CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

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PREFACE

This book may be regarded as a companion volume to the edition of the Tenth Book of Quintilian's *Institutio* which was published in the autumn of 1891. The one has led to the other: indeed it was while preparing the Quintilian that it occurred to me to take the *Dialogue* also in hand. The motive was the same in both cases—a wish to do something to remove from the scholarship of this country the reproach of neglecting two of the most interesting specimens of Latin literature, or of relying for a knowledge of them almost entirely on foreign sources.

The reader to whom the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is a new work will find much in its character, contents, and history to account for the extent of space which I have claimed from my indulgent publishers for its adequate treatment. Scholars know that it is brimful of problems, though an exhaustive discussion of these problems, such as I have endeavoured to give in the Introduction, has hitherto been conspicuously absent from the achievements of Latinists at home. For students, again, the treatise is of the utmost value, as supplying a field for the exercise of many of the qualities—such as sense of style, literary judgment and critical ability—without which a knowledge of Latin will often prove only a barren possession. In this connection, I may quote the words in which Classen says there will be general agreement: 'dass der Dialog in seinem mässigen Umfang ungemein reichen Stoff zu den anziehendsten Discussionen der verschiedensten Art darbietet; und diese Eigenschaft eben ist es, die ihn nach meiner Ansicht ganz besonders zur gemeinsamen Lectüre mit reifern Schülern, die wir zu selbstständigem Nachdenken und umsichtigem Urtheil anzuleiten wünschen, geeignet macht.'
A flavour of antiquarian interest also attaches to the treatise in virtue of the story of its discovery in the middle of the fifteenth century. I have attempted to do justice to this in part of the chapter on the Manuscripts. In my researches into the history of the codex in the British Museum (Harl. 2639) I have been greatly indebted to the help, always most ungrudgingly given, of Mr. Geo. F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of MSS.

For the critical apparatus, my chief obligation is to the collation of the MSS. given by Michaelis in his edition of 1868, admirably supplemented as it has been in recent years by Dr. F. Scheuer. In recording the various manuscript readings, I have generally proceeded on the principle of admitting what are obvious errors only when they are instructive as bearing on the vexed question of the inter-relationship of the codices. Everything has been included that seemed necessary for the critical study of the text. The corrupt and defective condition in which it has come down to us may be advanced as some justification for the acceptance of emendations proposed by different critics, as well as for the insertion of several of my own conjectures, some of which have already appeared in the columns of the Classical Review. The result is that the text will be found to differ considerably from that of Halm.

For what is not new in the explanatory notes I have relied mainly on the excellent editions of Andresen, Peter, and Wolff. The suggestive commentary with which Dr. C. John has enriched his translation should also be mentioned. I have had occasion to refer more than once to the second part of it, published as recently as last year, and containing much valuable matter. It is more difficult to describe the nature of my obligations to the large body of pamphlet literature that has accumulated round the Dialogue: reference may be made, however, to the lists of tractates given on pp. lxxxix–xcii. Many of them are of little substantial worth, but it may be of interest to give a complete catalogue of everything that I have had actually at hand in preparing this book. A few articles and pamphlets which I have never seen have been omitted, but I doubt if they will be missed.

W. P.

Dundee, July, 1893.
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The Dialogue on Oratory has long been one of the puzzles of literary antiquity. In no other work, of similar character and scope, is the student confronted by so many problems, the more tantalizing because some of them, at least, seem incapable of any final settlement. The circumstances of the re-appearance of the treatise in the middle of the fifteenth century, the long war that has been waged over the question whether it is a genuine work of Tacitus, its relation, in point of style and date of composition, to the other writings of the historian, its aim and purpose, its original form and extent, the distribution of parts between the various interlocutors, and the history of the constitution of the text—all these are matters which demand to be dealt with; and their adequate presentation requires an amount of space, as well as of research and investigation, that might seem at first sight out of all proportion to the unpretending character of the little work in which they originate. This may help to account for the rather remarkable phenomenon that, notwithstanding the attractiveness both of its contents and its style, the Dialogue has not hitherto been edited in this country. So far as English scholarship is concerned, it is in fact an almost entirely neglected work. This is all the more to be wondered at as, with the exception of the Letters of Pliny, no contemporary work supplies so vivid a picture of the literary and intellectual tendencies of cultured society at Rome in the first century of the Empire. The treatise forms, as it were, a connecting link between the better-known prose literature of the classical period and that which is represented by the less familiar writings of Seneca, the two Plinys, and Quintilian. It is the best introduction, especially for younger readers, to the historical works of Tacitus himself; which require for their full understanding a riper judgment and a greater faculty of literary appreciation than is needed for the prose authors by whom they are preceded in the ordinary
course of study. For this reason—especially in view of the comparative poverty of Latin literature in such works—the *Dialogue* might have been expected to win a place for itself in the curriculum of our higher schools and Universities. Its substance is as valuable as its form is interesting and attractive. It introduces us to a distinguished circle of public men at Rome, who are represented as taking advantage of a more or less accidental gathering to discuss questions of great interest and importance for us as well as for themselves. Meeting together in the calm repose which had resulted from the political settlement recently effected by the founder of the Flavian dynasty, they bring under review past and present circumstances in their bearing upon the profession in which they have all more or less a common interest, the profession of oratory,—exchanging opinions as to the merit and fame of the great orators of republican times, as well as the divergent tendencies of the spirit of their own day, comparing the main features of previous and contemporary methods of education, and endeavouring to estimate the influence of political conditions on the growth and prosperity of the art with which they are all connected. All this gives the *Dialogue* a value of its own, independently of other features of interest. It is moreover written in a natural, easy, and straightforward style, offering many points of contrast to that which we are accustomed to associate with the literature of the epoch of which it is so charming a survival.

I.

**THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.**

Had there been any tradition in the Middle Ages that the historian Tacitus was the author of such a treatise as the *Dialogue*, there would have been less ground for the scepticism which has so persistently prevailed in regard to it, almost since the date of its re-discovery. But there seems to have been none. The Humanists of the Renaissance searched for many ancient writings which, though lurking concealed in neglected corners, they knew must somewhere exist; and in their search they stumbled upon others of which even the memory had passed away. One of these was the *Dialogue*, which had come down to them through the unbroken quiet of the centuries without any literary notice to put them on its track, a monks' treasure in regard to which one might almost imagine there had been a conspiracy of silence.

It might have been expected that a work which had escaped the notice of previous ages, and which, in the one and only manuscript to which we
owe its survival, had evidently proclaimed itself to be the work of Tacitus, would have been either accepted without cavil and criticism or boldly denounced as a forgery and a fraud. *Habent sua fata libelli.* At first, indeed, the Dialogue was unhesitatingly included, along with the other writings of the historian, so far as then known, in the editio princeps, published by Vendelin de Spira at Venice in 1470. This was within some twelve or thirteen years of its re-appearance. But when the discovery, in 1508, of the first six books of the *Annals* had given fresh evidence not only of the historical bent of the genius of Tacitus, but also of the peculiar individuality of his style, doubts began to be entertained. It seemed difficult to believe that the easy and flowing language of the Dialogue could rightly be attributed to the writer who had employed what was almost a new method of literary expression in the terse, pointed, and pregnant phraseology of the *Annals*. And as the codex from which his minor works had been recovered contained also treatises by other authors, including Suetonius’s fragment *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, it was supposed that the ascription of the Dialogue toTacitus, in the title, might be the mistake of a scribe, who had inadvertently confounded with the writer of the *Agricola* and the *Germania* the author of a work on altogether different lines, which it had been found convenient, at some time or other, to include in a single codex along with these. The earliest literary expression of these scruples is to be found in the edition of Beatus Rhenanus (Bilde of Rheinau in Eiass) which appeared at Bâle in 1519 and again in 1533. Rhenanus inclined to believe that the Dialogue was a comparatively late work, which had been skilfully invested with the appearance of antiquity by the introduction of personages and events belonging to the age of Tacitus. But he gave only an uncertain sound. His half-hearted deliverance—*Hunc dialo
gum vix crediderim esse Taciti*—had nothing like the effect on contemporary opinion that was afterwards produced by the more pronounced scepticism of the great Dutch scholar J. Lipsius. In the preface to his famous edition of the year 1574, Lipsius declared against the Tacitean authorship with all the confidence of an inspired literary oracle (*tam certum . . . quam si respondisset Apollo*). His main ground was that which has been founded on ever since, the obvious difference of style: *stilus valde abnuit, non fallax in hoc genere argumentum, qui in nostro constrictus ubique, teres, acutus et severus magis quam lepidus, hic omnia contra*. To the argument that style may vary with a writer’s advance in years and with the subject of which he treats, Lipsius replied that such change is possible only within certain limits, never to the extent of a complete transformation (*numquam ita ut prorsus abeat a se
e*). He did not hesitate, however, to class
the *Dialogue* with the best works of its kind, as a genuine monument of classical antiquity. At first he thought that he had discovered in it Quintilian's lost treatise, *De causis corruptae eloquentiae*; and accordingly the title under which the work appeared in his original Antwerp edition was 'Fab. Quintiliani, ut videtur, *Dialogus an sui saeculi oratores et quare concedant*: Cornelio Tacito falso inscriptus.' But as Quintilian was born about 35 A.D., he could hardly have described himself as being still *iuvenis admodum* (*Dialog. 1. 12*) in 74–75 A.D., the year in which the conversation out of which the *Dialogue* resulted is generally understood to have taken place. This consideration was in itself enough to shake, even in his own mind, the view to which Lipsius had given a perhaps too hasty expression; and so in subsequent issues of his work *Tacito vulgo inscriptus* takes the place of *Tacito falso inscriptus*, while in his third (Leyden) edition of 1585, he states his doubts about Quintilian, though still convinced of the difficulties in the way of the traditional view. Lipsius's final attitude was, in fact, that which is adopted by more than one critic of the present day—a judicial *Non liquet*.

But though he expressly disclaimed any wish to impose his own opinions on his contemporaries or successors (*nihil aliis praeceo quod sequantur*), the authority of his great name sufficed to induce a general suspension of judgement during the two centuries which succeeded his epoch. Some scholars adhered to the Tacitean tradition, others advocated Quintilian²; some took a new departure, ascribing the *Dialogue* to the younger Pliny, or to Suetonius, or to the poet-pleader who is its central figure, Curatius Maternus. But Pliny could only have been thirteen years of age when he is supposed to have been present at the conversation reported in the treatise: Suetonius is chronologically still more impossible: while the theory about Maternus is altogether inconsistent with the 'setting' of the *Dialogue*, which purports to be written by one who, so far from taking a leading part in the conversation narrated, had been merely a listener to the views of others³. The safest position was

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⁰ Quint. Inst. Or. vi. Pr. § 3 [*Librum* quem de causis corruptae eloquentiae emissi; viii. 6, 76 eundem locum plenius in eo libro quo causas corruptae eloquentiae reddebamus tractavimus. Lipsius overlooked not only the chronological difficulties involved in the ascription of the *Dialogue* to Quintilian, but also (a) the fact that the subject matter of his lost work was different from that of the *Dialogue*—the decadence of style rather than the inferiority of contemporary eloquence: (b) the fact that Quintilian never speaks of it as a dialogue: and (c) the absence from the *Dialogue* of any reference to the subject (hyperbole) under discussion in the passage above quoted (Quint. viii. 6, 76).

² In recent years the Quintilian theory has again been revived by Dr. Robert Novak.

³ An account of the fluctuations of opinion, as well as of the curious arguments used in support of the different views, will be found in Eckstein's *Prolegomena*, pp. 41–62.
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certainly that of those who did not attempt to fasten the treatise on any known author, but contented themselves with referring to it as an anonymous work qui olim Taciti esse putabatur. This was the attitude adopted by the great critic of Homer, Fr. A. Wolf, who qualified, however, his high commendation both of the substance and the form of the 'aureolus libellus' by questioning whether it was altogether worthy of so great a genius as Tacitus.

The reaction in favour of the historian began at the commencement of the present century. Spalding's careful study of the text of Quintilian led him to declare emphatically against the theory which attributed the authorship of the Dialogue to the great rhetorician; and the way was thus cleared for a return to Tacitus. It was under Spalding's auspices also that the first intimation was made of the discovery of a parallelism which seemed at once to decide the question in the historian's favour, and which has therefore played a large part in all subsequent discussions. A. G. Lange had noted and communicated to Spalding the remarkable correspondence between certain words which occur in a letter addressed to Tacitus by his friend Pliny and a well-known passage in the Dialogue. Referring to the writing of poetry, Pliny says to Tacitus (Epp. ix. 10) poemata . . . tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas,—words which at once remind the student of the Dialogue of what Aper is made to say at the end of ch. 9, adice quod poesis . . . in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est: and of Maternus's reply, 12. i sq. Nemora vero et luci, et secretum ipsum quod Aper increpatam, tantam mihi afferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod nec in strepitu, &c. It must be admitted, however, that unless Pliny intended to make a pointed reference to the author's identification of his own views with those of Maternus, as his mouthpiece, there is less than might appear at first sight to found upon in the parallelism just quoted: the combination nemora et luci is of frequent occurrence elsewhere, and Pliny may be merely replying to Tacitus in words which Tacitus himself had used in a letter previously addressed to his friend and correspondent. Of at least equal importance is the more general argument put forward by Lange in the dissertation in which he subsequently expanded his views. He laid stress on the known fact that Tacitus had both a theoretical and a practical acquaintance with the art of oratory, and that his historical works contain many examples of his ability in this department. He also called attention to the remarkable

2 See Weinkauff, p. xvi.
similarity between the criticisms pronounced on individual orators in the Dialogue and those which occur from time to time in the historical books. Further, the whole tone of the Dialogue, and the features which reveal the mental attitude of its author, were declared by Lange to be in entire harmony and correspondence with what we know of Tacitus from his other works—the familiar habit of psychological reflection, the tendency to dwell regretfully on the comparison of the present with the past, the grave earnestness with which the writer discourses on the education of youth, the pervading intensity of moral purpose, and the love of freedom that finds expression in what seem to be compromising and even dangerous utterances. In short, the epoch of the Dialogue, its contents, and the writer’s method of treating his subject all tell in favour of the belief in the authorship of Tacitus. As to the style, a public man in the Rome of Tacitus’s day, who would have frequent occasion to speak in the presence of others, must have had at command an easy, simple, flowing, and pleasing method of expression, such as that which we find in the Dialogue—where, moreover, there is, as might have been expected, an artistic adaptation of the external form to the characters and sentiments of the different interlocutors. The difference in style is to be accounted for by the difference of subject. The writer could not have used, for such a work, the compressed, epigrammatic, and sometimes even enigmatical language of the Annals.

Lange’s views were combated by, among others, H. Gutmann in a dissertation which Orelli incorporated in his edition of the Dialogue (Turin, 1830)\(^1\). The writer bases his acceptance of the conclusions of F. A. Wolf partly on chronological grounds, and partly on the internal evidence of the substance and style of the Dialogue. Tacitus is known to have been praetor in A.D. 88, and this office was not usually (at least in republican times) conferred on any one who had not attained the age of forty. Gutmann finds it difficult to believe that the historian could have properly described himself as having been *iuvenis admodum* in the year A.D. 74–75. In point of style, the treatise appears to him to illustrate many of the features of an age of decline; and while recognizing the interest and value of much of its contents, especially Messalla’s utterances about the upbringing of the young, he so far forgets the dramatic character of the conversation which it reports as to charge against the writer, rather than the speaker, such obvious sophistries as those in which Aper indulges in chs. 16 and 17. While giving promi-

nence to Gutmann's argument, Orelli himself declared his preference for the tradition of the Tacitean authorship. To him the Dialogue was a work of the historian's youth, written while he was still under the influence of the associations of the schools of rhetoric, and before he had passed from the stage of enthusiastic adherence to Cicero, as the perfect model of Latin eloquence, to the development of the highly individual style which characterizes the Histories, and still more the Annals. The absurdity involved in applying the same standard of criticism to a dramatic dialogue and a narrative of events he protests against in the following words: Aliam orationem exigat narratio rerum, aliam disceptatio quaestionis alicuius. Boni scriptoris est utrumque genus intellectu distinguere, alterutro uti, excellentis vero parem esse in utriusque orationis facultate. Atqui ego Tacitum excellenterem dicendi artificem existimo, tam vi naturae quam arte doctrinaque. Quid mirum igitur si in dissimiliimo genere dicendi sibi ipsi dissimiliimus futi?

If the current of opinion since Orelli's day had set in the same direction, the history of the controversy might now be considered closed. But though scholars like Doederlein and Niebuhr sided with the vindicators of Tacitus, nothing better than an open verdict was arrived at by Eckstein, when he undertook to review all the conditions of the problem as well as the opinions which had previously been pronounced on either side. While fully appreciating the force of the various arguments which had been adduced in favour of Tacitus, and without attempting to disprove the tradition of his authorship on any such grounds as inferiority of subject matter or discrepancy of dates, Eckstein concluded that the disparity of style was so great (ob difficulatem in dicendi genere a Taciti plane abhorrente positam) that more light must be waited for before any final deliverance could be arrived at. For a time negative criticism was again in the ascendant. Eckstein was followed by H. C. A. Eichstädt, whose views may be found summarized in Orelli's second edition (1848), vol. ii, p. 523. He believed that the treatise was composed during the reign of Domitian (though it may not have seen the light till the time of Nerva or Trajan) by one who was well read in contemporary literature, as well as in the works of Cicero. In general, the style is held to resemble that of Quintilian, though it is admitted that Spalding had effectually disposed of the theory that Quintilian was the

1 Fr. Ang. Ecksteinii Prolegomena in Taciti, qui vulgo furt, Dialogum de Oratoribus: Halis Saxonum, 1835.
2 Quare totam rem, dum meliora proferantur in medio relinquendum esse consueimus, p. 84.
3 Quaest. philol. specimen sextum: de Dialogo qui inscribitur de Oratoribus: Jenae, 1839.
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author. Who the author was, must remain one of the unsolved problems of literature: *quisnam ex illa actate conscripserit Dialogum, vix poterit ad liquidum perduci.*

The year 1841 produced no fewer than three editions of the *Dialogue*, those of Hess, Tross, and Pabst. The two editors first named do not grapple with the question of authorship, though their work was of value in other respects; but Pabst came forward as an uncompromising champion of the Tacitean tradition, dwelling not only on correspondences between the *Dialogue* and the historical books in regard to the use of words and figures, &c., but also on the tone of regret for bye-gone times, and the lament over the decay of morals which readers of Tacitus at once recognize as so characteristic of his mental attitude. Seven years later, the appearance of a pamphlet by A. Dupré brought Gutmann again into the field, without eliciting, however, anything of weight on the negative side except a renewal of the contention that it would have been impossible for an author who had written and published the *Dialogue* before or during the early part of Domitian's reign to have lived safely through the horrors of his administration. Bernhardy, the historian of Roman literature, sided with the opposition, arguing that the points of resemblance between the *Dialogue* and the other writings of Tacitus were unimportant when compared with the points of difference, and that the latter proved more than the former. At this stage of the controversy (1857) Fr. Weinkauff produced the first fruits of those exhaustive labours which entitle him to the credit of having furnished scholars with much of the material necessary for its settlement. The divergencies from the later style of Tacitus he explained by reference to the character of the historian's early studies, and to the careful imitation of Cicero which both he and his friend Pliny the Younger seem to have prescribed for themselves; and founding not only on the general tone of the treatise but also on a laborious and detailed examination of its language and style, he concluded that the *Dialogue* was a genuine work of Tacitus, composed probably in the early part of Domitian's reign. A similar view as to the date of the composition (though he afterwards departed from it) was also taken by Nipperdey in his edition of the *Annals*: looking, however, to the introduction to the *Agricola*, from which it might appear that Tacitus published nothing during Domitian's reign, he preferred to believe that the *Dialogue* was written and given to the world under

1 *Dialogum de Oratoribus nec Quintiliano nec cuvis alii*, sed Tacito adjudicandum esse censuit ac demonstrare tentavit A. Dupré, Licentiatus: Saint-Calais, Imp. de Peltier-voisin, 1848.


3 See his De Tacito Dialogi, qui de Oratoribus inscribatur, Ancore: Edito Nova atque Aucta, Coloniae Agrippinæ (Roemke), 1881.
Titus, in the year 81 A.D. His subsequent change of view was motivated by the consideration that no one writing in the year 81, at so short an interval after the conversation narrated in the Dialogue had taken place, would have been likely to describe himself as having been then iuvenis admodum: 'so spricht Niemand von sich, der erst sieben oder acht Jahre älter geworden ist.' Accordingly Nipperdey declared for the year 97 A.D., or thereby, as the date of composition. Accepting the argument that the Dialogue could not have been written before the death of Domitian, Professor Sauppe drew from it the conclusion that Tacitus could not possibly have been the author of a treatise of which the style is so altogether different from that of the works which he is known to have written towards the close of the first century A.D.

These views were combated by Steiner in one of the weightiest contributions ever made to the settlement of the controversy. Steiner felt no difficulty in believing that Tacitus writing in, say his twenty-fifth year (three years after his marriage with the daughter of Agricola, to whom he tells us he had become betrothed, as iuvenis, in the year 77 A.D.), would have referred to himself as iuvenis admodum in describing the circumstances of a literary debate to which he had listened when probably only about eighteen years of age. At such a time of life an interval of seven years, especially when so crowded with important events, counts for much more than an equal interval in the life of an older man. Steiner also dwells on the antecedent probability that a young author who had devoted himself in his earlier years to the study of eloquence would have taken the opportunity of embodying in a rhetorical treatise like the Dialogue that lively sense of the contrast between past and present, between the real and the ideal, which seems to have been ever before the mind of the historian. After reviewing the other conditions of the problem, and pointing out the impossibility, in the light of the marked stylistic difference, of the view that the Dialogue was written about the same time as the Germania and the Agricola, Steiner concludes as follows: 'Da also sowohl die Lebensumstände der im Dialogus auftretenden Personen, als auch die Lebensumstände und Studien des Tacitus selbst ganz wohl zu der Abfassung des Dialogus unter Titus im J. 81 n. Ch. passen, und da, wenn der Dialogus in so früher Jugend geschrieben ist, auch der von den spätern historischen Werken abweichende Stil, zumal bei der Verschiedenheit des Stoffes und der dialogischen Form, sehr natürlich und erklärlich ist; da endlich die ganze

1 Philologus, xix. 2, p. 256 sqq.  
2 Ueber den Dialogus: J. W. Steiner, Kreuznach, 1863.  
3 Agric. ix.  
4 p. 27.
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Attention was now (1868) called by Professor Edward Wölfflin to the fact that the peculiar and highly individual style with which the name of Tacitus is identified was the result of development and growth 1. Wölfflin protested against the habit of regarding the historian's style and diction as a constant whole, instead of as a progressive feature which he developed through various stages until its highest expression was reached in his latest work, the Annals. Applying this principle of a stylistic 'genesis' to the Dialogue, Wölfflin sought to demonstrate that there are connecting links which, in spite of an interval of some twenty years, enable the critic to establish identity of authorship with the earliest historical writings of Tacitus. His argument derived support from the appearance, in the same year, of the first edition of Draeger's well-known work Ueber die Syntax und den Stil des Tacitus. It might have been expected now that the controversy would have been regarded as, on the whole, settled in favour of the vindicators of Tacitus; but in publishing the edition of the Dialogue which is perhaps the most widely used at the present time, Dr. Georg Andresen took the opportunity of ranging himself alongside of the opponents of the traditional view. Andresen agrees with those critics who consider it impossible that the Dialogue can have been written before the reign of Domitian. If it had been an early work of Tacitus, composed under Titus, he would surely have referred to the conversation out of which it resulted as having taken place paucos abhine annos rather than when he was a very young man (juvenis admodum). Andresen doubts, moreover, whether so young an author as Tacitus was in the reign of Titus would have been intellectually ripe for the treatment of such topics as those dealt with in the Dialogue: also whether Fabius Justus, the intimate friend of the younger Pliny, and probably no older than he, would have been likely in the year 74-75 A.D. (when Pliny, at least, is known to have been only thirteen years of age) to attack, along with the youthful Tacitus, the deep-lying problem of the causes of the decline of eloquence. Further, he considers it barely credible that the allusions to Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (chs. 8 and 13) would have been risked while they were still alive: and though the former died in 79, the latter is known to have flourished at the court of Domitian and to have died, at an advanced old age, shortly before the year 93. Andresen

1 Philologus, vol. xxv. p. 95 sqq.
concludes, therefore, that the *Dialogue* was written, at the soonest, immediately after the close of Domitian's reign, that is to say at a time when we find, in the *Germania* and the *Agricola*, the historical style of Tacitus already developed in its main features. We are thus, according to him, on the horns of a dilemma, and must either attribute the authorship of the treatise to some cultured contemporary, or else adopt the theory (for which no adequate support can be adduced either from psychology or from the history of literature) that it is possible for the same writer to employ at one and the same time the most diverse styles. Such are the grounds on which, even in his third edition (1891), Andresen falls back on the *Non liquet* of Lipsius: 'somit erscheint die Frage der Autorschaft unserer Schrift noch heute ungelöst.'

The fullest recent statement, in convenient form, of the gist of the whole controversy is to be found in the work of Jansen, *de Tacito Dialogi Auctore*, Groningen, 1878. Jansen first undertakes to consider whether, in order to prove the authorship of Tacitus, it is necessary to hold that the *Dialogue* was the work of the historian's youth. This done, he proceeds to show that the treatise must have actually appeared while he was still a young man, and that there is nothing chronologically impossible in such a supposition. Next he reviews the internal evidence in favour of the Tacitean tradition, devoting his concluding chapter to an examination of the style of the treatise. To him it appears to be not so unlike that of the historian as that the difference cannot be explained by the interval of time and other considerations, while it is marked by many features peculiarly Tacitean.

The mere narrative of such a controversy as this, with all the various fluctuations of opinion even up to quite recent years, might very well induce in the mind of any reader unfamiliar with the text of the *Dialogue* a condition of suspended judgment. The question has been thoroughly discussed since the days of Lipsius, and it is doubtful if any fresh light will ever be thrown on it. It must be settled in accordance with the evidence now before us, after a careful and repeated study of the text itself. But in all such literary problems, as notably the authorship and composition of the Homeric poems, the verdict arrived at by individuals generally varies with the mental habit and pre-suppositions, not to say prejudices, of each. It is commonly, in fact, a subjective verdict. Finality is rarely attained, and is perhaps hardly attainable. Yet, in this matter of the authorship of the *Dialogue*, there seem to be data enough, in spite of difficulties which need not be ignored, for a pretty confident acceptance of the traditional view. It is of course unfair to call on those who dis-
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credit and reject it to point to any other author to whom the treatise may be attributed with even a fair show of probability: the still unsolved problem of the identity of the writer referred to, as a historian, by Quin-tilian in the Tenth Book of his *Institutio* (1 § 104) is a sufficient reminder of the gaps that exist in our knowledge of this as of many other periods of literary history. But those who accept the testimony of the manuscripts are at least entitled to ask whether the evidence which has accumulated in favour of the authorship of Tacitus does not outweigh the counter-arguments which must force those who adopt them into assuming the existence of some unknown writer, who otherwise makes no appearance in the literature of his own day.

Let us first examine the data on which it is possible to fix the year in which the conversation narrated in the *Dialogue* purports to have taken place. Unfortunately, the passages of the text from which these data are derived are not free from a suspicion of doubt, but they furnish at least approximate results. That a definite date was present in the mind of the writer is evident from 17. 15, where he makes Aper sum up his chrono-logical computation in the words *centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur*.1 If the speaker is to be taken as meaning that exactly 120 years have elapsed since Cicero's murder, the date of the dialogue would seem to be fixed for December 7, A.D. 78. But a closer consideration of the constituent periods of which Aper's sum total of 120 years is made up, as well as a comparison of the phrase immediately preceding (*sextiam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam foveat*) will lead to a different conclusion. Whatever difficulties may be involved in the interpretation of the words just quoted (see notes ad loc.) they seem undoubtedly to point to the sixth year of Vespasian's reign. As the annals of Vespasian's principate were made to date from July 1, 69, the day on which the solemn oath of allegiance was taken to him at Alexandria,2 his sixth year would run

1 If the phrase *in hunc diem* occurred only here, it would not be necessary to interpret it strictly: *cp. the use of hocie*. But it is used again by Maternus on the conclusion of Aper's discourse (24 ad fin.), in a clause which seems a rather remarkable echo of what Aper had said,—*cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit*. Unless these words are the addition of some later writer (the phraseology is noted as rather peculiar) due weight must be given to the repetition of the phrase *in hunc diem* in immediate juxtaposition with *ab interitu Ciceronis*. When Messalla, a little lower down (25. 4), states the interval of time in a more general way (*ante centum annos*), he is not taking the death of Cicero as the starting-point of a definite calculation, as Aper had done. See what follows.

2 *Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriæ coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iulii sacramento eius legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus*, Hist. ii. 79.
from July 1, 74, to July 1, 75. According to this calculation, the conversation recorded in the Dialogue must have taken place in that year: if on the very anniversary of Cicero’s death (in hunc diem), on December 7, A.D. 74. But this gives, strictly speaking, only 116 years as the interval which has elapsed since the death of Cicero, not 120 years as stated in the text. Again, in enumerating the reigns of which the sum total is composed, the manuscripts give 59 for Augustus, 23 for Tiberius, 4 for Caligula, 28 for Claudius and Néro, 1 for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and 6 for Vespasian: a total of 121 years. This last discrepancy need not be considered of much weight, especially in view of the approximate character of some of the constituent factors, as, for example, prope quadriennium Gai: it is sufficiently accurate for the speaker’s purpose. A more serious difficulty consists in the ascription of 59 years to Augustus, when as a matter of fact he ought to be credited with only 56 (A. U. C. 711-767). Some have proposed to leave this standing, as an error of the writer or the speaker (cp. 34 ad fin., where we have nono decimo for uno et viceverso); but it is hardly likely that a figure doubtless so well-known would have been incorrectly given. Lipsius therefore changed novem to sex, and all editors follow his lead. But this gives only 118 years as the total, a consideration which has led to the obvious suggestion that centum et duodeviginti should be substituted in the text for centum et viginti. It is usually considered more probable, however, (especially in view of the repetition of the figure at the end of ch. 24), that centum et viginti is given as a round number, summing up in a general way the duration of the constituent principates as stated in what goes before. In any case, it is impossible to make centum et viginti square exactly with sexta statio in the sense of the sixth year of Vespasian’s reign.

The numbers have in all probability been tampered with by some reader who was anxious to correct the speaker’s arithmetic: this is almost certainly the origin of the unhistorical novem et quinquaginta for the duration of the reign of Augustus. If we suppose that Aper dated Vespasian’s reign from the time of his arrival in Rome, in the middle of the year 70, instead of from July 1, 69, we must follow most editors in fixing on A.D. 75 as the year in which the dialogue was held. This would give, on the inclusive method of reckoning, 118 years as the exact interval (43 + 75): a figure with which the detailed enumeration corresponds, if we adopt Lipsius’s emendation Statue sex et quinquaginta annos. On this explanation also centum et viginti must be either a round number or a mistake for centum et duodeviginti. Something might be said in favour of the year A.D. 76, if we were to make three emendations on the
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reading of the MSS.: (1) *sex et quinquaqinta*, with Lipsius; (2) *septimam . . . stationem*, with Ulrichs; and (3) *centum et undeviginti* (cxxix for cxx). On the whole, however, I prefer to hold fast to *sextam stationem*: and taking it as the one fixed and certain factor in the calculation, accept the year A.D. 74–75 as the date wanted, altering the other figures to correspond. This involves the acceptance of Lipsius’s *sex et quinquaqinta*. If we suppose, further, that *in hunc diem* is to be pressed, as indicating that the company had met on or about the anniversary of Cicero’s death, i.e. in December 74, we shall be tempted to make an additional change from *centum et viginti* to *centum et sedecim* (cxx–cxvi). Everything will in this way come out square, and in accordance with the known facts of history. The constituent factors are enumerated separately and approximately, and then Aper does the rapid calculation, which gives exactly 116 years (A.U.C. 711–827) as the correct interval between December 43 B.C. and December, A.D. 74.

In favour of the end of the year A.D. 74 as the date of the meeting made famous in the *Dialogue*, a certain amount of additional evidence is derived from various allusions in the body of the treatise itself. Thus at 17. 22 reference is made to the last largess which had been given to the people (*proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes, &c.*) as something within recent memory: it is known to have been given by Titus in 73. Again in 37. 1 Mucianus is spoken of as alive and at work over a collection of speeches belonging to the republican period. Now from a passage in Pliny (*N. H.* xxxii. 6, 62), in which he is referred to in the past tense, it has been argued, with great probability that in A.D. 77—the year in which Pliny presented his *Natural History* to Titus—Mucianus was no longer alive (see Teuffel-Schwabe, §§ 313–4). This would seem at least to narrow the range of choice to one of the years preceding that date—as an upper limit. For the lower limit, mention may be made of the use of *nuper* at 5. 30, referring to an appearance made by Eprius Marcellus before the senate, probably in the year A.D. 70. Another reference to the same individual, along with Vibilius Crispus, points more definitely to the year 74 itself: *nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta* (8. 18). Eprius had been away in Asia from 71 to 73, doing duty as proconsul: he was *consul suffectus*

1 Does the omission of *Decembres* in all MSS. at 17. 7 in any way support this supposition? Aper is making Tiro his authority: but if the date of the meeting was one of the days between the Nones and the Ides, he might have said for brevity *septimum idus (hos idus?) =‘ the seventh of this month.‘

2 For this use of *nuper* ‘de remotiore tempore,’ see Gerber and Greef, p. 988. Vespasian’s liberality to Saleius Bassus—*Laudavimus nuper ut miram et examinam Vespasiani liberalitatem*, 9. 24—was probably of more recent date, nearer the time of the *Dialogue* than the year A.D. 70.
on his return in 74, and was therefore in that year at the height of his fame 1.

Taking the end of A.D. 74, therefore, as on the whole the most probable date for the historical groundwork of the Dialogue, we have next to inquire how it suits the facts of Tacitus's life, especially in regard to the use of the phrase tu venis admodum, i. 13. The usage of imperial times shows that this expression might embrace a period extending from, say, the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth year 2. At the date of the historian's

1 The known facts in the life of Eprius Marcellus are of importance for the question under discussion. His full name and the various magistracies which he held are detailed in an inscription from the province of Cyprus, found at Capua, and preserved at Naples (Henzen 5425): T. Cledio, M.f., Patatina sc. tribun), Eprio Marcellio, cos. II, auguri, curioni maximo, sodali Augusta, pr(ae)tori her(e)g(rino), proc. asiae III (tertium, i.e. three years) provincia Cypros. In A.D. 48 he was appointed, for a single day, to a vacancy in the praetorship, occasioned by the deposition of Silanus, Ann. xii. 4. In 57 he appears to have been legatus pro praetore of Lycia, when he was accused of malversation, ib. xiii. 53: but escaping a verdict of guilty, he afterwards became consul suffectus—probably in the year A.D. 61. In 66 he undertook, on Nero's instructions, the impeachment of Thrasea Paetus, and was rewarded with an honosarium of £42,500. This brought him into contact with Helvidius Priscus, Thrasea's son-in-law, who was banished at the same time as Thrasea was put to death; and Helvidius made more than one attempt, after his return from exile in 68, to take vengeance on the enemy of his house. From Hist. iv. 6, 6 it would appear that his zeal in the conduct of a direct impeachment had somewhat abated before the death of Galba (nix dubia voluntate Galbae multis senatorum deprecantibus omisit Priscus, l. c.); but we read in the sequel of two separate attacks made by him on Marcellus, one in connexion with the proposal to send an embassy to Vespasian, the new emperor (end of A.D. 69—Hist. iv. 7-10) the other, of a more direct character, in the course of the year following (Eprius urgetabo, ardentibus patrum animis, Hist. iv. 43). It is probable that this was the occasion referred to in ch. 5. 30 (Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit?), when Marcellus triumphed by his eloquence in spite of the hostility of the senate. The phrase ardentibus patrum animis, quoted above from the Histories, has a certain resemblance to infestis patribus: and the incident was a memorable one, cum gliseret certamen, hinc multi bonique, inde pauci et validi pertinacibus oditi tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies, Hist. iv. 43 ad fin. In any case, the triumph of Marcellus recorded in the Dialogue (5, 30) must have occurred about the same time: it cannot have been later, for from A.D. 71 to A.D. 73 he was away acting as proconsul of Asia, and Helvidius seems speedily to have fallen out of favour. On his return, Marcellus became a second time consul suffectus, in A.D. 74: see Henzen 5418: a. d. XII. k. Iunius Q. Petilio Certale Caesaru Rusfo II, T. Cledio Eprio Marcellio II cos. He was now (at the time of the Dialogue) at the height of his power; cp. especially 8, 18 (quoted above). But he afterwards conspired against Vespasian, and was driven to commit suicide in A.D. 79 (Dio, lxvi. 16, 3).

2 Domitian, for example, at the age of eighteen is styled invenis admodum by Tacitus himself, Agr. vii. 9: and Helvidius Priscus is described in the same way (Hist. iv. 5, 6) at the same age. In Cicerio, too, a similar phrase (adulescens admodum) is applied to L. Crassus in his twenty-first year (de Off. ii. 13, 17). In the same way Velleius (ii. 41, 1) speaks of Caesar as admodum invenis in his twenty-fourth year. On the other hand, the use of the terms invenis, adulescens, and even adulescens, by themselves, varied considerably: thus Sallust calls Caesar adulescens at the age of thirty-six (Cat. xlix. 2): M. Brutus is styled adulescens by Nepos even at the age of forty-two (Att. viii. 2): Pompey again, at the age of twenty-four, is described as peradulescens and adulescens by Cicero, pro Leg. Man. § 61. See Eckstein, p. 37; Weinkauf, p. xliii.
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birth his biographers have been able to arrive approximately by a process of inference. He tells us in the Histories (i. 1) that his official career began under Vespasian, and that he received promotion from both Titus and Domitian. This must mean that he was quaestor in the first-mentioned reign, and either tribune or aedile under Titus; while we know that he held the praetorship in A.D. 88. Titus reigned from June 79 to September 81; and, as it is improbable that more than one year intervened between his tenure of the two lower offices, we may infer that Tacitus was quaestor in either 78 or 79. A necessary qualification for this office was that a candidate should have attained his twenty-fifth year, so that we may take it that the year of his birth must be fixed at A.D. 53 or 54. This would make him about twenty at the date at which he was present as a listener when the conversation reported in the Dialogue took place: a time of life which agrees admirably with the phrase iuvenis admodum. If, with others, we adopt the year 56 as the date of his birth, he may have been two years younger: and either supposition suits the description which he gives of himself as a follower of two of the most famous of contemporary pleaders, Aper and Secundus (2. 6).

The next point to be settled, on the theory that Tacitus wrote the Dialogue, is the date at which it was composed and published. Here the views of the critics diverge, as we have already seen, very considerably. Many of them have given undue weight to the passage in the Agricola in which Tacitus refers to Domitian's reign as a period during which 'the young have passed to old age, with closed lips, and the old almost to the very goal and term of life'. From the phrase per silentium it has been inferred that Tacitus cannot have written anything of any kind in the reign of Domitian, and the conclusion drawn has been that the Dialogue must have been composed either in the reign of Titus or else after Domitian's death, about the same time as the other minor works. But in the passage under consideration, Tacitus is speaking as a historian who (though he may have been industriously collecting material in the evil days which had now come to a close) is hailing a happier era as permitting him at length to break the silence into which he had been coerced. It is quite conceivable that, whether published or not at the time of composition, such a work as the Dialogue might have been written in the earlier and brighter years of Domitian's reign. Too much has no doubt been made of the necessity of postulating a considerable interval between the time at which the conversation took place and the time at which the treatise was composed, in order to account for the use of the

1 Agr. iii. 14 tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus.
phrase *juvenis admodum*. But it must be admitted that if a writer of the age of, say, twenty-five were recounting a conversation to which he had listened when about twenty, he would have been at least as likely to use some such expression as *paucos abhine annos*. Moreover, in introducing two of the 'dramatis personae,' Aper and Secundus, the author of the *Dialogue* refers to them as 'celeberrima *tum* ingenia fori nostri'—an expression which would certainly seem to point to a longer interval than is compatible with any theory of composition under Titus. We do not know the date of the death either of Aper or of Secundus: and they may be supposed, if not to have died shortly after 74, at least to have retired from active work. But if their death or retirement had been so recent as it must have been if the *Dialogue* was written about the year 79, we should have expected some reference to the fact: as it is, they are spoken of in the past tense (cp. *defuit, contemnebat, nesciebat 2 ad fin.*) in a way that seems to indicate that the writer is contemplating their career from a rather more distant standpoint in time.

But while we may lengthen the interval which separated the date of composition from the historical occurrence on which the *Dialogue* is said to be based, and so combat the arguments which have been founded on the use of the phrase *juvenis admodum*, we need not accept the view of those who confidently declare that if the work was not written before the accession of Domitian it cannot have been written till after his decease. No adequate explanation of the difference of style can be suggested on any theory which places the date of the *Dialogue* beside that of the *Agricola* and the *Germania*: rather we must establish such an interval as will account for the development of the peculiar Tacitean diction which has begun to show itself, in its main features, in these later treatises. And it must not be forgotten that the writer professes to be recording what took place by the help of 'memory and recollection' alone, *memoria et recordatione 1. 14*—a phrase which, by the way, seems hardly compatible with even reliance on notes taken at the time. It would have been impossible for him to have achieved this feat after an interval of more than twenty years, especially as he professes to narrate the discussion exactly as it took place—*isdem . . . numeris, isdemque rationibus . . . servato ordine disputationis* (1. 19).

If the statement which Tacitus makes in the introduction to the *Agricola* is, as we have seen, inadequate to prove that the *Dialogue* could not possibly have been written under Domitian, is there any other argument that would disprove a supposition which will otherwise account for many of the conditions of the problem under investigation? Here we must distinguish between the early principate of Domitian and the reign of
horror through which Tacitus and other true Romans lived in indignant silence. Like Nero, Domitian had his 'quinquennium'; and it lasted even longer than Nero's, though he was throughout his whole reign gloomy and sombre, if not always actively cruel. 'His conduct,' says Suetonius, 'was at first a mixture of good and evil, but little by little his virtues became vices: need rendered him avaricious, fear made him cruel,'—inopia rapax, metu saevus (Dom. § 3). If he would have been likely to visit with punishment a writer who, in the early years of his own reign, indulged in some of the outspoken sentiments which we find in the Dialogue, he would have been just as likely to act in the same way towards one who had written and published during the short reign of his immediate predecessor. It must have been quite as safe to tell the story of the meeting in Maternus's house, and of how the poet-pleader declared his intention of going on with his 'republican' tragedies, at a time before the temper of the new ruler had showed itself, as it would have been in the year immediately before Domitian came to the throne. For with the inclination to connect the contracted sphere of eloquence with the loss of political freedom, there co-existed in the mind of Maternus, as will be shown afterwards, a general appreciation of the compensating advantages which the empire had brought in its train, and a due regard, in particular, for the benefits conferred on Rome by so wise and upright a ruler as Vespasian (41. 17). The ground of his confident attitude is, in fact, disclosed in his concluding speech. Moreover, we know that Domitian was a patron of literature. Suetonius tells us that he instituted the Quinquatria Minervae, with contests in poetry and rhetoric. He used to preside at the quinquennial festival of Jupiter Capitolinus, at which both poets and prose writers recited their productions, the most successful being decorated with golden crowns. Quintilian enjoyed under Domitian the same imperial patronage and favour that had been extended to him in the previous reigns of Vespasian and Titus. It is difficult to believe, therefore, that the new emperor's accession to the throne was the signal for a youthful literary aspirant like Tacitus at once to close his lips in silence. Whether it was published immediately, or shown at first only to a few intimate friends, we seem to be almost forced, by the conditions of the problem, to infer that the Dialogue was written about the year 84–85. Such a theory gains, in the first place, a sufficient interval between the date of composition and the historic frame-work, while, on the other hand, it allows a sufficient length of time for the development of the style of Tacitus as we afterwards know it. If the Dialogue was published at once, it is just possible that the long silence which Tacitus maintained during the reign of Domitian may have been
partly due to some expression of disapproval that had been conveyed to him. The tone of Maternus's reference to some of the court favourites (13. 10) may very well have been a ground of offence. Eprius Marcelinus was, indeed, dead and gone, and cannot have held a high place in the emperor's memories of the past: Domitian may not have loved his father, but it is impossible that he can have had any liking for conspirators. Vibius Crispus, on the other hand, continued to flourish at the imperial court till his death at an advanced old age, in the year A.D. 93. But even under Titus such persons as Crispus, who worked their way to power by the methods of the delator, had begun to be in less request (Suet. Tit. 8). It is just as likely that any displeasure which the emperor may have expressed was occasioned by the general complexion of the work as by any particular utterance. And after all such displeasure cannot have been very deeply felt. The writer had not been guilty of any disparaging allusions to Domitian himself or to the circumstances of his reign, and his political theories must have been shared by many in the Rome of that day. Without some reference to them, and some discussion of their merits, the schools of rhetoric, in which he had been trained, would have failed for want of material.

While admitting that there is nothing improbable in the theory that the author may have received some indication of imperial displeasure, I cannot agree with Wolff in identifying Tacitus with the unknown writer referred to by Quintilian in his enumeration of the historians of Rome (x. 1, 104). Such a work as the Dialogus de Oratoribus cannot have given Tacitus any claim to a place in that catalogue, and we do not know what progress he had made with the preliminary task of collecting material for his historical writings by the time when Quintilian published the Institutio (about 95 A.D.), in which the first chapter of the Tenth Book is incorporated probably as an abstract of the substance of much previous teaching. We shall find that it is highly probable that it was the influence of Quintilian which directed Tacitus, along with Fabius Justus and others, to the investigation of such problems as that set forth in the Dialogue, for the treatment of which their youthful intellects might otherwise have been immature. But Quintilian was worldly enough to know when to assume a courtly tone, and he would hardly have pronounced the eulogy referred to, if its unknown subject had incurred the emperor's marked displeasure.

1 See p. xv, note.
2 There is a personal touch about the phrases used in the Introduction to the Histories, which seems to give this theory an additional appearance of probability: 'dignitatem nostram . . . a Domitiano longius proiectam non abnuerim,' and again 'rara temporum felicitate ubi sen-tire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.'
3 See Introd. to Book X, p. xi.
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With the theory that the Dialogue was written by Tacitus when about thirty years of age, and that the conversation at which he professes to have been present took place some ten years previously, the internal evidence offered by the treatise harmonizes very well. We shall find that the style is as Ciceronian as was possible for a writer living towards the end of the first century: a natural phenomenon in the case of one who had begun his career as an orator, and who was embodying in this treatise the fruits of his early rhetorical and literary studies. The later style of Tacitus is very different, but it would have been out of place in such a work as this, even if we could suppose that he had already developed it at the time when the Dialogue appears to have been written. Then he no doubt shared in that reaction against Seneca of which Quintilian made himself the chief exponent,—some of the features of the philosopher's style and mode of thought being exemplified in the person of Aper, for criticism by others with whom Tacitus had more literary and personal sympathy: afterwards the bitter experience of public affairs at Rome and the iron pressure of a cruel despotism led him to adopt, in dealing with altogether different subject matter, the concentrated vigour of the terse, pithy, and pointed style for which his name now stands as a synonym. Those who question his authorship of the Dialogue, on the ground of difference of style, base their case on reasons which would lead them also, as Mr. Simcox says, to "doubt the genuineness of Mr. Carlyle's early essays in the Edinburgh Review if he had not collected them himself." While Cicero is undoubtedly Tacitus's model in the Dialogue, the treatise contains clear traces of the writer's own individuality, besides unmistakeable coincidences, as regards words and phrases, with the usage of the historical books. There is a considerable correspondence also between the criticisms pronounced on Roman orators and others in the Dialogue, and what Tacitus says about the same individuals elsewhere: this will be brought out in the notes (e.g. on 5. 32). The eulogy of republican eloquence and of the orators of old, in ch. 36, may be compared with the speech put into the mouth of C. Silius when advocating the enforcement of the lex Cincia (Ann. xi. 6): and one of his sentences (pulcherrimam alioquin et bonarum artium principem sordidis ministeriiis foedari) reminds the reader of another famous passage in the Dialogue (32. 18) ut quae olim omnium

1 See Pliny, Epp. ii. 1, 6; 11, 17; iv. 13, 10.
2 See next page: also xlviij sq.
3 Compare the references to Cassius Severus, 26. 16 with Ann. i. 72, 13; for Caesar cp. 21. 20 and Ann. xiii. 3; for Pomponius Secundus, 18. 9 and Ann. xii. 28, v. 8; for Vipstanus Messalla, 15. 4 and Hist. iv. 42; for Eprius Marcellus, 5. 30 and Hist. iv. 6, Ann. xvi. 22 ad fin. and ibid. 29.
artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat nunc... quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. The habit of ethical reflection and shrewd psychological observation which manifests itself repeatedly in the historical books is already at work in the Dialogue: 8. 27 divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui viluperet quam qui fastidiat; 13. 4 adligati omni adulatione, nec imperantibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi; 18. 15 vitiò autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse; 23. 16 prope ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur; 37 ad fin. in ore hominum... quorum ea natura est ut secura vellicent; 40. 5 cum... ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque ut histriones auribus uterentur. Such an expression as ut est natura invidiae, though it may of course be paralleled from other writers, has a sort of family likeness to quae natura pavoris est, Hist. iii. 84, 20; cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi, ib. i. 22, 16; ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt, ib. iv. 70, 12, and many other phrases familiar to students of Tacitus. The closing deliverance of Maternus, ch. 41 ad fin. nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam gladium, bono saeculi sui quisque obtructionem alterius utatur reminds the reader of the famous utterance in the Agricola (42, 18) sciant quibus moris est inicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt. The sentiment of acquiescence in the necessity for the rule of a single man, which finds expression in this closing speech, is another element in the identification: the whole political tone is quite consistent with that which we know was adopted by Tacitus. Again, that feeling of regret for the past which seems to have entered into the very composition of the historian's genius is exemplified in the poet-pleader's first speech (11-13), with its beautiful picture of a golden age (cp. Ann. iii. 26). But it is in the sphere of moral sentiment that the resemblance is most pronounced. Messalla's lament over the oblivio moris antiqui (28. 6) is fitly put into his mouth by the writer who made even his Germania an opportunity for introducing weighty reflections on the moral decadence of Rome. Here Messalla speaks for Tacitus,—the Tacitus whom we know from his other works. When the speaker bewails the general effacement of the 'good old ways,' the shamelessness of the present day (29. 7), the decay of careful moral training at home (29. 2), he is uttering the sentiments of the writer

1 See p. xxxix.
who in the *Agricola* congratulates his hero on the loving care of a pure and prudent mother (4, 7), and who in the *Germania* points the contrast between savage virtue and civilized corruption in the well-known words

\[\text{nemo illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur ... plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges (19 ad fin.).}\]

II.

**SUBSTANCE AND SCHEME OF THE DIALOGUE.**

We may now endeavour to obtain an idea of the contents of the *Dialogue*, though the attempt to analyze its substance must necessarily anticipate some of the problems which will require to be dealt with subsequently.

The treatise may be taken as consisting of three main parts, to the first of which is prefixed an introduction (chs. 1–4) setting forth the circumstances in which the conversation narrated is said to have taken place, while the third is finished off with a concluding chapter (42) describing the breaking up of the company.

The first part of the dialogue proper extends from ch. 5 to ch. 13, and contains two speeches, one by Aper, the other by Maternus.

The second part begins with the entrance of a new member of the company, Messalla (ch. 14), and again contains two speeches, one by Aper, the other by Messalla. It ends with an interruption by Maternus in ch. 27.

The third (chs. 28–41) is the most important section, as dealing with the real subject of the treatise. It contains the great *lacuna*, the existence of which (and the hypothesis of another) has given rise to a great difficulty in regard to the distribution of the speakers' parts. Messalla is the main disputant from ch. 28 up to the point at which his discourse is lost, at the end of ch. 35. At ch. 36 another speaker begins, though the first part of what he says is also lost. There is nothing in the external form of the text to show that he is not Maternus (as would naturally be supposed from the words *Finierat Maternus*, ch. 42), or that the speech from ch. 36 to ch. 41 is not a continuous whole. But a nearer consideration of the general scheme of the
treatise will reveal the difficulties which attach to this, and, indeed, to any other theory.

It is important to note that, though it is not directly treated till the beginning of the third part, the real subject of the Dialogue is clearly and distinctly stated in the very opening sentence. It is the decadence and dethronement of eloquence. The causes of this phenomenon had formed the theme of frequent discussion between the writer and his friend, Justus Fabius: saepe ex me requiris, Juste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniiis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retinet. The writer is conscious of the greatness of the subject, and of his own inability to do justice to it; but he professes to be in a position to deal with it by simply rehearsing, exactly as it occurred, a conversation to which he had been privileged to listen when a very young man. He was then a student at the bar, and had attached himself, as was the manner of such students, to two of the most famous pleaders of the day, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus. In company with them, he went to call on the poet-pleader, Curiatius Maternus, whose recitation of his tragedy Cato on the previous day, and his avowed preference of poetry over oratory, form the subject of some introductory dialogue. Referring to the offence that was alleged to have been taken at some of the sentiments expressed in the Cato, Secundus asks Maternus if he intends to revise and alter his drama in any way; to which Maternus replies, in the most outspoken manner, that it will be published exactly as it was read, and that he has on hand another tragedy, the Thyestes, which will follow his Cato and supply any omissions. On this Aper makes a somewhat angry protest against what he considers the wrong-headedness of Maternus in dissipating his energies on such productions, when he might have his hands full of forensic work. Maternus replies that their frequent differences in regard to this matter rather take the edge off Aper’s attack, but offers to leave it in the hands of Secundus, who will either forbid him to write poetry, or else, as he himself would prefer, use his influence to constrain him to leave the narrow groove of professional work at the bar and give himself wholly over to the companionship of the Muses. He appeals to Secundus as one on whose sympathies he can depend (3. 9); and Secundus confesses to a certain bias by the reference which he makes to his intimate friendship with the poet Saleius Bassus. Aper, however, retorts that it is quite different with those who are poets and nothing else, and proceeds to impeach Maternus for his neglect of the art of oratory.

Aper’s speech consists of a eulogy of oratoria eloquentia in respect of its
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serviceableness (utilitas), the pleasure which it confers (voluptas), and the prestige (dignitas: fama, laus) which it wins for the orator (chs. 5–8), with a corresponding depreciation of poetry as being altogether barren and unprofitable in all these respects (chs. 9, 10). Aper is the realist, the practical man of the Dialogue, whose formula in estimating the worth of poetry is the familiar Cui bono? (9. 5). In the hour of need, it is to the pleader, he says, that even poets must have recourse. Saleius Bassus has to beg people to be good enough to come and hear him give a reading of what he has written with so much expenditure of time and trouble; and even this costs him money. Eprius Marcellus, on the other hand, and Vibiis Crispus hold a glorious place. Their friendship is a real boon to the emperor, as bringing him something which it passes the power even of an emperor to give: while Bassus has to be thankful if princely favour should enrich him, as it lately did, with a gift of money that only serves to bring his dependence on his patron into greater relief. Yet Aper is not without an appreciation of poetry, in its proper place. His quarrel is not with poetry, but with Maternus's preference for poetry: tecum mihi, Materne, res est quod, cum natura te in ipsam arem eloquentiae ferrat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis... nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco (ch. 10). In concluding his impeachment, Aper points out that poets of Maternus's temperament do not even enjoy the advantage of quiet security and freedom from offence; more will be forgiven to the pleader who is outspoken on behalf of a living friend and client than to a poet who goes out of his way to extol the virtues of a dead Cato.

The short reply of Maternus (chs. 11–13) forms one of the most interesting portions of the book. The personal contrast between him and Aper is crystallized in two phrases which occur at the opening of the eleventh chapter: Aper had spoken acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, Maternus is remissus et subridens. To this picture both characters remain true throughout the piece. In glowing language, 'fitter for a poet than for an orator,' Maternus eulogizes the poet's life as the ideal to which he intends henceforward to devote himself. Conscious of his own blamelessness, he has no fear that he will ever be called upon to exert his oratorical powers except in the defence of others (pro alterius discrimine). It is the charm of the poet's life that has captivated him: 'mid the quiet of grove and glade will he live, in the hallowed haunts of song, far from the 'madding crowd' of clients and suitors and morning-callers. And the poet is as famous, he contends, as the orator: Homer does not bow before Demosthenes, and Cicero meets with more detraction
nowadays than Vergil. In contemporary life, a Secundus Pomponius may hold his own with a Domitius Aper. As for Crispus and Marcellus, he envies them not: freedmen are often as powerful as they, and they have to pay the penalty of their position: *nec imperantibus unquam satīs servi videntur nec nobis satīs liberi.*

Maternus concludes in a sort of ecstasy of inspiration (*concitatus et velut instinctus*), and at this point (ch. 14) the company is re-inforced by the entrance of Vipstanus Messalla. He apologizes for his intrusion; but, on being reassured by Secundus, expresses his gratification at finding his friends interested in such discussions as that on which they had just been engaged. Secundus he congratulates on his literary sympathies, and Aper, more ironically, on his adherence to the topics of the schools, and his exaltation of the methods and exercises of the new rhetoric over the wider culture of the orators of old. This brings us to the real subject of the treatise, the decadence of oratory, which Messalla says he often tries to explain to himself, and cannot believe that Aper means seriously to deny. The two speeches of which the next part consists (16–27), those of Aper and Messalla, turn on the comparative merits of Ciceronian and contemporary eloquence.

Aper begins with a protest (16, 17) against the use of the term *antiqui.* He refuses to admit that the orators of the late republic and the early empire (Cicero, Caesar, Caelius, Calvus, Brutus, Asinius, Messalla) are ancients at all. Both *novi* and *antiqui* may be said to fall within the limits of a single life: in Britain he had himself seen an old man who had fought against Caesar, and so might conceivably have heard Cicero. The classical period, in fact, is not yet over. There is no essential difference between ‘new’ and ‘old,’ except in the minds of those who habitually disparage the present as compared with the past: *vitio malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio.* Eloquence, like everything else, passes through stages of development; it is not tied down to one fashion of feature: *mutantur cum temporibus formae quoque et genera dicendi.* Contemporary tendencies may be justified by reference to an improved standard of taste and a developed culture. It was not from lack of ability or ignorance that Cassius Severus, with whom the decline is said to have begun, adopted his peculiar style: he set himself deliberately (*iudicio et intellectu*) to effect a change that was called for by an age which had now grown weary of the old dulness and want of polish (*tristem et impexam antiquitatem*). The long and wearisome

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1 *Cp. Hor. Epist. ii. 1, 36 sqq.*:  
Perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter  
Viles atque novos. Excludat iurgia finis.
compositions of former days, with their intricate arrangement and technical divisions—the ‘book-speeches’ made to order according to the precepts of Hermagoras and Apollodorus—must give place to the animation and refinement (laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis) that have now become indispensable: novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat. Finishing with a short review of the antiqui (21–23), Aper contends that the Ciceronian age is really overrated: Calvus, Caelius, Caesar, Brutus, Asinius Pollio, Messalla, Corvinus, and Cicero himself, are weighed in the balance and found wanting. In one case the diction is slovenly (sordes verborum), and the rhythm defective (hians compositio): in others there is a want of the ‘buoyancy and polish’ that mark present-day eloquence (laetitiam niloremque nostrorum temporum). When those who confine their admiration to the past praise its speakers for their ‘sound, pure style,’ they only confess that these speakers were wanting in vigour: parum est aegrum non esse, fortetm et laetum et alacrem volo: prope abest ab infrimitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur.

When Aper has finished, Maternus (while complimenting him on his spirited and ingenious defence of his own age) calls on Messalla to fulfil his promise to set forth the causes of a decline which he himself regards as an established fact. Messalla’s speech (25–27) consists of a vigorous vindication of the antiqui from Aper’s accusations, and an attack on the ‘curling-tongs and jingle-jingle’ (calamistros et tinnitus) of such later speakers as Maecenas and Gallio, with a general impeachment of his own times as degenerate and effeminate. He is prepared to cite examples from the past, and match them against any which Aper may put forward; but Maternus again interrupts, and recalls the speaker to the original theme. It is the explanation of the phenomenon, he says, that they wish to have from him, not a mere statement of fact. Messalla then proceeds (ch. 28) to unfold the causes of the decline of eloquence from two points of view, taking first the methods of early nurture and theoretical training which obtained in former days, and contrasting them with the laxity and indifference of his own time (28–32), and then, after a few remarks from Maternus, comparing also the practical exercises of the antiqui with those of the novi (33–35).

It is in this part of the treatise that the author of the Dialogue first begins to discuss directly the answer to the question announced in the opening sentence. That Messalla is meant to appear as a ‘laudator temporis acti’ is obvious from the fact that he leads off by at once attributing the decline, not only of eloquence, but of the other arts as well to desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscitia praeipientium et oblivio
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moris antiqui. In former days, he says, children were brought up by their own mothers, who exercised a watchful care that was afterwards fruitful in results: suus cuique filius... non in cella empta nutritis, sed in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservere libris. But now they are handed over to Greek nurses and pedagogues, whose worthless characters are speedily reflected in the minds of their charges. Moral supervision on the part of parents is a thing of the past: indeed their influence is rather the other way. Next Messalla complains that a narrow training in rhetoric has been substituted for that wide philosophical culture which was the strength of the speakers of bye-gone days. Seeing that the orator is one who must be able to speak fluently and persuasively on any and every topic, he ought to receive the broadest possible education, including law and history, philosophy and science. The neglect of what made Cicero great is, in Messalla's judgment, the first and foremost reason of the decay of eloquence: ergo hanc primam et praeceptam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. There are others, but these he will leave his friends to explain. Maternus, however (ch. 33), suggests that the contrast he has laid down between the ignorant apathy of his own day and the enthusiastic and fruitful application of the ancients (differentiam nostrae desidiaet inscitiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia) ought to be followed up by a comparison of the practical exercises (exercitationes) formerly engaged in by aspirants to oratorical fame with those to which they are confined and limited now. What should be the character of the training which is meant to serve as a practical preparation for the exercise of the barrister's profession? This leads Messalla to paint a vivid picture (34) of the Roman youth of former days, who after the most careful home-training, and instruction in all the branches of a liberal education (imbutus iam domestica disciplina, referitus honestis studiis) was introduced by his father or some other relative to one of the most eminent orators and statesmen of the day, under whose immediate auspices he speedily acquired familiarity with the actual practice of his profession. He learned his craft under a master's eye, studying it, not in any cloistered retreat, but in the open light of day, and face to face with critical situations (in media luce atque inter ipsa discrimina). It was on the battle-field, in fact, that he received lessons in the art of war (pugnare in proelio discebat). What a contrast between the great opportunities thus afforded of drinking at the well of eloquence pure and undefiled, gauging the popular taste, and gaining experience of real issues,—and the narrowing influences of the school of rhetoric, with its unedifying companionship, its artificial methods, its stock subjects for empty
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declaration¹! No sufficient preparation can be provided there for the concrete issues of actual experience. . . .

Here Messalla's speech breaks off abruptly. The rest of it is lost in a lacuna which the indications of the manuscripts enable us to infer ² must have originally contained about one-ninth part of the whole treatise. The next speaker begins in the middle of a sentence, as Messalla had left off. His identity will be discussed below, as well as the various theories put forward by editors and critics as to the distribution of parts in this last section of the Dialogue³: meanwhile the speech may be treated as forming (after the lost introduction) a continuous whole (chs. 36–41).

Its main purpose is to emphasize the fact that the conditions of the political constitution of the old free-state were more favourable for the growth and development of eloquence: though it does not conclude without a reference to the compensating advantages which are secured by a more stable form of government. In the first place, eloquence was a much larger factor then than it is now: like fire, it needs fuel to feed it, and in those troublous times (illa perturbatione ac licentia) there was fuel in abundance. This was the speaker's opportunity: a career was open to him so long as power rested with the fickle populace, whose judgment he could sway by his eloquence. We see now how distracting it all was to the country; but what else could have provided the orator with the field he needs? Where else was he to look for such rich rewards? Eloquence was, in fact, a necessary and indispensable passport to public life. No one could get on without it. And the sphere of oratory was far greater and more important than now. Bribery at elections, the pillaging of provinces, the butchery of fellow-citizens—such

¹ The detailed contrast made in this passage (35 ad fin.) should be specially noted. In regard to the place of instruction, the forum has been supplanted by the schools of rhetoric. Instead of the exempla veterum the learner has no model now save the performances of his fellow-students. And for the daily practice of the great law-courts are now substituted the barren and unreal exercitationes of the technical school. These are referred to under their two main heads, suasoriae and controversiae. The former consisted of arguments for or against coming to some resolution, and were directed mainly to the cultivation of the imaginative faculty. Persons and situations were chosen from legend or history, and, with some assistance from the teacher in the arrangement of material, the student of rhetoric had to put himself in the position, for example, of Agamemnon, debating whether he ought to slay Iphigenia. The controversiae were more difficult, and involved a greater amount of concrete legal argument. Their subject matter was either altogether fictitious (cp. quam incredibiliter composita, 35. 16), or was made to depend somehow or other on a historical occurrence or a question of present-day interest. Thus criminal cases were often taken, the students appearing both for the prosecution and the defence. See notes ad loc., and cp. Quint. x. 1, 71; also Burrian's edition of Annaeus Seneca.

² See pp. lxxxi–lxxxi.

³ See pp. xxxviii sq.
incidents as these, however regrettable in themselves, were far more inspiring than the routine practice of police-courts and petty-sessions. Political and social disturbance is the best stimulant for oratory. Every one knows that peace is to be preferred to war; but it is war that brings out the soldier. So it is with eloquence (chs. 37, 38).

Again, the forms of judicial procedure and the practice of the law-courts were more conducive to good speaking in former days. Then a pleader could take as much time as he liked, and there was a very wide freedom of adjournment. And the centumviral courts,—the great sphere of forensic oratory now,—were formerly of little account: they were eclipsed by the brilliant surroundings of other tribunals (splendore aliorum iudiciorum obrubantur). Moreover, the habit of speaking in the paenula, and in chambers or offices, is not favourable to oratorical animation. The stimulus of an audience is wanting, and the incitement of applause: things are not now as they were in the days when the forum was crowded with an interested assemblage, when deputations came up from the country-towns to show their interest in a case,—cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. And in former times the frequent public meetings, and the notoriety to be gained by the impeachment of distinguished individuals, supplied a great stimulus. Again must the truth be stated: eloquence thrives on disorder. Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probilate et modestia gaudet, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alurnna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditiuni, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine veritate, contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constituitis civitatiibus non oritur. At Athens, where power lay in the hands of the multitude, orators were numerous; at Rome, in earlier days, there was greater oratorical vigour, but the country had a heavy price to pay in the attempted revolution of the Gracchi and in the death of Cicero (chs. 39, 40).

From this point of view, the surviving traces of the old forum are only a proof of a society that falls short of ideal perfection. In the ideal state, free from all taint of wrong-doing, the orator will be as superfluous as the physician among those that are not sick. Minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. The transference of power from the popular assembly to the emperor (sapientissimus et unus), with all the consequent changes, has contracted the sphere of eloquence. Circumstances alter cases. If you, my friends (the speaker concludes), had lived under the republic, and if the old orators had changed places with you, you could not have failed to achieve the highest oratorical renown, while they would not have been
found wanting in the moderation and self-restraint that are called for under existing conditions. It is here that we must look for the reconciliation of opposing views. Great oratorical fame is inconsistent now with the settled calm which pervades the state: let us be thankful for the latter without disparaging the conditions under which the former was attainable: *nunc quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnum famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur* (ch. 41).

Messalla would have liked to state some points in reply (he was a more thorough-going champion of the old order), and to enlarge on others. Maternus promises him an opportunity. For the present, he bids Aper farewell, threatening that he will tell the poets about him, while Messalla will stir up the lovers of the past. Aper retorts that he will carry his complaint about them to the rhetoricians of the schools. And so they part, in great good-humour.

III.

THE INTERLOCUTORs AND THEIR Parts.

The unity of the *Dialogue* has been the subject of much discussion. No two editors are altogether agreed about its scheme or plan, and even its main motive has been called in question. We cannot pretend to determine now the extent to which the treatise embodies a conversation which may have actually occurred—how far it has a historical foundation, and how far it is the product of the writer's imagination. There can be no doubt, however, that it rests on a certain basis of fact. The *dramatis personae* are all historical personages; and even though they may all have been dead at the time when Tacitus wrote, he would not have been likely to invent all the circumstances of the meeting at which they are represented as having interchanged views with one another. But we cannot meet the charges that have been made against the construction of the treatise, against its unity of plan and purpose, by taking refuge in the argument that it is simply a narrative, as accurate as the writer's recollection could make it, of a conversation which actually took place, and which he reports exactly as it occurred. In that case, no greater unity could
be looked for than might belong to any conversation among friends who make a more or less casual meeting the opportunity of indulging in a somewhat formal debate on a given subject. In spite, however, of the disclaimer of original treatment which is made in the introductory chapter *(isdem numeris isdemque rationibus)*, no one will be found to contend that the writer is merely reporting, so far as he could recall them to memory, the *ipsissima verba* of the several speakers. The main lines were no doubt laid down for him: he adheres to the order of debate (*servato ordine disputationis*), and the sentiments expressed by the various individuals are evidently in accord with the views which they may have put forward on the occasion referred to, or at least with those which they were known to have entertained. But the writer is more than a mere reporter: he is a constructive artist who, with one main purpose in view, must have set himself to weld together in a harmonious whole the various materials on which he had elected to work.

Such defects, or rather difficulties, of plan and construction as have been charged against the treatise, are obviously attributable to the incomplete and mutilated condition in which it has come down to us. As to its main motive and purpose, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is an attempt to discover and set forth the reasons why eloquence no longer flourishes at Rome as it did in the days of Cicero. Some have thought that the proper subject of the *Dialogue* is the comparative worth of poetry and eloquence, and the question which of the two branches a man of genius and culture ought, in existing political circumstances, to devote himself to. But this is the subject merely of the introductory part of the piece (chs. 1–14), which serves not only as the 'setting' of the whole, but also as a preparation for the note which is sounded in the closing chapters. The causes of the decline of eloquence are not, indeed, directly dealt with till the twenty-eighth chapter: but the part immediately preceding (chs. 15–27), in which Aper and Messalla debate the comparative merits of 'ancient' and 'modern' eloquence, is necessary to the composition of the whole and quite in place as leading up to the main subject of the treatise. In spite of the aberrations of some editors, nothing can be plainer than the fact that it is the reason of the decay of oratory that is the chief topic of discussion. That was a phenomenon which must

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1 See not only the opening sentence of the first chapter, *Saepe ex me requiris, &c.* (with which cp. *eandam hanc quaestionem*, l. 10), but also 15. 10 *Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huius infinitiae differentiae scrutetur ac reddalet*; 24. 11 *exprime nobis non laudationem antiquorum*. *sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus*; 27. 2 *neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos . . . sed causas exquirimus*; 32. *ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitravere cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus*. 
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have forced itself on the notice of all interested observers, as of great moment not only in itself, but also in relation to the causes which had brought it about. In the new condition of things introduced by the establishment of the empire, eloquence had little room left it for exercise and development. Its sphere had become narrowed and confined. The forum was no longer the political centre of gravity. Debarred from questions of importance, such as had afforded free scope for the oratory of former days, the art of rhetoric now hid her diminished head in the inferior law-courts, and in the unreal atmosphere of the schools of declamation. Empty superficiality and mechanical routine usurped the place of the power that had formerly swayed the hearts of men: ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur (32. 19). No discussion of the causes of this decline could fail to take note of the change in the public taste, of the altered conditions of education at Rome, of the new political circumstances: and these are some of the topics treated in the Dialogue.

As to the construction and plan of the work, the main difficulty hinges on the great lacuna which occurs at the close of the thirty-fifth chapter, and the distribution of parts in what follows. This must affect our estimate of the part played in the debate (1) by Secundus, and (2) by Maternus. There is less doubt about Messalla, and none at all about Aper. Aper’s attitude may be plainly enough inferred from the account already given of the contents of the treatise. He is a realist and a utilitarian, who has made his way by hard work at the bar, and who knows both the value of the position he has achieved and the best methods of securing it. He speaks with the strong professional feeling of a man derived no support from any extraneous accomplishments. The passage is not free from difficulty, and some have asked whether Aper would not have more naturally desired to enhance his reputation for natural ability rather than for ‘hard work.’ But there was no need for that: even his detractors acknowledged his natural endowments (2, 11: cp. de Or. ii. § 1, Or. § 143, of Antonius). They thought that he possessed great natural ability, but was deficient in training and culture. Tacitus, his pupil, says he was not: on the contrary, he was omni eruditione imbutus. But at the same time he represented, as a speaker, the tendencies of the new rhetoric (14. 21). While professing a sympathetic feeling for literature (10. 13), he knew that, in practice, the
who is conscious of what he owes to his art. He had come up to Rome from a Gaulish province as a novus homo, and had risen by the force of his eloquence to high office. The approval of his audience, the gratitude of clients, the favour of the great, are to him the things chiefly worth striving for: why a man who could command all these should elect to be a poet rather than an orator passes his comprehension. As a stylist, he is the representative of the tendencies of which Quintilian expresses his disapproval. There is a certain striving after effect, which seems to indicate an exaltation of form over substance; and in the ‘nominis controversia’ with which he introduces his disparagement of the ‘antiqui’ (16, 17) we recognize the sophistic habit of debate, by which he might have stolen a march upon a more unwary audience. Aper is all for piquancy and point: colores sententiarum, lumina orationis, nihil et cultus descriptionum,—these were evidently as much to him as they were to Seneca himself. Even Cicero he appraises by this standard, and finds him just tolerable. It was in his more mature years that Cicero, according to Aper, began to discover what true style really was: locos quoque laetiores attemptavit et quasdam sententias inventit, utique in ipsis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae compositum, id est, postquam usque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset, 22. 7. His earlier speeches are not free from the faults of a former age: he is slow and tedious, wanting in passion, and destitute of what Aper and his friends valued most, showy passages, epigrams, and ‘quotable bits’: pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur: nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi artificio firmus sane paries et duraturus sed non satis expolitus et splendens, l.c. His own position he defines in a well-known sentence which occurs in the same context: ego autem oratorum, sicul locupletem ac lautom patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet, non ea solum instrui super intellecte quae necessariss usibus sufficiat, sed esse in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmas, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius liberat. It is somewhat surprising that so eminent a representative of contemporary tendencies as Aper evidently was should nowhere be even alluded to by Quintilian. We may infer that, if he was still alive when Tacitus wrote, he had at least withdrawn from practice at the bar (cp. tum ... contenmnebat ... nesciebat, ch. 2), and that he died without leaving behind him anything fit to enter into the prevailing taste no longer required an orator to give proof of possessing that wide culture that was the boast of the Ciceronian era (32. 10: cp. 19 sqq.). His main interest was in the formal and technical aspect of his art. That was what was prized by the adherents of the new school, and it was with the idea of gaining increased prestige in regard to it that he affected to look down on learning and culture (e.g. philosophy 31. 25) as ‘extraneous accomplishments.’
great rhetorician’s review of literature. The probability is that, like Secundus, he did not live to attain to the maturity of his powers.

Aper’s chief opponent is Vipstanus Messalla, who is known to us from the Historiae as an energetic supporter of Vespasian against Vitellius. Messalla is as enthusiastic for the past as Aper is for the present. He has no sympathy with the emptiness and unreality of the education which was provided in his day, and his instincts as a true-born Roman (the only one, by the way, of all the disputants) lead him to dwell fondly on the great orators of the past and the causes to which they owed their greatness. To him they realize, far more than any contemporary speaker, the ideal of what an orator ought to be. He saw that the modern specialization of the studium, and its absorption in the technicalities and trivialities of the schools of rhetoric rendered impossible the acquisition of that broad culture and those wide interests which had been the glory of Cicero and his contemporaries. It is this that leads him to denounce against the views which Aper represents with an intensity of conviction and a vigour of language for which he feels impelled half playfully to apologize (32 ad fin.). He refers contemptuously to the ‘so-called rhetoricians’ (expetuntur quos rhetorae vocant, 30. 5) whose premature activity displaced from the education of the Roman youth broader and more valuable studies, such as history and philosophy, and robbed it of the soil foundation on which it had formerly rested. His speech is unfortunately lost just as he is beginning to emphasize the existing divorce of the schools from practical life by picturing the discomfiture of the aspirant to oratorical renown when he is first transferred from the technicalities of the lecture-room to the realities of the forum. Though a ‘laudator temporis acti’ Messalla was himself no recluse, but a man of action. He had taken an active part in the campaign against Vitellius, and Tacitus is indebted to him for an account of some of its incidents (Hist. iii. 25, 28). His own reputation for eloquence stood high, and Aper, in the Dialogue, makes a complimentary reference to the occasion when he had gained great fame at Rome by pleading the cause of his less worthy brother, Aquilius Regulus, before the Senate (ch. 15). This was in A.D. 70 (Hist. iv. 42). Messalla must of course have been alive four or five years later, when the dialogue is said to have taken place; but as he is not mentioned in Pliny’s Letters (where allusions to Regulus are frequent) it has been inferred that he too died young. In fact, it may

1 Legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praerat, claris maioriibus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset, Hist. iii. 9. There is a note of personal interest and association in this characterization, such as might have been expected from one who had so direct a knowledge of Messalla as the author of the Dialogue.
have been the more or less recent death of all the interlocutors that induced Tacitus to bring them together on his canvas.

Julius Secundus was a friend and contemporary of Quintilian, who refers to him more than once in complimentary terms. From x. 1, 121 we gather that he died prematurely (interceptus), possibly about the year 80 A.D. One characteristic of his style seems to have been a certain want of spontaneity: this is indicated in the allusion made in ch. 1 to the criticism passed on him by his detractors (quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et, &c.), as well as in Quintilian’s phrase, infinitae curae, quoted below. In the Dialogue, as we have it now, he does not play the part that might have been expected of him from the prominent way in which he is introduced, along with Aper, in the second chapter. His prudent reserve and retiring disposition are shown in his question to Maternus about a ‘safer’ edition (securiorem) of that poet’s ‘Cato,’ and in the way in which he deprecates the proposal that he should act as arbiter between Maternus and Aper (ch. 4). Some critics have held that he altogether declines this proposal, and ask where he makes his award, as there is not even a mention of him in the closing chapter. But it should not be forgotten that it is only as regards the difference between Maternus and Aper (as to the comparative worth of poetry and eloquence) that his arbitration is proposed; and, though the entrance of Messalla in ch. 14 gives a new turn to the debate, Secundus first summarizes the rival speeches, of which the introductory part consists, in an impartial deliverance, in which he shows due appreciation of the sermo of Aper on the one hand, and the oratio of Maternus on the other (14. 6). It is more difficult to decide whether a speech of Secundus may not have been lost in the great lacuna which follows ch. 35. On the whole, it appears probable that whether or not Secundus contributed a set speech, expressing his individual attitude, he at least played a larger part in the debate than would appear from the text as we have it now. Too much weight need not be attached to what Maternus says (16. 8), when he undertakes, on behalf of Secundus as well as for himself, to supply what Messalla may omit in his presentation of the question under discussion. But, a priori, it seems improbable that Secundus would have been so prominently introduced along with Aper in the opening chapter, if his admiring pupil had only intended to use him for a few appropriate utterances to mark the development of

1 x. 3, 12 aequalem meum atque a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatium, mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae; ib. 1 § 120 Iulio Secundo, si longior contigisset aetas, clarissimum profecio nomen oratoris atud posteros foret, et sqq.

2 The date suggested in my note on Quintilian x. 1, 120 (A. D. 88) is rightly held by Prof. A. S. Wilkins to be several years too late.
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the piece. In regard to this point, the interpretation of ch. 1. 11 (cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent) is of the greatest importance. To exclude Secundus from the reference here, would be to practically limit it to Messalla and Maternus: on the strictest interpretation of diversas causas adferre—occurring as this phrase does after eandem hanc questionem (cp. 1. 1) pertractantes—Aper does not seem to come in, because it is not his province to suggest any causae for a decline which he does not admit.

Again, if the lacuna really extends over about one-ninth of the whole treatise, it is difficult to imagine what it can have contained except on the theory that Secundus also spoke. Messalla cannot have gone on much longer. His subject had been prescribed for him by Maternus in ch. 33. 8 quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint; and unless he elaborated the criticism of contemporary methods with which his speech breaks off, that subject may be said to have been overtaken before the lacuna occurs. On the other hand, it is argued that it is more consistent with what we know of the retiring and unwarlike disposition of Secundus to conceive him as confining himself to assisting the progress of the action by appropriate interpellations: also that no reference is made to him in the closing chapter, where Maternus, Messalla, and Aper bring the discussion to a close. The theory that we actually have part of a speech by Secundus in what follows after the lacuna, will be better dealt with in connexion with Maternus.

The fourth and last of the interlocutors in the Dialogue, Curiatius Maternus, is the most interesting of all. The author obviously intended to put him forward as the leading personage of the piece. It is in his house that the discussion takes place. He is introduced as a well-known celebrity, who does not stand in need of even the brief characterization

1 The passage is a well-known crux, and the text is corrupt. There is of course much to be said for John's view that so important a disputant as Aper cannot possibly be omitted from the résumé given in the words quae a prae-

stantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accept, especially in view of the appropriateness, in its application to him, of the phrase dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent. John thinks that diversas causas (in cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent) is meant to cover Aper's view of the case, the original idea of the 'decline' of eloquence being extended so as to include his position, which admits, not a decline, but a change (18. 8: 19 sqq.). On this interpretation Neque enim defuit, &c. (line 18) is added to explain the phrase diversas causas in line 15. But as the writer's sympathies are evidently against Aper, in spite of his appreciation of his great abilities, it is doubtful if he would have called his presentation of the question a probabilis causa, and the explanation given in the notes is perhaps the safer of the two.

2 See pp. lxxxii–lxxxi.

3 Some commentators suggest that his subject may have been the deterioration of style (elocutio).

4 Ut esset muito magis pugnax, Quint. x. 1, 120.
which is given in the same chapter to his two visitors, Aper and Secundus. His tragedies are made the occasion of the discussion which forms the first part of the treatise; and it is certain—no matter what theory of the arrangement of parts may be adopted—that it was he who contributed the closing speech (42 Finierat Maternus). It is he also who guides and controls the development of the discussion, speaking in ch. 16 for Secundus as well as for himself, bringing out the real points at issue in ch. 24, recalling Messalla to it in ch. 27, and prevailing on him to continue his speech in ch. 33. As one who has been both a poet and a pleader, he is well qualified to decide between the rival attractions of the two professions. Already under Nero (11. 9) he had distinguished himself by writing a tragedy, which seems not to have been without some practical result; and another tragedy—the 'Cato'—was now the topic of general conversation at Rome. But his resolution has been taken. He intends to forsake the profession of advocate (ac iam me deitunegre a forense la bor e constitut, 11. 12) and to devote himself wholly to the pursuit of poetry. Nothing that Aper can urge will shake him from his purpose. How long he lived to give effect to it is a matter of uncertainty. A passage from Dio Cassius 1 has been quoted by many critics as proving that he lived till 91 A.D., when he was put to death by Domitian for undue freedom of speech. But Maternus was a common name in imperial times, and the reference may be to another person altogether. If he had been the Maternus of the Dialogue, it is unlikely that he would have been designated a 'sophist,' and as practising declamation, so long after he had resigned the profession of advocate in favour of poetry. The argument, however, has served to increase the difficulty as to Maternus's personality, and to complicate the question of the Tacitean authorship of the treatise. It has been contended 2 that Tacitus would not have ventured, in the reign of Domitian and during the lifetime of Maternus, to attribute to the latter sentiments which seem, at times, almost to anticipate the fate that is said to have afterwards overtaken him. It is just as probable, however, that the Maternus of the Dialogue had died (like the other interlocutors) in the interval between A.D. 74-75 and the date at which the treatise was composed. A reference to this (and not to the fate of the other Maternus, the σοφίωτής) may perhaps be detected in the end of ch. 13, where the speaker dwells on the thought of death with an inspired prevision which the writer may have wished to indicate had been only too well founded. And many difficulties as to the general tendency of Maternus's utterances, and consequently

1 Μάτερνος δὲ σοφιώτης, ὥτι κατὰ τυχάνων ἐπὶ τι ἄσκων, ἀπέκτεινε, Dio Cass. lxvii. 12.
2 See p. xviii.
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as to the whole purpose of the Dialogue, are removed, or at least lessened, by the theory that Tacitus followed Cicero's example in not introducing living personages. However this may be, Maternus is undoubtedly the protagonist of the piece. It is through him that Tacitus gives expression to his own thoughts. The future historian saw that his work, too, would be done, not in the bustle and racket of the forum, but in quiet retirement. His regret for the old free-state was tempered, like that of Maternus, by a practical acquiescence in the necessity for the empire. It is his voice we seem to hear when the poet-pleader expresses his preference for Vergil's life of repose (malo securum et quietum Vergilli secessum, 13. 4), and when, at the end of the debate, he points out that every age has its own advantages (nunc quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnum famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque crita obtrectationem alterius utatur, ch. 41 ad fin.). It is, in fact, by the closing speech that the so-called 'republicanism' of Maternus is reconciled and harmonized with existing political conditions.

Other theories of this closing speech have been put forward by editors, and remain to be considered. In this edition it is attributed to Maternus, not only on the evidence of the manuscripts, but on other grounds as well. It is in it that we find the fullest expression of that spiritual sympathy between speaker and writer which was evidently Tacitus's motive in making Maternus the main personage of the piece. He is, as has been said, the protagonist, with whom the discussion begins and with whom it ends. It has not been noted by any commentator that the true explanation of the placid manner in which, in the introduction, Maternus meets the hasty criticisms which are being advanced against his 'Cato,' is to be found in his consciousness of his own position. In the first place, these criticisms are nothing but the outcome of popular gossip; fabulae malignorum as they are styled even by the cautious Secundus¹ (3. 4). Aper does not seem to attach much weight to his friend's alleged indiscretion; to him it is simply an 'outburst of his noble soul' (effervescit vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae), all the more disinterested because it was connected with the name of one so far removed from present-day controversies (privatas et nostri saeculi controversias) as Cato. Aper would not shrink from a similar indiscretion himself in defence of a friend: si quando necesse sit pro pericilante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata, 10 ad fin. As for Maternus himself, he has no fears on his own account, no apprehension that any action will be taken against him. His innocence has hitherto

¹ Cp. 2. 2 cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur.
proved his best safeguard, and he has no misgivings for the future: statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tuor quam eloquentia, nec vero ne mihi unquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine factiendi sin?, ch. 11 ad fin. His closing speech shows that he was not one of those impracticable philosophers against whom even the patient Vespasian had to act with vigour. Like Tacitus, he had his regrets for the past, but he did not rebel against the present. He recognizes, with Messalla, the superiority of the eloquence of the 'antiqui' (27. 3), but he tempers Messalla's rather one-sided exaltation of the oratory of republican times by dwelling on the regrettable conditions on which it had thriven. His whole attitude is one of reconciliation. He can venture to be severe on persons of such doubtful antecedents as Crispus and Marcellus (13. 11), and he claims for himself the same freedom of speech as he would allow to others (27. 12): but he is sensible also of the advantages which settled order and good government have secured for the state (38 ad fin.), even though the introduction of the new régime had not at once involved the downfall of those who, like Crispus and Marcellus, had made themselves indispensable to former and more unworthy rulers. His frequent references to the contracted sphere in which oratory was now confined are made as an additional justification of his personal attitude. He is forsaking a profession which had become irksome to him (remotum . . . necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, 13. 17), and which can no longer be what it was once: minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria inter bonus mores et in obsequium regentis paratos, 41. 11. There is no irony in all this, as some critics have supposed. The attitude of Maternus towards imperialism must have been common in the cultured society of the day. It was that of Tacitus himself. The chief person of the Dialogue gives utterance to

1 Their banishment from Rome in the year 74 A.D., about the time when the Dialogue is represented as having taken place, suggests the possibility that any danger anticipated for Maternus may have been due to a sort of nervous apprehension of the extent to which the emperor might carry his measures of retaliation. But Maternus did not sympathize with the 'intransigeant' party, any more than Tacitus himself.

2 It is not necessary to discover in this fact a proof that Tacitus's object in writing the Dialogue was to justify his own retirement from the profession of the bar. We do not know, as a matter of fact, that he retired at the time of the composition of the treatise, i.e. when he was about thirty years of age. It is not improbable, however, that in this presentation of Maternus the author gave expression to what were really his own thoughts and aspirations on this subject, though he may not have carried them into effect at once. He was no doubt conscious, in spite of his great success as a pleader, that forensic oratory could never be again what it had been, and he must therefore have been in thorough sympathy with Maternus's statement of the reasons which had induced him to take the resolution referred to.

3 It would have been strange if any except the most impracticable persons had failed to recognize the advantages conferred on Rome by the recent political
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the thoughts that were in the mind of its author, and it is in the reconcili­cation, in him, of opposing tendencies, that the unity of the piece is to be sought for. There is thus an essential relationship between the first part of the treatise (chs. 1–13), which is often described as merely introductory, and the last 1. In the former, Maternus justifies his preference for poetry by the contention that forensic oratory, even in its most perfect type, is nothing but an inferior development, due to the loss of primitive innocence, of the form in which eloquence dwelt with men in the golden age, viz. poetry: haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitis pectoris influxit; sic oracula loquebantur, 12. 6. In the latter his retirement from the profession of an advocate is explained by reference to the narrower limits within which eloquence now moves, as compared with the days of old. In both his speeches, Maternus sighs for quiet retirement: compare such expressions as inquieta et anxia oratorum vita, with its certamina and pericula, and the insanum et lubricum forum, in the first, with the repeated statement in the second, non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitatem et modestiam gauderat.

settlement. Men’s memories must have been full of the horrors of Nero’s reign, and of the longus et unus annus that had seen three emperors come and go: on the other hand they could see for themselves what had been accomplished by the hard-working and conscientious ‘citizen-emperor,’ Vespasian. Tacitus no doubt looked back with regret on the days of the old free-state: the republican form of government was, in his view, the most favourable to freedom (Ann. vi. 42). But he knew that conditions had altogether changed, and that the monarchy had now become necessary for peace and for the maintenance of the huge fabric of the empire (ep. Hist. i. 1, 5; ii. 38; i. 16). The summary of the historian’s political convictions given by Teuffel-Schwabe (§ 333, 8) may be reproduced here, as applicable to Maternus as well as to Tacitus: ‘Accordingly—the republic having become impossible and the monarchy necessary—the individual must be resigned and take things and people as they are (e.g. bonus imperatores veto expetere, quidescunque tolerate, Hist. iv. 8: cp. 74), and attempt to steer his course through these difficult circumstances so as neither to sacrifice his honour outwardly nor expose himself to serious dangers, by finding a road midway inter abruptam contumaciam et deformes obscurum (Ann. iv. 20). Men who had succeeded in this, moderate liberals who reckoned with the established order, and who bridled their aspirations towards freedom (modum et temperamentum adhibere, Dial. 41, Ann. iv. 20; non contumacia neque inani iactatione liberatis famam fatuque provocabant, Agr. xli; utilia honestis miscebant, Agr. viii), are therefore fully appreciated by Tacitus: e.g. M. Lepidus (Ann. iv. 20, vi. 27), L. Piso (Ann. vi. 10), C. Cassius (Ann. xii. 12, xiv. 43), Agricola (Agr. viii, xlii). But such men as Helvidius, Friscus (Hist. iv. 6), and Paetus Thrasea (Ann. xiv. 12), are not after his heart.’

1 Some commentators even suppose that Maternus, in this last speech, is referring to some of the points which Aper had tried to make in their introductory discussion. Thus 38. 20 ‘hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant’ may be a rejoinder to what Aper had stated 3 ad fin. ‘cum te tot coloniarii et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent’, cp. also Maternus’s disparagement of the centumviral courts, 38. 10, with Aper’s reference to them in 7. 6.
THE INTERLOCUTORS AND THEIR PARTS.

It is the seeming inconsistency between Maternus as the champion of a sort of republican freedom in the first part of the Dialogue, and Maternus as the eulogist of the imperial government, that has given rise to the various suggestions for a different distribution of parts in the closing chapters of the treatise. Many think that Messalla, not Maternus, is the speaker who resumes in ch. 36, and still more argue for Secundus. Neither view is possible without the assumption of additional lacunae for which there is no manuscript evidence. Steiner and Weinkauff have thought that chs. 36–41 ought to be assigned to Secundus, and that the speech referred to in the words Finierat Maternus (ch. 42) must have been lost after the end of 41 1. Others, following Heumann, have invented a lacuna at 40. 6, before the words Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur, attributing what follows to Maternus, while what goes before is assigned either to Messalla or to Secundus.

As to Messalla, it is very improbable that, except at the close, he speaks again in the Dialogue after the great lacuna. In it the end of his speech must have been lost, as well as the beginning of the speech of the next interlocutor. The theory that in ch. 36 he is still continuing his description of the conditions under which the orators of former days were trained seems to be incompatible with what we know of him as an uncompromising champion of republican institutions. The speech contains too many regrets to have been made by Messalla. That he did not altogether agree with it is indicated in ch. 42. 1, where he says that there are some points in it which he would have liked to contradict. And again, the supposition that Messalla is still speaking in ch. 36 is not consistent with any division of the treatise into proportional parts.

There is more plausibility in the arguments adduced in favour of Secundus. But the theory that there is a lacuna after faces admovebant in 40. 6, and that all that is left of Maternus’s closing speech begins with the words Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur must at once be rejected. In the first place there is no manuscript evidence in favour of it, and when lacunae occur in MSS. it is very seldom that they begin at the end of one sentence and stop at the commencement of another (cp. chs. 35, 36). Again, though the arrangement seems open to criticism, and the speaker repeats himself more than once, there is an obvious sequence of thought in the passage referred to, instead of any break or discontinuity; it is sufficient to quote alongside of Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur the similar utterance at 37. 28 sed, ut subinde admoneo,

1 The appearance of a few dots at the end of ch. 41 in the Farnesianus (C) is no argument in favour of this assumption.
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quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit. Andresen thinks that in several passages in 40, 41 Maternus is taking up and replying to the utterances of the previous speaker; but it is much preferable to regard him as emphasizing his points by repetition. And nothing is gained with regard to the alleged inconsistency of his sentiments by making Maternus only begin to speak at 40. 7: such an utterance as est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alunna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditioiium, &c. stands as much in need of the explanation which has been given above as anything that occurs in the previous chapters, which are assigned, on the theory under discussion, to Secundus or Messalla.

The main argument in favour of assigning to Secundus the whole speech from chs. 36 to 41 is that it seems appropriate in the mouth of one who was intended to act as a sort of mediator between Messalla and Maternus. It is thought too that the reference to such a detail as the wearing of the paenula (39. 3) is more natural in his mouth than in that of Maternus: cp. diligentis stili anxietatem (l. 10), which has been taken as an indication of Secundus's consciousness of this characteristic of his own style. The historical tone of ch. 36, and the reference in 37. 7 to the literary labours of Mucianus have been thought to reveal the studious barrister, who has already made a name for himself by writing biography (16 ad fin.).

But, if this speech is given to Secundus, it is difficult to imagine that another can have fallen out after ch. 41, before the words Finierat Maternus in ch. 42. The discussion is fitly brought to an end in the text as we have it: another speaker could not have wound it up better than with the closing words of ch. 41 bino saeculi sui quisque citra obrectationem alterius utatur. There is also the other obvious consideration that if Secundus is provided for in 36-40, and Maternus in a supposed lacuna after 41, it becomes increasingly difficult to conjecture what can have filled the great lacuna at the end of 35. On the explanation given above of his personal attitude, there is no real difficulty in adhering to the consistent tradition of the manuscripts and taking Maternus as the speaker of chs. 36-41 in one continuous whole. We seem to recognize his lofty style even in the first sentence: Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatit et urendo

1 In addition to the use of the phrase ut subinde admoneo in the passage just quoted, we may compare the sentence beginning Quae singula esti distrahebant... in 36. 14 with that beginning Quae malae sicut non accidere melius est in 38. 18. Cp. also Non quia tanta fuerit &c. in 37. 27 with Sed nec tanti rei publicae... 40 ad fin.
In chs. 36 and 37 his main point is clearly and distinctly stated. Just as afterwards in chs. 40 and 41 the superiority of republican eloquence is fully recognized (40. 8 magna illa et notabilis eloquentia . . . tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam; 41. 22 summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia: cp. 37. 3), so in these opening chapters (as also in ch. 38) the speaker sets forth clearly the disadvantages that were bound up with a state of things favourable to the production of great orators: illa perturbatione ac licentia . . . mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus . . . turbidis et inquietis temporibus. Nothing of this need be taken as censure; the speaker knows the difference between peace and war (37. 32), and can appreciate the former without failing to recognize that the latter is the best training-school of soldiers. But, unlike Messalla, Maternus does not believe that a return of such political conditions is either practicable or desirable. It may be impossible now to realize again the magna et notabilis eloquentia that was the glory of the republic, and for which she paid so high a price (36. 14; 40. 25). Things have altogether changed. Orators are of less consequence now than they used to be, and eloquence has to content herself with a contracted sphere (cp. omissis forensium causarum angustiis, 4. 8). But Maternus can at least console himself by utilizing the advantages of his own peaceful times, and devoting himself to the pursuits of a learned leisure (cp. 4 ad fin. sanctiorem illum et augustiorem eloquentiam colam). High oratorical renown and settled repose are incompatible with each other: therefore while recognizing the superiority of the eloquence which was nurtured on the disorder of former times, let every one be thankful for peace and quietness—and make the best use he can of his talents and opportunities.

IV.

STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

The importance of a consideration of the language and style of the Dialogue, as bearing on the problem of its authorship, has been indicated in the introductory section. Its obvious want of resemblance to the style of the Annals was the first ground on which Lipsius and his

1 Attention has also been called to his frequent use of the figure Anaphora (see p. lix), as well as the rhetorical question and other indications of a style pitched in a lofty key, as was that of Maternus.
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followers were led to question the genuineness of the treatise. Close examination has, however, furnished many evidences on the other side. Critics are still indeed found who, like Novak, make the undoubted resemblance which can be traced between the language of the Dialogue and that of the Institutio Oratoria an argument for the theory that Quintilian must have been the author, not Tacitus. But exclusive attention to this resemblance, even though it extends in several passages to thought and substance as well as to forms of expression, is very apt to mislead, especially when it is overdone. A safer method is to compare Tacitus, not with Quintilian, but with himself. The theory of a continuous development of his style through his various writings has been worked out by Wölflin (Philologus, xxv, pp. 92–134) and other scholars; and numerous arguments in proof of the authorship of Tacitus may now be drawn from the very source which formerly supplied antagonistic critics with their most trusted weapons.

In the first place it must be repeated that, on the theory that the Dialogue was the work of the historian’s youth, it seems to have been a natural and appropriate outcome of the studies in which that youth is known to have been trained. The early bent of a student in those days was generally towards rhetoric and the art of public speaking. This was the broadest avenue to public life at Rome, and Tacitus may have followed it from motives of general conformity as well as from private and personal choice. But his genius must have felt a strong affinity for the art which, in the perfection which it had attained to under the republic, stands now for us as one of the symbols of his country’s greatness. We know that he gained high distinction as an orator in the earlier part of his career. The younger Pliny, who was only six or seven years his junior, has left it on record that his friend and correspondent had already established a great reputation (cum iam tu fama gloriaeque floreres, vii. 20, 4), when he himself was just entering public life. And even after Tacitus had retired from the profession of an advocate, his funeral eulogy of Verginius Rufus (A.D. 97) gave proof of his great gift of eloquence; while his official prosecution, jointly with Pliny, of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa (in 100 A.D.) evidently produced on his colleague that impression of elevation and dignity which no reader can fail to carry away from the study of the historian’s works.

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1 See Weinkauf, pp. xc–cxxx.
2 Plin. Epp. ii. 1, 6 Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito: nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus.
3 Ibid. ii. 1, 17 Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationis eius inest, σεφώς. It should be noted also that the speeches which Tacitus inserts in his historical works bear the impress of his early rhetorical studies; examples are Agr. xxx (to which add the
Such defects as attached to the curriculum through which the youth of Rome was made to pass in the days of Tacitus (Dial. chs. 30–33) were remedied and corrected, in his case, by the appreciative study of the great models of former times, especially Cicero. Of this study the Dialogue bears obvious traces, and nothing will strike the reader so much, especially at first, as the studied resemblance which its style bears to that of the great orator. It was while Tacitus was full of a generous enthusiasm for Cicero and his contemporaries that he is represented as having listened to the conversation which the treatise embodies and expands; and at the date at which it is supposed to have been written his style was still under the influence of his early studies and pursuits. It was, in fact, still in what may be called its first stage. In all probability, Tacitus had modelled his earliest efforts at the bar, as nearly as was possible after such an interval, on the oratory of Cicero and his great contemporaries. It was this, no doubt, that drew Pliny to him, and led him to select his friend as an example to be followed. Their early association must have been partly, at least, based on a kindred sentiment of reverence for the past. Now it is a known fact that Pliny was one of Quintilian’s pupils (Epp. ii. 14, 9; vi. 6, 3), and it is interesting to speculate on the probability that Tacitus too had come under the influence of the great rhetorician. Quintilian had returned to Rome, from Spain, in the train of Galba, and probably lost little time in commencing the educational career with which his name has ever since been so closely associated. Tacitus may even have been one of his earliest pupils. Chronology seems to favour the supposition, and the numerous points of contact which exist between the two writers add to its probability. It may have been from Quintilian himself that Tacitus imbibed that antipathy to mechanical methods and the tinsel ornaments of unreal disputation which reveals itself in Messalla’s speeches, as well as that belief in the superiority of Cicero which he evidently shares with the same speaker. Quintilian’s mission at Rome, then and afterwards, was to recall the literature of the day from the studied affectation and empty elegance that were then held preferring hercule to hercle. See on 21. 8.

2 Equidem adolescenceus, cum iam tu fama gloriae floreses, te sequi, tibi longo sed proximus intervallo et esse et haberis concupisciesbam. Et evrant multa clarissima ingenia; sed tu mibi (ita simulitudo naturae fererat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus videbaris, Plin. Epp. vii. 20, 2.

3 See Introduction to Quintilian, Book X, p. viii, note 3.
in repute to the purity, simplicity and naturalness of republican models. He makes this plain in the course of his estimate and criticism of Seneca (x. 1, 125 sqq.), especially in these well-known words: corruptum et omnibus vitis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo. Cicero he held forth to his pupils as the great model for imitation: hunc igitur spectemus, hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum, ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebil (ib. § 112). It is not extravagant, therefore, to assume that Tacitus may have had the benefit of Quintilian’s teaching. But whether or no he was, or had been, actually a student in his school at the time when the dialogue is understood to have taken place (74–75 A.D.), it is impossible to believe that in the interval which elapsed between that date and the composition of the treatise Tacitus in no way came under the influence of one who was gradually making himself a power at Rome. In the year 75, the historian is understood to have been only about twenty years of age, and had probably just arrived at the stage of looking forward to actual practice in the centumviral courts: we know that it was at this age that his younger contemporary Pliny began his professional work (Ep. v. 8, 8). For the rest, he had attached himself as an enthusiastic pupil and companion to two of the most famous counsel of the day, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus: and his zealous attendance on these masters (see ch. 2) is described quite in the spirit of one who knew the value of the recommendation which Quintilian lays down for the aspiring advocate, oratorem sibi aliquem, quod apud maiores fieri solebat, deligat quem sequatur, quem imitetur (x. 5, 19). Even if his preparatory training had been completed by this time, without any assistance from Quintilian, there is still the probability that one who was evidently so well marked out for a successful career as Tacitus must have been brought in various ways into contact with the author of the Institutio. Apart from all opportunities of personal intercourse within the circle of a congenial literary society, Tacitus may have had recourse to the great teacher for professional help. Quintilian’s pupils were not all boys. The study and practice of declamation were continued at Rome into later life. There is an ample interval in the nine or ten years following A.D. 75 for some relationship to have been established, either personal or professional or both, between two of the most interesting figures in the history of their time.

But however this may be, there can be no question of Tacitus’s early appreciation of Cicero, or of the effect of this appreciation on the style of the Dialogue. One needs only to read a few chapters to recognize the fact that it differs as much from the artificial, overdone, and affectedly incisive style which was popular at the time as from that which Tacitus
STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

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himself subsequently developed in the *Annals*. In the historian's latest work every word is charged with almost more than its proper share of meaning, and the reader's mind is kept always on the strain. In the *Dialogue* everything is the opposite. There the style is easy, full, fluent, and continuous. There is a regular, well-balanced, periodic structure, which involves at times a certain copiousness even bordering on redundancy. Only in the use of a few peculiar words and phrases, in a greater laxity of grammatical constructions, in the infusion of a certain poetical colouring, and in the free use of figures is the influence of the Silver Age at all prominent. The style of the *Dialogue*, in short, is pretty much what might have been expected *a priori* in a work composed while its author was still comparatively a young man, given his individual sympathies, his oratorical training, his admiration for the eloquence of the past, and the character of his subject. In the *Agricola* we have the first stage in the transition to the stylistic ideal which Tacitus afterwards realized in the *Annals*. There is no suspicion of redundancy: the narrative is compact and the periods characterized by a greater brevity than those of the *Dialogue*. The *Germania* falls still further away from rhetorical rotundity: there is an obvious tendency to dispense with all words that are not indispensable to the thought, and greater disjointedness in the periodic structure, such as it is, owing to a certain disregard of connecting links. But though the *Agricola* and the *Germania* were written some thirteen or fourteen years after the *Dialogue*, when Tacitus was over forty years of age, they present several features of contact with their predecessor. Not to mention ordinary instances of synonyms (the employment of which in the *Dialogue* is motivated by a love of rhetorical fulness) and hendiadys, there is something characteristic about the way in which these figures are accumulated in opposite groups. Take, for example, the following from the *Dialogue*: 

2. 11 *ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris*; 24. 4 *non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte*; 33. 9 *neque enim solum*

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1 What could be more Ciceronian than such a passage as the following (5. 13)? 

_sed ipsum solum an quid hostium quaem quid
natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam,
quae parere simul et tueri amicitias,
adsciscere necessitidines, completi provincias
possit, omittit studium quo non alius in
civitate nostrae vel ad utilitatem fructuos-
sius vel ad voluptatem incitantis vel ad
dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam
pulchrioris vel ad totius imperii atque
ommirum gentium notitiam industriis
excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem
vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra
derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam
ercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium
amicis, opem alienis, salutem pericitantibus,
invidis vero et inimicis metum
et terrrem ultro feras, ipse securus et
velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potes-
tate munitus?*

2 These have been worked out, perhaps in excessive detail, by Weinkauff; only the more striking instances of resemblance are given here; _cp. Jansen, pp. 76–79._

3 See p. li.
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arte et scientia, sed longo magis facutale et usu; 37. 10 non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione; 19. 23 vi et potestate, non iure aut legibus; 28. 19 non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque. Compare with these passages, Agr. iii. 4 non sper modo ac votum ... sed ipsius volit fiduciam ac robur; iv. 17 sileicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat; xxxi. 4 bona fortunaegue in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum; xxxiii. 12 non fana nec rumore sed castris et armis tenemus; Germ. xxv. 7 non disciplina et severitate sed imzel et ira; xxvii. 6 lamenta et lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristili tam tarde ponunt; xli. 6 cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque ostendamus, his domos villasque patldefeimus. In all three treatises again there are frequent instances of the construction known as oratio bimensis, and dimembris,—the development of an idea in a phrase consisting of two or more parts. Of this the following may be taken as examples:—

Dial. 20. 8 Vulgus quoque adsi
tentium at ad fluens et vagus auditor. Dial. 29. 10 histrionalis favor et gladiatorum eorumque studia. Dial. 16. 26 ad naturam saeculo
rum ac respectum immensi huiusaevi. Dial. 12. 8 in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiiis pectora.

Dial. 40. 10 sine obsequio, sine veritate, contumax, temeraria, ad
gogans. Dial. 13. 17 a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendo. Dial. 6. 11 homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnivos.
Dial. 28. 26 sincera et integra et nullis stravitibus detorta unius
cuiusque natura.

Agr. xxi. 13 omnisiuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus. Agr. xlv. 1 obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum.


Agr. xiii. 1 dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera.


Many other parallelisms are cited in the notes, as they occur, and certainly claim a place in the argument for identity of authorship. Reference may also be made to certain significant phrases, some of which seem, as it were, to anticipate the author's later power of novel and
striking combinations: e.g. arcana semotae dictionis, 2. 9; sollicitudo lenocinatur voluptati, 6. 24; lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae, 12. 9; nomen inserere famae, 10. 12; gaudent pondus et constantia, 6. 22; me deiangere a forensi labore, 11. 12; hanc illam famam circumdederunt, 37. 26; utilitates alunt, 9. 3; philosophiam odoratus, 19. 15; nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar, 13. 20. Cp. also negotium sibi importare, 3. 20; angustiae rerum eos circumsteterunt, 8. 12; minimum locum oblinere, 8. 25; sin periculum increpuit, 5. 26; ingredi famam auspicious sum, 11. 8. Again in such a reflection as that with which Maternus points the contrast between the forensic oratory of republican times and that of his own day, we seem to recognize a tone more eminently characteristic of Tacitus than of any contemporary writer: cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur, 39. 18.

The influence exerted on the style of the Dialogue by the various writers of whom Tacitus was at the time an enthusiastic student, might be shown at length, and has, in fact, been proved by editors in almost excessive detail. Reference has already been made to Cicero, with whose works, especially the rhetorical treatises, he was obviously well-acquainted. Even in his choice of the literary form of his treatise, Tacitus was no doubt influenced by Cicero's successful imitations of the Platonic dialogues; and the commentary on the text will give proof of various reminiscences which he utilized for the 'setting' of the piece, as well as for the management of its development. For example, the Dialogue professes to be only a narrative of a conversation in which certain distinguished persons had once taken part, thus reproducing the frame-work of the De Oratore. Tacitus himself was present only as a listener, like Cicero in the De Amicitia and De Natura Deorum. The device of marking the transition from the first to the second part of the dialogue by the introduction of a fresh speaker (ch. 14) seems to be borrowed from the De Oratore ii. § 14: cp. De Rep. i. § 17. The promise in the last chapter of a continuation of the debate at some future time is a feature which Cicero had originally taken from Plato (see De Orat. i. ad fin.; De Nat. Deor. iii. § 94). Other resemblances are noticed in connexion with postero die, 2. 1 and Pro duobus promitto, 16. 8. References are made to Cicero's letters (18. 22 sqq.) and speeches, his lost dialogue Hortensius (16. 28) and also to his poems (21. 29). Aper

1 Cicero (De Or. i. § 4) narrates quae viri omnium praestantissimi clarissimique consuerint: Tacitus quae a praestantissimis viris et exogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter acceperit. Cp. on repetendus, 1. 11.
2 Quid vos agitis? Num sermonem vestrum dirimit noster interventus? Minime vero, inquit Africanus.
3 The Verrine orations, 20. 3; Pro Tullio and Pro Caecina, 20. 4; Pro Archia, 37. 25; Pro Milone, ibid., as also the Catilinarian orations and the Philippics.
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is even allowed (23 ad init.) to raise a laugh over the hackneyed esse videatur as well as over some of Cicero’s inferior witticisms (rotam Fortunae, ius Verrinum, ibid.). Messalla, on the other hand, quotes him as a high authority on the necessity of a wide philosophical culture for the orator (32. 28).

The search for specific resemblances in the Dialogue to the language and phraseology of Cicero is liable to be overdone. Little is to be gained by recording fortuitous coincidences of expression between two authors, except in cases where the phrases used by both are marked by something more or less characteristic and striking. In this view, such expressions as the following may be noted as being not improbably (see the notes) conscious reminiscences of Cicero rather than the ‘current coin’ of the language of Tacitus’s own day: diem eximere, 19. 10; controversias tueri, 10. 37; redolent antiquitatem, 21. 18; animorum venas tenere, 31. 19. Other resemblances will be found duly noted in the commentary, but it may be convenient to give a résumé of them also here (cp. Goelzer, p. xxxv, note). Take the first book of the De Oratore and - cp. § 20 etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio with Dial. 30. 23; § 53 nisi qui naturas hominum vinque omnem humanitatis ... pentitus perspexerit with 31. 10; § 72 artibus quae sunt libero homine dignae ... quibus ipsis, si in dicendo non utimur, tamen appareat alque exstat utrum simus earum rerum rudes an didicerimus with 32. 4; § 32 arma quibus vel lectus ipse esse possis vel provocare improbos vel te ulisci lacesitis with 5. 28; § 31 quid enim est tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine existere unum ... with 6. 15; § 116 profieri se esse omnibus silentibus unum ... with the same passage; § 97 uti ei qui audirent sic afficerentur animis ut eos affici velit orator with 6. 17; and finally the definition of orator quoted from De Or. i. 15, 64 in the notes on 30. 26. Cp. also with 37. 14 His accedebat, &c., De Or. i. § 15 Excitabat eos magnitudo varietas multitudoque in omni genere causarum. Reminiscences of the Brutus will be found at 30. 13 and 16; 8. 15; 33. 13. But it is in the general fulness of the style of the Dialogue that the influence of Cicero’s writings on its author may best be traced. Such synonyms as the following (sometimes with a slightly different shade of meaning) have a distinctly Ciceronian ring about them, and have in fact been exactly paralleled by Weinkauff and others: animi et ingenii, clamore plausuque, divitia et opes, fame et laus, vis et facultas, memoria et recordatio, modestia ac pudore, operae curaque.

1 As is true, in fact, of the first part of Kleiber’s tractate (pp. 1–33), though the next portion (pp. 33–70) is valuable as containing equally striking instances of difference.
As the Synonyms and other forms of double expression in the Dialogue have engaged a great deal of attention, as forming an important part of the internal evidence advanced by many against the authorship of Tacitus, a more or less complete list may be given here, with the addition of the more striking of the parallelisms from Cicero, Seneca, and Quintilian which have been collected by the industry of such writers as Weinkauff, Gericke, Gruenwald, Kleiber, and Novak.

4. 2. frequens et assidua contentio. Quint. xi. 2, 28 continua et crebra meditatio.
5. 23. metum et terrem. Agr. xxxii. 8; Cic. Verr. iv. 19, 41.
5. 24. potentia ac potestate: see note ad loc.
6. 3. libero et ingenuo: so Quint. Decl. 101, 8; 351, 22 (ed. Ritter).
6. 5. plenam et frequentem domum.
6. 11. homines veteres et senes.
6. 22. novam et recentem curam: cp. 8. 3 novis et recentibus . . . exemplis.

So Hist. iv. 65, 15 nova et recentia iura; Cic. Pro Flacc. § 6 lege hac recenti ac nova; Liv. 35, 10 nova ac recentia omnia.
7. 8. tueri et defendere: see note ad loc.
7. 11. fama et laus. Quint. Decl. 37, 14 laude et fama.
7. 17. advenae et peregrini.
8. 7. numen et caelestis vis.
8. 11. sordidus et abiectus: so Ann. xiii. 46, 16 abiectum et sordidum:
cp. Quint. ii. 12, 7; Sen. Ep. 37, 4.
8. 12. paupertas et angustiae rerum.
9. 1. carmina et versus: see note.
9. 15. excudit et elucubravit: see note.
10. 22. robur ac vires. Hist. ii. 11, 9 virium ac roboris (where vires refers however to numerical strength): cp. Quint. v. 12, 18 robur ac lacertos.
10. 31. fortuitae et subitae dictionis: see note.
11. 11. notitiae ac nominis, and again at 36. 19.
12. 5. loca pura atque innocentia.
12. 12. poetis et valibus.
14. 16. eruditionis ac litterarum: so 'doctrina et litterae': e.g. Quint. xi. 1, 89.
15. i. vetera et antiqua, and again 16. 32; 17 ad fin. So Plaut. Pers. i. 2, 1 veterem et antiquum quaeestum; Plin. Pan. 11, 4 veteres et antiquos aemularis; Cic. Phil. v. § 47 maiores nostri, veteres illi, admodum antiqui; Quint. Decl. 235, 14 vetus et antiqua.
18. i. fama gloriaque.
18. 7. fortius et audentius.
18. 9. plenior et uberior: see note.
18. 19. inflatus et tumens.
20. 6. nitore et cultu: see note. Add Quint. xi. 1, 48.
20. 10. tristem et impexam. Quint. Decl. 67, 28 impexi squalidique.
21. 32. durus et siccus. Quint. iv. 2, 46 durum aridumque.
22. 18. visum et oculos.
22. 25. uno et eodem. Quint. xii. 10, 51 unum atque idem.
23. 25. malignitas et invidia: cp. non malignitate nec invidia, 25. 28; Seneca, De Ira iii. 5, 8, and Ep. 106, 6.
25. 28. simpliciter et ingenue. Quint. xii. 11, 8 candide . . . atque simpliciter.
26. 2. optimo et perfectissimo genere: cp. 34. 18 optimus et electissimus.
26. 28. in publicum et in commune.
26. 33. fracta et deminuta.
30. 22. rerum motus causasque.
30. 24. exundat et exuberat.
30. 25. oratoris vis et facultas: see note.
30. 26. angustis et brevibus terminis: see note.
32. 6. eminet et excellit.
32. 14. foeda ac pudenda vitia.
32. 20. circumcissa et amputata: see note.
32. 22. primam et praecipiam: see note.
32. 28. causae magnae et graves.
33. 9. confirmare et alere. Quint. i. 1, 36 firmatur atque alitur.
That Tacitus did not lay aside all at once the "rotundity" of expression which these examples illustrate might be shown by citations from his later works. Cp. for example Agr. iv. 16 incensum ac flagrantem animum; ibid. 17 scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat; Agr. vi. 14 quiete et otio (as also xlii. 5); Germ. xxiv. 7 extremo ac novissimo iactu, and many other instances which help to show the continuity of his stylistic development, in spite of the wide gulf that separates his latest from his earliest literary effort.

Some of the parallelisms from Quintilian quoted in the foregoing list, and others which will be found in the notes, will remind the reader of the points of contact which exist between the author of the Dialogue and the great contemporary professor of rhetoric. It is, of course, extremely crude to say, with some critics—even while accepting the view that the composition of the work must be assigned to the reign of Titus or the early years of Domitian—that Quintilian's Institutio must have served, especially in regard to phraseology and terminology, as the model for whole passages of the Dialogue. The Institutio was not published till the earlier part of the last decade of the century, and it is impossible therefore that it can have been in Tacitus's hands ten or eleven years previously. But the materials of which it consists had been put together in the course of Quintilian's long career as a teacher of rhetoric: and if Tacitus had not actually studied under him, he had no doubt methods of acquainting himself with the substance and general character of the teaching which was being imparted to the youth of Rome. The similarity of the subject matter of the Dialogue to that of portions of the Institutio is enough in itself to suggest inevitable resemblances. The proper methods of elementary instruction (cp. Inst.
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i. 1 and Dial. 30 sq.), the disadvantages of the existing school-training (i. 2 and Dial. 35), its moral effects (i. 2, 4 and Dial. 35 sq.), the place of rhetoric in education (ii. 1 and Dial. 35), the criticism of literature (cp. Aper's and Messalla's speeches with the corresponding parts of Quint. x. 1)—all these are subjects in regard to which the two writers seem to have had much in common. The fact that their verdicts on others do not always coincide ought, however, to be noticed as an additional disproof of the theory, lately revived by Novak, that it was Quintilian who wrote the Dialogue: for example there is a slight difference in their estimate of the proemium of Messalla Corvinus (see on 20. 2): Vibius Crispus is spoken of with more appreciation by Quintilian than by Tacitus (see on 8. 2), and Saleius Bassus is credited with a higher degree of poetical perfection by the latter than by the former (see on 5. 6). Cp. too what is said of Lucan, 20. 19.

It would hardly have been possible for one writing within twenty years of the death of Seneca to avoid showing any signs of the influence of that versatile writer. In the opposition between the tendencies which he represented and the simpler and more natural diction recommended by Quintilian, Tacitus no doubt sided with the latter: but he could not escape altogether from the effects which the study of the philosopher's writings produced on the minds of his readers, and against which, especially in the case of young students, Quintilian so strongly protests (x. 1, 125 sq.). When Tacitus was a young man, Seneca was the most popular of Roman authors: tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit (l. c.). It is mainly in divergences from ordinary phraseology that resemblances have been noted, and these will be found in the commentary: they have been collected, again in excessive detail, by Weinkauf (pp. cliii sqq.) and Kleiber (pp. 74 sqq.). Reference need only be made here to the frequent recurrence of the opposition between sensus and sententiae (see on 20. 16; 32. 17), the use of incipit (16. 32), imbuin (19. 21), infinitus (for magnus, 14. 12 and 15. 11), oblectare otium (10. 12: cp. otium suum oblectat, Sen. Dial. i. 5, 4), in eodem valetudinario, 21. 4, &c., &c.

Taking now a general review of the language of the Dialogue, we may state its main peculiarities, under various heads, as under:—

The following words are, in the first place, to be noted as occurring in the Dialogue for the first time (Draeger § 249): histrionalis 29. 10; proelior 37. 32; planitas 23. 24; scurrilitas 22. 24; uniformis 32. 2; depacare 38 ad fin.

Here is a list of words which, though not peculiar to Tacitus, show
in their use and application the influence of the Silver Age. For explanation and illustration reference may be made to the notes. *Admirator* 19. 1 and 21. 24; *antiquarius* 21. 18; *auditorium* 9. 18; *aures* (of ‘taste’) see on 19. 7 and 34. 16; *beatus* 9. 19; *conversatio* 9. 30; *cura* (of a book) 3. 13; *emeris* 18. 25; *excessus* 22. 11; *extemporalis* 6. 24; *exundare* 30. 24; *fabulosus* 12. 19; *facultates* (= *opes*) 8. 15; *favorabilis* (= *gratiōsus*) 7. 3; *inserere* 2. 12; *insumere* 30. 4; *lenocinari* 6. 24; *malignus* 3. 4 (found in Plautus, Vergil, and Horace: not in Cicero); *mereri* 9. 26 (for *consequi*, as often in Quintilian); *negolium* 9. 11; *notitia* 5. 19; *odorari* 19. 15; *officium* (of an office or post) 6. 7; *olisus* 18. 24; *plerique* 2. 10; *plerumque* 6. 9; *profectus* 20. 12; *rubor* 37. 1; *scurrilitas* 22 ad fin. (cp. Quint. xi. 1, 30); *secessus* 13. 4 (in Cicero *recessus*); *statim* (of logical consequence) 18. 15; *studere* (used absolutely) 21. 30; *studiosus* 21. 9; *substantia* 8. 15.

In regard to the use of *Nouns*, perhaps the most remarkable feature is the extension of the liking for abstract plurals to such cases as *advocationes* 4. 4; *comitatus et egressus* 6. 14; *utilitates* 9. 3 (cp. Ann. i. 10, 14); *curae* 28. 21; *remissiones* ibid.; *educationes* 28. 24; *pravititates* 28. 26. Among peculiar verbal nouns in -*tor* we have, in addition to *proeliator* and *admirator* cited above, *defensor* 24. 7, not to mention *auditor* 32. 25. Examples of the use of abstract for concrete are *amicitia* 8. 18; *ingenia* 2. 5: cp. *inventio* 23. 22. On the other hand striking instances of the use of a noun and a participle to represent an abstract idea may be found at 29. 11 and 37. 25.

The employment of *Adjectives* as nouns (very common in the Silver Age: see Introd. to Quint. X, p. xlii sqq.), is exemplified in *secretum* 12. 1 (cp. Quint. x. 3, 30 *ille tantus amator secreti Demosthenes*) and *studiosus* 21. 9 (cp. Quint. x. 1, 45 *facile est studiosis iudicare*; Plin. Ep. viii. 13). So too participles: *dicentium* 6. 18; *orantibus* 6. 20; *praecipientium* 28. 7; *medentis* 41. 10; *regentis* 41. 13: cp. *servientium*, Agr. xl. 13; *peccantium* ib. iv. 10; *laudantes* ib. xlii. 4. The use of *placita* (*philosophorum placita* 19. 18) is common in the historical works of Tacitus, in Seneca, and in the post-Augustan writers generally: e.g. Plin. *N. H.* 14, 22, 28, § 143. The omission of a substantive may also be noted in such phrases as *in levioribus* 10. 20, and *haec vetera* 37. 6; also with *omnibus* 19. 19; 36. 8. In the comparison of participles, both present and perfect, when used as adjectives, Tacitus follows the example already set by Cicero and Livy. In the *Dialogue* we have *audientior* 14. 10 (cp. *audentioribus spatiiis*, Hist. ii. 2, 8); *eminentiōr* 25. 7; *coniunctor* 5. 5; *distinctor* 18. 10; *absolutissimus* 5. 6: cp. *abiecitus* 8. 11. So afterwards, in the *Annals*, *obaeratur* vi. 17, 4; *improvisor* ii.
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47, 1; insignior iii. 70, 10; metuentior xiii. 25, 15, and many other instances. Among more or less peculiar uses of adjectives may be noted fecundus 33. 5 (fecundissima eorum studia: cp. Quintilian's phrase studiorum fructus x. 3, 2; xii. 6, 3; XI, 4); beatus 9. 19; altus 14. 3 (altior sermo, i.e. gravior sermo: cp. Quint. iii. 8, 42 altior quaestio); also the personal construction with manifestus 16. 11. The peculiar use of the future participle may also be mentioned here: see on mansurum 9. 22.

As to Pronouns, the use of hic with reference to contemporary circumstances is characteristic both of Tacitus and Quintilian: see on 28. 9; 32. 13, and cp. 37. 6; Germ. iii. 3, xx. 1. Instances of et ipse occur 30. 1 and 37. 15.

In regard to Verbs, it is well known that Tacitus shows a growing tendency to prefer simple forms to their corresponding compounds. Here are a few examples. Adsuescere occurs Dial. 20. 9; 34. 6; Agr. xvi. 19; xxi. 3; Germ. iv. 8: suescere, Ann. ii. 44, 2; 52. 4; xiv. 27, 8. Adiuvare, Dial. 16. 7; Agr. xxi. 4: iuvare, Hist. v. 23, 5; Ann. ii. 78, 9. Innotescere, Dial. 10. 5; Hist. iv. 50, 2, whereas notescere is the form used in the Annals. Demonstrare occurs four times in the Dialogue, e.g. 7. 17: in the Agricola and Germania the simple form is found as frequently. The author's preference, in the Dialogue, for compound forms is made an argument for the retention of depacaverat 38 ad fin., where see note. Cp. the frequent use in the Annals of paratus for apparatus (Dial. 22. 21). On the other hand we have in the Dialogue flexisse 19. 4; finire (for definire) 38. 6; cludere 30. 26; pensare 40 ad fin.; vanescere 10. 25; ferre (for efferre) 19. 17; fateri 17. 17; 32. 9: cp. also 25. 9: while a few cases are doubtful, as sequitur—insequitur 10. 3, and perhaps hortatur—exhortatur 14. 9.

It is hardly necessary to illustrate the development of the usage by which compound verbs take a simple accusative instead of a prepositional construction: cp. however antecedere 25. 15; praecurrere 25. 5, and see Draeger § 40.

The frequent use of the perfect subjunctive, in modest assertions, is also to be noted, e.g. timuerim 13. 2; cesserit 13. 10; dixerim 32. 22; vocaverim 18. 4; non negaverim 26. 14; Draeger § 28. So even ut sic dixerim 34. 8; 40. 19.

Among other peculiarities may be mentioned a certain preference for the plural verb even in cases where it is used with two antithetical nominatives, e.g. 42. 6 Ego te poëtes, Messalla autem antiquariis crimina-bimur. In other writers, the verb naturally follows the number of the second nominative. Cp. Hist. ii. 30, 14 Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant: so censuere, Ann. i. 8, 14;
decoravere iii. 62, 3; travecti sunt xii. 41, 9; vastarentur xiv. 31, 5; regebant xv. 7, 5. The omission of esse and its parts is noticeable at 12. 21; 18. 12: cp. 37. 19. The infinitive follows contentus 18. 13; dubitare 18. 17; obnoxium 10. 27; optare 9. 2 (as Quint. x. 1, 127; 7, 3); datur 7. 8 (cp. Quint. x. 7, 22; xi. 3, 125, 127). Colligere is construed with the acc. c. inf. 24 ad fin. The use of incipit is made the subject of a note at 16 ad fin.

The use of the gerundive (or gerund) after habeo is exemplified in the note on spectanda haberemus 8. 11. The frequent occurrence of the ablative of the gerund is commented on in the note on 3. 22 in connexion with the proposed emendation adgregando: cp. lacesendo 27. 6. As an alternative to adgregando, the genitive adgregandi might also be considered: cp. Vell. ii. 128, 1 neque novus hic mos senatus populique Romani est putandi quod optimum sit esse nobilissimum: here putandi is epexegetic = hic mos putandi . . . non novus est. Those who read adgregans may compare the double constructions, with both participle and gerundial ablative, in Ann. xiii. 47, 3 socors ingenium eius in contrarium trahens callidumque et simulatorem interpretando; xv. 38, 10 deinde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando.

As to Prepositions, reference may be made to the notes on ad 5. 16; adversus 33. 5; circa 3. 16 (cp. Quint. i. 1, 35 quoniam circa res adhuc tenues moramur); 22. 11; 28. 12; sitra 27. 9; 41. 25 (other instances of this use occur Agr. i. 11; xxxv. 6; Germ. xvi. 8, but not in the Histories or Annals); iuxta 22. 8; per quae 29. 8; pro 13 ad fin. (where compare with consulere pro, rogare pro, Quint. Decl. 117. 15 praeparare deebimus animum iudicis pro ipsa persona sponsoris; id. 60. 24 pro utroque pariter rogabimus); propter 21. 20. Adverbal or adjectival phrases (often local in meaning) are compounded with in, e.g. in medio 18. 2; in proximo 16. 27 (cp. Quint. vii. 1, 44; i. 3, 4); in confesso 25. 7; 27. 3; in publicum, in commune 26. 28.

Among Adverbs and Conjunctions, and adverbial phrases, the following may be noticed:—

Adice quod 9. 29. This phrase, which is common in Seneca, is noted by Novak as of frequent occurrence in Quintilian's Declamations; 100, 24; 150, 3; 264, 4; 274, 1. Ceterum 12. 11; 26. 20. Dum = multis verbis 25. 2. So Quint. i. 10, 29 haec diutiues forent dicenda; vi. 4, 14 quo saepius diutiusque dicatur: cp. Dial. 11. 3. Dummodo 25. 7; Germ. vi. 19. In the Histories and Annals, dum is used by itself. Et is used in joining synonyms in negative sentences: e.g. 22. 15 non salis expolitus et splendens; Ann. i. 4, 1 nihil usquam prisci et integri moris. On the other hand aut is probably right at 19. 23 non
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ius aut legitibus, though Quint. Decl. 212, 19 iure legibusque, and 79. 27 legibus ac iure may be cited in support of ac or et. Ideoque (for itaque) 31. 32 (cp. atque ideo 3. 12): this form is very frequent also in Quintilian: see on x. 1, 21. Igitur stands second in the sentence at 8. 28; 10. 35; 23. 20: cp. Agr. xvi. 12; Germ. xlv. 22; Hist. iv. 15, 15; Ann. i. 47; 5. Elsewhere in Tacitus, unlike Cicero, it is always first. Quin immo 6. 7; 34. 24; 36. 24; 39. 9 (for the more Ciceronian quin etiam; 29. 6): so too in Quintilian vii. 10, 8, and elsewhere: in the Annals, Tacitus generally has quin et. Licei for etsi, as occasionally in Cicero: 9. 5; 13. 2. Modo ... nunc for modo . . . modo 3. 16. Mox (=deinde 'thereafter') 10. 35; 17. 11. Cp. Ann. vi. 51, 2 quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptione transferit. Neque=ne quidem 8. 27 quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, as often elsewhere in Tacitus (Gerber and Gref, p. 933 a). So too at 21. 36 some who read nec explain it as=ne quidem, i.e. Corvinus is no more responsible than some of the early orators already referred to. For nec with the subjunctive, in the negative expression of a wish or command, see on 13. 19. Nedum 25. 10; nedum ut 10. 5. Nempe enim 35. 12, introducing an assertion with reference to a previous statement. So twice in Quintilian, ii. 13, 9 nam recti quidem corporis vel minima gratia est. Nempe enim adversa sit facies et demissa brachia et iuncti pedes et a summis ad ima rigens opus: viii. Pr. § 6. Cp. Plin. Pan. § 62. For nempe by itself see 9. 10; 17. 6; 21. 14. Nisi ut 33. 19: for ut non, Hist. iv. 73 ad fin. Parum est with the infinitive, 23. 15 parum est aegrum non esse: cp. 36. 27; this use occurs in Livy, and frequently in Quintilian's Declarations, 120, 14 parum est faenerari civibus; 122, 25 parum erat sepeliri tyrannum; 152, 30 parum est dicere; 196, 25 tamquam parum esset exigere poenas; 241, 10 parum sit tibi perdere; 351, 2 parum est dicere quasi ingenua (Novak). Plane 27. 4; 26. 31; 35. 14. Porro 5. 7; 23. 14. Quamquam frequently with the subjunctive: 15. 9; 21. 29; 26. 16; 34. 13. So Agr. iii. 3; xiii. 5; Germ. xxviii. 18; xix. 14. In quantum is used instead of quantum at 2. 13 and 41. 19. It cannot, however, be right at 21 ad fin., where quam is nearer the MSS.: the meaning 'how little,' and the use of the expression in an indirect question, would both be irregular. Quatenus (for quoniam) 5. 11; 19. 1. Quominus (for quin): see on 3. 15, and cp. 34. 11: it is adopted in the text also at 21. 13 nec voluntatem ei quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret, though the MS. quo is defended by Novak, who compares Quint. Decl. 42, 3 legum latorius non defuisse eloquenti facultatem ut . . . plane apertoque diceret. Quoquo (for etiam or vel) 6. 19; 7. 16; 10. 21; 11. 9; 19. 17; 21. 12; 39. 22: cp. 4. 7; 17. 23: for hodie quoque see on 34. 34. Statim 18. 15. Tamquam 2. 2; 2. 15; 18. 25;
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25. 3. *Utique 18. 21; 23. 6; 22. 7. Utrumne... an (for utrum... an)* 35. 7 and 37. 16: so twice in Quintilian iii. 3, 13 utrumne hae partes essent rhetorices, an...: xii. 1, 40. Velut seems to be preferred, in figures and with comparisons, to quasi (13. 8; 32. 21; 33. 14) and tamquam (37. 33): see 5. 23; 14. 1; 17. 29; 19. 1; 22. 22; 26. 23; 30. 13; 32. 18; 33. 2; 38. 7; 39. 4; 39. 14. The same holds good also of Quintilian: see Introd. to Book X, p. liii.

In regard to copulative conjunctions, Tacitus's love of variety may be recognized in such a combination as imagines ac tituli et statuae 8. 25, which recurs frequently in the *Histories*, and still more frequently in the *Annals*. A doubtful instance of et... atque is commented on at 14. 12. The collocation nec... et (eōre... re) is found at 2. 10; 4. 3; 33. 11. The copious use of the copula at 17. 4; 37. 11; 39. 20 may also be noted: cp. Agr. xxxvii. 13; Germ. xi. 3.

Comparative sentences (quo... eo, quanto... tanto) are expressed in full, 8. 11; 36. 16; 37. 33 (cp. Agr. vi. 5; xxxi. 15; xlii. 16; Germ. xx. 15), whereas in the later writings the correlative is frequently omitted (e.g. Hist. i. 14, 14; iii. 18, 12; Ann. i. 2, 9). Similarly in adversative sentences (non solum, modo, tantum... sed etiam) the etiam is often omitted in the *Annals*. As a variety we have, in the Dialogue, non modo... sed quoque 2. 6; 37. 10: cp. Hist. i. 57, 11. The frequent use of quomodo... sic in co-ordinating sentences is specially noticeable: see 25. 10; 36. 3; 39. 6; 41. 9. For aequ... quam see on 10. 2. Quidem is constantly used in antithetical sentences: followed by tamen 3. 8; 9. 14 and 26; by sed 1. 15; 8. 8; and by autem 8. 21; 18. 23; 25. 14. Cp. sine dubio... sed 40. 22 and the note there.

At 11. 1 and 24. 1 we have the formula Quae cum dixisset. In his later writings Tacitus uses, along with 'verba sentiendi,' ubi in place of cum; Agr. xxvi. 1 Quod ubi cognitum; Hist. ii. 28, 5 Quod ubi auditum; while in the *Annals* we find Quod postquam i. 6, 14.

Hercule occurs (with great variations in the MSS. between hercule and Hercule) i. 10; 5. 26; 8. 26; 14. 19; 19. 19; 21. 8; 21. 22; 26. 2; 26. 6; 30. 19; 34. 25; 39. 23.

In regard to the use of figures, reference may be made to the frequent cases of *Anaphora* that are to be found in the *Dialogue*. At 40. 21 nullus is made to introduce five consecutive clauses, and hinc four at 36. 10: cp. suus 30. 14; hi—hos 36. 21; haec—hoc 12. 6; tanto (thrice) 36. 17; sic 18. 8; quis 20. 1; cum (thrice) 36. 27; donec 40. 19; quid 41. 13; non and ille 30. 19—22; omnia (thrice) 38. 8, and again 40. 17. So in Agr. xviii. 23 qui is repeated three times; cp. Germ. xi. 14 tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata; Hist. i. 10, 9 apud subjectos, apud
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proximos, apud collegas; Ann. iv. 34, 25 ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus. The passages referred to at 20. 1 and 41. 13 illustrate also the use of the rhetorical question, which is specially noticeable in the speeches of Aper and Maternus; for the former see 5. 30; 6. 10; 7. 11 sqq.; 9. 10 sqq.; for the latter, 13. 11 sqq.; 41. 3 and 13. So Messalla, 29. 11.

Of Zeugma, two mild instances have been noted by editors, mutuatus est 24. 5, and detexitse 25. 27: cp. loco 26. 10. Readers of the Annals are familiar with the frequent instances of the use of this figure which the effort after brevity has given rise to in that work: e. g. ii. 20, 5 quod arduum sibi, cetera legisit permissit; iii. 12, 6 nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exuit. In the earlier works, less pronounced examples (similar to those referred to in the Dialogue) may be quoted from Agr. iii. 4 nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robor adsumperit; Germ. vii ad fin. cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant; Hist. v. 22, 8 utque ad fallendum silentio (sc. utebantur or agebant) ita coepta caede, quo plus terroris adderent cuncta clamoribus miscebant.

Of Hendiadys (which differs from the ordinary use of synonyms in that one of the two co-ordinated words defines the other like an adjective, or a genitive case) genuine instances are severitate ac disciplina 28. 11; cursus et spatia 39. 7; possibly also ingeniis gloriaque 1. 2, though it is fully as probable that these words should be rendered 'the genius and the fame.' Other examples generally referred to this category are perhaps better treated as synonyms; e. g. viribus et armis 37. 10; clamore plausuque 39. 14.

The following are instances of Pleonasm: maturare ... festino, 3. 12; si ad respectum referas, 16. 25; cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ... effici ratio temporum collegerit, 24. 14; si illud ante praedixerero, 18. 17; si prius ... paucia praedixereto, 28. 11; qui praecatone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur, 18. 17. Chiasmus is exemplified in 10 ad fin. et probata sit fides et libertas excusata; 19. 18 praecpta rhetorum, philosophorum placita; 34. 26 fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum; 40. 16 Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores. Instances of Anastrophe are frequent: quo laetor magis 4. 5; vidit namque 19. 6; ipsos quin immo 6. 7; 34. 25; 33. 9 (cp. Ann. xv. 21, 10); and often with adverbs, fabulosa nimis 12. 19; concedamus sane 21. 19; firmus sane 22. 14; nascenti adhuc 25. 33; teneri statim et rudes 29. 4; solus statim et unus 34. 30; laudavimus nuper 9. 24; rogare ultro et ambire 9. 16; vocare ultro 36. 22. With these last examples cp. Agr. xix. 16 emere ultro frumenta cogeabantur; Hist. ii. 91, 9 grata sane et popularia; i. 33, 2 invalida adhuc coniuratio;
It is very noticeable also, in view of the occurrence of the same feature in both Cicero and Quintilian, that the Dialogue contains many similes and comparisons taken from the practice of war or the methods of gladiatorial combats. Aper's first speech is full of them: see ch. 5. 20 sqq. quid est tutius quam eam exercere armam armae praesidium amicis... feras, ipse... munitus? Cuius vis et utilitas aliorum praesidio et tutela intellegitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit... eloquentia praesidium simul ac telum quo propugnare pariter et incessere... possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit? qua accinctus et minax... eiusmodi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Cp. 12. 11 in locum teli repertum. The young aspirant is to learn the art of oratorical warfare on the field of battle itself: ut... propugnare in proelio disceret (34. 8), where he will meet with foemen worthy of his steel (adversarii ferro non rudibus dimicantes, ib.). Just as the soldier must be furnished with every needful weapon, so must the orator possess a knowledge of every branch of culture: quem [oratorem] non posse aliter existere nec exstitisse unquam confirmo nisi eum qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exerit, 32. 9. The orator's sphere is in fact a battle-field: sic nunc te ab auditoriiis et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelii voco, 10. 2. And the more frequent the combats in which he engages, the higher will be his reputation for eloquence: quo saepius steterit tanquam in acie quaque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit quoque maiores adversarios acioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpsit, tanto alior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminis in ore hominum agit, 37 ad fin. Lastly, Cassius Severus is criticized in language borrowed from a similar figure: ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositis et studio feriendi plerumque delectus non pugnat sed rixatur, 26. 18. For such work as the orator has to do, it is essential that he should cultivate a good physical habit: hence the frequent recurrence of figures derived from military language.

1 Cp. Introd. to Quintilian X, pp. lxi, lvii, and Wollner's tractate, cited there.
2 To the same source of military metaphor John refers the MS. reading at 25.
3 Ne illi quem partì sermonis eius repugno si cominus fatetur, &c., 'wenn er zur Sache kommend erklärt,' &c., comparing among other passages 26. 22 quorum neminem Aper nominare et velit in aciem educere sustinuit. Vahlen had already defended si by a reference to Cic. Tusc. i. 45, iii. illa suspicio... si opinamur, and ib. iii. 31, 76 iliam opinionem... si putet: in the same way cum is used 14. 8, and 15. 3. But such passages as Ann. xv. 4, 10 (Parthus nulla cominus audacia; cp. vi. 35. 3) do not tell in favour of so extraordinary a construction as cominus fateri would be, if it were genuine. See text and note ad loc. for an attempted emendation.
from the human body in connexion with such words as ossa, sanguis, &c.: see on 21. 4 and 32.

V.

MANUSCRIPTS.

It is a well-known fact that, with the exception of Catullus, no classical author has come down to the modern world by so slender a thread of transmission as Tacitus. The first six books of the Annals rest upon an absolutely unique manuscript, the famous First Medicean, which was not recovered for a generation after the appearance of the first printed edition of his works, being commonly believed to have come to Rome from the monastery of Corvey in Westphalia, about the year 1508. For eighty years previously, the codex now known as the Second Medicean, containing the last books of the Annals and the Histories, had been in the hands of scholars. Poggio had received it, at Rome, from his friend and agent, Niccolo Niccoli, in the year 1427, but does not seem to have kept it long, as he was anxious to obtain in its place another codex which he had once seen, and which he thought a copyist would have less difficulty in transcribing. His mysterious allusions to its provenance, and the general secretiveness which marks his correspondence with Niccoli on this subject, suggest an explanation of the phenomenon that it was long before its contents became generally known. It had probably been procured under circumstances rather compromising to its new owner.

Intermediate between the re-appearance of these two codices comes the discovery of the minor works of Tacitus, including the Dialogue, shortly before the year 1460. Some have thought that the codex containing these must also have been in Poggio's possession, though he had kept it a close secret till his death in 1459, in the same way as he had agreed to treat the manuscript received from Niccolo Niccoli. But the

1 Ulrichs thinks that the precise date must have been 1507, as Soderini's letter to Adriani, referring to the arrival of the codex as 'quite recent' (proxime) is dated Jan. 1, 1508: see Eos, vol. i. p. 243. The Medicean codex of Pliny's letters seems to have originally formed part of this manuscript: see Keil's edition (1870) Praef. p. vii. On the death of Pope Leo X, it was transferred to Florence, where it is still preserved (Laur. 68, 1).

2 Cornelium Tacitum, cum venerit, observabo penes me occulte. Scio enim omnem ilam cantilenam et unde exierit et per quem et quis eum sibi vendidet; sed nil dubies: non exibit a me ne verbo guidem: Poggii Epist. p. 212. It is mainly on the obscure history of this 'find,' and on the late emergence of the First Medicean that Ross (1888), and Hochart (1890) have based their incredible theory that the Annals were forged in the fifteenth century. See Madan's 'Books in Manuscript,' pp. 130-132.
probability is that we owe the minor works, not to Poggio, but to a Pope who was also an earnest scholar, and practically the founder of the Vatican Library at Rome. In the year 1451, Nicholas V had sent the monk Enoch of Ascoli, formerly one of his most intimate associates, into France, Germany, and Denmark, to search for manuscripts and to take copies. There is still extant a letter in which he recommends his emissary to the good offices of Ludwig of Erlichshausen. After referring to his intention of making a collection of Greek and Latin MSS., worthy of the Supreme Pontiff and the Apostolic See, Pope Nicholas specifies the motive of Enoch’s mission in the following passage: *sed cum multi libri ex antiquis deficiant, qui culpa superiorum temporum sunt deperditi, ad inquirendum et transcribendum si reperiantur eiusmodi libros mittimus dilectum filium Enoch Esculanum virum doctum gregis et latinis litteris, familiarem nostrum, qui diversa loca et monasteria inquirat, si quis ex ipsis deperditis apud vos libros reperiretur. Idcirco nostri contemplatione velis omnes tui territorii libros sibi ostendere, antiquos presentim et priscse scripture, et simul permettere ut in tuo territorio scribi possit expensis nostris. Nolumus enim ut aliquis surripiatur, sed tantummodo ut fiat copia transcribendi super quibus ipsae Enoch tecum loquetur latius ex parte nostra.*

At first, Enoch does not seem to have fulfilled the high expectations that had been formed of the prospects of his mission. Poggio, in particular, appears to have had a poor idea of his qualifications. Enoch had been a pupil of Filelfo, with whom Poggio had interchanged such courtesies as were common among the scholars of that day; and he was undertaking a task in which Poggio himself had already been more than once disappointed, notably in an effort to procure a complete copy of Livy which he had been told was to be found in a Cistercian monastery near Lübeck. In a letter addressed to Fr. Coppino, Poggio says that, in two years, Enoch had found nothing that even an uneducated person would find it worth his while to read. Porphyrio’s commentary on Horace and Apicius seem to have been the chief results of Enoch’s early efforts. But the air was full of the rumour of new discoveries. The times were favourable, and such a mission as Enoch’s was not likely to prove a failure in the end. We know from Poggio’s letters to Niccolo Niccoli (1425–28) that he had himself formerly been on the track of some

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2 Novissime a summo pontifice missus est ad eos libros [Liv] perscrutandos Henoch Esculanus, qui adeo diligens fuit ut nihil iam biennio inveniret dignum etiam indocti hominis lectione.  
of the hitherto undiscovered writings of Tacitus. A certain monk, who was charged with important business at the Papal Court, had once intimated to him that he knew where several volumes were to be found, one of which contained what Poggio designates as aliqua opera Cornelii Tacitii nobis ignota—probably the codex in which the minor works afterwards came to light. The monk, who had doubtless a proper appreciation of Poggio's influence at court, as well as of his weakness for old manuscripts, undertook to furnish him with a list of books belonging to the library of an ancient German monastery, inventarium cuiusdam vetustissimi monasterii in Germania, ubi est ingens librorum copia. In 1427 the monk, now described as 'of Hersfeld' (Hersfeldensis) brings the promised inventory, with which Poggio is greatly disappointed. Part of it, however, he forwards to Niccolo: Mitto autem ad te nunc partem inventarii sui, in quo describitur volumen illud Cornelii Taciti et aliorum quibus caremus: quae cum sini res quaedam parvaetæ, non saitis magni sunt aestimandaæ. Decidi ex magna spe quam conceperam ex verbis suis. The monk promised to bring him the Tacitus codex, and Poggio waited impatiently for it. But it did not arrive. In the end of 1428 he writes to Niccoli, Cornelius Tacitus silet inter Germanos neque quicquam exinde novi percepit de eius operibus. The Hersfeld brother came again to Rome, but without the wished-for codex, whereupon Poggio gave him a warm reception. He undertook to bring it on his next journey; but as Poggio makes no further allusion to the matter in his correspondence, we are led to conclude that the monk's tergiversation compelled him to abandon the hope he had entertained so long.

It is of course impossible now to identify the codex to which this incident relates, but we may infer with some probability that it was the one afterwards brought to light by Enoch of Ascoli. Only one copy of the Dialogue, along with the Germania and the fragment of Suetonius de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, is known to have survived down to the days of Poggio. It became the parent of the various MSS. of those treatises which we now possess, and which can all be proved to derive from it and it only. It was the discovery of this codex, in a German monastery, that rewarded Enoch's later journeyings, after his first patron Nicholas V had passed away. The authority for this statement is a note which, when he published his edition of the Germania and the Dialogue in 1841, L. Tross reported from the Leyden codex (B). This note was appended by Jovianus Pontanus (1426–1503) to the original of which the Leyden MS. is a copy, and is to the effect that Enoch's codex came to

1 See pp. lxxi-lxxii.
light 'shortly after the death of Bartolemeo Facio,' who is known to have died in 1457: paullo enim post eis mortem in lucem rediere, cum multos annos desiderati a doctis hominibus essent. Temporibus enim Nicolai quinti pontificis maximi Enoc Asculanus in Galliam et inde in Germaniam profectus conquerendorum librorum gratia hos quamquam mendosos et imperfectos ad nos retulit. . . . Iov. Pontanus Vmber excrispsit. On the back of the first folio of the Leyden codex the following note also occurs, though possibly in another hand: Hos libellos Iovianus Pontanus excrispsit nuper adinventos et in lucem relatos ab Enoc Asculano quamquam satís mendosos: MCCCLX. Martio Mense.

These notices may be taken as fixing the date of Enoch's discovery, approximately, at 1458. But though the date may be regarded as settled, other important points in the accounts we have remain still to be discussed. Where was the monastery in which Enoch found the codex in question? What was the relation of this codex to the other known codices containing the historical books of Tacitus? Did Enoch bring the original with him to Rome, or only a copy?

Three monasteries have been named as containing the library in which Enoch had his one great stroke of good fortune—those of Corvey in Westphalia, Fulda in Hesse-Cassel, and Hersfeld in the same neighbourhood. In regard to the first-mentioned, no argument can be founded on the letter addressed by Poggio to Niccoli, in which he names this monastery: nam de monasterio Corbeio quod est in Germania non est quod spres: dicitur multos esse in eo libros: non credo rumoribus stultorum. This was in 1420, several years before Poggio commenced his negotiations with the Hersfeld monk. On the other hand, Corvey is almost certainly known to have been the home of the codex now known as the First Medicean, before it was abstracted and conveyed to Rome in the early years of the sixteenth century. But it was from Hersfeld that the monk came, and the volumes which he held out the prospect of to the expectant Poggio were not improbably in the library which he knew best—that of his own monastery. The reason why he failed to implement his promise may have been either that Poggio did not offer enough, or that he found his business prospering at Rome without Poggio's help. On the
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other hand it may be that he had promised more than he could perform, as might very conceivably be the case if the codices which he mentioned to Poggio were the property of another monastery. It is on this theory that Fulda becomes possible. Fulda is only about thirty miles from Hersfeld, and is believed to have possessed in earlier days an ancient copy of the works of Tacitus. Indeed the only certain reference to the historian’s writings before the fifteenth century is made by Ruodolphus, a monk of Fulda, of whom we are able to infer that he must have used, about the year 863 A.D., a codex containing both the Germania and the Annals, and therefore probably complete.

The point has been made the subject of numerous conjectures. Reifferscheid’s latest view was that Ruodolphus may have borrowed the codex from Corvey, after the fashion of that time. Others, more probably, regard Fulda itself as the home of the complete archetype which Ruodolphus used, and which must of course have been more ancient than any codex now extant. However this may be, we may be pretty certain that it was not this archetype, nor any part of it, that Enoch found. In fact it is improbable that Enoch’s codex was older than the thirteenth century. This is an inference which may be fairly based on the state in which the text of the minor works has come down to us. The manuscript to which we owe their survival must have abounded in those abbreviations and compendia which are absent from manuscripts of more remote date, but which by that time had been developed into a regular system. We are in this way enabled to explain the difference between the text of the early books of the Annals, which has been recovered from the First Medicean, and that of the Germania and the Dialogue. The latter, as also the Suetonius fragment, have suffered considerably from the ignorance of their first copyists, and especially from their inability to interpret some of the compendia referred to above. In order to gather up the various threads of the tradition of Tacitus, Ulrichs constructed the hypothesis that the codex used by Ruodolphus at Fulda (eighth or ninth century) was copied in the latter part of the eleventh century for or in the monastery of Corvey, and that the first part of this apographon was lent to Hersfeld in the thirteenth century, where after being copied it was lost. It is to the copy made at Hersfeld that we are in all probability indebted for Enoch’s discovery. Through his agency, the minor works of Tacitus found their way, just about the time of Poggio’s death, to Italy—probably first to Florence, and afterwards (before 1470), enlarged by the addition of the Agricola, to Rome.

It has already been indicated as probable that what Enoch brought to Italy was no mere copy—though his instructions from Pope Nicholas had originally been to take copies only—but the Hersfeld codex itself. Roth has stated the arguments in favour of this theory from the point of view of the Suetonius fragment (see his Suetonius, pp. lxv sq.). Reifferscheid, on the other hand (p. 411), argues that, while it may even have been the ancient archetype of Fulda that Enoch found, our codices are not derived from it, but from a copy made by Enoch himself or by a contemporary. The double readings so scrupulously recorded in some manuscripts he thinks are a sign of the difficulty with which the ancient manuscript was deciphered. They sometimes, indeed, diverge so widely as to suggest the possibility of the supposition that another codex may have been discovered, which was afterwards used to compare and correct the copies made from the one Enoch found; but any such theory is vetoed by the occurrence of the lacuna at the end of ch. 35 of the Dialogue, which is found in every extant manuscript, and must therefore have existed in the one and only original from which all are derived. Against Reifferscheid's theory it may be urged that the compendia which would have been used by a fifteenth-century copyist, such as Enoch or a contemporary, in transcribing an ancient MS. like the Fulda archetype, would not have been so liable to be misunderstood as those in the (supposed) thirteenth-century copy made at Hersfeld. And a note which I have to report from Harleianus 2639 (H), a manuscript which will be described below, seems to point in the direction of the belief that Enoch brought more than a mere copy with him to Italy. At the end of the Suetonius fragment the copyist of H has written in the margin these words: Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur. Unless it is to be taken as a mere statement of what he had been given to understand was the case, this note, occurring in a manuscript which was undoubtedly written within a few years of Enoch's discovery, must be regarded as evidence that the copyist of H had access to the original codex and was not merely transcribing from an almost contemporary copy.

All the existing manuscripts of the Dialogue derive, as has been already stated, from the codex which Enoch found. They are divided into two families, at the head of each of which is supposed to stand a lost copy of Enoch's codex, called respectively X and Y by Michaelis, N and M by Bachrens. All the available evidence goes to show that the copy X was made by a careful but unlearned scribe, and must therefore have been

1 See p. lxxxi.

2 See p. lxxvi.
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a more or less exact transcript of his original: the copyist of Y, on the other hand, brought greater scholarship to bear on his task, and allowed himself more freedom in executing it. The X family is represented now by the Vaticanus 1862 (A) and the Leidensis (B). The Y family includes the Farnesianus (C), Vaticanus 1518 (D), Vaticanus 4498 (Δ), the Ottobonianus (E), the Vindobonensis dccxi (V₂), the Harleianus (H), and the Vindobonensis ccli (V) ¹.

The editio princeps of the works of Tacitus, which did not include the as yet undiscovered first six books of the Annals, is understood to have been printed from a codex which must have derived ultimately from the manuscript now known as the Second Medicean (Laur. 68, 2), generally believed to have been written at Monte Casino in the latter half of the eleventh century. It was published by Vendelin de Spira at Venice in 1470. Several MSS. of the last books of the Annals and the Histories must then have been available, some of them copied, no doubt, as soon as the Second Medicean had passed, at the time of Niccolo's death (1437), from private keeping into the library of the Convent of St. Mark, afterwards incorporated with the Laurentian Library at Florence. But none of them contained the minor works ². For these Spira must have been indebted to some copy of Enoch's find, by which the Germania and the Dialogue, at least, were re-united to the parent stem from which they had so long been dissévered. Such codices as the Farnesianus (C) and the Vindobonensis (V) must have resulted from the wish to combine Enoch's discovery with the already known works. It was from a codex of this class (said to have been at the time in the Library of St. Mark at Venice) that Spira printed: as far as concerns the Dialogue, it must have embodied many of the readings and emendations of which the earliest trace is probably to be found in the hitherto neglected Harleianus (H). Then came the edition of Puteolanus (Milan, 1475), in which many of the mistakes of the editio princeps were corrected. Puteolanus is generally understood not to have had the assistance of any manuscript (Michaelis,

¹ The heading is variously given in these MSS. as follows:—Cornelli Taciti incipit Dialogus de Oratoribus A: Cornelli Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus incipit B: Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus foeticter incipit C: C: Cornelii Taciti dialogus de oratoribus D: Cornelii Taciti Dialogus incipit de Oratoribus et Poetis E (et poetis e): Incepta Dialogus de Oratoribus V₂: C: Cornelii Taciti equites Romanorum Dialogus de Oratoribus claris foetic ter incipit H: (de oratoribus suis et antiquis comparatis V). On the first folio H gives the list of contents as follows: Snetonii Tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus libri duo: C. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus claris.

² Even the unknown codex which Poggio alludes to in a letter to Niccolo (Epist. p. 213) as one which he had once read and which he was anxious again to borrow cannot have contained anything which is not in the Second Medicean: otherwise he would not have spoken of aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota (p. lxiv.).
Pref. p. i); but, though this may be true of the rest of his book, it is probable that he was acquainted with the text of the Dialogue as given in the Harleianus, and several instances of true readings hitherto ascribed to Puteolanus which are anticipated in the British Museum codex will be recorded in the commentary. Similar emendations and interpolations are to be found also in the editions of Beroaldus (1514) and Beatus Rhenanus (1519 and 1533). By employing the Farnesianus (C), Lipsius put the text of Tacitus on a new basis in his great edition of 1574, the popularity of which may be estimated from the fact that no fewer than ten re-issues of the work, revised by Lipsius himself, appeared at Antwerp and Leyden between 1574 and 1607. The last of these embodied the improvements made on the text by Pichena: and about the same time the labours of Muretus, Pithou, and Acidaliius combined to purge the Dialogue in particular of many of the blemishes which even then remained upon it. The edition of Gronovius (Amsterdam, 1672 and 1685) does not indicate any independent advance. For the Dialogue, Brodtier went back to the MSS., and used the four Vatican codices (1862, 1618, 2964, and 4498) without, however, recognizing the supreme importance of Vat. 1862 (A). The codex Farnesianus (C) still held the first place, not only in Brodtier's eyes, but in those of Heumann (Göttingen, 1719), Schulze (Leipzig, 1788), Dronke (Coblenz, 1828), Orelli (Zürich, 1830), and Bekker (1831). Next, Egger collated the codex Parisiensis 7773, which, however, will be shown below to be a mere copy of the Harleianus (H). In his edition of 1841, Hess gives the readings of the Vindobonensis (V) as reported by Schubart. In the same year came Tross's collation of the very important codex Leidensis (B), which had formerly belonged to Perizonius. Of this codex, Ritter made a fresh collation for his complete edition of Tacitus (1848), and it was thereafter allowed to rank above the Farnesianus (C). But almost at the same time the Vaticanus 1862 (A) begins to emerge. Nipperdey was the first to demonstrate its superiority (Hall. Litt. Zeit. 1840), and in his edition of the Germania (1847), Massmann suspected that it must stand on at least a footing of equality with B. The same line was taken by Reifferscheid in his Quaestiones Suetonianae (see especially pp. 409 sqq.), and lastly, by Michaelis, in his critical edition of the Dialogue (1868). Michaelis had examined A for himself in the year 1858, and had come to the conclusion that it was 'integrior' than B. To A and B he adheres closely, as against the Y family of MSS. Baehrens, on the other hand, constructed his critical edition (1881) on the theory that the Y family contained a truer tradition than that of which AB are the representatives: and this theory, taken along with his own tendencies towards
arbitrary and irresponsible emendation, enabled him to produce a text which presents many points of contrast to that of Michaelis. Binde, in a dissertation to which reference will be made again (1884), supported the view of Michaelis, with variations. The latest contribution to the criticism of the Dialogue has been made by F. Scheuer (1891), who, in a pamphlet to which all future editors will continue to be indebted, endeavours to establish the superiority of the Y family, though on other grounds than those on which Baehrens had relied.

Before proceeding to a more detailed consideration of the subject of the distinguishing characteristics of the two families, it will be advisable to furnish here a more specific account of the various codices to which reference has already been made.

Of Vaticanus 1862 (A), nothing need be said in addition to what has already been stated, except that the order of its contents is (1) the Germania, (2) the fragment of Suetonius, and (3) the Dialogue. It was doubtless a faithful copy of the manuscript from which it was transcribed.

The Leidensis (B), on the other hand, in which the Dialogue comes first and is followed by the Germania and the Suetonius, presents several points of interest and peculiarity. It was long supposed to be the actual copy made from Enoch’s codex by Jovianus Pontanus, the intimate associate of Alfonso the Magnanimous, who played a large part in the literary society of the Naples of his day. It is now admitted, however, that B is not the original apographon of Pontanus, but a copy of it. It differs considerably from A, though it is impossible now to say how far the difference is attributable to the changes introduced by Pontanus himself, and how far to the copyist of B. Pontanus is known to have been an elegant and accurate scholar, and he no doubt incorporated many emendations in the text as he transcribed it. Moreover, the scribe sometimes makes corrections in his own hand, some of which are right, while others are wrong. Lastly, the whole was subsequently revised by another hand, cited as b, the author of which is generally supposed to have had other

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1 See Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, pp. 362 sqq.
2 Examples are given in the critical notes: the following may however be cited here as among the right corrections: 8. 12 quoque for quoque; 10. 28 effervesce for effervesce; 10. 30 offendis for offendere; 30. 7 qua usus for quo ausus (ACEV₂). Wrongly corrected are the following: 13. 27 mea for mei; 22. 5 ex verbis for et verbis (so HSp. Put.); 22. 6 locosque (with H) for locos quoque; 34. 8 multumque for multum; 36. 24 cogerent for regerent; 5. 23 quadam velut for velut quadam; 22. 17 tantum eo for eo tantum; 29. 15 ullas quidem for quidem uallas.
The common derivation of these two codices (A and B) is obvious from the fact that the end of the twenty-fifth chapter of the Germania is displaced in both. Their original (X) was probably written by a scribe who was not so skilful in resolving compendia as the writer of Y: they each contain corruptions which must be attributed to the writer of X, seeing that in the corresponding places the members of the Y family give the text correctly. An excellent example of this, as well as of the tendency to emendation on the part of B, occurs in the Suetonius fragment, \( 127.30.3 \) (Reifferscheid), where we have **\( ypes\)\( \alpha \), \( ipseum \) B, **\( conspectu \) ECDH, for **\( qspe\)\( \nu \)**: cp. ib. \( 126.30.15 \) **\( personalem \) AB, provconsulem E, pecos. H, procos. D, porcos C.** From the tradition of A and B, it is a much easier task to restore the text of X than it is to infer from the other existing codices what must have stood in Y. The抄ist of A followed his original with the most scrupulous care, and made very few changes: hence A must be regarded as superior to B in literal accuracy of reproduction. In doubtful cases, the adhesion of the representatives of Y to the tradition of either A or B may be taken as conclusive of what must have originally stood in X.

For the Y family, Michaelis cited, in his critical edition (1868), the readings of the Farnesianus (C), Vaticanus 1518 (D), Vaticanus 4498 (Δ), and Ottobonianus (E): to these must be added the Harleianus (H), the Vindobonensis cccli (V), and the Vindobonensis dccxi (V3).

The Farnesianus (C) is one of the MSS. which must derive indirectly, except for the minor works, from the Second Medicean. It contains Annals xi–xvi: Hist. i–v, the Dialogue, the Germania, and the fragment of Suetonius. For its relation to other existing MSS. of the historical books, see Furneaux’s Annals, vol. ii. pp. 2, 3, where it is classed with the second group of codices, from one of which Spira is believed to have printed his editio princeps. The addition of the minor works proves that it is not earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The two Vatican MSS. 1518 (D) and 4498 (Δ) have this in common, that they contain some minor writings, in addition to Tacitus and Suetonius. Their contents are as follows: in D we have, after Porphyrio’s commentary on Horace, and a life of Persius, with the commentary of Cornutus, \((a)\) the Suetonius fragment, \((b)\) the Dialogue, and \((c)\) the Germania. The Suetonius comes first in Δ, followed by Pseudo-Plinii
The Ottobonianus (E) is a late codex (fifteenth or sixteenth century) with very miscellaneous contents. After Messalae Corvini de progenie sua libellus comes (a) the Suetonius fragment, and (b) the Dialogue, followed by many tractates, too various to mention. The importance of this codex was first recognized by Michaelis, but it was taken for a copy of the Farnesianus (C) corrected from A. This theory was disproved by Steuding\(^1\), who erred, however, in attributing CE and \(\Delta\) to a common source.

Next to E may be placed the Vindobonensis DCXI (V\(_2\)), whose kinship with the Ottobonianus has been clearly demonstrated by Scheuer, and whose contents are equally miscellaneous. At the close of the series comes (a) the Germania, followed by (b) the Dialogue, and (c) the Suetonius. This codex bears date A.D. 1466. It has been designated V\(_2\) to distinguish it from another Vienna manuscript, viz.—

Vindobonensis cccxi (V). This codex bears the arms of Matthias Corvinius, King of Hungary, for whom it was probably written. It afterwards belonged to Joannes Sambucus (1563). It contains the last six books of the Annals, the Histories, and (a) the Germania, (b) the Dialogue, where the addition to the title, in a later hand, of the name of Quintilian helped to forward the theory that the Dialogue was really the composition of the great teacher of rhetoric. For the historical books, it is in close agreement with the codex from which Spira must have printed his editio princeps: see Wissowa, *Lectiones Tacitinae*, Specimen Tertium, 1832. So far as the Dialogue is concerned, it was probably copied, carelessly enough, from a codex closely related to the Harleianus (H), the account of which may be postponed to p. lxxxv\(^2\).

The divergence between the two families will be made evident by a consideration of the following places:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{AB} & \text{CDEV}_{\Delta}VH \\
22. 4 & \text{oratores aetatis eiusdem} \\
22. 7 & \text{iam senior} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^1\) Beiträge zur Textkritik im Dialog des Tacitus, 1878.

\(^2\) While H and V belong obviously to the same class of MSS., any theory that either was copied from the other is negatived by the occurrence of striking and characteristic differences, some of which will be recorded below. They agree in omitting the words \([\text{ex his susorbia ... controversiae}]\) at 35. 13-15, and also \([\text{ergo non}]\) at the commencement of ch. 37.

But at 19 ad fin. V has \textit{et festinare se testantar}, while these words do not occur in H, as also \textit{et audiantur} 35, 11. On the other hand there are no blank pages left in V, as in H, at the end of ch. 35; and such a variant as occurs at 19. 5 (\textit{indo} H for \textit{indicio, video} V) is enough to show that H was not copied from V: cp. 36. 1 \textit{omissi} H, \textit{omissa} V; 31. 16 \textit{incitat} H, \textit{concitat} V; 16. 36, 32 \textit{drei cogerunt} H, \textit{dicere cogerunt} V.
The agreement of the Y class in readings which differ from those of AB is sufficient to establish the fact, which could also be proved from the *Germania* and the Suetonius, that the MSS. cited above as composing it derive from a different original than that which is reproduced in A and B. The question which of the two families is worthy of greater credit will be discussed at the conclusion of this chapter. Meanwhile their derivation and mutual relationship may be considered.

Reifferscheid 1 was the first to disprove the generally accepted theory that A and B were direct copies of Enoch’s codex, while at the head of the Y family stood a third copy, now lost, but closely related to A and B. He showed that A and B contain certain corruptions and wrong readings which do not appear in the Y family, and which, from their peculiar character, must have had their origin in a codex the writer of which had been deficient in ability to resolve the compendia in the original from which it was copied. There is general agreement now that A is a direct copy of the lost codex (X) which was transcribed either immediately from the manuscript found by Enoch, or from the copy which Enoch made. Another copy was the codex written by Pontanus, which is reproduced for us in B. The derivation and relationship of the members of the Y family have been the occasion of a greater divergence of opinion, and some of the material necessary for a decision has only lately been supplied by Scheuer in the valuable paper to which reference has already been made 2. By a searching comparison of their various readings Scheuer has demonstrated the incorrectness of the views entertained by his predecessors, Michaelis and Baehrens, in regard to the manuscripts of the Y family. Michaelis believed that the truest representative and nearest lineal descendant of the lost codex Y was to be found in D, however carelessly copied this manuscript must be admitted to have been. Alongside of D he placed another direct copy of Y, now lost, which he supposed was the original of C and Δ, while E was believed to have been copied from C, though corrected from the Vatican A.

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1 Suetoni Reliquiae, p. 414.  
2 De Tacitei de Oratoribus Dialogi (Breslau Philologische Abhandlungen).
The family-tree constructed by Michaelis may be exhibited thus:

- The archetype of Fulda, eighth or ninth century
- The (Hersfeld?) codex, found by Enoch of Ascoli, of about the thirteenth century
- Enoch's copy of this codex
- The codex of Pontanus

Baëhrens, on the other hand, took $\Delta$ and E for direct descendants of Y, while from a third copy of Y, now lost, he supposed C and D to have sprung,—the former before, the latter after their original had been corrected from some member of the X family. His method of representing the genealogy of the Y family is as follows:

Scheuer has shown that both Michaelis and Baehrens were wrong. He first proves, against Michaelis, that E cannot be derived from C, and that it is impossible to believe that ECA are the offspring of the same parent MS., as in the table of Michaelis. His tree he gives as under:
It was an examination of the neglected *Vindobonensis dccxi* (*V₂*) that led Scheuer to his conclusions. He found that it is nearly akin to *E*, and almost in exact agreement with it where *E* shows the readings of *X* instead of those of its own class *Y*. Both therefore derive from a common source, which must have been a truer representative of *Y* than that to which *CΔD* are to be traced. The supposition that either codex was copied from the other is excluded by a list of variants in which each shows individual peculiarities of its own. Instead of *E* having been corrected from *A* or *B*, the opposite is the case. *E* is sometimes in agreement with *AB*, or with *B* alone, where *V₂* does not follow it, and we may therefore infer that their original (*y¹*) had been corrected after *V₂* was copied from it. In this emended state it was probably used by Pontanus, or by both Pontanus and the copyist of *B*. Scheuer next proves the common origin of *CΔD*, which had already been partly established by Binde. Their source he designates *y²*, and infers that its disagreement with *ABEV₂* must be attributed to caprice or carelessness on the part of the copyist, while the text of the lost archetype *Y* may be restored by the agreement of *y¹* with *A* and *B*. The fact that *D* often forsakes its own class to agree with *A* and *B*, where its kindred *EV₂* and *CΔ* are in disagreement, Scheuer explains by supposing for *D* (or rather for its original, as Baehrens had suggested) what Michaelis had asserted for *E*, namely, correction out of the *X* family. In proof of this the following places are quoted where *D* has been 'contaminated' from *X* and *Y*: 30. 2 *vocantis D*, *vocatis X*, *vocant Y*; 41. 3 *quis enim quidem quod nemo D*, *quidem quod nemo A*, *quis enim Y*; 37. 19 *est habendus D*, *habendus est X*, *habendus Y*.

Some of Scheuer's conclusions rest no doubt on a superstructure of hypothesis, but his general theory marks an advance on the work of previous critics. It seems to me, however, that future speculation as to the inter-relationship of the various codices will have to take account of the hitherto neglected *Harleianus*, which is certainly of great importance for the history of the constitution of the text. I now proceed to report the result of my examination of this interesting manuscript. Its official description is as follows: Brit. Mus. *Harley 2639*, vellum; 8 x 5½ inches; ff. 43, fifteenth century. Contains 'Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus libri duo,' ff. 2–14 v.: 'C. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus Claris,' ff. 15–42 v. On the first folio the name of its last owner is written 'Ambrosii Bonvici, 1687.' This was Ambrose Bonwicke (1652–1722), scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1669, Librarian in 1670.

1 De Taciti Dialogo Quaestiones Criticae: Glogoviae, 1884. See p. 7.
and Head Master of Merchant Taylors from 1686 till he was dismissed in 1691 for not having taken the oath of allegiance. The MS. was bought along with six others, for the sum of £7 7s., from W. Bowyer, the printer, who acted as Bonwicke’s executor after his death on Oct. 20, 1722. The date of the transaction is recorded as Sept. 11, 1725.

The Harleianus (H) is mentioned by Roth in his edition of Suetonius (p. lxi), and Michaelis derived his account of it from him. Baehrens also refers to it in his critical commentary, but only to deny it any authority. He ranks it after the Parisiensis 1773 and the Vindobonensis (V2), and describes all three as ‘of very recent date and vilely interpolated’—libri quidam recentissimi foedissimeque interpolati (p. 45). I shall be able to show, however, that the Harleianus takes us back to within a few years of Enoch’s discovery, and that the Parisiensis, which was used by Pithou and included by Michaelis among the MSS. on which he founded his critical edition (1868), was directly copied from it at a date considerably later. The Parisiensis need not be referred to again in any discussion of the text of the Dialogue. It has not, and ought never to have been allowed, any independent value whatever. Perhaps the clearest proof that it is a mere copy of H may be found in the fact that at 40.9 it omits the words [libertatem vocabant comes seditionum effrenati]. These words form a single line in H, and were inadvertently passed over by the copyist. The late date of the Parisiensis is indicated by what Pithou says in his Paris edition (1580): in huius autem dialogi editione, praeter exemplar in Italia ante aliquot annos descriptum, maximo nobis adiumento fuit Lipsii nostri industria, &c. In his commentary on 15.2 he reports a marginal note Eadem verba sunt Petronii: ‘in exemplari Italiclo ad h. l. adscriptum fuit Eadem verba sunt Petroni et sane quaedam initio Satyrici Petroniani quae huius disputationis aliquot locis valde consentanea sunt.’ This enabled Egger to identify the Parisiensis as the codex used by Pithou, and thus to solve a question to which he alludes as ‘lis a viris doctis agitata’: he found traces of the words eadem verba sunt Petronii in the

1 His life of his son ‘Ambrose Bonwicke, sometime Scholar of St. John’s College, Cambridge,’ was edited by J. E. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1870. The Dialogue is mentioned among the books which his son read in the course of his first year at the University (1710).

2 See Humphrey Wanley’s diary, Landsdowne MS. 772, f. 58 v: and cp. Nichols’s Lit. Anec. i. 92, 93: ‘Sept. 11, 1725, being in company with Mr. Moses Williams, he told me that he had that day seen, in the hands of young Mr. Bowyer, a small parcel of MSS. which were to be sold. Herupon I went to Mr. Bowyer this day and bought them for my lord in his absence: they will all be marked with the date of this day. These books formerly belonged to the rev. and learned Mr. Ambrose Bonwicke, deceased.’

3 In Zimmermann’s Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft iii. p. 337, 1836. A comparison of the Harleianus with the collation of the Parisiensis given there enables me to affirm that the two codices are throughout in almost exact agreement; such minor deviations from H as
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margin of the Parisiensis at the place indicated by Pithou. But the author of the note was not the copyist of that late manuscript, but the scholar who wrote the Harleianus, where it will be found in the rubric, f. 23 v. The same is true of the marginal direction at ch. 9 ἡμεῖσαν ῥὰ ἤθη, and of the words Nemus et lucus Poetarum which are written in at the end of the same chapter.

Though it is impossible to say how the MS. now in the British Museum came into the hands of Ambrose Bonwicke, we are fortunately able to determine the name of its first owner, and consequently its approximate date. On the first folio of the Suetonius fragment appears a coat of arms which Mr. Warner succeeded in identifying as those of John Tiptoft, the literary Earl of Worcester (d. 1470). Tiptoft acted as ambassador to the Pope and Council of Mantua in 1459, and returned to England towards the end of 1460, after using the opportunity afforded by his residence in Italy to get together a valuable library. In Florence he was taken in hand by the bookseller Vespasiano, and attended incognito a lecture by the renowned Argyropulos. This would be about the time when Enoch’s discovery had brought the Dialogue and the Suetonius fragment, as well as the Germania, to Florence, and when scholars were busy in emending a text that was admittedly corrupt. What more natural than that the English collector should have wished to secure a copy in which, however, the first two treatises were alone included, owing to the similarity of their subject matter? The upper limit for the date of Tiptoft’s acquisition of the copy in question is fixed by the time of his sojourn in Italy: the lower limit is determined by the date of his execution, October 18, 1470, after which his arms would not have been added to the codex. Another factor in the calculation is the appear in P seem to be due to the copyist having had an early printed edition before him, as well as H. At 30. i patria in P is a copyist’s error for prià (prima) H: so 36 ad fin. differentiae P vos òre (diceré) H.

It may be noted here that none of these occur in the Vindobonensis (V).

2 Bale in his account of Tiptoft (p. 626) gives a list of his works, and adds a quotation from a funeral oration of Ludovic Carbone of Ferrara, in which among other things he says literaturam avidissimus omnes, ut ita dixerim, Italiæ bibliothecas spolivit ut pulcherrimus bibliorum monumentis Angliam exornet.

3 For Vespasiano’s account of Tiptoft see his ‘Duca di Worcestri’ in Spicilegium Romanum, vol. i. (1839) p. 524.

4 We know that Tiptoft intended to leave the manuscript under consideration, along with others, to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (see Macray’s ‘Annals of the Bodleian,’ p. 11 and p. 400). But his intention was not fulfilled, and historians of the period mention it as matter for regret that we have no information as to what became of his literary treasures: see Voigt, Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, ii. p. 260. In these circumstances the identification of Tiptoft’s coat of arms becomes of some importance, and I append the description of it kindly supplied to me by Mr. Warner: argent, a saltire engrafted gules (Tiptoft) quarterly gules, a lion rampant or (Charlton of Powys).
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appearance on the last folio, in a different hand, of two couplets on the death of a dog, as follow:

Parva zebor tibi parva domus es corpore parvus
Et brevis est tumulus et breve carmen habe.
Mapheus Vegetus.

Furum moeror heri spes quondam gone (?) catelle
Hic nunc spes furum moeror herique iaces.
L. A. 1462.

Maffeo Vegio we know as 'the single instance of a poet-philologer who assumed the cowl' (Symonds, Renaissance, p. 517; Voigt, ii. p. 375). Greater interest attaches to the identification of the initials attached to the second couplet. It seems probable that they are those of the well-known Leon Battista Alberti, one of the most remarkable figures in the age of the Renaissance, and a man of the most varied accomplishments. Alberti is known to have had a favourite dog, and on its death he celebrated its praises in a piece of Latin entitled 'Leonis Baptistae Alberti canis'. The occurrence of the couplet is of course no proof that the volume belonged to Alberti: the initials may merely refer to him as the author of the couplet, and the date may give the year in which he composed it. At the same time, as both epitaphs are in a different hand from that of the copyist, it is probable that they were added in 1462 to a manuscript that had been written a few years previously. The writer may have intended them as a memorial of Tiptoft's relationship with Alberti, and of the interest he had taken in the dog which was thus commemorated. The modesty of the initials L. A., alongside of Vegio's full name, might suggest an autograph: Alberti, after meeting Tiptoft in Rome or elsewhere, may have sent the codex after him to England, with the couplets attached. He is known to have been in correspondence with Enoch of Ascoli in 1451 (see Pozzetti, L. B. Alberti laudatus, 1789, p. 15), and he probably kept himself informed of the results of the monk's search for manuscripts. On the other hand, supposing that Tiptoft had ordered the codex before leaving Italy in 1460, the interval of two years seems unnecessarily long.

Reference has been made already to another interesting feature in the

1 Unfortunately he nowhere mentions the name of the dog, and it is hard to see what gone stands for in the couplet quoted above, unless it be some pet appellation.
2 This supposition derives some probability from the fact that Tiptoft's arms have not been executed by the same artist as supplied the illuminated border for the folio in which they appear. They seem to have been added afterwards, possibly when the book was sent to him from Italy.
5. *Harleianus*—the occurrence at the end of the Suetonius of a remarkable note, in the hand of the copyist, *Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur*. Taken along with indications which go to show that the original of H must have been a MS. abounding in contractions, this must be held to render it probable that it was no mere copy that Enoch brought back with him to Italy, but his original ‘find’—the Hersfeld codex—probably of the thirteenth century. If this inference is correct, a lineal descent may be established for H from the archetype of Fulda.

Perhaps the most striking internal characteristic of H is its frequent agreement with the hand in the *Leidensis* known as b (see p. lxx). If b is as late as is generally supposed, the probability is that its readings were derived from H, or from some similar copy executed about the same time. For proof of this agreement, reference might be made to the critical notes, but it may be instructive to exhibit here some of the resemblances referred to, as well as some of the differences between the two traditions.

The following examples in which H and b agree are probably in many cases the result of an independent attempt on the part of the copyist of H to resolve the compendia in his original. The oldest editions (Spirensis and Puteolanus) generally present the same readings:—

5. 12 *solicite for societate*; 5. 15 *nationes for necessitudines*; 5. 25 *praesidio for profugio*; 5. 26 *irrepat for increput*; 6. 18 *quacunque for quemcunque*; 7. 10 *in codicillis for codicillis*; 8. 7 *ipsa eloquentia om. H, del. b*; 12. 14 *ne aut illud clamore for nec ullis aut gloria maior*; 25. 8 *si quo minus for in qua nimium (?)*; 31. 31 *civitatem for comitem (?)*; 33. 24 *circa oratoriam (or -um) for esse oratorum.*

Other resemblances between H and b are:—

5. 11 *arbitrium*; 5. 12 *sed et ipsum*; 6. 18 *induxerit*; 10. 33 *rightly hinc (so Put.)*; 10. 34 *wrongly hinc (for haec)*; 21. 3 *Canuti*; 21. 28 *qua*; 23. 7 *isti om. H, del. bC*; 29. 4 *et virides om. H* Put., del. b; *invenies 29. 12.*

On the other hand, H and b differ in the following places:—

7. 17 *vetat H (Sp.), notat b, vocat Put.*; 8. 1 *hunc Eprium b Put., hère proprium H*; 8. 11 *haberemus H, haberemus b*; 8. 12 *angustia erectum H, angustiae parentum b*; 10. 5 *nedum b, metrum H (Sp. Put.)*; 15. 6 *malignus b, malignus his H (Sp.)*; 21. 15 *parte sectum H, parte seu b*; 21. 35 *rubor H, robur b*; 21. 38 *quam b, inquam H*; 25. 13 *sic b, sicut H*; 25. 16 *si iure b, sic vire H*; 31. 35 *pleraque b, plerique H*; 32. 29 *a vobis b, vobis H*; 33. 22 *illud b, id H (and D)*; 36. 20 *parabat b, probabat H.*

The copyist of H left blanks in his text (some of which have been
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reproduced in the early edd.) wherever he was uncertain as to the reading. Instances are:

7. 14 quibus q et indoles est H, quibus morum et indoles est V Sp. Put.; 8. 17 where the words sunt civitatis are omitted in HSp. Put. (and where sunt seems, by the way, not to be indispensable to the context); 21. 17 et H, for regule AB, which is deleted by b; 22. 3 sensu is left blank in H, sus Sp., secundus V, serus Put. (cp. 23. 21 summum HSp. for sensuum); 28. 3 nō HSp. Put. for nominis controversiam; cp. 13. 3 where the insertion of controversiae by H after pericula sua et suggests either that the true reading may be ‘certamina et pericula sua et controversiae ad consulatus evexerint’ or else that the reading of H is due to the misinterpretation of a compendium, such as cent evexer. Similarly in the Suetonius 102. 3, 12 Πανος δύναμις which is variously rendered in other codd., is left a mere blank in H, introduced by a tentative p.

The remarkable agreement of H with the early printed editions may be made the subject of a separate paragraph, as showing the influence which the copyist exerted on the early constitution of the text. H has been shown to be of earlier date than 1470, the year in which the editio princeps appeared; if it was conveyed to England some eight or nine years previously, it may have been used, before being sent off, to complete, as regards the Dialogue, some manuscript of the family to which the Vindobonensis (V) belongs, and from which Spira is believed to have printed his text. The following are instances of mistakes in H, generally shared by V, and perpetuated in the early editions; omissions are indicated by square brackets. It will be noticed that many of the readings are due to misinterpretation of compendia:

1. 3 [eloquentiae]; 3. 7 si quae pravam interpretandi materiam (written in above the line in H as an alternative for si quae prava interpretamina materiam); 3. 11 tractatione for recitatione; 3. 16 curarum for causarum; 4. 4 [obictis]; 4. 8 musarum for causarum; 5. 25 prope for prospere; 6. 1 censo for transeo (emend. Put.); 6. 5 [suam]; 6. 7 officii—administrandis; 6. 21 affert; 8. 10 propriam for proxima; 8. 21 vir for veri; 8. 25 imagines attalit; 9. 6 crebro est for cui bono est; 9. 10 [eius]; 9. 11 [ipse]; 9. 28 [sumum genium propitia]; 11. 7 ut niti for aliquid et eniti; 14. 4 intueri for interveni (emend. Put.); 16. 9 [eas]; 16. 21 perficitis for profertis; 17. 22 auctoribus for actionibus; 18. 5 [nulla parte]; 18. 8 [guoque]; 18. 27 videri for videntur; 19. 6 judicio (per compend. H), video VSp.; 19. 7 [cum] as D; ib. auctorum for aurium; 19. 15 philosophiam atque for philosophiam vide-retur et; 19. 24 consistunt; 20. 24 et in fornicius tegulisque (emend. Put.); 21. 15 sive in universa parte securum; 21. 5 cognitionis; 21. 26 lentidius; 22. 13 ex tempore for excerrere; 22. 15 conquattit for contingit; 23. 21 summum for sensuum; 24. 5 maturatus; 24. 6 ita mutasse non debeb; 24. 11 [igitur]; ib. exprimo for express; 25. 11 [prima]; 25. 15 [et Caius]; 25. 22 voluminis for voluntatis; 26. 7 ipsorum for temporum (cp. 32. 12 where HSp.
and Put. have *horum ipsorum for horum temporum*); 28. 17 cuiusdam for eiusdem; 29. 5 quando for quin; 29. 8 [alienique]; 30. 9 [assiduae]; 31. 8 dicitus for disserimus; 31. 21 omnibus for communibus; 32. 19 dicunt by mistake of a compendium for domina, as also D; 32. 27 [referat]; 32. 30 [mihi]; 32. 33 placuisse for plausisse; 33. 13 [quoque]; 34. 5-7 interesse
[sive in iudiciis . . . iurgiis interesse]. This lengthy omission occurs in HVSp. and Put., which agree also in a similar omission at 35. 13-15 controversiae [ex his suasoriae . . . controversiae]; 36. 6 inbui for tribui; 36. 7 pleraque for plura; 36. 11 migrantium for magistratum; 36. 13 [factiones]; ib. senectutis for senatus; 36. 22 *et praeturae et consulatui vacare*; 36. 32 cogerunt for cogerentur; 37. 1 [ergo non]; 38. 1 fortunam for formam; 38. 6 favebatur; 39. 7 sic alius for sic est aliquid; 40. 1 datum ius quoque; 40 [nulla in senatu . . . moderatio].

On the other hand, the following differences may be noted, caused by significant omissions in H:—


The following are interesting examples of those transpositions (reproduced in early editions) which frequently occur in manuscripts, especially where the collocation is a familiar one (cp. note on *velut quadam*, 5. 23):—

10. 2 sui laboris; 13. 7 versibus Vergili; 18. 4 antiquos merito; 25. 29 invidieret Ciceroni; 28. 16 aliqua maior; 34. 4 principem locum in civitate; 35. 9 imperitus aequé; 40. 16 Athenienses plurimi.

For the rest, it is noticeable that H, while in general agreement with the Y family, shares with D a leaning to AB, especially the former. In the places cited by Scheuer on pp. 29, 30, where ABD differ from EV₂CΔ, H is generally in agreement with ABD. On the whole, the study of its peculiarities confirms the impression that neither of the two families is to be blindly followed, and that the restoration of the true text must be secured by an eclectic method. The divergences already tabulated may suggest to some a theory that there may have been more than one archetype, and that Enoch's codex is not the only one from which the text has been derived. But the strongest possible proof of the common origin of all existing MSS. is furnished by the occurrence in all of them of the lacuna noted in the text at the end of ch. 35. Some have thought that the portion of the treatise here omitted is of no very considerable extent, and may even have consisted of only a few lines; but all the
evidence, both external and internal, is against such a theory. The probable character of the sequel of Messalla's speech, and of what must have preceded ch. 36 in the archetype has already been discussed. As regards the external evidence, there is a pretty general agreement among the MSS. that the lacuna under consideration extended to six folios of the archetype, which had evidently been lost before the first copy was taken from Enoch's find. The proportion of the lost part to the whole has been variously calculated. Urlichs (Eos, ii. p. 232) thought it must have been one-tenth; Brotier, who undertook to supply what was wanting in a 'Supplementum,' took it at one-sixth; Habbe has calculated it at one-seventh, arguing that the 'sex pagelle' of the MSS. must refer to the folios of the original 'archetypum Fuldense,' from which what is known now as the First Medicean is believed to have been copied. A constituent part of this last-named MSS., though separated from it now, is the Medicean codex of Pliny's Letters, and Habbe believes that a comparison of a marginal note in the Vatican codex of Pliny (3864), which states the extent of the lacuna in the sixteenth letter of the first book as 'duae chartae,' will give the result as above calculated for the Dialogue. In the Harleianus, the copyist has carefully calculated the extent of the lacuna in the codex which lay before him, and has left blank a space corresponding to about one-ninth of the whole, no doubt in the hope that the missing part would one day turn up, when it could be incorporated with the rest.

In discussing the question whether the manuscripts of the X family, or those which derive from Y, are the more to be depended on for a scientific reconstitution of the text, careful note must be taken of their distinguishing characteristics. There can be no doubt that the copyist of Y had a better knowledge of Latin than the copyist of X, and was also more skilled in the solution of the various compendia which must have abounded in the archetype. Moreover, he was not content to follow his original to the very letter, especially where he thought he could improve on it: hence the MSS. which derive from Y show traces of a process of emendation which had begun, in all probability, with the writer of Y himself.

1 See p. xxxvi: cp. on 36. 1.
2 The most specific intimation of the extent of the lacuna is made in the margin of B: deorant in exemplari sex pagelle vetustate consumptae. A has in the margin Hic desunt sex pagelle; C (possibly in a later hand) Multum deficit in exemplaribus quae reperiuntur: Δ hic multum deficit: E hic deest multum: in exemplari dicitur deesse sex paginas; V hic est defectus unus folii cum dimidio. In BCAD a few lines are left blank. For H see above.
3 See his 'De Dialogi... locis duobus lacunosis,' 1888, p. 7.
The result is that the reading which must have stood in the original is to be found in the MSS. of the Y family more frequently than in AB. But it is important to note that this does not necessarily imply that Y was a truer representative than X of the archetype on which they both depended, the codex found by Enoch of Ascoli, or of the copy which he may have taken from that codex. On the contrary, the conscientious accuracy with which the more unlearned copyist of X, as represented especially by A, followed the lines of his original is a guarantee of the fact that, where the two families disagree, the divergence is often due to improvement and emendation on the part of the members of the Y family. The following lists have been drawn out with the view of making clear the nature of the discrepancies: in any final judgment it is the character and probable origin of a particular reading, quite as much as the comparative accuracy of the two traditions, that ought to be carefully examined. Where A and B give a distinctive and characteristic reading, there is a reasonable certainty that they are reproducing what was before them; on the other hand, similar readings in the Y family are often due to the emendation of some individual scribe.

Leaving out of account, in the meantime, such comparatively unimportant variations as the pronouns (e.g. illa ... ista, iis ... his, &c.), as well as all cases where the discrepancy seems to have arisen from the misunderstanding or the neglect of compendia, and the not inconsiderable number of instances which must be classed as doubtful, we may select the following as affording striking tests of the two different traditions.

In the following places, the right reading is certainly preserved by AB, sometimes re-inforced by D or H, or by both:—

12. 10 et malis moribus ABDH              et ex malis moribus EVgCΔ
21. 17 regule A, regule BD (for reliquae, see ad loc.) illae EVgCΔ
25. 1 praescriptam a te ABD et prescriptam E, perscriptam et C, praescriptam et VgD, a te praescriptam H
41. 12 obscuriorque ABDH obscurior EVgCΔ

Probability is strongly in favour of the X family also in the following instances, though many of them depend on compendia which might easily have been misunderstood or neglected:—

9. 5 deinceps AB deinde EVgCΔDH
5. 2 moderati ABE modesti CDgVgDH

Here it was probably the omission of the syllable er in the original that gave rise to the reading of the Y class: cp. 17. 17 fateretur (below); also
The following, on the other hand, are the strongest instances of a greater accuracy of reproduction on the part of the Y family:

10. 3 sequitur EV₂CΔDH (and corr. A)
16. 21 profesitis ECAD : and so V₂ (corr. from profesici : φβιτις H, φερ- ficitis Sp.)
18. 25 autem EV₂CΔDH (and corr. B)
27. 11 et cum EV₂CΔ
28. 26 ad rem militarem EV₂CΔDH
31. 9 haec ipsa EV₂CΔDH
31. 12 in vitii EV₂CΔDH
31. 36 haec quoque EV₂CΔDH
41. 3 Quis enim EV₂CΔ

In the following places, also, the true reading is preserved by the Y family, though probably by successful emendation (as possibly some of the instances just cited, e.g. 28. 26, where the addition of rem to militarem would readily be made):

6. 18 induerit EV₂CΔD (inducerit HB)
12. 14 ullis EV₂CΔD
26. 7 actores EV₂CΔDH
26. 15 posse EV₂CΔDH

1 Gerber and Greff remark (p. 346) that enim always occupies the second place in Tacitus, except Dial. 30. 23 Ita est enim (where its position assists the emphasis of the statement) and Ann. xiv.

2 Michaelis and Scheuer differ in their account of A.
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26. 23 velut EV₂CΔH (and corr. B) vult AB
26. 24 incusato EV₂CΔ in Curato A, incurato BD, in curato H
29. 12 invenies EV₂CΔDH invenires AB
35. 16 per fidem EV₂CΔD perfidie ABH

Probability is strongly in favour also of:

24. 12 in tantum EV₂CΔH as against tantum AB
37. 19 habendus EV₂CΔ habendus est ABH (est habendus D)
41. 9 tamen EV₂CΔDH inde AB

Here are two cases of transposition, in regard to which the superiority of the Y reading is argued in the notes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EV₂CΔDH</th>
<th>AB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. 4</td>
<td>eiusdem aetatis oratores oratores eiusdem aetatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. 7</td>
<td>senior tam¹ iam senor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>artis ingenuae ingenuae artis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cp. also 30. 20 ingenuae artis

It is probably the superior knowledge of the copyist that is demonstrated in:

23. 1 ius verrinum EV₂CΔDH as against ius vetrinum AB

5. 6 Saleium V₂CΔDH, Seleium E " Salerum A, Galeriu B
9. 9 Saleium EV₂CΔH, Saltium D " Caeleium A, Coelieium B

When we come to examine the places where the correct reading seems to have depended on the copyist’s ability to interpret compendia and terminal abbreviations, we find a very considerable advantage on the side of the Y family. It should be remembered, however, that this is in itself no proof of the superiority of Y over X. The following is a list of the readings which are rightly given by the descendants of Y:

| 2. 14 | omni EV₂CΔ ca ABDH |
| 5. 15 | necessitdines EV₂CΔD necessitates AB (nationes H, edd. vett.) |
| 5. 25 | perfugio EV₂CΔD profugio AB (praesidio H, edd. vett.) |
| 6. 18 | quemcunque C, quencun- quacunque AB (quacunque H, and quumcunque D, quecquu V₂) |
| 7. 15 | nomina EV₂CΔDH nò AB |
| 9. 10 | eius EV₂CΔD (om. H) est AB |
| 9. 21 | praeepta EV₂D percepta ABCH |

¹ Gudeman supports the reading of the Y class here by pointing out that ‘omitting such stereotype collocations as iam vero, iam pridem, iam dudum, and observing that iam has a decided tendency to combine with et, ac, ut, non, nisi, si, que, and the like’ the postpositive use of tam is the general rule in the Dialogue. Such instances, however, as 32. 30; 7. 17; 8. 17; 32. 30; 39. 6, are not to the point.
INTRODUCTION.

12. 8 in illa EV₂CΔDH
16. 32 vester EV₂CΔ vF H
18. 28 veniam EV₂CΔDH

Cp. with the last 20. 5 dicentem
EV₂CΔDH and corr. B

19. 29 expectandum EV₂CΔH,
expectando D

20. 13 non solum EV₂CΔDH
22. 28 quia EV₂CΔDHb
24. 13 recesserimus EV₂DH and
corr. C

28. 14 educaebatur EV₂CΔDHb
28. 15 erat EV₂CΔH
31. 15 ad EV₂CΔ
31. 25 permovendos EV₂CΔ

32. 14 non EV₂CΔDH
37. 15 causarum EV₂CΔDb
(car H)

38. 12 aliorum EV₂CΔDH

The following may be doubtful, though I have had little hesitation
in adopting the reading of the Y class:—

21. 36 quia non EV₂CΔD
22. 30 ut sumere EV₂CΔD

28. 1 Et ECΔDH (EV₂)

Qui A [Qui] B

32. 22 ergo EV₂CΔDH
39. 2 rideatur EV₂CΔDH

On the other hand the X family has properly interpreted compendia
in the following instances:—

6. 21 profert AB
8. 24 possit ABCH
33. 7 quid ABD

Probably also:—

6. 7 non officii AB
19. 23 aut legibus AB
31. 12 nec . . . nec AB
34. 35 hodie quoque AB
36. 1 vel abiectum AB

The probability, as regards the last passage, is that nihil is an
emendation of the Y family: after writing nihil correctly in the words
immediately preceding (nihil humile vel abiectum) AB would not be
likely to make a mistake in substituting vel for the second nihil.
35. 21 must be classed as doubtful (prosequantur X, persequantur Y) though I have adopted what seems to have been the reading of X.

In what may be considered minor matters of orthography, the advantage is sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, e.g.:—

6. 1 iocunditas EV₂CA, iucunditas H
10. 16 elegorum ECADH, elegarum V₂
26. 23 deminuta HV₂CAD, diminuta AE
30. 2 auctoribus EV₂CADH
15. 16 concentus ABE (for concentu)
17. 9 statue ABE
19. 2 alte AB
32. 22 ut quae ABDH
39. 5 tabularia ABDH
39. 9 ipsam ABDH

Doubtful are 10. 21 where EV₂CA give artes and ABDH artis; and 22. 18 where supellectile has fully as good MS. authority (ABEV₂H) as the more correct form supelletilli CAΔ.

In the following doubtful places the true reading is established by the agreement of ABEV₂ as against CAΔ: H supports the former in the two first instances, the latter in the third:—

ABEV₂
15. 17 aut Asinio
22. 23 fugitet ABEV₂Δ
37. 17 expilatis
33. 8 ingressuri

CAΔ
aut ab Asinio
fugiet CD
de expilatis
ingressi DHV, ingraessi CA

The following is doubtful:

17. 28 vocetis ABEV₂H

vocitatis CAΔ

The probability here is that the reading vocetis is due to the neglect of a mark of abbreviation: the position is reversed at 22. 23 where fugitet (ABEV₂Δ) is right as against fugiet (CD). Cp. 25. 4 where the X family seems right with constat (ABDH) as against constaret (ECΔ). On the other hand it might of course be argued that the superiority of the vocetis tradition points to the unnecessary insertion of a supposed omitted syllable it in CAΔ. The latter are often wrong where ABEV₂ are right (Scheuer, pp. 23, 24); though the following must be placed to their credit:—

33. 10 arte et scientia CAΔ
37. 11 Metellos et CAΔH (so b)

arte et inscientia ABEV₂H
Metellos sed et ABEV₂

The foregoing lists do not include some striking variations as regards
the use of pronouns (ille . . . iste, hic . . . is) which distinguish the two families of MSS. Scheuer (after Binde) has reckoned that both agree thirty-one times in showing ille, and ten times in iste; there remain twenty places where X gives iste and Y ille. Michaelis generally adhered, in his critical edition, to AB and iste, but was forced to accept ille at 30. 21 (where the pronoun is thrice repeated, per anaphoram), while at 6. 7 he takes ipsos from E, with all editors. Binde, who gives an exhaustive treatment of the subject in the second chapter of his dissertation, thought that in the Y class iste had been deleted 'ubi nudum, ubi ante suum nomen, ubi post primum adiectivum, si substantivo apponuntur duo adiectiva, positum erat'; but Scheuer rightly doubts how a copyist could have arrived at such a 'law,' and quotes against it the instances at 23. 7; 41. 20; 26. 6 (where there is a general agreement for iste in the MSS.).

It seems certain that AB cannot be invariably right, while on the other hand the Y class cannot be followed in all cases. All editors agree in altering isti (the reading of all the codd.) to illi at 41. 20; on the other hand there is no dubiety about librum istum 3. 6; tragoeidae islae 3. 15; comitatus istos 11. 13. As in other textual difficulties, an eclectic method must be pursued in deciding between X and Y where they disagree; for instance, I accept ista from AB at 19. 4, and, with equal probability, istos at 10. 23, but reject it at 12. 16. Other passages for comparison are 13. 3; 13. 19; 21. 28; 24. 12; and 25. 5 where the Y class gives illos and the X class istos; 12. 20; 13. 1; 16. 5; 18. 7; 23. 2; and 33. 22 where Y=illud, and X=istud; 9. 20; 12. 8; 13. 19; 14. 17; 20. 4; 30. 24; and 31. 15 where Y=illa and X=ista; 4. 9 and 23. 13 where Y=illam and X=istam; 19. 9 where Y=ille and X=iste.

A similar difficulty arises (as frequently in other MSS) about the use of iis and his. Examples are: his most codd., iis B; 30. 16 iis AB, his EV2CΔH, hiis D (as again at 11. 6); 34. 34 iis ABCΔH, his EV2, Is D (cp. 31. 4); 42. 5 iis ABC, his EV2DH; 14. 18 iis ABCΔD, his EV2H; 24. 8 iis ABCΔD, his EV2H: cp. 25. 9 iisdem ABCΔDH, hisdem EV2; 35. 13 his ABEV2D, iis CA; 37. 9 his ABEV2DH, iis CA. The preference of C for iis may be noted in the last two places: cp. 5. 2 iis CΔD, his ABEV2H; 8. 21 iis CΔD, his AEV2 [his] B, om. H. and cdd. vet

1 There can be little doubt that this must be due to the similarity of compendia. It is remarkable, as Binde has pointed out, that AB never give iste at all in the Suetionius fragment, and only once in the Germania (x. 17): but the probability of misinterpretation is evident from the occurrence (Dial. 14. 17) of iam in CΔD for illa EV2H, ista AB =ia); while at 19. 4 D actually shows i for illa Y, ista X.
The following variations may also be recorded here: 10. 33 *hinc* Hb, *hic* ABCDEV₂; 10. 34 *haec* EV₂,CΔ, *hic* AB, *hinc* Hb; 27. 2 *hoc* EV₂,CΔD, *hec* AB, *hec* D; 31. 1 *hoc* EV₂,CΔD, *hec* A, *hec* BDH.

Often, too, in regard to *ac* and *et* there is a cleavage among the MSS.; see for examples 12. 18; 16. 19; 20. 15; 23. 20; 39. 17.

Variations in the spelling of *hercule* (*hercle*) are noted on 21. 8: cp. 39. 23.

VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It remains to append what may be taken as a pretty complete bibliography of the literature of the *Dialogue*.

EDITIONS.

Apart from the early editions of Lipsius, Pithoeus and others (see p. Ixix), and the more recent editions of the complete works of Tacitus (*Ruperti, 1832; Walther, 1833; Ritter, 1836 and 1848; Orelli, 1848 and later*), the *Dialogue* has been separately edited over a score of times, as follows:—

Heumann, Göttingen, 1719; Schulze, Leipzig, 1788; Jason de Nores (after Brotier), London, 1789; Seebode, Göttingen, 1813 and Hanover, 1815; Dronke, Coblentz, 1828; Osann, Giessen, 1829; Barker (text reprinted from Schulze), London, 1829; Orelli, Turin, 1830; Boetticher, Berlin, 1832; Tross, Hamm, Paßt, Leipzig, and Hess, Leipzig, 1841; Orelli, Turin, 1846; Michaelis, Leipzig, 1868; Peter, Jena, 1877; Baehrens, Leipzig, 1881; Orelli-Andresen, Berlin, 1884; Goelzer, Paris, 1887; Valmaggì, Turin, 1890; Wolff, Gotha, 1890; Andresen (3rd ed.), Leipzig, 1891.

Recent critical editions are those of Nipperdey, Berlin, 1876; Halm, Teubner, Leipzig (4th ed.), 1889; J. Müller, Freytag, Leipzig, 1887; Novak, Prague, 1889.

TRANSLATIONS.

Roth, Stuttgart, 1854; Teuffel, Stuttgart, 1858; Church and Brodribb, London, 1877; Gutmann (a reprint), Stuttgart, 1882; Krauss, Stuttgart, 1882; C. John (with critical and exegetical notes), Urach, 1866; and (2nd part) Schwäb.-Hall, 1892; Wolff, Frankfurt a. M., 1891.

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Eichstäd: *De Dialogo qui inscribitur de oratoribus.* Jena, 1839.

Sillig: *Disputatio ad Tacitum de oratoribus.* Dresden, 1841.
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Obermeyer: *Analecta Critica ad Taciti qui dicitur Dialogum de Oratoribus*. Berlin, 1875.

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Steuding: *Beiträge zur Textkritik im Dialogus des Tacitus*. Wurzen, 1878.

Knausen: *Observationes criticæ in Taciti qui fertur dialogum de oratoribus*. Magdeburg, 1879.

Weinkauff: *De Tacito Dialogi qui de oratoribus inscribitur autore*, 2nd ed. Cologne, 1881.

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Resl: *Utrum Dialogus qui inscribitur de Oratoribus Tacito adscribi possit necne quaeritur*. Czernowitz, 1881.

Gericke: *De abundanti dicendi genere Tacitino*. Berlin, 1882.

Kleiber: *Quid Tacitus in Dialogo prioribus scripitoribus debeat*. Halle, 1883.

Gruenwald: *Quae ratio intercedere videatur inter Quintiliani Institutionem Oratoriam et Taciti Dialogum*. Berlin, 1883.

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Czyckiewicz: De Tacitei sermonis proprietatibus praeipue quae ad poetarum dicendi genus pertinent. Brody, 1890 and (2nd part) 1891.


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Scheuer: De Tacitei de Oratoribus Dialogi codicum nexu et fide. Breslau, 1891.


Helmreich: Jahresbericht über Tacitus, 1890-91 (Bursian’s Jahresb. lxxii. pp. 124-141), 1892.

¹ Dr. Gudeman promises an American edition of the Dialogue, the appearance of which will be expected with interest.
ABBREVIATIONS.

A = Vaticanus 1863.
B = Leidensis (b = 2nd hand).
E = Ottobonianus.
V₂ = Vindobonensis DCCXI.
C = Farnesianus.
Δ = Vaticanus 4498.
D = Vaticanus 1518.
H = Harleianus 2639.
V = Vindobonensis CCCLI.
Sp. = editio princeps (1470).
Put. = Puteolanus (1475).
G. G. = Gerber and Greef's Lexicon Taciteum (Fasc. i-ix).
Dr. = Draeger's Syntax und Styl des Tacitus, 3rd ed. 1881.
CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS

DE ORATORIBUS

1. Saepe ex me requiris, Iustē Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentiam oratorum ingeniiis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum actas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retinet; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patrobi et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percitationes tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus ex-

Chs. 1, 2, Introductory—The visit to Maternus.
1. 1. Iustē Fabi. Fabius Justus was a friend of Pliny the Younger, who addressed him at least one of his letters, i. 11: possibly also vili. 2. There is also a reference to him in Ep. i. 5, 8. Nothing more is known of him, though he may be identical with the L. Fabius Justus who was consul in 102 A.D. For the inversion of nomen and cognomen (the praenomen being omitted), cp. 13. 9 'Secundus Pomponius,' and 'Afro Domitio.' The usage is characteristic of the Silver Age, and is especially common in Quintilian (e.g. x. 1, §§ 86, 87, 103); but it seems to have been first introduced by Varro (L. Lat. 5, 83 'Scevola Quintus': De Re Rust. i. 2, 1 'Libo Marcius'), and is found in Cicero (de Or. ii. § 253)—frequently in his Letters. Cp. Draeger § 221.
2. eminientiam: cp. 36. 26, 25. 7: Ann. i. 80, 8.
3. deserta. 'barren,' used absolutely. The figure is the same as that contained in floruerint.
4. oratoris. Cp. 15. 5 cum...neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenederes, where see note. So, of the perfect orator, Cic. de Or. i § 64 is orator erit mea sentientia hoc tam gravi dignum nomine qui, &c.
5. diserti. The word is often used of 'clever speakers,' as an antithesis to eloquens and orator. So Cicero quotes (Or. § 18) a saying of Antonius, disertos ait se vidisse multos, eloquentem omnino neminem: cp. de Or. i. § 94: Quint. xii. 1, 23 (malum virum summe disertum...donabimus oratoris illo sacro nomine), and i. 10, 8 ('fuit aliquis sine his disertum: at ego oratorem volo').

causidici et advocati et patrobi. These terms indicate the restriction of oratory to the sphere of judicial procedure, especially in the centumviral courts, which in former days 'splendore ailiorum judiciorum obrubabant' (38. 11). Compared with the true orator, the causidicus, or 'pleader,' was nothing but a 'litium advocatus' (Quint. xii. 1, 25). Hence the tone of contempt with which the word is used, as of a pettifogging attorney, in such passages as Cic. de Or. i. § 202: Juv. vi. 439 'nec causidicus nec praeco loquetur': with which cp. Petronius xlvi. ad fin., and Burmann's note. Advocatus frequently has the sense of 'counsel' in Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, and Suetonius: so also Ann. xi. 5, 5. For the older meaning of the word see on 34. 12.
6. quidvis: e.g. actores, 26. 7.
7. pondus excipere. More usual
cipere (erit enim aut de ingenio nostro male existimandum, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de iudiciis, si nolumus), vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo rependens esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accepi, cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles would have been omus suscipere (Cic. de Or. i. § 116: Quint. x. 2, 19): excipere contains, however, the idea of taking the ‘burden’ over from Fabius. 8. erit enim...existimandum. This parenthesis (cp. 11. 3) is adopted in preference to the traditional reading, which involves an awkward continuation of the idea contained in tam magnae quaestionis pondus. Erit (possibly est) may easily have run into the preceding excipere, whereupon the well-known contraction for enim would be mistaken for a ut (ut). 9. iudiciis, ‘taste.’ Cp. ‘auribus et iudiciis,’ 20. 20. 10. sed non, ‘instead of’: Hist. i. 40, 8: Ann. vi. 2, 2. 11. ut nostris temporibus. This restriction shows that, in the writer’s opinion, the unfavourable estimate of contemporary eloquence implied in the question addressed to him by Fabius Iustus was not without foundation. Cp. optimi et in quantum opus est desertissimi viri, 41. 19. repetendum. Cp. the frame-work of Cicero’s de Oratore, i. § 23 repetam...ea quae quondam accepi in nostrorum hominum eloquentissimorum et omni dignitate principum disputatonia esse versata. 12. iuvenis admodum. See Introduct. p. xv. From a comparison of other places in Tacitus where this phrase is used (esp. Agric. vii. 9; cp. Hist. ii. 78, 92 iv. 5, 42), it seems that it may be taken as meaning about twenty years of age. So Quint. viii. 3, 31. 13. memoria retains, recordatio recalls: Cic. Brut. § 9: Tusc. v. § 88. See Prof. Wilkins’s note on ‘recordatione et memoria,’ Cic. de Or. i. § 228. 15. accepi. This verb is much more frequently used of knowledge acquired by tradition, or at second hand, than (like excipere) of what is heard from the very lips of a speaker. For the former cp. accipere in 12. 18, 28. 23, 30. 8, 40. 15: for the latter excipere, 2. 9, 15. 3, 29. 14: Agr. xlv. 19: Hist. iii. 85, 5. But the comparison of such passages as these is not a sufficient justification of Gudeman’s proposal (Amer. Journ. of Phil. vol. xii. p. 327) to alter the reading of the MSS. to e praest. viris... except. Against his belief in an invariable distinction between the two compounds, it is sufficient to quote Ann. i. 67, 2 dicta cum silentio accipere: Hist. iii. 65, 1 hau-dquaquam erecto animo voce accipiebat. In Cicero, too, we find ‘id, quod ipse (sc. Pericles) ab Anaxagora, cuinis auditor fuerat, acceperat,’ de Rep. i § 25: and even ‘ut Romeae ex istius amicos acce-peram,’ in Verr. ii. 4, 136. singuli seems to refer only to those interlocutors in the dialogue who admitted the decline implied in the question with which the treatise opens, though they had different explanations to give of it: see especially the speeches of Messalla (25–35), and Maternus (36–42). Others think that Aper also is included: but though Aper knows the difference between ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’ oratory, he emphatically denies the existence of any decline. Aper is referred to (appropriately enough after ‘disputationis’) in the sentence beginning ‘Neque enim defuit qui’: the whole context shows that, up to that point, the writer is thinking only of those interlocutors in the dialogue (probably
causas adferent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequer, servato ordine disputatiosis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet, ac multum vexata et inrissa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingenii anteferrat. 20

2. Nam postero die quam Curatius Maternus Catonem reci-

17. redderent AB, redderet CADH, reddent E, reddent V₂. persequer H and
Put.: prosequar cett. codd.

including Secundus) who took the same

ground as Fabius did in his question.

15. diversas quidem sed probabiles.

On this reading, vel easdem is rejected as

a gloss added by some one who wished
to indicate that the arguments advanced

by the different speakers are identical.

This is true only so far as they agree

in admitting the fact of the decline im-

plied in the question of Fabius Justus.

See Introd. p. xxxi. For 'probabiles causas


cum ... dum. For the dependence of

the latter on the former, though in

a rather different construction, cp. Ann.

xii. 68, 2 cum ... obtegeretur, dum ...

componuntur. The subj. redderent is

motivated by the mood of the foregoing

subordinate clause.

16. animi ... ingenii, 'heart' and

'mind,' 'feeling' and 'understanding':

cp. 21. ad fin., Cic. de Or. iii. § 5. Tr.

'reflecting in each case the constitution

of.' For formam cp. Agr. xlvii. 10.

17. redderent. The variant redderet

might be supported from Germ. xvi. 5;

but for instances of Tacitus's preference

for the plural in similar cases cp. on

aderant, 35, 8. So 'quisque compone-

rent' Ann. vi. 16, ad fin.

numeris, here simply of the successive
divisions in which the subject must be
dealt with. Cp. Cic. de N. D. ii. § 37

mendum ... perfectum expletumque om-

nibus suis numeris et partibus: Quint. x.

1, 70. See note on 32, 8, per omnes elo-

quentiae numeros isse. Tr. 'in the same

stages and with the same demonstrations.'

There is a kind of analogy in Eur.

Electra, 772 ποίμν τρόπων εί και τινι βοηθώ

φώνω; In the text, however, the rationes

are the grounds, or principles, on which

the arrangement of the parts is based.

Servato ordine disputatiosis is added

only to emphasize the statement that

nothing has been altered in the 'VICES

loquendi.'

18. enim is suggested by disputatiosis.

diversam ... partem. Of Aper,

Maternus afterwards says: 'et ipse satis

manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium

accincti nec aequo animo perferee hanc

 nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam'

16. 11.—For Aper's eulogy of the

'modern' school of eloquence, see chs.

16-23.

20. antiquorum ingenii. Antiquis,

by itself, would have been quite a

usual metonymy: cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 4

nostrorum hominum prudentiam Graecis

(i.e. Graecorum prudentiae) anteferr.

There is a real antithesis (not, as here, one

motivated merely by the wish for symmetry)
in Agr. xxi. 7 ingenia Britannorum studis

gallorum anteferr.

3. 1. postero die, &c. Cp. the circum-

stances of the renewal of the discussion

in the de Oratore ii. § 12 Postero igitor
die quam illa erant acta ... repente eo

Q. Catulus senex cum C. Iulio fratre venit.

Curatius Maternus is known to us

only through this treatise. He has now

abandoned the profession of rhetoric, and

is devoting himself to the composition

of tragedies, four of which are named,

Medea, Thyestes, Domitius, Catot. From

the allusion in the text (cp. ii. 19), many

have been led to infer that he is identical

with the Μάτερφος σοφής who was put
to death by Domitian in 91 for too great

freedom of speech (Dion Cass. lvii. 12).

See however Introd. p. xxxvii.

Catonem. The praise of Cato of Utica

was traditional at Rome from the day of

his death. Cicero wrote a 'Cato' (ad Att.

xiii. 46, 2; Tac. Ann. iv. 34, 20: Gell. xii.

19), to which Caesar replied in an 'Anti-
cato' (Plut. Caes. liv. 733: Gell. lv. 16),

consisting of two books (Suet. Iul. i. 338)

in the form of speeches ('rescripta oratione velut apud indices re-

spondit,' Ann. l. c.). Cp. Hor. Od. i. 13, 35

('Catonis noble etum'); Lucan, Phars.

i. 128 'victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa

Catoni,' and ii. 380 sqq.: Seneca, Epit. 24,

10: 25, 6: 79, 14: 97, 8: 104, 29 sqq.
taverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonom cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo habetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego non modo in iudiciis utroque studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabam mira studio-

2. 2. tamquam non in Saupe. 3. sui codd. : obsequii Buchholz, saeculi sui Baehrens. 6. in iudiciis non utroque modo codd. : [utroque] Ritter, Halm, non in iudiciis modo utroque Nipperdey, utroque non in iudiciis modo Schopen, in iudiciis non modo ut plerosque J. H. Müller.

2. potentium, i. e. Vespasian, and the circle of favourites referred to in ch. 8. His treatment of Helvidius Priscus shows that even the mild founder of the Flavian line could resent the exhibition of republican sentiments. For the expression, cp. Quint. ii. 20, 8 cum periculosa potentium offensa.

tamquam c. subj. is often used by Tacitus (like quasi and velut) to introduce an opinion or statement advanced by others (Drager $\S$ 179; Wöflin, Philol. xxiv. 115-123) : 10. 27 tamquam minus obnoxium sit. Cp. Ann. i. 12 ad fn. inuisus . . . tamquam plus quam civilia agitaret : ii. 84, 3 : ‘tamquam miserentur ’ Agr. xxxviii. 7.

in eo tragoediae argumento = in eius tragoediae argumento. For the inversion cp. Cic. in Verr. ii. 4 § 100 permotus illa atrocitate negotii.

3. sui oblitus, ‘without thinking of himself,’ i. e. of the risk he was running. There is no imputation that Maternus forgot or belied his character for outspokenness and plain dealing. This is evident enough,—in spite of his general mildness, and his acquisitance (40,) in the limitations imposed on contemporary eloquence—from his reference to his early success with Vatinius (11. 10), his appreciation of the ‘antiqua libertas’ (27. 12), his caustic remarks about Crispus and Marcellus (18. 10), and his calm announcement of his Thyestes (3. 11) : see Introduction p. xxxviii. In any case such an imputation would have been a strange one to make against a dramatic poet. The fact is that sui oblitus, while antithetical in form, is really subordinate to tantum Catonom cogitasset. There is thus no need for the otherwise ingenious conjecture obsequii, which might however be defended on palaeographical grounds.

Catonom . . . cogitasset = Catonis mentem induisset et expressisset, G. and G. Cogitare is of course frequently used with an acc., but the parallels cited by editors are hardly so strong : cp. however Seneca, de Ben. iv. 31 dum veterem illum Scæurum cogitas : Plin. Ep. iv. 2, 2 Incredibile : sed Regulum cogita.

5. Marcus Aper, like many other rhetoricians of this period, was of Gaulish origin (cp. 10. 6 ne quid de Gallis nostris loquer). From ch. 17 we learn that he had served in Britain, possibly, like Tacitus’s father-in-law Agricola, under Suetonius Paulinus. By the date at which this Dialogue is supposed to have taken place (74-5) he had already made his way to the praetorship. See Introd. p. xxxii.

Iulius Secundus was also a Gaul, but a man of a different stamp from Aper. He was much admired by Quintilian, who praises him for ‘elegantia’ xii. 10. 11 : a fuller criticism will be found ib. x. 1, 120 and 3 § 12, where see my notes. From the former of these two passages it seems that he was dead when Quintilian wrote his Tenth Book. He is probably identical with the rhetorician mentioned by Plutarch as Otho’s chief secretary : Σκούνδος ο θητωρ, ημι των ἐπιστολων γενήμανος του Θησαύρος (Otho 9). See Introd. p. xxxv. celeberrima . . . ingenia. Cp. Quint. x. i. 122 sunt enim summa hodie, qubis inlustratur forum, ingenia (Aper, Marcellus, Maternus, Aquilius Regulus, Pliny, and Tacitus himself).

6. quos ego non modo . . . audiebam. I base the reading given in the text not only on the consistent usage of Tacitus in non modo clauses (G. and G. p. 854 b), but also on the fact that it explains the corruptions of the MSS. In ‘Tacitus, non modo always stands in close relation to the word or words which form the antithesis,—here in iudiciis, which cannot be a gloss. Nipperdey was therefore nearly right in suggesting, ‘quos ego non in iudiciis modo utroque ’ ; but it is more
rum cupiditate et quodam ardone iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque
corum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus ex-
ciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo
promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae
quam institutionem et litteris famam eloquentiae consequitum.
Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat,
satisfactory to suppose that, in the archetype, the words in iudicitis utroque were
accidentally omitted by the scribe, and were written in above the line (quos ego
in iudicitis utroque
non modo studiose audiabam), and that subsequently in iudicitis was taken in
after ego and utroque between non and modo. Utroque need not be suspected :
it serves, coming after in iudicitis, to indicate the separate activity of the two
pleaders (‘the one as much as the other’): they would not usually appear together.
It is common enough of a pair of individuais, e.g. Ann. xvi. 11, ii. illa utroque
(patrem et aviam) intuens. For non modo . . . sed quoque, which is classical, but rare, 9.
Draeger (§ 128) compares Hist. i. 57: Liv. ix. 3, xxxvi. 35: Curtius: Galliuss.
Afrum.
8. fabulas. Their ordinary conversacion,
or casual talk (cp. 23. 11, 39. 4) as opposed to set discussions (disputationes)
on such questions as that which forms the subject of the Dicologus. These discussions they would no doubt hold
with others, as well as between themselves when they met.
9. arcana semotae dictionis. The commentators generally refer this expres-
sion to the rehearsals (domesticae exercitationes, Sen. Contr. i. praef. 12) with which
the rhetorician would favour his ‘cercle intime’ before any public appearance, in
order to have the benefit of advice and criticism. But Church and Brrodriss, are
nearer the mark in rendering ‘their private and esoteric discourse’: semotae sc, ab
auribus alienorum hominum, or a ratione fori et iudiciorum. There is a touch of the
enthusiastic pupil in ‘arcana,’ the substantial use of which is common
enough in Tacitus: so ‘litterarum secretæ,’ Germ. xix. 3. For dictio, cp. 10.
31 fortuitae et subita dictionis impetu.
penitus seems more appropriate in
such phrases as ‘penitus infiuxum,’ Ann.
ii. 176, 284, 3. Cr. however 30. 16
omnes philosophiae partes penitus hau-
sisse: Ann. ii. 12, 12 penitus nescendas
mentes. In Agr. xiv. 19 we have the fuller
expression ‘Excepissimus certe mandata
voceque, quas penitus animo figeremus.’
10. quamvis, with a subj. of fact, as
often also in Suetonius and later writers:
so Ann. i. 68: ii. 38: xi. 20: Hist. ii.
59, 75, 85: iv. 11 (D. § 201).
plerique, ‘many,’ very many,’ as
often in Tacitus, and also in Quintilian
26 and 26. 10: also (adjectively) 17. 23
plerose seres, 31. 35. But in 26. 7
(plerique . . . actores) the meaning may be
‘most.’ Many instances in Tacitus
are doubtful: G. and G. p. 1125. Cp. on
plerumque 6. 8.

 nec . . . et, 4, 3; 33. 11.
11. promptus. Cp. Juv. iii. 74 sermo
promptus et Isaeo torrentior: along with
profuens (as below) Ann. xiii. 3, 12 Au-
gusto prompta ac profuens . . eloquentia
fuit.

ingenio . . . institutione. Cp. the
antithesis implied in ‘ingenium ac studium’
14. 8: also 19. 5 and 16. 3.
13. Nam explains maligne above, and
also the preceding eulog of Aper and
Secundus.
purus . . . pressus. Plin. Ep. vii. 9,
8 ‘pressus sermo purusque.’ The same
qualities are indicated in Quint. x. 1. 94
‘tersior ac purus magis’ (Horatius): cp.
1. 9. 2 sermone puro et nihil se supra
modum exollente. For pressus (premo)
cp. Cic. De Or. ii. § 96 where ‘oratio
pressior’ is opposed to ‘luxuries quaedam
quia stilo depascenda est,’ and below
18. 19 inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus
sed supra modum exsultans: see on Quint.
x. 1, 44.

in quantum for the more usual
quantum, as again at 41. 19: Ann. xiv.
47. 2: xiii. 54. 5. So Ov. Met. xi. 71: Quint.
ii. 10. 4 (in quantum maxime potest), xi. 3,
118, ix. 4, 16, viii. 6, 24: Velleius, Seneca,
Pliny the Younger, and later writers.
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profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus
contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3. Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'Nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae mali-

5 gnorum terrent quo minus offensas Catonis tu ames? An ideo librum istum adprehendisti ut diligentius retractaret e, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille 'Intelleges tu quidem quid Maternus sibi debuerit,

14. profluens. As generally with purus (Cic. Brut. § 274 ita pura [sc. oratio] ut nihil liquidus), the metaphor is from a running stream: cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 159 genus sermonis non liquidum, non fusum ac profluens: ib. § 64 fusum atque tractum et cum lenitatem quadam aequalitatem profluens: Tac. Ann. iv. 61, 6 Haterii canorum illud et profluens (as also in Cic. de Or. iii. § 28, of Carbo).

imbutus. So 31. 33 grammatica, musica, geometria imbuebantur: cp. note on 19, 21. The ablative at 84. 2 may be slightly different.

15. contemnebat. Cp. what Cicero says of Crassus and Antonius and Greek learning (de Or. i. § 4) 'non tam existimari vellet non didicisse quam illa despicere,' sqq.

tamquam, with fut. part. (like de), as Ann. xii. 49, 5 tamquam recuperatus, and vi. 36, 4. Aper 'thought that his reputation for zealous professional application would be greater if' &c.

16. industriae et laboris: Cic. Brut. § 237: ad Fam. xiii. 10, 3. For such synonyms, see Intro. p. lii.

17. alienarum artium 'extraneous accomplishments,' everything outside his profession, e.g. philosophy, 31. 25 sqq. See Intro. p. xxxii, note.

Chs. 3-4. Aper's criticism of Maternus.

3. 1. intravimus. The inclusion of Tacitus himself among the visitors of Maternus is to be explained from 'adsectabar, &c. in the preceding chapter.


5. quo minus after terreo, as Hist. i. 40, 12. So after deterreo, Hist. ii. 41, 10; iv. 71, 21: also in Cicero, Livy, and Curtius.

offensas Catonis tu. 'Your exasperating Cato.' He was to take a warning from the fate of Cremutius Cordus, Ann. iv. 34: cp. Quint. x. 1, 104.

ames. Ovid, Trist. iv. 1, 30 Et carmen, demens, carmine laesus amo.

7. pravae interpretationi materiam, 'a handle for misconstruction.'

8. non quidem meliore. The more usual order would be non meliore quidem, or non ilium quidem meliorem: cp. pulchri quidem, 9. 13.

securiorem, 'less open to attack,' 'safer,' 'less risky': Hist. i. 1, 18 uberi-

10. securioremque materiam.

9. Intelleges. 'You, Secundus (cp. on
et adgnoscas quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti
recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposu
iam et intra me ipse formavi. Atque ideo maturare librī huius
ditionem festinō, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi
toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiānt,' inquit Aper 'quo minus
omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa
Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas, cum te tot ami-
corum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum
vocent; quibus vix suffeceris etiam si non novum tibi ipse

19. suffeceris most codd.: sufficerē H and Put.

5. 1), will appreciate my attitude. I have made no changes. More than that:
"Thyestes" will supplement "Cato."—It is
impossible to explain the indirect clause
grammatically, without resorting to the easy
change from leges to intellectes (cp. Quint.
x. 3, 20): leges can hardly be construed
as = legendo cognosces (as Halm, John).
The pf. debuerit is quite appropriate:
'what I considered my bounden duty.'
11. hanc enim, 'that is the name of
the tragedy which I have shaped
in outline and planned in my head.' Maternus
is here giving his friends a piece of news:
cp. ecce nunc, below.
12. intra me ipse. Ann. xiv. 53, 17 ut
plerunque intra me ipse volvam: Quint.
xi. 3, 2 quae intra nosmet ipsos com-
posuimus.
maturare ... festino. If maturare
is used here as = acceleratur, 'hurry on'
the publication of (as often in Tacitus with
caedem 'and other accusatives), there is
a slight pleonasm. But others take it as =
perfici, ad finem perducere. This does
not go so well, however, with editio
(though editio is coming to have a concrete sense
in Quint. v. ii. 40: xii. 10, 55).
13. cura, of a book, Ann. iii. 24, 11
si effectis in quae tendifer pluris ad curas
vitam produxero, iv. 11, 17 quorum in
manus cura nostra venerit: cp. Ovid, ex
Ponto, iv. 16, 39. Of a speech, 6. 23 below.
toto pectore incumbam. Ovid, ex
Ponto, iii. 1, 39 pectore te toto cunctisque
incumbere nervis. For the dat.
after incumbere, see Quint. xii. 3, 1.
15. quo minus. The constr. is 'non
satiat (sc. neque impedient) quo minus,'
or 'satiatet non deterent quo minus,'&c.: lit.
'you have not, had so much of
tragedy as to prevent you from,'&c. For
other cases of an ellipse with quo minus
and quin, cp. Ann. iv. 51, 18, reliquis
quo minus ... subigerunt ... hicem
subvenit (sc. et impediēbat): ib. vi. 38, 2
non enim Tiberium ... tempus preces
satias mitigabant quin ... puniēret ... xiiii.
14, 9: Agr. xxvii. 8 nihil ex arrogantiā re-
mittere quo minus inuentum armaent:
ib. xx. 6 nihil interim apud hostes quietum
pati, quo minus subitias excursibns popu-
larēret. The analogy of the last two
passages especially shows that the text
ought to be rendered: 'Then you have
not had enough of those tragedies of
yours. Turning your back upon ... you
spend your whole time,' &c. Somewhat
similar is Soph. Phil. 339 ἁρπαγεῖν ... ὅπερ
μή.—Adeo stands by itself at the begin-
ing of the sentence, which is sometimes ex-
hibited as interrogative in form ('Is it so
true, then, that, &c.): cp. Ann. xi. 16, 17:
Hist. iv. 58, 8.
16. modo ... nunc = modo ... modo,
as Hist. ii. 51, 2; iii. 85, 1. Ecce comes in
naturally before nunc, as Aper has just
heard of the 'Thyestes' for the first time.
But otherwise there is no indication of the
sequence of the plays, though some have
thought that the context would have led
us to expect 'Catone' in place of
'Medeam.' Aper keeps the 'Cato' to
the end, in order that he may set it (along-
side with the 'Domitius') over against the
'Gnaeculorum fabulae,' i.e. dramas like
the 'Medea' and the 'Thyestes' which only
gave a new presentation of subjects that
had been treated scores of times before.
circa, as at 22. 11; 28. 12: Ann.
vi. 8. 11 circa summa scelera diententum;
Germ. xxviii. 14: Hist. i. 13, 5. So fre-
quently in Seneca and Quintilian: see
note on Quint. x. i. 52. Cp. the use of
πρὶν, ἀφεῖ with the accusative in Greek.
19. suffeceris, potential: you could
negotium importasses, Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina Graeculorum 'fabulis adgregando.'

4. Et Maternus: 'Perturbaber hac tua severitate nisi frequentus et assidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advertisementum obicis, quotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticæ exercœ. Quo laector

20. Domitium codd., ut Domitium Niebuhr. 21. graecorum B. adgregando is my conj. (cp. 4. 5, where H has defendēs for defendendae, also 41. 2 where all codd. give emendare for emendatae): aggregāres ABCDH, aggregāres E, adgregārem V3, adgregare Pithœus, aggregans Orelli. Possibly adgregāndi: see Introd. p. lvii.

hardly meet the demand, even if you had kept to the traditional type of tragedy,—instead of encumbering yourself, &c.

19. novum negotium. This does not necessarily imply that Maternus had only lately taken up such subjects: like the 'Medea' (ch. 9), the 'Domitius' was probably one of his earlier dramas. His historical dramas are 'new' in the sense of being unlike the conventional models drawn from Greek mythology,—unlike even the 'praetextatae' of earlier poets. (See Schoell, Commentaryes Woelfflinianae, pp. 395–6). They were καυατ ραγόθλαι, subjects treated for the first time, new 'history-plays' bases on scenes connected with the Fall of the Republic.

20. importasses = importissēs, importisissēs. The word occurs in Tacitus only here: in Cicero and Livy it is common enough in such phrases as 'incommodum, periculum, detrimentum (sibi, aliis) importare,' So also Pliny N. H. xxi. 9. Tr. 'if you had not burdened yourself with a fresh task, by' &c.

Domitium. Probably L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul b. c. 54, and a consistent opponent of Julius Caesar. He was pardoned after the capture of Corfinium, but rejoined the Pompeians, and fell at Pharsalus. Lucan selects him for eulogy in compliment to his descendant Nero: Phars. vii. 590–616.—I am not convinced by the arguments with which Schoell supports his proposal (Comm. Woelfl., p. 396 sq.) to understand the allusion to be to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (the 'Enobarbus' of Shakespeare's 'Antony and Cleopatra'), though his career had greater elements of romance in it than that of his father.

id est: so ch. ix. ad fin.: 22. 8: Germ. xl. 6.

21. adgregando. The frequent instances of the misinterpretation of compendia (especially terminations) in the Dialogue, as well as Tacitus's fondness for this construction, have led me to insert adgregando in the text, in place of Niebuhr's ut ... adgregares. Cp. conce- dendo 11. 5: componendo 14. 20: docendo 33. 14: adiciendo Ann. v. 6, ad fin.: other exx. in D. § 203. Cp. Introd. p. lvii.

4. frequens et assidua. For other instances of this Ciceronian amplitude, see Introd. p. li.

2. in consuetudinem vertisset. Cicero frequently uses vertire in consuetudinem: e. g. pro Caece. § 6 quod quoniam in consuetudinem venit. For the intrinsically use of vertiere (frequent in Tacitus) cp. Hist. iv. 27; 6 quod tum in morem vertetar: Ger. xxxii. 2 in consensum vertit: Sall. Iaug. 85, 9 bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit.


4. desidiam advertisementum, 'neglect of my professional duties.' Such a genitive occurs nowhere else with desidia, though common enough with incuria, neglegentia, &c.

5. defendendae ... poetae. The gerundive is an epexegetic genitive, showing in what the patrocinium consists, as solitum effugium prorumpendi, Ann. ii. 47, 3, cultus ... venerandi, ib. iii. 63, 12: cp. iv. 2,10: if it had not been for the insertion of 'def. adversus te' the words 'hoc patrocinium poeticae' might have stood by themselves. See Roby, Pref. lxvii, where 'oratores pacis' and 'oratores pacis petendae' are shown to be equivalent: cp. also Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. 113 propter eam causam sceleris istius. The use of the legal
magis oblatum nobis iudicem qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere, vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate com- pellat ut omissis foresium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augstiorem eloquentiam colam.'

5. 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et moderati judices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus se excusent in quibus manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalore. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi conjunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetai accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

4. 8. satis mshi H Sp.: but cp. mihi mea 1. 10. 9. illam CÆEV₂, istam ABH. For this frequent confusion, see Introd. p. lxxxvii.


term patrocinium (after advocationum) heightens the pleasantry of the speaker: cp. patrocinium aequitatis, Cic. de Or. i. § 242: controversiarum patrocinia suscipere, Or. § 120.


10. eloquentiam, here of poetry as distinct from 'oratoria eloquentia.' For a wider use of the word see ch. 10. 13 om-nem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes: cp. Quint. x. 2, 22 Habet omnis eloquentia aliquod commune, 'all utterance.'

Chs. 5-10. Speech of Aper, in praise of Oratory as far superior to Poetry. Introduced by a few remarks from Julius Secundus.

5. 1. antequam, &c. Maternus had known the sympathies of the arbitrator to whom he appealed (sua quoque auctoritate compellat, above); and Secundus now, half playfully, anticipates that Aper will decline his intervention.


3. se excusent. The insertion of se may be justified on paleographical grounds, and by a comparison of Ann. iii. 35, 5 intentius excusante se Lepidio. But Tacitus also uses excusare absolutely, as Agr. xii. 9, audit preces excusantis: cp. Cic. Verr. i. § 31 se ducturos ... excusando facile ad Iudos Victoriae: Ligiar. § 21 statuerat excusare.

5. assiduitate contubernii, 'unbroken personal intercourse.' Cp. 18. 1 illud felix contubernium. The word is properly applied to the life of soldiers (taberna, a tent): Agr. v. 3 electus quem contubernio aestimaret: Cic. pro Plane. § 27 contubernii necessitudo.

6. Saleium Bassum. Quint. x. 1, 90 Vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit, nec ipsum senectute maturit. In ch. 9 we are told that he received a donation of 500 sestertia from Vespasian. Cp. Juv. vii. 80 Serrano tenuisse Saleio.

7. Porro continuing the argument. 'Well then.' For this use in Tacitus (cp. 23. 14) see G. and G. p. 1136 a, and cp. especially Ann. iii. 58, 5. Porro never stands at the head of a sentence in Cicero. Cp. however Caes. B. C. ii. 30 porro erant qui censerent: Sall. Cat. 46, 2.

reum locupletiorem. Cp. Liv. ix. 9, 18 rei satis locupletes, an expression which there =rei qui satis creduntur fidem sponsonis praestare. Locuples in this
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'Securus sit' inquit Aper et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Ego enim, quatenus arbitratum litis huius inventiri contigit, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud hos arguam quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitutines, complecti provincias possit, omissit studium quo

11. ego Pithoeus, et ego codd. (cp. 8. 21). inventiri contigit is my conj.: inventiri codd. (inventre D). Among other conjj. are inventi Pithoeus, inventinius Vahlen, invet inveniri Ribbeck, inventi non puto Andresen, non inventi Gudeman, quia (quando Muretus) te nunc ... inventi Ruperti. 12. plurium Pithoeus, plurimum codd. 13. hos is substituted for MS. eos (ipsos D): vos Lipsius, eum Spengel: nos John: apud te coarguam Weissborn, apud te coarg. Andresen, Baehrens. 15. necessitines EV, CAD, necessitates AB, nationes HVb eedd. vett. omissit Rhenanus, amitti codd.

sense is defined by Gaius Dig. L. xvi. 234, 1 locuples est qui satis idonea habet pro magnitudine rei quam petitor restituentam esse petit: ib. xii. 1, 42 reum locupletem offere. It is more commonly found, in the sense of 'credible,' with such words as 'auctor,' 'testis.' The meaning is, 'If you wish to impeach poetry in the person of her most distinguished representative, I do not think you could put forward as defendant a person of greater importance than Saleius Bassus.'


10. fovet. Tacitus's fondness for the use of this word is probably one of the results of his familiarity with Vergil.

11. quatenus, for quoniam or quandoquidem, as again at 19. 1: so in Plautus, Horace (Sat. i. 1, 64), and Ovid (Met. viii. 784, xiv. 40). Cp. Ann. iii. 16, 15 quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor, &c.: Plin. Ep. i. 7, 5; iii. 7, 14 quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid quo nos vivisse testemur: Juv. xii. 102: Sueton. Claud. 26.—Though the text may be doubtful the meaning is obvious enough, in spite of the aberrations of the commentators. Aper says that Secundus's intimacy with Bassus does not matter: Bassus is merely a poet. With Maternus it is different, and he must not shelter himself behind the backs of poets who have not his oratorical gifts. The sequence is clear: Securus sit ... Bassus: ego enim ... non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi. To hold that Aper does accept the plea of Secundus is to ignore this sequence. Contigit is adopted on two grounds: (1) because it fits best with the context, and (2) because it may easily have slipped out in its contracted form (Chassant, Dict. des Abrév. p. 110).
The those who take the opposite view argue that Secundus does not actually exercise the function of judge in the sequel. But the arbitration only extends to the preliminary question, on which Secundus would perhaps have said more (see 14. 6) had it not been for the entrance of Messalla. And the very use of defendi shows that the idea of an impeachment is to be carried out, though the half humorons setting of the introduction is not adhered to. Aper makes no objection to Secundus, but the latter does not formally act.


13. hos implies (like vos) a complimentary recognition of the presence of the young Tacitus. But as the only other auditor is Secundus himself, it is just possible that the reference is general, and that eos is a mistake for õş (=omnes): 'ipsum solum apud omnes' would give a good sense.—In 83. 11 hi is used of Aper and Secundus.

virilem et oratoriam, the 'sturdy eloquence of the public speaker': cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 231 sic illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortetem et virilem non videri.

15. complecti provincias, sc. ut patronus: i.e. to extend one's connexions to whole provinces by undertaking the advocacy of their interests.
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad voluptatem iunctitius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam industrius excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere arte qua semper armatus praesidium amici, opem alieni, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem utro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? Cuius vis et


16. utilitatem . . . voluptatem . . . dignitatem. The first head is dealt with in the present chapter, the second in chapters 6 and 7 (as far as gratia venit in line 10); while the rest of 7 and 8 treat of dignitas (fama, laus).—Cp. Quint. xii. 11, 29: also Cicero’s panegyric on the study of law, de Or. i. §§ 185–200.

ad. The use of this preposition, with adjectives (‘in regard to’), is especially common in Tacitus (see Gerber and Grefe, p. 26). So also in Cicero: e.g. Cat. i. 5, 12 ad severitatem lenius, de Or. ii. § 200 nihil mihi ad exstitutionem turpis, nihil ad dolorem acerbius accidere posse: cp. ib. i. § 113. The addition of ad voluptatem iunctitius is made on the same principle of emendation as de utilitate, in laudationibus 31. 8. It is possible, however, that Aper did not really sketch out his speech so methodically.

17. urbis famam, ‘reputation at Rome.’ The other genitives (imperii . . . gentium) must be taken in the same way, of the sphere over which the reputation extends. Cp. fori . . . indicium, 34. 26. For notitia in this (passive) sense cp. ii. 11 si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est: 36. 19 plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat: 18. 5 neque . . . gratia carui neque apud populum Romanum notitia. So already in Ovid: cp. Nepos, Dion. ix. 4: Sen. Ep. xix. 3 iam notitia te invasit.

19. ad utilitatem . . . derigenda. Cp. Ann. iv. 40, 5 quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. For the form derigo, see Munro on Lucr. vi. 823: ‘this was probably the only genuine ancient form.’ Cp. Quint. x. 2, 1, with the note.

20. tutius may be rendered ‘more advisable,’ but the true reading is not improbably quid utilius, as Acidalius suggested.


22. alienis is quite in place as an antithesis to amici, and there is therefore no need for Wolff’s clientibus.’ Helmreich compares Ann. vi. 7, 16.

23. ultero in the usual sense of ‘assuming the offensive.’ Tr. ‘in turn’: cp. Hist. iv. 23, 20 ulteraque ipsi oppugnatores ignibus petebantur.

feras. The change from the MS. ferat seems to be justified by the context, and especially by the occurrence of possis at the end of the next sentence.—With ferat it would, however, be possible to supply an indefinite subject: cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 30 neque vero mihi quicquam, inquit, praestabilis videtur quam posse . . . voluntates impellere quo velit, unde autem velit deducere.

velut quadam. So 30. 13, 38. 3, 39. 15. Quamad voluit (B) is a merely accidental variation, like ‘ullas quidem’ for ‘quidem ullas’ at 29. 15: cp. 17. 5.—The figure may be taken from the continuous authority of the princeps as contrasted with the periodical appointment of magistrates.

24. potentia ac potestate. Two words derived from the same root, and
25 utilitas rebus prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule loric a et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo pro- 
pugnare pariter et incesser e sive in iudicium sive in senatu sive 
apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper 
Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit? qua ac- 
cinctus et minax disertam quidem sed in엑crtatam et eius 
modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Plura de 
utilitate non dico, cui partì minime contra dicturum Maternum 
35 meum arbitrò.

6. Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuìus iu-

25. perfugio E.V.,CAD, perfugio AB, praefidio HVb edd. vett. 26. irrepuit HVb 
inrupti Weinkauf, Baehrens). 27. loric a et Seebode, loric aev codd. 29. sive Muretus and edd.: vel codd. (See Nipperdey, Opuscula, pp. 276-284.) 
31. qua Ursinus: qui codd.
more or less synonymous, are often found 
together: cp. 11. 11 and 98. 19 notitiae 
as nominis: 32. 17 sensus . . . sententias. 
So moderationem modestiamque Cic. 
Phil. ii. 5, 10: modestia . . . modus, Sall. 
Cat. xxxviii. 4.

25. rebus prospere fluentibus. For 
this favourite metaphor cp. Ann. xv. 5, 9 
nec præsentia prospere fluebant: Hist. iii. 
48, 11 cunctis super vota fluentibus, which 
lette phrase occurs in Sallust, H. Fr. i. 70 
rebus supra (perhaps super) vota fluenti-
bus. So Cic. de Off. i. § 90 in rebus 
proseris et ad voluntatem nostram fluenti-
bus: Caes. B. G. i. 31: Quint. Declam. 
3, 12, ad omne votum fluente fortuna.

26. increpuit. Noise and danger are 
associated ideas: cp. Cic. in Pisonem 
§ 99 quicquid increperit pertinescentem 
. . . videre te volui: in Cat. i, § 18: pro 
Muir, § 22 simul atque increpuit suspicio 
tumultus: Livy iv. 43, 10 unde si quid 
inrepetor terroris: xiv. 41, 7.

Cic. de Or. i. § 32 Quid autem tam ne-
cessarium quam tenere semper arma 
quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel pro-
vocare improbos vel ut ulscisci lascissitus.

29. in senatu . . . apud principem. 
The reference here is limited by (re o et 
periclitanti above) to judicial proceedings 
before the senate, which was a High Court 
for such matters as 'maiestas' under the 
Empire, and before the Emperor, who 
had the right to try offences of all kinds 
in a private court of his own.

30. nuper: probably in the year 70 A.D. 
See Introd. p. xiv.

31. Eprius Marcellus, a notorious 
delator under Nero, in whose reign he 
had conducted, along with Cossutianus 
Capito, the prosecution of Thrasea 
(A.D. 66—Ann. xvi. 22). This gained 
for him the enmity of Thrasea's son-in-
law, Helvidius Priscus. His full name 
was T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus. He was 
praetor peregrinus on the last day of 
the year 48 A.D., after the deposition of 
Silanus (Ann. xii. 4); twice consul 
suffectus, probably in A.D. 61 and again in 74; and 
three years consul of Asia (A.D. 70–73). 
(See Introd. p. xv, note). In 79 he 
committed suicide, having been implicated 
in the conspiracy against Vespasian which 
was discovered in that year.

qua aecinctus. Accinctus is often 
used absolutely in Tacitus (e.g. Hist. ii. 
88, 8; 89, 2: Ann. iii. 34, 10): but qua is to 
be preferred to the MS. qui as indicating 
the weapon which Marcellus used to such 
good purpose.

29, 1 quum . . . ut erat torvus ac minax, 
vocé vultu oculis arscerseret: Hist. iv. 43 
minacibus oculis. So 'acri eloquentia,' 
Ann. xvi. 22, 30.

33. eludere, 'to parry,' another figure 
from the gladiatorial arena: cp. Hist. i. 26, 
11: Ann. iii. 34, 32. For Helvidius Pris-
cus, see Hist. iv. 5 seq. He had been 
banished by Nero, but returned to Rome 
after his death.
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.


6. 1. oratoriae eloquentiae. Rhetoric is here only a department of 'eloquence' or 'utterance;' cp. eloq. virilem et oratoriam, 5. 13 above.

7. non uno aliquo momento. This is afterwards made to furnish a point of contrast with poetry, which yields only a fleeting satisfaction (gaudium volupte 9. 24).

3. ac prope. Ac is here intensive, 'nay, almost every hour.'

6. orbitati. Legacy-hunting was quite a trade at Rome under the Empire: Plin. xiv. 1 postquam coeperat orbitas in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captatio in quas est tortilissimo. In Juvenal the references are frequent: cp. iii. 129, 221; iv. 19; v. 137 sq.; vi. 548; xii. 99 sq.

It is significant that orbis is now almost synonymous with locuples: so orbis et locuples immediately below, with which cp. Pliny's reason for refusing a request, 'non esse satis honestum dare et locupleti et orbo.' Ep. v. 1, § 3.

7. offici for an 'office' or 'appointment' is of course post-Augustan: cp. Agr. xiv. 9: xxv. i: Ann. iii. 12. 7. Tr. 'to the fact that one is invested with some high office.'

sibi ipsi. The subject must be supplied from the context: cp. si nullus ex se metus aut speps Ann. ii. 38, 17.

quin immo. For the anastrophe cp. 34. 24; 39. 9; also Germ. xiv. 17. In 38. 24 quin immo stands at the beginning of the sentence: cp. quin etiam, 29. 6. For the infin. (which is motivated by what precedes) cp. on 'coire populum,' 1. 17 below.

8. plerumque, 'often,' or even 'very often': as at 15. 12, 26. 19, and 31. 9. So Germ. xiii. 18; xlv. 21: Ann. iv. 57. 6; xii. 55. 5; xiv. 53, 17: for other exx. see G. and G. p. 1125 b. On the other hand at 29. 2 the meaning seems rather to be 'generally,' 'most frequently,' C. on plerique 2. 10.

10 tanta . . . quam (for quanta): cp. Liv. xxvi. 1, 3.

11. homines veteres et senes: 'men full of years and experience.' There may be in veteres, however, an antithesis to the well-known novi homines.

12. orbis is common enough in Tacitus (though not in Cicero) for orbis terrarum: e. g. Hist. iii. 49, 1 hac totius orbis mutatione forte imperii transit.—Aper's language does not err on the side of understatement.

gratia subnixos. Cp. Ann. xiii. 6 ad fin. 'pecuniosum et gratia subnixum.'

in summa rerum omnium abun-
dantia. Cicero has 'in omnium rerum abundancia,' de Amic. § 52: Brut. § 320.

14. togatorum, i. e. clients, who wear the national dress in escorting their patron: so 'turbae togatae,' Juv. i. 96: 'opera togata,' Mart. iii. 46. 1. The undress populace, on the other hand, is referred to below as 'tunicatus hic populus,' 7. 16.
15 species! Quae in indiciis veneratio! Quod illud gaudium con-
surgendi adstitendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! Coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adsectum, quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicientium gaudia et
imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora
et tantum ipsi orantibus nota maiora sunt. Sive accuratam
meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius
dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et
recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa

15. quod illud EV₂, quod id ABCD, quod H. Put. and edd. vett. 17. coriō codd.,
cornam Acidalius, Halm, Müller. 18. quandocunque AB. induerit EV₂ÇAD,
indueret AB, induxerit H. (x above the line) b. voluerit Andresen. Vulgaria Halm.
21. profert AB, perfert EV₂ÇA, proferre D, affert HV edd. vett. 23. animi Fichenas,
aminus codd.

From Martial we learn that the wearing of
the toga at this officium was considered a
great grievance: it was not only heavy
and uncomfortable, but expensive as well,
x. 96: xii. 18, 5. Cp. id. ix. 100, 1-2
Denaris tribus invitas et mane togatum
Observare inbes atria, Basse, tua: Juv. iii.
127, with Mayor’s note. Friedländer ⁶,
p. 384.

14. comitatus et egressus. This
conjunction, which is of the nature of a hen-
diadys (=comitatus in egressibus) recurs
at 11.13. Tr. ‘what a following when one
goes abroad.’ Cp. Ann. xi. 12, 12 molto
comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus ad-
haerescere. For the plural of abstract
nouns denoting motion, see Dr. § 2.

15. Quod illud gaudium. There is a
similar eulogy on oratory in Cic. de
Or. i. § 31 Quid enim est aut tam ad-
mirabile quam ex infinita multitudine
hominum existere unum, &c. For the
brachology, cp. Ann. xi. 7, 1 quem illum
tanta superbia esse.

17. coire—circumfundī. These in-
finitives of exclamation (Roby, § 1358) are
due to the omission of a verbum sentiendi.
So in cases where a scene is being pictured
to the imagination: Cic. in Verr. ii. 5,
§ 100 O spectaculum miserum! ... in
portu Syracusano de classe populi
Romani triumphfum agere piratam ...! pro Client. § 192 mulierem quandam ...
profiscī! For coram (of throning round ‘the speaker) cp. Hist. iv. 65 coram
adire (‘face to face’) adloquiaque Ve-
ledam : see on 36, 31 coram et praesentes.

18. indueri. There is a doubt as to
whether this means ‘assumes’ (sc. sibi
ipsi) or ‘inspires’ (sc. in his hearers).
In support of the latter interpretation
(=indiderit, iniercīt) the only passage
that can be cited is the doubtful one at
Hist. iv. 57, 12 Galbam et infracta tributa
hostiles spiritus induerat, where indidisse
has been proposed, just as here inier-
erit, induxerit. The former is common
enough: cp. Ann. xi. 7, 1 facile ... mag-
nnum animus induerat, ‘it was easy (for
them) to play a magnificent part.’ For
the orator’s power of moving the feelings
of others, cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 87 ut ei
qui audirent sic adfoicerent animis ut eos
adfecti vellet orator: Brut. § 185.

dicientium. For the substantival use
of the participle, cp. 28. 6. So orantibus,
immediately below.

19. quoque. In Tacitus and Quin-
tillian (Intro. to Book X. p. liv) quoque
is often used with adjectives where vel or
etiam would have been more regular:
cp. 4. 7: 7. 16: 89. 22. Cp. also
17. 23.

21. meditatam. A list of deponent
participles used with a passive force is
given in Madvig, § 153: Zumpt, § 632.
For the expression, cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 457
accuratae ac meditatae comminationes.

22. gaudii pondus et constantia.
His satisfaction is ‘fuller and more
abiding’ than he could derive from a
more superficial performance.

23. cura: see on 3. 13.
attulerit. As with profert, above,
supply an indefinite subject, ‘quis’: the
difference in tense and mood might be
brought out by ‘In cases where,’ &c., and
‘If he happens to,’ &c.
sollidutudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est; nam in ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam grata quae diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascentur.

7. Equidem, ut de me ipso fatear, non eum diem latriorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quae in auctor aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi, quam eos quibus mihi, pro mediocritate huius

26. in add. b, om. cett. codd. 27. grata quae after Nissen (quamquam et illa quae diu serantur atque elaborentur grata sint, gratiora), and Novak (grata sunt quae diu serantur atque elaborentur)eadem ABEvH3, om. CD. Gudeman would read 'quamquam quae diu serantur atque elaborentur grata,' Andreason 'quamquam utiliora (or sollicita) quae serantur atque elaborentur' and (more recently) Novak 'quamquam invaeant quae' &c.

7. 1. ipse BI. 4. quam ago eos Vahlen.

24. commendat eventum, 'makes the result all the more telling,' 'gives success a grace.' Commentare is here used with something like the force of ornare, to 'set off,' 'set in a fair light.' C. decor commendat, 21. 35.

lenocinatur voluptati, 'enhances the feeling of satisfaction.' Cp. the use of this verb in Germ. xliii. 15 insiata feritati arte ac tempore lenocinatur ('aggravate,' 'add to').

extemporalis audaciae. Tr. 'A bold, even a venturesome improvisation possesses a special charm.' Cp. Quint. x. 6, 6 Aliquid vel extemporale temeritatem (the ' rashness of improvisation') malo quam male cohaerentem cogitationem: ib. 7, § 1.

26. ingenio ... agro. So Cic. de Or. ii. § 131 subacto mihi ingenio opus est ut agro non semel arato, sed novato et iterato, quo meliores fetus possess et grandiores edere: Or. § 48.

quamquam grata quae. The contractions for grata and quae are not unlike, and may have created the confusion out of which alia resulted. I differ from Novak in dispensing with sunt and in retaining the subjunctive, which may have been motivated by Tacitus's fondness for the use of quamquam with subj.: here supply sint.—John and others defend the MS. alia (ἀλλά, ἀλλα) as opp. to quae sua sponte nascentur. But an appropriate neuter plural would be more in place: this might be found in 'contraria,' which, besides furnishing the antithesis to 'quaesua sponte nascentur,' and corresponding with 'accuratam,' 'meditatam,' 'curam' above, might also be defended on paleographical grounds. The meaning would then be, 'Where conditions are unfavourable, or adverse, much cultivation is requisite: but there is a greater charm about a natural growth.' Cp. 40. 23 sicut indoimitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores.


7. 1. ipse. The ablative (which gives a better antithesis to what has gone before) may be supported by Cic. de Off. ii. § 67 ni vererer ne de me ipso aliquid viderer queri: not however by de Sen. § 30, where ipse could not have stood.

For ipse, on the other hand, cp. ib. § 82 ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier.

2. latus clavus, the toga with the broad purple border running down the front. It distinguished the senators from the equites, who wore the augustus clavus.

Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 9, 2 latum clavum a Caesare ... impetravi.

3. favorabili, 'popular.' Hist. ii. 97, 12. Aper means that the community to which he belonged in Gaul was not in favour at Rome (probably owing to some political disturbance), and could not give him, therefore, any letter of recommendation. The word is found first in Velleius, and is frequent in Quintilian (e.g. x. 5, 21).

4. quam eos, sc. agr. So Germ. xii. 2 quomodo paulo ante Rhenum (sc. secutus sum) sic ... sequar: Hist. iv. 42, 27 quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, iuvenes Regulum imientur.

pro mediocritate, &c. For such ex-
quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis, aut reum prospera defendere, aut apud centumviro causam aliquam feliciter orare, aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturae et consulatus ascendere video, tum habere quod, si non in animo oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? Fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est?

5. aut reum codd. : aut apud patres reum Michaelis, and all edd. 7. ipsum—principi Spengel. 9. habere Pithoeus, abire codd. 10. in animo Freihelm, Muller, in alio codd., in aliquo (cp. 38. 12) Ritter and Halm, naturale Baehrens: quod non natalibus paritur Andreasen, quod nec (or non) metallo emitur Buchholz, quod si non in caelo oritur Heller.

5. reum ... defendere. This refers to criminal processes, which might be instituted either in the ordinary iudicia, for the general body of the citizens, or in the senate for members of the senatorial order, as also for offences against the emperor or the state, malversation in the provinces, &c. The similar enumeration "sive in iudicio sive in senatu sive apud principem," 5. 29 would seem to justify the insertion, with most edd., of "apud patres": but it is possible to carry parallelism too far.

6. apud centumviro. This court was specially charged with the decision of questions by law involved in such matters as inheritance, wardship, &c. From ch. 38. 11 (causa centumviraque nunc primum obtinent locum), it is clear that its functions were of great importance. Originally it consisted of 105 members, three being chosen out of each of the thirty-five tribes: at a later time it was subdivided, and the membership rose to 180. See Wilkins' note on Cic. de Or. i. § 173.

7. apud principem. The emperor's cabinet-council (consilium) took special cognisance of all actions raised against officials of the government.

ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum. It was from the ranks of the imperial freedmen that the "procurators" were for the most part chosen. The word denotes all the emperor's agents who had charge of financial matters either at Rome or in the imperial provinces. For the great power wielded by these freedmen, cp. 18. 16 tantum posse liberti solent: it is pointed to in the ipsos illos. See also Friedländer, p. 82 sqq.

8. tueri et defendere. So 'tueri atque defendere,' Cic. de Or. i. § 172: ad Fam. xiii. 64, 1: Tac. Germ. xiv. 4 illum defendere, tueri. Defendere implies defence from actual attack; tueri protection from a possible danger.

datur. As in Vergil and Ovid, dare is often found in Tacitus, Quintilian, and Pliny with an infinitive. Cp. Ann. iii. 67, 10: iv. 6, 5, &c. D'. § 145.

10. in animo. This passage has been much discussed, and variously emended. In aliquo could not stand: we should rather have expected in ipso. In alio (Pithoeus) seems to me to be quite untenable. I had thought of 'si non innatum oritur,' which Steiner also suggested: or 'si non nativum' (cp. the antithesis between nativum and ascitum Nep. Att. iv. 1). On the whole, the reading in the text is the safest: the contractions for alio, which is found in all MSS., and animo are so similar that confusion may easily have arisen. [Buchholz supports his conjecture (see above) by assuming that a reference to money (cp. 6. 8) is indispensable, and by the parallelism that results: for metallo, he compares Hor. Ep. i. 10, 39. Heller (Philologus, 1892, p. 348) desiderates nisi for si non on the ordinary readings. Si non in caelo oritur he puts forward as a hit at the poets, who considered inspiration their special prerogative (cp. the use of vates, 9. 9): Aper means 'I won't go the length of saying that it is the gift of heaven, but it is a gift which neither prince nor people can bestow.]

codicilli, 'by sign-manual.' Cp. 8. 24 quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit.

neo cum gratia venit = nec comes gratiae est, i.e. it does not follow in the
Quinam inlustriores sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes, quibus modo et recta indoles est et bona spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et pergrerni iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibia (libentius enim novis et recenti-

13. quinam illustriores Orelli: qui non illustrès codd.; qui tam illustrès Botteri-
cher, quidnam illustrès est Steiner. Perhaps Qui magis illustrès? sunt Schopen, et
codd. 15. iuvenes vacuos: iuvenes ACDEYH, vacuos B and most cdd. 14. et
recta B (et written in above the line by the same hand), recta et AV, C, DH, recta
E Halms. *indeles est ABC, DH, indoles EV, see Introd. p. lxxv. Gudeman
suggests 'modo recta est et bona spes sui,' Possibly 'quibus modo ratio sit
et indoles:' CP. the use of 'indoles,' Cic. Verr. iii. § 160. 15. nomina EV, C, DH,

train of favour or popularity. For venit
CP. Ann. xiv. 53, 14 studia... quibus clarítu
tudo venit, 'which have won reputation.'
13. Quinam occurs nowhere else in
the Dialogue. Novak reads qui, thinking
that non in the reading of the MSS. (qui
non) may have been inserted by a copyist
who did not see that there was a question.
13. iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes.
The adjective belongs to both nouns.—
The usual reading 'iuvenes et adules-
centes' gives no antithesis to 'negotiosos
et rebus intentos.' Vacuos, which is
found only in B, was probably written
above the line in the archetype (Gudeman).
15. ingernunt, 'din into their ears.'
CP. Ann. ii. 79, 13 magnitudinem impera-
toris identidem ingerent: Hist. iv. 78, 1 a
tribunis praefectisque eadem ingerebantur.
So of a compliment, Ann. i. 72, 3 nomen
patris patriae... a populo saepius in-
gestum: more usually of reproaches, &c.,
as lb. iv. 42, 4.
16. vulgus imperitum occurs also
Ann. ii. 77, 11. CP. ch. 19. 9 below, populus
ut imperitus et rudi. Cicero very fre-
quently has 'multitudine imperita': and in
pro Mur. § 38 vulgus imperitorum. So
Quint. vi. 4, 6 imperitis ac saepe pullulat
urbiae relinquunt.

\textit{tunicatus hic populus.} The reference
is to the poorer classes, who only wore
the toga on state occasions: tr. 'the
people in their working clothes.'

Hor. Ep. i. 7, 65 vilia vendor tentum tunicato
scuta popello. Augustus forbade citizens to appear in the forum or circus
without the toga (Suet. Ang. 40). In the
country it was seldom worn: Juv. iii. 71
pars magna Italiae est... in qua nemo
togam sumit nisi mortuus: cp. Cic.
in Rull. ii. § 94 Iam vero qui metus erot

tunicatorum illorum!: Mart. x. 47, 5
toga rara: 51, 6 tunicata quies: xii. 18,
17 (from Spain) Ignota est toga. CP.

17. digito demonstrat. So Cic. de
Rep. vi. 26: de Or. ii. 266: cp. monstror
digito praeterentium Hor. Od. iv. 3, 22
and Pers. i. 28. Of the finger of scorn,
daktulodeictiv, Demosth. 790: cp. dak-
tulodeictiv, Aesch. Agam. 1332.

18. auditus. For this (poetical) use =
'heard of,' cp. Hist. ii. 6, 8 audite
saepeis... Caesares quam inspecti: ib.
i. 86, 8: Germ. xii. ad fin.: Ov. Met. vi.
19, 7 feminae quae leguntur.

19. velut adgnoscere. They recog-
nise them by their descriptions, not from
having seen them previously: hence \textit{velut}.
CP. 3, 10, and 17 ad fin.: Quint. vi. 2, 13
mores dicentis ex oratione pelliceant et
quodammodo adgnoscantur.

26. 2. Crispus. For the inversion
in the text, see on 1. 1) was a native of
Verceilae, who had already held high
office under Nero, and who continued to
bus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non minus notos esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illis alterius bis, alterius ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, sed ipsa eloquentia; cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda habere mus. Nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandum orationes eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriorem exempla sunt, quod

flourish even in the the age of Domitian (Suet. Dom. 3). He was a noted debater: pecunia potestas in- genio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Hist. ii. 10, 3. Juvenal Sat. v. 81 says of him 'Cuius erant mores quals facundia, mite Ingenium,' giving a rather more favourable estimate of him than Tacitus; so Quintilian v. 13. 6, and x. 1, 119. His wealth was proverbial: 'divitior Crispo,' Mart. iv. 54, 7.

3. remotis et oblitteratis: 'distant and half-forgotten.' This gives the antithesis to novis et recentibus (cp. 6. 22) 'new and fresh in the memory.'

non minus notos. The insertion of notos in the text seems to be absolutely necessary for the sense. Gudeman suggests non minores, comparing 21. 23 'minorem esse fama sua'; but the comparative seems inappropriate here, and none of the other passages quoted in support of the emendation are to the point.

5. bis milles (centena milia) sestertium. The one was worth 200 and the other 300 millions of sestertes: something under two and three millions of our money. Two hundred million sestertes may be taken as £1,750,000.

8. caelestis. So even in Cicero, 'caelestis divinarque legiones' Phil. v. § 25: cp. Quint. x. 1, 86 naturae caelestis atque immortali.

11. spectanda habere mus = spectanda nobis essent. This use of the gerundive (or gerund) after habere is frequent in Tacitus: cp. 19. 24 exspectandum habent: 81. 18 dicendum habuerit: 38. 30 respondendum habert: 87. 17 dicendum habeas: Hist. i. 15, 19; iv. 77, 16: Ann. iv. 40, 7; xiv. 44, 2. See Draeger, § 27 and Wolflin, Archiv, ii. p. 67 sqq. The subjunctive is used because eloquentia is thought of as personified: it is part of its mysterious and godlike scheme that we should have living examples of eloquence, to which it is impossible to shut our eyes.

sordidius et abiectius. For the collocation cp. sordida et abiecta, Quint. ii. 12, 7. The comparative abjectus is said to occur first in Val. Max. iii. 5, 4 abieci- torum et obsceniorem vitam exigit.—For nascentes, below, Buchholz suggests pube- centes (adolescentes) 1 in order to avoid what he considers an unnecessary repetition: but the first clause refers to the rank of the parents, the second to their means.

13. circumsteterunt. The use of this verb is more striking here, with angustiae rerum, than in such instances as Hist. i. 17, 9 circumsteterat interim Palatium publica exspectatio: iv. 79, 13 circumsteterit Civilem et alius metus: Verg. Aen. ii. 559 at me tum primum salus circumstetit horror: iv. 561 (pericula). Cp. also Cic. Phil. x. § 20 Cum vero dies et noctes omnia nos unidi fata circumstet.
sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter 15 moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac donec libent principes fori: nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus 20 veri, bene intellegit ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque ipsi accumulare et in alios congerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et 25 statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen neglectuntur, tam hercule quam divitiac et opes, quas facilium invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat. His igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus


20. *ipsi Lipsius, ipsis codd.*

21. *sit Halm, est codd.*

22. *possit ABCH, possint LV DE.*

23. *inter haec tot Vahlen.*

15. *sine commendatione natalium.*

Cp. Cic. Brut. § 96 homo per se cognitus sine ullo commendatione maiorum, and similarly Cat. i. § 28 nulla commendatione maiorum: pro Planc. § 67. Each was 'auctor nobilitatis suae,' like Cicero himself, Tusc. iv. § 2.

substantia means here 'foundation,' or, rather, 'support.' So Paulinus of Nola, Ep. v. 5 (ed. Migne) substantia facultatum non egentior. The word seems to belong to the language of law. It is common enough, with a somewhat similar meaning, in Quintilian: e.g. *verba ipsa... sine rerum substantia, ii. 21, i.—Facultates occurs again in the sense of opes at the end of this chapter.

16. *contemptus.* This was probably Marcellus, but we cannot be certain.


agunt feruntque, a frequent collocation, especially in Livy: cp. ἄγεν καὶ φέρειν. Tr. 'they carry all before them.' In Hist. i. 2, 19, Tacitus has the modification cum... agerent vererent cuncta.

20. *venerabilis.* Vespasian would be about sixty-five in the year in which the dialogue is supposed to have taken place. patientissimus veri, 'who never shuts his eyes to the truth.' This is explained below, quod non a principe acceperint, &c.: Vespasian has more need of them than they have of him.

22. *accumulare.* The compound verb occurs only here in Tacitus, though *cumulare* is common enough. So also *accumulator* in Ann. iii. 30. 5 (opum accumulator) is a δαμάς λεγόμενον.

23. *ad amicitiam suam,* 'to their friendship with him.' Cp. Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 43 quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani attulisset, id is eipi quasi quis pati posset o.

24. *quod is ὁδοὶ κοινοὶ acc. after acceperint and nom. to accipi possit. So Germ. xviii. ad fin. 'quae nurus accipient rursusque ad nepotes referantur.'

25. *minimum... locum.* Andresen notes this expression as not Ciceronian.

*imagines.* The reference is not to pride of ancestry—Marcellus and Crispus were both 'novi homines'—but to the custom (Plin. N. H. xxxv. 6) of decorating the atrium with bronze medallions of the emperor and of famous men (such as pleaders might receive as gifts from their clients): the eulogistic inscriptions placed underneath are designated by *tituli.* Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 17 qui stuper in titulis et imaginibus.

26. *tam hercule quam,* 'just as little as.' Translate 'And yet even these are not disregarded, any more than,' &c. Cp. 21. 22.
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refertas domos eorum videmus qui se ab ineunte adolescenzia causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

9. Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis concilian neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? Quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? Quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit

29. aetate adolescente f. C.
9. 5. deinceps AB, deinde EV,CAH. Coeleium A, Coeleium B.

27. ab ineunte adolescenzia. There can be no doubt that this is the true reading. Gudeman thinks that the reading of C (ab ineunte acet adolescentia) shows that adolescentia had been originally written in above as an explanation of 'ab ineunte acet,' which ought accordingly to be restored as the genuine text. But it is much easier to suppose that the copyist of C wrote aetate by a mistake which he did not trouble to correct.

9. 1. Nam, 'as for poetry, on the other hand.' There is really an ellipse, which gives this use of nam the effect of an adversative conjunction.—Aper now proceeds (in this and the next chapter) to show how comparatively thankless is the profession of poetry.

carmina et versus: so coupled in Ann. xvi. 19, 7 (levia carmina et faciles versus), where the editors distinguish them by taking the former to mean songs or lyrical pieces, and the latter hexameter, iambic, or other poems.


fluxit. For this very common figure cp. Cic. Brut. § 201 a Cotta et Sulpicio haec omnis fluxit oratio.

dignitatem. For the sequence dignitas, utilitas, voluptas, laus cp. 5. 16 utilitas, voluptas, dignitas, fama.

3. neque utilitates alunt, 'nor do they forward their interests.' Alere is frequently used in this figurative sense: e.g. Ann. iii. 41 ad fin. aluit dubitatione bellum. Cp. Hist. ii. 30, 16 eandem utilitatem fovere.

4. infructuosam, a word of the silver age: elsewhere in Tacitus of military service. Hist. i. 51, 5: Ann. i. 17, 12.

6. aures . . . respuant. The same remarkable metaphor is found even in Cicero: pro Planc. § 44 respuent aures: in Pis. § 45: Orat. Part. 5. § 15. So also Quint. xii. 1. 61 quid aures hominum magis respuent? Cp. δορυφόροι.

qui bono est: not 'what good is it,' but 'who gains by it.' The formula was made famous by L. Cassius Longinus (Trib. Pleb. 137 n. c. when he carried the lex Cassia tabellaria), who when quaesitor indicii in a cause of murder, used always to urge the indices to inquire who had a motive for the crime, who 'would gain by' the death.

apud te, in your tragedies Thyestes and Medea: ch. 3.

8. Saleium: see on 4. 6.
9. vatem, 'bard.' Cp. Verg. Ecl. ix. 32 et me fecere poetam Pierides—me quoque dicunt vatem pastores. Vates is a word with more solemn associations than poeta: Quint. xii. 10, 24 instinctis divino spiritu vatibus: x. 1, 48 dearm quas praesidere vatibus creditum est. Poeta is sometimes used slightly of verse-makers: Cic. in Pis. § 29 ut assentatorum, ut poetam: Tusc. i. § 2 quod in provinciam poetas duxisset.

deducit: of escort to the forum, salutat, of the morning visit, prosequitur, of attendance on a journey.
aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe si amicus eius, si pro-
pinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc
Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque
ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascentur, pulchri
quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto
anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit
et elucubravit, rogare ultero et ambire cogatur ut sint qui dig-
nentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutatur
et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit.
Et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis
ista laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore

10. est AB (for eis) : om. H.
20.  ista AB : illa CDHV.

10. Nempe: 'why surely.'
11. negotium: some troublesome business, involving an action at law: cp.
   note on negotia, 88. 9.
12. recurret. The verb occurs in this
   sense also in Quintilian: Pr. § 17 ne-
   cessae est ad eos aliquando audaces re-
   currere, qui . . .: i. 6, 13. Decurrere is
   however more classical.
13. domi nascentur, a proverbial
   expression, used of what one possesses in
   abundance, and does not need to borrow
   from elsewhere. So Plaut. Cist. ii. 1, 2
   hanc ego de me coniecturam domi facio,
   ne quaeram foris. Cp. Cic. Acad. ii. § 60
domi nobis ista nascentur domi facio,
   where Dr. Reid refers to Plaut. Mil. Glor.
   144 domi habet: cp. Cas. ii. 3, 8 coniecturam domi
   facio magis quam ex auditis: Amphil. ii.
   2, 5 id nunc experior domo atque ipsa de
   me scio): domi est, Att. x. 14: domin
   petes, Fam. viii. 25: Att. i. 19, 3: x.
   xxiii. 3.
14. quorum tamen: though they re-
   sult in nothing, except that, &c.
15. excudit et elucubravit: has
   hammered out, over the midnight oil.'
   Cp. Cic. ad Att. xv. 27, 2 Excudam ali-
   quid 'pseudonimium, quod lateat in the
   saurus tuis: and for similar figures Plin.
   i. 3, 4 effinge aliquid et excude: Hor.
   A. P. 441: also Juv. vii. 55 communi fariet
   carmen triviale moneta. For elucubravit
   cp. Cic. Brut. § 312 multae (orationes)
quas non minus diligenter elaboratas et
   tanquam elucubratas afferebamus.
16. rogare ultero. Instead of deriving
   material advantage from his poems, and
   being courted on their account, the poet
   has actually to go about and request people
to be good enough to give him a hearing.
17. domum mutatur. So Juv. vii. 40
   Claud. xli.: and Mayor on Juv. iii. 9.
   Phil. ii. § 97 'gladiatorum libellos,' like
   our playbills. So prob. Mart. xiv. 142 Si
   recitaturus dedero tibi forte libellum Hoc
   focale tuas adserat auriculas. In Ep. iii.
   18 Pliny opposes 'libelli' to 'codicilli'
   (non per codicilos, non per libellos . . .
   admonit), the latter being 'letters of in-
   vitation,' to which 'dispergit' here would
   be hardly so applicable.
19. beatissimus. Cicero does not
   apply beatus to things: cp. however
   Quint. x. 1, 61 and 109; ib. 3, 22.
20. unum aut alterum: See on 21. 6
   herba . . . flore . . . frugem, leaf,
   flower, and fruit. The glory of it all fades
   away (cp. Quint. i. 3, 3) like a plant that has
   been plucked before it is ripe: lit. 'pre-
   maturely gathered, as it were, in the blade
   or the bloom.' A certain obscurity in the
   phraseology results from an attempt to
   combine the figure with the fact which
   the figure illustrates: thus after 'in-
   tra unum aut alterum diem,' we should
   have expected some such word as elab-
   situr: while 'praecepa' is hardly ap-
   plicable to 'omnis ista laus.' For the
   expression, cp. Hist. v. 7, 5 sive herba
   tenus aut flore seu solidam in speciem
   adolevere: and for praecipita, Hist. iii. 15,
   10 festinato praelio victoriam praecipisset.
praeccepta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam

25 Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colore, suum genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem!

Adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in soliditudinem secedendum est.

10. Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli servient et quod unum


23. vagum, that soon passes away: synonymous with volutum, ‘fleeting.’
27. si... exigat. This clause influences the preceding part of the sentence (‘pulchrum id quidem,’ &c.) as well as that in which it actually stands; but there is no need to transpose it, as is done by some editors. ‘If we have to find some source of profit, let us find it in ourselves rather than in princes.’

28. suum genium propitiare, ‘gain the good graces of one’s own genius,’ and so secure a return for whatever talent one may possess: ‘sein Talent fruchtbringend machen’ (Heller).

suam... liberalitatem, ‘to fall back on one’s own bounty.’ The contrast is between the humiliation implied in being a recipient of imperial favours, and the noble independence of the ‘self-made’ orator.—All MSS. give libertatem, which might perhaps be allowed to stand.

29. Adice quod. This formula (for accedit quod) does not occur in Cicero or Caesar, but often in Quint.’s Declamationes: addit quod is also common enough (see Quint. x. Introd. p. liii). Cp. Liv. xxiii. 5, 9 adiecte ad haec quod, &c. elaborare et efficiere. So Cic. ad Fam. ix. 16, 2 quidquid elaborati ad efficia potuerit.

30. conversatio in the sense of ‘intercourse’ (usus, consuetudo) is post-classical: cp. Ann. xii. 49, 3; Germ. xl. 15: Quint. vi. 3, 17 (conversatio doctorum): and in Seneca, passim.
31. utque ipsi dicunt. For the poet’s love of retirement, see Hor. Car. i. 1, 30, 32, 1: iv. 3, 10 sq.: Ep. ii. 2, 77: A. P. 298: Ovid Trist. i. 1, 41 Carmina secundum scribentis et otia quaerunt: cp. v. 12, 3: Juv. vii. 58. Writing to Tacitus, and probably with this passage in his mind, Pliny says, ‘poemata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas’ Ep. ix. 10, § 2. Cp. on the other hand Quint. x. 3, 22.

10. i. opinio, ‘reputation’ = existimatio: Sen. de Ben. vi. 43, 3 opinionem quidem et famam eo loco habeamus tamquam non ducere sed sequi debeat. This absolute
esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, æque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat, nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat? Quotus quidque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? Atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo tamquam eos quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit deterreman a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut


use is found frequently in Quintilian: see note on x. 5, 18. In Cicero opinio is generally used with a genitive, as 'malignitatis opinionem' in ch. 15. 6 below: cp. however pro Sulla, § 10: pro Leg. Manil. § 46.

2. æque ... quam occurs sometimes also in Plautus and Livy for the more classical æque ... ac. So Hist. ii. 10, 13; iv. 54, 8; v. 3, 11; Ann. ii. 52, 17; iv. 49, 5; xiv. 38, 7. In all these instances the construction is negative: Da, § 176.

3. sequitur. So Quint. iv. 1, 14 potentes sequitur invidia.

4. rarissimarum, 'so few and far between,'—of the productions of individuals, without implying that readings in general were scarce: cp. 9. 14 cum toto anno ... unum librum excudit. Important works were produced only at intervals, though there are many evidences of a greater activity in the production of slightly pieces, especially in the domain of lyric poetry. Others take rarissimarum as = 'remarkable,' comparing Agr. iv. 7 mater rarae castitatis: ib. viii. 16 rarissima moderato: and Sen. Controv. iv. 28 ad fin., homo rarissimi etiamis non emendatissimi ingenii.

5. nedum ut. A rare construction, found, however, in Livy iii. 14, 6 ne voce quidem incommodi, nedum ut ualla vis fieret: cp. Quint. xii. 1, 39. For nedum after affirmative clauses, see on 25. 10.

quotus quisque, 'how seldom does any one,' &c. The formula literally means 'each unit of what whole number,' i.e. one in how many, and so 'how small a proportion,' 'how few.' 7. Atque adeo. 'Yes, and if any one does ask after him.' Cp. 14. 6. where it = immo potius.

8. ut semel vidit. This reminds us of Livy's admirer: nuncamne legisti Gaditanum quendam Tit Livi nomine glorique commotum ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbis venisse statimque ut videtare abisse? Plin. Epp. ii. 3, 8.

10. sic accipi tamquam: Quint. ii. 3, 10.

13. oblectare otium. The phrase occurs again, Ann. xii. 49, 4.

nomen inserere ... famae: 'gain a niche in the temple of fame.' A similar expression is found Hist. ii. 61, 2 inserere sese fortunae: cp. Ann. vi. 2, 7 dum ignobilatem suam magnis nominibus inserit.

13. eloquentiam: here practically synonymous with 'literature.' Literally 'utterance.'

14. cothurnum vestrum. Cp. 'the buskin'd stage' (Milton). So Hor. A. P. 8o contrasts the soccus (σκούπα) or 'slipper' of comedy with the grandes cothurni of tragedy.

vestrum, while addressed to Maternus, is made to include the other tragic poets.
heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem et epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat anteponendam ceteris altiorum artium studii credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura te tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levirioribus subsistis. Ut si in Graecia natus esses, ubi Ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires di dedissent, non paterer immanes istos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis.

15. sonum, 'lofty tones.' Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 54 addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis: Quint. i. 8, 5 interim et sublimitate heroi carminis animus adduxit: id. x. 1, 68 gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophocli.

iucunditatem, 'charm.' So Quintilian, of the lyric poet Simonides, 'iucunditate quadam commendabili potest,' x. 1, 64, and of Horace 'plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae,' ib. § 96. Tr. 'the charming lyric, the wanton elegy, the biting satire, the playful epigram, and every other kind of literature.'

16. elegorum. This is the common form, e.g. miserables... elegos, Hor. Od. i. 33, 2: A. P. 77; exiguos, Tib. ii. 4, 13: Propert. v. i, 135; Juv. i. 4. Ovid has elegia, flebilis ignis elegia solve capillos, Am. iii. 9, 3: cp. cultus aut elegia comis, Mart. v. 30, 4. See Quint. x. 1, § 93.

lascivias, 'playfulness.' The word indicates exuberance of any kind, as against severe restraint: Hor. A. P. 106 ludentem lasciva (verba decent) severum dicta, i.e. 'sportive' as opposed to 'serious': Ep. ii. 2, 216 lasciva decentis aetas, 'that may more becomingly make merry.' So Quintilian says, Ovidius utroque (Tibullo et Propertio) lascivor sient durior Gallus, x. 1, 93, where see note. Lascivia recurs twice in the Dialogue, chs. 26, 7 and 29, 7.

amaritudinem, 'acrimony.' The figurative use of this word occurs in Quintilian (x. i, 117), Pliny the Younger, Seneca, and Valerius Maximus. Quint. x. i, 96

Iambus... cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio... reperietur.

17. habeat. Though this use of the subj. is not strictly classical, the reading of the MSS. should be preserved.


19. natura... ferat: Cic. de Orat. iii. § 35 quo sua quemque natura maxime ferre videatur: Brut. § 204.

arcem eloquentiae. Quint. xii. 11, 28 Cicerone arcem tenente eloquentiae.

20. in levirioribus subsistis. Cp. Quint. i. Pr. § 20 altius tamen ibunt qui ad summam nitentur quam qui... protinus imas substantierit: Sen. Controv. x. pr. § 16 ad summam evasuros juvenis nisi modicis contentus esset.


22. Nicostratus was an ornament of the prize-ring in the earlier part of the first century. Quintilian had seen him when a young man (ii. 8, 14), and Pausanias (v. 21, 11) gives his name as a victor in the Olympic Games.

23. ad pugnatum, i.e. ad pugilatum.

24. iaculi... iactu. Tacitus in the Dialogue does not avoid the juxtaposition of the same or similar words: 2. 6 studiose... studiorum: 7. 2 latus
et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetae quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec excusatur offensa necessitudo officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subita dictionis impetu: meditatus videris et elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes existere adsensus, haec in ipsis auditorii praecipue laudari et max omnium sermonibus ferri. Tolle igitur quietis


... obiatus: 7, 5 defendere ... defendere: 7, 7 principem ... principum: 8, 24 acceperint ... acceperint: 22. 17 tecto tegi: 32. 12 armis ... armatus: 33. 2 videris ... videaris: 34. 5 interesse ... interesseret. 24. vanesere: poetical, and in Quintilian. Cp. Hist. v. 7, 5: Ann. ii. 40, 6. 25. theatris. The hall of a theatre was sometimes utilized for purposes of public reading.

forum ... vera proelia. This figure is of frequent occurrence in the language of rhetoricians: e.g. Quint. x. i, §§ 29–30 nos vero (of orators as opposed to poets) armatos stare in acie et summis de rebus decernere et ad victoriam nisi: see Introdit., p. lxi. Instead of rejecting ad causas (with some critics) we ought to compare 34. 26 fori ... iudicium: ib. 15 et causis et iudicibus (where see note): Quint. x. i, 36 fori ... periculum.

26. plerisque. See on 2. 10. This construction (after patrocinari) is found in Terence.

27. obnoxium offedere. With the adj. offensae would have been more usual: but for similar constructions in Tacitus, cp. ch. 16. 11 manifestus ... aceingi, where see note.

28. effervescit, a favourite figure with Cicero: e.g. quare si nimium effervuisse videtur haud vis, pro Caes. § 77.

30. necessitudo officii, 'the obligations of friendship.' It seems best to take necessitudo here as = necessitas: cp. Ann. iii. 40, 8 peccandi necessitudo: xii.

39, 2 necessitindem pugnae: the form of the word being probably motivated by the juxtaposition of officium. Others understand the word of the friendly relations (= familiaritas) that find expression in service rendered (officium): so Andresen, G. and G.

31. fide advocationis, 'the responsibility of an advocate.' fortuitae, &c., 'the hurry of a random and extempore utterance.' Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 150 subitam et fortuitam orationem: Tac. Germ. xi. 4 nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit.

32. meditatus, sc. esse (John): it is believed that you thought out and carefully selected, &c. For the omission of esse cp. 19. 15 odoratus videretur: also Hist. iii. 75, 16 crimina adgnovisse et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbatur: ib. iii. 6, 5 ferrebat ... crimina: iv. 39, 13 ferrebat hortatus.


Tolle igitur, &c. 'No more, than, of the plea that you wish for peace and quietness' (and so prefer poetry to eloquence), 'since you deliberately choose an adversary who is too powerful for you,' Andresen and others have wrongly assumed a lacuna after ferri. The sen-
et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiori. Nobis satis sit privatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus [expressis] si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas

excusata.'

11. Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus "Parantem" inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitraber ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragœdiarum et ingredi famam auspiciatus sum


11. 3. parantem inquit me Walther, parantem me inquit Bekker, Halm, parant enim quid me EV,CA, parant quid enim me ABDH (parat H perant D). 3. laudat HSp., laudavit Acidalius.

tence beginning Tolleigitur furnishes a prompt refutation of all that can be said in defence of such (republican) poetry: it is a greater disturber of repose, by the enmity it excites, than anything connected with the profession of the bar, which Maternus had abandoned in order to secure repose. For adversarium superioriorem, cp. 2.2 cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, with note.

37. controversias tuei: Cic. de Or. i. § 169 ut amicorum controversias causaeque tueatur.

39. fidis... libertas. For the chiasmus, see D. § 235.

Chs. 11-13. Maternus replies to Aper. The praise of Poetry.

11. 1. intento ore, of the expression of Aper's countenance, 'with the utmost gravity': not as C. and B., 'with vehemence of utterance.' The antithesis is remissus et subridens: cp. Ann. xiiii. 3, 3 intentus ipse et ceteri... nemo risui temperare. There is something of the same antithesis (intentus = 'in thorough earnest') in Ann. i. 52, 8. So below, 14. 3 ex ipsa intentione singulorum, where Vergil's 'intentique ora tenebant' (Aen. ii. 1) illustrates the meaning.


laudaverat. The plpf. is here quite appropriate. It is anterior to mitigavit ('put me in a better temper') and even to parantem. Aper eulogises rhetoric: then Maternus (thinking that he will proceed to attack poetry) gets ready to answer him: but Aper soothes his ruffled susceptibilities.

5. arte quadam, 'cleverly,' 'by a sort of stratagem.' Cp. Cic. de Or. i § 74 id enim ipsum... articulo quodam es consecutus.

7. sicut... ita = μείν... δέ. The formula (though not so common as ut... ita) is frequent in Livy: e.g. xxii. 35, 10 pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviore ita arrectoria sunt: cp. ib. 39, 7.

efflicere et eniti. So Cic. Amic. § 59 eniti et efficere: and cp. 9. 29, above, elaborare et efficere.

8. ingredi famam auspiciatus sum, 'I took the first step on the path of fame.' The infin. after auspiciari is very uncommon: cp. Sen. Ep. 83, 3 calendis Ianuariis... auspiciabar in Virginitatem desilire, I opened the year ('for luck') with, &c.: Plin. xxxi. 41 primus (aquam Marciam) in urbem ducere auspiciatus est Ancus Martius: Suet. Nero xxii. ad aram Iovis cantare. The more usual construction (with an aec.) survives in Burke's peroration on Conciliation with America,
‘we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old
warning of the Church, Susrum corda! ’ Such pleonasm as ingredi... auspicatus
sum are not uncommon with phrases indicating commencement: Ann. xlii. 10,
5 ut principium annorum incipierent mense Decembri: Germ. xxx. 1 initium sedis ini-
prodeundi licentia notitia auspiceratur.

9. sub Nerone. This is the easiest
reading, and is more common in Tacitus
than imperante Nerone. For the confusion
between in and sub, Novak compares Liv.
xxvi. 43, 4 sub Carthaginensiibus.

studiorum sacra... profanantem:
that desecrated the sanctuary of litera-
ture.” Cp. Quint. x. 1, 92 nos sacra li-
terarum colentes: Ov. Am. iii. 9, 19
Scillicet omne sacrum mors importuna
profanat. Nothing is known in regard
to the allusion here made.—Heller pro-
poses to invert the clauses, inserting cum
quidem... fregi at fortasse possum,
on the ground that such a victory was
much more probably the result of an
action at law: but cum quidem fregi
goes much better with the perfect auspi-
catus sum than with the general statement
advanced in officere alienum... possum.

10. Vatini. Though the name is
doubtful, it is probably the Vatinius of
Ann. xv. 34 (Inter foedissima eius aulae
ostenta): the ‘Beneventanus sutor’ of
Juv. v. 46 (where see Mayor’s note).

in nobis. The MS. reading may be
supported by Ann. xiv. 43, 6 quidquid
hoe in nobis auctoritas est.

11. notitiae ac nominis. The phrase
recurs at 36. 19. For notitia, see on 5.
12. deingere me, to ‘unharness my-
self from,’ or to ‘throw off the yoke of’
my labours at the bar: a very rare word.
13. ommatius... et egressus: cp.
6. 14, and ‘deduct aut salutat aut prose-
quittur’ at 9. 9. Ists refers to Aper’s
previous eulogy.

frequentiam salutantium, crowded
levées: cp. fremitus salutantium 18. 21;
Ann. iv. 41, 10 adempta salutantium turba.
So Verg. Georg. ii. 462 Si non ingentem
foribus domus alta superbis Mane salu-
tantium totis vomit aedibus undam, &c.: &c.: &c.:
Jerome, Ep. 43 (quoted by Baier on
Hor. Sat. i. 6, 101) pudet dicere frequen-
tiam salutandii qua aut ipsi quotidian ad
alias pergimus aut ad nos venientes ce-
teros expectamus: Quint. xii. 11, 18 vanus
salutandi labor. Frequent references occur
in Juvenal and Martial to the burdensome
duty of attending such levées.

15. statum... tueor. So Cic. ad
Fam. ix. 16, 6 ego me non putem suer
meum statum sic posse ut, &c. In this
connexion, status is used with reference
to its literal meaning, viz. the position
taken up by a combatant to meet an
attack: Cic. Or. § 129 magno semper
usu impetu saepe adversarios de statu
16. hucusue, ‘till now.’ This is
said to be the first instance of the use of
the word in this temporal signification.
It generally means ‘to this extent.’ Cp.
however, illuc usque fidem, Ann. xv. 54,
13, ‘up to that point,’ temporal opp. to
‘tunc primum.’
nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12. Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerum quo non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum 5 componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitii pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur. Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et malis moribus natus, atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro


3. strepitu. Aper, on the other hand, had spoken of ‘lucunditas urbis,’ 9 ad fin. Schopen’s proposal to read ‘in strepitu urbis’ may be rejected as unnecessary: cp. Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 79 inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos. For the worry occasioned by the continual noise of Rome (strepitum Romae, Hor. Car. iii. 29, 12) see Juvenal’s Third Satire, ad fin. sedente ante ostium litigatore. Similar references are of common occurrence in Horace: Ep. i. 5, 31 atia servabant postico falle clientem: ii. 1, 104 mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura: Sat. i. 1, 10 sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. Clients had no respect for hours, and came both late and early.

4. sordes ac lacrimas. So Cic. Orat. post reedit. ad populum § 7 cotidianae lacrimae sordesque lugubres: ad Fam. xiv. 2, 2 iacere in lacrimis et sordibus. Other Ciceronian combinations are ‘fletus sordesque,’ ‘in sordibus, lamentis, luctuque iacere,’ ‘spectaculum sordium atque luctus et tanti squaloris.’

5. Haec primordia, &c. Tr. ‘Here was the cradle, here the very shrine of eloquence; such was the mien and style with which,’ &c. Eloquence is personified, as again at 37. 33. For habitus cultuque cp. Ann. i. 10, 31; ii. 59, 8.

7. commoda, ‘ingratiating herself with.’ The change to commendata, accepted by most editors, seems to have been motivated by the wish to connect this phrase more closely than the writer intended with the preceding ablatives.


sia (i.e. in the language of poetry) is commonly adopted for the MS. hic (‘in this solitude’?)

9. lucrosae huius, &c. ‘This gain-getting eloquence of ours, reeking with human blood, is a modern invention, the growth of a depraved condition of society,’ cp. Quint. i. 12, 16, and xii. 7. 3. Sanguinantis contains a reference to the capital convictions obtained by such men as Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus referred to by Aper above.

10. malis moribus. Helmreich defends this reading by reference to Ann. iv. 17, 5 and vi. 16, 6.

ut tu dicebas: ch. 5 ad fin.

11. in locum teli: cp. ingenii loco, 26. 10.

Ceterum, ‘on the other hand,’ shows that in the preceding sentence nam is not adversative, as at 9. 1.
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

loquar, aureum saeculum, et oratorum et criminum inopos, poetics et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior mortalis aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa ac interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea ac Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis

14. ullis EV,CAD, ullus AB. maior mortalis aut, after Michaelis and Gudeman, more (mor B)... aut ABV, more aut C, in ore aut D (ne aut illud clamore... aut HB) maior aut Lipsius, Halms, maior erat aut Ritter. 17. causidicum Henmann, causidiconum codd. (which may be right: cp. 21. 1). 18. ac Linum ac AB, et Linum ac V,CDA. velis ABCD, velis vel D, vel EV. 19. videantur D, and so at first B. 20. concedit codd. (emend. Acidalius: cp. 33. 22). honorem codd., honorem haberi Maehly.

12. crinimur. Some translate "charges," comparing Ann. xi. 12, 4 strenuerit crimina et accusatores: iii. 54. 4. But "male admissa," below shows that the word here = delictorum, peccatorum (as frequently in Juvenal, e.g. i. 75), and that the thought resembles 41. 7 Quodsi inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter inno centes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. poetics et vatibus. See on 9, 9.

13. male admissa. Admissum is even used substantively (for delictum), Hist. iv. 44. 7 ne... cumctis sub Nerone admittis data impunitas videretur: Ann. xi. 4, 14 de admission Poppaeae: cp. Cic. Part. Or. 35, 120, &c.

14. gloria... honor. Cp. 41. 11 sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est.

mortalis is adopted in the text on the theory of the existence of a lacuna of some kind. Vahlen however denies this, contending that, by a displacement of the letters, gloria maior became gloria iamor or gloriamor. Without the noun ulli must be used as a substantive, on the analogy of nulli: the only other Tacitean instance of this occurs Ann. xi. 27, 1 ullis mortalius: cp. Cic. Tusc. i. 39, 94.

15. proferre responsa. In this capacity the poets said to be bropiirau tov ovoi.

16. interesse epulis. Cp. Hor. Car. iv. 8, 29 Sic Iovis interest Optatius epulis impiger Hercules. We do not know of any specific instance of a poet being raised to this dignity; but other cases of heroes will occur to all—the Dioscuri, Romulus, Bacchus, Tantalus (consilia eovorum Hor. Car. i. 28, 7), and Ixion. So generally Paus. viii. 2, 2 Οι γάρ δή τοις ἀθρόων έγόνοι και ἑνότρεπες τοις ήσαν υπὸ διακαισιση και ενέσεις: Catull. lxi. 387.

illos... rege. For the emphasis, cp. Ann. xv. 54, 7 in illa invisa et spoliis civium exstricta domo.

17. inter quos... accepimus. There is no traditional instance, says Maternus, of a pleader having been admitted to intimate fellowship with those whom Homer calls διογενος or διορθοεσ (illos dis genitos) βασιλεις. It is not necessary to supply fuisse with 'accepimus:' for the use of accipere with an object cp. 40. 12 quem enim oratorem... accepimus?

18. introspicere altius, 'look further back' at the heroic past: cp. altius repeter. For another (apparently) absolute use of introspicere, see Ann. vi. 21, 12 quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidius.

19. composita, 'fabricated.' Cp. Agr. xi. 11 fictum ac compositum. So Liv. iii. 10, 10 fabula composita: cp. Ann. xi. 27, 1 haud sum ignoras fabulosum visum iri... sed nihil compositum miraculi causa... tradam. Fabulosa occurs in Horace, Seneca, Pliny, and often in Quintilian. For the anastrophe, see Introd., p. ix.
famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloria quam qui Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam 25 inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13. Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum iniqueta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud 5 divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum

13. 3. ad Lipsius, et codd. consulatus C, conventus D, cent’ A, coetus B.

22. Euripidis aut Sophoclis. In a comparison with Lysias and Hyperides, Euripides naturally comes first: magis accedit oratorio generi, Quint. x. 1, 68, where see note.

23. Ciceronis. For Cicero’s detractors, see on chap. 18. That Vergil, too, was not without his critics, is clear from the Life of Donatus, ch. 43: cp. Suet. Calig. 34.

24. Liber here of course (as at 38. 14, where see note) of a speech, written down and published. Asinius Pollio (75 B.C.- 4 A.D.) and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 B.C.-8 A.D.) are criticised together as orators by Quintilian x. 1, 113, where see notes. Other references to them occur in chs. 17, 18, and 21.

25. Medea . . . Thyestes. The conjunction of these two tragedies by Quintilian is also noteworthy: iam Vari Thyestes culibet Graecarum comparari potest. Ovidi Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisse, x. 1, 98. L. VARIUS RUFUS had gained a high reputation as an epic poet, before he took to tragedy: cp Hor. Car. i. 6 Scriberis Vario . . . Mænoni carminis aliter: Ep. ii. 1, 246; A. P. 55. He is known also as the friend of Vergil and Horace (Sat. i. 5, 40; 6, 55), and helped to edit the Aeneid after Vergil’s death.

13. 1. illud felix contubernium. Cp. assiduate contubernii, 5. 5, with note: Sen. Dial. vi. 10, 4 iam discietur iste comitatus, iam contubernia ista sublato clamore solventur. The allusion is to the retired life of the poet (cp. securum et quietum . . . secessum, below), with its exclusive but delightful companion-ships, ‘far from the madding crowd’s ignoble strife,’ in contrast to the busy bustling life of the advocate, as described e.g. at 6. 3. It is not necessary how-to take the words as a refutation of what Aper had said at the end of ch. 9: Maternus knows and values the pleasures of solitude, 17 below.

3. certamina et pericula is taken by all the commentators as a hendiadys for certamina periculosa. Is it not possible, however, that while pericula has here its usual meaning of ‘actions at law,’ certamina may refer to less formal combats, such as those in the senate? Cp. 5. 32 eius modi certaminum rudem: also, et causis et indicis 34. 15. Pericula are contrasted with ‘privatae causae’ in Quint. vi. 1, 36.

ad consulatus evexerint. For the expression, cp. Hist. ii. 75, 8 and gregario ad summa militiae provectum: Vell. Pat. ii. 90, 1 quem usque in tertium consulatum . . . amicitia principis evexerat. Ezech in this sense is poetical: Hor. Car. i. 1, 5; Verg. Aen. vi. 130. Gudeman, who would read vel ad, rightly argues that an enumeration of some of the positions which an orator might hope to attain through his eloquence decidedly weakens the force of the passage, and therefore rejects ‘ad opes et’ (Ritter), ‘ad sacerdotia, vel praeturas et’ (Vahlen). On the other hand vel (written ε) may account for the confusion in the MSS. See Introd. p. lxxx.

4. securum et quietum. So quietis et securitas, 10. 35.

Vergilii secessum. In the last years of his life Vergil had a country-house at what is now called Posilippo, to the west of Naples. For secessum, cp. Quint. x. 3, 28 ‘silentium et secessum’.


7. versibus. The reference to the poet’s accidental presence at the performance makes it probable that some lines from one of his well-known works had chanced to be quoted in the course of a dramatic representation. Otherwise we know from Donatus (Life, ch. 26) and from Servius (on Ecl. vi. 11) that Vergil’s Eclogues, particularly the Sixth, were often rendered on the stage, probably as interludes: if this is what is meant here, forte may refer to the fact that the poet was not usually resident in Rome.

8. spectantem defines præsentem more nearly: Vergil was present as a spectator. For the repetition of the name, which is omitted by some editors, cp. Hist. ii. 101, 5 ne ab aliiis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsum Vitellium videntur: Ann. xii. 64, 10 perdita prins Domitia Lepida, muliebris causis, quia Lepida, &c.

sic quasi, ‘just as if he had been Augustus himself;’ cp. Cic. ad Fam. ix. 16, 2 ut quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentīa . . . possit. This act of homage was regarded by the emperor as his own peculiar right: cp. what Suetonius tells us about Augustus’s displeasure when it was rendered to his adopted sons; Eisdem praetextātis adhuc assurēctum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissimique questus est, Aug. ch. lvi; Plin. Panegyr. liv. 2.

9. Pomponius Secundus (for the inversion in the text see on ch. 1) was consul suffectus in A.D. 44, and defeated the Chatti as legatus in Upper Germany in 50. For this success he obtained from Claudius the ‘ornamenta triumphalia,’ but Tacitus tells us that this was not his greatest title to fame: modica pars famae eius apud posteros, in quis carinimum gloria praceelit, Ann. xii. 28 ad fin. Quintilian says of him (x. 1, 98): eorum (tragicorum) quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem sese quidem parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur. The fact that he was a man of affairs as well as a poet is often alluded to: cp. Plin. vii. § 80 in Pomponio consulari poeta: xiiii. § 83 apud P. S., vatem civenique clarissimum. His friend, Pliny the Elder, wrote his life in two books: see Plin. Ep. iii. 5.

Afro Domitio. The same inversion occurs in Quint. x. 1, 86. In § 118 Quintilian ranks him, along with Iulius Africamus, far above all contemporary orators: eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africamus longe praestantissimī. Afer was a native of Nismes, and first acquired repute by the prosecution of Agrippina’s cousin Claudia Pulchra: Tibērius declared that he was a ‘born orator’ (suo iure disertum, Ann. iv. 52, 18). He was Quintilian’s teacher and model: v. 7, 7: Plin. Ep. ii. 14.

io. dignitate vitae. Tacitus tells us in the Annals (l. c.) that he was unscrupulous, ‘modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere.’ He placed his rhetorical ability at the disposal of the government: mox capessendis accusa·tionibus aut reos tutando prosperiō eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, ibid. perpetuitate famae. Quintilian tells us that Afer would have best consulted his reputation if he had retired earlier from the practice of his profession (xii. 11, 3): cp. Tac. l. c. aetas extrema mul· tum etiam eloquentiae dempsit dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatietiam.

cesserit. For a similar use of the perfect subjunctive, cp. Quint. x. 1, 101 at non historia cesserit Graecis.

Crispus iste et Marcellus: see on 8. 1 and 5. 31.

in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? Quod timent, an quod timentur? Quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus praestant indignantur? Quod adligati omni adulatione nec imper- antibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero dulces, ut Vergilii ait, Musae, remotum a sollicitu- dinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra

12. in hac sua most codd., in hac praesenti (pnti) sua HVsp. 13. aliquid edd., aliqui^codd. vel ii Andreisen, Muller. quibus praestant codd., quibus non pr. Lipsius (Halm suggests quibus praesto non sunt, or oem nullam praestant). 14. omni Walther, cü ABE, cum CDVzH, commun Schneider, humili Schulting, Muller, canina Halm. 19. sacra codd., secreta Wolf, sacra nemora Maehly, Helmreich. illosque (istics) codd., illosque ad Ritter and most edd. (illosque frondes Haupt).

13. ii quibus praestant, sc. id, quod rogati sunt, or 'aliquid,' as with rogentur. Cp. 37. 15; 8. 6. Not a day passes but they are asked for something or other: yet successful suitors chafe under the obligations which they incur to such persons as these: their favours bring them in return nothing but bad blood. Cp. Ann. iv. 18 ad fin. — Buchholz's explanation of this passage is unnecessarily ingenious. Taking rogentur of 'inviting' and reading (for MS. aliqui) not aliquid, but in aliquid, or ab aliquo, or alicuie, he understands the allusion to be to the vexation of those who, having felt bound to invite such people as Crispus and Marcellus, found their invitation accepted: praestant or praesto sunt, or se praestanti.

14. adligati omni adulatione, 'held fast in the fetters of abject servility.' Adligati = obstricti, devincti, 'enmeshed by': cp. furto, metu, scelere aedilari. So Sen. Dial. ix. 5, 4 utique movebimur nec adligati metu torpebimus. Omni (for MSS. cum) is undoubtedly the true reading: cp. omni eruditione, 2. 14, where CEV have omni and ABHD cum. So too at 26. 28, C gives in omne, for in commune, an example of the confusion caused by the use of contractions in the archetype.

16. liberti, sc. principis.
17. ut Vergilii ait: Georg. ii. 475 Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae ... accipiant. sollicitudinibus et ouris. For the combination, cp. Cic. de Fin. v. § 57.

18. contra animum, 'against my inclination,' said of something that 'goes against the grain': Sen. Dial. ii. 19, 2.
19. in illa sacra illosque fontes. For sacra in the local sense of 'shrines' or 'sacred' precincts, 'holyplaces' ('Cultstat- ten,' John), cp. Hist. iii. 33, 16 cum omnia sacra profanaque in ignes considerant, solum Meftis templum stetit ante moenia, loco suo numine defensum: Ann. i. 51, 4 profana simul et sacra ... solo acquantur. Gudeman points out that the shrines of the Muses and a neighbouring spring are invariably associated, comparing Paus. ix. 29, 3; Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 17: Livy i. 21: Juv. i. 13 nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur, with Mayor's note ad loc. With both sacra and fontes, in probably = 'towards': cp. ad and is in Greek. In view, however, of the fact that the sanctuaries of the Muses were always located on the top of the mountains, Gudeman prefers to take in in the sense of 'up towards': cp. 10, 19 in arcem ferat: 19. 16 in caelum laudibus ferebantur. There is thus no need to insert ad before fontes, as most editors do: still less for Haupt's 'illaque frondes,' a suggestion made on the ground that in fontes must inevitably mean immersio! For fontes cp. the well-known passages Lucr. i. 227 Iuvat integros accedere fontes: Hor. Car. i. 26, 6 O quae fontibus integris Gaudes: ibid. iii. 4, 25 Vestris amicum fontibus et choris.
19. neo insanum, &c. 'Let me withdraw from the distractions and the uncertainty of the bar, and no longer expose myself with beating heart to the rapturous
et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excîtet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere;

**Quandoque enim fatalis et meas dies Veniet:**

20. **pallentem** Hb., **pallentem** AC, (‘das umgehende Volksgerede,’ John), **pallentem** BDE. **fallentem** Schurzleisch. 24. **quandoque enim** codd. (see note), **quandocumque** (om. **enim**) Put., **quandoque olim** Steiner. Ernesti, [**quandoque . . . veniet**] Ritter.

excitement of renown.' For nec with subjunctive of wish or command, cp. 22. 24 nec . . . determinet: 32. 1 nec quisquam respondeat: Hist. i. 76, 10 nec speciem adulantis expaveris: G. and G. p. 921.

**nec ultrà.** This use is common enough in Tacitus, Hist. i. 16, 9; ii. 54, 11; 62, 1: cp. Ann. i. 17, 19 nec ultra sub vexillis tenentur: v. 9, 5 neque facturam ultrà: Hist. iii. 62, 3, ne quam ultra soverent. So Livy ii. 19, 2 nec ultra bellum Latinum . . . dilatam.


20. **famam pallentem,** lit. ‘fame that blanches the cheek.’ There is no reference to fear; the phrase denotes the sickly pallor of anxious, excited desire, when the blood leaves the cheeks in the breathless excitement (trepidus) of a heart-stirring triumph. Cp. the well-known passage of Vergil (Georg. iii. 195), cum spes arret ace juvenum exsultantiaque haurit Corda pavor pulsans. So intransitively (of love of money, Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 78 ambitione mala aut argenti palleto amore: Pers. iv. 47 viso si palles, improbe, nummo: cp. Lucan iv. 96 lucrè pallida tabes: and of length of life, Juv. x. 190 hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidos optas. **Pallens** is common enough as an epithet of morbus, cura, &c.: Verg. Aen. vi. 275 pallentes morbi: cp. pallida mors, Hor. Car. i. 4, 13. **experiar,** lit. ‘make trial of’: cp. Hist. ii. 47, 4 Experti in vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. Maternus is ready to forego the raptures of renown.

**Non me,** &c. The pronoun is emphatic: sc. whatever others may do.


**anelhans libertus,** an imperial messenger with a pressing commission. Cp. Agr. xl. 6 libertum ex secretioribus ministeris missum ad Agricolam: Hist. i. 58, 2 ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita.

**incertus futuri:** lit. ‘not sure about the future,’ a genitive of respect, expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person (Roby, § 1320). So ‘incerta ul­tionis,’ Ann. ii. 75, 6; and often (like ‘anxius’) in poetry.

22. **pro pignore,** i.e. for security’s sake, referring possibly to the personal safety of the testator during life (as Gilbert) but more probably to the stability of his testamentary settlement after death. The best guarantee which a testator could take, under bad emperors, for the validity of his dispositions, was to include in these a handsome legacy to the princeps himself.

So of Rubellius Plautus, under Nero, Ann. xvi. 11, 3 nec defnere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque iia nepotibus de reliqua consulere: cp. xiv. 31, 1: Agric. xliii. 4 (a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem). Nero even passed a decree ‘ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinent’ (Suet. Ner. 32; cp. Cal. 38): and Pliny speaks of Domitian as ‘inus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus heres’ (Panegyr. xlv.). For **pignus** Wolff compares Justin. xxvi. 1, 8 senex et orbus, ut qui nec aetas nec pignoris respectu tineret. 24. **Quandoque . . . veniet.** The striking expression ‘fatales et meus dies,’ ‘the day of doom for me,’ seems to be an additional justification for Heller’s proposal (Philol. 1892, p. 348) to take these words as a verse-quotations, possibly from one of Maternus’s own tragedies. For quandoque in the sense of aliquando cp. Ann. i. 4 ad fin.: iv. 28, 3: vi. 20, 3.—**A priori** we might have expected quandoque to = quan-
statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

14. Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos esse sermonem, 'Num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum 5 consilium et causae alricus meditationem tractantibus?'


docunque, as in old formulas, e. g. Gai. Dig. 7. 5. § (ut quandoque is mortua sit, &c.) : Suet. Caes. 8r: cp. Ann. i. 6, 6: iv. 38. 3. §. If, on this interpretation, the quandoque clause is tacked on to reliqua, the enim (n) must disappear: veniet may stand (cp. t. habet, Hor. Car. iv. 3, 34). If on the other hand it is connected with what follows, we must read statuar for statuarque, and quandoque autem for quandoque enim. Another alternative is to suppress both enim and the que in statuarque, and to take quandoque as = et quando, 'and when': in support of this Gudeman quotes Livius Andronicus ap. Gell. iii. 16. 11 Quando dies adventit quem praefata morta est.

24. fatalis et meus dies. These words convey no presentiment of a violent end, and it seems wrong to strain them, with the commentators, by discovering a reference to the half-uttered forebodings of Aper (ch. 10. ad fin.). That they indicate a natural death is probable from Plin. Ep. i. 12, 1 est luctuosissimum genus mortuus, quod non ex natura nec fatalis videtur: cp. Velleius ii. 4 (where fatalis mors is opposed to' mors conflatâ insidisi') and Suet. Caes. 8q percutitorum Caesariis nemo sua morte defunctus est. In Orelli's Insr. Lat. (2023) we find also 'Hic tuus fatalis dies.' In the same way fatum frequently used of a natural death: Ann. i. 3. 12: ii. 42. 17: 71. 3. For the collocation, cp. 'longus et unus,' 17. 13.

26. statuar, lit. 'let my statue be set up': cp. Ov. Her. i. 67 inter et Aegidas media statuaris in urbe: Hist. iii. 74. 7 templum sequo in sinu deae sacraeit: Cíc. pro Arch. § 22 itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionem putatur est (Ennius) esse constitutus in marmor. Tumulo is the abl. of rest in a place: Dr. § 57.

27. consulat, sc. 'senatum': roget, sc. 'principem': 'let no one take any steps to perpetuate my memory, either by a motion in the senate or by a petition to the emperor.' Maternusdeprecated any action that would require special sanction, such as the erection of a statue in some public place (Ann. ii. 83) or a public funeral (Ann. iv. 15: vi. 11, 27). As a poet, he feels 'secure of immortality.'

Chs. 14. 15. Entrance of Messalla, leading up to the discussion of the proper subject of the Dialogue.

14. i. vixdum ... cum: quite a Ciceronian construction, e. g. ad Att. ix. 2, 4. Cp. 42. i. For the epic rhythm of 'Vixdum finierat Maternus,' Heller compares Ov. Met. ii. 47 'Vix bene desierat' (Phaethon).

concitatus et velut instinctus, 'in a sort of ecstasy of inspiration.' Cp. Quint. x. 1, 90 Lucanus ardens et concitatus: xii. 10, 24 instinctis divino spiritu vatibus: and, of Plato, non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphici ... oraculo dei instinctus x. 1, 81.

2. Vipstanius Messalla was tribune of the seventh legion in the war between Vitellius and Vespasian (69), and wrote a history of the campaign which is cited by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 25, 28) for such events as the second battle of Bedriacum and the sack of Cremona, in which Messalla had taken an active part. In Hist. iii. 9 Tacitus speaks of him in terms of high commendation: claris maioribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum arates bonas attulisset. For the fame which he acquired by his defence of his brother Aquilus Regulus, see on fratris tut, ch. 15. 4. Cp. Introduct, p. xxxiv.

5. intentione. See on sentio or ch. 11. 1.

4. parum tempestivus interveni So Catulus, in the de Oratione of Cicero (ii. § 14) nos guidem nisi forte molesti intervenimus, venisse delectat.

secretum consilium, 'private delibera-
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'Minime, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem mature intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi debebat, audentior et poeterum quam oratorum similior oratio.'

'Me vero' inquit 'et sermo iste infinita volupitate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum objectamentum, cum vobis qui ista disputatis, adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures pervenerint.'


tion. The et which follows gives a more specific definition: 'as, for example.' For meditationem (mēleūν) cp. Quint. iv. 2, 29 cum sit declamatio forensium actionum meditatio.

8. sermo . . . oratio. Cp. Quint. xii. 10. 43 Nam mihi aliun quandam videtur habere naturam sermo vulgaris, aliam viri eloquentis oratione. By the first is denoted little more than 'conversation'—a discourse in the language of ordinary life (Cic. Or. §§ 67, 184): oratio implies a higher level of effort, and a more finished style. So Cicero says of the philosophic style 'sermo potius quam oratio dicitur' Or. § 64. Thus sermo is often opposed to contentio ('sustained effort in speaking')—e.g. de Off. i. § 132: ii. § 48: de Or. iii. §§ 177, 203: and is defined in ad Herenn. iii. § 23 as 'oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni.' ingenium ac studium. So Cic. de Or. i. § 131 ingenium studiumque: PInf. Ep. ix. 14: Quint. i. 2, 16.

10. audentior supplies an antithesis to accuratissimus oratio. Hist. ii. 2, 8.

12. et . . . atque. There is no other certain instance of the use of these correlative: Dp. § 123, 4.

sermo iste. Most editors, following Andresen, add et oratio, on the mistaken supposition that, if sermo is used here in the restricted signification given to it above, the courteous Messalla would not have forgotten the oratio of Maternus. But apart from the difficulty thus arising out of the singular verb adfecisset, sermo is obviously employed in a general sense, 'conversation,' 'discourse,' 'dialogue,' 'debate': cp. altemore . . . sermonem, at the beginning of the chapter.

13. et, 'and at the same time': cp. Ann. xvi. 12, 2 liberto et accusatori, where both words refer to the same person; ii. 88, i scriptores senatorisque. For this emphatic use of oratores (as opposed to causidici, patroni, or advocati) see on ch. 1. 4: cp. on 15. 4, oratoriemesse conterenderes.—If a word is to be added, eloquentissimi seems as suitable as any: the compendium for it may have dropped out, like eloquentia in many codices, at 1, 3, and ipsa eloquentia at 8, 7.

16. ingenium alunt: cp. 33. 9. This expression occurs also in Cic. Brut. § 126: cp. Quint. i. 8, 8; ii. 5, 18; viii. pr. § 2; xii. 6, 6.

18. pervenerint. The tense is to be explained by inserting adferunt (out of adferunt) after tum etiam sis. It is the wider circle referred to also at 32, 31 (not the present hearers) that is here meant.
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Itaque hercule non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

15. Tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inirdere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepè excepti, cum obitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes parem antiquis, eo, credo, audacius

20. Africani Nipperdey, Asiatici cod. plurium ABEV,II: plurimum CAD. nam darem Halm, quam improbari Andresen. ab AB, a DCH.

19. Itaque hercule. So 30. 19; 39. 23. Africani. Iulius Africanus shared along with Domitius Afer (see on 18. 9) the reputation of being the foremost orator of his time: Quint. x. 1, 118 and xii. 10, 11. He was a native of Gaul—a son of the Africanus whom Tacitus mentions (Ann. vi. 7) as 'e Santonis Gallica civitate' (Saintonge, to the North of the lower Garonne): a grandson of his, also an orator, is referred to by Pliny, vii. 6, 11.

hominibus, 'the literary world.'

21. quam in Apro. There is a real difficulty here. If Aper is included in the compliment paid above to the 'viri optimi,' &c., on the ground of their wide literary sympathies, it seems inconsistent now to say (even in irony) that he wins approval by sticking to 'scholasticae controversiae': cp. declamatorium studium, above. On this ground the emendations 'quam damnari' or 'quam improbari' have been proposed. But Messalla is only saying that Secundus gains fully as much praise for his literary interests as Aper does from his circle of admirers for his devotion to professional rhetoric. The implied reflexion on the tendencies of the new rhetoric brings out Aper's retort.

scholasticae controversiae. Quint. iv. 2, 92 and 97: 31. 3 below, and 35.

22. novorum . . . veterum. As contrasted with the narrow views which Aper is made here to represent (cp. 2. ad fin. contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat) the orators of former days were distinguished for broad culture and wide literary sympathies. For their poetical tastes see Cic. Acad. pr. ii. 16, 51 (Serv. Sulpicius Galba): Plin. Ep. v. 3, 5 (Q. Scaevola, Hortensius, M. Iunius Brutus, C. Licinius Calvisus). Many of them studied history and law.

15. 1. Non desinis is wrongly taken as an interrogation ('Won't you give up?') with the enclitic omitted, Dr. § 31. But nam in the next sentence is against this.

vetera et antiqua. The same collocation recurs 16. 32 and 17. ad fin.

4. fratris tui. This was Aquilius Regulus, his brother probably on the mother's side. He was one of the most notorious of the delatores, and is frequently denounced by Pliny (omnia bipedum nequissimius, Ep. i. 5) both in that capacity and as a legacy hunter. His eloquence is however not denied: id. Ep. iv. 7, 4: vi. 2. Martial always mentions him with respect, e.g. i. 12: vi. 64.

5. oratorem, as opposed to horum temporum diserti, causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur, ch. 1: cp. 14. 14, 26. 15, 30. 27, 32. 9.

eo audacius quod, 'with all the greater confidence inasmuch as you had no cause to fear,' &c.
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quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputeis, alter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque coniuro. Et quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaeestionem, quia video etiam Graiis accidisse ut longius absit ab Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetes, et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concenuto scholasticorum et clamaribus quanti,

6. malignitas Rhenanus, malignis iis AB, maligni in iis C (his EV₂), maligne in his D, malignum in Δ, malignus his HSp., malignus indicis Acidalius, mal. hominis Buchholz.


8. sermonis mei = 'what I said,' paenitentiam ago. This expression is peculiar to the Silver Age : cp. Petron. 132 nec minus ego... paenitentiam agere sermonis mei coepi : Quint. ix. 3, 12 non paenitentium pro non acturo paenitentiam : Val. Max. iii. 4, 2 : Curt. viii. 6, 23.

10. disputes. The subj. after quamquam occurs again 21. 29, 26. 16, 34. 13. infix. impetratum. This participle, after velle, common enough in Cicero, is found only here in Tacitus.


13. quod quibusdam solacio est, i.e. the consciousness of 'being in the same boat.' Messalla means that the vast interval ('infinita differentia,' above) that separates the rhetoric of the present day from the golden age of Roman oratory finds a parallel in Greece: it is even more noticeable there, he says, if you consider Demosthenes and the rhetoricians of Asia Minor on the one hand, and on the other Cicero and the foremost orators of our own time. To his mind this only makes the phenomenon all the more remarkable and its explanation more difficult (augus questionem).

14. ut longius absit. Two points are really made here, and are, after the manner of Tacitus, compressed into one period. He might have written ut longe absit, and then have added atque etiam longius quam, &c.: with etiam Graiis preceding, this would even have been more logical.

15. Sacerdos Nicetes, a contemporary rhetorician who had come from Smyrna to Rome, where Pliny the Younger was his pupil; v. Ep. vi. 6, 3. See also Seneca, Suas. iii. 6 (Nicetes suo impetu valde Graecis placuerat) : Controv. ix. 25, 23, ed. Bursian. From Philostr. Vit. Soph. i. 19, 1 (ed. Kays.) we learn that his contemporaries thought him διάφανος και πνεύματος.

16. concenuto... clamaribus: of an audience shouting applause, as it were, in chorus. Cp. Fronto, Epist. ad. M. Caes. i. 8 Quantus in oratione mea clamares concitavit quantoque concenuto laudantium sit exceptum: Pline. Panegyr. ii. 6: xlvi. 2. So Quint. x. i, 17 ille
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quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis.'

16. 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestioni movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantisimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

5 Et Messalla 'Aperiam' inquit 'cognitiones meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvertis.'

'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas interlexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipsê satis manifestus est iam dudum

17. nos C. aut Asinio ABEV₂H, aut ab Asinio CAD.

16. 2. movisti Lipsius, movistis codd. explicabit ABCΔD, explicavit E and (corr. to -abit) V₂, explicaverit HVSp. edd. vett. 5. cognitiones EV₂, si BH, and (above the line) E: om. AV₂CAD.

lausantium clamor, where see note. Scholastici is here used of a professional audience, in a wide sense.

17. Afer aut Africanus. For the former see on 13.9: for the latter, 14.20. Their eminent renown involves a high compliment to those who are bracketed along with them in vos ipsi. 'Two of the interlocutors, Aper and Secundus, have already been referred to as 'celeberrima tum ingena for nostri,' ch. 2.5.

Ch. 19–23. Aper's speech in praise of the eloquence of the day as contrasted with that of former times. After an attempted definition (16–17) he refers to the changed conditions (18) and shows how a different type of oratory is required by the circumstances of the present day (19, 20), finishing with a criticism of republican eloquence, especially Cicero (21–23).

16. 3. cura et meditatio. Messalla had already given the matter 'careful consideration': cp. quas (causas) mecum ipse plerunque conquire, in the preceding chapter.

5. si illud ... impetravero. For the construction cp. 18.8 si illud ante praedixeró: 28.12. The passage seems to contain a reminiscence of de Or. i. § 27 'Ego vero' inquit Crassus 'neque Antonium verbum facere patiar et ipse ob-
mutescam, nisi prius a vobis impetrarlo — 'Quidnam?' inquit Catulus. 'Ut hic sitis hodie.' In both passages, and frequently elsewhere in Cicero (e.g. de Or. ii. § 13), inquit is several times repeated in the course of a few lines to give a familiar and conversational tone.


9. partes, 'portions,' not 'functions' (as 24. 11, 28.3), exsequit being used here of exposition, as Ann. xii. 58, 6: cp. 3, 65, 4, 4, 11, 21.

10. omisisse ... reliquisse. Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 126 si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut rectilictum sit ('accidentally' — 'intentionally'), non explices; neque te Antoni, si quid non dixeris, existimabimus non potuisse potius quam a Crasso dici maluisse.

11. manifestus est. The personal construction of this adj. with the infin. corresponds to the Greek ἄν δέλω (παρεδος) ἐκτι with a participle: cp. Ann. ii. 57, 13 dissentire manifestus. Draeger cites (§ 152) instances of the same use from Statius (Theb. x. 759) and the Digests. So with suspectus, Hist. i. 46, 5 suspectus consilia eius fovisse. Cp. iv. 34 ad fin.
in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari... Sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis. Ego enim cum audio antiquos quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor, quorum actas milie fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecessit; vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut utrique superstites esset. Ex quo apparat non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem: quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur, si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum


14. inauditum et indefensum. The same collocation occurs Ann. ii. 77. 9: Hist. i. 6. 2: and, inversely, Hist. ii. 10. 4. Furneaux notes that inauditum is not found, in this sense, before Tacitus, while indefensus is used by Livy.

17. audite. See on audito, 7, ad fin.

18. antiquos . . . veleres. As no sufficient difference can be indicated by the use of these words (which are found together as synonyms 16. 1 and again at the end of this chapter), Tacitus adds to the latter the words et olim natos. In Quintilian veleres and antiqui are both frequently used in contradistinction to novi, i.e. the writers of the post-Augustan period. Cicero is included in the former class, along with his predecessors: ix. 3, 1 omnes veleres et Cicero praeceipse.

19. mille fere et trecentis annis. Eratosthenes and others placed the Trojan War in 1193-1194, which will give 1268 or 1269 years between the commencement of the war and the date of the Dialogue (74-75 A. D.).

23. trecentos should be allowed to stand, even though it is incorrect. Aper is doing his best to make out his case. It is easy to show that as Demosthenes died in 322 B.C., at least 397 years must have intervened between his 'aetas' and the date of the Dialogue. But it suits Aper's argument to make the two periods approximate as nearly as possible: hence he emphasizes the fact that Demosthenes survived Alexander, though he does not mention that it was by only one year. By starting his calculation from the date of the death of Demosthenes, and by using nostra aetas loosely, for what we know as the post-Augustan age, he is able to finish with the words non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse. With quadringentos, which is substituted by most editors for trecentos, there would be little point in 'non multo plures quam.'

25. si . . . referas, i.e. if we take as a standard of measurement our feeble frames, and the brief span of our lives, instead of the endless ages. Natura = the real or actual constitution of the saecula. Cp. Iamblichus, Protrept. 8. 47 τι ή άτι μακρόν ή τι πολυχρόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλά διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν καὶ οἷος, καὶ βλεψίνην καὶ τούτο φανεται πολύ.

26. respectum, with referas, involves
a slight pleonasm. It is as if the writer had said si ad immensus hoc aevum respxeris: cp. 24. ad fin., effici ratio temporum collegerit: Hist. i. 32, i2 re- gressus facultatem in aliena potestate esse: Ann. iii. 3. 8 magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit.

27. perquam breve: so 'perquam breviter,' Cic. de Or. ii. § 201. Perquam occurs Ann. xii. 49, 3; xvi. 20, 3.

in proximo est. The grammatical subject is spatium temporis, but the real subject is the period with which it opens, viz. the age of Demosthenes. For in proximo, see note on in medto, 18. 2.

28. Hortensio. This lost treatise derived its name from being dedicated to Cicero's great rival: Cic. de Fin. i. i, 2 quo a nobis philosophia defensa et col- laudata est, cum esset accusata et vitu- perata ab Hortensio. A similar reference is made by Servius, ad Aen. i. 269 Tria sunt genera annorum: aut enim lunaris annus est xxx dierum aut solstitialis xii mensum aut secundum Tullium magnus, qui tenet XIXDCCCCLIII annos, ut in Hortensio: horum annorum quos in fastis habemus, magnus XIXDCCCCLIII amplex- titur. The duration of the Great Year was variously estimated; in any case it would only be completed when all the heavenly bodies came back to the same places in which they were at the begin- ning of the world: cp. the last Chorus in Shelley's 'Hellas'—'The world's great age begins anew,' &c. See Cic. de Rep. vi. 22.

29. cum maxime=hoc ipso tempore, 'at this particular moment': vén te máliosta. So 87. 7 cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur: cp. Hist. i. 29, 14: 84, 16: iii. 4. 11: iv. 55, 18: 58, 13: 65, 6: Ann. iii. 59, 11: iv. 27, 9 ('at that very moment'). The phrase occurs also in Cicero (de Off. ii. § 23: in Verr. iv. 38, § 83: Harusp. Resp. § 32) and Livy (xl. 32, 1). A fuller form is nun e cum maxime: pro Cluent. § 12: Liv. xxix. 17, 7. It is noteworthy that cum maxime is not found in Quintilian, though he has nun e maxime: ix. 4, 66 quod nunc maxime vitium est, cp. xi. 3, 57.


17. i. Menenium Agrippa, consul b. c. 503, the author of the famous apologue of the Belly and the Members, Livy ii. 32.

2. potest videri antiquus, 'may well be considered ancient,'—vetus et olim natus, 16. 18.

et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinimum et Messallam: quos quid antiquis temporibus potius adscribatis quam nostris, non 5 video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimum idus Decem- bres occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansaec et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue sex et quinqu- 


C. Licinius Calvus, a contemporary of Caelius, was the most prominent of the stricter Atticists, and is censured by Cicero in the Brutus (§§ 284–291) for the narrowness of his views. A poet himself, he was the friend of Catullus, and, like Catullus, an opponent of Caesar. Cp. 25. 18: 34. ad fin.

M. Iunius Brutus (b.c. 85–42) was more distinguished as a philosopher than as an orator (see 21. 22), though Cicero speaks of his eloquence in the language of extravagant eulogy, Brut. § 22 and elsewhere. On his philosophical works, see Cic. Acad. i. 3, 12 (with Dr. Reid’s note). He wrote, among other treatises, a discourse ‘de Virtute,’ from which Seneca quotes, Cons. ad Helv. i. 4 sqq.

Asinius Pollio: Valerius Messalla: see on 12. ad fin.

5. quid is common enough, especially in poetry, instead of cur in indirect questions.

6. de Cicerone ipso, the most illustrious of them all, so that the point proved about him will hold good for the rest.

nempe is used to affirm what no one can doubt, or what all must know: tr. ‘of course,’ or ‘as you are aware.’ So 21. 14: 35. 12.

7. For M. Tullius Tiro, Cicero’s freedman and biographer, see Teuffel-Schwabe, Rom. Lit. § 191.

septimum idus Decembr. i.e. December 7, b.c. 43.

9. se et Q. Pedium . . . suffecit. This was on August 19, b.c. 43, and on the same day fifty-six years later Augustus died. Cp. Ann. i. 9: Suet. Aug. 100.

Pedius was a nephew of Julia Caesar, and had served under him in the Gallic War.

sex et quinquaginta annos. There is some doubt about the number. Taking the date of Cicero’s death as the starting-point (cp. max, and ab interitu Ciceronis below), 56 (42 + 14) ought to be right: hence the emendation of Lipsius. Cp. Suet. Aug. 8 primum cum Antonio M.:que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadranginta solus rem p. tenuit. But then the sum does not work out properly, and we must either suppose that centum et viginti anni, below (cp. 24. 13), is a round number (which may seem strange when everything else is given in such detail) or else make an additional correction there. The Harleian MS. gives viii for sex, which would exactly square the sum, but by no method of reckoning can Augustus be said to have reigned fifty-eight years. We might make it fifty-seven, by counting from January 43 B.C., when he received the imperium and the rank of propraetor (Cic. Phil. v. 16, 45); and indeed it was usual to reckon anniversaries from the first ‘dies imperii,’ which in the case of Octavian was January 17, when he actually received the fasces, though Cicero’s proposal was made on January 1. Accordingly it has been proposed to read septem: but this seems to be vetoed by max (‘thereafter’), which shows clearly that the starting-point of the calculation is the central statement of the previous sentence, the date of Cicero’s death, or, as practically equivalent, Octa- vian’s election (se . . . suffecit). Possibly before beginning the sum with the fifty-six years credited to Augustus, the writer added one for the preceding year (cp. max): this would give a total of 119,
and it is then tempting to suppose that for viginti (xx) we ought to read undeviginti (xix). See, however, Introd. pp. xii sqq.


prope quadriennium, i.e. from March 16, 37 to Jan. 24, 41.

12. Claudii et Neronis. The former reigned from Jan. 25, 41 to October 13, 54; the latter from the date last-named to June 8 or 9, 68.

13. longum et unum annum: (cp. solus et unus, 34. 30) a memorable characterization of the eventful year in which the legions assumed the constitutional functions of the senate and people of Rome, ‘evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri’ (Hist. i. 4, 9). Cp. the introduction to the Histories: esp. ch. ii. ‘Opus agricola optimus caesarius’; ch. xi. ad fin., ‘annum sibi ultimum rei publicae prope supremum.’ If we count from Nero’s death to the downfall of Vitellius (Dec. 20, 69) the period extends really over eighteen months: but it was as early as in the beginning of July 69 that the standard of Vespasian was raised in Egypt and Palestine.

sextam . . . stationem. In late Latin statio came to be used for an office or position, and especially the principate itself: Suet, Claud. 38, Velleius, ii. 124, Plin. Panegyr. 7 and 86: Antoninus Pius ad Front. vi. (ed. Naber), p. 168, hunc diem quo me suscipere hanc stationem (principatus) placuit: so ‘statio imperatoria,’ Lampridius, Life of Commodus. Cp. Ov. Trist. ii. 219, ‘scilicet imperii, princeps, statione relicta.’ Even by Cicero it was employed to indicate, on the analogy of its military associations, a post from which a watch must be maintained,—de Sen. § 73 de praesidio et statione vitae dedecere: cp. Lucan i. 44 (of Nero) cum statione peracta Astra petes serus (‘when thy watch is over’): Vell. Pat. ii. 131 protegit hunc statum, hanc pacem, hunc principem, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinare successores quam serenissimos. But there is a distinct peculiarity here about the use of stationem with sextam. Perhaps there is a reference to the fact that the tribunitia potestas had to be renewed to the emperor every year, and that on the first day of every new year the magistrates and senators took the oath of allegiance (in acta iurant). This would give the idea of the princeps being confirmed in his ‘post’ from year to year, and taking over with it, each year, the obligation of watching over the safety of the realm. Each year thus formed a statio in the emperor’s reign. Vespasian began to rule on Jan. 1, 70, so that he is now in the ‘sixth stage’ of his principate.—Some propose to take sextam as ‘sixthly,’ according to the order of enumeration—(1) Augustus; (2) Tiberius; (3) Caligula; (4) Claudius and Nero; (5) Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; (6) Vespasian. This would require a different explanation of statio, and it is, moreover, inadmissible, not only grammatically, but also as not giving the definite data required for ‘in hunc diem colliguntur.’—With adice, above, there is a slight zeugma: sex stationes would have been more regular, or else we may supply respite, considera, out of adice.

15. centum et viginti: ‘only 120.’ As a matter of fact, apart from the above enumeration, 116 years (42 + 74) is the interval which separates the death of Cicero from the sixth year of Vespasian’s reign. See Introd. p. xiv.
16. colliguntur. So, of the result of a calculation, Germ. xxxvii. 9 ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. A somewhat similar use occurs ch. 24. below, ad fin. Tr. 'The result arrived at is,' &c.

17. fateretur. The subjunctive is not so much by the form of reported speech (cp. qui see . . . narrabit, below) as by the idea contained in the relative, 'so old that': cp. canerent, defendentur 12. 13. For fateri in the sense of declarare (with acc. and inf.) cp. Ann. i. 13, 20 fateretur suscipi a se imperium: ii. 13, 6: so Quintilian (who also uses praefieri) i. 6, 23; 10. 37: vii. 1, 56.

21. potuit. This use of the perfect indicative in such clauses indicates the possibility (or duty, obligation, &c.) more unconditionally than the pluperf. subj. would do: e.g. Liv. xxii, 12 deleri totus exercitus potuit si fugientes persecuti victores essent. Roby, § 1566.

22. actionibus, 'pleadings,' as at 32. 13.

congiario. The last largess to the people was given in the name of Titus, A.D. 73. These 'congiaria' were originally gifts of oil, wine, &c. (Liv. xxv, 2, 8; Plin. N. H. xiv. 14, 17): for other instances of money donations, cp. Ann. iii. 29, 11: xii. 41, 7: xiiii. 21, 7. See also the Monumentum Ancyranum, iii. 7-21: Marquardt, Staatsver. ii. 104. The donationum was different, being specially used of a largess to the soldiers.

hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis actas. Nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanni arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum qui armatus C. Caesari restitit vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinimum audiri potuisse (nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad

23. plerosque, 'a number of,' 'many.' See on 2. 10.


24. colligi: cp. 33. 19 per quae colligitur: 27. 2.

25. nam, &c. This parenthesis has greatly exercised the critics, who have proposed various methods of correcting Aper's mistake. It is undoubtedly that Corvinus died in A.D. 8, and that Pollio died in A.D. 5: both of them might therefore have been said to have lived 'almost to the close of' the reign of Augustus. In order to justify the language of the text, Corvinus would need to have died about B.C. 14! Little is gained by transposing the names (Borghesi) in order to bring out the fact that it was Pollio who died first: 'in medium usque A. principatum' is really as incorrect for him as it is for Corvinus, though et ... et in the previous clause seems to show that the speaker at first meant to place Pollio first in point of time (cp. 17. 3). We must regard the statements in the text as another illustration of Aper's liability to error.

Gudeman proposes to reject the parenthesis altogether as an interpolation, based probably on 38. 19 ab ipso tamen Pol-
extremum duravit) : ne dividatis saeculum, et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.

18. Haec ideo praedixi ut, si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriae laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni

27. veteres codd.: recentes Eckstein, Baehrens, Müller, Novak. 

3. Most edd. (following Schulting and Ritter) give aut C. Laelio aut C. Carboni, on the ground of a comparison of 25. 31; but the addition of aut C. Laelio seems unnecessary.

lione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitate (sc. orationes). But on the whole it seems improbable that any one who took the trouble to insert such an interpolation would have failed to make it correct.

in medium usque. Nowhere else does Tacitus use in . . . usque in a temporal sense; and Gudeman uses this as an argument for the elimination of the parenthesis: he also challenges the change from in to ad. Quintillian has ‘in illum usque diem,’ ‘usque ad ultimum,’ and many similar expressions.

27. duravit = vitam perduxit: cp. Ann. iii. 16, 8 narratum ab iis qui nostram ad ivventum duraverunt, and possibly also Agr xliv. 15 durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem. The word cannot possibly have any other meaning: cp. Quint. i. § 21 inde durat ad nos usque, and frequently.—In order to save Aper’s accuracy, it has been proposed to substitute duravit for —floruit, and to understand it as indicating the period during which Corvinus and Asinius continued in full activity at Rome. But though Pollio may have done little in public after about 17 B.C., we know from Suetonius (Aug. § 8) that it was Messalla who, in the year B.C. 2, proposed in the senate that the title Pater Patriae should be conferred on Augustus. This fact has been made an argument for reversing the names, still taking duravit as = floruit, so that it would be Corvinus, not Asinius, who ‘paene ad extremum duravit.’ So John and Wolff: but duravit can hardly stand the interpretation thus given.

ne dividatis, ‘so that you must not make two ages out of one.’ The expression really implies an ellipse, sc. haec dico ne: cp. Quint. x. 1, 45 facile est autem studiois qui sint his simillimi judicare, ne quisquam queratur, &c., ‘so that no one need complain.’ Gudeman contends that the removal of the parenthesis makes the ellipse more natural and easy.

28. quos. For the omission of the demonstrative, cp. 5. 15 studium quo.

29. coniungere et copulare, i.e. with the present day. The meaning is thus given by Orelli: ‘quos una hominum aetas, qui memoria sua totum vitae spatium ampletuntur, agnoscre ac velut coniungere potuit cum eis quos ad ultimam iam senectutem provesta nostris temporibus vidit.’

18. i. fama gloriae. These synonyms are frequently found together: e.g. Sall. Jug. iv. 6 famam atque gloriem.

2. temporibus adquiritur: lit. ‘accrues to the times,’ or is reflected on them. Cp. Hist. ii. 76, 8 cui summum decus adquiratur.

in medio sitam (positam), ‘common property,’ i.e. common to both epochs.—The great extension of the use of such adverbial phrases (cp. in proximo 16. 27) in post-Augustan times points to the influence of Greek analogy (by κοινον, &c.): cp. in obscuru, in ambiguo, in promissuo, in aequo, in communi.

3. Servius Sulpicius Galba, consul B.C. 141, was one of the contemporaries of Laelius and Scipio the Younger. He was prosecuted in B.C. 149 for atrocious cruelty and treachery to the Lusitanians, but secured an acquittal, though the charge was supported by Cato the Censor (Cic. de Or. i. § 227, Brut. § 89). As an orator Cicero ranks him very high: e.g. Brut. § 89 Sed inter hos . . . sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia praestitit: de Or. i. § 40 divinum hominem in dicendo.

C. Papirius Carbo, consul B.C. 120. He had originally belonged to the party of Ti. Gracchus, but deserted it for the
cause of the Optimates. In the year after
his consulship he was driven to commit
suicide, having been prosecuted on some
charge not distinctly specified, in con-
nexion with which Crassus made his first
public appearance (see 34. ad fin.). In
the Brutus, §§ 163-5, Cicero praises his eloquence and industry : industrium etiam
diligentem et in exercitationibus com-
mentationibus multum operae solitum
esse ponere: cp. ibid. et Carbonis et
Gracchi habemus orationes nondum satis
splendidas verbis, sed acutas prudentiae-
que plenissimas : § 159 C. Carbonem
eloquentissimum hominem.
4. horridi. Horridus is the opposite
of nitidus, which is specially used of
what is made to look bright by the trouble
taken over it : cp. Cic. Orat. § 36 ; de Or.
iii. § 51 ; Brut. § 238 non valde niens,
non plane horrida oratio. Cp. also horrida
inculteque, Orat. § 28.
5. impoliti et rudes. So Cic. Or.
§ 20 impoliti et consulto rudium similes
et imperitorum. And of Cato's speeches,
Brut. § 294 significant enim quandam
formam ingenii, sed admodum impolitam
et plane rudem. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 66 (of
Aeschylius) rudis in plerisque et incom-
positis.
nulla parte, in nothing' : cp. Quint.
i. 10 , 4 perfecti illius ex nulla parte ces-
santis. Cp. 21. 19 ex ea parte qua. In
hac parte is also common in Quintilian:
see on x. 1, 64, and cp. Cic. Sex. Rosc.
§ 135: nulla ex parte, Cluent. §§ 96, 98.
6. imitatus esset. Gudeman proposes
to alter this to miratus esset, asking ' who
ever heard that Caelius or Calvus or
Cicero imitated ultra parte the uncoch,
rugged, and unpolished style of any of
their early predecessors?' But see Quin-
tilian x. 1, 40 Paucos enim vel potius vix
ullum ex his qui vetustatem pertulerunt
existimo posse repetiri, quin iudicium ad-
hibentibus adlaturus sit utilissimi alicquid,
cum se Cicero ab ills quoque vetustissi-
mis auctoribus, ingeniosis quidem, sed
arte carentibus, plurimum fateatur ad-
nitum: Cic. Or. § 169 quae quidem (sc. an-
tiquitas) apud me ipsum valet plurimum:
and specially the eulogy of Cato in the
Brutus, §§ 65-69. So too Seneca apud
Gell. xii. 2 (Fragmenta iii) Apud ipsum
quoque Ciceronem invenies etiam in prosa
oratione quaedam ex quibus intelligas
illum non perdidisse operam quaod En-
nium legit. There is therefore nothing
'preposterous' about the statement that
Cicero himself was found among the
imitators of these early orators : cp. 22.
10 nam priores orationes eius non carCT
vitii antiquitatis.
7. fortius iam et audentius. Aper
is warming to the work of proving the
case for contemporary eloquence : cp.
manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium
acclini, &c., ch. 16. 11. He begins with
the general statement that oratory changes
with the times. But so far from implying
decadence and deterioration, such change
really involves progress and continuous
development.

si illud ... praedixero, as at 28. 11,
where there is also a similar pleonasm
(prius praedixero). See on 16. 6.
9. Catoni seni, the Censor (234-149
B.C.). Cicero says of him in the Brutus
(§ 61) nec vero habeo quemquam anti-
quorum, cuius quidem scripta profunda
putem : cp. for the character of his elo-
quence, ib. § 69.
plenior et ulterior. This character-
ization of Gracchus is taken from the
Brutus, § 125 : noli enim mutare quem-
quam, Brute, pleniorem aut ulteriorum ad
dicendum fuisse. There is the same collo-
cation (plenior et ulterior) Ann. xii. 60. 4.
Uber (doby) is the opposite of exitus, de
Or. i. § 84, and ictus, de Opt. Gen.
Or. iii. § 4. For the eloquence of Gaius
Gracchus, see the Brutus, l.c, especially
Eloquencia quidem nescio an habuisse
parem neminem (diutius si vixisset) : de
Or. iii. § 214: Holden on Plut. Tib.
Gracch. ch. ii.
10. **politiar et ornatori.** 'more finished and more ornate.' *Politus* is the opposite of *rudis,* Quint. ii. 12, 3: cp. politus scriptor atque artifex, Cic Or. § 172. There is a similar collocation in Cic. de Or. i. § 31 ornata oratio et polita.

The best definition of *ornatus* is to be found in Cic. de Or. iii. § 53 qui distincte, qui explicate, qui abundanter, qui illuminante et rebus et verbis dicunt et in ipsa oratione quasi quendam numerum versusque conficiunt, id est quo dico *ornare:* where Wilkins says that the word includes 'clearness, artistic development of the theme, copiousness, brilliant thoughts and phrases, and a rhetorical and periodic style.' 

*C. Quint.*

**Crassus,** L. Licinius (B.C. 140-91) was the most illustrious of Roman orators before Cicero, who in the De Oratore makes him the mouthpiece of his own views and opinions. For his eloquence see de Orat. i. § 155; ii. § 4; iii. § 70; Brut. § 143 sq.: *erat* (Crasso) ... latine loquendi accurata et sine molestia diligentis elegantia.

**distinctior,** 'more luminous,' here of the speaker, more usually of his speech: Quint. v. 14, 33 sermonae puro et dilucido et distincto, et immediately below distincta ac perspicua esse debere argumenta. In Brut. § 69 *distinctus* rather = *ornatus* than, as here, 'dilucido': cp. de Or. i. § 50 compositam orationem et ornatum et articulam quoque ad expolitionem distinctam. In Cicero the adverb *distincte* is, however, common enough in the sense of 'clearly,' e.g. de Or. iii. § 53, quoted above, where Wilkins says that it 'seems to differ from *plane* by denoting the clearness which comes from a skilful arrangement, as distinguished from the intelligibility of simple language.' In Vulg. 4 Esdr. 12, 8, *distinctio = clear meaning:* ostende servo tuo mihi interpretationem et distinctionem visus horribilis huius.

**urbanior,** 'more refined.'

**mitior.** *Lenis* is more frequently used in this sense. The reference is to what Quintilian calls (x. 1, 44) the 'lene et nitidum et compositum genus' dicendi, and Cicero 'placida, summissa, lenis' oratio, de Or. ii. § 183—which that has more *suavitatem* than *nervi* (Cic. Or. § 91): and in this connexion *lenis* is frequently opposed (as probably *mitis* here) to such words as *vehemens,* *acer,* *intentus,* *asper.*

So Quint. xi. 1, 31 mite (as opp. to audax) eloquentiae genus: vi. 2, 19 dicendi genus placidum ac mite: Cic. de Off. i. 3, of Demetrius Phalereus, 'orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen.' *Mitii* in the sense of 'mellow' is probably different, though the commentators quote Cic. Brut. § 288 ipse enim Thucydides id posterius fuisse multo maturior fuisse et mitior.

**dulciior,** 'more pleasing.' So of the charm of Herodotus, Cicero in the Hortensius, 'quid enim aut Herodoto dulcis aut Thucydidie gravius!': cp. Quint. x. 1, 73, and note. Andresen quotes Cic Or. § 32, of Xenophon's style, 'melle dulciior sed a forensi strepitu remotissimus.'

12. **magis elaboratus.** So Seneca, Controv. ii. 12, 8 Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus. Quintilian's judgment of Cicero may be cited: At Messalla nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferos in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor (x. 1, 113). In the Brutus (§ 246) Cicero says of him, M. Messalla minor natu quam nos, nullo modo inopos, sed non nimir ore estus genere verborum: he also praises his industry, cp. Epist. ad Brut. i. 15, 1. 

**Elaboratus,** more usually of an author's style than of the author himself: e.g. Quint. ix. 4, 1.

13. **interim,** for the present, i.e. till I come to the main part of my discourse; a comparative estimate of the ancients and the moderns.

**probasse.** The frequent use of the infinitive after such adjectives as *contentus* (and also after verbs) is a characteristic of the Silver Age. Other examples of this construction with *contentus* will be found in 28. 6 and 26. 7. It seems to have been adopted from the usage of poetry (e.g. Ovid, Metam. i. 461), and is very common in Quintilian. For the perf. infin. of a completed action, cp. Agr. iii. 18: xiv. 17.
vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species desprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num dubitamus inventos qui prae Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens et parum

14. in B (above the line): om. cett. codd. 17. prae Groslotius, pro codd. 20. supra codd., super Halm, Müller.

15. statim, of logical consequence, as frequently continuo in Cicero: 'it does not at once follow that,' &c. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 24 neque id statim legenti persuasum sit, i. e. do not let the reader 'run away with the notion that,' &c. The use of protinus in Quintilian furnishes an exact analogy: x. 1, 3 non autem ut quidquid praecepsue necessarium est sic...maximi protinus erit momenti: cp. § 42; § 22.

16. vetera semper in laude. So Velleius i. 92, 4 Praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur, et his nos obruit illis instru credimus. For similar protests against a slavish and indiscriminating admiration of antiquity, cp. Ann. iii. 55, 20 nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque setas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit: i. 85 ad fin. (of Arminius) Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi. In his note on the latter passage, Mr. Furneaux gives a quotation from the conclusion of Hobbes' 'Levisathan,' which is even more apposite here, where literature is under discussion: 'The praise of ancient authors proceeds not from the reverence of the dead, but from the competition and mutual envy of the living.'

17. num dubitamus inventos, i. e. in the time of Cato, as is clear from the sequence of ideas. The construction of dubito with acc. and infin. (for expression of doubt) belongs to the usage of the Silver Age, and is especially common in Tacitus and Quintilian. It occurs indeed in Livy and Nepos, but never in Caesar or Sallust, and in Cicero only in doubtful instances (see note on Quintilian, x. 1, 73).

prae Catone. Prae makes magis distinctly pleonastic; cp. however Livy ix. 7, 6, where magis is generally taken with the comparative tristior. Pro has been defended as if the writer had at first intended to use some such word as legerent (28. 7), or mirarentur: but the sentence is too short for such an anacoluth. Cp. Verg. Aen. i. 347 ante alios immensier omnes, &c.

18. Appius Claudius Caecus, censor 312. His speech against making peace with Pyrrhus is referred to in Cic. Brut. § 61; de Senect. § 16.

19. obtrectatores. Besides Calvus and Brutus, mentioned below, there were the Asinii, father and son, and also Caelius. These were all Atticists of the severer type, who considered the fulness and richness of Cicero's style turgidity and bombast, and pointed to the excessive attention which they alleged that he paid to rhythm as proving that he was really an Asianist in disguise. Cp. note on Quint. x. 1, 105.

inflatus et tumens. An exactly parallel passage is Quint. xii. 10, 12 quem tamen et omnium homines temporum incesere anehand ut tumidio per Asinanum et redundantem et in repetitiornis nitium et in salibus aliqunuo frigidum et in compositione fractum, exsultantem ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliori. So Cicero of himself, Brut. § 316 nimis redundantes nos et superfluentes iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia.

20. pressus, 'concise' (premo) or ' terse.' The figure is taken from the process of pruning: premere tumentia, Quint. x. 4, 1. So in Cic. de Or. ii. § 96 'oratio pressior' is opposed to 'luxuries quaedam quae stilo depaseenda est.' Cp. Quint. xii. 10, 16 (Attici) pressi et integri (Asiani) inflati et inanes: Cic. Brut. § 51 parum pressi et nimis redundantes; ib. § 202 cavenda presso illi oratori inopia et leunitas.

exsultans, lit. 'bounding.' The word
Atticus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est reprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et attritum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut


is opposed to compositus (see on Quint. x. 2, 16), and indicates a style in which excessive care is bestowed on the matter of arrangement, resulting in a sort of 'hop, skip, and jump' movement; cp. saltare in Quint. ix. 4, 142. So Cic. de Or. iii. § 36 (Theopompum) exul tantem verbum audacia reprimebat (Isocrates): Or. § 26. The figure is generally understood to be taken from the bounding movement of a fiery horse.

parum Atticus. So 'Asianum' in the passage quoted from Quintilian, above: cp. Cic. Brut. § 284. The rigid Atticists who attacked Cicero made the 'plainness' of Lysias their model: but they seem to have ignored, as Mr. Sandys has pointed out (Introd. to Orator, p. lxxi), the difference between the two languages, between the power and breadth and compass of Greek as compared with the more limited resources of Latin.

21. utique, 'of course.' Cp. 30. 10 Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, &c.

22. epistulas. These letters are no longer extant.

23. exsanguem. So Quint. x. 1. 115 inveni qui Ciceroni eredent eum nimia contra se calumniar verum sanguinem perdideris: where the reference is to a passage in the Brutus (§ 283) in which Cicero says that Calvus was 'too minute and nice in his self-criticism, losing the very life-blood of style for fear of tainting its purity.' Cp. Cic. ad Fam. xv. 21 § 4 multae erant et recondita litterae, vix non erat.

et attritum, 'attenuated.' This reading, which is nearest that of the MSS., seems to be quite appropriate alongside of exsanguis: the word expresses the 'overdone' style characteristic of Calvus. For the figure involved cp. Plin. Ep. v. 10 § 3 perfec tum opus absolutumque est, nec iam splen dicescit lima sed attritum: Quint. x. 4, 4 ut opus pollat lima, non exterat: Plin. Ep. ix. 35, 2 nimia cura

deterit magis quam emendat. So in the passage of the Brutus, quoted above, Cicero goes on to speak of the style of Calvus as too 'fine-drawn,' oratio nimia religione attenuata.—On the other hand, the generally accepted conjecture et aridum is supported by e.g. Quint. xii. 10. 14 aridi et exsuccii et exsangues (cp. ad Herenn. iv. 11, 16), and by the frequent instances of the combination of aridus with such words as ieiunus, exile, siccus, tenues, &c. Brutum. See on 17. 4.

24. otiosum, 'spiritless,' 'wanting in point,' 'tedious,' 'wearisome.' So 22. 11: cp. 21. 26 where Brutus is stigmatized as 'dull and tedious,—lentitudo et tepor being the words used. In Quintilian otiosus is of frequent occurrence: x. 1, 76 (of Demosthenes) nihil otiosum, 'everything is to the point': otiosae sententiae (i. 1, 35) are copy-book headings that have no point. Sen. Ep. 100, 11 exibunt multa nec ferent et interdum otiosa praeteri labetur oratio.

diiunctum, 'disjointed,' i.e. wanting in well-rounded periods. Gerber and G nieruchomości are the word as in minutes sententiae divisum et periodorum ambitum carentem. Cp. διεξόμενον, Aquila Rom. 36, 37.—Adiunctio and Disiunctio (Cic. de Or. iii. § 207) are figures known in rhetoric: see ad Herenn. iv. 27 disiunctio est cum eorum de quibus dicimus aut utrumque aut unum quodque certo concluditur verbo, sic: 'populus Romanus Numan tum delevit, Carthaginem sustulit, Corinthum disiectit, Fregellas evertit.' Similarly disiunctio is defined by Quintilian (ix. 3. 45) as 'nominem idem significantum separatio': cp. συνωφυία: see his exx. ad loc.

rursusque: so Germ. xviii. ad fin.


solutus, the opposite of adstrictus,
ipsius verbis utar, tamquam fractum atque elumbem. Si me interroges, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse; sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotiis est.

19. Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium**

Equidem Cassium, quem reum faciunt, quem primum adfimant flexisse ab ista vetere atque directa dicendi via, non ininfiritate

27. interroges ABEDH, interrogas CD. 28. veniam EVGCDH, venias 

19. 3. Equidem Cassium is supplied in the text: the codd. and edd. give (with or

without indication of lacuna) qui usque (ACDEHVg, [qui] usque B) ad Cassium

.... . quem reum factiunt, quem &c. Vahlen suggested ad Cassium [Severum elo-

quentiam aequali et uno tenore processisse statuunt, Cassium] quem r. f. For quem

reum, Put. gives Severum: hence most edd. Cassium Severum quem primum, &c.

4. ista AB, illa CHEV, directa dicendi most codd., dicendi directa B, dicendi via

directa H Sp. and edd. vett.

'loose,' 'flabby.' So with mollis Cic. Brut. § 225 : with fenus Quint. i. 2, 8: with
delictus id. xi. 3, 146. Of the absence of moral restraint, Ann. xvi. 18,
6: xi. 31, 8 (solutur luxu): i. 50 ad fin. (ne pac quidem nisi languida et soluta
inter temulentos): Lucan Phars. vii. 514.

evervem for the more classical enervatam, as in Cic. Tusc. iv. 17, 38: so
Quint. ix. 4, 142 effeminatam et eren-
vem compositionem. Cp. Quintilian (as quoted above) 'paene viro molliore.'

26. fractum: not as 'in compositione fractum' Quint. xii. 10, 12 (quoted above),
but in the sense of 'mollem,' 'effeminatum.' A similar expression occurs in regard to music Quint. i. 10,
31 effeminata et impudicis modis fracta: cp. Ann. xiv. 20, 20 fractos sonos = kata-
keklaumene Δήλη, of effeminate or falsetto

strain.


Cic. Or. § 231, where we have delumbare
for to 'weaken'; Sandys refers to Per-
sius i. 104, and cites delumbis as an epithet of dictio from Sidonus, Ep. viii. 16. For
e privative cp. etinguis 96, 34, egolidus,
&c.

19. 1. Nam quatenus, &c. The
lacuna which the text assumes was
probably caused by the recurrence in the
archetype of the name Cassium, which
may have caught the eye of the copyist.
Vahlen's method of supplying what is
wanting is however open to the objection
that it makes a very unwieldy sentence.
The missing words may very possibly have
anticipated 'illus dicendi genus,' below; and the qui in qui usque ad
Cassium probably refers to admiratores
rather than to terminus. On these pre-
suppositions, the passage might be re-
constructed somehow as follows: Nam
quatenus ... solent, qui usque ad Cas-
sium [Severum volunt eloquentiam aequali
et uno tenore processisse, libet quaerere
quibus ille de causis novum dicendi genus
inchoare ausus sit. Equidem Cassium]
quem reum factiunt, quem primum, &c.
Another suggestion is to take hunc as
masc. and to delete qui usque ad.
In any case, the sentence connects closely
with 'agere enim fortius et audentius
volo' and 'nunc mihi cum universis ne-
gotium est' in the preceding chapter: nam
introducing a criticism on Cassius that is
intended to lay down the line of
divergence between the ancients and the
moderns.

terminum ... constituere. Cp. Cic.
de Amic. § 56 constituendi sunt quasi
termini.

2. Cassium Severus. He was born
about 50 B.C., and acquired an evil
notoriety under Augustus for his scur-
rilous lampoons, in punishment for which
he was banished, first to Crete and after-
wards to Seriphos, where he died in
the twenty-fifth year of his exile (A.D. 34)
: Ann. iv. 21, i2 : i. 72, 13. Cp. Quint. x. 1,
116 multa, si cum iudicio legatur, dubit
imitatione digna Cassius Severus, &c.,
with the notes ad loc.

4. flexisse. The intransitive use of
this verb (as in Vergil and Livy: cp.
deflectere, Cic. in Verr. v. § 176) is quite
Tatian. With a similar meaning Cicero
5 ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad illud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Videbat namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condiciione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis


says of Demetrius Phalereus 'hic primus infexit orationem (Brut. § 38): cp. Quint. x. 1, 80 is primum inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur.

4. directa. Recta would have been less uncommon, and is therefore more improbable. The reference is to a straight-forward style, direct and natural, and free from all circumlocution or meretricious ornament. So in Quintilian 'sermo rectus' (ii. 5, 11) and 'simplex rectumque loquendi genus' (ix. 3, 3) are used as indicating a style which aims at clear and effective expression, apart from all embellishment and trickery: cp. ix. 2, 78 nam rectum genus adprobabili nisi maximis viribus non potest: haec deverticula et anfractus suffugia sunt infirmitate, et sqq. For directa via cp. Cic. pro Cael. § 41 unum directum iter ad laudem: it finds an antithesis in 'novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus,' 21 below. Guddeman is therefore quite wrong in thinking that directa 'admits of no rational explanation,' and in rejecting aliqua directa as an interpolation.

non infirmitate, &c., 'not from any defective ability or want of literary training,'

6. iudici, of sound judgment, as again, at 34. 9.


namque, in the second place, as in Livy, Curtius, Pliny the Elder, and frequently in Quintilian: cp. Verg. Aen. v. 733: x. 614. So Ann. i. 5, 14 acribus namque custodius.

paule ante, 'mutari cum temporibus,' 18. 8.

7. aurium, of the popular 'ear' or 'taste': cp. Ann. xiii. 3, 8 ingenium... temporis eius auribus accommodatum. Et diversitate aurium is not really coordinate with condiciione temporum: it is rather the result of changed circumstances. Translate, 'the spirit of the age and the consequent change in popular taste.' Cp. diversissimarum aurium, 34. 16.

9. impeditissimarum. This use of the word is best explained by Quint. viii. 6, 42 (Meister) Nam fit longa et impedita (sc. oratio) ubi congestioribus eam iungas similem agmini totidem lixas habenti quot miltes, cui et numerus est duplex nec duplum virium. As applied to speeches, it means 'overweighted,' i.e. with superfluous detail.


11. eximere = consumeret. Cp. on 38, 3 nemo intra paucissimas horas peroro cogebaratur. A speaker who wished to 'kill' a proposal, whether in the senate or in the popular assembly, had only to prolong his oration till sunset, when the meeting stood adjourned. Cp. Cic. ad Quint. Fr. ii. 1, 3 Claudius rogatus diciente diem eximere coepit: Tull. § 6: Livy i. 50, 8: Plin. Ep. v. 21, 2.—For the subjunctive of cases frequently recurring (as often in Tacitus, and even Livy, after cum, quoties, seu, &c.), see Draeger, §§ 159, 165: Madvig, § 359: Roby, § 1716. So videreetur et insereret below.

longa principiorum praeparatio = long preparatory introductions.' Quint. iv. 2, 55 hoc faciunt et illae praeparationes, cum reus dicitur robustus, armatus, sollicitus, contra infirmos, infirmes, securos: ix. 2, 17: iv. 1, 62 nec minus evitanda est immodica eius (principii)
DIALOOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

altera repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus, et qui quid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur et ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. At herclea pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina

longitudo, ne in caput excrevisse videatur et quo praeparare debet fatiget.

narrationis alte repetita series, lit. 'the thread of the narrative carried far back': far-fetched statements of the case. Narratio was the second of the five parts of an oration: exordium, narratio, probatio, refutatio, peroratio.

ostentatio: the 'parade' or 'display' of numerous heads. Quint. vii. 1, 1 divisio rerum pluralis in singulas, partitio singularum in partes discretio: cp. id. iv. 5 where partitio is the generic term used.

mille argumentorum gradus, 'the countless stages of the proof.' Cp. 20. 6 cursum argumentorum.

13. Hermagorae. The reference here is probably to the greatest of the rhetoricians who bore this name, mentioned by Cicero in de Invent. i. 6, 8, ibid. 9, 12, Brutus, §§ 263, 271, and frequently by Quintilian. Some time in the second century B.C., he drew up an elaborate system of rhetoric, which was afterwards very generally followed. 'It concerned itself almost exclusively with inventio, with the discovery of arguments as opposed to style, and it dissected with ingenious subtlety the different kinds of issues raised, more particularly in the forensic branch of oratory' (Sandys, Introd. to Orator, p. xxxvii). It is often represented as having been too subtle and scholastic to be of service for the practical training of the statesman or the advocate. Cp. with aridissimis here, Quint. iii. ii. 11, 21–22.—There was a younger Hermagoras (Quint. iii. i, 18, cp. § 16) who also wrote a treatise τετραγωνοποιηθείς in six books. Though his followers were called, though the name of his master, Theodoret, in opposition to the Apolloborei, or school of Apollodorus, it is more probable that Tacitus is referring here to the elder Hermagoras, whose influence was so great on Cicero and the former generation of orators.

14. Apollodori. This was Apollodorus of Pergamum, the friend and teacher of Octavianus, who took him with him (Suet. Aug. 89) in a journey he made from Rome to Apollonia in B.C. 45. See again Quint. iii. 1, 17.

odoratus. The dict. give only one other example of this use, from Lactantius (vii. 11, 11) veritatem leviter odorari. Odorati = libere, to get a smattering of, 'dip into.' Wolff compares Cic. ad Att. iv. 16, 11 res fluit ad interregnum, et est nonnullus odor dicturae, 'there is something like a dictatorship in the air.'

locum, 'common-place': a topic or reflection not peculiar to the case in hand, but of a more general character: cp. 20. 16, 22. 6. 'Any subject or topic of a general character that is capable of being variously applied and constantly introduced on any appropriate occasion is a locus communis; any common current maxim or alternative proposition. . . . Again, invicta, avaritia, testes inimici, potentes amici (Quint. v. 12, §§ 15, 16) may furnish loci communis; or they may be constructed de virtute, de officio, de aequo et bono, de dignitate, utilitate, honore, ignominia, and on other moral topics (Copie's Introd. to Arist. Rhet. p. 130). Cp. Cic. de Invent. ii. § 48: de Or. iii. § 106; Or. § 126.

15. cortina. Videtur αγιος basilicarum in quibus iudicia centumviralia habebatur significari, Halm. The word, which is used for a 'vault,' or 'dome,' certainly indicates here some round space available for the accommodation of the public.
CORNELII TACITI

20 quaestam adsistat quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium auriuam effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure aut legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiant tempora sed constituent, nec exspectant habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgressa tempor revocant et festinare se testantur.

20. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infrimite valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvin? Quis quinque in

20. quiin Muretus, quiu cod. etsi codd., si Acidaliius. 23. aut AB, et EV, CADH: (see Introd. p. lvii). 24. exspectandum EV, CAH, expectando D, expectantem AB.

20. etsi non ... at certe, as Ann. xii. 39, 15. More commonly si non ... at certe, Germ. xxiii. 8: Hist. iv. 58, 36: Quint. Fr. § 2: xii. 11, 31.

21. imbutus: as we speak of a 'tincture' of learning. The opposition to in-situtus ('fully equipped') reminds us of the etymological meaning of imbure, 'to make to drink for the first time,' hence 'stain,' 'tinge.' See Wilkins on de Orat. ii. § 162 alicui iam imbutus usu: Cic. Phil. v. 7, 20 cum semel gladium sanguine imbisset: Tusc. i. 14 an tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es? Cp. Sen. Dial. xii. 17, 4 Utinam ... voluisset te praeceptis sapientiae erudiri potius quam imbini: Quint. i. 2, 16 litteris saltem leviter imbutus. Cp. on 2. 14 above.

novis et exquisitis. Vp. vetere atque directa dicendi via, above. Exquisitus properly means 'sought out with care': so sometimes 'far-fetched.' Here it corresponds to the Fr. 'recherché' 'distingué': cp. Cic. Brut. § 283 accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitis genus: ib. § 321 exquisitus et minime vulgare orationis genus. Cp. too the antithesis between sermo rectus et deflexa, exquisitiora, Quint. ii. 5, 11.

22. per quae. Quint. x. 1, 37 in iis per quae nomen est adsecutus.

fastidium auriuam. There is a similar 'mixed metaphor' in Cic. de Or. iii. § 192 auriuam satietate: cp. 9, 6 above, aures respuant.

utique, 'particularly,' 'especially,' rather than 'at least.'

23. vi et potestate, of the absolute power of a judge sitting (possibly as the emperor's representative) in a court from which there is no appeal. Compare on the other hand 38. 7 Pompeius ... impotuit frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legis, omnia apud praetores gerentur. cognoscent. For this use, cp. 41. 18 elementia cognoscentis: Hist. iv. 42, 7: Ann. xiii. 32, 9: and frequently in Quintilian.

24. exspectandum habent. See on 8. 11.


26. festinat. Quint. iv. 5, 10 festinam enim index ad id quod potentissimum est, et velut obligatum promissio patronum, si est patientior, tactus appellat: si vel occupatus vel in aliqua potestate vel etiam sic moribus compositus, cum con-vicio efflagitat.

20. 2. Corvini. Quintilian takes a different view, iv. 1, 8: quaedam in his quoque commendantio tacita, si nos infirmos, imperatos, impares agentium contra ingenii dixerimus, qualia sunt plera-que Messallae prooemia. Est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus, &c.—Before fere (=plerumque) Gudeman unnecessarily proposes to insert omnia: cp. 38. 1 in indicis fere de aequitate ... dissimim: 39. 6.

quinque in Verrem libros: i.e. the five parts of the Actio Secunda. Though they were never really delivered, Verres having anticipated sentence by flight, they were no doubt prepared for publication on the same scale as Cicero would have allowed himself in pleading before the court.
Verrem libros exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetuam illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem, et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur.

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.


3. exspectabit, &c., 'sit patiently through.' The idea is that of being 'kept waiting;' and unable to get away till the speaker is done: Hor. Sat. i. 5, 9 cencantes ... exspectans comites, Cic. de Or. 1, § 166 quos multas horas exspectavit ... et ridens et stomachans P. Scaevola.

exceptione et formula, 'equitable pleas and forms of procedure.' Under the 'formulary system,' the praetor (in iure) first heard parties, and then prepared a formula which was sent down to the iudex who had to try the case (in iudicio). This formula determined the nature of the question which had to be decided, and consisted of three parts: (1) the demonstratio, or statement of the facts, (2) the intentio, or plaintiff's claim, with the question for the decision of the index in the light of all the circumstances, and (3) the condemnatio or adiudicatio, giving the index or arbiter power to acquit and condemn, or to adjudicate. It was to the second of these that the Exception, or equitable plea on the part of the defendant, was usually tacked on, and it was the duty of the defendant's counsel to see that all such pleas were properly entered before the praetor in iure, as otherwise the index in iudicio would be unable to recognize them. A counter-claim against the pursuer in an action for debt-recovery is perhaps the most obvious form of exception.

4. pro M. Tullio. Cicero defended him in two speeches (B.C. 72 or 71), the second of which exists in a fragmentary condition. The action seems to have concerned a piece of landed property, of which the adversary of Tullius had taken forcible possession.

Aulo Caecina. This speech, which was delivered B.C. 69 or 68, turned on questions which Aper says it would be difficult to make interesting now. Cp. Cic. Or. § 102 Tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti fuit: res invo-
Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem quam si quis in scaena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi, qui prefectus sui causa oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid instuere et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepè in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus ex-
quisito et poetico cultu enuitur. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poetici decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacraio prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornator extitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim si infirmiora horum temporum templam credas, quia non rudi caemento etiformibus tegulis extruxuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

21. Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter in quibusdam anti-

17. exigitur Lipsius, exigitur CA, exercitum AV, corrected in both to exercitum BDEH. 23. si cod., an Oberlin, nisi Osann. 25. radiant Lat. Latinus.


the use of Sensus (of thought) the idea of substance or form is always uppermost: for the former cp. 23. 21 (where gravitas sensuum is contrasted with minor et cultus verborum), and probably paucissimos sensus 32. 17: for the latter (in addition to the present passage) 21. 17 (inconditi sensus redolent anti-

quitate.) 22. 12 (pauci sensus aper et quod cum modum lumine terminantur): 22. 22 (nulli sensus ... in morem annalium componantur): 23. 2 tertio quoque sensu. So too Sen. Ep. 114, § 1; Quint. ix. 3, §§ 74, 76. Sometimes Sententia = sensus: e.g. 21. 11 verbi ornata et sen-

tentias: 23. 24 ea sententiarum planitas: 26. 8 lascivia verborum et levitata sententiarum. More usually it denotes, as here, a terse, pointed, pregnant utterance; 22. 7 quasdam sententias invenit: 23. 2 pro sententia: 32. 17 angustas sententias. 

arguta, 'pointed,' 'striking,' 'apt,' only here in Tacitus. Cic. de Or. ii. § 250, § 268: Brut. § 325 sententiosum et argutum (genus dictiorum). Cp. 'caec-

tos in sententiam' in the passage quoted from Seneca above: Quint. x. 1, 50 

breves vibrantesque sententiae.

locus. See on 22. 6 locos quoque laetiores attentavit.

18. Accii aut Pacuvii. This is the order in which these two poets are named in Quint. x. 1, 97, though Attius (170 B.C.—about 90) was really fifteen years younger than Pacuvius (210—132). In the next chapter, line 30, Pacuvius comes first. Quintilian (l. c.) says of them 'nitor et summa in excelsitud operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuise,' Martial (xi. 90) jeers at them for delighting in archaisms,—Attonitusque legis terrai frugiferi Attius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt. 

veterno. For a similar figure cp. 22. 22 verbum velut rubigine infectum. Tr. 'not disfigured by the old rust of an Accius or a Pacuvius.'

19. Lucani. Quintilian would not have classed Lucan along with Horace and Vergil. See x. 1. 90 Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus, et ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus. Similarly Serv. ad Aen. 1. 382 Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit quia videtur historiam composuisse non poema: Petron. Satyr. 118 : Mart. xiv. 194.

Horum, of the class of hearers previously indicated, especially the invones.

23. Quid enim ... si credas? This formula reminds one of the frequent use of nisi forte to introduce an ironical argument. In both cases the reader is challenged, as it were, to differ from the opinion just advanced, on pain of having to admit something which is improbable or absurd. Tr. 'Why, one might as well believe,' &c.


21. 1. Equidem, &c. For the ex-

pression, cp. Cic. Brut. § 293 Equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam. Most edd. take quibusdam as neuter, but nec unum below shows that it is masc. For the partitive genitive after quidam, cp. Hist. ii. 49, 17: 98, 5: iv. 70, 24; Ann. xii. 17, 14. So ' plurimi disertorum,' 40, 3, below.
quorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. 
Nec unum de populo Canuti aut Atti ** de Furnio et Toranio 
quique alii omnes in eodem valetudinario haec ossa et hanc 
maciem praebent: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut 
puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis 
facit. Nec dissentiere ceteros ab hoc meo judicio video; quotus 
enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercule 

3. After Atti Halm supposa a lacuna; read perhaps "Nec unum de populo, Canuti 
(Hb Pat., Sanuti B, Ganuti AC) aut Atti ineptias referentem nomine, non disputo de 
Furnio," &c. Most edd. (after Gronovius and Nipperdey) read "Nec unum de populo 
numinabo Canutum aut Arrium vel Furnios et Toranios." 

Toranio BD, Coranio ADC. 
4. quique alii omnes is my conj., quique alios AB (i.e. all s), 
aetiam 
ad haec maciem codd., haec macies Gronovius and edd. 
5. praeuent Ritter, probant codd., produunt Acidaldis, praebent Wolff. 8. Asitium 
ABCADH, Asitium E, asiciu V2, hercle CDE2: hercle AB.

3. unum de populo, one of the rank 
and file.' Cp. Cic. Brut. § 320 non 
quivis unus ex populo sed existimatum 
doctorum: de Fin. ii. 20, 66 unum de multis: 
de Off. i. § 109.

Canuti: probably P. Canutius, 
whom Cicero mentions in Brutus (§ 205) 
aequis unus, homo extra nostrum 
ordinem meo judicio disertissimus.' Cp. 
pro Cluent. § 50 accusatus P. Canutius, 
homo in primis ingeniosus et in dicendo 
excircitatus: ibid. § 29 homo eloquentissimus. Aper 
took a different view.

Attii. This (or rather Atti) is the 
reading of most MSS. In the Puteolanum 
(1475) we find Ari, and most editors 
understand the reference to be to Q. 
Arrius (praetor in B.C. 73) whom Cicero 
mentions less favourably in the Brutus 
§ 242-3.

Furnio. There was a friend of Cicero, 
called C. Furnius: ad Fam. xxiv. 25-6.

Toranio. There were two Toranii, 
father and son. The former was Octa-
vius’s tutor: Suet. Aug. xviiii.: Val. 
Max. ix. 11, 5.

4. in eodem valetudinario, sc. *veteres.* 
valetudinario iaceam, de communi tecum 
malo conlocuor, [et] remedio communico.

haec ossa et hanc maciem prae-
bent: ‘show nothing but the familiar 
skin and bones.’ For haece in the sense of 
‘nobilis nota’ cp. haec vetera 37. 6. 
Figures derived from the human body 
constantly recur in reference to rhetoric: 
Cic. Brut. § 64 quos valetudo modo bona 
sit, tenuitas ipsa delectat: § 68 utinam 
imimarentur, nec ossa solum sed etiam 
sanguinem. Cp. below, Oratio autem 
sicut corpus hominis, &c., and see on 
Quint. x. i, §§ 33, 60, 77.—The MS. 
probant (‘show what they are’): 39. 7: 
Luc. Phars. viii. 121) induced Halm 
(following Gronovius) to read quosque 
alios... haec macies.

5. Calvus, a leader among the stricter 
Atticists. See on 17. 4.

6. vix in una et altera, i.e. hardly 
in more than one. In the same way 
umus et (atque) alter is used Ann. xii. 
46, 10 si ultra unam alteramque noctem 
attinenderit (i.e. beyond a second): Hist. 
v. 6, 12 unus unam alteram lucam... 
perfluit (i.e. two lakes). Baehrens, how-
ever, lays down the law that, where a 
cumulative particle is used, the phrase 
has the force of nonnulli or copulatius, 
while with a disjunctive particle it = 
pauco: he would therefore read una aut 
altera, especially on the ground of vix 
(cp. Germ. vi. 9 vix unii alterae: Plin. 
Ep. v. 20, 15 eloquentia vix unii aut 
alteri contingit). For the meaning ‘one 
or two,’ ‘a few,’ cp. chs. 9. 20: 29. 2, 
and 39. 13 (unus aut alter): exactly 
parallel are Hist. i. 83, 24: Ann. iii. 
47, 5: iv. 17 ad fin. (unus alterve): 
Agr. xv. 17: xl. 19: Ann. iii. 34. 17 
(unus aut alter). In Hist. ii. 75, 5 Halm 
now reads unus alterve for the traditional 
umus alterque.

8. in Asitium. Calvus impeached 
Asitius (Asicius) for the murder of an 
Egyptian envoy, and he was defended by 
Cicero: pro Cael. § 3. 

in Drusum. Cicero was his advocate 
also: ad Att. iv. 15, 8: xvi. 5, 8: ad 
Quint. Fr. i. 16, 3.
in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praeципue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententias auribus iudicum accommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellecissis quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei quo minus sublimius et cultius dicret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem reliquae verborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus

9. omnium Acidalius, hominum codd. ABDH, scribuntur C; cp. 15, 12. 10. inscribuntur Lipsius, conscrib. Heumann, 17, so An-

reliquae cp. 34. cp. 26, see. Heumann, 17, so An-

reliquae cp. 34. 13. quo minus Halm, quis Pat., quo codd. and Novak; see Introdt. p. lviii. 14. nonne Heumann. 15. universae sive parts earum Pithoens, universa parte serum codd. 17. reliquae Sorof (see below): regulae A, regulae BD, illae EV, CA et (followed by a sort of lacuna) HSp: et maculae Meiser, et rugae (or rugae?) Buchholz, herculc Ribbeck, Andresen, rectiae Maehly.

At hercule, a formula (used to emphasise a contrast) which seems to point to the influence which Tacitus's rhetorical studies had in moulding his style. Cp. Ann. i. 3, 21: 17, 15: 26, 8: iii. 54, 18: xii. 43, 10. In the Dialogue hercule (sometimes hercile) occurs twelve times.

9. studiosorum, used absolutely, as frequently in Quintilian: see on x. i, 45- Cp. studere, 30 below, 32. 8: 34. 10.

In Vatinium. Vatinius was tribune in B.C. 59, when he allied himself with Caesar, and next year consul along with Bibulus. He was subsequently accused at least three times: first, by Calvus, in B.C. 58 (see 34. ad fn.); secondly, in 56; and thirdly in 54. The third was the most famous trial of the three: Vatinius was defended by Cicero.

11. verbis ornata et sententiae... accommodata. Sententiae is here used primarily of the expression of thought; cp. Cic. de Or. i. 213 qui et verbis ad audiendum incundis et sententias ad pro-

bandum accommodatis uti possit: Quint. vili. 3.43 auctoritatem in verbis sententias vel graves vel aptas opinionibus hominum ac moribus. For auribus ... accommoda data cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 159 haec enim nostra oratio multitudinis est auribus accommodanda.—Halm seems wrong in printing a comma after sententias: Andresen even reads et verbis.

13. quo minus. See on 8. 5. sublimius et cultius, 'with greater elevation and more polish.'

14. Caellanis. Cp. 17. 4: 25. 15. nempe. See on 17. 6. Heumann, followed by Novak, would read nonne: cp. Liv. xxxiv. 5, 9 nonne (codd. nempe) ... matronae. This may be right.

15. nitorem. Cp. 20. 6. It corres-

ponds to cultius above, as altitudinem does to sublimius.


Sordes... reliquae verborum, 'For the rest, his common-place phraseology,' &c.: cp. aliud vulgus, Ann. iii. 42. 5. For reliquae, the usually received reading is illae, which must be an emendation: the regulae of ABD cannot have resulted from illae. Various contractions for regulae are familiar (Chassant, p. 83 sqq.): one intended to represent reliquae may easily have been mistaken. The case for the insertion of et with a subst. (see crit. notes) must rest on the reading of H, and on the frequent use of pairs of words in this particular connection: e.g. nitor et cultus (20. 7: 23. 20), laetitia et pulchritudo (20. 9), tristis et impexus (20. 10), maestu et inculti (28. 12). For 'sordes verborum,' cp. 'verba abiecta' in Cicero. Sordidus is often opposed to nitidus: so here sordes to nitor, above. Cp. Sen. Ep. 114, 13 quidam contra, dum nihil nisi tritum et usitatum volut, in sordes incidunt.

17. hians compositio, 'his faulty
redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane
C. Caesari ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes
rum minus in eloquentia effecerit quam dividum eius ingenium
postulabat, tam hercle quam Brutum philosophiae suae reli-
quamus (nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam
admiratores eius fatentur): nisi forte quisquam aut Caesarius pro

18. redolent ABEv2H, redent, CA, redent D. 21. minus om. C. 24. nisi
ferte codd., num forte Classen, nec fere Gronovius, Baehrens, nec enim Novak.

construction.' Compositio (dubiosa—the combination of words) is defined in ad
Herenn. iv. 12, 18 as 'verborum constructio quae facit omnes partes orationis
aequabiliter perpolitas': cp. Quint. ix. 4, 116 quem in poemate locum habet versificat
eam in oratione compositio. Verba et compositio are constantly conjoi ned
in this way: e.g. Quint. x. 1, § 118: 2, § 73: 3, § 9; 22, 5 below. For
hians (unconnected, 'dislocated') cp. Cic. Or. § 32 cum mutiila et hiantia quaedam
locuti sunt: Quint. vii. 6, 62 fit enim... dissoluta et hians oratio, si ad necessitatem
ordinis sui verba redigantur, et ut quodque oritur, ita proximis, etiam si vinciri
non potest, adligitur.—There is of course a narrower sense of hiatus, for which see
Cic. de Or. iii. §§ 171-2: Or. § 20, 149-50, where Dr. Sandys explains: 'Proper
pains must be bestowed on the relations between the last syllable of one word and
the first syllable of the next, so as to prevent the concurrence of harshly sounding
consonants as well as the juxtaposition of open words, "ut neve asper corum concursus
neve huiuscum sit" (de Or. iii. 171.)'

17. inconditi sensus. This is the op-
posite of 20. 16 sive sensus aliusque arguta et brevi sententia effusit: tr. 'shapeless
periods,'—sensus being here used of the external form in which the thought is
conveyed. Cp. Cic. Or. § 150 quamvis enim suaves gravesque sententiae, tamen
si inconditis verbis efferuntur, offendunt aures: de Or. iii. § 173 princeps Isocrates
instituisset fertur ut inconditam antiquorum dicendi consuetudinem... numeris astrin-
geret. So Agr. iii. 17 vel incondita et rudi voce.

18. redolent ('savour of') antiquitatem. So Cic. Brut. § 82 exiliores orationes
sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem.

antiquarium, ' fond of ancient authors.' This word, which is not found
in any earlier work, recurs in 37. 6 and 42. 7: and cp. Suet. Aug. 81, and Luv. vii.
451, where 'tenet antiquaria versus' is explained by the Scholiast as = ut antiquarius versus
dicit.

19. ex ea parte: cp. nulla parte, 18. 5.

dictator Caesar summis oratoribus aemul-
sus. So Quint. x. 1, 114 C. vero Caesar
si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex
nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur.
Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea conci-
tatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse quo
bellavit appareat; exomat tamen haec
omnibus mira sermonis, cuius proprius
studiosus fuit, elegantia. Cic. Brut. § 252
ita indicio... illum omnium fere oratorum
Latine loquendi elegantissime: § 261 non
video cui debet cedere.

propter. It is noteworthy, as differentiating the usage of Tacitus from that of
Quintilian, that while the latter constantly uses propter in a causal sense, Tacitus
always prefers ob, except here and in Hist. i. 65, 3.

magnitudinem cogitationum. The same phrase is used in reference to
Caesar's ' vast designs' by Velleius, ii.
41, 1.

occupationes rerum: his 'absorption
in affairs.' For the gen. cp. Caes. Bell.
Gall. iv. 16 occupationibus qui publicae
prohiberetur: ib. 22: Cic. de Or. i.
§ 21 in hac tanta occupatione urbis ac
vitae.

21. divinum eius ingenium. So
Velleius, l. c., 'animo super humanam et
naturam et fidem evectum.'

Quint. x. 1, 123 Eregius vero multoque
quam in orationibus praestantor Brutus
suffecit ponderi reram: scias cum sentire
qua dicit.

24. nisi forte: the other alternative
would involve the supposition that, &c.
Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaraco rege ceterosque eiusdem 25 lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. Fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium 30 certe et Accio non solum tragoediiis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit: adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et

26. teporis Lipsius, temporis (per compendia) codd. 27. bibliothecas ADC, byliotæcas B (also at 37. 6). 28. quia EV, C, D, H: qui AB. illos most codd. istos AB. 31. in tragoediis Ritter, Halm.

After nisi fortis quisquam (=nemo enim), nisi qui follows in the next clause by a negligence for which cp. Ann. iii. 57; 2 (nisi ut ... nisi quod). A similar, but more natural, construction occurs 32. 22 nec quisquam ... potest nisi qui ... pro Decio Samnite. The speech is not known, and the difference in the name (Decius Sammites) shows that it cannot have been delivered, as some editors suppose, on behalf of the individual mentioned in Cic. pro Cluent. § 161 (Cn. Decidius Samnis).

25 pro Deiotaro. See Cic. ad Att. xiv. 1, 2; Brut. § 21. The oration was delivered by Brutus in Caesar’s presence, at Nicaea, in b. c. 46. It failed of its object, for Deiotarus lost both his title and most of his tetrarchy: Bell. Alex. 68. eiusdem lentitudinis, &c., ‘correspondingly tedious and flat productions.’ For lentitudinis cp. lentus est in principis 22. 11: Cic. Brut. § 178. tepor, of style, occurs only here.

27. bibliothecas. The reference must be to private libraries, where the poems in question would find a place owing to the reputation of their authors: the first public library was founded by Asinius Pollio, b. c. 38.—Nothing is known of any poetical compositions by Brutus. Certain carmina are mentioned in connection with Caesar’s name (Plin. N. H. xix. 8, 144), but we are told by Suetonius (Jul. lvi.) that Augustus forbade their circulation in a letter to his chief librarian, Pompeius Macer. Cicero’s poetical efforts are better known: Quint. xi. 1, 24 In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non deserunt carpere maligni: ‘cedant arma
togae, concedat laurea linguae,’ et ‘o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!’


30. Menenios ... Appios. The reference is to Menenius Agrippa (17, 2) and to Appius Claudius Caecus (18, 18). studuisse, absolute, as at 32, 8, and 34, 10: and frequently in Quintilian. Cp. studiosorum, above.

32 expresssit: see on 20, 11. For the judgment here expressed cp. Quint. x. 1, 113 a nitore et iucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest ut videri possit saeculo prior. durus et siccus, ‘hard and dry.’ Durus is the sort of epithet (cp. asper) that might be applied to a man who has no ‘sense of style.’ Siccus = aridus, ieunius, exilis, ‘wired’: cp. Cic. Brut. § 285: Ieiunitatem et siccitatem et inopiam. In Brut. § 202 siccus is used in a good sense (‘solid,’ ‘wiry’ = aptus, pressus) nihil nisi siccam atque sanum: cp. de Senect. § 34: Quint. ii. 6, 6. ossa, as in line 4, above. For the figure, cp. Quint. v. 12, 6 plus habebant decoris (sc. argumenta) si non nudos et velit carne spoliatos artus ostenderint. temperatus, ‘sound,’ ‘well-tempered.’

sanguis. Quint. x. i, § 60 (of Archilochus) plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum: ib. § 115: 2, § 12 minus sanguinis ac virium: Cic. Or. § 76 non plurimi sanguinis est, ‘not full-blooded.’ For cognate metaphors see Nägelsbach, 136, 4, pp. 550–8.
exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia non per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret; videmus enim quam iudicio eius vis aut animi suiffecerit.

22. Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus sui fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipsa suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ualla re magis eiusdem aeotatis oratores praecurrerat quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et

35. rubore ADC. 36. quia non EV,CAD, quia nec AB (quia super HSp.).
37. videmus enim quam John: viderimus inquam AB,CADH, viderimus in quantum EV; et videmus in quantum (cp. 2. 13) Acidalius, Halm, Müller (for nec . . . et cp. 2. 10: 38, 11): videmus enim in quantum Bachrens, obvirems in quantum . . . sufficit Heumann. Some who read nec explain it as nec quidem (see Introd. p. lvii).

22. 4. eiusdem aeotatis oratores EV,CADH, oratores eiusdem iudium AB.

35. exsurgit toris, 'makes the muscles swell out'; 'careens' or 'revels' over them.

nervos, 'sinews': see Mayor on Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. § 136. Tr. 'while the sinews too show a ruddy complexion and a graceful outline.'


37. laetitiam nitoremque. There is a similar collocation of laetus and nitidus as epithets of style in Cic. de Or. i § 81: cp. Or. § 36. For laetitia ('floweriness,' 'luxuriance') see on 20. 9.

38. quam. Tr. 'how inadequately his critical faculty was supported by imaginative or creative ability.' So 'viribus minor' Quint. x. 1, 113 (quoted on 18. 12). Cp. above, Calvus intellectus quo melius esset, nec voluntatem ei . . . sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. For quam, following video, cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 180 vide quam sim, inquit, desus in isto genere: iii. § 51 atqui vides, inquit Antonius, quam alias res agamus. iudicio is here 'power of discernment,' rather than 'taste' (1. 9, 22. 4).


4. eiusdem aeotatis oratores. The origin of the variant 'oratores aeotatis eiusdem' (adopted by Halm) seems to have been that (owing to a similarity in the compendia) either aeotatis or oratores was omitted from the text and written in above the line. These two words must have stood next each other in the original. If oratores slipped out, and was afterwards inserted, we should have had either 'eiusdem aeotatis oratores' or 'oratores eiusdem aeotatis'; if aeotatis, then 'eiusdem aeotatis oratores.' Moreover Gudeman points out that 'out of nearly 500 examples in Tacitus of an attributive use of idem or its inflected forms, it is placed after its noun in but five passages, and these only in his latest work.' Cp. Ann. ii. 14, 1 nox eadem: xiv. 9, 3 noxte eadem: xiii. 17, 1 nox eadem necem: iii. 69, 21 viro quoniam ordinis eiusdem: vi. 32, 12 Tridates sanguinis eiusdem aemulum.' Again, 'in Tacitus eiusdem with its substantive invariably precedes the noun upon which it depends, except Ann. iii. 69, 21 cited above.'

iudicio, 'taste.' So at 1. 9, 20. 20, 5 excoluit orationem, 'gave a finish to style.' Cp. the use of cultus = 'polish.' verbis . . . compositioni. Cp. 21. 17.
compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invent, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitii antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur. Nihil excerpere, nihil

5. dilectum Halm. 7. senior iam EV, CADH, iam senior AB. 10. est coodd, except E. 12. apte et Acidaliius, opt. et AH, opt. . . . et B, optet C, opti et D, apte cadunt et Michaelis, apte et ut oportet Vahlen.

For *dilectum*, ‘a principle of selection,’ cp. Cic. Brut. § 253 verbo rum delectum originem esse eloquentiae. There may be a military figure involved in such phrases as Cic. de Or. iii. § 150 in hoc verbo rum genere propriorum dilectus est habendus: Quint. x. 3, 5 dilectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est (where *dilectus* is probably right).

6. locos ... laetiores, ‘ornate,’ ‘flow- ery’ passages. *Loci* (cp. note on 19. 15) is used with a reference to *loci communis*, passages of general interest, such as might be selected for a volume of *Elegant Extracts.* Cp. Quint. xi. 1, 34 illa laetiora qualia a Cicerone dicuntur: ib. § 49 quam laxissimis locis sententissique dicentem!

7. *sententias = veropaus*, general re- flections on human life and action, cry- stallized, as it were, in some apt and appropriate utterance. ‘To Aper and his school those ‘sententious utterances’ re- commended themselves in proportion as they were pointed and epigrammatic (cp. arguta et brevi sententia 20. 16).

In *ius orationibus*. Quintilian specially commends the pro Q. Ligario (B.C. 46) and the pro Milone (B.C. 52). The Philippians may also be included.

**senior iam**. Helmreich supports the reading of AB by citing *iam senior* from Ann. iii. 47, 14 and Hist. i. 49, 18: cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 304. But in the Dialogue *iam* most commonly comes after the word with which it is to be taken: so ‘juvenes iam’ 33. 8; ‘inbutus iam’ 84, 2; ‘paratos iam’ 31, 26; ‘sextam iam’ 17, 13; ‘dis- posuit iam’ 3. 11; ‘adsuevit iam’ 20. 8. See Introd. p. lxxv, note.

8. *iuxta finern*, the only instance of this use (for *sub finem*) in Tacitus.

postquam with the plpf.: cp. 88. ad fin. postquam ... pacaverat.

10. *priores*, e.g. pro A. Caecina (20. 4), pro M. Tullio, pro Roscio Amerino, &c.


*otiosus circa excessus*, he ‘loiters’ over ‘idle’ digressions. For *otiosus* (‘wearisome’) see on 18. 24 Brutum otiosum atque diiunctum. *Digressio* (napoekharios), sometimes *egressio* and *egressus*, is synonymous with *excessus*: cp. Quint. iii. 9, 4 ex esso vero vel, quod usitatius esse coeptit, excessus, &c., ib. iv. 3, §§ 8, 12.

*circa*, common in the Silver Age for *in*, *de*, *ad*, *erga*, &c.: see on 3. 18.


13. *lumine = insigni sententia*. *Lumen* is here used of what adds brilliance and *éclat* to style,—some striking beauty of thought or diction, such as Seneca (l. c.) calls ‘subiti ictus sententiarum.’ Cp. Cic. Brut. § 66 nullus flos tamen neque lumen illum, and (of the style of Plato and Democritus) quod incitatus feratur et clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur, Or. § 67: *sententiarum lumina, ib. § 85. So Quint. viii. § 5, 2 consuetudo iam tenuit ut mente concepta sensus vocaremus, lumina autem praecipueque in eaulis us posita sententias: ib. § 29 lumina illa non flammaca sed scintillis inter funum
referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries et duraturs, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ca aut patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui suppellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmæ, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et insolentia: nullum sit verbun velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in more annalium componantur: fugit et foedam

eminentibus similia. For the more general sense of *lumina* the following passages may be added: ad Herenn. iv. 23 lumino distinctis illustrabimus orationem; Cic. de Or. iii. § 96 sint quasi in ornatu disposita quaedam insignia et lumina; cp. ib. ii. § 36: sunt enim (lumina) similia illis quae in ampio ornatu scaenæ aut fori appellantur insignia, non quia sola ornent, sed quod excellant, Or. § 134 (where see Dr. Sandys' notes). Quite technically *lumina* = *figurae*, e.g. Brut. § 275 lumina quæ vocant Graeci *oxyphora*: de Or. iii. § 201 est quasi lumino distinctua et frequentanda omnis oratio sententiarum atque verborum.

13. *terminantur*. Cic. Or. § 199 plerique enim censit cadere tantum numeroso operatore terminarique sententiam. Cp. 100 Quint. viii. § 13 sed nunc alius volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus in *fine sermonis* feriat aurem. This is what Seneca means when he says (Ep. 100, § 7) 'omnia apud Ciceronem desinunt, apud Pollionem cadunt.'


16. *locupletem patrem familias*, a *well-to-do* householder. *Lautus* carries with it the same idea as *elegans*,—of one who knows how to furnish with taste. There is a somewhat similar figure in Cic. de Or. i, § 161.


*insolentia*: contrary to ordinary or approved usage: Cic. Brut. § 27 nec vero ullum aut durum aut insolens (verbun): Or. § 26 nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum: Quint. iv. 1, 58 ex praepetis veteribus manet ne quod insolens verbun, ne audacius translatum, ne aut obsoleta vetustate aut poetica licentia sumptum in principio deprehendatur. Aul. Gell. i. 10 ut tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbun. [This conjecture has, I find, been anticipated by Cornelis- sen in Mnemosyne, xiii. p. 261: he cites Gell. xi. 7 verbis uvi aut nimi obsoletis, exculcatisqve aut insolentibus.]

22. *tarda et inerti*, 'lame and stiff': cp. Quint. i. 4, 137 tarda et supina (sc. composito).

23. *in more annalium*, 'in the style of a chronicler': cp. Cic. de Or. ii. §§ 52-3; de Legg. i. § 6 sq. Others take it less probably as referring to the differences between the historical style generally and that of oratory: see Quint. x. 31-32, with the notes.
et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23. Nolo inidere rotam Fortuneae et ius verrinum et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum esse videatur. Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum 5 significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt,


24. *scurrilitatem,* 'buffoonery.' Similar cautions are given in Cic. de Or. ii. § 237 sqq. ne quid insulse ... ne aut scurrilis locus sit aut mimicus (§ 239), scurrilis oratorum dicacitas magno opere fugienda est (§ 244), temporis igitur ratio et ipsius dicacitatis moderatio et temperantia et raritas dictorum distinguunt oratom a scura (§ 247): cp. Or. § 88, and Quint. vi. 3, 29.

*variet compositionem,* The charge against Cicero was that he neglected to do this: Sen. Ep. 100, § 7 Lege Ciceronem: compositione eius una est, pedem servat lenta et sine infamia mollis.

25. *clausulas ... determinet,* i.e. he is to avoid a monotonously uniform 'rhythmic ending.' See on this passage de Or. iii. § 192 sq. where Cicero, speaking of 'clausulae' says 'in oratione pauci primum cernunt, postrema plerique: quae quoniam apparent et intelleguntur, varianda sunt, ne aut animorum iudicibus re- pudiuntur aut aurium satiatae.' Cp. (both for 'clausulae' and for variety of rhythmus) Or. §§ 212–220. So again of Cicero, Seneca Ep. 114, § 16 quid illa in exitu lenta (sc. compositionio), quid Ciceronis est, deixa et molliter detinens nec alter quam solet, ad morem suum pedemque respondens? For nec ... determinet, see on nec ... expetiar, 13 ad fin.

23. 1. *rotam Fortuneae.* The reference is to in Pis. § 22 in quo cum illum saltatorium versaret orbebem, ne tum quidem Fortuneae rotam pertimescebat. Cp. Tibull. i. § 70 versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae.

ius verrinum, 'sauce for pork' or 'Verrine law.' The passage occurs in Verr. i. 1, § 121 Hinc illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore. Quorum alli, id quod saepe audistis, nega- bant mirandum esse ius tam nequam esse verrinum. Aper might have said that Cicero did not claim the authorship of this deplorable pun: cp. Quint. vi. 3, 4.

2. illud tertio quoque sensu ... positum, 'the stock ending of every other sentence.' For *sensus,* see on 20. 16.

*pro sententia*: instead of a pointed, epigrammatic utterance, there is only the jingle of *esse videatur.* Cp. cum lumine quodam, 22. 13. In the same way Quintilian, speaking of those who shelter themselves under the name of Cicero, says (x. 2, 17–18) 'otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, irurant ita Ciceronem locuturumuisse. Noveram quosdam qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huibus in dicendo viri sibi viderunt, si in clausula posuissent esse videatur.'


5. *antiquos,* of the good old school.

6. *significasse.* For this infin., after *contentus,* see on *probasse* 18. 13.

7. *Utique,* 'of course,' 'anyhow,' 'in any case.'

7. Lucilium pro Horatio. Cp. Quint. x. i. § 93 Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eisudem modo operis auctoribus sed omnibus poetis praefere non dubitent.

Lucretium pro Vergilio. In Quin-
CORNELII TACITI

quibus eloquentia Auffidi Bassi aut Servillii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt et oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigatur perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed

8. tui fidi codd. 10. fastidiunt et oderunt Baehrens, Wolff. The omission of the copula in the MSS. (except B corr.) has led others to suspect a gloss: fastidiunt [oderunt] Heumann, Halm, Müller. 13. non firmitate Acidalii, infirmitatiamque AB.

tilian's survey of Roman literature, Lucetius is named, not along with Vergil, but with Aemilius Macer, x. 1, 87, and that in a way which reveals a very inadequate appreciation of his poetical genius.

8. eloquentia, here of prose style (though Servilius was a rhetorician as well as a historian): cp. 4. 10; 10. 13.

Auffidi Bassus wrote a history which probably ended with the reign of Claudius, where Pliny the Elder took it up: N. H. p raef. 20 diximus ... temporum nostrorum historiam, orsi a fine Auffidi Bassi. Servilius Nonianus is said in Ann. xiv. 19, where his death (A.D. 60) is mentioned along with that of Domitius Afer, to have ralled Afer's abilities and surpassed his morals. Quintilian characterizes the two together x. 1, 102-103 et ipse (Servilius) a nobis auditis est clarus vi ingenii et sententias creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat. Quam paulum eaetate praecedens eum Bassus Auffidi egregie, utique in libros beli Germanici, praestitit genere ipso, probabilis in omnibus, sed in quibusdam suis ipse viribus minor. ex comparatione Liv. xxiv. 48: xxii. 8, 2. For the archaology, cp. Hist. i. 39, 1 neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis est. See also ch. 1. ad fin.

9. Sisenna, L. Cornelius (B.C. 120-67) is mentioned in the Brutus (§ 228) as 'doctus vir et studitis optimis deditus, bene Latine loquens': of his history Cicero says, 'cum facile omnes vincat superiores, tum indicat tamen quantum abit a summo quamque genus hoc scriptionis nondum sit satis Latinis litteris inlustratum.' Cp. Sall. Iug. xv. 2 L. Sisena optumae et diligentissime omnium qui eas (Sullae) res dixere persecutus, parum mihi liberò ore locutus videtur. It is perhaps a further confirmation of the emendation insolentia proposed above

that Sisenna is described (Brut. § 259) as 'emendator sermonis usitati: ne a C. Rudio quidem accusatore deterrei potuit quominus insutissatis verbis uteretur': and below, 'recte loqui putabat esse insutissi loqui'.

Varronis. Besides various other works Varro wrote Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum in forty-one books, de Vita Populi Romani in four books, and Annales in three books. Quintilian calls him 'vir Romanorum eruditissimus,' and adds: 'plurimos hic libros et docuissimos composuit, peritissimis linguae Latinae et omnis antiquitatis et rerum Graecarum nostrarumque, plus tamen scientiae collatus quam eloquentiae,' x. 1, 95.

sordet. Cp. Hor. Ep. i. 11, 4 Cunctane praeco Campo et Tiberino flumine sordent: Verg. Ecl. i. 44 sordent tibi munera nostra: Quint. viii. pr. § 26 quibus sordet omne quod natura dictavit. 10. commentarios, as at 26. 11, = libros, 'written speeches.' In the case of the 'rhetores,' these would be model orations, published for the use of pupils.

fastidiunt et oderunt. The same combination occurs Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 22, fastidit et odit: cp. Quint. xi. 1. 15 adferique audientibus non fastidium modo, sed plerumque etiam odium.

11. fabulantes, contemptuously: 'while they are prosing away.' Cp. 39. 4 non sequuntur, i.e. they lose all interest in the performance, and the general public pays no heed. So Cicero, speaking of the Atticists (Brut. § 289), 'at cum isti Attici dicunt, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserable, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur.'

12. maesti, 'dismal,' the opposite of 'laeti': see on laetitia, 20. 9.

13. non firmitate, &c. 'It is not their
ieiunio consequuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse, fortum et laetum et alacrem volo. Prope abest in infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur. Vos vero, viri disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea quotiens causa poscit ubertas, ea quotiens permittit brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis affectus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

24. Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'Adgnoscitisne' inquit Maternus 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et vigour but their abstemiousness that they have to thank for the healthy condition of which they boast. Cp. Quint. ii. 4. 9 macies illis pro sanitate.

14. Porro, continuing the argument: see on 5. 7. For parum est, see Introdit. p. Iviiii. 17. infirmitate. Wolff says that infirmitas, joined with the genitives corporis or valetudinis, means, in classical Latin, only 'indisposition.' So Cic. Phil. vii. 12: Rabir. § 21: Sulla, § 34. Cp. 20. 1 infirmitate valetudinis. In Plin. Ep. x. 6, 1 it already stands for a more serious illness, and later it quite = morbus. Cp. Quint. xii. 10, 15 hi sunt qui suae imbecillitati sanitatis appellationem, quae est maxime contraria, obtundent. 21. sensuum, here of thought. See on 20. 16. Cp. throughout Quint. x. i. 120. nitorem et cultum. See on 20. 6.

22. inventionis. After electio we should have expected rather inventorum: tr. 'so discriminating in the choice of material.' Apart from the fact that inventio is a technical term, there is a distinct tendency on the part of the authors of the Silver Age to use abstract nouns with a concrete meaning.

24. planitas, 'perspicuity.' This word does not occur elsewhere; cp. however Cic. Top. § 97 efficiendum est...narrationes ut...planae sint: Quint. vii. 2, 22. affectus, sc. vestros. Others have taken exprimitis in the sense of 'movetis,' 'excitatis.'

25. libertatem, as 10. ad fin.; 'outspokenness.' Cp. mappa pola. nostra iudicia, an appreciative verdict from us, your contemporaries. malignitas et invidia. So 'malignitatem et livorem.' Agr. xii. 17.

Ch. 24. Maternus repeats the invitation to Messalla to set forth the causes of the decline of eloquence.

1. Adgnoscitisne, in the sense of 'There you have it again!' Cp. II. i acris ut solebat et intento ore.

2. torrente, usually with a genitive; e.g. Quint. x. 7, 23 innai verborum torrenti se dare. Cp. Cic. de Fin. ii. 1, 3 cum...fertur quasi torrens oratio.

4. ingenio ac spiritu. The zeugma
5 arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum immutasse non debet. Neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a nostris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio 15 temporum collegerit.'


which editors point to between these words and *mutuatus est* is hardly noticeable. Aper had shown not only 'genius and inspiration,' but also 'learning and skill,' in the way in which he had plundered, as it were, the armoury of the orators of former days, and turned their own artillery to bear on the 'antiqui.' This accounts for the emphatic repetition *ipsi* ... *ipsos*; it is precisely against those to whom (while disparaging them) he is indebted for his oratorical gifts that Aper has directed his attack. Cp. Cic. de Fin. i. § 69 ut ipsi amici propter se ipsos amentur. Müller quotes Plin. N. H. 13, 58 nam et ipsa caudice ipsa fert ponum; 21, 20 (semen) in ipsa cortice est, sub ipso flore.


6. promissum. See 16. 5. The word is of course in the accusative: 'Aper must not be allowed to make you turn your back on your promise.' The perfect infin. (immutasse) indicates that the action is already finished: Df., § 150.

9. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit. So 15. 9, where Messalla says 'neque ... te ipsun, Aper, quanquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo.'

more *vetere et a nostris philosophis*. Here et= and also: tr. 'in conformity with an ancient usage, and one

much in vogue with the philosophers of the present day.' More *vetere* refers, of course, to the Greeks, notably the Stoics and the New Academy. So Crassus, in the *de Oratore*, addressing Antonius: 'haut scio an aliter sentias et utare tua illa mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine ... cuius ... facultatis exercitatio ... iam in philosophorum consuetudine versatur, maximeque eorum qui de omni re proposita in utramque partem solent copiosisimse dicere, i. § 263.—For *vetere* (as against the MS, *veteri*) cp. Sirker, Taciteische Formenlehre, p. 36.


13. cum praesertim = quamvis, or *idque cum tamen*, 'and that though,' 'though indeed,' 'which is all the more remarkable, considering that,' &c. See note on Quintilian x. 1, 105.

*centum et viginti*. Tr. 'though chronology proves that from the death of Cicero to the present day is an interval of not more than 120 years.' For the pleonasm, cp. 16. 25: *anni ... ratione efficacit tur or colligantur* (as 17, 16) would have been more regular. *Colligere* here rather = *concludere* than *computare.*—The figure of the figure *centum et viginti* (17, 15) is an important element in the question discussed in Introd. pp. xii-xiv.
25. Tum Messalla: 'Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro, qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisset. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisset. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno in qua nimirum fatetur plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis extitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum [autem] locum

25. 1. praescriptam a te ABD, et prescriptam E, perscriptam et C, praescriptam et VαΔ, a te praescriptam HSp. edd. vett. 4. constat ABDH, constaret EΔ, constare Vβ. 8. in qua nimirum is my conj.: si cominus (comminus) cord., si quo minus HBVSp. (cp. commoda for quomodo, 36. 33). Among other conj. are qua quasi convictus Halm, qua quasi comminus nius, Müller (Cic. de Div. ii. 26), in invitut Heller. Others simply qua fatetur, or quominus fatetur: EVs give fator for fatetur. John supports the MS. reading si cominus: see Introd. p. lxi, note. 11. [autem] Ritter.

Chs. 25–26. First part of Messalla's speech. He replies to Aper, and briefly characterizes the points in which contemporary rhetoric differs from the eloquence of former times.

25. 1. praescriptam . . . formam, 'the direction you have laid down for me.' Forma is here the 'outline' sketched by Maternus: 'ratio disputations,' G. and G. Andresen cites Ann. xiii. 4. 6 formam futuri principatus praescriptis.

2. diu = multis verbis, as 11. 3. Cp. Ann. vi. 27, 15 neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: iv. 69, 10: xii. 6, 4: vi. 49, 8: Hist. i. 16, 21 monere diutius neque temporis huies, &c.

3. nominis controversiam, as often verbi controversia in Cicero (e.g. de Or. i. § 107), 'a verbal dispute.' Quint. viii. 3; 7 diversum est genus cum controversia consistit in nomine.

tamquam, 'alleging that,' 'on the ground that.' Cp. 2. 2, 15; 10. 27.

4. ante centum annos. Messalla prefers a round number, as sufficient for his purpose.

5. de vocabulo. Nihil enim refert quomodo appellet . . . nec mutatur vocabulis vis rerum, Quint. ix. 1, 7.

6. appellet, concessive subjunctive, not depending on sive.

7. in confesso sit: 27. 3. Novak cites this phrase from Quint. Decl. (ed. Ritter) 134, 1; 216, 26; 224, 4; 313, 20. Cp. in medio, 18. 3 (Roby, §§ 1975–6). Perhaps the nearest Tacitean analogy to in confesso is Hist. i. 78, 13 ipse in suspensio tenet: cp. Agric. i. 6 agere digna memoratu pronom magisque in aperto erat, in occulto (Ann. i. 49, 5 and often), and most frequently of all in incerto. Dr. § 80.


In qua nimirum fatetur, 'where of course he has to admit.' Müller's ingenious reading qua quasi comminus nius is supported by the reference to 18. 6 agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo. But it is against it that on such an interpretation fatetur must = profetetur (17. 17). It is on the admission made by Aper that Messalla seems to found his argument for the pre-eminence of the Ciceronian age.


10. quo modo . . . sic. So 36. 33; 39. 6; 41. 9. Quintilian o'ehen has quem ad modum . . . sic: see on x. 5, 17.

11. primae, sc. partes. So Ann. xiv. 21, 21 eloquentiae primas nemo tuit, which
Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium autem concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictor Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amatorius Caelius,

recalls προτεινα φέρεται: cp. Cic. Brut. § 183 primas ferre. Otherwise the phrase would seem to have been borrowed from the theatre: primas agere, Brut. § 308: Hor. Sat. i. 9. 46. Cp. Cic. Or. § 18 cui (Pericil) primae sine controversia deferebantur: Brut. § 84; ad Att. i. 17. 5.

12. Lysias. Usener proposed to exclude et Lysias; but Lysias is quite as much in place here as in the parallel enumeration in Quintilian x. i. 78, where, however, the fact is indicated that he flourished some years before the others: his aetate maior Lysias, &c.

13. concessu. So Ann. iii. 61, 9; xii. 44, 4: Cic. Brut. § 84 ipsorum inter ipsos concessu, 'by their mutual admission': concessus omnium, pro Cael. § 28.

haec oratorum aetas. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 76 ut cum decem simul Athenis aetas una tulerit, with the notes ad loc. Cic. Brut. § 36 haec enim aetas effudit hunc copiam. Gerber and Greef take the expression as = horum oratorum aetas, and refer to 20. 20 nostrorum oratorum aetas: cp. also in eo tragoediae argumento, 2. 4.


16. quod, 'that': cp. Plin. Ep. x. 30 nec enim multum interest quod nondum ... distributis sunt.

17. specie ... genere: Quint. xii. 10, 22 quos ... inter se genere similis differentes dixeris specie.

Adstrictior Calvus: see on 17. 4, and cp. 'exsanguem et attritum,' 18. 23, with the notes: 'Quint. x. 1, 115. Ad- strictus ('concise', opp. to liber, renissus, effusus, &c.) expresses the 'Attic strictness' of Calvus, as distinguished from the rich fulness of Asianism: cp. the criticism of Cicero, 18. 19 inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus. So of Spurius Mummius, as compared with his brother Lucius, Cicero says (Brut. § 94) 'nihilo ille quidem ornamenti sed tamen adstrictor: fuit enim doctus ex disciplina Stoicorum': cp. quo minus strictus est (of Aeschines) Quint. x. 1, 77. In 21. 21, below, 'we have 'adstrictum et collectum dicendi genus,' where see note.

18. numerosior Asinius: 'more rhythmical,' as compared with Calvus. Meiser's conjecture nervosior has been adopted by some recent editors against the testimony of all the MSS.: it seems to have been based on a misunderstanding of adstrictor, the meaning of which is fully explained above. If adstrictus is wrongly taken (as by Wolff) in the sense of numero adstrictus (Cic. de Or. i. § 254: cp. iii. § 175), then numerosior undoubtedly becomes a difficulty. Numero as applied to oratio is frequent in Cicero and Quintilian: cp. 'numerosus Horatius,' Ovid, Trist. iv. 10, 49. For Asinius Pollio, see on 12. ad fin.


amarior Caelius. With amatorius ('more rasping') cp. Quint. x. 2, 25 asperitatem Caelii: Sen. de Ira, iii. 8, 6 oratorem ... iracundissimum. For an example of the style of Caelius, see Quint. iv. 2, 123-4, where Quintilian says 'nihilo his ... vehementius exprobrari ... potest.' Cp. on 21. 13.
gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae praeseferunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros in manuum sumpseris, scias quamvis in diversis ingeniis esse quandam iudicicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod invicem se obtractaverunt et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta, ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominem. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos esse invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitii addici: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenuo iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni inviderebat, qui michi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet, et si quos alios antiquorum agitare non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatere quae-


21. iudicium ac voluntatis, 'taste and sympathies.' So Cic. de Or. II. § 94. For iudicium, cp. 21. 38.

23. Nam quod. This use of quod ('as regards the fact that'), so common in Cicero and Caesar, is said to occur in Tacitus only here. For invicem se obtractaverunt, cp. Agric. vi. 4 invicem se anteponendo.

25. non malignitate nec invidia. Cp. 23. 25 malignatas et invidia: Agric. xii. 17 malignitate et livore: Hist. i. 1, 11 obtractatio et livor. There is a slight zeugma between these ablative and detexitve.

29. iudicium animi sui, 'his innermost convictions': cp. 27. ad fin., iudicium animi: Cic. de Or. 363 gaudeo iudicium animi mei comprobari. For Brutus's sincerity, cp. Quint. x. 1, 123 scias eum sentire quae dicit: also Caesar's remark about him (Cic. ad Att. xiv. 1, 2) 'magni refert hic quid velit, sed quiequid vult valde vult.'

29. An . . . invidere, 'Why should he have been jealous of': cp. crederes, videres, Roby, § 1544. So 'Ego tibi irascerem!' Cic. ad Qu. Fr. 1. 3, 1.

30. Quod ad . . . attinet. This formula is found in Tacitus only here, and in Agric. xxxiii. 23. In Quintilian the interrogative form (quid attinet?) is very common; also the negative (nihil attinet), which occurs once in Tacitus (Ann. xii. 69, 18).

Servium Galbam. See on 18. 3, where he is named along with Carbo, not Laelius. For the eloquence of Laelius, cp. Cic. Brut. § 83 sqq. multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille quam Scipio . . . deletari mihi magis antiquitate videtur et libenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Laelius.

32. exigunt. The subject is probably the id that must be supplied with the relative clause quod . . . attinet. Novak reads exigunt: cp. 24. 7 neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus.
dam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26. Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligienda sit forma dicendi, malim hercle C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga 5 induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercle ne virillis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia

26. i. optimo Put., optimo codd. 2 (and 6). hercle ABCADH, herculc EV.
4. orationem Andresen, oratorem codd. (hirtam togam ... insigniri Ritter, hirtam togam ... fucatis se Polle). 7. actores most codd., actores B (u in litura), actores A, oratores Ritter.

33. adhuc, 'as yet only': Hist. i. 31, 11 incipiens adhuc et needum adulta seditio. So Cic. Brut. § 27 non nascentibus Athenis sediam adulitis.

26. i. omisso optimo illo, &c., 'apart from the ideal of eloquence,' leaving the ideally perfect type out of account.


3. Crassi maturitatem, the 'ripe eloquence of Crassus': see Cic. de Or. ii. § 121: iiii. §§ 33, 171: Brut. §§ 143, 215. So Quint. xii. 10, 11 'maturitatem Afri': of ripe judgment, Hist. i. 87 ad fin. 'maturitatem Galli.' Cp. 18. 10.

calamistros, 'crimping-pins,' 'curling-tongs': a metaphor from the toilet, applied here to the bombastic flourish of words. Augustus was in the habit of making fun of these rhetorical flourishes of Maecenas: cuius μωροβρεχίδες, ut ait, cincinnos usque quaque persequitur et imitando pro locumi irritidet, Suet. Ang. 86, where the cincinni are the 'curledresses' which result from the application of the 'calamistri.' Cp. Cic. Or. § 78 Tum removibitur (sc. ex attico genere dicendi) omnis insignis ornatus quasi margaritarum, ne calamistri quidem adhibebantur: Brut. § 262 qui volent ulla (Caesars commentarios) calamistri inuerrre.—For the implied criticism of Maecenas, cp. Sen. Ep. 114, 4.

4. tinnitius, 'jingling,' 'cling-clang.' Cp. Quint. ii. 3, 9 nam tundidos et corruptos et tinnulos et quocumque alio cacozeliae genere peccantes certum habeo non virium, sed infirmitatis vitio laborare.

So tinnulæ sententiae (of Seneca), Fronto, p. 240.

Gallionis. The reference is to L. Iunius Gallio, the friend of Ovid and the elder Seneca: the former addresses to him a letter of condolence on the death of his wife (ex Ponto iv. 11), the latter names him as one of the foremost declaimers of his time (Contr. x. pr. 13). Quintilian speaks of him disparagingly, ix. 2, 91 'remissius et pro suo ingenuo ... Gallio.' He adopted one of the sons of M. Seneca, who took his name, and is the Gallio known to us in connexion with the life of St. Paul (Acts xviii. 12).

toga ... vestibus. The figure by which style is spoken of as the covering of thought is common in Cicero: de Or. i. § 142 tum ea (sc. inventa) denique vestire atque ornatae oratione: Brut. § 262 omni ornatu orationum tamquam veste detracta: § 274 reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis et bellucenas vestiabet oratio. Cp. Quint. xiii. 10, 47 do tempori ne hirta toga sit, non ut serica; viii. 3, 6.

5. fucatis. Cp. Cic. de Or. iii. § 100 cincinnis ac foce: ii. § 188 sine pigmentis fucoque picturis: iii. § 199: Brut. § 136 in qua naturalis ineset non fucatus nitor: de Am. § 95 fucata et simulata. Tr. 'the paint and hinery of the courtesan.'

7. actores, 'counsel.' In Cicero, act or is used with special reference to actio (delivery): de Or. iii. § 216 ex quo satis significavit quantum esset in actione quia orationem eandem aliam fore putari actore mutato: Brut. § 221 fortis vero actor et vehemens: § 316: Or. § 61. Quintilian uses it as a synonym for orator:
verborum et levitatem sententiaram et licentia compositionis historiales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactare cantari saltarique commentarios suos: unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens facetis hominibus exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare

12. frequens facetis hominibus is my conj.: freq. sicut his clà et AHSp. (clà et B, clà et CÀD, clausula et some edd.), sicut hisdarn et V, sicut hisdarn . . . et E: frequens quibusdam Rhenanus, and most edd., fr. si dis placet Andersen, fr. circuitis scholarum Möller, fr. iam et usitata Buchholz, sed tamen frequentissima iam est Heller. 

13. tenere Lipsius, tenere codd.

ii. 12, 11. That other associations lingered round the word, may however be seen from xi. 3, 184 ne dum actiori cap- tamus elegantiam, perdamus viri boni et gravis auctoritatem.

lascivias verborum, ‘frivolity of style’: cp. 29. 7 parvulos assumfaciunt . . . lasciviæ et dicacitati, and see on 10. 16 ele- gorum lascivias. Cp. also Quint. xii. 10, 73 genus dicendi quod puerilibus senten- tiolis lascivit: x. 1, 43 recens haec lascivia deliciæque.

8. levitatem . . . compositionis, ‘shallow thoughts and disorderly structure,’ For sententiaram = sensum, see on 20. 16.

histrionales modos: they reproduce the ‘rhythms of the stage’—a thing which Cicero also deprecates, de Or. i. § 251. Cp. below, ‘cantari saltarique commentarios,’ In the canticum, or lyrical position of a Roman play, the cantor sang to a flute accompaniment, while the actor indicated by appropriate gestures the meaning of the words. For this sense of modus, cp. Ann. xvi. 4, 14 plebs urbis, histrionum quoque gestus iuvare solita, personabat certis modis (‘in set time’) plausque composito: xiv. 15, 5. The adj. his- trionalis is peculiar to Tacitus: it occurs below, 29. 10, and once again Ann. i. 16. 11.

9. quod . . . debeat. For the sub- junctive, cp. quod interdum pudeat, Cic. de Or. 1, § 40: quod miserandum sit, de N. D. iii. § 62.

10. laudis . . . loco: ‘as something commendable, famous, and clever.’ In- genii is used after loco by a construction rather different from that which connects ‘laudis et gloriae’ with ‘loco.’ With the latter, Novak compares ‘quod gloriae loco . . . dixit,’ Quint. Decl. 267, 4.

plerique, ‘many’: see on 2. 10.

cantari saltarique, ‘that their speeches can be sung, and danced to.’ Cp. Cic. Or. § 57 est autem etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus paene canticum, where Dr. Sandsy quotes Quint. xi. 3, 58 and 167: i. 8, 1–2.—For can- tari, cp. Quint. ix. 4, 1.42 si sit necesse, durum potius atque asperam compositionem malin esse quam effeminatam et enervem, quals apud multos, et cotidie magis lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat. So again xi. 3. 57, Quintillian asks, ‘quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scenica?:’ and by way of concluding (§ 181) repeats his warning against the immoderate use of stage-methods, ‘non enim comœcum esse, sed oratorem volo.’ Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 14, 12 Pudet referre quae quam fracta pronun- tiatione dicantur, quibus quam teneris claramoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt.

11. commentarios. For this meaning, see on 23. 10.

12. frequens facetis hominibus. With facetis to represent sicut his of the MSS. it is possible to see in clà a case of a misunderstood contraction: the et before exclamatio must have resulted from some sort of dittography. I had also thought of ‘frequentissima his moribus exclamatio,’ though the superlative seems not to occur in Tacitus.—For the dative after ‘frequens,’ cp. Ann. ii. 33, 6 erat adhuc frequens senatorius . . . promere.

exclamatio, ‘of a pointed utterance’: cp. 31. 29 below.

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15 ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis. Primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non

20 pugnat, sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem expectabam ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. Nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune,

16 plus bilis. So Quint. x. 1, 117 nam et ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira et urbanitas et fervor, sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit. Praeterea ut amari sales, ita frequenter amari-tudo ipsa ridicula est.

19. armis incompositus: 'awkward with the weapons,' &c. For the ablative, editors quote Quint. iv. 5, 16 incompositus moribus. The juxtaposition of res, verba, and incompositus would naturally lead us to expect in the last a reference to composition, in respect of which Cassius is censured by M. Seneca: cp. 21. 17, and Quint. x. 3, 9 res . . . . verba . . . composition, 2 § 13, 1 § 118. But it seems better to take incompositus in the general sense of 'disordered,' in which it is appropriate to the military figures in the context: elsewhere in Tacitus the word is used only of the disordered array of an army, Hist. ii. 40, 6; iii. 48, 3; iv. 34, 19. Cassius did not know how to handle his weapons: cp. the use of inhabinis.—For arma in this sense cp. Quint. x. 1, 30; xii. 5, 1. The military tone of the passage is kept up in in aciem deductere, and agmen producere, below.

plerumque = sape: see on 6. 8.

deiectus, sc. de gradu: cp. Cic. de Off. 1 § 80 tumultuante de gradu deici, ut dicitur, where Holden points out that gradus (cp. de statu, Off. 1 § 79) is the posture of a man with his legs apart: so that the figure is taken from a combatant who loses his balance through eagerness to strike and is thus 'thrown off his guard': cp. Quint. iv. 2, 26 in armorum ratione antiquior cavendi quam lectum inferendi cura est. So ad Att. xvi. 15, 3 mibi videtur . . . deictus de gradu: Tusc. ii. § 58 de dignitatis gradu demon. pro Caec. § 42.

22. rixatur, of 'brawling,' as opposed to scientific fighting. Quint. ii. 12, 2 qui armorum inscius in rixam ruit: vi. 4, 9: xi. 1, 29.

23. sustinuit = fr. & 'did not venture to,' 'could not bring himself to': Hist. i. 37. This use is common in Ovid, also in Quintilian.

28. in publicum = in universum, 'in general.' Cp. Ann. xiii. 56, 4 haec in
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veritus, credo, ne multos offenderet si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione frustratur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum? At ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis adpareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

27. 'Appara te' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus quas te solitum tractare paulo ante dixisti, plane miitor et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo.'

29. offenderet most codd., laederet B. 31. sed codd., etsi Schoell, Halm, Müller.

33. fracta B, freia ADCHEV.

27. 1. Appara te B, Apparate AC (above the line aparte), Apparte DA, Aperte EV, Appropera HSp., Appropera Pat. See below. 2. hoc EV, CAH, hec AB, etsi D.

4. dixisti suppl. Lipsius: Halm after tractare. tum quidem plane Haase, Müller. miitor et eloquentiae Schele, miitor eloquentia et codd.

5. minus iratus Weissenborn, miratus iratus codd.

publicum Ampsivariis ('to the A. as a people') respondit, ipsi Boiocatio, &c.

in commune (eiis 70 covs) is specially frequent in Tacitus (Gerber and Gref, p. 589). For a similar antithesis to that cited above, cp. Germ. xxvii. 9 haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepius: nunc singularum gentium instituta, &c.

29. excerpsisset. The meaning is rather different here from 22. 13 nihil excerpere... possis, where the word literally = to extract. Cp. with the text Quint. x. 1, 44 paucos enim, qui sunt eminentissimse, excerpere in animo est: Liv. xxiv. 18, 7.

30. scholasticorum, 'professional rhetoricians': cp. 15. ad fn.

persuasione. The word is frequent in this sense in Quintilian xi. 3, 11 verum illi persuasione sua fruantur. Tr. 'how few there are who do not flatter themselves by imagining,' &c.


Gabinianus, Sex. Iulius, was a countryman of Aper's, and a rhetorician of great repute. In the index to Suetonius's fragmentary work de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, his name is placed immediately before that of Quintilian: Roth, p. 272.


Ch. 27. Maternus interrupts Messalla, in order to remind him that he had undertaken to discuss the causes of the decline of oratory.

27. 1. Appara te, the reading of the MSS. is as likely to be right as anything that it has been proposed to substitute for it. Maternus is often abruptly emphatic in introducing a sentence: cp. credite, 41. 19. Tr. 'Make ready,'—Halm (after Michaelis) reads 'At parce': perhaps 'Apro parce' would be better. Müller has 'Operae parce,' Usener suggests 'Ah parce,' Meiser 'Apparet.'

2. colligi: 17. 34. 83. 19. For the acc. c. inf. (after 'desideramus') see Dr. § 146.

3. in confesso: 25. 7. 4. paulo ante: 15. 12.

plane ('distinctly') miitor et... minus iratus: so 35. 14 plane leviore et minus prudentiae exignites.

6. maiores tuos. A reference may be included here to 25. 6; but more specifically the phrase indicates Messalla's relationship to Messalla Corvinus 20. 2: 21. 36. So in Hist. iii. 9 Messalla is spoken of as 'claris maioribus.'
'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri disputatione, nec nunc vos offendi debitis, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi auscit

10 damnus adfectus proferre.'

'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.'

28. Et Messalla: 'Non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris, nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descripsi ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia

7. Apri Vahlen, a prima codd., Apri mei Schurzflieisch. nec nunc is my conj. nam nec EVvΔ, nam et ABDH, nec Put. and Halm, who also proposes nec iam (Andersen nec mea). 8. perstringat AB, perstringit EVvΔABH, perstringit D. 11. et cum EVvΔ (om. HSp.), cum ABD. 12. a qua b and edd., qua codd. 28. Et EVvΔADH, Qui AB, Tum B corr., Cui Halm: perhaps Atque. 5. hominum codd., honorum Baehrens, praemium Helmreich, ingenium Jacob, optum hominem Novak.

7. nec nunc, 'and no more must you now,' &c. Cp. Ann. xi. 30, 6 nec nunc adulteria obiecturam ait. 8. perstringat, of what that grates upon the ear. Similarly Hor. Car. ii. 17 Iam nunc minaci murmurum cornum Perstringitis aures, 'deafen': and in Cicero (for to 'chafe,' 'graze,' 'wound slightly'), pro Sest. § 14 ut eos quorum sceleris furore violatos esse vocem libitatem perstringerem. 9. citra damnnum adfectus, 'without any loss of good-will.' Adfectus here —good-feeling; cp. Ann. xiv. 27, 12 sine adfectibus mutuis (= sine consensus et caritate): Agr. xxiii. 8 fide et adfectu teneri. Similar genitives often follow damnnum in Tacitus: Ann. iii. 58, 11 nullo sacrorem damno. Andersen takes adfectus as an explanatory genitive: 'the disadvantage involved in excited feeling.'—For this use of citra (= sine) cp. 41. 25 citra obtrectationem: Agric. xxxvi. 6 citra Romanum sanguinem: Germ. xvi. 8 citra speciem aut delectationem. So Ov. Trist. v. 8, 23 peccavi citra scelus ('short of'): Plin. Ep. ii. 1, 4 citra dolorem tamen: Lucan iv. 728, and frequently in Quintilian, x. 1, 2; 7 § 7; xii. 6, 4.

Ohs. 28—35. Speech of Messalla, tracing the decline of eloquence to (1) the loss of the old system of home training in early youth, and the substitution of the mechanical routine for general culture (chs. 28—32); and, after a short interruption, (2) the usurpation by the schools of rhetoric of the part that had been played in former days by distinguished leaders of the bar, to whom the young aspirant was in the habit of attaching himself (chs. 33—35). 28. 1. Et Messalla. For the opening, cp. Cic. de Or. iii. 48 Tum Crassus 'perpulgitas res requiris' inquit 'et tibi non incognitas. Quis enim,' &c.: ib. 1 § 137: de Rep. 1 § 70. 2. aut ... aut ... vel. In the similar passage 15. 9, above, we have aut ... aut ... aut. The use of vel here must be intended to indicate subordination: 'neither to you, on the one hand, nor to either of our friends, on the other.' So Ann. iv. 3, in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum: ib. 49, 14 non ideo aut consules ... Thrasea ... ceterae (where Thrasea has carried the senate with him against the consul). 5. inopia hominum. It seems best to keep to the reading of the MSS.: there is no lack of suitable persons, but their abilities are not turned to proper account. So 'inopia advocatorum,' Ann. xi. 7, 3.—Andersen takes 'inopia' of want of
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juventutis et negligentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italian fusa, iam in provincias manant. Quaquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitios loquar, quae natos statim excipiam et per singulos actatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixerro. Nam pridem suas cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptae nutrices, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectabili; cp.infirmitas ingenii 19.4. Hominum est then a defining genitive ‘on the part of’ those who furnish the natural material for the practice of eloquence and the other arts. On this interpretation, John compares Cic. de Or. i. § 16 where ‘praestantissima hominum ingenia’ is mentioned among the requirements of eloquence.

6. praecipientium = praeceretum.

For the substantial use of the present participle, cp. Quintilian x. Introd. p. xlix. So discentium = discipulorum 30. 1, below: cp. dicentium, orantes 6. 18, and 20.—On the inscientia and other faults of the praecipitores cp. Quint. xii. 11, 14.

7. moris antiqui: Hist. ii. 64, 9.

8. Quamquam, used as an adverb (‘however’) only here and 33.16: Germ. xvii. 5: Ann. xii. 65, 12.

9. vestra, referring to ‘in provincias,’ above. Aper and Secundus were natives of Gaul, and so also, in all probability, was Maternus. Messalla himself was the only Roman in the company. An antithesis to vestra is contained in his, below, which is used, as often, with reference to existing and familiar conditions; cp. 7. 16 tunicatus hic populus: 21. 4 haec ossa: Quint. x. i. 43 recens haec lascivia.

propris ac vernaculis, i.e. our own home-grown Roman vices, those that surround, as it were, our cradle (natos statim excipium): so propria et peculiaria huius urbis vita, 29. 9. For propris = domesticus, cp. Ann. xii. 29. 14; Hist. iv. 16, 9. So crimen domesticum ac vernaculum, Cic. in Verr. ii. 3. 141.

10. si prius ... praedixerro, 16. 5; 18. 7.

severitate ac disciplina: so 24 below, ‘disciplina ac severitas,’ of a rigorous system of training; cp. 29. ad fin. severitate disciplinae: Germ. xxv. 7 non disciplina et severitate: Ann. vi. 15, 7 Cassius ... severa patris disciplina eductus.

12. circa: cp. Ann. xi. 15, 7 publica circa bonas artes socordia, and see on 3. 16 above. With the gerundive (as here) it is frequent in Quintilian and Pliny the Younger.


15. Eligebatur autem, i.e. when the mother could not undertake the whole charge herself.

16. probatis spectatique, a not unusual collocation: homines ... spectati et probati, Cic. de Or. i. § 124.
tisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factum videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam Iususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti [matrem] praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integras et nullas pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arripeter artes honestas, et sive ad rem militarem sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

18. dicere EHB corr., discere most codd. Acciam most codd. matrem codd., del. Sauppe. militarem AB.

18. coram qua. It has been proposed to refer qua to suboles (cp. 29, 5, quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat): but this breaks the continuity of the passage, and 'suboles' cannot be separated from 'eiusdem familiae.' Qua must be connected with propinqua. The latter is, as it were, the mother's deputy; and what is said of her is inferentially still more true of the mother herself. This explains the transition, through 'temperabat,' to the statement about the well-known matrons of antiquity. The mother is thought of throughout, even where her 'deputy' is mentioned.—John simplifies the passage still further by reading 'aut eligebatur' for 'eligebatur autem': perhaps 'eligebatur autem interdum.' He is undoubtedly right in insisting that the contrast is not between the old-fashioned respect for children and the shamelessness of their attendants now, but between the conscientious care which parents used to bestow on upbringing and supervision and the modern 'happy-go-lucky' system.

19. curas... remissiones. Cp. Agric. ix. 8 iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa.


23. produxisse, of training up, Juv. xiv. 228.

24. eo pertinebat, ut. 'The object of this was': cp. Ann. iii. 12, 16. Others take it of the result secured, rather than of the end aimed at.

sincera et integras, 'sound at the core and uncontaminated': Hist.iv.64, 20 sincerus et integer et servitutis oblivis populus. 

25. arriperet. Founding on Verg. Aen. iv. 551, ix. 276, Prof. Nettleship proposed (Journ. Phil. xix. p. 110) to read acciperet: but the lex. show similar instances of the use of 'arripere' in Cicero and Nepos.

28. hauriret. Cp. 30. 16; 31. 32: Agric. iv. 15 sc... studium philosophiae aceris... hausisse.
29. At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntu; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiae parvulos adusuefacti, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudicantia irrepit et sui alienique contemptus.

29. 1. delegatur. So Germ. xx. 3 nec ancillis aut nutritibus delegantur (sc. infantes).


2. unus aut alter. See on 21.6. The slaves referred to would be the 'paedagogi' or 'custodes.' For a contrast, cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 86 sq. Ipsa mihi custos incorruptissimum, &c.

plerumque. See on 6. 8.

3. cuiquam. This is the only instance in Tacitus of the adjectival use of this pronoun. It is more usually found along with names of persons or words implying personality: cp. note on Quint. x. 2, 6.

4. erroribus, perhaps best taken as = 'peccatis' (Hist.iii. 37.8; iv.52.6), though a stronger word might have been looked for, in the case of slaves: tr. 'their gossip and follies.' Baehrens compares Minucius Felix, xxiii. i has fabulas et errores ab imperitis parentibus discimus. Others take the word of the perversities and prejudices of the 'paedagogi': cp. Quint. i. 1, 8 nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, &c. It is unnecessary to substitute 'moribus' or 'sermonibus,' as has been proposed.

teneri et rudes. These adjectives are commonly used to denote the plasticity of youth: John quotes Cic. de Leg. i. § 47 teneros et rudes cum aceperunt inficiunt et flectunt quo volunt: ii. § 38 animali teneri atque molles: Quint. i. 11, 2 quae mentem praeceuque in actate prima teneram adhuc et rudem inficiunt: ib. i. 15 & 20: Hor. Ep. i. 2, 64.

5. in tota domo. In such phrases the preposition is sometimes inserted (cp. Hist. i. 4, 3 in toto orbe terrarum), sometimes omitted (Hist. iv. 58, 24 toto terrarum orbe).

pensi habet: Hist. i. 46, 13: Ann. xiii. 15, 19. The phrase is found in Sallust and Livy, as well as in Quintilian and later writers: Roby §§ 1298, 1301.—Compare on the other hand Juvenal's well-known 'Maxima debetur puero reverentia,' xiv. 47.

6. nee . . . neque: so 41. 22; Germ. ix. 6; Hist. iv. 31. 5; Ann. ii. 3, 10. There is thus no need for the emendation non . . . neque.

7. lasciviae et dicacitati, 'pertness and sauciness'; cp. Quint. vi. 3, 41 Siculi quidem, ut sunt lascivi et dicaces, siebant in delphino sedisse et sic tamquam Ariona transvsectum. See the parallel passage in Quint. i. 2, 7 Gaudentius, ut quid licentius dixerint, &c.

8. impudentia irrepit. So Plin. Ep. iii. 20, 8 est enim periculum ne . . . impudentia irrepit.

sui alienique contemptus, 'want of self-respect, as well as of respect for others.' Alieni is used here on the analogy of sui, which is an objective genitive, Roby § 1312. It therefore practically = alienum: just as in Ann. xv. 57, 11, for example (in tanta necessitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo), alienos is much the same as alios. In
Iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vita paene in utero matris concepi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? Quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam alius loquitur? Quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem  ullam crebris cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et incelebris adulationis.

30. Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis

12. *relinquit ABEV₂H, relinquitur CΔD. invenies EV₂CΔDH, invenires AB.
14. Ne edd., Nec codd. except E.

other contexts, the opposition between *suum* and *alienum* is of material property: Sall. Cat. v. 4 alieni adpetens, sui pro-fusus: cp. ibid. xii. 2: Tac. Hist. i. 4, 9: Cic. de Or. i. § 173. So here John 'wan of regard for what is one's own, as well as for what belongs to others': the explanation being that, when a man loses his sense of what is right, he will both sacrifice what is his own and take what does not belong to him in the reckless pursuit of pleasure. But the other rendering supposes a construction into which a writer like Tacitus might easily have slipped. In any case there is no sufficient ground for rejecting the whole expression with Gudeman, as an interlinear gloss supplied by a monkish scribe.


*gladiatorum.* The word is here used by metonymy for 'spectaculum gladiato-rum.' So frequently in Tacitus 'gladiatores edere.'

11. *equorum, 'horse-racing.' For the form which it took at Rome, see Plin. Ep. ix. 6, and Professor Mayor's exhaustive notes on Juvenal xi. 197 sqq.

*occupatus et obsessus animus.* Tacitus constantly uses such participles in place of abstract verbal substantives or their equivalents, especially as the subject of a verb. 37, 25.

12. *Quotum quemque.* See on Quint. x. 1, 41. Mayor (i. c.) quotes the admonition of Epictetus, Man. 33 § 32, 'Speak seldom, and in few words: when occasion demands it, speak, but not on trivial matters, not of sword plays, nor of horse races, nor of athletes.'

14. Ne ... quidem, as at 10. 1, and 40. 14. The MSS. have nec ... quidem which some try to explain as = ac ne ... quidem (13. 1 and 24. 9): but Helmreich is right in holding that nec is a copyist's error, especially as the suggested explanation cannot be applied to passages like Ann. iv. 35, 8 quis nec (so M) victor quidem abolevit; xiv. 35, 7 (where see Furneaux), or Hist. i. 62, 2. So in Agr. xviii. 31 B gives nec while A has ne.

17. *experimento = documento, as often: Ann. xii. 6, 6 datum ab ea succeditatis experimentum.*

*ambitione, &c., 'by interested visits of ceremony and all the tricks of toadyism.'*

30. 1. *Transeo,* more usually omittor or praestere. For the form of the sentence, consisting of two independent clauses, (instead of ut transeam in the first) cp. Cic. pro Sest. § 54. omittor gratulationes, epulas, partitionem aerarii . . . vexabatur uxor mea, liber ad necem quaerabantur: de Sen. § 52.

*discentium.* See on praecipiumt 28. 6. For these 'prima elementa,' see Quintilian's first book.

*et ipsis.* In Tacitus, et ipsis occurs
parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. Sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant;

30. 3. notitia corr. BE and edd., notitiam most codd. and Baehrens. 4. vocant EVrΔ, vocat is D, vocatis AB, vocant ut HSp.

most frequently in the nominative; cp. 37. 15 below, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant, and for other instances see Gerber and Grefe, s.v. et, pp. 399, 400. The ablative is found Hist. i. 42, i Titum inde Vinium invasere: de quo et ipsa ambitigur, &c. In Livy, et ipse is frequently used, like ipse quoque, as = kal avrés. No conclusive instance can be cited from Cicero: see on Quintilian x. 1, 31.

2. nec in, &c. After the 'prima elementa,' the education of a Roman youth was continued in 'grammaticae' or 'litteratura' (Quint. ii. 1, 4); and Messalla's complaint is that both these stages were now prematurely displaced by a barren and unreal training in the technical rules of rhetoric.

auctoribus = scriptoribus. In the Ciceronian age, auctor carried with it the idea of 'authority,' 'warrant,' or the like: see on Quint. x 1, 24. For 'cognoscere auctores,' cp. Quint. x. 5, 8.

evolvenda antiquitate. Cic. de Or. i. § 18 tenenda praetera est omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis. While the reading and explanation of great writers, especially poets, was the most important function of the 'grammaticus' (Quint. i. 4–9), instruction was also given in history (Cic. de Or. i. § 187; Quint. i. 2, 14; cp. x. 1, 34 with the notes), as well as in the elements of science and philosophy,—physics, logic, and ethics (Quint. i. 4, 4); thus Quintilian says of 'grammaticae' in ii. 1, 4 'tennis a fonte adsumptis poetaum historicorumque viribus pleno iam satis alveo fluit, cum praeter rationem recto loquendi non parum alioqui copiosam prope omnium maximarum artium scientiam amplexa sit.'

3. rerum, 'departments of knowledge' (cp. omnium rerum scientia, below): hominum, 'human nature,' 'character': temporum, 'circumstances.' Concrete conditions, Messilla means, are not sufficiently studied; their place is taken by 'fictae et nullo modo ad veritatem accedentes controversiae' (31. 3). That this is the meaning seems to me to be evident from a comparison of the defini-

tion with which the chapter concludes, where we have again 'rerum,' 'temporum' and 'audientium. The necessity for a knowledge of character ('hominum notitiam,' cp. nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam, 31. 11) and for a due appreciation of the effect which different situations are likely to produce upon the feelings of an audience ('temporum notitia'), is enlarged on in the next chapter: see esp. 'sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos . . . dicendum habuerit,' &c., and cp. Cic. Or. § 123 sit temporum personarumque moderator, nam nec semper nec apud omnes . . . eodem modo dicendum arbitror.—John, however, gives a very different interpretation, which is sufficiently ingenious to merit special notice. He thinks that, just as 'antiquitas' in the text refers to 'history and antiquities,' so 'res' denotes physics (including astronomy), as in 'rerum motus causasque,' in line 22, below; while by 'homenes' he understands ethics and psychology (31. 4), and by 'tempora' a knowledge of political theory. The last branch would correspond to Cicero's 'prudentia iuris publici,' de Or. i. §§ 301, 256, or 'rerum civilium cognitione et prudentia,' ib. i. § 60: cp. also ib. i. §§ 159, 165, 48: ii. §§ 72, 76. This would leave only dialectics or logic without special reference in the enumeration of the functions of the 'grammaticus.'

4. insumitur = impediment. So also in Quintilian (iii. 4, 5), but more usually with the dative, as Ann. iii. 44, 7 libellis accusatorum insumeret operam, and ch. 9. 1, above, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat. It is not necessary to read 'in notitiam,' with Baehrens: in with the ablative denotes 'the sphere in which.'

Sed, after a negative clause, 'No'; cp. ãllã. They spend too little time on preparatory training: the 'rhetor' is prematurely called in.

quos rhetorás vocant: cp. 35. 2 isto- rum qui rhetores vocantur. So Crassus in de Or. i. § 52 ipsi magistri qui rhetorici vocantur: iii. § 54 hórum qui nunc ita appellantur rhetorum.
5 quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, statim dicturus prius referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accipimus, quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum assiduae exercitaciones ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem

7. dicturus. The fact that this promise is not redeemed till 36. 2—not till after Messalla has made a fresh beginning of his speech, need not cause much difficulty. Such incongruities may be held to give even a greater air of reality to dramatic discourse. At the end of 32 Messala ‘pulls himself up,’ as it were, more or less abruptly, and it is only on resuming his remarks that he remembers to refer to the promise made here.—This explanation renders superfluous all the laboured emendations of the critics (non latius dicturus, Nipperdey; iam non persecuturus, Michaelis; est alienum decurrere, Knaut; securs statim, Meiser and Baehrens) based on the belief that Messalla is mentioning the matter only to pass it by: it also negatives the view of those (Peter, Andrsen, and others) who think that Messalla refers to the immediate sequel, in which, while proceeding to speak of the all-round character of the old training, he points at the same time, indirectly and by implication, to the low esteem in which the schools of rhetoric were held in former days. Usener and Baehrens even go the length of reading ‘introductast quam’ for ‘introducta sit quamque,’ recognizing the fact that, at the most, the sequel can only be held to contain an answer to the ‘quam...habuerit’ clause: against them John rightly points out that, in that case, the usage of Tacitus would have led us to expect cum instead of quando primum.

The corruption of dicturus into the decuritis of the MSS. is supposed by Helmreich to point to a marginal gloss (de curis priorum oratorum) intended to indicate the subject of the following passage: cp. 30. 27, where G gives ‘ornate quid orator et’ for ‘ornate et,’ while in the rubric there is Quid sit oratoris primum (Quis orator H. De officio oratoris B.).

prius. Cp. Quint. viii. 3, 41 Ceterum dicturus quibus ornetur oratio, prias ea... attingam. John adds Hieron. Ep. 149. 3 de Pascha paulo latius aliquid dicturus prius ostendere vlo, et holds that prius is an indispensable insertion as it indicates the purely temporal relation between dicturus and referam.

10. continentur, i.e. evidence of it may be found in their own writings, as Cic. Brut. Lxxxix—xxciii. For this use of ‘continenti,’ cp. Ann. i. 11, 15: Hist. v. 13, 8. utique, ‘of course’ : so 18, 21 Legistis utique...epistulas: 23. 6. extrema parte: ch. 89 § 304 sq.


14. Q. Mucium. The reference is to Q. Mucius Q. F. Scaeva, the Augur, as is evident from Brutus § 306: ego autem iuris civilis studio multum operae dabam Q. Scaevolae Q. f., &c.: cp. §§ 101, 212, Philipp. viii. § 31. This Scaevola was the friend and son-in-law of Laelius, and the father-in-law of the orator Crassus. He was born about 160 B.C.: he went to Asia as praetor in 121: was consul 117: and died after 88. He is one of the interlocutors in the de Oratore (see Wilkins, Introdt. p. 21 sq.), the de Re Publica, and the de Amicitia. The family
Academicum, apud Diocotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiaem quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercule in librís Ciceronis reprehendere licet, non geometriæ, non musicæ, non grammaticæ, non denique ullius ingenuæ artis scientiam ei defuisset. Ille dialectice subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is to which he belonged had a hereditary talent for law (de Or. i. § 39); and it is perhaps the even higher reputation of his cousin the Pontifex (Q. Mucius P. F. Scaevola) as a lawyer that has led editors to understand the passage as referring to him. It was to the Pontifex (consul in 95: murdered in 82 by Damasippus in the vestibule of the Temple of Vesta) that Cicero betook himself on the death of the Angur (de Am. § 1); but though there are frequent references to him in the Brutus, this fact is not mentioned there.

Philonem. See the same passage of the Brutus, § 306: eodemque tempore (i.e. B. C. 88) cum principes Academiæ Philo cum Athenienses optimissimæ Mithridatico bello domo profugisset Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidì, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus. Cp. Acad. i. 4. 13: Tusc. ii. 3. 9.

15. Diocotum. See Brutus § 309; and cp. Acad. ii. § 115: Tusc. v. 113: ad Fam. xiii. 16. 4. He was well versed in mathematics and music as well as in philosophy: N. D. i. 3. 6: ad Att. ii. 20. 6. 16. hauisse. Cp. id universum hauriet. 28. ad fin. For pennis, see on 2. 9. contentum . . . peragrasse. So Brut. § 316 Quibus non contentus Rhodium veni: § 315 post a me Asia tota peragrata est. 17. copia = access to, 'facultas': cp. 34. 16. Tr. 'whose teaching he had been so fortunate as to enjoy at Rome.'

21. dialectione. There is the same

division in Cic. de Fin. i. § 49 una pars est naturae, dissersendi altera, vivendi tertia: cp. Quint. xii. 2, 10 in tres divisa partes, naturne, moralen, rationen.

22. moralis partis utilitatem, 'the practical lessons of ethics.' rerum, of the phenomena of the physical world.

23. ex multa eruditione. Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 20. Ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi crit omni rerum magnam atque artium scientiam consecutus: etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet operi oratio. So Quintilian says of Cicero (x. i, 109), 'Non enim plurivas, ut ait Pindarum, 'aqua coligitt, sed vivo gurgite exundat,' dono quodam providentiae genius in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experitur.

25. vis et facultas, his 'function and activity,' the whole range of his energies. John points out that orator and res correspond, as in 7. 11 oratores et ars. For res in the sense of 'art' cp. Cic. de Or. i. §§ 9, 19, 20, 128, and passim. There is no necessity for substituting orationis: the expression 'vis et facultas' is equally applicable to both the art and the artist. Compare Cic. de Or. i. § 142 omnis oratoris vis ac facultas with Quint. xii. 1, 33 vis ac facultas dicendi.

26. angustis et brevibus. These synonyms recur Germ. vi. 3 angusto et brevi ferro: Plin. Ep. ii. 7. 4 vita eius brevis et angusta. The same point is
est orator qui de omni quaeestione pulchre et ornate ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31. Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficientium intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis lingua modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad

31. i. hoc EV₂CA, hoc BDH, hoc A. ad hoc efficientum AΔC, ad haec efficienda cett. codd. 4. exercerent EV₂H, exercet ABCΔD. iis CA, his D, his ABEV₂, in his HVSp., illis Baehrens. 6. enim est ABH, est enim EV₂CAD: see Introduct. p. lxxxiv, note.

frequently urged by Cicero: cp. de Or. ii. § 5 neminem eloquentiam ... sine omn. sapientia florecere unquam et praestare potuisse. Etenim ceterae fere artes se ipsae per se tuentur singulae: bene dicere autem ... non habet definitam aliquam regionem cuius terminis saepa tenetur. 26. auditur, 'simplex pro composito,' Dr. § 25 : cp. Introd. p. lvi.

is est orator, &c. Cic. de Or. i. 64 is orator erit mea sententia hoc tam gravi dignum nomine, qui, quaecumque res inciderit quaesitum dicit, prudenter et composito et ornate et memoriter dicit, cum quadratura actionis etiam dignitate. 27. pulchre, of grace or beauty of style, as Cic. Or. § 227 pulchre et oratorie dicere: cp. de Fin. § 63. This is much simpler than to take the word in a moral sense (καλος) and to refer it, with John, to Quintilian's 'maxim non posse oratem esse nisi bonum, ipr. § 9: cp. ii. 15. 1. ornate, 31. 10: cp. 18. 10. 21. 11. The word does not so much indicate any one definite attribute of style, as that union of qualities which gives distinction and éclat: for Cicero's definition, see de Or. iii. § 53 (quoted on 18. 10).

ad persuadendum apte. So 'apposite to persuadendum,' Cic. de Inv. i. § 6: 'ad persuadendum accommodate,' de Or. i. § 138. See Quint. ii. 15.

28. ad utilitatem temporum, in accordance with what is expedient in the circumstances. Cp. Quint. x. 3. 15 quid res poscat ... quod sit tempus: xi. 1. 46.

29. cum voluptate audientium. Ad Herenn. § 2 cum adsensione auditorum. 31. 2. opus esse ... ut. This construction, which occurs in Tacitus only here, is found in Plautus, Truc. v. 1. 11

opus nutrici ... utrem ut habeat veteris vini: ib. ii. 3. 7 nihil ... opus est ut lavem: ii. 6. 19 nunc tibi opus aget ut te adimules: Poen. v. 7. 20 hic opus est aliquot ut maneas dies.

3. fictis ... controversiis. Cic. de Or. i. § 149 equidem proba ista ... ut causa aliqua posita consimili causarum carum quae in forum deferuntur, dicit quam maxime ad veritatem accommodata. Sed plerique in hoc vocem modo, neque eum scirent, et vires exercerunt suas et linguae celeritate incitant verborumque frequentia delectantur. Quint. x. 2. 12 quo fit ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes haebeant quam orationes, quod in illis vera in his adsumilata materia est: ib. 5 § 17.

veritatem, 'real life.'

4. pectus, the mind: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 9 quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta. So again Cic. de Or. iii. § 121 non enim solum acuedua nobis neque procudenda lingua, sed onerandum comprehendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, veritate.

5. bonis ... malis. The enumeration shows that the moral aspect is prominent, as Ann. vi. 36. 13 (quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura) and elsewhere. John, on the other hand, understands material good and evil,—what we meet with in practical life: Cic. de Or. i. § 42 nihil te de bonis rebus in vita nihil de malis didicisse, Or. § 118.

6. subiecta ad dicendum materia, the subject matter of oratory, ἡ ἀποκειμένη ὑπη. So Cic. de Or. ii. § 116 ad probandum autem duplex est oratori subiecta materiae: ib. i. § 201. iii. § 54. Cp. uberum ad dicendum materiam 37. 28.
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

dicendum materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate, in laudationibus de honestate disserimus, ita tamen ut plerumque haec ipsa in vicem miscantur: de quibus copiose et variè et ornate nemo dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et habet intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluent, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat qui scit quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatur orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud

8. de utilitate, in laudationibus add. Ursinus.
9. tamen add. Acidaliius. haec ipsa EVGADH, haec AB. 12. habet add. Schopen (after intellectum), Halm as above. nec . . . nec AB, neque . . . neque CEv, nec . . . neque HSp. (this last may be right; cp. 29. 6 and G. and G. p. 422). in (before vitis) om. B. 14. ira et F. Jacob, iuae cod. 15. ad EVGAD, et ABDH. 17. versatur codd.

7. iudiciis . . . deliberationibus . . . laudationibus. The reference is here to the three genera causarum: (1) the genus iudiciale (diuini), (2) the genus deliberativum sive susorium (sumbolventi), and (3) the genus demonstrativum (nepheleptorum) or laudativum (fénumvati). See Cope, Arist. Rhet. Introd. 118-123, and the notes on 13. § 1: Cic. de Inv. i. §§ 7, 8, 12; ii. §§ 12, 13: Orat. Part. §§ 10-14, 69-138: de Orat. i. § 141. A consideration of these passages (as well as a reference to the words de bonis ac mali —de honesto et turpi—de iusto et iniusto) will show the necessity of some such addition to the text as that made by Ursinus: cp. especially Cic. de Inv. ii. § 13. In iudiciis quid aequum sit quaeritur, in demonstratioibus quid honestum, in deliberationibus, ut nos arbitramur, quid honestum sit et quid utile. But looking to the two main divisions of 'deliberative' and 'forensic' eloquence (iudicia, deliberationes, Cic. de Or. i. § 141, cp. on 34. 15 below) it may be questioned whether the amended text ought not to run 'in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate et de honestate disserimus': this would render less necessary the tamen supplied immediaetely below, which is found in no MS.


in vicem miscantur. Cp. Agr. xxxviii. 5 Britanni . . . miscere in vicem consilia . . . dein separate. For the fact

cp. Quint. iii. 4, 16 stant enim quodam modo mutuis auxiliis omnia. Nam in laude iustitiae utilitasque tractatur et in consiliis honestas, et raro iudicalem invenieris causam in cuius parte non aliquid eorum quae supra diximus reperietur.

10. nisi qui cognovit. Cic. de Or. i. § 53 Quae nisi qui naturas hominum uiique omnes humanitatis causasque eae quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volent perficiere non poterit. For nisi quod cp. 37. 22: Quint. x. 7, 12.

12. habet intellectum. Sen. de Ben. iii. 17, 2 intellectum optimae rei . . . amiset: cp. on 19, 6 above. Helmreich cites the Ciceroan phrase 'intelligiamb habere': cp. also Ann. vi. 36, 13 quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura.—Following John, who takes intellectum as = vim, Andreasen now omits habet, and joins intellectum with cognovit, comparing ad respectum et referas 16. 26. But this is hard, and the compendium for habet may easily have dropped out.

13. etiam illa, i.e. as well as the faculty of speaking 'copiose et varie et ornate, ' facilius. Cp. on the other hand Antonius arguing against Crassus that the study of philosophy is not indispensable for the orator: de Or. i. § 220.

17. cupidos, 'biassed,' 'prejudiced' persons; partisans. The word might also mean 'well-disposed,' though before such an audience the orator would be less dependent on the rules of his art.
invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cuiusque natura postulabit adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam


18. tristes, 'sullen, ' morose.'
dicendum habuerit. See on 8. 11.
19. tenebit venas animorum: he will be able to 'put his finger on the pulse' of his audience. Cio. Cic. de Or. § 223 teneat orifert venas cuixusque generis, aetatis, ordinis. The orator is compared to a physician (cp. 41. 8): he must get into touch with his audience, and then proceed to treat the case before him (adhibebit manum), carefully selecting the appropriate tone for what he has to say (temperabit orationem), just as doctors regulate the proportions of a dose of medicine.—For the importance of studying the humours of the bench, cp. Quint. x. 3, 15 'qui indicis animus intuiti': and xii. 10, 56 'nam id quoque plurimum refert, quo modo audire indicex velit, atque eius vultus sape ipse rector est dicentis.'
cuiusque. The plural could not be used: for the singular cp. audior (for auditeres) 32. 7.—Helmreich supports postulabit by reference to Cic. Or. § 125 and Quint. v. 12, 14.
20. instrumento, 'stock-in-trade': Hor. Sat. i. 3, 131.
21. omnem usum, 'any and every purpose.'
Sunt apud quos, with indic., as Agr. xviii. 14 fuere quos illustravit.
adstrictum. So, alongside of contractum (as here of collectum) Brut. § 120 Nam ut Stoicorum astrictor est oratio aliquantoque contractor quam aures populi requirunt, sic illorum liberior et latior quam patitur consuetudo illiciorum et fori: ib. § 309 dialectica . . . quasi contracta et astricta eloquentia putanda est, ib. § 114. Cp. note on 25. 17 above. Tr. 'terse, concise, in which the indivi-

dual arguments are made to yield an immediate conclusion,' i.e. the separate proofs are rapidly summarized, or generalized.

dialecticae. The Stoic logic was renowned for its acuteness: Quint. x. 1, 84, with the notes. Cp. Cic. Top. 2. 6 iudicandi enim vias diligenter persecutioni sunt (Stoici) ea scientia quam dialectica appellant: inveniendi artem, quae toto dictur . . . totam reliquerunt.

24. fusa et aequalis. In the passage quoted above from the Brutus the anti-thesis is liberior et latior: here it is taken from the flow of water, a frequent source of metaphor in Latin: cp. ducta ex. Cic. de Or. ii. § 64 genus orationis fuses atque tractum et cum lenitate quadam aequalibiter profluens: ib. § 150: Or. § 21, § 66: Quint. ii. 3, 5 constituit un latius fusa oratio. For aequalis (= aequabiliter fluens) cp. Quint. iii. 8, 60 id quoque aequalius erit, nec tumultuosius atque turbidius. In this sense aequalibus is certainly more common: but it is not necessary, with Andrenes and Wolf, to substitute it in the text for aequalis.

communibus . . . sensibus, the feelings and instincts implanted by nature in all rational beings. Cp. Cic. de Or. iii. § 195 quod ea in communibus infixa sensibus nec earum rerum quemquam funditus natura voluit esse experemt: pro Cluent. § 15. Also of ordinary tact: molestus communi sensu plane caret. Hor. Sat. i. 3, 66.

26. Peripateticis. Aristotle and
loca. Dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucundatatem; ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit orat. Neque enim sapientem in-30

30. posset Pithoeus. informamus Stoicorum sed Hauto.

Theophrastus were the first systematic writers on rhetoric. The latter wrote a work peri λέξεων: in all, ten treatises on Rhetoric are ascribed to him by Diogenes Laertius (v. 46–50). For the contrast between the more popular style of the Peripatetics and the terse precision of the Stoics, John compares (in addition to Brut. §120, quoted above) Or. §117: de Or. ii. §159; iii. §66.

in omnem disputationem. Cp. on 24. 9. So Cic. de Or. i. §§155, 263; ii. §215; iii. §§80, 107; Quint. xii. 2, 25.

27. locos, 'places' where arguments are to be sought, 'general heads,' 'topics.' These are not the loci communes (see on 19. 15) but the loci argumentorum,—the ῥόνων of the Greek rhetoricians: de Or. ii. §130 capita ea unde omnis ad omnem et causam et orationem disputatio ducitur; ib. §162 argumentorum sedes et quasi domicilia; §166 argumentorum sedes ac loci: Or. §46 Aristoteles...locos sic enim appellat—quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis traheretur oratio: Top. §8 locos nosse debemus; sic enim appellantae sunt ab Aristotele haec quasi sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur. In de Or. ii. §147 these loci are compared to the 'haunts of game,' and in §174 to 'veins or mines where gold may be looked for'; cp. de Fin. iv. §10 where they are said to resemble thesauroi, or stores from which arguments may be drawn as occasion requires.

pugnacitatem. Cic. Acad. ii. §7 contra omnes diceré quae videntur solemus: de Or. i. §84 hic enim mos erat patris Academicæ adversari semper omnibus in disputando: ib. §43 Academia quae quidquid dixissē id te ipsum negare cogeret. So of Arcesilas, who is sometimes regarded as the founder of the New Academy, de Or. iii. §67 quem ferunt...primum instituisse...non quid ipse sentire ostendere, sed contra id quod quisque se sentire dixisset disputare: similarly Carneades, ib. §80. Quint. xii. 2, 25.

Plato altitudinem. For the 'sublimity' of Plato, cp. Quint. x. 1, 81 Multum enim supra prosum orationem et quam pedestrem Graeci vocant surgit, ut mihi non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphici videatur oraculo deliìncutus: Plin. i. 10, 5 Platonicam illam sublimitatem.


ne Epicuri quidem. For the unfitness of the Epicurean school as a training for the orator, cp. Quint. xii. 2, 24 Nam in primis nos Epicuris a se ipse dimitt, qui fugere omne disciplinam navigationem quam velocissima jubet. So Cic. Brat. §131 perfectus Epicureus evasaret, minime aptum ad dicendum genus: de Or. iii. §63 sqq.: Quint. xii. 2, 24: Sen. Ep. xxxiii. 2.

Metrodorus was the most distinguished of the followers of Epicurus: Cic. de Fin. §92 paene alter Epicurus. Sen. Ep. xiv. 17 Epicuri est aut Metrodori aut aliquis ex illa officina.

29. honestas exclamationes, 'moral utterances.' The reference is to the pithy and pregnant dicta in which the Epicureans gave expression to their moral teaching, and which are so often utilized by Seneca, especially in the earlier books of his letters, as e. g. above. Cp. Cic. de N. D. i. §85 selectae brevesque sententiae, quas appellant Epicurei κυρίας δόζας: de Fin. ii. §§88–9; §94: Tusc. v. §27. Exclamatio has another place in rhetoric, as either admirationis (ἐκφώνησις) or 'conquestionis' (σχέτημασις): de Or. iii. §§207; Or. §136, where Sandy instances the ἐ γνα to beol of Demosthenes, and Cicero's 'o tempora! o mores!'

30. sapientem, 'a sage,' like the 'Wise Man' of the Stoics, who was perfect in everything, but was at the same time bound down to his system in a way quite impossible for the orator, Quint. xii. 2, 26. So Mnesarchus, e. g., maintained 'oratorum, nisi qui sapientis esset, esse neminem.' informamus, 'shape,' 'depict,' 'de-lineate,' a figure derived from the plastic art. Cic. Or. §7: de Or. i. §264.
formamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. Incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32. Nec quisquam respondet sufficere ut ad tempus simplex


32. 1. sufficere codd. (except E).

31. Stoicorum comitem, a 'hanger-on of the Stoics.' For the special unfitness of their system for oratorical purposes, see Quint. x. 1, 84 with the note. Comitum is rightly defended by most editors: the meaning is, our aim is not to delineate the philosophic specialist (sapientem), and certainly not the adherent of the school specially given over to dialectic subtleties. Cp. Plin. N. H. pr. § 22 qui (Tullius) de republica Platonis se comitem profetetur. - In support of his conjectura in DCH, Heller quotes Ann. xii. 66 artifex talium ... Locusta: Sall. Iug. 35 homines talis negotii artifices. But though the word is suitable on palaeographical grounds, these passages are hardly apposite. To the other conjectures given above I may add clientem (cp. 41. 4) or divitem, with reference to the well-known Stoic paradox 'solum sapientem esse divitem.' Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 3, 124 si dives qui sapient is est, with Prof. Wilkin's note ad loc.

32. haurire ... libare. An early formula for 'something of everything, and everything of something.' This was Cicero's view: ut ... sit boni oratoris multa ... legendo percurcuisse neque ea ut sua possedisse sed ut aliena libasse, de Or. i. § 218.

Ideoque, &c. It was their knowledge of practical requirements (incidunt enim, &c.) that induced them to follow out this view. So of Cicero 30. 14 'se apud Q. Mucium,' &c.

34. imbuebantur: see on 19. 21.

35. pleraeque = multae. See on 2. 10.

36. haec quoque scientia, i.e. a knowledge of criticism, music, and geometry, as well as of law. The form of the sentence shows that quoque is indispensable. The writer might have said 'incidunt enim causae in quibus haec scientia requiritur,' and the reference of haec to the three last-named arts would have been more obvious. But he chose to vary the sentence by inserting the paratactic but logically subordinate clause 'plurimae quidem ... desideratur,' with which 'incidunt' is less appropriate: quoque is then needed for emphasis. John points out also the appropriateness of quibus ... desideratur, of the indispensable, as against in quibus ... requiritur of what is less frequently called into play. — For haec scientia = harum artium scientia, cp. 'ei scientiae,' Cic. de Or. i. § 10 for 'eius artis scientiae' (mathematics); 'istam scientiam (of jurisprudence) ib. § 248: sine ea scientia quam dixi, Or. § 118.

32. 1. sufficere ut. This constr. avoids a second subordinate infinitive: Draeger (§ 142) compares Plin. Ep. ix. 21, 3 and (with ne) ix. 33, 11: with the infin. Germ. xxxii. 2.

ad tempus, 'for the occasion,' 'for the requirements of the moment': so Ann. i. 1, 2; Cic. de Or. i. § 69 ad certam causam tempusque.

simplex quidem et uniforme. It is not enough, instead of going through a connected course of training in each department, to apply to experts, as occasion may require, for information on some concrete, special, and definite issue. In law, such specialists were the pragmatici, de Or. i. § 253: cp. ib. § 242,
quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum autem aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliiud agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime 5 credas eminet et excellit. Idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit, ac statim ita laude prose-quitur ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter


9. *isse* C, *isse et ABDH, isse E, is sed Vₙ, ipse Δ.

where Antonius says 'in eo autem iure quod ambiguit inter peritissimos non est difficille oratorii eius partis quamcumque defendet auctorem aliquem invenire; a quo cum ammatast hasatas acceperit, ipsae eas oratoris lacertis viribusque torquibilis.' The adjective *uniformis* occurs elsewhere only in late authors.

2. *Primum autem.* Peter, Wolff, and John support the MS. reading: other editors read *primum enim.* At first sight *autem* seems to connect badly with what goes before, though it may be used (like *sed* 18. 14) to contradict a negative assertion. If the previous statement had been positive instead of negative (At dixerit quispiam sufficere, &c.) it would have been quite in place: so in disposing of an objection, Livy v. 53. 2.

3. *longe* for multum (37. 16). There is a reminiscence of 'longe abesse.'

4. *multarum . . . excellit.* C. P. Cic. de Or. i. § 72 sic sentio neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum qui non sit omnibus eius artibus quae sunt libero dignae perpertulis: quibus ipsis si in dicendo non utimur, tamen apparet atque existat utrum simus earum rudes an didi- cerimus: Quint. i. 10. 7, 'Multarum artium scientia' = 'a wide culture': 'ipsa' = *in* and for itself.

5. *aliud agentes.* The sequel shows that this cannot be taken to refer to friendly intercourse with men of culture, as Andresen understands it: the rendering 'even when we are not professionally engaged' will not suit the context. The reference is obviously to subjects which would not, at first sight, seem to lend themselves to cultured treatment: even the dry details of a technical subject may be lighted up by the manner of handling it. A many-sided culture is an ornament of the influence of which its possessor may be unconscious. John explains 'in the speeches and portions of speeches in which we are not consciously endeavouring (id agere, Cic. Tusc. i. § 46) to show the extent of our knowledge.' The nearest parallel is Quint. i. 11. 19: cp. also Cic. pro. Cluent. §§ 155, 159; pro. Rosc. Am. § 60; Brut. § 233; de Or. iii. 51; Quint. x. 3, 25. So Agr. xliii. 3: Dial. 28. 27.


omnes . . . numeros: cp. on 1. 17. In this sense, *numerus* (= *pars*) is very frequently found in conjunction with *omnis:* e.g. Quint. viii. pr. § 1 per omnes numeros penitum cognoscere. The root idea may be, as John suggests, parts of a whole that are designated by continuous numbers. There may also be a reference to the rhythmical movements through which a person under training is put: cp. Quint. x. 1, 4 Athleti qui omnes iam perdidicerit a praecptore numeros, where see note. In Cicero, *numeri* is frequently used of that which is complete and perfect in all its parts: de N. D. ii. § 37 mundum . . . perfectum expetendum omnibus suis numeris et partibus: de Div. i. § 23 quod omnes habet in se numeros: de Off. iii. § 14; de Fin. iii. § 24. Cp. also Sen. Ep. 71 § 16 (veritas) habet numeros nonalplennace est: 95, § 5: Juv. vi. 249.

9. *isse.* For this poetical and post-classical construction in which *per* is used after *ire* with an accusative of the extent over which thought, speech, or feeling travels, cp. Aen. i. 375: Quint. vii. 7, 64, and x. 5, 21 (per totas ire materias).

*oratorem,* emphatic, as in Cic. de Or. i. § 72, quoted above: cp. ib. § 20, ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum arte atium scientiam consectutus. See on *orator* 1. 4.

*aliter . . . nisi eum.* There is an
undoubted harshness about this construction, though it is not necessary to read *alium,* Novak would reject *alter,* comparing Ann. vi. 28.

13. *huius* cotidiano *sermonis,* our every-day conversation. Cp. on his proprius . . . vitis, 28. 9. So Cic. de Or. i. § 108 huius forensis nostrae dictionis. For *quoque* in the sense of *etiam,* see on 6. 19.

15. *senatus* consultas. Cp. Cic. Top. § 5 ius civile . . . in legibus, senatus consultis, rebus indicatis consistat. Gaius 1, § 4 senatus consultum legis vicem obtinet. *Ius* huius civitatis. The insertion of *huius* is a very simple emendation; by itself *ius* civitatis could hardly stand as equivalent to *ius civilis* (39. 14: 81. 32). The phrase must denote (as *ius civilis* generally does) either the ‘laws of the state’ as distinct from ‘ius naturale’ or ‘ius gentium,’ or that portion of the Roman law which was the result of old tradition, with special reference to the XII Tables, as distinguished from the newer or ‘equity’ portion. In view of the well-known sub-division of the *ius civilis,* in this narrower sense, into *lex* and *mos,* it is probable that here—*leges* having already been mentioned—the reference is specially to traditional usage, prescriptive law. In former days the importance of a knowledge of this branch had to be insisted on, ‘cuin* scientia neglecta ab oratoribus plerisque nobis ad dicendum necessaria videtur,’ Cic. Part. Orat. § 100: cp. the discourse of Crassus; de Or. i. §§ 166–184. Now men not only neglect it but scoff at it: Quint. xii. 3. For the inuxtosition of ‘leges’ and ‘ius civilis,’ cp. de Or. i. § 18 neque legum ac iuris civilis scientia neglegenda est. Or. § 120.

ultr* as 9. 16 rogare ultr* 5. 23 utro feras.

16. *praeept* prudentium, ‘maxims of moral wisdom.’ This is better than to take the phrase, with many editors, of specialists in general.

penitus ‘wholly,’ as Germ. xxxii. 3: Ann. xii. 39, 10.

17. *sensus . . . sententias,* a few common-places and cramped epigrams: cp. 20. 16 sive sensus aliquid arguta et brevi sententia effusit. The meaning of ‘angustae sententiae’ may be well illustrated by Quint. x. 1, 130 (in reference to the style of Seneca) ‘si rerum pondera minu* sentiunt* non fregisset.’ Cp. Sen. Ep. 100, 5 sensus honestos et magnificos habes, non coactos in sentientiam sed laetus dictos: ib. 94, 27: 114, 1.

detrudunt. Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 46 oratorem . . . excludi ab omni doctrina rerumque maiorum scientia ac tantum in iudicia et contiuueulas tamquam in aliquod pistrinum detrudiri et compingi videbam.

19. *pectora implebat:* see on 31. 4. *Comitatu* (sc. reliquiarum arium) is the same ablative as *ius aribus* in the passage referred to.

20. *circumcisa et amputata:* Plin. Ep. i. 20, 9 amputata oratio et abacisa. This combination is frequent also in
Cicero: de Fin. i. § 44 amputata circumcisque inanitati omni et errore; Acad. ii. § 138 circumcidit et amputat multitudinem: de Or. i. § 65 licet huic quantum cuique videbitur circumcidat atque amputat ('trim off and lop away'): de Fin. v. § 39 ars agricolarum quae circumcidat, amputat. For the figure, taken from the process of pruning, cp. on pessus 18. 20. sine apparatu, sine honore, 'shorn of all her state, all her adornment,' like a fallen queen.

paene dixerim: for this aoricist perfect, see De L. § 28 b.

21. ingenuitate, 'the condition of an ingenuus' (Ann. xiii. 27, 17): tr. 'independence,' 'liberal associations,' Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 236 istam iuris scientiam eloquentiae tamquam ancilillum pedisquamque adiuxisti.

sordidissimis artificiis. 'Sordidus' is specially used of a money-making handicraft: Ann. xi. 5, 5. The opposite would be 'artes elegantes et ingenuae,' as Cic. de Fin. iii. § 4. Andrean cites Sen. Ep. 108, 36 qui philosophiam velat aliquod artifactium venale dicens mutans. The feminine form una shows the influence of the personification of 'eloquentia' in the speaker's mind.

22. primam ... praecipuam, as at Ann. vi. 4, 3. Cp. Quint. ii. 15, 1.

23. in tantum = tantum: Germ. xlv. 31 in tantum a libertate degeneravit. So frequently in quantum 2. 13; 41. 19: Ann. xiii. 54, 5; ib. xiv. 47, 2.

26. memoriae proditum est. Cp. Cic. Or. § 15 (de Demosthene ... cuius ex epistulis intellegi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor). Where Dr. Sanders shows that the tradition may be traced as far back as an anonymous writer quoted by Hermippus (at the end of the third century B.C.): see Plut. Dem. ch. v, and cp. Diog. Laert. iii. 46. So Cic. Brut. § 121 lectitavisse Platonem studiose, andivisse etiam Demosthenes dictur: Quintil. xii. 2, 22; 10, 24: Anul. Gell. iii. 13. The tradition may however be considered doubtful.

Et Cicero for et (apud nos) Ciceronem, qui his, ut opinor, verbis, &C. The reference is to Or. § 12 fateor me oratorem, si modo sim aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatii extitisse; illa enim sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum in quibus Platonis primum sunt impressa vestigia. Cp. Quint. xii. 2, 23, where scholii is used instead of officinis ('mechanical workshops,' as Brut. § 32). So in the de Div. ii. § 4 Cicero speaks of his rhetorical works as bordering on philosophy: cp. Quint. x. i, 91 Philosophorum ex quibus plurimum se traxisse eloquentiae M. Tullius confiteatur, &c.

29. quoniam quidem. This is not an instance of anastrophe for ego quidem (Andrean), quidem being frequently used after quoniam (cp. quando quidem) in Cicero: e.g. quoniam quidem ... ful inimicus, Piso § 63: Rosc. Amer. § 31: quoniam quidem ... sententiam dicere vetabatur, pro Domo § 69.
me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

33. Et Maternus 'Mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris, ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac linea menta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus artibus instrui veteres oratores soliti sint dixisti, differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus accerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim tantum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu puto abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institutae erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc bantur, 34. 1. So Quint. vii. 2, 54 ituris in forum: ii. 8, 8 qui foro destinabatur. For et cp. 20. 12 iuvenes et in ... incude positi.

9. alere ingenia: cp. on 14. 16.

10. facultate et usu, of the practical application of theoretical knowledge.

11. significare vultu: supply se non abnuere = se idem sentire.


13. initia et semina, 'first-beginnings and germs': Quint. ii. 20, 6 initia quaedam ac semina: Cic. Tusc. v. 69 indagatio initiorum et tamquam seminum.

14. artibus, 'branches of knowledge.' Cp. Quint. i. 3, 16 quibus insitutendum sit artibus qui sic formabatur ut fieri possit orator. In contradistinctione to these, 'exercitationes' are the exercises by which speakers were prepared for the practice of their profession.
exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere totam varias aut reconditas res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat. Per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et perciipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.


16. *exercitationes eorum, 'their practical exercises,' drill.*

**exercitatio.** 'Theory involves and requires 'practice': cp. 81. 16 in his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, &c. The opposition between theory and practice runs through the whole passage: cp. *quibus artibus ... exercitationes above, and scientiam ... exercitationes below.* The former implies the latter: no one can perfect himself in theory without touching on practice: the rationale of both is the same. Even those, the writer adds, who draw a rigid line between the two must admit that theory is, for the orator, the best preparation for practice.

17. *reconditas, 'abstruse.'* Cic. Brut. § 44: de Or. i. 8. In support of the reading adopted in the text, John quotes Cic. Tusc. v. 72 tot tam variisque virtutibus: pro Sest. 46 causas tot tamque varias.

18. *nisi ut = nisi ita ut, ut non.* This is the only instance of this use in Tacitus: other examples of the collocation are all like Agr. xv. 3 nihil profici patientia nisi ut, &c. Cp. however Quint. v. 10, 57 nunquam itaque tolletur a specie genus nisi ut omnes species ... removatur: Plin. Ep. ii. 11, 10 neque enim iam inchoari poterat actio nisi ut noctis interventu scinderetur.

**meditatio, μετέρια, 14. 5.** The learner must not depend on memory alone: he must make a practice of rehearsing what he knows in well-considered language—not as yet, of course, for public delivery: Cic. de Or. i. § 147 qui ingrediuntur in stadium, quique ea quae agenda sunt in foro tamquam in acie, possum etiam nunc exercitatione quasi ludica praeiscire ac meditari, ib. §§ 136, 260. *Meditatio is 'the whole intellectual activity expended on a literary or rhetorical production (cp. Amn. iv. 61, 5), but especially practical rehearsal and exercitation,' John: cp. 16. 4, 80. 9. Its aim and end is 'skill in' or 'capacity for' public-speaking (*facultas*), the faculty of applying what has been learned: and that only needs to find a sphere. For *meditatio ... usus* cp. Georg. i. 133 'ut varias usus meditando extenderter artes.'

*usus,* for the MS. *vis,* which would be out of place here in speaking of theoretical training: for the confusion see crit. note on Quint. x. 1, 83. *Usus here denotes experience and practice in eloquence (Quint. ii. 15, 23, τριβή: exercitation dicendi, Cicero) rather than the employment of eloquence, as 12. 10, cp. 41. 9. Cp. facultate et usui, l. 10 above. *Eloquientes* has been suspected as a gloss.

19. *rationem, 'method.'* For its use with the gerund, see on Quint. x. i, 4: 2, § 3. So far, the processes are identical: alike in the sphere of knowledge ('artes') and in that of 'practice' (whether in regard to 'exercitationes' or real speeches) the way lies through *meditatio, facultas,* and *usus.* The science and the art are one.

23. *paratiorem ... venturum,* Cic. Brut. § 263 has ille tenens et paratus ad causas veniens.

24. *videntur, 'are held to be.'*
34. Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut alterationes quoque exciperet et iurgiiis interest utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicium iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et iudex respuat et adver-

34. 2. parabatur codd., praeparabatur Ritter, Novak. 7. exciperet ... interesse Bekker, excipere ... interesse codd. 8. magnus corr. B, magnos ADCHVg.

34. 2. imbutus, 'trained,' cp. Cic. de Off. i. § 118 parentium praeceptis imbuti. The abl. disciplina is rather different from eloquentia, line 13 below, cp. eruditione 2, 14, and elementis 19, 20 (where see note). In order to emphasize this, Gerber and Greef take imbutus here as used absolutely (sc. iure et eloquentia), comparing Ann. iii. 59, 12 sic imbi rectorem generis humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere.

3. deduebatur. For this use of introducing a youth to a master or guardian, cp. pro Cael. § 9: de Am. § 1. The custom of seeking the society of distinguished jurists or orators is referred to in very similar language by Quintilian: x. 5, 19 quare iuvenis qui rationem inveniendi eloquentiæ a praeritibus diligentiter accipere ... exercitationem quoque modicum fuerit consecutus, oratores sibi aliqem, quod apud maiores fieri solet, deligat, quem sequatur, quem imitetur: iudiciis interset quam plurimum et sit certaminis cui destinatur frequens spectat. Cp. xii. 11, 5: Cic. Brut. § 305–6.

4. praeceptum locum. So Ann. iii. 75, 4 praeceptum in civitate locum studiis civilibus assecutus: cp. primum obtinent locum 88, 11. below.


6. iudiciis. contionibus: of 'forensic' and 'deliberative' oratory: see on line 15, below.

altercationes. The altercatio was a discussion between rival speakers carried on in the way of short answers and retorts, whether in a court-of-law, in the senate, or on a public platform. In judicial cases it followed (when resorted to) the examination of witnesses, which was in Roman usage preceded by the main speeches for the prosecution and defence (Cic. in Verr. i. 1, § 55). A famous instance in the senate is the dialogue between Cicero and Clodius (ad Att. i. 16, 8): cp. Brut. § 159 iam in altercando (Crassus) invenit pares neminem. The altercatio (actio brevis atque conca, Quint. vi. 4, 2) is always opposed to perpetua or continua oratio (Liv. iv. 6, 1: Tac. Hist. iv. 7, 2), and it required the utmost skill on the part of the disputants: asperrima in hac parte diimatico est nec alici dixeris magis murcore pugnari, Quint. vi. 4, 4.

7. utque sic dixerim, for the more classical 'ut ita dicam:' so 40. 18: Germ. ii. 4: Ann. xiv. 53, 14, where see Furneaux's note. Cp. Quint. x. 2, 15.

8. constantiae, 'self-possession,' readiness.

9. iudicii, of 'sound judgment': cp. 19. 6. in media luce. So 'forensi luce,' Cic. Brut. § 32: in hac fori luce, Quint. xii. 2, 8: the opposite is 'studia in umbra educata,' Ann. xiv. 53, 14. Cp. Quint. i. 2, 18 orator cui in maxima celebitate et in media rei publicae luce vivendum est: and for the frequent contrast between the shady retreat of the school and the open light of practical life, Cic. Brut. § 37: de Orat. i. § 157: Or. § 64: Quint. x. 5, 17, where see note: ib. xii. 6, 4.

10. inter ipsa discrimina. Cp. Cic. de Legg. iii. 6, 14 Phalereus ille Demetrius ... mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque non modo in solem atque in pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aedemque produxit.

11. contrarie dicit, i. e. sibimet ipse
sarius exprobrat, ipsi denique advocati asperrmentur. Igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequeruntur, tamen omnes eiusdem actatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque vel probarent vel displiceret. Ita nec praecipitator decret, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciern eloquentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium semper plenum, semper novum, ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene nec securus

16. populi most codd., populi et EV₂. ex quo Meiser. 18. optimus ille quidem Bachens, optimus quisque Meiser. 20. rudibus P. Faber, rudibus codd. nec Schele, sed codd. s. plenum s. novum all codd. except C (s. novum s. plenum). 21. mix tum ex Andreasen. breviter C (for bene). nec secus Schopen, nec male Pitheoecus (sec male nec bene Agricola, Novak), nec minus bene Andreasen, nec parum bene John.

contradict atque ita causae suae nocet, G. and G. Sen. de Ben. vi. 8, 4. Adversarius mens dixit contra ria dicit et iudicem superbia offendit . . . causam mean erexit. For contrarius in the sense of nostrum or damnous, cp. 35. 12, 39. 10.
quo minus. This clause is remarkable, in the first place, as an extension of the idea contained in impune, and also for the exceptional use of quo minus (cp. on 3. 15) for quin, quin eun.
respuat: cp. Quint. vi. 4, 19.
12. ipsi . . . advocaati, 'one's own supporters.' This is the older meaning of the word, as in Cicero, who uses it of those who lent their countenance and personal support to a friend, especially in legal matters, e.g. Brut. § 289; pro Cluent. § 110, ib. § 54, where see Fausset's note. By Quintilian advoca tus is generally used (as 1. 5 above) as synonymous with 'actor causae,' 'causidicus,' 'patronus: x. 1, 111; xii. 1, 25.
15. et causis et iudicis. The distinction seems to correspond to that laid down in 'sive in iudicis, sive in contioni bus,' line 6, above: cp. 'fori auditor, sector iudiciorum,' line 26, below. Cicero often uses the words together, without any express antithesis: Brut. § 105 Carbo est in multis iudicis causisque cognitus, in Caec. Div. § 1 in causis iudicisque publicis, ib. §§ 25, 73; cp. Or. § 69 in foro causisque civilibus (of 'deliberative' and 'forensic' oratory, excluding 'epideictic'), ib. § 207 in causa foroque, de Or. i. § 77, ii. § 42. John here understands iudicia of criminal trials, causae of civil actions.
ipsius . . . copiam: opportunities of (observing) the great diversity of taste on the part of the audience. For the genitives, see Dr. § 75.
18. electissimus. Tacitus has the superlative only here. Novak would read 'lectissimus,' comparing Germ. vi. 8, Agric. xviii. 21.
faciem . . . imaginem: eloquence in her true features or bodily presence, not a mere copy or phantom. Cp. Quint. x. 2, 11 adde quod quidquid alteri simile est, necesse est minus sit eo quod imitatur, ut umbra corpore et imago facie et actus histrionum veris adfectibus. So ib. § 17 in falsa rerum imagine detineri et inanibus simulacris . . . aduersae,—of the declarations, which in contrast with the reality of 'forenses actions' are mere shams.
20. ferro, non rudibus, 'with swords, not wooden foils.' The rudis was the wooden foil with which gladiators practised: Liv. xxvi. 51, 4. For a similar figure, cp. Cic. de Opt. Gen. Orat. § 17 non enim in acie versatur et ferro, sed quasi rudibus eius eludit oratio: Sen. Ep. 117, 25 remove ista lusoria arma, decreto ris opus est: Quint. x. 5, 20: and id. v. 12, 17 declarationes qubis ad pugnam forensem vel praepilatis exercere solebamus.
21. semper novum, 'ever changing,' i.e. the audience was never the same. Guelden unnecessarily proposes to reject these words as an interpolation: cp. below 'non novi iudicum vultus.'
ex invidis et faventibus, 'composed
dicta dissimularentur. Scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subellis parari quam suis; inde quin imo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. 25

Atque hercule sub eius modi praecceptoribus iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sector curtiorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo actatis anno L. Crassus

of friendly and unfriendly hearers. For this use of *ex* following a substantive (here *auditorium*) cp. Germ. xiiii. i potuis humor ex hordeo aut frumento: Hist. iv. 76, 14 nullas esse Cerali nisi e religuis Germanici exercitus legiones.—On the other hand, John thinks there is no need either to supply a participle, or to insert a comma after *novum*: the essential feature is *ex invisid et faventibus* to which *semper plenum, semper novum* are subordinate.

21. *ne nec sicut secus dicta*: tr. *so that neither graces nor faults of action could pass unnoticed.* Cp. Ann. xiii. 6, 16 honestis an secus amicis uteretur: Liv. vii. 6, 8 pro bene aut secus consulto habita: Cic. Pis. § 68 recte an secus. In favour of the reading *ut nec male nec bene dicta,* it has been urged that the order is supported by *ex invisid et faventibus* immediately below: but in the passage quoted from Livy xiii. 46, 1 the meaning of *ne nec bene nec male dicta* is *neither praise nor blame.*

22. *duraturum,* as at 22. 15: cp. on *mansurum,* 9, 22.

23. *in diversis subellis* on the benches of our opponents, whose criticisms are profitable and stimulating: cp. 37. ad fin. So Quint. xi. 3, 132–3 advocato adversis subellis sedenti ... *transire in diversa subellia parum verecumundum est.* For this use of *diversus* cp. diversam partem, 1. 18.


24. *constantius ... corroborari:* *its growth in that quarter is more vigorous, and strikes deeper roots.* Cp. Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 2 *magna ilico fama surrexit* and *quod fideliter firmissimum est,* Quint. vi. 4, 14.

26. *fori... iudiciorum.* These genitives denote the sphere in which the action expressed by the verbal nouns takes place. Cp. 5. 19.

27. *experimentis =* *efforts*: cp. 22. 9 *ut et experimentis didicerat* Agr. xix. 2 doctus per aliena experimenta.


29. *populi aures,* of the *taste* of the public, as 19, 7, and line 15, above. The frequent use of *aures* in this sense in the Dialogus is noteworthy: cp. 20. 20 auribus et inducibis; 9. 6 aures tuae; 27. 8 aures vestras; 21. 11 auribus inducim; 19. 22 fastidium aurium. So Ann. xiii. 3, 8 ingeniun amoenum et temporis eius aurium accommodatum.

30. *cuicumque causae.* For *quicunque* as an indefinite pronoun (= *quisvis or quilibet,* see note on Quint. x. i, 12.

31. *nono decimo,* &c. The facts are not exactly stated by Messalla. Crassus (see on 18. 10) was twenty-one (annos natus unum et viginti, de Or. iii. § 74) where he made his first public appearance in connexion with the prosecution of C. Papirius Carbo, in B. C. 119. Caesar was in his twenty-third year when, in
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabella, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio. C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt quas hodie quoque cum admiratione legimus.

35. At nunc adolescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, ludum impudientiae iussi sunt. Sed ut dicere institueram, 5

32. uno et codd.: tertio et Pichena. 34. iis ABCAH, Ie D, his EV.: see Intro. p. lxxviii. hodie quoque AB, Halm, Müller, Helmreich, hodieque EV,CAD, hodie H. 35. 1. scholas istorum Haupt, seni (se in EV,C, sem D, sexam B corr., scena H) scholasticorum ABCADH (scolasticorum EV), in scholas eorum Novak (who says of the MS. reading, in seni scholasticorum, 'ortum videtur e dittographia insc. in scholasticorum'). 4. a Michaelis, M. most codd., Marco HV edd. vett.

b. c. 77, he impeached Dolabella (Suet. Jul. § 4) on a charge of repetundae. Quintilian is less definite: neque ego annos definiam, cum... Calvus, Caesar, Pollio multum antea quaestoriam omnes aetatem gravissimaiudicia susceperint, prætextatōs egisse quosdam sit traditum, xii. 6, 1. It is interesting to remember that Crassus afterwards regretted his attack on Carbo (Cic. in Verr. iii. 1, 3) as having involved him in a premature declaration of his political opinions.

33. Pollio accused C. Porcius Cato in b. C. 54. He was born in b. C. 75. For Calvus, see on 17. 4: Vatiniius, 21. 9.

non multum aetate antecedens. So Quint. x. 1, 103 paulum aetate praecedens eum: Cic. Brut. § 82 aetate paulum eis antecedent.

34. insecuti sunt. For this use of insecutus (identes) cp. Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 19 Insequeris tamen hunc et ite morar is iniqua. Similarly 4. 3: 21. 36. hodie quoque. Most authorities consider this to be the correct reading, quoque being used, as often, for etiam: see on 6. 19. The form hodieque may have resulted from a misunderstood contraction: it occurs Germ. iii. 11 quod in ripa Rheni situm Hodieque incultur, and frequently in Velleius, Seneca, Pliny the Elder, and Suetonius: only once in Quintilian x. 1, 94, where see note. Similarly at 22. 6, B and H have locos que for locos quoque, while on the other hand out of episques, 21. 35, H and the early edd. make epis quoque. Wölflin, however, regards hodieque as a genuine form: v. Philologus, xxvi. p. 160.

35. 1. At nunc. 'But nowadays with us, young men,' &c. So 29. 1 At nunc natus infans.

2. rhetores, disparagingly, as quos rhetoritas vocant, 30. 4. Cp. Cicero's criticisms of the 'rhetorici doctores,' de Or. i. §§ 86, 87.

4. eludere ludum. In Cic. ad Fam. ix. 18, we have 'aperire ludum.' ut ait Cicero: de Or. iii. § 94 hoc cum unum traderetur et cum impudentia ludus esset, putari esse censoris ne longius id serperet providere. Crassus was censor, along with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, in b. C. 92. For their edict de coerendis rhetoribus Latinis, see Suetonius, Rhet. § 1 renuntiatum est nobis esse homines qui novum genus disciplinae instituerunt, ad quos inventus in ludum conveniat; eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos rhetoros, ibi homines adolescentulos dies totos desideris, &c. Mommsen, Hist. iii. 442-4.

5. ut dicere institueram. For this formula for resuming an interrupted sentence, John compares Cic. Verr. ii. §§ 41 and §§ 65; iii. §§ 24: pro Caesar. § 15. The colloquial equivalent was 'ut coepi (occepi) dicere.' Brix on Plant. Trin. 847. Petron. 75. and Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. § 91. This is also a guarantee for the correctness of Haupt's emendation in line 1, 'deducuntur in scholas istorum' (cp. 31. 2): in the MS. reading (se in, sem, sen) John sees a gloss, 'sc. in scholas,' an attempted explanation of the unintelligible 'in scholasticorum.'
dudum in scholas, in quibus non facile dixerim utrumque locus ipse an condiscipuli ad genus studiorum plus mali ingenii adserant. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae, sed in quem nemo nisi aequo imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adolescentuli inter adolescetulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetorae tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his suasoriae quidem etsi tamquam plane leviore et minus prudentiae 15 exigitentes pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus ad-

6. *utrumque* occurs only here and at 37. 16. It is however frequent in Quintilian and Seneca.

8. *adferant*. It has been proposed to read *adferat*, but for the plural cp. 37. 26 nec Ciceronem magnum atorem P. Quinctius defensus aut L tidnus Archias faciunt. Even when the action of two subjects is thought of separately, Tacitus usually (as sometimes Livy) has the verb in the plural: cp. criminabimur, 41. 6.

9. *sed in quen...intrat*. It is best to keep to the reading of the MSS. *Sed* comes in, not unnaturally, like διὰδ', after a negative statement, but it is unnecessary to alter *intrat* into *inret*. There is something to be said for John's 'ut...intrat:' for the indicative (of a well-known fact) cp. Germ. xxii. 2 ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat, ib. xvii. 6.

11. *securitate*, 'complacency', 'unconcern.' Quintilian strongly censures (ii. 2, 9-13) the prevailing fashion of bestowing indiscriminate praise upon such performances, apart from their real merits: 'supervacua enim videntur cura ac labor para quidquid effuderint laude.'

12. *contrariae*, 'not to the purpose:' they do harm rather than good: cp. 39. 10 contrariam experimur (still anxietatem). So Quint. x. 5, 15 ne carmine quidem ludere contrarium fuerit: 'aliumum,' inconsistent with one's aim, inopposite.


13. *suasoriae...controversiae*. See on *deliberativae* and *judiciales materiae*, 31. 7; and cp. Introduction, p. xxvii, note. For the omission of the third genus causarum, cp. Quint. ii. 1, 2 illi (sc. rhetores) declamare modo et scientiam declamandi ac facultatem tradere officii sui dicunt idque intra deliberativas judicialesque materias, nam cetera ut professione sua minoris despicunt. In the same passage, Quintilian takes a different view of the *suasoriae*: 'in quibus omnes dicendi vel maximum est.'—See Mayor's note on Juv. i. 16: et nos Consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut alium Dormiret: and for examples of *suasoriae* and *controversiae* cp. id. vii. 162 and 168 sq.: Pers. iii. 45. 14. *quidem etsi*. I follow Vahlen and John in returning to the reading of the MSS.: the omission of *etsi* would seem to involve the necessity of reading 'controversiae autem' instead of 'controversiae,' immediately below—though Helmreich cites Ann. iv. 29 hi quidem statim ex empti: in patrem ex servis quaestum. The writer wishes specially to condemn the 'controversiae,' as producing worse results in proportion to the age of the pupils: he means to say 'as of the *suasoriae*, they are handed over to mere boys, as being of minor importance, and requiring less judgment: but though we might tolerate them, what of the *controversiae*? they are incredibly untrue to fact.'

15. *robustioribus*. There is the same antithesis in Quintilian, i. 8, 12 priora illa ad pueros magis, haec sequentia ad robustiores pertinbunt: cp. x. i, 131: 5, § 1: ii. 2, 14, and often.
signantur,—quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae? Sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declaratio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitia-tarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut inest a matrum aut quidquid in schola cotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel num-quam, ingentibus verbis prosequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum * * *

16. *per fidem* EV, C, D; *perfidia* ABH. *prosequuntur* HVSp., *persequeuntur* D, *persequantur* C.


quam incrdbiliter compositae. Gerber and Gref explain "quam incredibili continentis," and so most edd. John thinks that *compositae here = fictae*, as 12. 19: cp. 81. 3.

17. *Sequentur autem.* Tr. 'Then there is also the declamatory style that is applied to subjects utterly remote from real life.' The sentence is introduced by what is really a formula of transition: another thing that makes these exercises "contrariae* is, &c.

abhorrenti a veritate. So "fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversis," 81. 3. Cp. Quint. ii. 20, 4 in declamationibus quas esse veritati dissimilissimae volunt, xii. 11, 15 declamitare in schola et tantum laboris in rebus falsis consanmere: Quintillian himself recommends "declamationes quales in scholis rhetorici dicuntur, si modo sunt ad veritatem accommodatae et orationibus similres," x. 15, 14.

*declamatio*; declamationis dicendi genus, the 'scholastic' style of delivery, 81. 2. 'Videtur declamatio hic proprie de oratione fucata, quibus est abhorrens a veritate, dicta esse,' Halm, who rightly rejects the various insertions proposed after *quoque* (e.g. similis, par, vana, cadem, ficta), by those who take *sequentur* as = consentaneum est.

18. *Sic fit* introduces the consequence of both factors, the unnatural subjects and their unnatural treatment: examples are given of the former, while the latter is referred to in 'ingentibus verbis pro-sequantur.'


*vitiatarum electiones*: 'raptaraptoris mortem vel nuptias optet,' Sen. l. 5; ii. 11; vii. 23: Exc. iii. 5; iv. 3: Quint. Decl. 276, 289, 301, 309, 368. For *pestilentialia remedia* cp. Quint. Decl. 326 : and for *inest a matrum*, Decl. 306.


21. *prosequuntur* is probably to be preferred to *persequeuntur* (cp. i. 17), as being more uncommon in this connexion: cp. Verg. Georg. iii. 339 quid pascua versus prosequer, Quint. ii. 6, 1 materias ... liatos dicendo prosequebantur.

*cum ad veros iudices ventum.* With the help of Petronius, Sat.i. (which should be compared throughout) the sentence may be completed, 'they find themselves in another world altogether': cp. ut cum in forum vereiniat potent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos, i. c. So Quint. x. 5, 17 ne ab illa in qua prope consensuerunt umbra vera discrimina velut quendam solem reformidet: cp. the story of Porcius Latro, which follows.

In the lacuna which occurs here in all the MSS., and which probably contained originally a part equal to about one-ninth of the whole treatise (Introdot., p. Ixxxii.), the rest of Messallia's speech must have followed. For the grounds on which it is believed that Maternus is the next speaker—not, as others have thought, Secundus (as far as 40. 7)—see Introdot., p. xxxviii.

36. 1. cogitant AB, cogitare EV, CADH, cogitaret many edd. vel abiectum AB, nihil abiectum EV, CADH. 4. [antiquorum] Novak. 6. fas cod., fas non Schulting, nefas Andresen. illi Gutmann. 9. persuadere Heumann and edd., persuaderi codd. (which might be defined).

C. Ch. 36-41. Speech of Maternus, connecting the decline of eloquence with external conditions, in respect of which the age of the republic was more favourable to its growth: and reviewing the compensating advantages of contemporary circumstances.

36. 1. humile ... abiectum, often conjoined by Cicero: de Fin. v. § 57 nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitans: Or. § 192 humilem et abiectam orationem.

2. Magna eloquentia. This is the passage in connexion with which William Pitt is recorded to have proved his ready skill at off-hand translation. Some one having pronounced it untranslatable, he came out with the following: 'It is with eloquence as with a flame. It requires fuel to feed it, motion to excite it, and it brightens as it burns' (Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 413). Cp. Cic. Brut. § 93 omnis illa vis et quasi flamma extinctu-guitar.

3. motibus. The use of the plural seems to favour John's explanation that the reference is, in the case of eloquence, to political disturbances (cp. illa perturbatione, below): in the case of fire, it will be rather to deliberate stirring and poking, than to the flaming of fitful breezes. The commentators generally explain 'motus' of mental excitement, comparing the Brutus l. c. (of Galba) 'dein cum ousius (i.e. in the calm that followed his outburst of feeling) stylum prehenderat motusque omnis animi tanquam ventus hominem defecerat, flacescetbat oratio.'

clarescit. This verb is more commonly used metaphorically, e.g. Ann. xi. 16, 13 (of becoming famous): cp. however Ann. xv. 37, 13 quantum iuxta nemoris ... luminibus clarescere. Gude- man would substitute (with Maehly) calescit for clarescit, on the ground that the latter word is an 'intolerable tauto- logy,—only another expression for what is already contained in motibus excitatur: 'it is fanned into a flame by breezes, and waxes warm in the burning.' He compares 22, 12 tarde commovetur, raro in- calescit, and also the frequent collocation 'excitare et inflammare' (e.g. Cic. pro Pomp. 2: de Harusp. resp. 1, 19). But this is altogether unnecessary: Pitt's 'it brightens as it burns' may be allowed to stand.

Eadem ratio, 'the same conditions.' From in nostra quoque civitate, we may infer that the speaker has been treating of Greek eloquence,—probably of the golden age of Attic oratory.

5. composita ... re publica: 'under a settled, peaceable, and prosperous constitution.' Cp. 41. 2 non emendata neque usque ad votum composita civitas: Ann. iv. 1, 2 and passim.

quae ... tribui fas erat, i.e. everything that could be legitimately accorded or secured to them—everything, therefore, that could be reasonably looked for—consistently with a settled political condition.

7. videbantur, sc. antiqui oratores, as is evident from the antithesis between horum ... temporum and illa perturba- batione. There is an emphasis on sibi, which goes with adequai: 'the personal advantages which they saw open to them were greater than now.'

8. omnibus, neuter, as 19, 19 pervul- gatis iam omnibus: cp. Hist. i. 68, 13 diruit omnibus. Tr. 'When in the
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

Hinc leges assiduæ et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiæ, hinc procerum factiones et assidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemii videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitia ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi

12. rerum ABHDC, rerum B corr. 15. cumulare codd., cumulari Orelli, stimulare Cornelissen, cp. 87. 1. 20. parabat b Pithou, probable codd.

general ferment, without the strong hand of a single ruler, the measure of each speaker's political discernment was his power of influencing the unstable populace,' i.e. each enjoyed a reputation for wisdom in proportion to his powers of persuasion. *Saperet* must = sapere vide-retur, sc. sibi et alisis: not, as Church and Brodribb, 'exactly adapted his wisdom to the bewildered people's capacity of conviction.'—John's explanation is rather different: he would supply 'sapere' with 'quantum,' contending that there is nothing anomalous in a speaker's reputation depending on his proved ability to produce conviction in others, and that the reference must be to the impression and appearance of wisdom that his words produce. The sense would then be 'That speaker was most highly thought of who could best dazzle and hoodwink his audience.' In this case, *erranti* will best be taken of 'erroneous judgment' (Cic. de Off. i. § 65 qui pendet ex errore imperitae multituidinis) rather than, as I prefer to take it, of unstable equilibrium: cp. 49. 19 nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit. 'So Andreasc, *erranti* = inter varia ac sapa diversa judicia fluctuant, modo hunc modo illum admirantis.'

10. et populare. The conjunction is 'explicative': tr. 'a constant succession of legislative enactments and consequent popularity.' The motive, as well as the result, of such activity was to gain favour as a champion of popular rights: cp. plus ... nominis apud plebem parabat, below. 11. paene pernoctantium in rostris. So frequently in Cicero: Brut. § 305 habitant in rostris: pro Mur. § 21 in foro habitant: de Or. i. § 264 is qui habitaret in subscissis. accasiones ... reorum, tauto- logical: cp. Ann. xi. 5, 1 saevus accu-sandis reis. So 87. 14 accedebat splendor rerum et magnitudo causarum.

12. adsignatae = attribuae, 'attaching to': tr. 'in which whole families became involved,' or 'which became hereditary in whole families' (Germ. xxxi. 1). For parallel instances of *adsignare* in this sense of 'making a thing one's own,' John cites Quint. iv. 6, 62; xii. 10, 41; ix. 4, 29.

13. procerum factiones, 'schisms in the party of the aristocracy,—some of the *nobiles* taking up the cause of the people. 15. cumulare. So Verg. Aen. v. 532 Acesten numeribus cumulat magnis: cp. Hist. ii. 57, 9; iii. 36, 13. 18. anteibat: Hist. iii. 65, 5. 19. principès, 'the leading men.' 19. notitia ac nominis, as at 11. 11. For notitia, cp. on 5. 19.

20. clientelis ... redundabunt. There may be a reference, with the view of glorifying the eloquence of former days, to the words which Aper had used (8. ad fin.) in addressing Maternus: cum te tot ... coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent. Tr. 'These were the men whose protection was eagerly sought after even by whole nations of foreigners':
CORNELII TACITI

colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultrro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi

25 persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in
civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum: nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producercatur, cum parum esset in

senatu breviter censere, nisi quis ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocari sua

30 voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in inducis


their numerous clientelle included even foreign states. Hii refers, of course, to

'qui plurimum dicendo poterant.'

22. vocare ultrro. Office and emolument 'beckoned them,' without any solicitation on their part.

24. consilio et auctoritate. Similarly Germ. xii. 10 centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

Quin immo. Nay more, eloquence was considered (videbantur, li. 7 and 16) not only serviceable and profitable but even indispensable to public men: cp. below 'necessitas accedebat.'—Without ipsi, the subject to persuaserant is not the professional orators alone, but the antiqui generally, as also in what follows. The insertion of ipsi (probably due to some sort of dittography) serves to create a false antithesis between the general opinion of the antiqui and the views attributed to those who recognized in the profession of oratory the best passport to office.

26. tueri . . . locum, of 'holding one's ground': cp. honores tueri, 37. 4.

27. producercetur, viz. on the rostra in the forum. The meaning is, it was quite natural and intelligible that eloquence should come to be regarded as indispensable for the 'cursus honorun': even in less official situations the need for it was often felt. Then follows a regular sequence of (1) public assemblies (ad populum), (2) meetings of senate (in senatu), and (3) courts of law, either (a) as defendant (invidiam . . . crimen), or (b) as a witness (testimonia quoque).

parum esset: cp. 23. 15.

28. censere. For this absolute use, cp. Ann. i. 74, 19 'quo inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar!''; xii. 9, 6: Hist. iv. 8, 2. For the thought, cp. 41. 13 Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententias, cum optimi cito consentiant?

nisi quis, &c. This does duty for a co-ordinate adversative clause: tr. 'No, one had to support one's opinion,'—that is to say, if one had any pretensions to rank as a statesman. A similar redundancy of expression has been noted on 34. 11 ubi nemo impune . . . quominus, &c. In such cases (especially common with 'non satis habere,' 'non satis est') the tendency is to express the thought both positively and negatively, for emphasis: among many other examples given by Vahlen, cp. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. § 49 ut parum miseriae sit quod aliis coluit, non sibi, nisi etiam quod omnino colui crimini fuerit: Ter. Phormio, 724 non satis est tuum te officium fecisse, id si non fama adprobato: to which Binde adds Sen. Ep. 89, 20; Quint. v. 10, 12: and John, from the Greek, Hom. Od. xi. 158 τόν οὕτως οὖν


29. invidiam aut crimen. Cp. Hist. iii. 75. 15 invidiam crimenque, where however there is more of a hendiadys = the odium and the charge which incurred it: here rather 'defamation (unpopularity) or some definite charge.'

sua voce respondendum haberent, 'to surrender personally,' to appear in person in answer to a legal summons. For the constr. see on 8. 11.
publicis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et prae-
entes dicere cogerentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia
magna etiam necessitas accedebat; et quo modo disertum haberi
pulchrum et glorioum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri
deforme habebatur.

37. Ergo non minus rubore quam praemii stimulabantur
ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne
traditae a maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne tam-
quam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut
impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an venerint in manus vestras
haec vetera, quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent
et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac iam undecim, ut

31. praesentes ABCDH, praesentis EV₂. 33. quomodo . . . sic Acidalius,
commoda . . . sed codd. 37. 2. loco om. EV₂. 4. honores Schopen. 6. antiquariorum Schurz-
feisch, antiquorium ABCEDH.

31. per tabellam, 'by affidavit.' Quint.
v. 7, i testimonia . . . dicuntur aut per
tabulas aut a praesentibus. For coram
et praesentes, 'personally and in open
court,' cp. Cíc. ad Att. vii. 15, i ; de Leg.
Agr. iii. 1, i Sis . . . coram potius, me prae-
sente, dixissent. Similar uses of coram
are found, Ann. iv. 75, 1; 55, 8; vi. 8, 19;
xiii. 25, 4; xiv. 13, 1; Hist. ii. 76, 2
(coram . . . locutus, as opposed to four-
parlers, through intermediary agents).
33. quo modo . . . sic : so 25. 10;
Dr. § 173.
34. mutum et elinguem. So Liv.
x. 19, 7 ex muto atque elingue facundum
§ 100.
37. 1. rubore = pudore, as frequently
in Tacitus: Hist. i. 30, 9 (rubor ac deca-
decus); iv. 7, 1; Germ. xiii. 3; Ann. xi. 17, 5;
xiii. 15, 7; xiv. 55, 15. In such instances
rubor is the effect put for the cause:
' blushes for ' sense of shame,' or 'ground
for shame.' Besides failure to obtain the
'præmia,' there would be a sense of per-
sonal indignity involved in not facing the
' necessitas ' of the situation; cp. especially
Hist. iv. 7, 1 Marcelli studium proprius
rubor excitatet ne alia est electis posthabitis
videretur.—So even in Cicero, rubor
is used in this transferred sense: de Or. ii.
§ 242; cp. Livy iv. 35, 11: Ovid, A. A.
iii. 167.

2. clientulorum. The diminutive,
which occurs nowhere else, is used to
indicate disparagement of those who can-
not stand up for themselves, but need
a protector.
ne traditae, &c., 'not to let inherited
connexions pass into other hands.'
i. 13, 5 cum trattaret quinam adipsici
principem locum suffecturi abnuerent:
Germ. xii. 12 arma sumere non ante cui-
quam moris quam civitas suffecturum
probaverit.
6. vetera, ' old records.' On the sub-
stantival use of the neut. adj. see Introd.
p. lv.
antiquariorum. 21. 18; 42. 7.
7. cum maxime. See note on 16.
ad fin.
Muçianus, C. Licinius Crassus, the
well-known lieutenant of Vespasian: see
Hist. i. 10, 2; ii. 5 and passim. He was
a grandson of the triumvir Crassus. As
he is known to have died in or before
77 A.D. (Plin. H. N. xxx. 62) the
statement in the text helps to fix the date of
the Dialogus. See Introd. p. xiv.
contrahuntur = colliguntur: cp. con-
trahere pecuniam, Ann. i. 37, 4; xvi. 31, 3.
In Qünt. x. 7, 31 there is some dispute
as to whether contraxit = ' collected,' as
here, or 'abridged': see note ad loc.
Here, too, John would render contrahere
by ' verkürzen,' contending that this gives
opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratone valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullus et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis opera curaque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum. His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudi causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu comitiorum, expilatis sociis


point to the et... et construction: these old records are not only to be found in libraries, in their original form and extent, but they are even now being edited, as Eclotharii, Electa, or Excerpta (Cic. ad Att. xvi. 2, 6; Plin. Ep. iii. 5, 17; Front. ed. Naber, p. 107).

8. Actorem, 'Transactions.' Like the 'acta senatus,' these may also have contained speeches. See Furneaux, Introd. to Annals, ch. iii. p. 14.

composita = ordinata, 'arranged.'

10. viribus et armis, generally taken as a hendia dys, 'force of arms': tr. 'prowess in the field.' So Hist. iv. 23, 5; 68, 6.

For the oratorical ability of Pompey and Crassus, see Cic. Brut. §§ 239 and 233.

11. Lentulos. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Claudianus (consul b. c. 72, censor 70) and P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, the conspirator, are frequently mentioned together in the Brutus: §§ 230, 234-5, 308, 311. There was also P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who as consul in b. c. 57 moved for Cicero's recall from exile: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, consul b. c. 56: and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crassus, consul b. c. 49: see Brut. §§ 268, 247.

Metellos. Cp. Brut. § 247. Duo etiam Metelli, Celer et Nepos: the former was consul in b. c. 60, the latter attacked Cicero on the expiry of his consulship in b. c. 63, and was consul himself in 57. Their father was G. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, grandson of the famous Metellus Macedonicus. Lucullus. The great Lucullus wrote
et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministra-

20 bant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrum orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes

inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias 25 faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt, non quia tanti fuerit rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoveo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit. 30 Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari?

18. civibus Put., comitibus codd.: cp. 31. 31. 19. habendus EV;CA, habendus est ABH, est habendus D (H gives habendus est quo, which helps to prove that est arose out of in), 25. Archias poeta H and all edd. till Lipsius. 27. fuerit Madvig fut. codd. rei publicae Heumann, rem publicam codd. (r. p. H). 30. existit Lipsius, exitit codd.

expilatio directoio sociorum: pro Leg. Manil. § 57. The word is found in Tacitus only here, and does not occur in Quintilian or Seneca.

18. sicut...ita: Agr. xlv. 13. This construction is not so common as ut...ita. Dr. § 173. Cp. note on Quint. x. 1, 1.

25. Quintius defensus. For this frequent use of the perfect participle, cp. 29. 11: So also Cicero, Pis. § 85, Planc. § 45. The speech pro Quintio was delivered in c. 81.

26. faciunt: for the plural cp. 25. 8 adferent.

hanc illi famam, sc. magni oratoris. This is better than to explain the pronoun as = the high reputation which he enjoys with us to-day. For famam...circum-
dederunt, cp. Agric. xx. 2 egregiam famam paci circumdedidit: Hist. iv. 11, 14.

27. non quia, 'not that.' The construction shows that the speaker is guarding against misinterpretation: he will not have any one imagine that he thinks that the republic did not pay too dearly for its renown in eloquence: he is not praising political unrest in itself (cp. 38. 6 and 14; 37. 18) nor treating it as the lesser of two evils. The phrase is really elliptical for 'non putem suisse': 'I do not say this because,' in saying this I do not mean to imply that, &c. Cp. Agr. xlvii. 11: Hist. i. 15, 13; 29, 13: Ann. xiv. 43, 3: Sen. Dial. viii. 3, 1: Quint. viii. 5, 10, and see Introdt. to Book x. p. liv. 'The classical non quia (or quod) with the subjunctive, negativating a supposed or a possible view (Cic. Phil. ix. 1, 1) is not found in Tacitus. On the other hand, we have non quia with indicative, 9, 12 non quia poetae es: Hist. iii. 4, 11: Ann. xiiii. 3, 3; xvi. 60, 8, where 'the fact is taken to be true, though denied to have produced the result' (Furneaux).

—For the thought cp. 40. ad fin. 'sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit,' &c.

28. uberem...materiam. So Hist. ii. 30, 18; i. 19: Quint. iii. 1, 3; 7 § 13; 11 § 25. Cp. ingentem materiam, line 20, above.

29. subinde, 'from time to time,' 'repeatedly,' as in Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 103: Liv. ix. 16, 4; Plin. Ep. i. 13, 2; ii. 7, 6: Quint. xi. 2, 34: Sen. Dial. xii. 20, 1.
plures tamen bonus proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit quoque maiores adversarios acioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpterit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura vellicent.

33. quo quis saepius Michaelis (saepius quis Buchholz). 34. quoque B, Halm, et edd., quo ADCH, maiores adversarios acioresque pugnas sibi ipsa Bötticher, Halm, et edd; maior adversarius eo (eo EV, CADH, et A, et BA) acrior qui pugnas sibi ipsas (ipse B, asperas HV edd.) codd., et aciores pugnar Orelli. Retaining quo maior adversarius et acrior, Michaelis continues quicum (qui ABDEH per C) pugnas sibi istas desumpterit.' 36. nobilitata Latinius, nobilitatus AHC and corr. B, nobilitalis B, nobilitate D. discriminibus Lipsius, criminibus codd. 37. ut secura vellicent is my conj., ut secura velint codd. (nolint Rhenanus, eleventh F. Walter), ut secura ... velint Müller, ut dubia laudent secura nolint Agricola, ut secura odiert incerta (periciulis) velint Goehler, ut secura velint periculo extollent (or laudent) John, ut amplius non secura velint Schopen, ut secura sibi altius dura velint Heller, &c., &c. Reading secure ipsi (with Baehrens) Halm follows Vahlen: ut securi ipsi spectaret aliena pericula velint. But John rightly holds that this would be far more appropriate of the spectators of a gladiatorial show in the amphitheatre.

32. proeliatores, a rare word, found however again in Ann. ii. 73, 8: Val. Max. iii. 2, 24. Dr. § 2, 6 refers also to Liv. iii. 2, 24 and Justin.

33. steterit, sc. eloquentia. For the figure, cp. Quint. x. 1, 29 nos vero (we advocate) armatos stare in acie et summis de rebus decernere et ad victoriam niti. Eloquentia is personified in the same way in 12. 7: also by Cicero, Brut. § 320: cp. dictio, de Or. i. § 157 (educenda deinde dictio est ... in aciem forensem). On the other hand, the subject might well enough be ‘orator,’ to be supplied out of the contest, as often: we should then have to read ipsa in 35 and nobilitatus in 36. In the same sense Novak reads steteris, intuleris, exceperis, tibi ipsa desumpseris, ages.

34. intulerit ictus: Ann. v. 8, 9. So ‘vulnera infere.’ Excipere ictus occurs again Ann. xiii. 25, 6: as ‘accipere ictus,’ Ann. iii. 43, 11, where we have also ‘inferre ictus.’


35. desumpserit. Liv. vii. 20, 5 populum Romanum ... sibi desumment hostem.

36. nobilitata. Hist. i. 2, 7 nobilitatus cladibus mutulis Dacus: Germ. xl. 1 Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. For the tendency to pass from comparatives to a positive in the second or third item of a series cp. Ann. ii. 43, 2 quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul presidium; ii. 5, 4 quanto acriora in eum studia militum et assera patrum voluntas. See Furneaux, Introd. Annals, pp. 50–1.

37. in ore hominum agit. The sense is rather uncertain, as the phrase may mean either ‘is before men’s eyes,’ or ‘is on men’s lips.’ For the former, with which the comparatives ‘altior,’ &c., seem, on the whole, more appropriate, cp. Hist. iii. 36, 4 non in ore vulgi agere (‘in conceptus; opp. to ‘umbraculis ... adversitis’); ib. 77, 14 in ore Vitellii iugulatur: Ann. iii. 74, 9; Sallust, Hist. i. 90; ii. 41, 4. For the other rendering cp. Hist. ii. 73, 4 erat tamen in ore famae Vespasianus; ib. 78, 21 nec quidquam magis in ore vulgi (‘it was the theme of general conversation’): Ann. xiv. 56, 9.
38. Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior est [ita erit], eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercet, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum dicendi sibi quisque sumebat et numeros neque dierum neque 5 patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn.


3. paucissimas horas Δ, paucissimas A, paucissimas BDEVH, pauc. horas s. C. dicendi AH, dicendo cett. codd.

38. 1. formam, peculiar characteristics; 1. 16 dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderer. For consuetudo, cp. 34. 29 consuetudo continuum. Tr. ‘forms and procedure.’

2. Quae etsi nunc, &c. It should be noted that the construction is not the same as at 36. 14.

aptior est, ‘is more practical,’ more to the purpose. It seems best to accept this reading, with Novak and John, and to treat ita erit (ituerit V₃) as part of a gloss referring to the antithesis nun... veterum. In place of the conj. extiterit (20. 21) the usage ofTacitus would certainly have led us to expect the indicative. The relative quae is obviously not coextensive with its antecedent (forma et cons. veterum iudic.). John points out that there is a parallel extension in Ann. xiii. 3. 9 adnotabit seniores, quibus otiosum est, &c., Germ. xxm. 2 nudi iuvenes, quibus id iudicium est: for an example of limitation, cp. Thucyd. vii. 44. i in de nocturnis, ha modo θη... in ιε ιε τοι πολέμων ἢ γίνετο, οὐδε τις σαφῶς τι βάνα; — On the other hand it is just possible that ‘veterum’ is out of place: ‘quae etsi nunc aptior est, veterum eloquentiam tamen,’ &c. Such a transposition might also help to explain the MS. reading est ita erit.

illud, sc. veterum, opp. to nunc, as hic is often used of ‘here and now.’ Cp. ‘illa perturbationes, 36. 6 where the reference is to ‘antiquorum’ in the preceding sentence.

3. intra paucissimas horas. Cp. 19.10 id ipsum laudat (sc. populus) si dicendo quis diem eximieret. In early times, the hearing of a cause might last from the raising to the going down of the sun. For subsequent restrictions, see note on ‘primus... Pompeius,’ below.

4. perorare, here in its original sense of ‘to plead throughout,’ as often with causam: cp. Cic. pro Client. § 164 quam paucis verbis haec causa perorati potuerit? Liv. xxxiv. 31 breviter peroratum esse potuit nihil me... commississe. Of the two other meanings with which Cicero uses this verb (see Fassett’s pro Clientio: Glossary, p. 280) the first is probably illustrated in Ann. vi. 40. 4 cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia deprimtum sibi venenum hausi, ‘when they had finished their speeches’: cp. Client. § 6 cum peroraro; § 59 ut reliqua posset perorare; § 145 lege recitata perorasse. The second (to finish the advocacy of one side, i.e. make the final speech, summing up the whole case) is found Ann. ii. 30. 2 certabant cui us perorandii in reum dat: cp. iii. 17, 15: Cic. pro Sest. § 3: Orat. § 130.

’liberae comperendinationes, either on account of the importance of the case, or on the ground of some special circumstance, such as the danger with which the judges and the witnesses were threatened in the case of Clodius (Plut. Cic. xxix.) or Milo (Ascon. in Milon. [148]). The Lex Aurelia iudiciaria (70 B.C.) restricted the right of adjournment. See Poiret, L’éloquence judiciaire à Rome pendant la République, pp. 204–209.

modum dicendi: the limits, or proportions of his speech.

5. numerus dierum. Cp. Plin. Ep. i. 20, 8 ait se (Cicero) pro C. Cornelio quadruduo egisse. So the case of Balbus lasted at least two days; Cicero refers in his speech (§ 2) to those which had been delivered on the previous day.

6. patronorum. ‘In the earlier period
Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur: apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod caudae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique illius magni oratoris liber apud centumviro dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii quae pro heredibus Urbinae inscrivuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione medii divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et of forensic pleading, it was the practice for a *patronus* to conduct the whole case entrusted to him single-handed, Ramsay, Rom. Ant. p. 312. Afterwards there might be several *patroni*; Murena was defended, for example, by Cicero, Hortensius, and Crassus, and in later cases we hear of three, four, six, and even twelve advocates.

6. Primus ... Pompeius. This was in B.C. 52, when Pompey was for five months sole consul, 'corrigendis moribus delectus.' His enactment limited the speech for the prosecution to two hours, and that of the defender to three; cp. Cic. Brut. § 324 lege Pompeia ternis horis ad dicendum datis: ib. § 243 illius iudicialis anni severitatem: de Fin. iv. 1, 1. Even before Pompey's legislation, something seems to have been done towards curtailing the length of the speeches. In his impeachment of Verres, Cicero speaks of the time accorded to him by law ('legitimae horae,' ii. 1, 9, 25): while in the *pro Flacco* he mentions six hours as the time allowed for the prosecution (sex horas lex omnino dedit, § 82). It was probably the neglect of these enactments that provoked Pompey's statute. Under the Empire the time allotted to counsel seems to have varied at different periods. At the trial of Marius Priscus, Pliny spoke for five hours (dixi horis paene quinque, Ep. ii. 11, 14). On another occasion six hours were allowed to the accuser and nine to the accused: cum e lege accusator sex horas novem reus accepisset, Ep. iv. 9, 9: while in vi. 2, 5 we hear of so few as two clepsydrae, one clepsydra, and even half a one being asked for and granted. That these restrictions were felt to be irksome we may infer from what Pliny says elsewhere: 'si modo instum et debita tempus accipiat, quod si negetur nulla oratoris maxima iudicis culpa est,' Ep. i. 20, 10.


8. in foro, and not in the imperial palace or in *auditoria* and *tabularia*, 39. 5. legibus, and not at the caprice of princes or judges (cp. 19. 23). *apud praetores*, and not before the emperor.

9. negotia, of actions-at-law: cp. 9. 11: forensibus negotiis, 14. 14; 19. 25: Ann. ii. 27, 2; xi. 6, 7; xiiii. 4, 8; xvi. 22, 9.

10. causae centumvirales. See on 7. 6. 12. obruebantur, were overshadowed, eclipsed. So Agr. xvii. 8 Cerialis ... alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: cp. Cic. Brut. § 172.

14. Liber of a speech, written down and published: so 12. 24; 20. 3; 21. 6 and 26; 25. 21; 26. 16; 39. 24. Tr. 'there is not a speech, delivered before the centumviri, that would be read nowadays.'

15. *pro heredibus Urbinae*. This was a case in which an adventurer called Clusinius Figulus alleged that he was the son of the deceased Urbinia, and laid claim to her estate. Quint. vii. 2, 4-5.

ab ipso tamen Pollione, 'and even these Pollio delivered,' &c. The point is that it was only when political passions had subsided that orators of standing could afford to interest themselves in private cases.
assidua senatus tranquillitas et maxima principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat.

39. Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen, vel ideology rideatur. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur? Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quius iam 5 fere plurimae causa explicantur? Nam quo modo nobiles equos

18. maxima AB, maxim DCH (Baehrens); maxima Haase, Halm, et edd. 'Con- cinnitas' seems to be in favour of maxima. 19. omnia depacaverat A, (depar- verat) B, omnia alia pacaverat H and most codd. (Michaelis, Halm, Müller), alia omnia pacaverat E.

39. videbitur Ursinus, videtur codd, videatur Orelli, Halm, et edd. 2. ridea- tur EV, CADH, ridear AB. 5. tabularia ABDH, tabulariae V, C (tabulariæ E), fabulariæ A.

18. disciplina, of the 'great imperial system,' or 'constitution?': cp. 40, 13 quorum civilitatem severissima disciplina: Hist. iv. 74, 18 octingentorum annorum fortuna disciplinique compages haec coalesce, where G. and G. render ' Staats- ordnung,' 'Regierungsweisheit.' So Cie- de Or. ii. §67 disciplinae civitatis: i. §159 disciplinae et publicae: i. §3 pertura- tionem disciplinae veteris,—the overthrow of the old political system.

19. sicut omnia. Alia is added in many MSS. (cp. 21, 4), but its omission may be justified by a comparison of Hist. ii. 80, 5 Caesarum, Augustum, et omnia principis vocabula: iv. 7, 14 Iudaean Suriamque et omnes provincias.

depacaverat, &c., 'had brought peace and quietness into': a dtr. elp. formed on the analogy of delinere, demitigare. Livy has 'perpacare.' John points out that the reading 'depacaverat' is supported by the preference which the author shows in the Dialogue for compound forms, especially verbs compounded with de- and con-, in a weakened signification: e.g. 7. 17 demonstrare = demonstrare; 22. 25 deter- minare = terminare (16. 17 is different); 37. 35 desumere = sumere (10. 36). Cp. also 10. 11 denegavest, deterre*; 6. 15 consuergere = surgere; 15. 12 consuere = quaere.

30. videbitur seems the better reading—certainly with rideatur following. Videatur is, however, supported by 16. 26.

2. vel, 'even if only,'—even if I achieve no other result than to raise a laugh, though we ought to feel shame and humil- ity. Cp. Quint. iv. 1, 33 non tamen omittenda vel ide ne occurrentur: ib. x. 1, 86, 131 (vel ideo quod). Similarly Hist. iv. 49, 31 vel forte: Agr. iii. 16 vel inconcita ac rudi voce, where vel = 'even if only.'

Quantum humilitatis, &c. Tr. 'How much have we done to base eloquence by,' &c.

3. paenulas. The paenula was proper- ly a rough sleeveless cloak, of wool or leather, worn in rainy weather. See Mayor's note on Juv. v. 79. It fitted closely to the body, whence adstricti et velut inclusi. The dignity of the legal profession must have been in danger when counsel took to appearing in this cloak instead of the toga. A modern barrister might as well address the bench in an 'ulster.'

4. tabularia: cp. 23, 11.

5. tabularia, 'offices,' properly 're- cord-offices,'—chambers which, like the auditoria, would have been considered in earlier days unsuited to the majesty of the law. The 'basilicas' were found inadequate for the rush of business which followed the late disturbances: Suet. Vesp. 10.

6. fere. It is sometimes difficult to see whether fere is meant to attach itself to a single word (Reid on Lael. §2) or to a whole sentence. Here it might be joined to plurimae, 'pretty well most'; cp. Cic. Tusc. iii. §73 'fere plerique.' This is, however, much more common with 'fere omnes': and it is safer to take fere here as modifying the whole state-
CORNELII TACITI

1. quam

11. quando H, quando AB, quam quando AD, quam quando C, quam EV, causam quando Bekker, Baehrens.

12. testibus audientibus silentium patronis is my conj., testibus sil. patronus codd. (except that H has a blank between testibus et patronis').

For patronus Haupt suggested impatiens (Halm), Orelli praetor, Weissenborn im-portunus, Halm patronus or ultra, Meiser testibus patroni silentium.

ment: cp. 66 eivos elteiv, 0s eiveiv: tr. 'most cases are nowadays generally unfolded.' At 20. 2 and 31. 7 it = ple-rumque.—Fere has a tendency to connect itself with iam: but the text is different from Cic. Verr. v. § 94. ('lucem iam fere'), or pro Tull. § 21 ('iam fere cum lux appropinquaret').

6. quo modo . . . sio: cp. 25. 10; 36. 33; 41. 9.

7. cursus et spatia. A 'spacious, roomy race-course' is required to put a racer 'on his mettle.' For the hendiadys cp. Germ. xxxvii. 3 castra ac spatia: Verg. Georg. iii. 202 Hic vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi Sudabit spatia.

ozatorum campus. For the figure, cp. Cic. Acad. ii. § 112 cum sit enim campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, car eam tanta in angustias et Stoicorum in dumeta commelli: de Or. iii. § 71 ex ingenti quadam oratorem immensaque campo in exiguum sane gyrum compel-

litis.—Aliquis is unusual, for quidam: John cites Cic. pro Arch. § 18 quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere: cp. Germ. xlii. 17.


9. Ipsam quin immo, &c., 'Moreover we know by experience that even prepara-

tion and solicitude about the elaboration of what we write do more harm than good': for the judge interrupts, and then it is all over with us. In itself, excessive preparation may lead to failure, if it makes the speaker the bond-slave of what he has prepared (see Quint. x. 7, 14 and 32: xii. 9, 16 sq.: xi. 2, 48 sq.): it is worse if the judge is impatient or out of temper. For diligentis stili cp. Quint. x. 3, 5 sit primo vel tardus dum diligens stilus: and for contrarium, see on 36. 12.

10. saepe and frequenter correspond, like 'modo . . . modo.' John compares saepe . . . nonnumquam, Vell. ii. 90, 2.

11. quando incipias: 'when are you coming to the point?' Cp. 19. ad fin.

ex interrogatio, not 'with the point indicated in his question' (as Wolff): tr. 'when he puts this question.'

12. probationibus is generally taken as referring to the third constituent part of a judicial speech: after the 'introduction' and the 'narrative' came the 'proof,' the 'refutation,' and the 'closing appeal' (Quint. iii. 9, 1). Those who adopt this view delete patronus, with Novak, who says, 'addidit librarius patronus, subjectum desiderans.'—But I venture to read patronis, and to supply audientis in the text: the meaning may be that when the judge does not request counsel to 'get to business,' he does even worse,—cuts him short, and proceeds to hear 'proof' and evidence. This seems to account better for the plural 'probationibus': the examination of witnesses generally followed the main speeches for the prosecution and defence (Cic. in Verr. i. § 55). For Tacitus's use of the gerundive as equivalent to a final clause, after a verb, see Dr. 206 B.

13. unus aut alter: see on 21. 6. For inter haec, cp. Ann. xi. 35. 11: inter quae, i. 12, 1, and frequently.
solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinius concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

17. et (before municipiorum) ADCVjH, ac B Halm. 18. partis HVSp., partes asisterent Rhenanus. 24. egerunt... censeantur codd., legerunt... accendantur Andersen, Wolff.

14. clamore plausuque, as Hist. iii. 3, 2 clamore et plausu.
16. nobiles, sc. homines. The frequent use of adjectives as nouns makes it unnecessary to insert homines in the text, with Orelli.—On the other hand, Baehrens and John supply ‘oratores,’ out of antiquis... oratoribus immediately before, and the latter translates ‘when the simultaneous appearance in the forum of so many distinguished speakers occasioned a real crowd.’ But does the writer not mean that the needed stimulus was produced, in those times, by the crowded forum, with the great men of the day, as well as the multitude, for an audience?
18. pars Italae... adsisteret. So Ann. xiii. 4 ad fin. consulum tribunaliibus Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent.
plerisque, ‘most,’ as at 26. 7. See on 2. 10.
20. C. Cornelium, tribune in 67, and impeached by P. Cominius Spoletinus in 65 on a charge of maledicta. He was successfully defended by Cicero (Brut. § 271) in a speech which is no longer extant.
M. Aemilius Scaurus was praetor in Sardinia in 56, and when accused of extortion was defended by six advocates, one of whom was Cicero.
L. Calpurnius Bestia was unsuccessfully defended by Cicero in 56 on a charge of ambitus: ad Qu. Fr. ii. § 6 ‘A. d. iii Id. Febr. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio, maximo conventu.’
22. frigidissimos quoque = vel frigidissimos. For this use of quoque, see on 6. 19.
Itaque hercule: 19. 10: 30. 19.

eius modi... ut. It seems best to take eius modi, with John, as predicative: tr. ‘Thus it is that the speeches that have come down to us are of such a character (i.e. so good) that those who delivered them take rank by them more than by any others’: they not only decided the fate of the accused at the time, but they may still be taken as unsurpassed performances on the part of their authors. Others separate eius modi from ut, rendering ‘Thus it is that speeches of this class are still extant: those who delivered them owe their fame to none more than to these.’ To make this meaning clear, Heller suggests et... censeuntur. But it may be questioned whether ‘libri’ does not refer exclusively to the speeches just mentioned.
24. egerunt. For this absolute use, cp. 18. 6: Quint. iii. 3, 16 (is qui agit), xii. 9, 9, and frequently.
25. censeantur = aestimentur. Cp. Agric. xlv. 4 una adhuc victoria Carnis Metius censebatur. The constr. is very frequent in post-classical Latin for ‘to be appreciated,’ ‘distinguished’ for something, to ‘take rank by’ something: Juv. viii. 2 longo sanguine censeri: Suet.
40. Iam vero contiones assiduæ et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a Publico quidem Scipione aut L. Sulla aut Cn. Pompeo abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est 5 natura invidiae, populi quoque ut histriones auribus uterentur, quantum ardores ingenii, quas oratoribus faces admovebant! Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alnuma


4. ut est natura invidiae. This should be taken along with ad incessendos principes viros: Hor. Car. ii. 10, 5–12.

5. populi quoque ut histriones auribus uterentur. This reading involves only the change of the MS. et to ut, for which cp. 22, 20. The point of resemblance between the demagogues and the actors is that the former seized on such opportunities as they could get of working up the passions and prejudices of the whole body of the people, instead of confining their attacks to deliberative assemblies such as the senate, or to the still more formal procedure of the courts of law. For the licence of actors see Val. Max. vi. 2, 9: Cic. pro Sest. lvi–lvi. But I cannot help thinking that et histriones may be a gloss. The true reading may be simply 'populi quoque auribus uterentur': cp. Enn. ap. Non. 306 more antiquo audibo atque aures tibi contra utendas dabo.—The conjecture 'pronis auribus' is supported by Hist. i. 1, 10 obiectatio et livor pronis auribus acclipturrc.


faces admovebant: so 'faces addere,' Hist. i. 24, 1: facem praeferre, ib. ii. 86, 20. For the figure cp. Quint. i. 25 id nobis acriores ad studia dicendì faces subdilasse: Cic. de Or. iii. § 4 hic cum... Philippo quasi quasdam verborum faces admovisset: ii. § 205 haec dicendi faces. So of the fiery furnace of affliction, Cic. de Off. ii. § 37 dolorum cum admoventur faces.

7. Non de, &c. For the theory that Maternus's speech only begins here, after a lacuna in which the last part of it is lost as well as the last part of the speech of the previous speaker (Secundus? Messalla?), see Introd. p. xlii.


8. alnuma licentiae. Cicero on the other hand says 'pacis est comes otique socia et iam bene constituita civitatis quasi alnuma quaedam eloquentia,' Brut. § 45: cp. de Or. ii. § 30 in omni pacata et libera civitatem dominatur: ib. i. § 30 haec una res in omni libero populo maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus præcipue semper floruit semperque dominata est. The antagonism is to be explained by recognising the different point of view from which Cicero writes. Maternus is thinking of the political divisions at Athens, out of which some gain came to oratory, and also, no doubt, of such an incident as the Gracchan revolution at Rome; Cicero is stating the general principle that eloquence, like the other
licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine veritate, con-
tumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus
non oritur. Quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem
Cretensem accepirunm? quorum civitatum severissima disciplina
et severissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac
Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit
eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses
oratores exitterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti,
onnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. Nostra quoque civitas,
donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis
confectit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia,
nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus
magistratuum modus, tuit sine dubio valientiorem eloquentiam,

9. vocabant codd., vocant Heumann, vocitant Hess, Baehrens; cp. 23. 5. 10.
veritate Steiner, servitute codd., severitate Pithou. Qy. reverentia?
13. accep-

imus DC, accepitus ABHEV, sanctissima disciplina Orelli, sanctissimae
leges Schele. 14. No D, nec cett. codd. 15. ullius AHE, illius BCDV2,

22. metus Orelli.

arts of peace, flourishes best wherever there is
an established order. That Cicero was
aware that great eloquence often works
mischief is clear from de Inv. i. § 1: de
Or. i. § 38.

9. licentiae ... libertatem. So
Hist. ii. 10, 2: Cic. in Verr. iii. § 3.
Cp. the frequent juxtaposition of licentia
and libido, libertas and libido.

Vocabant seems quite appropriate to
the context, which consists of a review of
the past.

10. incitamentum. A favourite word
with Tacitus. It is noticeable that he
does not occur in Quintilian.

Veritate, 'reality,' as 35. 17. Heller
supports this reading by a reference to
Plato, Gorgias 525 A, where ane al
theias is followed by upo lsoias kal
truvhs kal dprvos kal dkeias tvn prds-
exon, on which 'sine obsequio contumax,
temeraria, adrogans' seems to have been
modelled. Tacitus was familiar with the
Gorgias: cp. Ann. vi. 6 with 524 E,
and Agr. iv. 13 (of the study of philo-
sophy) with 484 D. See Philologus, li.
p. 350.

§ 50 Lacedaemonium vero (sc. oratorem)
usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse ne-
minem: cp. Quint. ii. 16, 4.


quorum civitatum, &c., i.e. history
contains no example of a more rigorous
constitution or more stringent legislation.
18. ut sic dixerim. See on 34. 7.

There is a reminiscence of Vergil's 'non
omnia possimus omnes,' except that here
omnes rather = ol ivares, as Germ. xi. 2;
ii. 20.

19. erravit. So long as it swayed
hither and thither, was unsettled: cp. er-
ranti populo, 36. 9. The opposite would be
'certo imperio usus est': cp. above certo
imperio contenta. So 10. 19 cum natura
tet tua in arcem ... ferat, erre mavis.

21. nullus magistratuum modus is
generally taken as = 'no sense of pro-
perty (or 'restraint') on the part of the
magistrates': cp. 'moderati indices,' 5.
and 'modus et temperamentum,' 41. 23.
Greef, however, says that the
phrase is equivalent to 'nullus magis-
tratuum modus oratorum,' and really
means 'a magistratibus effrenata oratorum
licentia non coercebatur.'

22. sine dubio ... sed. So Ann. ii.
51, 7: sine dubio ... tamen, Agr. xlv. 22:
ceterum, Ann. i. 6, 6: rursus, Ann. xi. 28,
7. In all these cases the statement made
in the sine dubio clause is meant to be
sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas lactiores: sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41. Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit, nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? Atqui melius fuisset non

23. sicut indomitus Aldine 1534, sicut domitus codd. latiores Rhenanus, latiores codd. 24. tanti Rhenanus, tua codd. 25. bene BDC, bonae Hb, bone A. famam Muretus, formam codd.

41. 1. antiqui oratoribus fori Spengel, antiquis oratoribus forum (ABDH, horum EV,CA) codd., antiqui oratoribus horum temporum Baehrens. 2. emendatae Lipsius, emendare codd. 3. Quis enim EV,CA, Quidem quod nemo AH (in A quis enim is written above the line), Quis enim quod nemo B, Quis enim quidem quod nemo D. The variants must have resulted from a gloss on 'Quis enim' ('idem quod nemo'). 4. clientelam Pithou, civitatem codd.

less emphatic than that in the clause following: cp. Quint. i. 6, 12; v. 7, 28; v. 10, 53; viii. 3, 67; x. 1, 57: Intro. to Book x. p. lii. I have altered the traditional punctuation (which makes 'Sed nec tanti,' &c. an independent sentence) in order to bring out the connexion between sine dubio and sed.

23. indomitus ager: cp. 6. ad fin. So Cic. Or. § 48 ub segetes fecundae et uberes non solum fruges verum herbas ('weeds') etiam effundit. laatiores. Laetus is often used in Vergil of rich vegetation: Georg. i. 339 laetis operatus in herbis, and ii. 48 laeta et fortia surgunt in iii. 385 (fuge pabula laeta) and 494 (laetis mortuuras in herbis) the word means 'luxuriant,' in the sense of rankness rather than richness. Cp. notes on Quint. x. 3, 15 and i. § 46.

eec tanti... fuit. So 37. 37: Lucan, Phars. iii. 51 nec vincere tanti ubellum differret erat. Cp. Cicero's unfavourable references to the legislation of the Gracchi, e.g. de Or. i. § 38 ista praecella gubernatrice civitatum eloquentia rempublicam dissipaverat.

25. nec bene... pensavit: 'Cicero's oratorical renown was a poor compensation for his tragic end:' his death was a 'big price' to pay for his fame as an orator. So often compensare in Cicero, though such an expression as 'exitum fama pensavit' would be less uncommon:


41. 1. Sic quoque, &c. 'Even as it is, the survivals that our speakers have left them of the forum of old go to show a civil condition which is not faultless, or well-ordered as heart could wish.' Sic quoque is explained by 'donec erravit,' &c., above: for the meaning 'even as things are at present,' see Ann. iv. 40, 14: and cp. xv. 17, 7: Quint. x. 1, 131: Sen. de. Ben. iii. 31, 1: Ep. 94, 31.

non emendatae, i.e. when judged by an ideal standard. Cp. 'composita et quieta et beata re publica,' 36, 6, where the speaker is emphasizing the contrast between imperial and republican times.

2. ad votum = suaviter eis, as Quint. Decl. iii. 12 ad omne votum fluente fertuna. Cp. on 5. 23.


6. tuemur, 'appear for.' This meaning is frequent in Quintilian. Cp. on 7. 8. For the wrongs of the provincials, see Juv. Sat. vii. 87, 112.

Atqui melius. 'But to have no complaint to make would have been better than having to seek redress,'—lit. than to be avenged. Non queri = to bring no
DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

Quer quum vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. Quo modo tamen minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in ipsis gentibus quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimos corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententisi, cum optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum continentibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? Quid voluntarii accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscentis obviam


charge, because there are no grounds for a charge. For the thought cp. 37. 18 quae mala sicut non acciderit melius est: Inv. viii. 94 Sed quid damnatio confert, &c. With melius, longum, aequum, &c. the indicative is more common: Cic. de N. D. iii. 33 prohíbírií melius fuit impeditírique ne... quam ipsum aliquando poenas dare (Roby, 1535): de Óff. iii. § 94 quanto melius fuerat in hoc promissum patris non esse servatum. So *operturcat pro Mur. § 25.* Cp. however de Sen. § 82 Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam et quietam aetatem... traducere?

7. *Quod si inveniretur, &c.* For the thought, Novak compares Quint. Decl. p. 95, 21 Et sane si justitia valeat quid est eloquentia? quid ergo civitati confrerunt (oratores)?

9. *Quo modo... sic.* So 25. 10; 36. 33; 39. 6.

tamen. John thinks that *tamen* connects well with the preceding imperfect subjunctives (inveniretur... supervacuus esset). The meaning would then be, 'that is of course an unrealizable ideal, and so the orator is not altogether superfluous; but all the same,' &c. The reading is however doubtful.

10. medentis. See on cognoscentis, below.

11. saluberrimis. So Hist. v. 6, 4 *Corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum; Ann. ii. 33, 14 salubritas corporum. The same use of this adj. is found in Livy and Sallust, but not in Cicero.

12. *honor... gloria.* Cp. 12. 14, and (figuratively) Germ. v. 5 ne armentis quidem suas honor aut gloria frontis. So *laus and fama* are conjoined, 7. 11: *fama, gloria, laus, 18. 2: laus, gloria 28. 10, and line 22 below.

13. *regentia,* obj. gen.: more usually *er<rga* c. acc., Germ. xiv. 5. *Regere* is used intransitively, of the princes, also at Ann. iv. 33, 18; xiii. 3, 4: cp. Quint. iii. 8, 47: Sen. de Ira ii. 15, 4. For *parates in cp. Quint. x. 5, 12 in omnes causas paratus:* Hist. iv. 32, 8 paratum in res novas: Verg. Aen. ii. 61 in utrumque paratus.

longis... sententisi. The speaker recurs here to what was said in 36. 27 'cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere.' A compliment is implied to the administration of Vespasian ('sapientissimus et unus'), though the picture is an ideal one.

14. *multis... continentibus.* Cp. 36. 10 Hinc contiones magistriatum paene pernoctantium in rostris. For the thought, compare Quint. vi. i. 35 quod genus nostris temperibus totum paene sublatum est, cum omnìa curae tutelaque unius in- nixa pericilliulo nullo iudicii exitu possint.

15. *multi = ol volol: tr. 'the uninstructed many.'*

17. *parce,* almost synonymous with 'rado,' though the translators render 'slight,' 'insignificant': cp. Hor. Car. i. 25; 1 Parcius junctas, &c., and Quintilian frequently.

invidiosus, 'hate-stirring.' Hist. i. 33, 12.

18. *cognoscentis.* For the substantival use of the participle, cp. medentis,
periclitantibus eat? Credite, optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur his nati essent, ac deus aliiquis vitas ac [vestra] tempora repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset: nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectionem alterius utatur.'

42. Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: 'Erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus.'

'Fiet' inquit Maternus 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.'

regentis, above, praecipientium 28. 6: dicentium 6. 18. So often discens, audiens, docens, &c. Cognoscere occurs in the same sense at 19. 23, where see note.

19. in quantum opus est, i.e. considering the limited field now open to eloquence. Cp. 1. 11 disertissimorum, ut nostri temporibus, hominum.

21. ac deus aliiquis, &c. Baehrens and, on different grounds, John prefer to read 'aut deus aliiquis,' &c., and there is perhaps a certain want of logical precision in the way in which the writer presents what is really intended as a dual alternative. The first hypothesis is, according to John, the transportation of one of the two parties (aut vos . . . aut illi) into the age of the other: the second the simultaneous reciprocal exchange of epochs (deus . . . repente mutasset). But it is possible to be too exacting in the way of precision of statement: the deus . . . mutasset clause seems rather to have been added in the way of an afterthought: Novak indeed, following Müller's suggestion, rejects it altogether, as having been added by some one who remembered the well-known passage in Horace (Sat. i. 1, 15).

vestra is rightly rejected by many editors as superfluous: its position also renders it open to suspicion. It could only mean 'yours and those of the antiqui,' whereas, immediately before and after, vos is used of those whom the speaker is addressing alone.

25. citra. See on 27. 9. Maternus concludes with an attempt to reconcile the conflicting views of Aper and Messalla, while justifying himself, in the altered conditions of the time, for preferring poetry to rhetoric.

alterius involves a brachyology. Tr. 'Let every one enjoy the blessings of his own age, without disparaging those of any other.'

42. 3. exactus, 'far-spent': so Agr. xxxviii. 12 exacta iam aestate: ib. iii. 5 exactae aestatis: Hist. iii. 33, 4: iv. 84, 5. For the same idea of 'completing' a thing, cp. also Lucan, Phars. ii. 577 Ante bis exactum quam Cynthia conderet orbem: ib. viii. 376.

4. arbitratu tuo. Cic. Brut. § 42 At ille ridens 'Tuo vero' inquit 'arbitratu': de Am. § 3 arbitratu meo. So too frequently in Livy. The nominative and accusative singular are found only in Plautus.

5. de iis . . . conferemus. This is an unusual construction. Cicero often uses 'inter se conferre,' but always with the acc. or with a dependent clause; ad Att. i. 20, 1 Si quid res feret, coram inter nos conferemus, de Fin. iv. § 4. Cp.
Ac simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus ‘Ego’ inquit ‘te poetis, Messalla autem antiquariis criminabimur.’

‘At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis’ inquit.
Cum adrisissent, discessimus.

42. 7. autem Weissenborn, cum codd. Perhaps it should be omitted, with the Puteolanus. Or is it possible that cum conceals omnibus? cp. 2. 14, and 18. 14.

Agr. xv. 2 ‘conferre injurias,’ though there the word may = comparare.
7. criminabimur. For the plural, cp. adferant, 35. 8; Dr. § 29.

9. Cum adrisissent. For the ending cp. the close of the First Book of the de Oratore, also the de Natura Deorum, iii. ch. xl.
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