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit ut consuli (Varro) ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et . . .' (cf. Plut. *Fab.* 18. 4, Sil. Ital. 10. 626 f.). When Mago returns to Carthage with the news of Cannae, he is welcomed enthusiastically (Sil. Ital. 11. 491 f.): 'nec lentum in medios rapienda ad gaudia vulgus / procurrit fluctus'. Livy 27. 51. 1 f. 'ipsos deinde appropinquare legatos (with the news of Metaurus) allatum est. tunc enimvero omnis aetas currere obvii . . . ad Mulvium usque pontem continens agmen pervenit'. The passage is unlike ours, as in it the people come out rather to get the news than to honour the *legati*, but it is interesting that they should come so far outside the walls. With *omnis aetas* cf. *Pis.* 52. 2 'omnium aetatum' and (below) Vell. Pat. 2. 89. 1, Suet. *Cal.* 4, Pliny, *Pan.* 22. 2 f., *Paneg. Lat.* 5(8). 8. 1. Livy 28. 9. 5 'omni multitudine obviam effusa ad urbem accessere (the consuls after Metaurus). non salutabant modo universi circumfusi . . .' Livy 45. 35. 3 'Paulus ipse (after Pydna) . . . adverso Tiberi ad urbem est subvectus, completis ripis obviam effusa multitudo' (cf. Plut. *Aem.* 30. 1). App. *BC* 1. 33 Μετέλλω (Numidicus) δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καὶ φασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιουμένων τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. Doubtless Livy described the people going out, cf. *Per.* 69 'Q. Caecilius Metellus ab exilio ingenti totius civitatis favore reductus est'. Vell. Pat. 2. 45. 5 (Cato in 56 B.C.) 'cuius . . . insolentia paene argui potest, quod una cum consulibus ac senatu effusa civitate obviam, cum per Tiberim subiret navibus, non ante iis egressus est, quam ad eum locum pervenit, ubi erat exponenda pecunia' (cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 39. 1 f.).

N. refers to Cic. *Phil.* 2. 78; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 11. 1 ἐκ δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐπανιόντι Καίσαρι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπήντων (45 B.C.).

Dio 51. 19. 2 καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ (Octavian in 30 B.C.) τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὴν βουλήν τὸν τε δῆμον μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαντῆσαι ἔγνωσαν (οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ρωμαῖοι). Cf. Vell. Pat. 2. 89. 1. With μετὰ τε τῶν γυναικῶν . . . τέκνων cf. *Pis.* 51. 22 f. 'cum coniugibus ac liberis' and *Cat.* 3. 23 'quam ob rem, Quirites . . . celebratote illos dies cum coniugibus ac liberis vestris'. Doubtless Dio recalls the actual words of the decree.

Res Gestae 12. 1 'ex senatus auctoritate pars praetorum et tribunorum pl. cum consule Q. Lucretio et principibus viris obviam mihi missa est in Campaniam, qui honos ad hoc tempus nemini praeter me est decretus'. The clause 'qui . . . decretus' suggests that 'obviam mihi missa est' recalls the actual language of the decree (cf. Dio 51. 19. 2); the *Res Gestae* often preserve official language, cf. J. Gagé, ed., p. 38. It is interesting that the embassy to Campania (19 B.C.) should be thought of in this way. In the same year Augustus avoided being met at Rome: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὥς αἴ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προαπαντῆσαί οἱ προπαρεσκευάσαντο, νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη (Dio 54. 10. 4). In A.D. 9 Augustus

honoured the victorious Tiberius by going to meet him himself (Dio 56. 1. 1); later Vespasian honoured Titus in the same way (Joseph. *Bḡ* 7. 119).

Suet. *Tib.* 72. 1 'bis omnino toto secessu tempore Romam redire conatus, semel triremi usque ad proximis naumachiae hortos subvectus est disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quae obviam prodeuntis submoveret . . .' No doubt it was the common people, not senators, who had to be turned away. The fact that it was known that Tiberius would be met, just as Augustus had expected to be met in 19 B.C., shows how well established this custom was.

Suet. *Cal.* 4 '(Germanicus) sic vulgo favorabilis, ut plurimi tradant . . . e Germania vero . . . revertenti praetorianas cohortes universas prodisse obviam, quamvis pronuntiatum esset, ut duae tantum modo exirent, populi autem R. sexum, aetatem, ordinem omnem usque ad vicesimum lapidem effudisse se'.

In A.D. 59 Nero received an outwardly enthusiastic welcome (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 13. 2-3).

Joyful crowds met Vespasian on his approach to Rome after returning from the Jewish war (Joseph. *Bḡ* 7. 68 ff.); as Cicero had been, he too was welcomed by the Italian towns as well as by Rome (ibid. 63 *πάσαις ποθεινὸς ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πόλεσιν ἐπῆλθεν*). Titus was similarly honoured at Antioch (ibid. 100 ff.) and Rome (119).

Pliny describes Trajan's entry into the city in *Pan.* 22 (cf. M. Durry ad loc.); the same motif occurs in *Paneg. Lat.* 2(12). 37, 4(10). 30. 4, 5(8). 7. 6-8. 1, 7(6). 8. 7, and 12(9). 7. 5. Martial (10. 6) imagines Trajan returning from the Rhine (note especially 'totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via'), and similarly Claudian looks forward to Stilicho's return (*Cons. Stil.* 2. 397): 'quae tunc Flaminiam stipabunt milia vulgi!' In *Bell. Goth.* 450 ff. he describes the welcome he receives:

460 gavisia repens per moenia clamor
tollitur 'ipse venit'. portas secura per omnes
turba salutatis effunditur obvia signis.

Julian, *Or.* 3. 129 c *ἐξῆν* . . . τοῦ δήμου μεμνήσθαι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας, ὅπως αὐτὴν ὑπεδέχετο σὺν χαρμονῇ, προθύμως ὑπαντῶντες καὶ δεξιούμενοι καθάπερ νόμος βασιλῖδα (Eusebia visiting Rome). Cf. ibid. 112 a.¹

We have already met some examples of this honour being paid by cities other than Rome, e.g. Antioch (Joseph. *Bḡ* 7. 100) and Milan (*Paneg. Lat.* 12(9). 7. 5). Cf. also the reception which Antioch prepared for Pompey's freedman Demetrius (Plut. *Pomp.* 40, *Cato min.* 13), and Antony's remarkable entry into Ephesus (Plut. *Ant.* 24. 3) *εἰς γοῦν Ἐφέσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ γυναικες μὲν εἰς Βάκχας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πᾶνας ἡγοῦντο διεσκευασμένοι, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἣ πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων χαριδότην καὶ μειλίχιον*. Especially poignant is the story that the whole of Larisa went out to meet Pompey after Pharsalus (Val. Max. 4. 5. 5).

For examples from Greek history cf. Nepos, *Alc.* 6. 1 'his cum obviam universa civitas in Piraeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium exspectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad eius triremem vulgus conflueret, proinde ac si solus advenisset' (cf. Plut. *Alc.* 32. 4) and Plut. *Dem.* 27. 5.

Geographical situation might suggest a meeting by sea, rather than by land, cf. Plut. *Phoc.* 11 *καὶ μὴν οἳ γε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ νησιῶται τοὺς Ἀθήνηθεν ἀποστόλους ἑτέρου μὲν ἐκπλέοντος στρατηγοῦ πολεμίους νομίζοντες ἐφράγγυντο τείχη* . . . εἰ δὲ

¹ See addenda for Herodian 1. 7. 3.

Φωκίων ἡγοῖτο, πόρρω νανσὶν ἰδίας ἀπαντῶντες ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ χαίροντες ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήγον. Cf. Plut. *Luc.* 2. 5 κατήγετο (Lucullus) λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ἀπήντησε γὰρ αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ στόλος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει βασιλεῖ καταπλέοντι, κεκοσμημένους εὐπρεπῶς.

To honour someone by meeting him was so common that to refuse to do so was very significant: Cicero claims that Piso was ignored on his return (*Pis.* 53–5, cf. 97. 8 f.). Cf. Livy 8. 12. 1 ‘ita bello gesto . . . T. Manlius Romam rediit; cui venienti senatores tantum obviam exisse constat, iuventutem et tunc et omni vita aversatam eum execratamque’. It is interesting that this incident, like that in Livy 22. 61. 14, was considered important enough to be included in the *Periocha*. Cf. Plut. *Marc.* 4. 3 ὡς οὖν ἐπανῆλθε (C. Flaminius in 223 B.C.) μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων, οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ὁ δῆμος. The historicity of this incident is perhaps doubtful, since in the rest of the tradition the people support Flaminius against the senate. Piso had travelled by night (*Pis.* 53. 15 ff.). Cicero finds this shameful; he could doubtless have been equally scathing about Agricola’s entry by night, praised by Tacitus (*Agr.* 40. 3): ‘ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit’ (cf. above, Dio 54. 10. 4).

Not only men, but also gods, were honoured by being met by the people outside the city walls. Livy (29. 14. 10 ff.) records that the Magna Mater was met at Ostia, in the sea, and then carried to Rome *omni obviam effusa civitate*. Ovid imagines the whole people, ‘omnis eques mixtaque gravis cum plebe senatus’ (*Fasti* 4. 293), going out to Ostia. Cf. Julian, *Or.* 5. 159 d. Ovid has a similar picture of the reception of Aesculapius (*Met.* 15. 729 f.): ‘huc (to Ostia) omnis populi passim matrumque patrumque / obvia turba ruit.’ Cf. also Catullus 64. 392 f. ‘cum Delphi tota certatim ex urbe ruentes / acciperent laeti divum (Liber) fumantibus aris’.

62. 4 ff. *L. Crassus . . . C. Cotta . . . M. Pisonis*: after being introduced in chronological order, the names recur (without praenomina)¹ in reverse order in 62. 13 ff. ‘Tu eruditior quam Piso, prudentior quam Cotta, abundantior consilio ingenio sapientia quam Crassus . . .?’ *abundantior . . . Crassus* is longer than the two preceding cola, and in it Crassus is praised more generously than Cotta and Piso (cf. N. on 1. 1 ‘numquam . . .’). Cicero has constructed the passage chiasmically in order to honour Crassus; compare the admiration he shows for him in the *De Oratore*, written in the same year as our speech (cf. N. on 23. 9 ‘an ego . . .’), in which he is the leading character.

Cf. *De Imp. Pomp.* 51 ‘At enim . . . Q. Catulus, itemque . . . Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt’. Cicero answers Hortensius first, and then Catulus, in §§ 59 ff. In § 66 he reverts to the original order: ‘cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio’. Sometimes chiasmus may be prompted partly by rhythm, e.g. *Sest.* 101 ‘quem neque periculi tempestas neque honoris aura potuit umquam de suo cursu aut spe aut mētū dēmōvērē’. (Not: ‘mētū aut spē dēmōvērē’.) Contrast *Arch.* 27 ‘in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poetarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices a Musarum honore et a poētārū sālūte ābhōrrērē’. ‘ā Mūsārū hōnōre ābhōrrērē’ would give the same rhythm as the text.

For threefold chiasmus cf. Florus 2. 1 ‘(tribunicia potestas) studium populi

¹ Cf. *Pis.* 95 ‘P. Rutilio . . . Rutili’.

. . . agrariis (A), frumentariis (B), iudiciariis (C) legibus aucupabatur. inerat omnibus species aequitatis. quid tam iustum enim quam recipere plebem sua a patribus, ne populus gentium victor orbisque possessor extorris aris ac focus ageret? (A) quid tam aequum quam inopem populum vivere ex aerario suo? (B) quid ad ius libertatis aequandae magis efficax quam ut senatu regente provincias ordinis equestris auctoritas saltem iudiciorum regno niteretur? (C) sed haec ipsa in perniciem redibant . . . nam et a senatu in equitem translata iudiciorum potestas vectigalia, id est imperii patrimonium, supprimebat (C), et emptio frumenti ipsos rei p. nervos exhauriebat, aerarium (B), et reduci plebs in agros unde poterat sine possidentium eversione, qui ipsi pars populi erant, et tum relictas sibi a maioribus sedes aetate quasi iure possidebant? (A) (*et reduci . . . possidebant* is longer than *nam et a senatu . . . supprimebat* and *et emptio . . . aerarium*); *ibid.* 1. 4 'igitur (Ancus Marcius) et muro moenia amplexus est et interfluentem urbi Tiberinum ponte commisit Ostiamque in ipso maris fluminisque confinio coloniam posuit, iam tum videlicet praesagiens animo futurum ut totius mundi opes et commeatus illo velut maritimo urbis hospitio reciperentur'. Contrast, in the *anacephalaeosis* (1. 8), 'quid aedificator Ancus, ut urbem colonia extenderet, ponte iungeret, muro tueretur?'

Apuleius, *Apol.* 27 "cur piscium quaedam genera quaesisti?" . . . "cur mulier libera tibi nupsit . . .?" . . . "cecidit . . . puer." . . . hiscine argumentis magian probatis, casu pueruli et matrimonio mulieris et obsonio piscium?"

Servius, *In buc. prooem.* 'tres enim sunt characteres, humilis, medius, grandiloquus: . . . nam in Aeneide grandiloquum habet, in georgicis medium, in bucolicis humilem pro qualitate negotiorum et personarum'.

Paneg. Lat. 2(12). 31. 3 'tecum clementiam pudicitiam religionem, secum impietatem libidinem crudelitatem'.

Plut. *Pyrrhus* 20. 3 ἔτυχε πως ὁ Κινέας ἐπιμνησθεὶς τοῦ Ἐπικούρου, καὶ διήλθεν ἃ λέγουσι περὶ θεῶν καὶ πολιτείας καὶ τέλους, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἡδονῇ τιθέμενοι, πολιτείαν δὲ φεύγοντες ὡς βλάβην καὶ σύγχυσιν τοῦ μακαρίου, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀπωτάτω χάριτος καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ μέλειν ἡμῶν εἰς ἀπράγμονα βίον καὶ μεστὸν εὐπαθειῶν ἀποικίζοντες. (τὸ δὲ θεῖον . . . ἀποικίζοντες is longer than the two preceding cola.) *Fabius* 20. 3 . . . οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἐρινεοῖς καὶ ἀχράσι καὶ κοτίνοις προσφέρονται, τὰ μὲν εἰς ἐλαίας, τὰ δ' εἰς ἀπίους, τὰ δ' εἰς συκᾶς ἐξημεροῦντες καὶ τιθασεύοντες. *Mor.* 405 a ἡ γὰρ οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅτε πείσαι βούλεται τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ παρακαλοῦσαν, ὅτε συγχέαι τὰ ὄρκια, τὸν Πάνδαρον ζητοῦσαν, ὅτε τρέψασθαι τοὺς Τρῶας, ἐπὶ τὸν Διομήδην βαδίζουσαν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὖρωστος καὶ μάχιμος ὁ δὲ τοξικός καὶ ἀνόητος ὁ δὲ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ φρόνιμος. *Mor.* 562 d οὐ γὰρ ἀμύνεται (ὁ θεὸς) τὸν ἀδικήσαντα κακῶς παθὼν, οὐδ' ὀργίζεται τῷ ἀρπάσαντι βίασθεῖς, οὐδὲ μισεῖ τὸν μοῖχον ὕβρισθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἰατρείας ἕνεκα τὸν μοιχικὸν καὶ τὸν πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ ἀδικητικὸν κολάζει πολλάκις . . .¹

Ach. Tat. 1. 1. 2 f. Εὐρώπης ἢ γραφὴ· Φοινίκων ἢ θάλασσα· Σιδῶνος ἢ γῆ· ἐν τῇ γῇ λειμῶν καὶ χορὸς παρθένων· ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ταῦρος ἐνήχeto, καὶ τοῖς νώτοις καλὴ παρθένος ἐπεκάθητο . . . 5. 5. 1 f. ἀηδῶν, καὶ χελιδῶν, καὶ ἔποψ, πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πάντες ὄρνιθες. ἔποψ ὁ ἀνὴρ· αἱ δύο γυναῖκες, Φιλομήλα χελιδῶν, καὶ Πρόκνη ἀηδῶν.

In his *Horace*, p. 292 and n. 2,² E. Fraenkel demonstrates the triply chiasmic structure of *Hor. Od.* 1. 12 and of part of *Virg. A.* 7. Cf. also *Virg. G.* 1. 351 f.:

atque haec ut certis possemus discere signis,
aestusque pluviasque et agentis frigora ventos.

¹ See addenda for Plut. *Dion* 24. 4.

² Cf. *ibid.* 329 f. for *Epist.* 1. 7. 20-3.

The signs of wind come first (356 ff.), then, at greater length, those of rain (370 ff.). Those of hot weather are never given; instead, the signs of rain prompt Virgil to give those of its opposite, fine weather (393 ff.). Cf. *ibid.* 424 f.:

si vero solem ad rapidum lunasque sequentis
ordine respicies.

The moon's signs come first, and then, at greater length, the sun's (438 ff.). This arrangement enables Virgil to use the eclipse of the sun at Caesar's murder (464 ff.) as a transition to his concluding lament over the state of Rome. Cf. *A.* 5, 298 f. 'Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan, / alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis'.

65. 16 (p. 128) *ludi*: 'When an important personage arrived at a spectacle of this kind the reaction of the crowd was thought significant.' Cf. *Hor. Od.* 1. 20. 3 f., 2. 17. 25 f., *Plut. Sert.* 4. 3 ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ τιμὴν πρέπουσαν. εἰσελθόντα γὰρ εἰς θέατρον ἐξεδέξαντό τε κρότῳ καὶ κατευφήμῃσαν, ὧν οὐδὲ τοῖς πάνυ προήκουσιν ἡλικία τε καὶ δόξῃ τυχεῖν ἦν ῥάδιον.

66. 8 (p. 130) *posterius*: 'morally worse'. Cf. also *Paneg. Lat.* 2(12). 31. 3 'secum impietatem libidinem crudelitatem et omnium scelerum postremorumque vitiorum stare collegium'.

68. 1 (p. 134) *cum isto vivit*: for the expression, in a similar context, cf. *συμβιωτήν* in *Plut. Brut.* 2. 2: ἐξήρτητο τῆς παλαιᾶς (Ἀκαδημείας), καὶ διετέλει θαυμάζων μὲν Ἀντίοχον τὸν Ἀσκαλωνίτην, φίλον δὲ καὶ συμβιωτήν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πεπονημένους Ἀριστον.

71. 12 (p. 139) *tamquam in speculo*: 'i.e. reproduced with clarity and accuracy'. Cf. also *Lucian, Hist. conscr.* 51 (of the historian) μάλιστα δὲ κατόπτρῳ εὐκρινῶς παρασχέσθω τὴν γνώμην ἀθόλῳ καὶ στυλπνῷ καὶ ἀκριβεῖ τὸ κέντρον, καὶ ὅποιας ἂν δέξεται τὰς μορφὰς τῶν ἔργων τοιαῦτα καὶ δεικνύτω αὐτά, διάστροφον δὲ ἢ παράχρουν ἢ ἑτερόσχημον μηδέν. Cf. *Ach. Tat.* 6. 6. 2 (quoted above, p. 309) ἀκριβῶς ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ.

81. 24–30 'cuius ego . . . haberemus'. On *gurgitibus* N. (p. 149) comments: 'Cicero is using colourful, almost poetical, language.' One may add that this is the only time in his prose that *gurgēs* refers to actual water,¹ though he does not avoid using it with a human reference, e.g. *Pis.* 41. 17. But it means actual water twice in the *Aratea* (26 and 55. 7 *Traglia*).

perfecit . . . *haberemus* says much the same, in more general terms, as *cuius ego* . . . *oppono*, but the variation avoids the monotony of plain repetition. Cf. the relationship of the *primum* and *deinde* clauses in *Mur.* 55 'qui primum, dum ex honoribus continuis familiae maiorumque suorum summum ascendere gradum dignitatis conatus est, venit in periculum ne et ea quae ei relictā, et haec quae ab ipso parta sunt amittat, deinde propter studium novae laudis etiam in veteris fortunae discrimen adducitur'. Zumpt ad loc. compares *Ad Her.* 4. 54 'expolitio est cum in eodem loco manemus et aliud atque aliud dicere videmur'.² Cf. also the two sentences in *Arch.* 26: 'ipsi illi philosophi etiam in eis libellis quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt nomen suum inscribunt; in eo

¹ I exclude *Har. Resp.* 59 'quam . . . Charybdim poetae fingendo exprimere potuerunt, quae tantos exhauriret gurgites quantas iste Byzantium Brogitarumque praedas exsorbuit?'

² On *Aen.* 5. 22 f. 'superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur, / quoque vocat vertamus iter' Servius *auctus* comments: 'videtur bis idem dixisse.'

ipso in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt praedicari de se ac se nominari volunt.'

The care with which our passage was written appears also in the regularity of the clausulae (including *illis rēdūdāntēm*), cf. N. on 60. 3 (p. 122). Notice too the assonance and pleonasm of *obicio et oppono*.

89. 14 (p. 160) *Autobulo Athamante Timocle*: 'by quoting these obscure names . . . Cicero shows how much he knows about the details of Piso's life.' For the attempt to make invective convincing by mentioning names cf. Suet. *Iul.* 49 'sed C. Memmius etiam ad cyathum eum Nicomedi stetisse obicit, cum reliquis exoletis, pleno convivio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus, *quorum refert nomina*'. The names (and generic plurals) enhance the scorn in Plut. *Ant.* 24. 1 πολλήν ἄγων σχολήν καὶ εἰρήνην ἀνεκκεῖτο τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰς τὸν συνήθη βίον, Ἀναξήγορες δ' κithαρῶδοι καὶ Σοῦθοι χοραῦλαι καὶ Μητροδώρος τις ὄρχηστὴς καὶ τοιούτος ἄλλος Ἀσιανῶν ἀκροαμάτων θίασος . . . εἰσερρῦν καὶ διώκει τὴν αὐλήν . . .

89. 17 (p. 161) *obsoletus*: 'in shabby clothes, as a sign of mourning'. N.'s interpretation would seem to be supported by *in sordibus lamentis luctuque iacuisti, maerorem tuum doloremque decessionis*, and *iacuisti maerens*. And in addition to *Verr.* 2. 1. 152 cf. *Leg. Agr.* 2. 13 '(Rullus) alio voltu, alio vocis sono, alio incessu esse meditabatur, *vestitu obsoletiore*, corpore inculto et horrido, capillatior quam ante barbaque maiore . . .', Apul. *Flor.* 19 'aspexit . . . funus ingens locatum plurimos homines . . ., qui exsequias venerant, circumstare, omnes tristissimos et *obsoletissimos vestitu*'. But in the clause containing *obsoletus* Piso is trying to avoid people (*omnibus inscientibus noctuque*, cf. *in oppidum devium Beroam profugisti*). So perhaps *obs.* suggests disguise as well as mourning; disguise is clearly indicated only shortly afterwards in the speech (92. 3 f.): 'nocte intempesta crepidatus veste servili navem conscendit.' In both passages Piso is travelling by night.

89. 18 *concursum plorantium*: the words perhaps suggest a gathering of indignant people such as was discussed by H. Usener in his 'Italische Volksjustiz' (*Rh. Mus.* lvi [1901], 1 ff. = *Kleine Schriften*, iv. 356 ff.), cf. E. Fraenkel, *JRS* li (1961), 49 f., A. W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome*, pp. 11 ff. For *concursum* in such a context cf. *Verr.* 4. 95 'itaque brevi tempore ad fanum ex urbe tota concurrunt', 'Agrigentini concurrunt', 4. 96 'homines . . . concurrent', 5. 93 'concursum', *Dom.* 14 'concursatio', Livy 1. 7. 9 'concursum'. *plorantium* recalls the phrase *implorare fidem*, cf. *Dom.* 55 'cum . . . pro me non modo pugnare amplissimum ordinem, sed etiam plorare et supplicare . . . prohiberent' (Lintott, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 20).

92. 3 (p. 164) *veste servili*: 'part of the stock-in-trade of escape stories'. Cf. also App. *BC* 1. 41 αὐτὴν (Aesernia) οἱ μὲν συντάττοντες . . . θεραπεόντων ἐσθήτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, *ibid.* 4. 48 οἱ μὲν δὲ (οἰκέται) συνέφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλῳ, Dio 47. 10. 2 f. (masters and slaves exchange clothing), Plut. *Ant.* 5. 4, 14. 1. Some Flavian supporters escaped from the Vitellians on the Capitol *servili habitu* (Tac. *Hist.* 3. 73), and Domitian disguised himself as a worshipper (*ibid.* 74).

For shabby, but not specifically servile, clothing cf. Vell. Pat. 2. 41. 2 '(Caesar) mutata veste dissimilemque fortunae suae indutus habitum nocte urbe elapsus est', Plut. *Brut.* 18. 3 ἐσθήτα δημοτικὴν, App. *BC* 4. 13 φυγαὶ τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς, Suet. *Nero* 48. 1 'paenulam

obsoleti coloris superinduit' (cf. Dio 63. 27. 3), Dio 64. 20. 1 (Vitellius). In Josephus, *AJ* 13. 108 Ammonius dresses as a woman, but fails to escape being killed; for similar disguise in fiction cf. Ach. Tat. 6. 1 ff.

95. 9 (p. 167) *non in eo* . . . : cf. also Plut. *C. Gracchus* 15. 2 (from his wife's last words to C. Gracchus) τοῖς Τιβερίου φονεῦσιν ὑποβάλλεις ἑαυτόν, ἄνοπλον μὲν καλῶς, ἵνα παθῇς τι μᾶλλον ἢ δράσης . . . ; *Phoc.* 32. 3 μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν ἀδικούμενος ἢ ἀδικῶν φανερός γενέσθαι.

96. 17 (p. 168) *quis enim te aditu, quis ullo honore, quis denique communi salutatione dignum putat?* Cf. also Suet. *Tib.* 53 'nurum Agrippinam . . . nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est'.

97. 8 f. *furtivum iter per Italiam: furtivum* (Cicero has the word only here) is not merely a variation on the preceding *occultus*, and is a stronger expression than 'furtive'. Its connection with *fur* influences its meaning, and makes it eminently suitable for invective, cf. N., p. 195. In 53. 15 Cicero had asked of Piso's journey through Italy: 'nonne tibi nox erat pro die . . . ?' There may well be a connection of thought between the two passages, as night is the time of the thief, cf., e.g., Phaedrus 3. 7. 10 'custos ut sis liminis, a furibus tuearis et noctu domum', Livy 29. 31. 10 'nocturnis ac furtivis incursionibus'. Piso is said to have travelled by night also in §§ 89 and 92. So too Sassia (*Cluent.* 193), 'nocti se . . . committebat', and Antony (*Phil.* 2. 76), 'nam quod quaerebas quo modo redissem, primum luce, non tenebris'.

97. 13 *arida folia laureae*: for the shame of withered laurels cf. Plut. *Luc.* 36. 2 ῥάβδοι δ' ἀμφοτέρων προηγούντο δαφνηφόροι διὰ τὰς νίκας. καὶ τοῦ γε Πομπηίου μακρὰν ὁδὸν διὰ τόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ αὐχμηρῶν ὀδεύσαντος τὰς δάφνας ξηρὰς περικειμένας ταῖς ῥάβδοις ἰδόντες οἱ τοῦ Λουκούλλου ῥαβδοφόροι φιλοφρονούμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνου μετέδωκαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, προσφάτους καὶ θαλερὰς ἔχοντες.

98. 5 *qui se ipsum oderit*: for the self-hatred of the guilty cf. Plut. *Mor.* 556 d (*De sera num. v.* 11) . . . οἱ δὲ καταθύοντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τυραννίσι καὶ συνωμοσίαις, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, καὶ χρήματα φίλων ἀποστεροῦντες, ὡς Γλαῦκος ὁ Ἐπικύδους, οὐ μετενόουν οὐδ' ἐμίσουν ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲ ἡγνῶντο τοῖς γεγενημένοις.

98. 23 (p. 170) *eventis*: 'results'. To the examples given by N., Otto, and A. Sonny in *ALL* ix (1896), 61 (= *Nachträge zu A. Otto* p. 102) add Boethius, *Philos. consol.* 1. 4. 43 'existimatio plurimorum non rerum merita sed fortunae spectat eventum eaque tantum iudicat esse provisa quae felicitas commendaverit'.

99. 11 (p. 171) *quicquid increpuiisset*: to the parallels given by Mayor on Juv. 10. 21, R. G. Austin on *Aen.* 2. 728, and N., add Amm. Marc. 14. 5. 2 'utque aegrum corpus quassari etiam levibus solet offensis, ita animus eius angustus et tener, quicquid increpuiisset, ad salutis suae dispendium existimans factum aut cogitatum, insontium caedibus fecit victoriam luctuosam'. Perhaps this is an actual recollection. Cf. also Pliny, *Pan.* 82. 1 'quantum dissimilis illi, qui non Albani lacus otium Baianique torporem et silentium ferre, non pulsum saltem fragoremque remorum perpeti poterat, quin ad singulos ictus turpi formidine horresceret!' 'Noise and danger are associated ideas' (Peterson on Tac. *Dial.* 5); cf. the word *φοφοδεής*, e.g. Plut. *Phoc.* 2. 3. With *circumspectantem omnia* (99. 11) cf. *respectans* in Florus' picture (2. 18. 9) of Sextus Pompeius in flight.

ADDENDA

To p. 311 (note on 16. 21). For vengeance exacted from the slayer at the tomb of the victim cf. also Tac. *Hist.* 1. 49 'caput (Galbae) . . . laceratum ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat)' (cf. Suet. *Galba* 20. 2 with G. W. Mooney's note ad loc.).

To p. 315 (note on 51 f.) Cf. Herodian 1. 7. 3 *ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένετο τῆς Ῥώμης* (Commodus), *πᾶσά τε ἡ σύγκλητος βουλή καὶ πανδημεὶ ὅσοι τὴν Ῥώμην κατέκουν ἄνθρωποι, μὴ κατασχόντες αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἕκαστος φθάσαι θέλων, δαφνηφόροι τε καὶ πάντα ἐπιφερόμενοι ἄνθη τότε ἀκμάζοντα, ὡς ἕκαστος οἶός τε ἦν, πορρωτάτω τῆς πόλεως ὑπήντων, θεασόμενοι τὸν νέον καὶ εὐγενῆ βασιλέα.*

To p. 317 (note on 62. 4 ff.) Plut. *Dion* 24. 4 *ἄετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀρπάσας δοράτιόν τινος τῶν δορυφόρων ἀράμενος ὑψοῦ καὶ φέρων ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸν βυθόν· ἡ δὲ προσκλύζουσα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θάλασσα μίαν ἡμέραν τὸ ὕδωρ γλυκὺ καὶ πότιμον παρέσχεν, . . . χοῖροι δ' ἐτέχθησαν αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεεῖς μορίων, ὧτα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες. ἀπεφαίνοντο δ' οἱ μάντις τοῦτο μὲν ἀποστάσεως καὶ ἀπειθείας εἶναι σημεῖον, ὡς οὐκέτι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκουσομένων τῆς τυραννίδος, τὴν δὲ γλυκύτητα τῆς θαλάσσης μεταβολὴν καιρῶν ἀνιαρῶν καὶ πονηρῶν εἰς πράγματα χρηστὰ φέρειν Συρακουσίοις. ἄετὸς δὲ θεράπων Διὸς, λόγχῃ δὲ παράσημον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας· ἀφανισμὸν οὖν καὶ κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι βουλεύειν τὸν τῶν θεῶν μέγιστον.*

Pis. 67. 20 (p. 133) With the pun on *gallus* cf. also Suet. *Vitellius* 9: 'Viennae pro tribunali iura reddenti gallinaceus supra umerum ac deinde in capite astitit . . . (18) nec fefellit coiectura eorum qui augurio, quod factum ei Viennae ostendimus, non aliud portendi praedixerant quam venturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem, siquidem ab Antonio Primo adversarum partium duce oppressus est, cui Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat: id valet gallinacei rostrum.'