

ON CICERO'S SPEECHES (*POST REDITUM*)

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For lemmata I use the text of T. Maslowski's Teubner (Leipzig 1981) edition of *Post reditum in senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, *De domo*, and *De haruspicum responsis* and (except at *Sest.* 15) J. Cousin's Budé edition (1965) of *Pro Sestio* and *In Vatinius*. *HSCP*¹ = "On Cicero's speeches," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83 (1979) 237–85, especially 262–72. *HSCP*² = "More on Cicero's speeches (*Post reditum*)," *ibid.* 89 (1985) 141–51.

Post reditum in senatu

1 qui mihi fratrem optatissimum, me fratri amantissimo, liberis nostris *parentes*, nobis liberos . . . qui denique nosmet ipsos nobis reddidistis.

But *Quintus* Cicero had not been returned to his son, neither had his son been returned to him. *nostris* and *nobis* apply to Marcus, like *nosmet ipsos nobis*, and *parentes* should be *parentem*.

4 nam consules modesti legumque metuentes impediabantur lege, non ea quae de me, sed ea quae de ipsis lata erat, *cum* meus inimicus promulgavit ut, si revixissent ii qui haec paene delerunt, tum ego redirem.

The first requisite is to be clear, as editors seem not to be, what Cicero is talking about. Clodius' law enacting his banishment contained a provision forbidding any subsequent mooting of the matter. The consuls of 58, therefore, when pressed to refer Cicero's case to the Senate, pleaded inability. In reality, says Cicero, it was not *that* law which stopped them but another *lex Clodia*, the one that gave them their provinces and so bought their support. The point is even clearer in *Dom.* 70 *homines legum iudiciorumque metuentes, cum frequentissimus senatus eos ut de me referrent cotidie flagitaret, non se rem improbare dicebant sed lege istius impediri. erat hoc verum; nam impediabantur, verum ea lege quam idem iste de Macedonia Syriaque tulerat.* Cf. also *Sest.* 69.

Most modern editors prior to Maslowski (Watts and Karsten are exceptions, but their translations show incomprehension) read *quam* (Lambinus) for *cum*, but that by itself does not help. The provision *si . . . redirem* was

obviously not in the law *de provinciis* to which *quam* must refer. A supplement is needed, as *promulgavit. (sed in illa lege ita scriptum erat) ut*. The alternative is to keep *cum* as meaning “at this point” and to take *promulgavit* sqq. as referring to a further proposal of Clodius which never passed into law.

8 totam illam, ut ante dixi, *proscriptionem* non legem putavit

illam causam P³. A supplement does indeed seem necessary, unless *non* and *legem* change place. *vim* would be an easy one: “he considered that entire proscription, as I have called it, an act of violence, not a law” (*ut ante dixi* refers to *meae proscriptionis* in s. 4).

33 sed videbam . . . si victus essem, multis bonis et pro me et *mecum etiam* post me esse pereundum

mecum (et) etiam Karsten. But a comma after *mecum* will do: “for me and with me, even after me.”

37 qui cum statuisset, nisi me per vos reciperasset, eandem subire fortunam atque idem sibi domicilium et vitae et mortis deprecere, *tamen* numquam nec magnitudinem negoti nec solitudinem suam nec vim inimicorum ac tela pertimuit.

deprecere Madvig: -*ret* codd. Why should Quintus’ resolve to join his brother in exile if he failed to bring about his recall make him any the less ready to do and dare on his behalf? It would be reason the more; a life in exile was not much to look forward to. *tamen* should be omitted, as it was by Lambinus and Orelli; perhaps a dittography of *t* and *n* (*tñ*).

Post reditum ad Quirites

5 quorsum igitur haec disputo? quorsum? ut intellegere possitis neminem umquam tanta eloquentia fuisse . . . qui *vestram* magnitudinem multitudinemque beneficiorum *quam* in me fratremque meum et liberos nostros contulistis non modo augere aut ornare oratione, sed enumerare aut consequi possit.

vestram] *nostram* εV. *quam* P²GETεV: *qua* P¹: *quae* ζ. *vestrorum* (Orelli) is read by Watts in the Loeb text. Better, perhaps, to delete *vestram*. Modern apparatuses ignore. *quam* should be *quae*.

De domo

27 qua quidem in sententia si Cn. Pompei dignitas aucta est coniuncta cum

utilitate communi, certe laudandus essem si eius dignitati suffragatus viderer qui meae salutis opem et auxilium tulisset.

The *sententia* was Cicero's proposal to put Pompey in charge of grain supplies. Clearly Pompey's *dignitas* would benefit. Cicero makes the point that even if that had been all, he would deserve some credit for repaying a benefactor. But his proposal was also in the public interest. Halm's *aucta esset (non) coniuncta* meets logical needs, but I think *aucta (non) esset* would be neater. *dignitas aucta* = dignitatis accessio: "even if the enhancement of Pompey's prestige had not been combined with the public interest, it would at least have been to my credit. . . ."

- 37 probate genus adoptionis: iam omnium sacra interierint . . . iam patricius nemo relinquetur. cur enim quisquam *vellet* tribunum plebis se fieri non licere *sqq.*

cur . . . vellet refers to the future—what would happen if Clodius' adoption were approved; nobody would want to remain a patrician under the restrictions attaching to that status. Read *velit*. Confusion of the present and imperfect forms of the subjunctive of *volo* is ubiquitous.

- 50 de hac igitur lege dicimus quasi iure rogata videatur, cuius *quam quisque* partem tetigit digito, voce, praeda, suffragio, quocumque venit, repudiatus convictusque discessit?

The anomaly of *quam quisque partem* = *qui ullam partem* is noticed in *HSCP*², but instead of *(si) quam quis[que] partem* I would now offer *(ali)quam quisquis partem*.

- 63 hanc ego vim, pontifices, hoc scelus, hunc furorem meo corpore opposito ab omnium bonorum cervicibus depuli, omnemque impetum *discordiarum*, omnem diu collectam vim improborum . . . excepi meo corpore.

discordiarum is a strangely mild word for the raging of Clodian mobs and poorly matched with *improborum*. *vecordium* may be worth considering, but perhaps simply omit; cf. *Cluent.* 128 *hostium impetum vimque*. In s. 68 read with A. Klotz *discriptione* (*Mueller; descr- Madvig*) for *dissensione*.

- 72 quid est enim exsul? ipsum per se nomen calamitatis, non turpitudinis . . . utrum igitur peccato meo *nomen* subeo an re iudicata?

A late corrector in P wrote *exsulis* above *nomen* (alt.). *id* or *hoc* seems to be needed.

- 92 erant eo tempore multa etiam alia metuenda. ad servos medius fidius res *publica* venisset.

res p(ublica) is palaeographically almost the double of *res per(venisset)*, but can *res publica ad servos* (= *in servorum potestatem*) *venisset* pass for Cicero's Latin? It is not to be defended by the three "parallels" cited by Holden on *Sest.* 47 *nonne ad servos videtis rem* (P²: *rea* P¹: *rem p.* G) *venturam fuisse*? Cicero will have written *res ad servos venisset*; cf. *Off.* 3.90 *ad perniciem patriae res spectabit*, Liv. 2.56.5 *ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam*.

121 non dissimulo me nescire ea quae, etiam si *scirem*, dissimularem.

Read *etiam si scirem*, {*me scire*} dissimularem.

122 quamquam quid ego de dedicatione loquor aut quid de vestro iure et religione contra quam proposueram disputo? ego vero, si omnia sollemnibus verbis, veteribus et traditis institutis acta esse *dicerem*, tamen me rei publicae iure defenderem.

concederem (HSCP²) satisfies sense, but *dicerent*, "people said," or *dicerentur* are also possible; cf. s. 140 *delatum est ad vos, pontifices, et post omnium sermone celebratum, quem ad modum iste . . . omnia aliter ac vos in monumentis habetis et pronuntiari et fecerit*.

133 sed tibi tamen oculi, voltus, verba cecidissent, cum te viri, qui sua dignitate personam populi (Romani) atque auctoritatem imperi sustinerent, verbis gravissimis proterruissent neque sibi fas esse dixissent furori interesse tuo atque in *patriae parricidio exsultare*.

exsultare (Koch), for *et scelere*, has met with more favor than it merits. The two eminent Pontiffs (*viri*) are imagined as indignantly rejecting a request from Clodius that they assist at his adoption. But he cannot be imagined as asking them to exult, so that an imaginary refusal to do so is inept. As for *excellere* (Baiter), "the original is bad enough; but the emendation is a great deal worse" (Long). Perhaps *in scelere et patriae parricidio (subvenire)*; cf. *Rab. perd.* 27 *nefarii sceleris ac parricidi*, *Catil.* 1.33 *omni scelere parricidioque*.

143 hic est enim reditus, pontifices, haec restitutio in domo, in sedibus, in aris, in focus, in dis penatibus recipiendis. quorum *si* iste suis sceleratissimis manibus tecta sedesque convellit, ducibusque consulibus tamquam urbe capta hanc unam domum . . . sibi delendam putavit, iam illi di penates ac familiares mei per vos in meam domum mecum erunt restituti.

Watts translates *si* as "though"; whereas according to R. G. Nisbet (to be distinguished from R. G. M. Nisbet) *si* is "as sure as," citing *Rab. perd.* 3 *si est boni consulis . . . ferre opem patriae . . . est etiam bonorum et fortium*

civium . . . putare. Better, I think, to omit *si. quorum* then looks forward to its "antecedent," *illi di*.

De haruspicum responsis

- 7 velut hesterno die cum mihi stanti *tacens* minaretur, voce tantum attigi legum *initium* et iudici. consedit ille, conticui.

For *initium* read *metum* (Madvig; I have long wanted to see Baehrens' *initu* for *metu* in Virg. *Aen.* 4.176). Clodius' threats were surely vocal; cf. s. 1 *itaque hominem furem exultantemque continui simul ac periculum iudici intendi. duobus inceptis verbis omnem impetum gladiatoris ferociamque compressi.* Graevius proposed *tacenti stans*, but *tacenti* has little point. I would read *stanti stans*, keeping of course *consedit* (*concidit* Naugerius).

- 16 quae quidem ego si aut per me aut ab aliis haberem, non praedicarem apud vos, ne nimis gloriari viderer; sed *cum sint* mihi data a vobis, cum ea adtemptentur eius lingua cuius ante manu eversa vos . . . reddidistis, non ego de meis sed de vestris factis loquar.

cum PH: *quae* GE. The awkward collocation of the two *cum* clauses is easily removed by reading *quae sunt*.

- 24 nam quid ego de illis ludis loquar quos in Palatio nostri maiores . . . Megalesibus fieri celebrarique voluerunt?

This is not the first mention of these games; Cicero has been talking about them for some time. The question-mark should follow *loquar*, not *voluerunt*.

- 29 nam cum multa regia sunt in Deiotaro, tum illa maxime quod tibi nummum nullum dedit, quod eam partem legis tuae quae congruebat cum iudicio senatus, ut ipse rex esset, non repudiavit, *quod* Pessinuntem per scelus a te violatum et sacerdote sacrisque spoliatum recipiavit, ut in pristina religione servaret, quod caerimonias . . . pollui non sinit

It was not specially "regal" of Deiotarus not to repudiate that part of Clodius' law which confirmed his title. By a stylistic device favored in elaborate prose, both Greek and Latin, *quod* . . . *recipiavit* is a single complex consisting of two antithetical statements, μέν . . . δέ in Greek, asyndetic in Latin, of which the first is relevant only in relation to the second. That structure is destroyed by *quod* before *Pessinuntem* (it is easy to see why the copyist inserted it). Translate: "that, while not repudiating that part of your bill which accorded with the Senate's decision in providing that he be king, he regained control of Pessinus, which you had criminally violated and stripped of priest and holy things, to keep it in its former sanctity."

- 36 sed recitemus quid sequatur. FIDEM IVSQVE IVRANDVM NEGLECTVM. hoc quid sit per se ipsum non facile interpretor, sed ex eo quod sequitur suspicor de tuorum iudicum manifesto periurio dici . . . quare autem de eis dici suspicer, *haec* causa est, quod sic statuo *sqq.*

“Having just given one reason . . . Cicero cannot simply give another.” One remedy is to omit *ex eo quod sequitur*, as suggested in *HSCP*². But what follows in the *responsum* does indeed seem, as Cicero urges, to point to the Bona Dea affair (see next note). An alternative solution is to add *etiam* or *quoque* after *haec*.

- 37 et video in haruspicum *responsum* haec esse subiuncta: SACRIFICA VETVSTA OCCVLTAQVE MINVS DILIGENTER FACTA POLLVTAEQVE.

subiecta E. The construction in *responsum subiuncta* seems to be unique. Read *responso* (*responsis* ζ, Orelli).

- 41 nam quid ego de P. Sulpicio loquar? cuius tanta in dicendo gravitas, tanta iucunditas, tanta *brevitas* fuit ut posset vel ut prudentes errarent vel ut boni minus bene sentirent perficere dicendo.

The absurd *brevitas* should be *ubertas*, of course, not *ubertate* as in *HSCP*², a mechanical slip.

- 48 tum leges Iulias contra auspicia latas et hic et in contionibus dicere, in quibus legibus inerat curiata illa lex quae totum eius tribunatum continebat, *quam* caecus amentia non videbat.

How can *quam* be tolerated? *quod* (Ernesti) is acceptable, but one might prefer *id quod* or *quam rem*.

- 55 monent enim eidem NE OCCVLTIS CONSILIIS RES PVBLICA LAEDATUR.

“Obscurum est quam connexionem faciat particula causalis. Ergo Garatonius *enim* mutat in *etiam*.” Better *autem*. The abbreviated forms of these three particles are often confused, as is well known.

- 57 parentibus et dis immortalibus et patriae nos primum natura conciliat . . . iste *parentum* nomen, sacra, memoriam, gentem Fonteiano nomine obruit

parentum cannot = *maiorum*, even if that were allowable in Cicero, because of *parentibus* above, which it picks up. Either read *paternum* or convict Cicero of carelessness.

- 58 qui primum eum civem vi, ferro, periculis urbe, *omnibus* patriae praesidiis depulit quem vos patriae conservatorem esse saepissime iudicaritis.

urbe and *omnibus patriae praesidiis* make an uncomfortable pair and *depulit* does not go very smoothly with the latter. Perhaps *orbatum* fell out before or after *omnibus*; cf. *Pis.* 92 *provinciae praesidio et reliquis militibus orbatae*, *Mur.* 83 *ut orbetur auxilio res publica*, *Laud.* [*Turiae*] (*CIL* V¹. 1527) 2.65 *tantis talibusque pr(aesi)diis orbatus*.

- 61 qua re hunc statum qui nunc est, qualiscumque est, nulla alia re nisi concordia retinere possumus; nam ut meliore simus loco ne optandum quidem est illo impunito; deteriore autem *statu* ut simus, unus est inferior gradus aut interitus aut servitutis.

Omit *statu*?

Pro Sestio

- 15 *fuerat ille annus tam* in re publica, iudices, cum in magno motu et multorum timore intentus (est) arcus in me unum . . . traductione ad plebem furibundi hominis ac perditum, mihi irati, sed multo *acrius* oti et communis salutis inimici.

Out of many proposals I would choose Grumme's: *fuerat ille annus iam* (Madvig) (*funestus*); cf. s. 59 *illius funesti anni*. Better, however, *fu(nestus) erat ille annus iam tum*. *acrius* should be *acrioris*.

- 19 *vestitus aspere* nostra hac purpura plebeia ac paene fusca, capillo ita horrido ut *sqq.*

Something tells me that *vestitus* is a noun and that Cicero wrote *asper e(rat)* or simply *asper* (Orelli).

- 22 ego autem . . . tantum esse in homine sceleris, audaciae, crudelitatis, quantum ipse cum re publica sensi, numquam putavi. nequam esse *hominem* et levem et falsa opinione [errore] hominum ab adolescentia commendatum sciebam.

Read *putavi, nequam esse [hominem]*.

- 24 et quod ita domus ipsa fumabat ut multa *eius sermonis* indicia redolerent.

eius sermonis is perhaps a reminiscence of *sermo hominis* in s. 22. None of the available substitutes is attractive even palaeographically. "Certe desideratur notio qua ad vitam luxuriosam adluditur" (A. Klotz). I suggest *helluationis*. The noun occurs once elsewhere in connection with Gabinius, the verb is used of this same Piso in *Prov. cons.* 14 *ipse* (sc. Piso) *est homo doctus et a*

suis Graecis subtilius eruditus, quibuscum iam in exoetra helluatur, antea post siparium solebat.

- 39 nec mihi res erat cum Saturnino, qui quod a se quaestore Ostiensi per ignominiam ad principem et senatus et civitatis, M. Scaurum, rem frumentariam tralatam *sciebat*, dolorem suum magna contentione persequabatur

Knew it? As if he could have helped knowing! Read *suscensebat*. For the construction see Kühner-Stegmann I.691. *per ignominiam* = simply “ignominiously.”

- 46 depugnarem potius cum *summo* non dicam exitio, sed periculo certe vestro liberorumque vestrorum

sumum exitium is hardly an expression to be used deliberately. Either Cicero was careless or *summo* should come after *sed*.

- 71 ingredior iam in Sesti tribunatum; nam hoc *primum* iter designatus rei publicae causa suscepit.

If the trip to Gaul, to intercede with Caesar on Cicero’s behalf, was Sestius’ first journey in the public interest, what was the second? For *primum* read *prius* (before he took office as tribune).

- 82 atque hoc scitis omnes, usque adeo hominem in periculo fuisse quoad scitum est Sestium vivere; quod ni esset patefactum paulo citius quam *vellent*, non illi quidem morte mercennarii sui transferre potuissent invdiam in quos putabant, sed acerbissimi sceleris infamiam grato quodam scelere minuissent.

Those modern editors who read Bake’s conjecture *vellent* for the paradosis *vellem* miss Cicero’s point, which was correctly explained by Halm, followed by Long and Holden. He could have wished that the news had come out a little later because the world would then have been rid of Numerius.

- 126 qui tamen quoquo tempore conspectus erat, non modo *gladiatores*, sed *equi ipsi gladiatorum* repentinis sibilis extimescebant.

gladiatorum is so superfluous that in *HSCP*¹ I brought it into question as a gloss, added to make plain that the reference is to mounted gladiators. But I have since noticed another oddity. Holden quotes Ov. *Trist.* 4.2.53 *ipse sono plausuque simul fremituque canentum(?) / quadriiugos cernes saepe resistere equos* (an echo of Prop. 3.4.14 *ad vulgi plausus saepe resistere equos*). Now, that the hissing should have frightened the horses was after all not so very surprising; but that the gladiators themselves, who understood what was

happening, shared the horses' alarm is a point worth making. I should like to read *non modo equi gladiatorum sed gladiatores ipsi*.

- 129 vir is [*i.e.*, Pompeius] qui triperitas orbis terrarum oras atque regiones tribus triumphis adiunctas huic imperio *notavit*

"*notavit* can hardly be right. Possibly Cic. wrote *continuavit*" (Reid *ap.* Holden). More probably he wrote *pacavit*; cf. *Prov. cons. 4 Macedonia . . . quae multis victoriis erat iam diu triumphisque pacata*.

- 131 reditus vero meus qui fuerit quis ignorat? quem ad modum mihi advenienti tamquam totius Italiae atque ipsius patriae dextram porrexerint Brundisini, cum ipsis Nonis Sextilibus idem dies adventus mei fuisset reditus(que) qui natalis, *idem* carissimae filiae . . . idem etiam ipsius coloniae Brundisinae, idem Salutis *sqq.*

reditusque qui Halm: *reditus qui* P: *r- quin* G. Rather *reditusque qui natalis [idem] carissimae filiae*.

- 138 qui autem praecipue suis cervicibus tanta *munia* atque rem publicam sustinent, hi semper habiti sunt optimatum principes.

That does not read like Cicero's writing. I suspect he wrote *tanta munia (ferunt)*; cf. *Tusc. 5.16 fert sustinetque praesentia* for the combination.

In Vatinius

- 30 ita enim illud epulum est funebre, ut munus sit funeris, epulae quidem ipsae *dignitatis*.

"The banquet itself is in honour of the celebrant" (Gardner), "pour le repas en lui-même, il y va de la consideration qui est due à un hôte" (Cousin). But how can *dignitatis* be taken so? We need *hilaritatis*.

- 32 Fausti . . . paulo ante, ex epulo magnificentissimo famem illam veterem tuam non expleras? (videras) dominum cum toga pulla et eius amicos ante convivium? quae tanta te tenuit amentia ut, nisi id fecisses, quod fas non fuit, nisi violasses templum Castoris, *nomen* epuli, oculos civium, morem veterem, eius qui te invitaret auctoritatem, parum putares testificatum esse supplicationes te illas non putare?

The question *videras . . . convivium* is inane, even if *ante convivium* could be rendered with Cousin "en face de leurs convives." *videras*, without a question-mark, was proposed by Madvig: "Cicero negat atratum quemquam accubuisse, dominum cum amicis ante convivium (antequam accumberetur) cum toga pulla visum esse concedit" (*Adv. III. 143 ff.*). That seems right as to sense. Faustus Sulla's games were *ludi funebres* in honor of his father, so he and his

friends were mourning *before* the feast. But a mere statement that Vatinius had seen them thus is not enough. We need something like *dominum . . . ante convivium* (*videras, cenantis non item*).

nomen epuli leaves me at a loss. Perhaps substitute *omen*. The omens at the start of the feast would be disturbed by Vatinius' black gown; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.407 *ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum / hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet*.