

M. TVLLI CICERONIS PRO M. CAELIO ORATIO

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candem voluit; quaesivit venenum, sollicitavit servos, potionem paravit, locum constituit, clam attulit. Magnam rursus odium video cum crudelissimo discido exstitisse.

Res est omnis in hac causa nobis, iudices, cum Clodia, muliere non solum nobili verum etiam nota; de qua ego nihil dicam nisi depellendi criminis causa. Sed intellegis pro tua praestanti prudentia, Cn. Domiti, cum hac sola rem esse nobis. Quae si se aurum Caelio commodasse non dicit, si venenum ab hoc sibi paratum esse non arguit, petulanter facimus, si matrem familias secus quam matronarum sanctitas postulat nominamus. Sin ista muliere remota nec crimen ullum nec opes ad oppugnandum M. Caelium illis relinquuntur, quid est aliud quod nos patroni facere debeamus, nisi ut eos qui insectantur repellamus? Quod quidem facerem vehementius, nisi intercederet mihi inimicitiae cum istius mulieris viro—fratrem volui dicere; semper hic erro. Nunc agam modice nec longius progrediar quam me mea fides et causa ipsa coget: nec enim mulcebris umquam inimicitias mihi gerendas putavi, praesertim cum ea quam omnes semper amicam omnium potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putaverunt.

Sed tamen ex ipsa quaeram prius utrum me secum severe et graviter et prisce agere malit, an remisse et leniter et urbane. Si illo austero more ac modo, aliquis mihi ab inferis excitandus est ex barbatis illis, non hac barbula qua ista delectatur sed illa horrida quam in status antiquis atque imaginibus videmus, qui obiurget mulierem et qui

¹ servos, potionem *Bährerus*: quos potuit *P^{ms}* ^a clam attulit *scripsi*: quam *ante* locum *hab.* Σ : *om.* *P^{ms}* ⁵ nobili verum Σ , *Quintil.* ix. 4. 97: nobili sed (nobi *P¹*) *P^{ms}* ¹² M. Σ : *om.* *P^{ms}* ¹⁶ fratrem Σ *BB³*, *Claud. Sac.* (K. vi. 468): fratre *P^{ms}*, *Rufinian.* (*Rhet. M.* 40) ¹⁸ cogit Σ ^{nec Σ} : neque *P^{ms}* ¹⁹ mihi inimicitias Σ cum ea *om.* *Quintil.* ix. 2. 99 ²⁰ semper *om.* *Quintil.* ²⁴ si *Ernesit*: sin *BP^{ms}*: si enim *Bährerus* ²⁵ hac barbula] ex barbula illa Σ *B* ²⁶ sed illa Σ *B*: sed ex illa *est.* ²⁷ et qui Σ : et *P^{ms}*

pro me loquatur ne mihi ista forte suscenseat. Existat igitur ex hac ipsa familia aliquis ac potissimum Caecus ille; minimum enim dolorem capiet qui istam non videbit. Qui profecto, si exstiterit, sic aget ac sic loquetur: 'Mulier, quid tibi cum Caelio, quid cum homine adulescentulo, quid 5 cum alieno? Cur aut tam familiaris fuisti ut aurum comodares, aut tam inimica ut venenum timeres? Non patrem tuum videras, non patruum, non avum, non proavum, 34 non *abavum*, non atavum audieras consules fuisse; non denique modo te Q. Metelli matrimonium tenuisse sciebas, 10 clarissimi ac fortissimi viri patriaeque amantissimi, qui simul ac pedem limine extulerat, omnis prope civis virtute, gloria, dignitate superabat? Cum ex amplissimo genere in familiam clarissimam nupsisses, cur tibi Caelius tam coniunctus fuit? cognatus, affinis, viri tui familiaris? Nihil eorum. Quid 15 igitur fuit nisi quaedam temeritas ac libido? Nonne te, si nostrae imagines viriles non commovebant, ne progenies quidem mea, Q. illa Claudia, aemulam domesticae laudis in gloria muliebri esse admonebat, non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia quae patrem complexa triumphantem ab inimico 20 tribuno plebei de curru detrahi passa non est? Cur te fraterna vitia potius quam bona paterna et avita et usque a nobis cum in viris tum etiam in feminis repetita moverunt? Ideone ego pacem Pyrrhi diremi ut tu amorum turpissimorum cotidie foedera ferires, ideo aquam adduxi ut ea tu 25 inceste uterere, ideo viam munivi ut eam tu alienis viris comitata celebrares?'

15 Sed quid ego, iudices, ita gravem personam induxi ut

6 familiaris *Severian.* (*Rhet. M.* 360): famil. huius ΣB : famil. huic $P^{\pi\delta}$ accommodares ΣB 8 non proavum ΣB : proavum *celt.* 9 non abavum, non atavum *scripsi* (*cf. Nipperdey, Leges Ann. p. 42*): non atavum non ΣB : atavum *celt.* 15 eorum] horum δ , *Ernesi* 17 ne et quidem *om. B* 23 || moverunt (*mov. m. 2 in ras.*) P : *fort.* commoverunt 28 introduxi *Quintil.* ix. 2. 60 ut Σ : ut et $P^{\pi\delta}$: ut etiam *Wesenberg*

verear ne se idem Appius repente convertat et Caelium incipiat accusare illa sua gravitate censoria? Sed videro hoc posterius atque ita, iudices, ut vel severissimis disceptatoribus M. Caeli vitam me probaturum esse confidam. Tu 5 vero, mulier—iam enim ipse tecum nulla persona introducta loquor—si ea quae facis, quae dicis, quae insimulas, quae moliris, quae arguis, probare cogitas, rationem tantae familiaritatis, tantae consuetudinis, tantae coniunctionis reddas atque exponas necesse est. Accusatores quidem libidines, 10 amores, adulteria, Baias, actas, convivia, commissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia iactant, idemque significant nihil se te invita dicere. Quae tu quoniam mente nescio qua effrenata atque praecipiti in forum deferri iudiciumque voluisti, aut diluas oportet ac falsa esse doceas aut nihil 15 neque crimini tuo neque testimonio credendum esse fateare.

Sin autem urbanus me agere mavis, sic agam tecum. 35 Removebo illum senem durum ac paene agrestem; ex his igitur sumam aliquem ac potissimum minimum fratrem qui est in isto genere urbanissimus; qui te amat plurimum, qui 20 propter nescio quam, credo, timiditatem et nocturnos quosdam inanis metus tecum semper pusio cum maiore sorore cubitabat. Eum putato tecum loqui: 'Quid tu multuaris, soror? quid insanis?'

Quid clamorem exorsa verbis parvam rem magnam facis? 25 Vicinum adulescentulum aspexisti; candor huius te et proceritas, voltus oculique pepulerunt; saepius videre voluisti; fuisti non numquam in isdem hortis; vis nobilis mulier

3 ut vel Σ : vel (*om. g*) $P^{\pi\delta}$ 6 loquar Σ 6-7 facis... arguis (*quae ante moliris om. b*): quae insimulas *om. p* $\Sigma b^2 p^2$: *om. P* 10 actas P : acta $\pi\delta$ 13 praiceps Σ 14 ac *Halm*: aut $P^{\pi\delta}$ 17 illum illum Σ his igitur tuis $P^{\pi\delta}$: istis tuis *Madvig* 22 cubitabat *Quintil.* viii. 3. 22: cubitavit $P^{\pi\delta}$ 24 clamorem *Ribbeck*: clamore $P^{\pi\delta}$ 26 pepulerunt Σ : $\pi\delta$: perpulerunt P 27 vis P , *Madvig*: visa $P^2 \pi\delta$

illum filium familias patre parco ac tenaci habere tuis copiis devinctum. Non potes; calcitrat, respuit, repellit, non putat tua dona esse tanti. Confer te alio. Habes hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter eo loco paratos quo omnis iuventus natandi causa venit; hinc licet condiciones cotidie legas; 5

cur huic qui te spernit molesta es?

16 Redeo nunc ad te, Caeli, vicissim ac mihi auctoritatem
37 patriam severitatemque suscipio. Sed dubito quem patrem potissimum sumam, Caecilianumne aliquem vehementem atque durum: 10

Nunc enim demum mi animus ardet, nunc meum cor cumulatur ira

aut illum:

O infelix, o sceleste!

Ferrei sunt isti patres: 15

Egone quid dicam, quid velim? quae tu omnia

Tuis foedis factis facis ut nequiquam velim,

vix ferendi. Diceret talis pater: 'Cur te in istam vicinitatem meretriciam contulisti? cur inlecebris cognitis non refugisti?' 20

Cur alienam ullam mulierem nosti? Dide ac dissice; Per me *tibi* licet. Si egebis, tibi dolebit, *non mihi*.

Mihi sat est qui aetatis quod relicuom est oblectem meae.

38 Huic tristi ac derecto seni responderet Caelius se nulla cupiditate inductum de via decessisse. Quid signi? Nulli sumptus, nulla iactura, nulla versura. At fuit fama. Quotus

2 potest Σ: potes || P repellit ΣB: om. *coll.* 3 esse dona
Σ 4 paratos ΣB: parasti P: praeparasti πδ 11 demum mi
Röbeck: demum mihi Pπδ: mihi demum B 12 ira] cura. B 16
quid velim Spengel: egone quid velim Pπδ 21 alienam om. Σ
dissice Σ, Puteanus: disce Pπδ 22 tibi Francken: om. Pπδ non
mihi Francken: om. Pπδ 25 se nulla... in tam om. P¹ in 4
versuum lac.

Cicero pretends that he does not want to seem spiteful because of his quarrel with Clodia's brother.

viro: Cicero's wit is not always in good taste. For the figure *reprehensio* or 'self-correction' (*ἐναντιόβωτος*), see Sandys on *Orat.* 135.

fratrem: so *Σ, Cl.*; *fratre P.* Kl. (cf. *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii, 1912, p. 373); both readings have the support of an ancient *testimonium* (see app. crit.), but Ciceronian usage is in favour of the ablative, for normally a word repeated from an oblique case remains unaltered; contrast *Flacc.* 13 'qui comitatus in inquirendo—comitatum dico?' with *Phil.* v. 49 'utinam C. Caesari, patri dico, contigisset'. See the careful discussion in Schönbn., pp. 37 f., Mayor on Pliny, *Epp.* iii. 2. 2; K. II. i, p. 245.

→ 20. **amicam omnium:** another jest (cf. Quintil. ix. 2. 99); Cicero's ironical gallantry makes it pleasant to think of Plutarch's wild story (*Cic.* 29) that Clodia wished to marry him.

§§ 33–34. 'Well, how would she like me to treat her? Suppose, to begin with, I conjure up one of those grand old Claudii to talk to her, say, Appius Claudius Caecus: he will know how to sum her up.'

The following passage is a particular form of what was called in rhetoric *προσωποποιία*, a 'speech in character', by which someone long dead was made to speak, or some other impersonation given. It excited the admiration of ancient critics, and is a first-rate piece of acting; see Quintil. iii. 8. 54, xii. 10. 61; Priscian, *GL* iii. 437. 34; Halm, *RLM* i, pp. 23, 72. Two other famous Ciceronian examples are in *Cat.* i. 18 ('tecum, Catilina, sic agit [patria] et quodam modo tacita loquitur') and 27 ('si mecum patria . . . si cuncta Italia, si omnis respublica loquatur: M. Tulli, quid agis?'); cf. *Planc.* 12, *de fin.* iv. 61, *Tusc.* ii. 46, and note Demetrius π. ξρι. 265 *προσαλαμβάνοντο δ' ἂν σχῆμα διανοίας πρὸς δεινότητα ἢ λέγειν τὰδε τινὰ ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ τὴν παρτίδα, λαβοῦσαν γυναικὸς σχῆμα*. It was essentially a feature of the 'grand style' in oratory; so Quintil. says of such a speaker (xii. 10. 61) 'hic orator et defunctos excitabit ut Appium Caecum, apud hunc et patria ipsa exclamabit'; Cicero remarks of a 'plain-style' speaker 'non faciet rem publicam loquentem nec ab inferis mortuos excitabit', and adds 'valentiorum haec laterum sunt', i.e. the figure needs 'stronger lungs' than such an orator will possess (*Orat.* 85; see Sandys's notes there, and his extract from Robert Hall's *Sermon* of 1803). Quintil. discusses its technique at some length in ix. 2. 29 ff.; in xi. 1. 39 he shows that the speaker changed his tone to suit the character ('dandique sunt iis, quibus vocem accommodamus, sui mores; aliter enim P.

Clodius, aliter Appius Caecus, aliter Caecilianus ille, aliter Terentianus pater fingitur'. See also *Brut.* 322, *de or.* i. 245, iii. 205, *part. orat.* 55, *Top.* 45.

In a wider sense, the term is used of any passage where the orator imagines another person as speaking, e.g. the prosecuting counsel, or the defendant (as in *Rosc. Am.* 32); see Oetling, *Librorum manuscriptorum qui Ciceronis orationem pro Caelio continent, quales sit conditio, examinatur*, Göttingen, 1868, p. 48. It is also used of certain types of rhetorical exercise (Quintil. iii. 8. 49 ff.; cf. Colson on i. 8. 3). Cf. Sir P. Sidney on the Psalms, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*.

Cicero's tactics here are masterly; even by the end of § 38 he must have known that he had won his case, with Clodia laughed out of court.

§ 33. 23. **severe . . . urbane:** 'in a stern, solemn, antique manner, or light-heartedly, playfully, in a smart modern way'. The antithesis between *prisce* and *urbane* throws some light on the Roman conception of *urbanitas* (see on 6. 25); *prisce* evidently conveyed an idea of old-fashioned uncouthness or 'rusticity', in contrast to the up-to-date smartness of 'modern' men-about-town.*

24. **austero:** 'bleak'; the word is used especially of a 'dry' wine (so Cato, *de agri cult.* 126, and often in Celsus and Columella), or of a 'sober' colour or a pungent scent; cf. *εὐστρηπός*. Such an adjective is rarely used with *modo*, which normally has attached to it only demonstratives, numerals, or such words as *par, idem*, etc.; here the collocation with *more* accounts for it; cf. *Verr.* ii. 9 'si humano modo, si usitato more' (N., p. 215).

ab inferis: cf. Cic. *Orat.* 85, Quintil. xii. 10. 61 (quoted above), and the famous story of Pompey in Val. Max. vi. 2. 8.

25. **ex barbatis . . . non hac barbula:** 'from among those bearded men of old, not anyone with a neat little beard as they are now worn'. The older fashion had been for long, full beards; Pliny (*N.H.* vii. 211) states that Scipio Africanus the younger was the first Roman to shave daily. Elegant youths, like Clodius, now wore a carefully trimmed beard, grown after the ceremony of the *depositio barbas*, as may be seen from coins of the period and of the earlier Empire; cf. *ad Ath.* i. 14. 5 'concurabant barbatuli iuvenes', Sen. *Epp.* 115. 2 'iuvenes barba et coma nitidos, de capsula totos ('fresh from a bandbox'); see T. Frank, *AJP* xl, 1919, pp. 396 ff. Hadrian brought the full beard back into fashion.

See Mayor on *Juv.* 16. 31, Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *barba*, Marquardt, *Privatleben*, pp. 579 ff., D. B. Kaufman in *Classical Weekly* xxxv, no. 19. The curious would find interest in H. Mötefinndt, *Zur Geschichte der Bartracht im alten Orient*, Leipzig, 1923.

Cf. *Sest.* 18, where Gabinius, 'unguentis affluens calamistrata coma', is contrasted with Piso, 'unum aliquem . . . ex barbatis illis, exemplum imperi veteris, imaginem antiquitatis, columnen rei publicae' (an instructive passage).

26. *horrida*: 'unkempt', not *nitida*.

2. *Caecus ille*: Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312, consul in 307 and 296, builder of the Appian Way and the Aqua Appia (Livy ix. 29, Frontin. *de aqu.* i. 5); the speech with which he caused Pyrrhus' peace offer to be rejected was still extant (*de sen.* 16). He was a scholar who interested himself in linguistic problems (cf. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 6, 105), and the first Roman prose-writer; he has been described as the earliest clear-cut personality in Roman history. Cicero made a good choice of this fine old Roman gentleman to rebuke a flighty descendant, to whom his ways would no doubt seem curiously fusty.

3. *minimum . . . videbit*: a schoolboyish jest, which Caelius must have liked.*

qui . . . loquetur: 'if he appears, I imagine (*profecto*) this is how he will treat her, this is what he will say.'

5. *quid . . . Caelio*: 'what business have you with Caelius?' a form of expression from familiar speech, frequent in comedy as well as in Ovid and in Silver Prose (see *Theat. L. L.* s.v. *cum*, col. 1374).*

adulescentulo: cf. 36. 25. The word gives no clue to Caelius' age (see *L. & S.* s.v., and cf. note on 2. 1), but it is certainly a jeer at Clodia's age as compared with his.

6. *familiaris*: *P* adds *huic* (*huius* 2), which *Kl.* accepts; the omission is due to Severianus (*RLM* 360. 27); probably it should be restored to the text here, as *familiaris* needs a complement, and it offers a pleasant picture of Appius' ghost pointing to Caelius.

7. *ut . . . timeres*: this type of clausula is recommended by Quintil. (ix. 4. 102).

non . . . videras: *non* is frequent in a chain of questions like this, when the interrogative tone is clear from the context; see *K. II.* ii, pp. 503, 516.

8. *patrem . . . atavum*: *Cl.* adds *abavum non* to complete the genealogy; *Kl.* reads *non avum proavum abavum atavum* (see his note). *W.* gives a full family tree (cf. *Fra.*, p. 216).

→ § 34. 10. *modo*: 'lately' (not to be joined with *non*).

Q. Metelli: Clodia's cousin and husband, Q. Metellus Celer, whose sudden death in 59 caused the rumour that she had poisoned him; he was Pompey's legate in Asia in 66, praetor 63, consul 60; as praetor he supported Cicero, and in 60 he vigorously opposed Clodius' transference to the plebs. Clodia and he were on bad terms

(*ad Att.* ii. 1. 5 'ea cum viro bellum gerit'; cf. Garrod, *CR* xxxiii, 1919, p. 67). Cicero says of him (*ad Att.* ii. 1. 4) 'est consul *φλόπαρας* et, ut semper iudicavi, natura bonus'; cf. *in Pis.* 8.

11. *simul . . . extulerat*: 'the moment he set foot out of doors', quasi-proverbial (cf. Otto s.v. *pes*, 10); Quintil. (ix. 4. 104) quotes *omnis . . . superabat* to illustrate a type of clausula.

15. *cognatus . . . familiaris*: 'was he a relative by blood, a connexion by marriage, a close friend of your husband?'

quid . . . libido: 'well then, was there any other reason but sheer wanton passion?' *quid fuit* = *quid causae fuit*, understood from *cur* above.

16. *nonne te . . . admonerat*: a rather awkward sentence: 'surely, if the images of the male representatives of my family did not induce your respect, did my descendant, the famous Quinta Claudia, not give you counsel either, to rival her family renown in the sphere of womanly honour?' The *imagines* were the busts of the family ancestors, kept in the atrium. *Nē . . . quidem*, as so often when there is no question of gradation between the persons or things negated = 'also not', 'not . . . either'; cf. *Tusc.* i. 54 [principium] si nunquam oritur, ne occidit quidem unquam', *de sen.* 27 'ne nunc quidem vires desidero adulescentis', *Acad.* i. 5 'indocti ne a nobis quidem accipient' (see Reid ad loc.), Sen. *ad Helv.* iv. 1, *de brev. vit.* xii. 6 (see Duff ad loc.). *Aemulam . . . esse* is the direct infinitive construction after *admonerat*.*

17. *progenies*: perhaps granddaughter; see the story in Livy xxix. 14. 12, Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 395 ff., where see Frazer.

18. *Q. illa Claudia*: note this idiomatic separation of *praenomen* from *nomen*; so too with particles (71. 13 'M. vero Caelius', *de am.* 69 'Q. vero Maximum', Quintil. xii. 11. 23 'M. igitur Cato'; see Du Mesnil on *Flacc.* 104; *K. II.* ii, p. 135).

19. *Vestalis*: the daughter (perhaps sister, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 2) of Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 143; she protected him from attack when the people tried to prevent him from celebrating a triumph (Livy, *Per.* 53, Val. Max. v. 4. 6, Dio Cassius, fr. 74).

21. *cur te . . . moverunt*: 'why was it that you were influenced by your brother's vices rather than by the virtues of your father and of your ancestors, virtues that have appeared constantly ever since my own time, not only in the men but particularly in the women of our family?'

23. *tum . . . feminis*: *tum* introduces what is, for Appius' purpose, the more important point; note that Cicero does not use *mulier* here—*feminis* is not only antithetical to *viris* but bears a complimentary sense (see on 31. 5).

24. *ideone*: 'was it for *this* . . . ?' (anticipatory of *ut*); the triple

repetition makes an effective climax, as the old man contrasts his three great services to the State with Clodia's disgraceful behaviour.

pacem Pyrrhi: see on § 3. 2; Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 19) reports the speech, possibly from the original; cf. *Brut.* 61, Quintil. ii. 16. 7. **amorum . . . ferires:** 'strike the most disgraceful bargains with your lovers'.

25. aquam: this, the first Roman aqueduct, was finished in 312; it began some eight miles from Rome, and ran underground for all but sixty paces (Frontin. *de aqu.* i. 5); hitherto the people had been dependent on water from the Tiber or from wells.

26. muniui: the t.t. for 'building' a road, which well shows the importance attached to its function; for the methods used, see the interesting passage in Stat. *S.* iv. 3. 40 ff. The Appian Way originally ended at Capua, but was later extended to Brundisium; it was the first road laid down on scientific principles ('regina viarum', Stat. *S.* ii. 2. 12).

alienis viris: instrumental abl.; this is normal after *comitatus*, *stipatus* (but 'stipatum ab his viris', *Sest.* 147); see K. II. i, p. 380, Lebr. pp. 406 ff., Conway on *Aen.* i. 312. Cicero, pleased with his idea, repeats it in *Mil.* 17 'quasi Appius ille Caecus viam munierit non qua populus uteretur sed ubi impune sui posterius latrocinarentur'.

§ 35. 'Why have I introduced this austere old man, when he might even begin to condemn Caelius too? But I shall deal with Caelius presently; at the moment, Clodia, I tell you to your face that you will have to explain your intimacy with him.'

This section provides a transition to Cicero's second prosopopeia; in it he drops his acting and addresses Clodia in person, with no mercy. It certainly breaks the artistic unity of the two complementary passages, §§ 33-34 and § 36; but it is effective in its own way, for it underlines the real significance of Appius' speech, i.e. that Clodia is so immoral that her evidence is worthless, and it makes clear the important point that Cicero felt so certain of his case that he was willing to risk the danger involved for Caelius by Appius' argument. Norden regards the section as an 'improvisation' (see Appendix VIII); I think it is far more probably an integral part of Cicero's plan to bolster up Caelius; see further Drexler, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f., H., pp. 233 ff., Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff. And its inclusion certainly gives more point to the frivolity of the line taken by Clodius in § 36, which is really more damaging to Clodia than Appius' criticisms, as Drexler remarks (p. 28).

§ 35. 28. **sed quid . . . induxi:** quoted by Quintil. (ix. 2. 60), in

illustration of pretended naturalness, 'quasi paenitentia dicti'. *Inducere* is the t.t. for 'to bring on the stage'.

2. videre hoc posterius: 'you will find me attending to this presently'. This use of the future perfect is akin to that found in Plautus and Terence, who employ it commonly with no distinction from the simple future; in the classical period it is retained almost as a formula with *videro*, especially when combined with an adverb of time, but is less common with other verbs. The difference, if any, from the simple future is merely one of tone; *videbo hoc*, 'I shall attend to this', *videro hoc*, 'the time will come for me to attend to it' (and you will find that I have not forgotten it). See Roby, *Lat. Gr.* ii, § 1593 and p. cvi; K. II. i, p. 148; L.-H., p. 563; Lebr., pp. 200 ff.; Landgraf on *Rosc. Am.* 84, 130.*

4. tu vero: a sudden, dramatic turn to Clodia, and an effective use of the figure *epitrophae* (cf. Quintil. ix. 2. 38).

6. quae facis . . . arguis: 'your actions, your statements, your charges, your machinations, your allegations'.

facis . . . arguis: so *Σ* (see Cl., *Am. Ox.*, p. xxxiv; *Descent of MSS.*, p. 268), now supported by *Π*. In *P* the words were omitted by the first hand, but the second hand filled the lacuna with *facis quae dicis quae in sororem tuam moliris quae argumenta* (so also *ge*). The reading preserved by *Σ* was known from the fifteenth-century cod. Mon. 15734 (cf. on 24. 19), but was rejected by Halm as a 'pannus intolerabilis', and even Müll., though he prints it, regards it as 'conjectura non nimis plausibilis'; Cl.'s research gave it eighteenth-century authority. See further Kl., *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii, 1912, pp. 364 f. and his preface of 1919, p. x. Cf. *de fin.* ii. 74 'te . . . quae facis, quae cogitas, quae contendis, quo referas . . . non audere . . . dicere'.

7. probare cogitas: 'have an intention of proving'; note the important distinction between *cogito* ('I have thoughts') and *puto* ('I have an opinion').

rationem . . . necesse est: 'it is imperative that you should give a clear account of this close intimacy, this association, this connexion'.

9. libidines . . . navigia: 'orgies, flirtations, misconduct, trips to Baiae, beach-parties, dinner-parties, drinking-parties, musical entertainments and concerts, boating-picnics'.

10. Baias: a colloquial usage (cf. 38. 11). See Sen. *Epp.* 51. 4 for a vivid picture of the place: 'videre ebrios per litora errantes et commissationes navigantium et symphoniarum cantibus strepentes lacus', *ibid.* 12 'ut praenavigantes adulteras dinumeraret et tot genera cumbarum variis coloribus picta et fluitantem toto lacu rosam, ut audiret canentium nocturna convicia'; cf. Suet. *Nero* 27. **actas:** cf. *Verr.* v. 94 'tum istius actae commemorabantur, tum

flagitiosa illa convivia' (*actae* there is the conjecture of Philippon, *P/W* 1924, col. 938, and is adopted by Klotz in his second edition). Less probably 'a house on the front' is meant (cf. *ad At.* xiv. 8. 1 'tu me iam rebare . . . in actis esse nostris', where Tyrrell and Purser explain *actae* as 'marine residence'), in which case *Baias* above will be parallel ('visits to the villa at Baiae,' cf. 38. 11). Verres once *in acta cum mulierculis iacebat ebrius* (*Verr.* v. 63). Such beach-parties were evidently a feature of social life; cf. the interesting *ficta controversia* based on such a picnic in Quintil. vii. 3. 31 'iuvenes, qui convivere solebant, constituerunt ut in litore cenarent', etc. Plutarch quotes the expression *σήμερον ἀκράσωμεν* (*Quaest. Conv.* iv. 2).

11. *symphonias*: rich persons kept *symphoniaci* to perform band-music; Milo's wife had a troupe (*Mil.* 55), and Verres gave a present of six to a friend (*Verr.* v. 64); cf. Sen. *Epp.* 12. 8, *Verr.* v. 92 'curritur ad praetorium, quo istum ex illo praetclaro convivio reducerant paulo ante mulieres cum cantu atque symphonia'; see Marquardt, *Privatleben*, p. 151.

navigia: cf. *navigations* in a similar context (49. 8); fleets of pleasure-boats were a feature of Baiae (Sen. *Epp.* 51. 4, *Juv.* 12. 80). Strabo (xvii. 1. 17) has a like description of Canopus in Egypt: *πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμέρα καὶ πᾶσα νύξ πληθεῖ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς πλοῦσι καυλομένων καὶ κατορχουμένων ἀνέδην μετὰ τῆς εὐχάρτης ἀκολασίας, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, etc.*

idemque . . . *dicere*: this certainly suggests that Clodia's relations with Caelius had been mentioned.

12. *quae tu . . . fateare*: either false charges have been brought, or Clodia's own character makes her statement invalid; here is Cicero's real line of attack.*

§ 36. 'Now, let me introduce someone more refined than that rude old man. What about your dear young brother? He will tell you not to worry about losing this handsome young man whom you have tried so hard to catch; why, he will say, there are plenty of good fish in the Tiber.'

Cicero now acts a second impersonation, this time of Clodius himself (not the P. Clodius of § 27—see Appendix VI, p. 155); the virtuous austerity of Appius has given way to the cynical and amused realism of a profligate brother, and Clodia is damned anew in an even more deadly fashion.

§ 36. 16. *urbanus*: old Appius is too rustic and uncouth for modern standards; Clodius will have all the proper polish and smartness.

sic agam tecum: cf. *Verr.* v. 164 'sic tecum agam: Gavium

. . . ostendam'; sometimes a dependent clause with *ut* follows (*Rosc. Am.* 73, where see Landgraf).

17. *ex his*: modern young men, not the *barbati* of Appius' time; Kl. reads *ex his igitur iuis* (*Pz*), 'from among your present-day relatives'; but the more general *ex his* gives the proper antithesis to *illum senem*.

18. *qui . . . urbanissimus*: 'whose taste is perfect in that kind of thing'.*

20. *credo*: ironical, like *οἶμαι* (K. II. i, p. 711; cf. Landgraf on *Rosc. Am.* 46, p. 106); this, not *ut credo*, is usual when irony is intended.

21. *pusio*: 'a little fellow'; a low word, yet, as Quintil. remarks in referring to the passage, 'vim rebus aliquando verborum ipsa humilitas adfert' (viii. 3. 22); cf. W. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 168, R. Fisch, *Archiv für lat. Lex.* v, p. 82. There is an echo of the passage in St. Jerome, *Epp.* 50. 5. 5.

22. *putato*: mock-solemn, as the form shows.

24. *quid . . . facis*: trochaic septenarius; the author is unknown (see Ribbeck, *Com. Frag.*, p. 145), but Spengel attributed the line to Caecilius.

25. *vicinum*: cf. § 18; possibly the intimacy only began after Caelius had moved house (cf. Friedrich, *Catullus*, p. 68, note). *Asperixisti* = 'you caught sight of' (a frequent sense of this compound).*

candor . . . pepulerunt: 'his beauty, his fine, upstanding figure, his face and eyes attracted you'; *candor* implies radiance of appearance; cf. Dio Chrys. xxi. 1 (p. 500 R.) *ὡς ὕψηλός ὁ νεανίας καὶ ἀπαίτος*.*

27. *fuisti . . . hortis*: 'sometimes you found yourself with him in your park'; cf. 27. 9. *Idem* is similarly used in 57. 20; cf. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 165 'speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem deveniunt', Ovid, *Mét.* iv. 328 'thalamumque ineamus eundem'. *Horti* is used of the grounds of a villa, here presumably Clodia's; see Mayor's note on *Juv.* i. 75, with much interesting description; for Roman gardens in general see P. Grimal, *Les Jardins romains* (Paris, 1943).*

1. *patre . . . tenaci*: cf. *parum splendidas*, 3. 11; the epithets suggest the *senex* of comedy (cf. Caecilius' lines quoted in *de nat. deor.* iii. 72).

3. *tanti*: a sneer at Clodia, better suited to Cicero than to Clodius. *confer te alio*: 'try another quarter'; cf. Ter. *Eun.* 449 f. 'metuit semper quem ipsa nunc capit fructum ne quando iratus tu alio conferas'.

4. *ad Tiberim*: a river-bank was a favourite site for such *horti* (see Grimal, *op. cit.*, p. 315).

paratos: so Cl., with *ε*; *parasti* Kl., with *Π*. Decision is difficult. *Habes hortos ad Tiberim* is perfectly possible Latin for 'you have grounds by the Tiber', and *ac . . . paratos* follows naturally (*paratos* = 'set'), although *atque eos* or *atque eos quidem* would be more usual; with *parasti* the meaning will be 'you bought'. Possibly an adjective has fallen out after *ad Tiberim*, as Kl. suggests; see, however, Schönbn., p. 41.

5. *condiciones*: 'matches', as often in the intrigues of comedy; cf. *Phil.* ii. 99 'filiam eius . . . eiecisti, alia condicione quaesita', *Suet. Aug.* 69. 1; see *Theo. L. L.* s.v., col. 129. 71, S.-M. on *de am.* 34, p. 246, Mayor on *Phil.* l.c. and *JP* xxx, 1907, p. 209.

§§ 37-38. 'To return to *Caelius*: if I treat him after the style of some stern old man in *Caecilius*, he has a clear answer, that all this is mere tattle; if I am indulgent, like the father in *Ierence*, he has an easy defence. And in fact, could anyone blame him for his gallantries to a lady of such easy manners?'

Cicero now sets off his prosopopoeiae by a *σύντομος* representing a pair of fathers from comedy. At its conclusion, he makes another personal attack on Clodia, like that in § 35, developing the line indicated by the speeches of Appius and Clodius. He argues that no charge of misconduct can lie against *Caelius*, since Clodia is nothing but a *meretrix* and therefore her complaints are meaningless. Just as § 35 explains and supports the first pair of speeches, so § 38 explains the argument of the second pair: each passage has its separate function, and the repetition involved is deliberate. See Drexler, *op. cit.*, p. 32, for a useful discussion.

§ 37. 7. *redeo . . . vicissim*: 'I come now to you, *Caelius*, in your turn'; *redeo* is used like *revertar* in 6. 12 (see note), of passing to a connected topic: the two sermons read to Clodia must have their counterpart in a like treatment of *Caelius*, if Cicero's case is to be complete.

9. *Caecilianumne aliquem*: *Caecilius* seems to have specialized in surly old men; cf. *de sen.* 36, *de am.* 99, *de nat. deor.* iii. 72, *Rosc. Am.* 46 (a reference to the *Subditivus*; see Landgraf ad loc.). See Zillinger, *Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter*, pp. 38, 146, for a discussion of Cicero's use of *Caecilius*; Z. points out (pp. 66 f.) that the speeches delivered between 56 and 54 are those which contain most quotations from early poets, a fact which (together with the publication of the *de oratore* in 55) throws light on Cicero's literary interests at this period.

Caecilius died c. 166; see Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.* i, pp. 101 ff.

11. *nunc . . . ira*: trochaic octonarius (quoted also in *de fin.* ii. 14) *