quae docebat alios ipse didicisse? Sed ego insipientior quam illi ipsi qui ista credunt, qui quidem contra eos tam diu disputem.

XXIV. Vetus autem illud Catonis admodum est, qui mirari se aiebat quod non rido raruspex rariuspicem cum vidisset. 52. Quota enim quaeque res evenit praedita ab istry? Aut, si evenit quippiam, quid adferri potest cur non casu id evenerit? Rex Prusias, cum Hannibali apud eum esulantem depugnari placeret, negabat se audere, quod exta prohiberent. ‘Ain tu?’ inquit, ‘carunculae vit boinae mavis quam imperatori veteri


1. ego insipientior, etc.: cf. Ac. 1, 18: sumne sanus, qui haec nos docet?

3. illud: cf. 1, 65: illud Calli); also 1, 14, n. (или); 1, 40, n. (или); Reid on Ac. 2, 86; de Am. 90: scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa.

For the remark cf. N. D. 1, 71: mirobile videtur quod non ridicuro rarius pex rariuspicem viderit (where the lack of ascription to Cato may indicate that the remark had become more or less proverbial). Similarly Diogenes the Cynic, according to Diog. L. 6, 24: ἐναρκτικὲς καὶ κάλπες καὶ τῶν προεξόντων τοιῶν . . . οὗτοι μαθητέρων μουλίων διαδρός: Voutoire, Essai sur les Mouscs, 31: “Mais qui fût celui qui inventa ce art (i.e., divination)? Ce fut le premier frison qui rencontra un imbecile.”

But Cato’s saying is more correctly understood from a knowledge of his other utterances on divination; cf. 1, 28, n. (gueritur); Wissowa, Relig. u. Kulthus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 547, and n. 7. His bon mot was probably based, not on purely materialistic grounds (as Goldbacher, Der Hellenismus in Rom (1891), 17, seems to think), but upon a differentiation between established forms, such as the augurship and its rites, and the irresponsible free diviners; cf. 1, 132, n. (vitiosus haruspices).

4. haruspex, haruspicem: cf. 1, 6, n. (Stoicis Stoico).

5. si evenit quippiam: cf. 2, 62.

6. adferri potest cur: cf. 1, 85, n. (quicquum aliud adferitur cur). There seems to be a brachylogy here for quid adferri potest cur non id casu evenisse existimandum sit; cf. 2, 126, n. (praesertim cum . . . dical).


6. Prusias, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 3, 7, ext. 6: Hannibal vero, cum apud regem Prusiam exularet auctore et committendi proelii esset, alique non idem sibi exis portendere dicere, ‘ain tu’ inquit, ‘vitulinae carunculae quae imperatori veteri mavis credere?’ But contrast the account in Plut. de Exil. 16: ‘Ανάλος δ’ Θαρχίδους ὁκά ἠρέτον παραθένα ρις Ἀττικον βασιλεια διαν φυγάς ἄν, ἄθροι καπροῦ διδότος κελέους αὐτὸν επιχειρεῖς τόμο πολεμίου τὸ ὄνθαμμον καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ελπίζεις. Καταλέγεις ὁδοι ὧν τί κράτος λεγει σκοπεῖ, ὧν τί νοῦν ἔχεις ἀθροῖς.’

Hannibal fled in 195 B.C. to Antiochus the Great, assisted him from 192-190 in his war against Rome, and later counselled Prusias, king of Bithynia, in his war (184) against King Eumenes of Pergamum. Cf. Lenschau in P.-W. s.v. Hannibal (1912), 2348-2349. For the connection of Hannibal with stories of divination cf. 1, 48-49. Dio (13, 54, 3) says of him: προετόκατα μαντικὴν την διὰ σπλάγχνων ἔκτοτοσον.

8. sin: a rather frequent form (cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 135) in Cicero, appearing in 2, 146 below with an added tandem (as most commonly); ain tu occurs in Tusc. 5, 35; de Or. 1, 165; Brut. 152; ad Att. 4, 5, 1; 6, 1, 17; 12, 6, 2. Like the
credere? Quid? ipse Caesar, cum a summo haruspice moneretur ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? Quod ni fecisset,

following diminutive (carunculae vituinae; cf. Mayor on N. D. 3, 18), it is intended to express surprised contempt.


1. a summo haruspice: the phrase occurs only here, and the adjective may be purely descriptive, like summus imperator in 1, 24, or else may designate the head or president of the haruspices (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 111), for Thulin (in P.-W. s.v. haruspices (1912), 2438) compares C.I.L. VI, nos. 2164; 2165: HARI SPICI MAXIMO; VI, no. 2161: MAGISTER PV <BLICVS> HAR VSPICVM; cf. also IX, no. 1540 (from Beneventum): HAR. PVB. PRIMARIO; and perhaps XIV, no. 164 (from Ostia): MAGISTRO. HARP. DE <L> X. That this particular haruspex was Spurina (cf. 1, 119, and note), as suggested by Davies and others, is denied by Thulin (Die ehrusk. Discliplin, 3 (1909), 135). There is especial force in the epithet summus, as indicating that this advice was given, not by a vicanus haruspex (1, 132), but by one who stood at the head of his profession.


As a matter of fact, Caesar had to wait some time before crossing to Africa, in order to secure favorable winds (Bell. Afr. 1, 3), so that he actually set sail on 27 December (id. 2, 4), i.e., two days after the solstice (25 December; cf. Plin. N. H. 18, 221, a time of windless, halycon days, according to Plin. N. H. 18, 231), and Dio Cass. 42, 56, 1 says: η τη 'Αφρικὴ καθο τοι χειμώνων κυνηγότοι ἐπαρχότοι, while Plut. Caes. 52 describes him as περί τρεις χειμώνων διαβατις εἰς Σεκλεκτα. Cicero (followed by Minucius and Cyprian) implies that the crossing took place, contrary to the advice of the haruspex, before the solstice; Plutarch sets it at the time of the solstice; the Bellum Africunm two days after it; and Dio is not specific. But it should be noted that in this year 47 Caesar's reform of the calendar had not yet occurred (it was made in 46), and the day numbered 27 December really corresponded to 8 October. To the disagreement, then, between the astronomical and the calendar solstice we may ascribe, at least in part, the discrepancies between the various accounts; cf. Drumann-Groebel, Gesch. Roms, 3, 2 ed. (1900), 521, n. 4.

For Caesar's habit of campaigning in stormy or wintry weather, in order to take his enemies by surprise, cf. Suet. Jul. 58; 65; Dio Cass. 42, 58, 2 (of the present occasion): έλεξεν αὐθίν (the enemy) ἀπλικτηρις έκ το ξειμώνων πειραμάλης; Drumann-Groebel, op. cit. 3, 871.

uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent. Quid ego haruspicum responsa commemorem (possum equidem innumerabillia), quae aut nullos habuerint exitus aut contrarios? 53. Hoc civili bello, di inmortales! quam multa luserunt! quae nobis in Graeciam Roma responsa haruspicum missa sunt! quae dicta Pompeio! Etenim ille admodum exitis et ostentis movebatur. Non lubet commemorare, nec vero necesse est, tibi praesertim, qui interfuisti; vides tamen omnia fere contra ac dicta sint evenisse. Sed haec hactenus; nunc ad ostenta veniamus.

XXV. 54. Multa me consule a me ipso scripta recitasti, multa ante Marsicum bellum a Sisenna collecta attulisti, multa ante Lacedaemoniorum

1. uno in loco: for the use of the ablative instead of the accusative in such expressions cf. Madvig on Fin. 5, 92. The course of this campaign is described by Drummann-Groeb, op. cit. 3, 2 ed. 519-545, following, in large measure, the De Bello Africano.

1. adversariorum: Scipio, Juba, and their supporters.

1f. quid . . . commemorem: cf. 1, 26, n. (quid . . . commemorem).

1f. haruspicum responsa: cf. 1, 97, n. (response haruspicum).

3. hoc civili bello: cf. Tusc. 1, 90.

3. di inmortales: this parenthetical ejaculation is frequent, even in the philosophical works (cf. 2, 76), and occasionally we find o di inmortales or pro di inmortales.

4. luserunt: Thoresen takes the subject to be haruspicies. But the haruspices have been recently mentioned only in the genitive, and multa may more probably be referred, if not actually to the haruspicum responsa of the preceding sentence, at least to the general class to which such predictions belong, and made the subject of luserunt.

4f. in Graeciam . . . missa: cf. Jul. Obsq. 65a for the omens of this period; also 1, 68, and n. (remigem quendam) above.

5. Pompeo: cf. 1, 68, n. (remigem quendam); 2, 99; Val. Max. 1, 5, 6 (but in 1, 6, 12 he censures Pompey for neglecting the numerous signs which should have warned him in his struggle with Caesar). Lucan, as part of his epic machinery, makes use of several forms of predictions to Pompey (1, 584-638 by haruspication); 1, 640-672 (by astrology, interpreted by Figulus); 1, 673-695 (by a frenzied prophetess); 3, 9-35 (by an apparition); 7, 7-44 (by a dream); cf. Moore in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 32, (1921), 142-151. Pompey was himself an augur (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 365; Drummann-Groeb, op. cit. 4, 2 ed. (1908), 553, n. 6), and was one of the two who nominated Cicero for membership in the augural college (Phil. 2, 4), but in the next sentence Cicero intimates that it was the art of the haruspices (exits et ostentis) which really impressed him.

6. tibi praesertim: for the type of argument from personal experience cf. 1, 22, and n. (poteris).

8. hactenus: cf. 2, 76; and the actual phrase sed haec hactenus is frequent; cf. Fat. 20; Off. 1, 140; 3, 6; Fin. 4, 14; de Am. 55; Parad. 41; Mayor on N. D. 1, 24.

8. nunc ad ostenta: cf. 2, 42; 2, 49; for promises to discuss this subject.

9. multa me consule: a brachylogy for 'many of the events of my consulship,' and, as Plasberg well warns (Rhein. Mus. 53 (1898), 85, with citation of parallel instances from Cicero and Livy), not to be either emended or interpreted as multa me consule facta et . . . scripta.


9f. ante Marsicum bellum, etc.: cf. 1, 99.

10. ante Lacedaemoniorum, etc.: cf.
malam pugnam in Leuctris a Callisthene commemorata dixisti; de quibus dicam equidem singulis, quoad videbitur; sed dicendum etiam est de universis. Quae est enim ista a deiis profecta signification et quasi denuntiatio calamitatum? Quid autem volunt di inmortales primum ea significantes quae sine interpretibus non possimus intellegere, deinde ea quae caverne nequeamus? At hoc ne homines quidem probi faciunt, ut amicis inpendifentis calamitates praedicant quas illi effugere nullo modo possint, ut medici, quamquam intellegunt saepe, tamen numquam aegris dicunt

1. Leuctris C. Christ, Baier, Thoresen, Leuctricis Marsus, Müller, Beerings.
4. volunt ... primum ea Lambinus ed. a. 1501, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Beerings, volunt ea ... primum AV, ea volunt ... primum B, volunt [ea] ... primum Lambinus ed. a 1506, Christ.

1, 74; 2, 57; 2, 67.

1. malam pugnam: cf. 1, 123: male pugnatum; Sall. Ing. 56, 3: malam pugnam.

1. Leuctris: this reading of the MSS Müller (in Fleck. Jahrh. 89 (1864), 624), following the edition of Marsus (1508), emended to Leuctricis, thinking Δεκτρωά to be the title of a part of the Κταλλήνων of Callisthenes (cf. 1, 74, n. (Callisthenes) above). But we have no evidence for such a title of a division of that work. Moser and Giese explained the reading of the MSS as an imitation of the Greek phrase τῷ ... Δεκτρῶν μάχαιρα (as in Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 33: τῷ Δεκτρῶι ... μαχαίρας; cf. 6, 4, 4), but Müller is much shocked by this explanation, presumably—though he does not so state—because of the use of the preposition in with the name of a town. There is no doubt, however, that this construction was a permissible one in the post-Ciceronian period (cf. the examples in Kühner-Stegmann, op. cit. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 479), and we may well question whether some of the earlier instances which have been deleted from our texts by later editors do not justify the usage, in rare instances, even in the Ciceronian period (cf., for example, Caes. B. C. 2, 18, 1, where the MSS read in Hispalis). Again, in Cicero himself we find (ad Att. 8, 3, 6): navis et in Caieta est paraeta nobis et Brundissi, which Kühner-Stegmann (l.c.) explain on the ground that Caieta is an estate, not a town (but why not, then, rather

Caietan, like Cumano, Tusculano, etc.?), and Schmidt (in Neue Jahrh. 3 (1899), 352, n. 2) by stating Caieta to be a region rather than a town. Even granted that this latter explanation may be correct, may not Cicero similarly have thought of Leuctra? If any emendation be here required—which I doubt—rather than create a title of Callisthenes for which we have no evidence we might delete the word in, as a possible case of dittography of the final m of pugnam.

3. quasi: probably used because the noun denuntiatio is here employed in the new and unusual sense of 'prediction'; cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. denuntiatio.


5f. quae caverne nequeamus: he here returns to the complaint of 2, 20-25 against the uselessness of divination. Cf. also 1, 83, nn. (existentium nihil interesse; erimus ... cautiores); 1, 119, n. (ut videret ... non ut caveret); 2, 21, n. (ut cautiores sintus); 2, 22, n. (ne utilem quidem); 2, 105.

8. ut medici: cf. Plat. Rep. 3, p. 389 b: el ... τῷ δι' θείας μὲν ἄρχοντος ψεδόν, διερήσαντο δὲ χρήσιμον ὁμοίῳ φαινόμενον ἐξεί, δήλῳ δι' τὸ γε τοιοῦτον λάτρειον δεῖκνν, λόγως δὲ οἷς ἀπτον (cf. 2, p. 382 c), and in 5, p. 459 c-d he remarks that, as in the case of physicians, so ἦκτεν τῷ ψεδόν καὶ τῷ ἀπατή κωδικεία ἡμῖν δι' οὕτως χρήσιμος τοῖς
illo morbo eos esse moriturus; omnis enim praedictio mali tum probatur cum ad praedictionem cautio adiungitur. 55. Quid igitur aut ostenta aut eorum interpretes vel Lacedaemonios olim vel nuper nostros adiverunt? Quae si signa deorum putanda sunt, cur tam obscura fuerunt? Si enim ut intellegeremus quid esset eventurum, aperte declarari oportebat, aut ne occulte quidem, si ea sciri nolabant. XXVI. Iam vero coniectura omnis, in qua nititur divinationis, ingenii hominum in multas aut diversas aut etiam contrarias partis saepè didicitur. Ut enim in causis iudicialibus alia coniectura est accusatoris, alia defensoris et tamen utriusque credibilis, sic in omnibus iis rebus quae coniectura investigari videntur aniceps repetitur oratio.

Quas autem res tum natura, tum casus adfert (non numquam etiam...
errorem creat similitudo), magna stultitia est earum rerum deos facere effectores, causas rerum non quaerere. 56. Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebadeiae vidisse ex gallorum gallinaceorum cantu victoriam esse Thebanorum, quia galli victi silere solerent, canere victores. Hoc igitur per gallinas Iuppiter tantae civitati signum dabat? An illae aves nisi cum vicerunt

2. Lebadeiae mil., thebaide C (cf. 1, 74).

de Div. (1908), 17-18) objects and which he considers unintelligible, can be greatly improved by two changes in punctuation: (1) removing the beginning of the new paragraph from before the words iam vero consequerat omnis (where most editors place it) to just before quas autem res, and (2) treating the words non nuncquam etiam errorem creat similitudo as pennethetical (with Davies and various later editors). The two sentences thus added to the preceding paragraph explain the obscurity of divine predictions, in which, as in cases at law, much in the way of interpretation may be said on each side of the question. This difficulty attaches, then, to all matters which depend upon conjecture, and hence, by inference, to artificial divination (cf. 1, 34), the class to which ostenta (cf. 1, 12) belong. The words quas autem res, however, introduce a new aspect of the question (for the use of autem in such transitions cf. 1, 87; 1, 117; 1, 129; 2, 51; etc.), quite aside from the difficulty of interpreting signs already accepted as having a portentous character, namely the difficulty of determining in any given case whether the sign is not due purely to nature or to chance, and this division of the subject extends through 2, 57, where the words vel natura vel casus correspond to tum natura tum casus in this section. The familiar and free style shown in the construction of the sentence—quas ... res ... earum rerum, with casus rerum following—need cause no surprise as to the correctness of the reading.

1. errorem creat similitudo: his meaning may be that the occasional likeness in the effects of chance to the effects produced by nature leads men to confuse the causes of those effects. Or, in view of what fellows, Cicero may mean that the likeness of the effects of either nature or chance to those which we might suppose would be produced by supernatural intervention leads us into the mistake of ascribing divine causes in cases where natural or fortuitous ones would be adequate and safer.

1. stultitia est: for the phrase cf. N. D. 3, 84; Tusc. 3, 77; Plasberg p. Ac. 2, 54 (for similar ones). A like complaint occurs in N. D. 3, 25, where Cotta says that the Stoics, unable to be satisfied with nature as a cause for certain phenomena, have recourse to deity as an explanation as though to an altar. Cf. also 2, 43 above.

2. effectores: so particularly of the gods as creative agents in 2, 147; Tusc. 1, 70; Tim. 17; 40; 47.

2. vates Boeotios: cf. 1, 74.

4. galli victi: here put in the masculine and so more appropriate than the avis ilia of 1, 74. The following term gallinae is therefore probably generic rather than with precise reference to sex, as the English word 'hens' may at times be used to include cocks. It is unnecessary to assume that Cicero is in this sentence referring to the crowing of hens (mentioned by Ter. Phorm. 708 (cf. Donat. ad loc.); Columell. 8, 5, 24).

5. Iuppiter, etc.: cf. 2, 72, and n. (hace, etc.).

5ff. an illae, etc.: Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 35-36; also in his edition) would reduce this passage to a hypothetical dialogue form, assigning the sentence an illae, etc. to Quintus, at tum, etc. to
canere non solent? At tum caneant nec vicerant. Id enim est, inquies, ostentum. Magnum vero quasi pisces, non galli cecinerint! Quod

Marcus, after which id enim, etc. expresses the view of Quintus, and magnum vero, etc. the retort of Marcus. But to do this he has to delete the non before solent, and the text as it stands is preferable. Marcus first, in two sentences, raises two objections: (1) that a sign should have been sent to so great a city by so ignoble a means; (2) that the sign is itself an ambiguous one, because cocks crow at other times than after a victory. But as a matter of fact on this occasion they must have crowded even though they had not (themselves) won a victory. 'For it is just in this,' you will say, 'that the portent lies.' At will then introduce, not an objection of an opponent of the writer, but an additional one suggested by the writer himself, and the sense is straightforward and logical.

1. inquies: cf. 2, 114; 2, 117.
2. magnum vero: cf. Tusc. 5, 117.
3. vero: ironical; cf. 1, 77; 2, 59; N. D. 2, 11; and several times in the orations.
4. quasi: cf. 2, 45, n. (quasi); Nutting in Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol. 5 (1922), 220.
5. pisces, etc.: their muteness was proverbial. Whether the adjectives adae (Soph. A. 1297 cf. Jebb's note); anox. ap. Athen. 7, p. 277 d) and olouf (Hes. Scut. 212; Empedocl. fr. 117 Diels; etc.) mean 'mute' is very dubious (cf. Boisacq, Dict. bvm de la Lang. gr. 1916, 245), but undoubted allusions occur in Aesch. Pers. 577-578: ἄνδανω ... / παλίν τὰς ἀμφιτοτές; fr. 307 Sidgwick: ἄνδανω ... ἄνδει δαφνος; Soph. fr. 762 Pearson: ἄνδανων ἱβονίων; Hor. Carm. 4, 3, 19: mutis ... pisicibus; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 14; 2, 18; Plut. Quaest. cont. 4, 4, 4; Luc. adv. Indict. 16: τῶν ἱβονίων ἀφωνιβρος (cf. Pisc. 51; Somn. 1; Didym. Alex. de Trinm. 2, 7, 8 (Patr. Gr. 39, 585 A): τῶν ἱβονίων κατοποι ἑστε ἐς τῶν ἱβονίων);

Opp. Hal. 1, 134; [Orig.] in Tob. 1 (Parr. Gr. 17, 406 C): nam pisces neque lingua neque vocem habent; Ambr. de Incarnat. Dom. Sacr. 15: piscator ... ipsis ... piscibus taciturnior erat; Sympos. Aenigm. 12; Apostol. 13, 45 (Parr. emigr. Gr. 2, 585): οὐ ηθός φωνή οὐ ηθός ἀναδεικνύει ἄρεθνη, and the German saying 'sümm wie ein Fisch'; Dölger, Der heilige Fisch in der ant. Relig. u. im Christentum, 2 (1922), 311-314. Aristotle, however, remarks (Hist. Anim. 4, 9, p. 535 b 14 ff.): οὐδὲν ίδον ἄνωθεν μὲν εἰσίν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τελειώματα ἑκατονταρχικῶν καὶ φάραγγα ἢ χωνοῦ), ὁπότε δὲ τινας ἀφαίνει καὶ γρηγορῶς οὐθε λέγειν φωνήν, οὐθόν λύπα καὶ κρυμμα (οὕτω γὰρ ἀφαίνει ἄσωτο γρηγορῶς) καὶ δ' ἄφαντος ἐν τῆς Ἀθηνῆς, ἕτι ἐκ καὶ χαλκῆς καὶ κόμως ... τάστα δὲ τάτα τῆς ὁκονομᾶς φωνήν ἀφαίνατο τά μὲν τῇ τρόφη τῶν βραχων ... τα δὲ τοῖς ἑπτής τοῖς περὶ τὴν κολώναν, κτλ.; and cf. Paus. 8, 19, 2 (and other passages cited in Frazer's note and by Dölger, op. cit. 2, 186, n. 2; 249, n. 2; 317, n. 1) for the vocal fishes in the Aranuion River. In spite of the statement of Plutarch (de Solert. Anim. 22) that, contrasted with the thousands of predictions from birds and land animals, ἐν οἰκύ οὐκ ἔφευγεν ἀφάνεια το τροποκομία τῶν ζώων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα καὶ τυφλα τῇ τροπονοματικῇ τῆς ἄνωθεν καὶ τικανώς ἀποδηλώτως ἔτοικεν ἄσωτος εἰς τῶν ἄνωθεν καὶ τικανώς ἀποδηλώτως ἔτοικεν ἄφαντος ἀδικήματος κόμως, κτλ.,) division from fishes, or ichthyomancy, is attested for the Orient, particularly in Lyicia (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 151-152), the fish being apparently a symbol of the water numen, according to Nicin (in Philologus, 14 Supplbd. (1921), 97, n. 4). For the fish-oracle at Sura see the evidence collected by Wolff, De noviss. Oracul. Astarte (1854), 41; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 152; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 168, n. 3; Nicin, l.c.; other cases are gathered by Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antig. 5 (1696), 503; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 197-199; Keller, Die antike Tierwelt, 2
autem est tempus quo illi non cantent, vel nocturnum vel diurnum? Quodsi victores alacritate et quasi laetitia ad canendum excitantur, potuit accidisse alia quoque laetitia, quae ad cantum moverentur. 57. Democritus quidem optumis verbis causam explicat cur ante lucem galli canant; depulso enim de pectore et in omne corpus diviso et mitificato cibo cantus edere quiete satiatos; qui quidem 'silentio noctis,' ut ait Ennius,

(1913), 347-348; to which add Plin. N. H. 9, 55; 32, 4.
2. laetitia: cf. what Virgil says (Georg. 1, 412-413) of the corvi: nescio qua praecepserit solitum dulcedine laeti / inter se in foliis strepitant.
3. Democritus: Diels, Frag. d. Vor- socrat. 2, 3 ed. (1912), 52, no. 158; also 1, 5, n. (Democritus) supra; and, for his views upon the relation of food to animal life, 1, 131; 2, 30. Another passage deserving comparison is 1, 60-61.
4. optumis verbis: cf. Fin. 2, 84; Tusc. 5, 27.
6. in omne corpus diviso: cf. N. D. 2, 137 (and Mayor's note, in which Cicerro's misunderstandings of the process of digestion are explained); Liv. 2, 32, 11: (ventrem) reddentem in omnes corporis partes hinc quo vivissim vigemusque, divisum partem in vinas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem; Apul. de Dogm. Plat. 1, 18.
5. mitificato: a rare word; in this sense perhaps only here. Cf. the compound turpificati in Off. 3, 105.
6. silentio noctis: Skutsch (in Rhein. Mus. 61 (1906), 610-611; following a conjecture of Müller) takes these words as part of the subsequent quotation, and thinks that silentio noctis may have stood in the anaepasts of Ennius. But if we accept the statement of Zillinger (Cic. u. d. altrom. Dichter (1911), 115, n. 1) that, in cases in which Cicero interrupts a poetical quotation by the phrase ut ali, he quotes after this phrase the words immediately following those which he has already quoted, it seems inadvisable here to consider silentio noctis as from Ennius (in spite of Moser's citation of silentia noctis in Lucr. 4, 460; Ov. Met. 7, 184), for the metre will not permit them immediately to precede favent faecibus.
6. Ennius: the lines which follow are assigned by Vahlen to the Iphigenia of Ennius (frag. 3), but the identification rests upon entirely inadequate grounds, namely the assumption that they correspond to Eur. I. A. 9-10: οὐκ οὖν φθεγγός ἑ' ἐν' ὅμιλων / οὔτ' ὅμιλων / οὔτ' ὅμιλων. Further, to produce a more complete correspondence, Vahlen (Index Lect. 1888/89, 10-13=Opusc. acad. 1 (1907), 409-413; and in his second edition of Ennius (1903), redivides and emends so as to read: favent faecibus rusinis, / <missis>canto plausuque premunt / alas, explaining that the occasion described is the dead of night (silentio noctis), when even the cocks have given up crowing and flapping of the wings and have folded or dropped (premunt) their wings in sleep. According to this view of Davies, Vahlen, and others, moreover, favent faecibus is used like favent linguis (cf. 1, 102, n. (faverent linguis) above and the expression or faventes in Enn. Ann. 437). But Cicero's entire point in making the quotation is by any such explanation destroyed, for that it is not the silence but the crowing of the cocks which he wishes to emphasize will be clear to anyone who reads the context (vel nocturnum vel diurnum (2, 56); cur ante lucem galli canant; canto edere quiete satiatos; cum iniqua hoc animal tam sit canorum). It is, then, not the silence of the cocks during the night but the fact that ante lucem, while other things are still silent, the cocks crow and flap their wings. Thus Censor. de die nat.
... faveunt faucibus russis
Cantu, plausuque premunt alas.
Cum igitur hoc animal tam sit canorum sua sponte, quid in mentem venit Callistheni dicere deos gallis signum dedisse cantandi, cum id vel natura vel casus efficere potuisset?

**XXVII. 58.** Sanguine pluisse senatui nuntiatum est, Atratum etiam

2. cantus laususque ëmut A.
6. sanguine sulp., sanguinem C, O.

24, 1-2, gives divisions of the day, and says: *tempus quod hic proximum est vocatur de media nocte; sequitur gallicinium, cum galli canere incipit; dein conticinium, cum conticuerunt; tunc ante lucem, et sic diluculum; cum sole nondum orto iam lucet* (a passage which surely justifies, if ordinary common experience were held insufficient (!) the thrusting back of the hour associated by the Romans with cock-crowing to a time clearly thought of as part of the night). Closely agreeing with Censorinus is Macrobr. *Sat.* 1, 3, 12; cf. *Apul. Met.* 8, 1; *Amb. Hexaem.* 5, 88: *est etiam galli cantus suavis in noctibus.* The only difficulty in regard to this view still remaining to be explained is the use of *faveunt*, which, quickly disappears if it be taken with *cantu* in the sense of 'sing' (as explained by Tumbeus, *Advers.* 5, 19, and others), or even as meaning 'raise a cheer,' a common use of the word (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *favo* (1915), 377), and, in view of *plausu* in the second line, a highly appropriate one here, the crowing and flapping of wings corresponding, on the part of the cock, to human demonstrations by cheers and clapping of hands. That this interpretation is the one to be here given to *plausu ... premunt alas* (with Ribbeck, *Rom. Trag.* (1875), 95) is suggested by Plin. *N. H.* 10, 46: *(galli) cum sole eunt cubitum, quartae castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant, nec solis ortum incutitis paenitentiae obrepere, diemque venientem nuntiante cantu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laierum*; cf. Lucr. 4, 710-711: *gallum noctem explaudentibus alis / auroram clara consutum vocare.* On the whole, then, it seems safer, with Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 76-77) and against Vahlen (*II. cc.*) and Zillinger (*Cic. u. d. alt. Tr. Dichter* (1911), 115), to assign this fragment to some undetermined play of Ennius, rather than to the *Iphigenia.* Before *faveunt* probably three syllables are suppressed, which have been restored by Ribbeck (*II. cc.*) as *gallique.* For Cicero's use of Ennius cf. 1, 40, n. (apud *Ennium*); introd. to Vahlen's 2 ed., xxxix, xlii-


4. *Callistheni, etc.*: in 1, 74 (cf. 2, 54) Callisthenes is not made to say this on his own authority, but merely to state that the *augures Boeotii* so declared.

4. *deos ... signum dedisse cantandi*: cf. 1, 12: *Iuppiterne cornicem a laeva ... canere tussisset.* Cicero is here, of course, not referring to the regular morning crowing, but to the special occasion described in 1, 74.


fluvium fluxisse sanguine, deorum sudasse simulacra. Num censes his
nuntiis Thalen aut Anaxagoran aut quemquam physicum crediturum
fuisse? Nec enim sanguis nec sudor nisi e corpore. Sed et decoloratio
quaedam ex aliqua contagione terrena maxume potest sanguini simili
esse, et umor adlapsus extrinsecus, ut in tectorii videmus austro, sudorem
videtur imitari. Atque haec in bello plura et maiora videntur timentibus,
eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace; accedit illud etiam, quod in
metu et periculo cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur inpunius. 59. Nos
autem ita leves atque inconsiderati sumus ut si mures correrent aliquid,

1. sudasse: cf. 1, 98, and n. (sudavi); Rawlinson and Blakesley on Hdt. 7,
140.

2. Thalen: on the form of his name
cf. 1, 111, n. (Thalem). Of his actual
beliefs in regard to portents and divina-
tion little is known, but a priori we should
be justified in supposing him to have been
either hostile or at least sceptical towards
them (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la
Div. 1 (1879), 32-33; Jaeger, De Oraculis:
quid veteres Philos. indicaverint (1910),
6-7), since he attempted to develop the
possibility of scientific, as opposed to
mantic prediction (cf. 1, 111).

2. Anaxagoran: on the declension of
this name in Latin see Kühner-Holzweis-
sig, Ausf. Gram. d. Lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912),
430. In Ac. 2, 14 Cicero uses this form
of the accusative; in Ac. 1, 44; Tusc. 5, 66
that in -am. Bouché-Leclercq (op. cit. 1,
37) holds that Cicero, by not mentioning
Anaxagoras in 1, 5 as an opponent of
divination, possibly there considered that
he accepted it, but the present passage
hardly points in that direction; the gen-
teral attitude of Anaxagoras towards irregu-
lar supernatural intervention in human
affairs is opposed (cf. 1, 93, n. (hominum
pecudumme conceptu et satu) above); and,
as Bouché-Leclercq notes, a passage in
Plutarch (Peric. 6) shows an attempt of
Anaxagoras to explain away a supposed
portent on purely physical grounds (cf.
Jaeger, op. cit. 64). The tales that Anaxa-
goras himself had powers of divination
(Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 1, 2; Hippol.
Philosop. 8, 13 (Doxogr. Gr. 563)) are
late and probably untrustworthy.

2. aut quemquam physicum: cf.
Fat. 18: nec ipsi nec cuiquam physico
placet; also 2, 37, n. (physicus) supra.

3. nec . . . nec: corresponding to
ele . . . et in the next sentence.

3. decoloratio: a rare word in the
literal sense, and in Cicero only here.

3. contagione: cf. 1, 98, n. (Atra-
lus).


5. tectorius: for Cicero's use of the
word and the phrase opus tectorum cf.
Leg. 2, 65; ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 1.

5. austro: particularly damp; cf.
Gell. 2, 22, 14: Latine auster, Graece
aistros nominatur, quoniam est nebulosus
atque umicans; etsi enim Graece umor
nominatur; also many other allusions,
such as Plaut. Merc. 877; Virg. Georg. 3,
429; Ov. Ars am. 3, 174; Sen. Med. 583-
584: II. O. 71; etc. The word austro is
to be here construed either as an ablative
of time, analogous to pace, bello, etc.
(Kühner-Stegmann, op. cit. 2, 1, 2 ed.
(1912), 359), or perhaps as a development
of the ablative absolute as seen in such
phrases as sereno, etc. (id. 780). Possibly
it is even a simple instrumental ablative
(with imitori). It is not dissimilar to
the expression of Cat. de Agr. 31, 2:
vento austro cavo no quam materiem . . .
tracies.

6. in bello plura et maiora: cf. 1,
68, n. (remigem quendam). Davies also
de Bel. Goth. 227-229.
quorum est opus hoc unum, monstrum putemus? Ante vero Marsicum bellum quod clipes Lanuvi, ut a te dictum est, mures rosissent, maxumum id portentum haruspices esse dixerunt; quasi vero quicquam intersit mures diem noctem aliquid rodentes scuta an cribra corosserint! Nam si ista sequimur, quod Platonis Politian nuper apud me mures corosserunt, de re publica debui pertimescere, aut, si Epicuri de voluptate liber rosus esset, putarem annonam in macello cariorem for.

2. Lanuvi nihil, Müller.

1. monstrum putemus: for the unwilliness to accept as monstros things capable of a rational explanation cf. 2, 61-62.

1f. ante . . . bellum: in 1, 99 the events with which this portent is associated are dated initio belii Marsiici.

2. a te dictum est: 1, 99.

2f. maxumum id portentum: in 1, 99, it is not merely a noteworthy portent but a very unfavorable one (tristissimum).

3. quasi vero: cf. 1, 45, n. (quasi); 1, 56, n. (nisi); 2, 62; 2, 81; 2, 119; Off. 3, 39; Nutting in Unit. of California Publ. in class. Philol. 5 (1922), 216, who states that quasi vero occurs 56 times in Cicero.


5. Platonis Politian: cf. 1, 60, n. (Platonis Politia); and for other evidence as to Cicero's use of this work cf. Hinze, Quos Scripiores Gr. Cic. in Lib. de Re p. comm. adhibuerit (1500), 3-11.

5. Politian: this Greek accusative is rare in Latin prose; cf. 2, 79: tetrarchian; also perhaps 2, 143: sympathian (but the evidence there is weak); Kühner-Holzweissig, op. cit. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 427.

5. nuper: cf. 1, 24, n. (nuper).

5. mures corosserunt: on the nibbling of books by mice cf. 1, 99, n. (clipes, etc.). Rolls kept in an open capsu and so exposed at the top might easily suffer from the depredations of mice; cf. Quintil. Inst. 8, 3, 19: risimus, et merito, nuper poetam qui dixerat 'praetextam in cista mures rosere Camilli.' To the omens from mice cited in the notes on 1, 99 add Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1900), 803, n. 1. Livy, in speaking of one case (27, 23, 2), remarks: adeo minimis etiam rebus prae religio inserit deos. With Cicero's story (which, in such a digression as this, need not be taken too seriously) cf. Anth. Lat. ed. Riese, 1, no. 222: carminis. Iliaci libros consupsit asellis. O fatum Troiael aut ecus aut asinus.

6. Epicuri de voluptate: cf. Usener, Epicurea (1887), 101, who finds no other allusion to this work ροδόν (not mentioned by Diog. L. 10, 27-28, in his list of the works of Epicurus).

7. annonam in macello: that is, he here indirectly: taunts Epicurus (as Cotta does both Epicurus and Metrodorus in N. D. 1, 113) with believing that omnis quae ad beatam vitam pertinent ventre metiri (cf. Mayor's note for other citations).

7. macello: later, during the empire, there were several macella at Rome, but the one to which Cicero here refers is probably that built in 179 B.C. by M. Fulvius Nobilior. It was the place of sale of various food-stuffs; cf. Ter. Eun. 255-257; Varr. L. L. S., 147: haec omnia
XXVIII. 60. An vero illa nos terrent, si quando aliqua portentosa aut ex pecude aut ex homine nata dicuntur? Quorum omnium, ne sim longior, una ratio est. Quicquid enim oritur, quaelcumque est, causam habeat a natura necesse est, ut, etiamsi praeter consuetudinem extiterit, praeter naturam tamen non possit existere. Causam igitur investigato in re nova atque admirabili, si poteris; si summam reperies, illud tamen exploratum habeto nihil fieri potuisse sine causa, eumque terrem, quem tibi rei novitas attulerit, naturae ratione depellito. Ita te nec terrae fremitus nec caeli discensus nec lapideus aut sanguineus imber nec traiectio stellae

7. terrem Lamini, Christ, Bailier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, errorem C.

posterquam contracta in unum locum quae ad victum perierant ei aedificatus locus, appellatum macellum, ui quidam scribunt, quod ibi fuerit horus, ait quod ibi domus fuerit cui cognomen fuit Macellus, quae ibi publice sit dextra, et quae aedificatum hoc quod vocetur ab eo macellum. Its location seems to have been to the north of the Forum, about on the site of the later Forum of Nerva (the Contraedae Macelli of Lanciani, Forma Urbis Romae, pl. 22); cf. Platner, Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 460.


1. portentosa: a rare word; in republican Latin apparently only here.

2. ex pecude, etc.: cf. 1, 93, and n. (hominum pecudum conceput et satu).

2f. omnium... una ratio: cf. 2, 136; Tusc. 3, 83; 4, 62.

2. ne sim longior: for similar apologies cf. N. D. 1, 56: vereor ne longior fuerim; 1, 101; Tusc. 1, 111; Off. 2, 16; Fin. 2, 85; 4, 44; Phil. 13, 30.

4f. praeter naturam: cf. 1, 93, n. (hominum pecudum conceput et satu).

There is danger that we may illogically identify consuetudo with natura (cf. Fin. 5, 74: consuetudine quasi alteram quandam naturam effici); cf. N. D. 1, 83: non pudet igitur physicum, id est, speculatorem tenaciremque naturae, ab animis consuetudine imbitus petere testimonium veritatis? also N. D. 2, 45.

58. investigato... habeto... depellito: the imperative in -e is perhaps used here because the command is to take effect not immediately but later. It is particularly often employed in cases in which the subordinate clauses are, as here, in the future or future perfect (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, op. cit. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 197; also Lebreton, Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic. (1901), 195-198).

6f. exploratum habeto: for the phrase cf. N. D. 1, 51; Off. 3, 75; de Am. 97; Parad. 17.

7. nihil... sine causa: cf. 2, 61; N. D. 2, 15; Fat. 25: ne omnes physici inviroent nos, si dicamus quicumque fieri sine causa; 26; 43; Fin. 5, 42; Tim. 5: nihil autem gigni possit sine causis; Goedeckemeier, Gesch. d. gr. Skepsisimus (1905), 163.

7f. terrem... depellito: cf. Rep. 1, 71.

7f. rei novitas: cf. 1, 119.

8. naturae ratione: cf. 1, 90, n. (naturae rationem); 1, 130, n. (rationem naturae).

8. terrae fremitus: cf. 1, 18, n. (se... tresmecit); 1, 35.

9. caeli discensus: cf. 1, 97, n. (caelum discessisse); 1, 99.


9. traiectio stellae: cf. 1, 2, 16.

[451] 1. faces: cf. 1, 18, nn. (Phoebi fax; nuntia belii); 1, 97.

[451] 1. terrebunt: the aorista which Cicero here recommends is a frequent phil-
nec faces visae terrebunt. 61. Quorum omnium causas si a Chrysippo quaeram, ipse ille divinationis auctor numquam illa dicet facta fortuito naturalemque rationem omnium reddet; nihil enim fieri sine causa potest; nec quicquam fit quod fieri non potest; nec, si id factum est quod potuit fieri, portentum debet videri; nulla igitur portenta sunt. Nam si, quod raro fit, id portentum putandum est, sapientem esse portentum est; saepius enim mulam peperisse arbitror quam sapientem fuisse. Illa igitur

1. quorum Salisb., Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, quaram C.

osophic common place, especially when applied in a broader way. Cf. Fin. 5, 87: 

ille (sc. Democritus) summum bonum 

έξω μεν εστε εμπίστευσιν αρρεστή, id est 

animum terrore liberum; Strab. 1, p. 61: 

την άμωμαρα ήμην κατασκεύασαν άλυσες, 

ταυτας δ' άλλων και οι άλλοι φιλόσοφοι 

πάντες; Clem. Strom. 2, 21, p. 498 P.: 

καθάρα Ναυπακτίου την κατασκεύασα τούτην 

γαρ φης τον Δημοσιούν άμωμαρα λιγειασαν; 

N. D. 1, 55-56: divinatio . . . qua tanta in 

büeremur superstitione . . . ut haruspices, 

augures, katrio, vates, connectores nobis es 

serent colendi. his terroribus ab Epicuro soluti, 

eetc.; Tusc. 1, 48: liberatos enim se per eum 

(sc. Epicurum) dicuit (sc. nonnulli) gravis 

simis dominis, terrore sempiterno et diurno 

ac nocturno meli; 5, 81: sapientis est . . . 

nihil, cum accidit, admirari, ut inopia 

num ac nunc accidisse videatur; Hor. 

Ep. 1, 6, 1-5 (probably following Epicurean 

theories): nis admirari prope res est 

una, Numici, / solaque quae possit facere 

et servare beatum. / hunc solem et stellas et 

decedentia certis / tempora momentis sunt 

qui formidine nulla / impibus spectent; 1, 6, 

9-11: qui timet his adversa, ferre miratur 

eodem / quo cupiensem pacto: pavor est utro 

bique molesius: / improvisa simul species 

exierit utramque. Cf. also 2, 42, and n. 

(eximimissem); and especially I. lucr. 1, 

146-154.

1. Chrysippo: cf. 1, 6, n. (Chrysip 

rus); 1, 7, n. (Carneade).

2. auctor: not, of course, 'founder,' 

but rather 'sponsor' (cf. Off. 3, 116), one 

who lent to divination the support of his 

actoritas (cf. 1, 62, n. (actoritate) 

supra).

3. sine causa: cf. 2, 60, n. (nihil . . . 

sine causa). In the series which follows 

he is perhaps imitating some of the chain 

sylogisms of which the Stoics were so 

fond (as in 1, 82-83). Certainly in refer 

ring to the rarity of the sapiens he is 

meeting the Stoics on their own ground.

4. nec quicquam fit, etc.: cf. 2, 49, 

n. (si fieri non potuisse).

7. mulam peperisse: cf. 1, 36, n. 

(partus . . . mulae); 2, 49; also the New 

Testament parallel of the camel going 

through the eye of a needle (Matt. 19, 24; 

Mk. 10, 25; Lk. 18, 23).

7. sapientem fuisse: the increasing 

ly elaborate demands which the sage of 

the Stoics must satisfy made his existence 

lie more and more in the realm of the ideal 

rather than in the world of experience; cf. 

Alex. Aprod. de Fat. 28: των δε ἀνθρώπων 

οι τέλεσαν κακοί, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄγαθοι μὲν εἰς 

δεύτερον υπ' αὐτῶν γεγονήθη μηδενεσι, 

οὕτω τι παράδοξον ἕτοι καὶ παρὰ φθονῷ 

συνάθροτον τοῦ φολίακος τοῦ παρ' ἄλλων; 

Sen. Ep. 42, 1: ille alter (sc. vir bonus) 

torasse tamquam phoenix semel anno quin 

gentesimo nascitur. A large number of 

other passages are collected by Hirzel, 

Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schr. 

2, 1 (1882), 279-298, who shows how the 

sage, at first admitted by the Stoics as a 

human possibility, became, in human life, 

replaced by the θυγώτων, or man progressing 

toward rather than having already attained virtue, but also how, 

beginning with Epicetus, the sage was 

reintroduced as an effective model for 

human beings. Noteworthy passages in which Cicero deals with the question
ratio concluditur: nec id quod non potuerit sieri factum umquam esse, nec quod potuerit id portentum esse; ita omnino nullum esse portentum. 62. Quod etiam coniector quidam et interpres portentorum non inscrite respondisse dicitur ei qui quondam ad eum rettulisset quasi ostentum quod anguis domi vectem circumiectus fuisset: 'Tum esset,' inquit, 'ostentum,

4. qui quondam (aut qui, om. cum) const. Dares, recensuit Müller, illeipos; qui cum A, sed cum in to}
(ut Moer qui cum uti, Cicero nèm a non scripta esse insitam); qui quondam (quodam com. quem lo-
monem adhibuit Alonius) V; dicitur, qui, cum ad eum rettulisset qui Kyzer: dicitur, qui, cum ad eum relictum
coni. Baier; dicitur cum quidam coni. Halm, cui, cum Vahlen (in Reim. Rur. 17 (1872), 186; lanites, qui cum
Polit Serap. Katoevis (1874), 9; qui cum ad eum Giese, Theor. 1, cit. qui cum Christ, Baier.

are N. D. 1, 23 (where the sapiientes are asserted by Velleius to be pauci); 3, 79:
 sapieniam autem nemo adsequitur (cf. Mayor's note); Tusc. 2, 51: in quo vero
erit perfecta sapiencia (qui adhibit nos quidem vidimus neineminem); Off. 3, 16;
Fin. 4, 64-65, ending: nec tamen ille (sc. Ti. Gracchus) erat sapiens; quis enim hoc?
aut quando? aut ubi? aut unde? Al. 2, 145:
sec qui sapiens sit aut fuerit ne ipse quidem
solen dicere (cf. Reid's note). See also
Mayor on Juvi. 13, 26.

1. ratio concluditur: with the phrase
cf. 2, 25, n. (concludatur . . . ratio).  
1. nec quod potuerit, etc.: cf. 2, 49;
2, 62. Theophrastus well remarks (H. P.
5, 3): tō γάρ εἰσόδον οὖς τίρας; cf. Stein,
TERAE (1909), 7 ff. for various definitions
of τίρας. In this connection Clement says
(Strom. 7, p. 843 P.): δει γάρ καὶ τὰ βλαγ
tων ἄνθρωπον καὶ ποιητὴ καὶ μάχασθαι καὶ
τιμήσει καὶ ἀνθυπόκρισιν, δὲ ἡδονήν δονα
cατὰ φάσιν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνο γένοιτο παρὰ
φῶς; cf. Theophr. Chor. 16, for the super-
stition of the man who reports such mat-
ters to the diviners.

2. omnino nullum: cf. 1, 65; 1, 113.
3. quod: for this use cf. 2, 87, and
n. (quod).
3. non inscrite: cf. 2, 30, n. (non
inscrite).
4. rettulisset: cf. 1, 31, n. (refer-
rent).
5. domi: cf. 1, 36, and n. (dubius
angustus); and just below in this section.
5. circumiectus: occasionally men-
tioned as ominous; cf. 1, 79, n. (perven.
. amplexus); also Dio Cass. 47, 1, 2.

5. tum esset, etc.: Plut. Aprod. 
Lacon. p. 224 e, ascribes the remark to
Leotychidas: τῇ δ’ ἐγγυτέρᾳ πέλη ἀράτος
καὶ τῶν ἁλίτων ἀλήθειας οὐκ είπε, "οὐχ ἡμῖν," ἡπτ.
"οὐκε, ἄλλοι ἐμὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡ παραλέγει.
τίρας ἀν ὃν;" Clem. Strom. 7, p. 843 P. tells
the story of Diogenes: εἰ τῶν καὶ Διοικη-
τέων τῶν θαμαζόντων διείσδυσα τὸν δόρο τὴν
πεπερασμένος, "μὴ βαθμία, ἡπτ. ἐν
τῷ παραδοσόντος εἶναι, εἰ τὸ ἄτοσ τοῦ
διδάσκαλου καὶ θαμαζόντων (copied in
Theodore, Gr. Affect. 6, p. 853).

Further variants are Clem. Strom. 7, 
p. 842 P.: "νὶ δὲ καὶ θαμαστόν, εἰ δὲ μῶς,
φοινίκι ὁ Βλωτ., "τὸν ἥλιον διέτριβε, οὐκ
ἐνώριον δὲ τι φάσει, τὸν ἡδονήν δοα
τοῦ ἠθικοῦ καὶ ἀράτου,
(copied in Theodore, Gr. Affect. 6, p. 854), and Aug. de Doctr. 
Christ. 2, 31: unde illud eleganter dicitur
est Catonis, qui, cum esset consultas a
quondam qui sibi a soriacebus erat calicos
dicere, respondit non esse illud menstrum,
sed vere menstrum habendum fuisset si
soriace calicos roderentur. For the same
motive in Lope cf. Buchanan in Mod.
Lang. Rev. 5 (1910), 89. Paine (Age of 
Reason, 1, ch. 17) remarks: "The story
of the whale swallowing Jonah, though a
whale is large enough to do it, borders
greatly on the marvellous; but it would
have approached nearly to the idea of a
miracle if Jonah had swallowed the whale"
(cf. 'S' in N. Y. Nation, 93 (1911), 492;
and C. A. Dana said: "If you go into the
street and see a dog bite a man, that is not
news. But if you see a man bite a dog,
si anguem vectis circumpticavisset." Hoc ille responso satis aperte declara-
vit nihil habendum esse, quod fieri posset, ostentum.

XXIX. C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit duobus anguiibus domi
comprehensis haruspices a patre convocatos. Qui magis anguiibus quam
lacertis, quam muribus? Quia sunt haec cotidiana, angues non item;
quasi vero referat, quod fieri potest, quam id saepe fiat. Ego tamen miror
si emissio feminae anguis mortem adferret Ti. Gracco, emissio autem
maris anguis erat mortifera Corneliae, cur alteram utram emiserit; nihil
enim scribit respondisse haruspices si neuter anguis emissus esset quid
esset futurum. At mors insecuta Gracchum est. Causa quidem, credo,
aliqua morbi gravioris, non emissione serpentinis; neque enim tanta est
infelicitas haruspicum ut ne casu quidem umquam fiat quod futurum illi
esse dixerint. XXX. 63. Nam illud mirarer, si crederem, quod apud

3. C. Rulg. G. AB (in B supra lin.), om. V.
7. Ti. Rulg. titio C.

that is news" (Buchanan, l. c.; Pease in N. Y. Evening Post, 11 Nov., 1911).
1. circumpticawisset: of snakes also
in 1, 49; 1, 79.
2. quod fieri posset: cf. 2, 61, n.
(nec quod potuerit, etc.). There is probably
no difference intended between
portentum in that passage and ostentum
in this; cf. 1, 93, n. (ostendunt . . .
dictuntur).
3. C. Gracchus, etc.: cf. 1, 36.
2. ad M. Pomponium: cf. 1, 36, n.
(scriptum reliquit).
5. lacertis: for the species of the genus
Lacerta found in Italy and Greece
270-275. That they were hunted out of
houses, like mice, by means of weasels
is inferred by Keller from Aesop, 89
Halm. For their appearance as omens
1, 39, n. (Galenus); Bouché-Leclercq,
Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 147-148; Hopf,
Thierarakel u. Orakelhierie (1888), 181;
Keller, op. cit. 2, 275.
5. haee: on the agreement cf. Kühn-
Steigmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2,
1, 2 ed. (1912), 57-58.
5. angues non item: cf. 1, 36, n.
(duobus anguis). The phrase non item
is regularly put at the end of its clause;
2 (1892), 404.

6. quasi vero: cf. 2, 59, n. (quasi
vero).
6. quam id saepe: for the order of
words cf. de Am. 10: quam id recte faciam;
Tusc. 1, 29: quam hoc late pateat; etc.
Ti. Gracch. 1 (quoted in 1, 36, n. (duobus
anguis) supra), for the answer to this
question: ἀλοιφά μνήμες ἢ τάξιν ἀνακεῖσθαι
ἀδέλφαι. Cicero apparently did not know
this feature of the story, which is perhaps
a later addition.
8. alteram utram: For Cicero's vari-
ation in the inflection of this compound
lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 626.
10. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (al). Quintus is
imagined as justifying his explanation of
divination by the fact that in this case
it apparently agreed with the facts.
10. mors insecuta Gracchum: cf.
Tusc. 1, 94: nec opinantis assccula est
seneetus; and other passages (especially
Ter. Phrm. 750) make it unnecessary to
emend, with Davies, to Gracchi.
11. neque enim, etc.: cf. 2, 52: si
evenit quipsum, quid adferri potest cur
non casu id evenirit?
13f. quod apud Homerum, etc.: 
the Latin as it stands shows an anacolu-
Homerum Calchatem dixisti ex passerum numero belli Troiani annos auguratum; de cuius coniectura sic apud Homerum, ut nos otiosi convertilimus, loquitur Agamemnon:

Ferte, viri, et duros animo tolerate labores,
Auguris ut nostri Calchantis fata queamus
Scire ratosne habeant an vanos pectoris orsus.

Thuson (with which Thoresen compares the only partly similar passage in 2, 126: praesertim cum Chrysippus . . . dicit = praesertim cum, ut Chrysippus dicit), the thought being quod apud Homerum Calchas, ut dixisti, . . . auguratus est. 1. dixisti: 1, 72, and n. (apud Homerum Calchas).

2. apud Homerum: on Cicero's quotations from Homer (some in Greek, some translated) cf. 1, 52, n. (Homericum . . . versum). For this particular poem cf. Atzet, *De Cic. Interprete Graecorum* (1908), 25-29, and for instances of divination drawn from Homer see 1, 1, n. (heroicis) above.

2. oiosis: cf. *Tusc.* 2, 26: studiose equidem utor nostris poetis; sed sicubi ilii defecerunt versi ipsa multa de Graecis, ne quo ornamento in hoc genere dispositionum carent Latina oratio. If we were to assume that Cicero had translated various passages from time to time as exercises in composition and that he later included these (without renewed comparison with the originals) in works like the present which he chanced to be writing, it would be easier to understand the slip by which he makes Agamemnon the speaker.

3. Agamemnon: really Ulysses; cf. *Il.* 2, 278-283. For similar slips on the part of Cicero cf. 1, 31, n. (Frisco . . . Tarquinio); 2, 82, n. (Aias); *Tusc.* 4, 49; Tyrrell on *Fam.* 1, 20; 5, 12, 5; *ad Att.* 4, 7, 2.

4ff. ferte, etc.: *Il.* 2, 299-330, 32 lines of the Greek being represented by 29 in the translation. The translation is a very free one, and Atzet (op. cit. 27) well cites de Or. 1, 154, as illustrating Cicero's methods of composition. The Homeric passage was a famous one; Throop (in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 9, *Humanistic Ser.* 2 (1922), 278, and n. 12) lists various imitations and allusions, including Aesch. *Agam.* 145; *Ilias Lat.* 147-153 (in *Poet. Lat. min.* 3, 14); *Apollod.* *Epit.* 3, 15: *Petron.* 89; Orig. in *Cels.* 4, 91; Procl. in *Epic. Gr. Frag.* p. 18 *Kinkel*; *Lycophr.* *Alex.* 202-203 (and cf. *Schol.*); *Philost.* *Vit.* *Apollon.* 1, 22; 3, 6. It is more closely imitated by *Ov. Met.* 12, 10-23 (followed by *Lact.* *Plac.* *Narrat.* 12, init.), who has some imitations of the Ciceronian version also; cf. Atzet, op. cit. 29. The interpretation of the portent is discussed at enormous length by Schol. B *Il.* 2, 305, parts of the explanation being ascribed to Aristotle (fr. 145 *Rose*), and others to o. . . τα ρητα οωριστικη της καθ 'Ομηρος γραφαντες.

LINES 299-302 OF THE ORIGINAL READ: *τὴν ἤμη, φίλοι, καὶ μεῖνα τι τρόπων, ἀποδαμένη, / ἣν Κάλλιξ μανεύειν ἐν καὶ οἴκοι. / οὔ γαρ δή τόδε τάμην ἐν φωνέοις, κατὰ δὲ πάντες / μουρτών, οὐκ ἦν ἔργον γενόμενον.* In the first line, as Atzet (op. cit. 26) points out, ferte is the only word which corresponds to the original. For the phrase *duros . . . tolerare labores* Atzet (25-26) notes parallels from *Tusc.* 2, 30; 2, 35; 2, 43. Wresniok (*De Cic. Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus* (1907), 7) thinks that *duros . . . labores* is Ennian, and compares Virg. *Geogr.* 4, 114.

5. auguris: not so called in the Greek; perhaps a reminiscence of *Il.* 1, 69, etc.; cf. 1, 87, n. (Calchatem, etc.) above.

5. fata: 'predictions of fate'; cf. 1, 66; 1, 100, n. (fatis); 2, 98; in *Cat.* 3, 9.

6. ratos: a technical augural word; cf. 1, 85; 2, 80.


6. pectoris orsus: cf. 1, 18: *tutes*
Namque omnes memoris portentum mente retentant, Qui non funestis liquerunt lumina fatis.
Argolicis primum ut vestita est classibus Aulis, Quae Priamo cladem et Troiae pestemque ferebant, Nos circum latices gelidos fumantibus aris
Aurigeris divom placantes numina taurus,
Sub platano umbrifera, fons unde emanat aquai,

3. Aulis Erlong., vulg., aules C.

3. oracula furenti / pectore fundebant; Virg. Aen. 6, 48; Ov. ex Pont. 3, 4, 93. The word orsus is found only here and in Culex, 2.

1. portentum mente retentant: on the internal alliteration (-len-, -ent-, -len-, -nlt-) cf. 1, 17, n. (aetheris aeterl); Atzert, op. cit. 26; also Evans, Allitteratio Latina (1921).

2. liquerunt lumina: cf. 1, 18, and n. (situla lumina liqui); and, for the alliteration, 1, 17, n. (aetheris aetern).

3. Argolicis, etc.: lines 303-319 read: χειλία τε και πρωτίς δειν ἴδε τὰ Ἀθηναία νῆσον Ἀχαίοι / ἡγερθοῦτο εκά Πράγμα καὶ Τρωὶ δέωσι πέργαος / ἡμεῖς β' ἀμφι περὶ κρήνης ἰζούς κατὰ βυθοῦ / ἐρυθέν αἰθήναις τελεοῦσας εκτόμβας, / καὶ ἐν χεῖρ πλατάνησα, ἰδές δεῖς ἀγάλματη δοξολ. / θυρ' ἕφασ' μέγα σῆμα δράκων ἐπὶ νότα διαμοῦ, / μυμελοῦσα, τὸ β' αὐτόν Ὀλύμπος δὲ φώδε, / βυσσαίος ὑπαίτις πρὸς δ' ἑπάλλαγος δράσσειν. / καὶ θάνα δ' Ἰσαρ στρατοῦ οὔσσαλ, νησία τεκά, / δ' ἐν ἂν ἀκροτάτῃ, πτελάοις ὀστετόπτωτες, / ὅτως ἀλμπρότερα βραχὺ τὶς σημεία / καὶ δ' ἐλεῆμανν τῶν ἀρτύσον βωλώματα θυελλά οὐκ ἀστρίσθαι. / αὐτοὶ ἔτει κατὰ τεκά φάνε στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν, / τῶν μὲν δ' ἔτον δ' ἄνθρωπος διακόσμητο / ἀκρῶς τὰς τέμνει πᾶρα ἀκροβατά ὁ παῖς ἔλαττον τέκνα τῆς ἂγουλομήτης.

3. primum ut: a very free rendering of a difficult and disputed phrase χειλία τε και πρωτίς(α).

3. vestita est: Cicero's fondness for this verb and its compound convestire is noted by Norden, 2 ed. of Virg. Aen. 6 (1916), 297 (cf. Arat. 294; 449; 508; 578; 612; 675; 692; 726; 732 Müller; Virg. Aen. 6, 640), who thinks it an imitation of old Latin poetry, probably Ennius (cf. Enn. Crespont. 131; Eumen. 155 Vahlen).


4. pestem: cf. 1, 42: pestem Pergamo; and, for the cadence, 1, 20: pestemque monebant.

5. circum latices gelidos: for Cicero's expansions and variations of epithet from his originals cf. Atzert, op. cit. 27.

6. aurigeris: on the form of compound (appearing here for the first time in extant Latin literature) cf. 1, 13, n. (tristificias). The Homeric original does not refer to the gilding of the horns of sacrificial animals, but this custom is probably recalled by Cicero from other allusions in Homer: Od. 3, 384: τὴν τοι ἐνω βέβιον χρυσὸν κύριον πέρηπεσα (cf. 3, 437); also cf. Nonn. Dionys. 11, 200: μῆ κοτήρι, δεί, ταύρες, τὴν χρυσωσά κεραπ. Roman usages in this regard (which Cicero may, of course, be more particularly reflecting) are indicated by Plin. N. H. 33, 39: deorum honoris causa in sociis nihili aliud excogitatum est quam ulullis cornibus hostias, maiiores duntaxat, immolarentur; cf. Virg. Aen. 9, 624; Liv. 4, 16, 2; 7, 37, 1; 15, 12, 13 (=Macrobi. Sat. 1, 17, 29); Sen. H. O. 785; Val. Fl. 1, 89; and frequently in the Acta Prairium Arvalium (e.g., Henzen, Acta Prairium Arvalium (1874), xliii, cxiii, cxiv, etc.); Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. auro, 1521.

7. platano: cf. Schol. B II, 2, 305: ἐν πλάτανοις δὲ μὲν τὰ υδραλὰ καὶ εὔπηκεν δέλματος τὴν τὰ δὲ κοϊλὶ καὶ δεῖπος μακρὰν ποπελα,
Vidimus inmani specie tortuque draconem
Terribilem, Iovis ut pulsu penetraret ab ara;
Qui platanum in ramo foliorum tegmine saeptos
Corripuit pullos; quos cum consumeret octo,
Nona super tremulo genetrix clangore volabat;

note on vidimus inmani above. The way in which Ciceron through these lines freely reworks the Homeric material and substitutes for Homer’s λείψ εἰρωμένη a more periodic structure is well discussed by Atzert, op. cit. 27-28.


5. volabat: cf. Schol. B II. 2, 305: τὸ δὲ καὶ περιπεπάτησαι τῆς ποσείδον τῆς μάητρας καὶ μή πόρρω ἀποχωρεῖν ἑξῆς ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολέμου ἐξελθεῖν αὐτής πρὶν τῆς πολέμου καὶ ἀν πόρρω χωρεῖν ἑξῆς, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς σχετικῆς "χρώματι ἀναγκαίᾳ πρὸ τοῦ πάλησι καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν."

[457] 1. inmanī laniavit viscera morso:
Cui ferus inmani laniavit viscera morsu.

64. Hunc, ubi tam teneros volucris matremque peremit, Qui luci ediderat, genitor Saturnius idem Abdidit et duro formavit tegmine saxi.
Nos autem timidì stantes mirabile monstrum Vidimus in mediis divom versarier aris.
Tum Calchas haec est fidenti voce locutus:

a characteristically Ciceronian expansion of τὸν δὲ . . . λάβειν.


4. abdidit: the Greek phrase τὸν μὲν ἄλφην θέου θεός is much disputed in meaning. Cf. Schol. A II. 2, 318: ἄργιλεον δὲ τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς γραφεὶς ἄργιλον, καὶ τὸν ἄργιλον προδέχεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἄργιλον ἄγα τίμωσις, διὸ οὐκ ἔτι ἐπιθανόν. δὲ τὰ ἐνεργεῖα τοῦτο ἀναφέρεται ("Whatsoever a god creates, that he brings to naught again. But there seems to be some lacuna in the quotation." Leaf on II. 2, 318). Λύγει μὲν δεύτερον καὶ δέχει καὶ ἄργιλον εἰσχώρειν. Cicero evidently takes the word in the sense of the last clause (cf. Her. σκυλ. άλφης· άργιλός), making a clear contrast between the two compounds of do, ediderat and abdidit. It is also clear that his text of the Illiad included line 319 which was probably ascribed by Aristarchus (cf. Leaf, I. c.). The words abdidit et occur in the same place in the verse in 1, 18 above.

4. tegmine saxi: petrification is one of the common forms of mythological metamorphosis; cf. Group, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 996, n. 3; 1200, n. 7; 1226, n. 1; 1920, s.v. Versierung. In the case of snakes the myth may have been suggested by the appearance of certain fossils, such as ammonites; cf. Skeat in Folklore, 23 (1912), 45-60; Halliday in Folklore, 32 (1921), 263. Skeat (op. cit. 54) gives the following apposite quotation from the Elizabethan period from Camden, Britannia, p. 419: lapides hic interius, serpenatum in spiritum revolucionem effici. naturae ludenii miracula . . . serpentiles olim suisse crederes, quos lapides cortes intesulas. For the prophetic meaning of the petrification cf. Schol. B II. 2, 305: ἤ δὲ τοῦ ἄργιλου ἀπολλυτίως κατὰ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλη τὴν βραδωνίαν ἄγαν καὶ τὸ σκέλος τοῦ πολιού, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλου τοῦ τῆς πέλλως ἔρωσιν, κτλ.; ibid.: τῆς πέλλως ἐν λίθοις μόνον καταλειψθη; id. 308: ἢ δὲ λίθος, ἣς οὐκ εὐδείς καὶ κακιστήν θάλακην ὁ πόλης. Ovid here says (Met. 12, 22-23): ille, ut erat, virides amplexus in arbore ramos / et lapis (cf. 2, 65 infra: lapides dicitur factus). et superat serpentes imagine saxum. Cicero apparently thinks of Zeus as hiding away the snake within his stony covering (as Daphne, in Od. Met. 1, 549, within her covering of bark).

5ff. nos, etc.: lines 320-330 read: ἴμεστ' ὅσαν αὐτὸς θαυμάσωμεν, οἷον κύριον. / ὡς σῶν δεικνύσθαι τῶν τάλαμον εἰσήλθεν κατατύπωσε, / ἔλατος δ' αὐτὸς ἔτεκε θεοτροφεῖς ἀγάθεις / τίπτ' ἄνω, ἐπὶ σύρρωσε, κάρα κομίζομεν ἄρχαιοι. / ἤδην μὲν τὸν τούτῃ τέρας μέγα μητέρα βασιλεύει, / δόλου δάκτυλλον, δουλεὸς ὁ σωτήρ ἄλκηται. / οὕτως ὁ δαίμονας τίκα πάντα φάγην σπρούδου καὶ αἰτήσει, / ἀκῶ, ἀνὰ μήτηρ ἐκάνε, / τά μετὰ τινά, ὦθες ἴμεσται τούτου πεπολεμήσεις αὖδο, / τῷ δὲ διὰ πόλιν αἴρομεν εἰράγωναν. / κεῖνοι τῶν ἀγάθων τά δὲ νῦν πάσα τελεῖται.


7. voce locutus: see Norden, I.e., who compares Aen. 3, 320: voce locuta est,
'Quidnam torpentes subito obstipuistis, Achivi? Nobis haec portenta deum dedit ipse creator Tarda et sera nimis, sed fama ac laude perenni. Nam quot aves taetra maedatas dente videtis, Tot nos ad Troiam bellii exanclabimus annos; Quae decumo cadet et poena satisabit Achivos.'

Edidit haec Calchas; quae iam matura videtis.

65. Quae tandem ista auguratio est ex passeribus annorum potius quam aut mensuum aut dierum? Cur autem de passerculis coniecturam facit, in quibus nullum erat monstrum, de dracone silet, qui, id quod fieri non potuit, lapideus dicitur factus? Postremo quid simile habet passer annis?

3. sera nimia reful., sera animis C.

and thinks it an archaic form of expression, like Pind. Ol. 6, 13-14: ἀπὸ γλῶσσας . . . φθεγμένο.  
1. obstipuistis: so Ov. Met. 12, 18: obstipuere omnes. 
2. deum dedit: cf. 1, 17, n. (aetheris acterni).

2. deum . . . creator: not in the Greek, but a reminiscence of the Homeric pαρὰ δορῶν τε θεῶν τε. 
4. nam quot, etc.: in the Greek line 326 practically repeats 317, and 327 is identical with 313. In the translation Cicero allows for no such repetition, which was less pleasing to the rhetorical taste of his day. Atzert (op. cit. 29) quotes Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 54: eandem rem dicemus, non codem modo—nam id quidem obstruere audirem est, non rem expolare—sed commutare. 

4. taetra, maedatas dente videtis: —φάγε (line 326). 
5. exanclabimus: for much information upon this word, chiefly poetic (and, as occasionally in Cicero, in prose reminiscences of archaic poetry), see Saalfeld, Tensaurus Italograecus (1884), 475-476. It is employed by Ennius (Androm. 102; Eumen. 147), from whom Cicero perhaps got it, in the former case in a sense similar to that of this passage (quantis cum aerumnis illum exandlavi diem, where Non. p. 292 remarks: exanclare eliam significat perpeir). Cf. also Heeringa, Quaesti. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes (1906), 64-65. 

6. cadet: here Ovid (Met. 12, 20: Troia cadet) follows Cicero rather than the Greek τὸλαν ἀλφσιωρ. 
8f. annorum potius quam, etc.: cf. 1, 46, n. (triginta); Throop in Washington Univ. Stud. 9, Humanistic Ser. 2 (1922), 280-281, who suggests that the supposedly short life of the sparrow may have made it the symbol of the year; also the twelve vultures seen by Romulus typifying 1200 years' duration of Rome (Reinach, Cul- tes, Mythes, Relig. 3 (1908), 302). This is also implied in the remark below: quid simile habet passer annis. 
9. passerculis: the kind of bird is here recognized, as in 1, 72 and 2, 63, though not in Cicero's translation. 
10f. quod fieri non potuit: cf. 2, 61, n. ( nec quid potuerit, etc.). 
11. quid simile habet: cf. Fam. 9, 21, 1: quid enim simile habet epistula aut iudicio aut cionteniis? N. D. 3, 15: quid simile medicina . . . et divinatio? 
11. passer annis: i.e., so that the
Nam de angue illo qui Sullae apparuit immolanti, utrumque memini, et Sullam, cum in expeditionem educturus esset, immolavisse, et anguem ab ara extitisse, eoque die rem praecclare esse gestam non haruspicis consilio sed imperatoris.

XXXI. 66. Atque haec ostentorum genera mirabile nihil habent; quae cum facta sunt, tum ad coniecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur, ut ulla triticis grana in os pueri Midae congesta, aut apes quas dixisti in labris Platonis consedisse pueri, non tam mirabilia sint quam coniecta belle; quae tamen vel ipsa falsa esse vel ea quae praedicta sunt fortuito cecidisse potuerunt. De ipso Roscio potest illud quidem esse falsum, ut circumligatus fuerit angui, sed ut in cunis fuerit anguis non tam est mirum, in Solonio praesertim, ubi ad focum angues nundinari solent. Nam quod

...multiplication of the number of sparrows by any given number (here nine) leads to an equal multiplication (by inference) of the number of years. Interesting for comparison is an augury in Sil. Ital. 4, 101-130, where a hawk has killed fifteen doves and is driven off from pursuit of a sixteenth by the appearance of an eagle. In the interpretation (4, 122-126) the number of the doves typifies the number of years of Hannibal's Italian campaigns: Poene, bis oculos Italis in finibus annos; / audaci similis voluturi, setabere pubem / Ausonium multamque feres cum sanguine praedam:/ sed compesse minus: renuit tibi / Daunia regna / armiger ece Iovis. For sparrows in omens cf. Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelhierie (1888), 129-130.

1. nam: cf. 2, 3, n. (nam).
2. angue illo, etc.: cf. 1, 72. In this case Cicero sees no portent comparable with the petrifaction of the Homeric serpent. For the form angue (rare and chiefly poetic) cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, op. cit. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 328.
3. haec: pointing forward; cf. 1, 49, n. (hoc).
4. ad ... revocantur: cf. N. D. 1, 28; 1, 119; Off. 3, 84; Fin. 2, 43; de Dom. 15: rem ad illam rationem coniecturamque revocantur.
5. illa: cf. 1, 40, n. (illa).
6. triticis grana, etc.: cf. 1, 78.
7. Midae: the construction has been changed from the dative of 1, 78 to the genitive, and the same has been done in the case of Platonis just below.
8. apes, etc.: cf. 1, 78.
9. belle: cf. de Or. 3, 101: 'bene' et 'praecclare' quamvis nobis saepi dicatur; 'belle' et 'festive' minimum saepi nolo; Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 89-90 for Cicero's use of belle.
12. Roscio, etc.: cf. 1, 79, which for circumligatus fuerit anguis reads circiumplicatum serpentes amplexu.
13. falsum, ut ... ut ... mirum: cf. such constructions as are cited by Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 242.
14. angui: contrast angui in 2, 65; Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 328 take the present instance as probably a dative.
16. ad focum: as the centre of warmth to which the snakes (cf. Arist. de Long. et Bron. Vit. 5, p. 466 b 19-21) would naturally be attracted. So Plin. N. H. 25, 101 recommends that to drive snakes out of a house plisotolochia be hung supra focum.

Lanuvium was especially associated
haruspices respondeunt nihil illo clarius, nihil nobilium fore, miror deos immortales his trioni futuro claritatem ostendisse, pullam ostendisse Africano. 67. Atque etiam a te Flaminiana ostenta collecta sunt: quod ipse et equus eius repente conciderit; non sane mirabile hoc quidem! quod evelli primi hastati signum non potuerit; timide fortasse signifer evellebat quod fidenter infixerat. Nam Dionysi equus quid attulit admirationis quod emersit e flumine quodque habuit apes in iuba? Sed quia brevi tempore regnare coepit quod acciderat casu habuit ostenti. At Lacedaemonii in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, eiusdemque dei Thebis valvae clauae subito se aperuerunt, eaque scuta quae fuerant sublimne

6. Dionysi, C. Christi, Dionysii 0, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa.

with snakes on account of the sacred oracular serpent there, described by Propert. 4, 8, 3-14 (cf. Rothstein's note);


[459] 12. nudinari: cf. the similar picturesque figure in Plin. N. H. 11, 109 (of ants): certi dies ad recognitionem mutum nudinim dantur. The nudinae stand for the mercurius quandam celebratam of Tuss. 5, 9. Several glosses (cf. Goetz, Corp. Cl. Lat. 6 (1899), 751, s.v. nudina) equate nudinae with the Greek χαλκός. Cicero speaks familiarly of the snakes at Lanuvium, and Colburn (op. cit. 377) remarks that he was in the habit of journeying that way when going to his villas at Antium and at Tusculum (cf. ad Att. 12, 41, 1; 12, 43, 1; 12, 44, 3; etc.).

1. responderint: cf. 1, 40, n. (responderunt).

1. miror, etc.: for the thought cf. 2, 114, n. (magis veri simile, etc.).

2. histrionii, etc.: On the low estate of the theatrical profession cf. 1, 80, n. (ui ad levisia venismus). In 2, 114 Cicero complains that the divine purpose was revealed to a mere rorer rather than to the educated men in the fleet, as in 1, 85 Quintus had admitted that he did not know why Cassandra possessed the power of prophecy and Priam lacked it.

3. Africano: Likewise cited in 2, 95 as an example of the man of importance. With no qualifying adjective doubtless the elder Africanus is meant.

3. Flaminiana ostenta: cf. 1, 77-78. For the loose construction of the following quod ipse clause cf. 2, 31, n. (Phercycteth . . . qui). The proper punctuation of the passage (essentially that here employed) is discussed by Madvig on Fin. 1, 23. The first two quod clauses (quod ipse, etc., and quod evelli, etc.) are Marcus Cicero's repetition of the arguments alleged by Quintus (cf. the at clauses at the beginning of 2, 68).

5. hastati: cf. 1, 77, n. (primi hastati).


6. Dionysi equus: cf. 1, 73.

7. brevi tempore: 1, 73 says pancias dicibus.


8. vim habuit ostenti: cf. 1, 73, n. (habuit hanc vim ui).

9. Lacedaemonii, etc.: cf. 1, 74; 2, 54.

9. Thebis valvae clauae: cf. 1, 74, n. (se ipsae aperuerunt), to which add several cases noted by Ogle in Proc. Am. philol. Assoc. 40 (1909), lxvi, id. in Am. Journ. of Philol. 32 (1911), 270, n. 2.

10. scuta quae fuerunt sublimne fixa: in 1, 74 we read: armaque quae fixa in portellibus fuerant. The variation between arma and the more specific scuta may well be due to different meanings possible for the Greek original, which very likely had
fixa sunt humi inventa. Horum cum fieri nihil potuerit sine aliquo motu, quid est cur divinitus ea potius quam casu facta esse dicamus? XXXII. 68. At in Lysandri statuae capite Delphis extitit corona ex asperis herbis, et quidem subita. Itane? censes ante coronam herbae extitisse quam conceptum esse semen? Herbam autem asperam credo avium congesstul, non humano satu; iam quicquid in capite est, id coronae simile videri potest. Nam quod eodem tempore stellas aureas Castoris et Pollucis Delphis positas decidisse neque eas usquam repertas esse dixisti, furum id magis factum quam deorum videtur. 69. Simiae vero Dodonaeae improbitatem

δικλα. For a similar use of sublīme cf. Tusc. 1, 102: humine an sublime.

1. motu: from our point of view an earthquake was probably the cause, but whether Cicero here uses motu alone as equivalent to terrae motu is not clear, and I find no other examples of such a use.

2. divinitus: cf. 1, 34, n. (divinitus).

3. Lysandri, etc.: cf. 1, 75.

4. et quidem subita: more emphatic than the simple subito of 1, 75, for Marcus wishes to make the case as strong as possible for Quintus before rejecting it on the ground of its being natural rather than supernatural. Had the corona been the result of slow and gradual growth not even Quintus could have claimed it as a marvel.

4. itane: ironical, as in 1, 23; 2, 83.


4f. conceptum . . . semen: cf. N. D. 2, 26: quae terra concipiat semina.

5. avium congesstul: cf. 1, 75, n. (corona). The word is probably not here used of chance carrying but of bringing of materials for nesting (among which the weed seeds might by accident be), for congerere (nidum) is not infrequently used of the nest-building of birds; cf. Plaut. Rud. 889; Virg. Ec. 3, 69: quo congesse palumbes (Serv. ad loc. and Corp. Gl. Lat. 5, 556, 9 explain as nidificavere; cf. Corp. Gl. Lat. 5, 183, 19: congesser: propri congerere aves dicuntur quando nidos faciunt); Cell. 2, 29, 5; Ser. Sammon. 1021; Aug. C. D. 19, 12.

6. humano satu: Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologii, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 36), like others, has been troubled by this phrase (in his edition he inserts an obelus before asperam, by the form of his note implying that the difficulty extends through satu), remarking: sive enim avium congesstul Cicero semina sarsa esse existimat, sive ab hominibus—qui cur ita fecerint, non facile est videre—naturali rem attribuit causae, at hoc quaeritur, utrum deorum numine factum sit necne. Other editors, for example Moser, have been disturbed by the omission of a principal infinitive in the sentence, but Höttinger well suggested that extiisse is to be supplied from the sentence preceding. Yet the correct explanation is really not difficult. Cicero has already, in his own mind, eliminated divine intervention from the cases under discussion. Of the ways in which seeds would most naturally reach the tops of statues the agency of birds was the most likely, for neither the position on the top of a statue nor the kind of plants (here is the force of the emphatic repetition of the adjective asperam with herbam, to indicate mere weeds) would suggest any human action in the matter.


7. stellas aureas, etc.: cf. 1, 75.

8. furum, etc.: especially since the stars were of gold; cf. 1, 48, n. (aufuerre vellet).

9. simiae, etc.: cf. 1, 76.

9. improbitatem: used occasionally to express the annoying or disconcerting boldness of various animals (e.g., Plin.)
historiis Graecis mandatam esse demior. Quid minus mirum quam illam monstruosissimam bestiam urnam evertisse, sortes dissupavisse? Et negant historici Lacedaemonii ulla ostentum hoc tristius accidisse! Nam illa praedicta Veientium, si lacus Albanus redundasset isque in mare fluxisset, Romanum perituram; si repressus esset, Veios—ita aqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agris suburbani, non ad arcem urbemque retinendum.

N. H. 19, 116: adversus improbitatem alitum depascenium semen; 29, 28: non Homero (sc. fastidio fuist) . . . improbatem muscar describere; and cf. Virg. Georg. 1, 119: improbus anser), and here perhaps not without a shade of amusement, such as is at times found in our use of the word 'naughtiness.'

2. monstruosissimam: cf. 1, 76, n. (simia). The very likeness of the ape to the human being (Enn. Sat. 69 ap. Cic. N. D. 1, 97; simia quam similis turpisima bestia nobis; cf. Ser. Sammon. 819) only served to enhance the uncanny brutishness of the former.

2. urnam evertisse: an addition to the details of the story in 1, 76.

2. et for Cicero's use of et 'exclamatory or pathetic' cf. 1, 121; Mayor on N. D. 1, 91; Virg. Georg. 2, 433.


4. praedicta Veientium, etc.: cf. 1, 100.

5. Romam perituram: cf. 1, 100: perniciosum populo Romano.

5. si repressus esset: in 1, 100 the idea is quite different: sin autem ita esse educi ut ad mare pervenire non possit.

5. Veios: from the time of Lambinius a lacuna has frequently been recognized after this word, and various attempts have been made to fill it, as by Davies, who conjectured Veios, ita aqua Albanæ deducta. aqua Albanæ deducta (explaining the corruption as due to haplography), by Rath (Veios—censeorvarunt Romam ilanç aqua Albanæ, etc.), by Christ (Veios: omni e parte ratu existierunt; num minus Roma a Gallis capta est? ita aqua Albanæ, etc.), and by Brakman (cf. Heeringa's note on the passage: Veios, quidnix fuerint irriata? ita, etc.). Of these the latter assume that Cicero here noted the failure of the prophecy to come true. Yet that is not what he is arguing in the examples before and after this, but rather that signs understood as supernatural are really susceptible of a rational explanation. It being unnecessary, then, to supply such material in the lacuna, there appears to be no strong ground compelling us to assume a lacuna at all, and by placing a dash after Veios, as I have done, we admit an anacoluthon no harsher than many in Cicero's works, and obtain all the logical essentials of the sentence: (1) the assertion, quoted from Quintus and introduced by nam, of the Veian predictions about the Alban Lake (suggesting to the reader by inference what is completely expressed n..1, 100 by the words: ex qua illa admirabilis a maioribus Albanæ aquæ facta deductio est? (2) the counter-assertion of Marcus that the reason for the construction of the tunnel was practical rather than religious—a logical arrangement strikingly similar to that in the last sentence of 2, 68 above (nam quod . . . videtur).

6. ad utilitatem, etc.: cf. 1, 100, n. (lacus Albanæ).

6. arcem urbemque: a formula, with which cf. Enn. Androm. 88 Vahlen (ap. Tusc. 3, 44; Orat. 93): arcæ et urbæ orbis sum; Caecil. 146 Ribbeck: qui quasi ad hostis captus liber servio salvæ urbe aequæ arcæ; Liv. 4, 61, 9; 24, 37, 6; 31, 45, 6; 37, 37, 2; Paul. ex Fest. p. 115 M: si scirem fallor, timem Ditiæur savæ urbe acerque bonis ciciac.


At paulo post audita vox est momentis ut providerent, ne a Gallis Roma caperetur; ex eo Aio Loquenti aram in nova via consecrata. Quid ergo? Aius iste Loquens, cum eum nemo norat, et aiebat et loquebatur [ex eo nomen invenit]; posteaquam et sedem et aram et nomen invenit obmutuit? Quod idem dici de Moneta potest; a qua praeterquam de sue plena quid umquam moniti sumus?

XXXII. 70. Satis multa de ostentis; auspicia restant et sortes eae quae ducuntur, non illae quae vaticinatione funduntur, quae oracula verius dicimus; de quibus tum dicemus cum ad naturalem divinationem vennimi. Restat etiam de Chaldaeis; sed primum auspicia videamus. Difficilis

2. aram, etc.: an easy slipping into the indirect discourse construction; cf. 1, 55, n. (siussum esse).
2. in nova via: cf. 1, 101, nn. (novam viam; ara).
3. et aiebat et loquebatur: Moser suggests that the repetition of et is intentional, by its pretended gravity of style increasing the ridicule implied for Aius Loquens.
3f. ex eo nomen invenit: although such expressions are at times certainly used by Cicero (cf. N. D. 2, 104; Leg. 1, 58), yet elsewhere they appear suspiciously like glosses (cf. 1, 36, n. (id est ... invenit)). In this case the lack of a connective before the clause (unless, with Christ, we supply it by emendation) and the awkward repetition of the phrase nomen invenit in the next clause suggest the advisability of its deletion as a gloss on et aiebat et loquebatur, the etymological significance of which the author of the gloss feared might be overlooked by the reader. Possibly we should read ex eo posteaquam et sedem et aram et nomen invenit, regarding the words nomen invenit not as a gloss but as due to an accidental insertion through the influence of nomen invenit below.
4. et aram: the omission of these words by Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 30-31) appears unwise, being supported by neither of the two principles which justify the exclusion of the clause ex eo nomen invenit.
4. obmutuit: Cicero here approaches the reasoning which Quintus had tried in 1, 38 to forestall by confession of ignorance, namely, if these methods of prediction were effective in the past why are they no longer so? The argument is, of course, still more cogent in the case of two prophetic agencies each of which was admitted to have made but a single prediction.
7. auspicia: extending from here into 2, 83.
7f. sortes eae quae ducuntur: on the occasional confusion of sortes and oracula cf. 1, 34, and n. (aequatis sortibus ducuntur). In that passage sortes are eliminated from among oracles; in this oracles from the class of sortes. Cf. also 2, 116.
8. funduntur: cf. 1, 18, n. (fundebant); 1, 34: illa quae instinctu divino adfatuque funduntur.
9. naturalem divinationem: cf. 1, 37, n. (naturali divinatione).
10f. difficilis auguri locus: cf. 2, 28, nn. (rei publicae causa, etc.; soli sumus;
auguri locus ad contra dicendum. Marso fortasse, sed Romano factillumus. Non enim sumus ii nos augures qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus. Et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspicato condidit, habuisse opinionem esse in providendis rebus augurandis scientiam (errabat enim multis in rebus antiquitas), quam vel usu iam vel doctrina vel vetustate immanent videmus; retinetur autem et ad

1. auguri velg., augurii C.

dice imido); and for the form of expression N. D. 1, 61: difficile est negare. credo, si, etc.


1. Marso: cf. 1, 105, n. (Soratun); 1, 132, n. (Marsum augurum.

2 ff. non enim, etc.: the duty of the official Roman augurs, as distinguished from private practitioners, was not to foretell the future but merely to declare whether proposals under discussion were satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the divine power; cf. Leg. 2, 21: (publici augures) diximus... iras providentia; Valeton in Mnemosyne, 17 (1889), 204, and n. 2. That Cicero in this sentence, however, meant to admit the possibility of even so much of prediction as that appears most doubtful, in view both of his general attitude and of the negative form in which the sentence is put—as opposed to a direct statement of what the augurs professed to accomplish.


3. auspicato condidit: cf. 1, 3, n. (auspicato... condidisse); Leg. 2, 33 (for the relation of which to our passage cf. Retitzenstein, Drei Vermutungen zur Gesch. d. röm. Litt. (1894), 28-29). Cicero is willing to admit, not only the wider original application of augury (cf. the view of Marcellus described in 2, 75), but also the good faith of Romulus, living in an age of unsophistication, and here rather transfers to a later, less naive, age the responsibility for maintaining rites hypocritically realized to be politically rather than scientifically useful. In this way he indirectly but successfully answers the point made by Quintus, who in 1, 105 was unwilling to believe that an inexperienced and primitive man like Romulus could have deliberately concocted such a deception. On this subject cf. also Leg. 2, 33: sta neque illi adselectur qui hanc scientiam negat unquam in nostro collegio fuisse, neque illi qui esse eum nunc putat; quae nisi videtur apud maiores fuisse duplex, ut ad rei publicae tempus non numquam, ad agendi consilium saepissime pertinent.

4. in providendis rebus: cf. 1, 81.

5. scientiam: cf. 1, 3, n. (scientiam).

5. quam: this word, by varying punctuation and interpretation, has been variously referred to opinionem, scientiam, and antiquitas (in the sense of opiniones antiquae), but is probably best taken (as by Thoresen in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 37) with scientiam.

6. doctrina: i.e., the augurum disciplina of 1, 33; 2, 74; N. D. 2, 10. The word is here offset to usu, ‘practice,’ but it is unwise, for the sake of emphasizing this contrast, with Thoresen (loc.) to delete the vel before vetustate, nor does Leg. 2, 33 so warrant.


6. immutatam: for passages dealing with the neglect of the art and the consequent modifications of it cf. 1. 25, n. (nunc ignorantur); 1, 28; Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2:
opinionem vulgi et ad magnas utilitates rei publicae mos, religio, disciplina, ius augurium, collegi auctoritas. 71. Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius L. Iunius consules, qui contra auspici a navigaverunt; parentum enim religioni fuit nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Iure igitur alter populi judicio damnatus est, alter mortem sibi ipse conscivit. Flaminiius non paruit auspiciis, itaque periti cum exercitu. At anno post Paulus paruit; num minus cecidit in Cannensi pugna cum

2. collegi A V, collegi B, Christ, Boller, Müller, Thorsen, Hearinę.

τέκναυς δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πλὴν ὅσον ἐκὼν τις αὐτοῦ λειτεῖ τῆς θολάς ἑνκα γυναῖκι, καὶ ἐπιδίδει, ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, ταῦτα ἔργον ἑλ ἐν τῇ λέγειν.

[464] 6. reitnatur: for similar Cicero-
nian examples of the singular verb with a series of subjects following cf. Anz, Ciceron-
ianschreub racism (1884), 7; and for reitnatur
mos cf. Sin. 2, 2; Rep. 2, 36; 5, 1.

[464] 6. ad opinionem vulgi: so in the parallel passage in 1, 105: ad opinionem
imperii sunt esse fœtæ religiones.

1. ad . . . utilitates reipublicae: cf. 2, 28, n. (rei publicae causa, etc.); 2, 43; 2, 74; 2, 75; Rep. 2, 16: iun, id quod reitnenum hodie magna cum solute rei
publicae, auspiciis plurimum obsecutus est Romulus.

1. mos: cf. 2, 71: patrius mos. Probably with mos, religio, and disciplina there
is to be understood, as Thoresen (ad loc.) suggests, some word like augu-
randi (from its occurrence just above).

2. ius augurium: for the expression
cf. 2, 75; de Sen. 12; 38; ad Fam. 3, 9, 3.

3. P. Claudius L. Iunius, etc.: cf. 1, 29; 2, 20. Claudius, Iunius, and Flaminiius
appear together in this connection in N. D. 2, 8, and, possibly based on this
passage (or more likely on N. D. 2, 8), in Min. Fel. Oct. 7, 4; 26, 2.

31. parentum religioni fuit: cf. N. D. 2, 8 (after citing the examples of Clau-
dius, Iunius, and Flaminiius): quorum exitio
intelli; potest eturum imperis rem publicam
ampliificantum qui religionibus proserit
(and cf. Mayor’s note).

ipse patrius praestantes viros adhibebat;
Parad. 27; de Sen. 37; etc.

4. contumaciter: cf. ad Att. 6, 1, 7; 16, 4, 1: ad Q. Fr. 2, 1, 3.

5. damnatus est: cf. N. D. 2, 7:
itaque Clodius a populo condemnatus est,
Iunius necem sibi ipse conscivit. Of Iunius
we read in Val. Max. 1, 4, 4: L. Iunius P.
Claudii collega negotiis auspiciis classem
tempesiate amissi damnationisque ignomi-
niam voluntaria morte praeventi; Valeton in
Mnemosyne, 19 (1891), 416, and n. 6.

6. Flaminius, etc.: cf. 1, 77; 2, 21;
2, 67.

6. at: here introducing an objection
by the speaker, not by an opponent.

7. anno post: 216 b. c.

7. Paulus, etc.: in part copied by
auregia servavit sibi capitis est? Mancius
religionem tenuit et sub iussu missus est et
deditus. pullos edaces habuit et Paulus a pud
Cannas tamen cum maiore rei publicae
parte prostratus est (repeated fairly closely
18 says of Paulus: olympistas o ληφετηρε ὁ Λαμπρος
καθεν, καθαελε ἐλαθεν, κατ πήνας ἀθετησ
το το Τερεντι τιν ημαρι άντασι φεγε
κεν. δι τ' ἐκκετ μν, αδόμεν τοι μπορεί
ἀπεκτεί, τα με δέ καμις ἐν δε με τη σταρισ
κελλετο . . . κατ το παρουσιασ δει παχαν
κρει, and Liv. 22, 42, 8-10 states: Paulus,
cum ei sua sponte cunctantia pulli quoque
auspicio non addixissent, numiari iam
eferunt perta signa collegae sussit. quod
quamquam Varro aeger est passus, Flaminii
tamen recens casus Claudique consultis
primo Punico bello memorata navalis
clades religionem animo incussit. di prop
ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere inimicitiam pestem Romanis, etc.

Of the death of Paulus Cicero speaks in N. D. 3. 80; Tusc. 1, 89; de Sen. 75; 82; each time with apparent respect for his character, and Lact. Inst. 2, 16, 17, asks: vel si dii tantummodo duces curant, ceterum multitudinem nelegunt, cur Varro solus evasit qui hoc fecit et Paulus qui nihil meruit occisus est?

[465] 7. Cannenni pugna: cf. 2, 97, where it is used for illustrative purposes.

1. etenim, etc.: cf. N. D. 1, 110: quae etiam si esset, quae nulla sunt: also N. D. 1, 65: quae primum nullae sunt.

1. ut sint . . . haec certe: cf. Fin. 1, 12.

2. utimur: in the first person Cicero may here be speaking as a Roman of the day, contrasted on the one hand with those of antiquity and on the other with diviners of outside races, or perhaps it is as a member of the official class, whether ex-magistrate or augur, who might be supposed to profit from this superstitious fiction.

2. tripudio: cf. 1, 27, n. (necesse, etc.).

2. de caelo: cf. 1, 92, n. (de carlo tecta); 1, 93: de caelo sebant.

2. simulacra . . . auspiciorum: cf. 1, 105: religionis simulacra; N. D. 3, 9: sed neglegentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omissa veritas auspiciorum spele est, species: tantum retenta; Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2: πλὴν οἷον εἰκῶν τις αὐτῶ (i.e., augury) λάβεται; Mommesen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 79, and n. 1.

3. Q. FABI: Fabius seems to have been used, like John Doe, for purposes of illustration; cf. Fāt. 12: si enim est verum quod ia concipitur, 'si quis oriente Canicula natus est, in mari non moriatur,' illud quoque verum est, 'si Fabius oriente Cani-

3. in AVSPICIO ESSE: cf. Leg. 3, 43: est autem boni auguris meminisse se maximis rei publicae temporibus praesto esse debere, Iovisque optimo maximo se consiliarium augei administrum daum, ut sibi quos in auspicio esse iussisse; Rep. 2, 16: nam et ipse (sc. Romulus) . . . urbs conditini auspicio et omnibus publicis rebus instituendi qui sibi essent in auspiciis ex simulibus tribus singularis cooptavi augures; ad Att. 2, 12, 1: iurabo Cnaeum (sc. Pompeium) nostrum . . . mihi norasse se in auspicio fuisset; M. Messalla ap. Gell. 13, 15, 4: nos . . . veterem auctoriatem sumus secuti nque his comitiis in auspicio fuisse. Also Liv. 10, 40, 2-4: tertia vigilia noctis . . . Papi- rius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspicium mittit. nullum erat genus hominum in castris inactum cupiditate pugnae . . . is ardens omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intereantur pertem; nam cum pullo non pascerentur, pullarius auspicium meminir ausus tripudium solistum consulit numina- vit.

What type of person was in auspicio has been disputed. Cicero's statement is
respondet: AVDIVI. Hic apud maiores nostros adhibebatur peritus, nunc quilibet. Peritum autem esse necesse est eum qui silentium quid sit intellegat; id enim silentium dicimus in auspiciis quod omni vitio caret. 72. Hoc intellegere perfecti auguris est; illi autem qui in auspiciis adhibebatur, cum ita imperavit is qui auspicatur: DICITO, SI SILENTIVM ESSE VIDEBITVR, nec suspicat nec circumspicit; statim respondet silentium esse videri. Tum ille: DICITO, SI PASCENTVR.—PASCVNTVR.—

4. adhibebatur: tué, adhibebatur C.
5. si Eriag., Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heringia; om. C.

that in the old days it was one who was peritus but nunc quilibet, and Valetton (in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 409, n. 8) gives instances of men of various ranks who so served, and points out (op. cit. 414) that, since the observations were very time-consuming and, at the period of decline of real belief in the art, often involved no little fiction, it was convenient to have them entrusted to a hired underling (cf. 2, 74; Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2). That the peritus was originally a augur himself is the view of Bases (i.e.), who judges from the use of the name Fabi (see note on Q. FABI above) and from Cicero's words: hoc intellegere perfecti auguris est. For the opposite view, based upon such passages as Leg. 3, 43, see Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2336-2337; id., Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 529, n. 7.

1. peritus: cf. 1, 77.

2. silentium: cf. 1, 102, n. (faverent linguis); Fest. p. 348 M.: <silentio surgere . . . ai>l dici, ubi qui post medium <notem auspic>andi causa ex lectulo suo si <lens surr> exit et liberatus a lecto, in solitude <. . . se>delque (cf. p. 347 M.), ne quid eo tempore deictat, <cavens, donec s>e in lectum reposuit: hoc enim est <prope sil>entium, omnis vitii in auspiciis vacuitas; p. 351 M.: simissim in auspican4o significare ad Aetios Capito lactum et prosperum auspiciu4um: at silentium ubi duxtaxat vacat viatio. Igitur silentio surgere cum dicitur significat non interpellari quo minus rem gerat; Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 86, n. 1; Valetton in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 252-253; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Auspicium (1896), 2587.

3. viatio: cf. 1, 29, n. (vitio); 1, 33, n. (vitio); Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 531, and nn. 2-3.


4. auguris: cf. 1, 3, n. (augur).

5. DICITO: as in the second ritual clause (dicito, si pascentur), the future imperative is here employed with a subordinate clause in the future indicative; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 197.

5f. SI . . . VIDEBITVR: like si pascentur not indirect question. 'If there shall appear to be silence, then declare it.'

6. suspicat . . . circumspicit: combined in Tusc. 5, 71. This carelessness as to fact (cf. 2, 74, n. (ille renuentes)) in the making of observations led to actual falsification on the part of the pullarii (cf. 2, 74, n. (imperat pullario)), and the eventual shifting of responsibility for the outcome upon them; cf. Liv. 10, 40, 11; Val. Max. 7, 2, 5.


[468] 1. quae . . . ubi: cf. Rep. 2, 6, Ac. 1, 9 (and Reid's note). This question is probably not asked by the magistrate taking the auspices (whose actions were
Quae aves? Aut ubi? Attulit, inquit, in cavea pullos is qui ex eo ipso nominatur pullarius. Haec sunt igitur aves internuntiae Iovis! Quae pascantur necne quid refert? Nihil ad auspicia; sed quia cum pascuntur necesse est aliquid ex ore cadere et terram pavire (terripavium primo, post terripudium dictum est; hoc quidem iam tripudium dicitur)—cum igitur offa cecidit ex ore pulli tum auspicienti tripudium solistimum nuntiatur. XXXV. 73. Ergo hoc auspiciunm divini quicquam habere potest quod tam sit coactum et expressum? Quo antiquissimos augures non esse doubtless as perfunctory as those of the pullarius, but are an apostrophe of Cicero himself to the magistrates, designed to reveal the hollow mockery of the whole process. It is unnecessary with Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filolog, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 37) to emend to direct discourse (attuli). Cicero addresses the official and reports his reply, introduced by inquit, just as in 2, 109; N. D. 1, 87 (and other cases collected by Plasberg in his note on that passage).

1. in cavea, etc.: cf. 1, 27, n. (nescuse, etc.).

1f. is qui ... pullarius: Thoresen (l.c.; in his edition he brackets the words) regards this phrase as a gloss, the word pullarius havin been already used in 1, 77 (though not there defined). But the clause is rather unnecessarily long for a gloss of this sort, and without it a subject is surely needed for attuli, unless (1) we are to imagine the official as pointing to the pullarius, or (2) we emend attuli to attuli (see note on quae ... ubi above). If we retain the phrase there is a certain point in it; not only once was this forced form of auspices employed, but it is so customary that we have a regular functionary who gets from it a name pullarius.


2. haec, etc.: the contemptuous expression perhaps has a double sense: (1) the fact that the lowly chickens (cf. 2, 56: hic igitur per gallinas Iuppiter ... signum dabat) rather than the majestic eagle (cf. 1, 26, n. (aquilae); 1, 106, n. (hic Iovis)) should be the messenger of the supreme god; and (2) the present: inquiry of Carneades (cf. 1, 12, and n. (Iuppiterne)) whether the deity in any such mechanical manner as augury reveals his will to mankind.

2. internuntiae: is there perhaps a humorous comparison of these birds to carrier pigeons? Cf. Plin. N. H. 10, 110: quin et internuntiae in magnis rebus fuere (sc. columbae), epistulos adnecres eorum pedibus obsidione Muiimensi in castra consulnum Decumno Bruto mittente.

2. Iovis: the especial deity presiding over auspices; cf. 2, 78; Valet in Mnesomyne, 19 (1891), 409, and n. 1.

3. nihil ad: sc. pertinet; cf. Reid on Ac. 1, 15. The action of the chickens depends, not upon divine prompting, but upon their hunger (cf. 2, 73).

4. necesse est, etc.: cf. 1, 27, n. (nescesse, etc.), where the derivations that follow are discussed.

6. offa: cf. 1, 27, n. (offa); 2, 74.

6. tripudium: cf. 1, 27, n. (nescesse, etc.); Bücheler, Umbrica (1883), 69.

6. solistimum: cf. 1, 27, n. (nescesse, etc.); 1, 28, n. (solidum).


8. tam: the emendation of Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filolog, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 37-38) to fane is unnecessary.

8. coactum: cf. 1, 27, nn. (coactis; necesse, etc.).

usos argumento est quod decretum collegi vetus habemus omnem avem tripidium facere posse. Tum igitur esset auspícium (si modo esset ei liberum) se ostendisse; tum avis illa videri posset interpres et satelles Iovis; nunc vero inclusa in cave et fane enecta si in offam pulcis invadit et si alicuius ex eius ore cecidit, hoc tu auspícium aut hoc modo Romulum

1. collegii C (collegii A, colligii A'), volg. Millner.

I. decretum collegi: the decretum of the augurs are mentioned also in Leg. 2, 31: leges non iure sagratae (sc. quid religiosius quam) iollere, ut Titian decreto collegi, ut Livias consilio Philippis consultis et auguris? (and, in the same passage, the words: quid magnificiess quam posse decernere ut magistratus se abdicent consulis?); Liv. 4, 7, 3: augurum decreto perinde ac vitio creati honore abiere: Fest. p. 161 M.: pro collegio quidem augurum decretem est, etc.; cf. Regell, De Augurum publ. Libris, 1 (1878), 23; Wisowa in P.-W. s.v. augures (1896), 2323. Other priestly colleges also promulgated decreta (cf. Wisowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 395; 514), and, like the augurs (cf. de Dom. 39-40), responsa. May we perhaps consider this particular decreta the document referred to in the corrupt passage in 1, 28: quod autem scriptum habetis fuit (avi? or omni avi?) tripidium fieri?

II. omnem avem, etc.: cf. 1, 27, n. (necester, etc.); 2, 76; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 1, 398: multi iamen adserunt cumos inter augurales aves non inveniri neque augurulibus commentariis eorum nomen inlatum, sed in libris reconditis lectum esse posse quamlibet avem auspicium desistari, maxime quia non poscatur. hoc enim interest inter augurium et auspicium, quod augurium et petitur et certis avibus ostendiur, auspicium qualibet asi demonstratur et non petitur, etc.; Wisowa, op. cit. 530, n. 3. These references, however, apply to auspicio in general, and we are perhaps hardly justified in applying them to the type known as tripudia. For something connected with the wolf but corresponding somewhat to the tripudium from birds Wisowa, op. cit. 532, n. 5 cites Plin. N. H. 8, 83; cf. Valeton in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 211-215 (but Scaliger’s emendation of Fest. p. 297 M., which Valeton (p. 212, n. 7) accepts, is rather too daring to carry conviction).

3. se ostendisse: as Madvig (Opusc. acad. 2 ed. (1887), 497-498) points out, this infinitive is not to be joined with esset . . . liberum, but is the subject of the esset before auspicium (cf. Howard in Harvard Stud. in class. Philol. 1 (1890), 133), and it is unnecessary to emend, with Weidner (in Philologus, 38 (1879), 87), to auspicium, si, modo esset ei liberum, se ostendisset, tum, etc. But, by stressing the mere fact of a bird’s appearing—apart from any question of its eating—Cicero seems to disregard one of the essential elements of the tripudium (cf. the last note and that on 2, 72 (passentur)).

3. avis illa: cf. 1, 74, where it is used of the cock.

3. satelles Iovis: cf. 1. 106, and a. (Iovis . . . satelles); 2, 72; internumisse Iovis.

4. pultis: cf. 1, 72, n. (africa).

4. invadit: of greedy seizing of food also in N. D. 2, 124.


[470] 1. de caelo servare: cf. 1, 36, a. (servantes); 1, 107, 1, 130; de Dom. 40: tibi M. Bibulus quarenini s: de caelo servatae respondit; id. 39; de Har. Resp. 48; pro Sest. 78; 129; in Vat. 15; 17; de Prov. cons. 45; 46; Phil. 2, 81; 2, 83; Schol. Lucan. 1, 601: augur servare s. proprium augurum verbum cum de caelo servanti; Wisowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 533.
auspicari solitum putas? 74. Iam de caelo servare non ipsos censes solitos qui auspicabantur? Nunc imperant pullario; ille renuntiat. Fulmen sinistrum auspicium optumum habemus ad omnis res praeterquam ad comitia; quod quidem institutum rei publicae causa est, ut comitiorem vel in iudiciis populi vel in iure legum vel in creandis magistratibus principes civilitatis essent interpretes. At Ti. Gracchi litteris Scipio et Figulus consules, cum augures iudicassent eas vitio creatos esse, magistratu se abdi-

2. imperant pullario: cf. 1, 27, n. (necessae, etc.); Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2: τὰ τῶν ἄθρωτων τῆς ὄρθροντος μιαθὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑμναίων φιλοσφονίας ἀτράκτου ἀριστοπλούς μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστοπλού πρὸς τὴν ὑπόγειονν, καὶ, ἐν τῷ παρῳ τῆς callarion, Cic. Fam. 10, 12, 3: recitatis litteris oblivia religio Cornu est pulliorum adominiti non salis diligenter cum auspiciis operam dedisse.

2. ille renuntiat: the asydeton of this clause well represents the hurried and perfunctory character of the whole proceeding; cf. 2, 72, n. (suspicii . . . circumspicii).

2f. fulmen sinistrum: cf. 2, 43 n. (Iove tonante, etc.; optumum auspiciuim); 2, 82, n. (Ioveinum); Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. augures (1896), 2332; id., Relig. u. Cultus d. Römern, 2 ed. (1912), 533.


4f. comitiorum . . . interpretes: for the following story cf. 1, 33, n. (sriptum apud te) with the quotation of N. D. 2, 10-11, where the accout appears in detail. This phrase is part of the indignant question asked by Gracchus of the haruspices (N. D. 2, 11): an vos Tusci ac barbari auspiciorium p. R. ius tenesis et interpretes esse comitiorum poletis?

4. rei publicae causa, etc.: cf. 2, 28, n. (rei publicae causa, etc.); 2, 42, n. (Iove tonante, etc.); 2, 75.

5. iudiciis populi . . . iure legum . . . creandis magistratibus: cf. Valeton in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 219-233; also Cic. Leg. 2, 31: quid gravius quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur 'aiio die' dixerit quid magnificiennius quam posses decernere ut magistratu se addicere consulet quid religiosius quam cum populo, cum plebe agendi ius aut dare aut non dare? quid leges non iure rogatos tollere, etc.; 3, 10: omnes magistratos auspiciuim iudiciionquem habento . . . creatio magistratum, iudicia populi, iussa vetiia quem suffragio coasccerum, optumatibus noel, plebi libera sunt; 3, 11: qui agent auspicia servante, auguri publico parento.


7. augures iudicassent: as we learn from 1, 33 and N. D. 2, 10-11, the first declaration to this effect was made by the haruspices, but afterwards Gracchus wrote a letter to the college of augurs expressing his belief that, on account of a vitium in his procedure, vitio creatos consules esse augures rem ad senatum; senatus ut addicere consules; addicarum.

caverunt. Quis negat augurum disciplinam esse? Divinationem nego. At haruspices divini; quos cum Ti. Gracchus propter mortem repentinam eius qui in praerogativa referenda subito concidunt in senatum introdixisset, non iustum rogatorem fuisse dixerunt. 75. Primum vide ne in eum dixerint qui rogator centuriae fuisse; is enim erat mortuus; id autem sine divinatione coniectura poterant dicere. Deinde fortasse casu, qui nullo modo est ex hoc genere tollendus. Quid enim scire Etrusi haruspices aut de tabernaculo recte capto aut de pomeri iure potuerunt? Equidem

1. quis negat, etc.: cf. 1, 10, n. (ut et si divinatio sit).
2. at haruspices divini: Quintus in 1, 33 does not say precisely this, yet he remarks: quod scriptum apud te est de Ti. Graccho, nonne et augurum et haruspicum conprobat disciplinam? and in N. D. 2, 11, which he has clearly in mind, Balbus is made to draw from the incident the conclusion here suggested: magna augurum auctoritas; quid? haruspicum ars nonne divina?
3. eius qui, etc.: the primus rogator of N. D. 2, 10; cf. 1, 33, n. (rogatorem).
4. rogatorem: Hottinger thinks that Cicero intentionally omitted the modifying word comitiorum of 1, 33 and N. D. 2, 10 in order to make more plausible the ambiguity which he wished to attach to the word in the next sentence.
5. vide ne, etc.: cf. 2, 12, n. (vide, igitur, ne); and for the perfect subjunctive in this connection cf. Ac. 2, 92; Fin. 3, 10.
7. Etrusci haruspices: the professional jealousy of a Roman augur toward intrusions upon his native practices by rivals imported from Etruria is probably here to be seen; cf. 2, 74, n. (comitiorum . . . interpretis).
9. recte capto: as opposed to the tabernaculum viilo cepisset of 1, 33.
10. pomeri: cf. 1, 33, n. (pomerium); Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 528, n. 8, and works there cited.
11.  
12. praerogativa: sc. cenuria; cf. 2, 83. From 1, 103 we learn: praerogativa estiam maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt. Hence the sudden death of its reporting officer is an indication that the comitia are non iusta, and the argument of Marcus in the next sentence is beside the point.
adsentior C. Marcello potius quam App. Claudio, qui ambo mei collegae fuerunt, existimoque ius augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea rei publicae causa conservatum ac retentum.

XXXVI. 76. Sed de hoc loco plura in aliis, nunc hactenus. Externa enim auguria, quae sunt non tam artificiosa quam superstesiosa, videamus. Omnibus fere avibus utuntur, nos admodum paucis; alia illis sinistra sunt,

dius; M. Crasso; veram, etc.): 1, 31, n. (quis velerum scriptorum); 1, 46, n. (redeamus); 1, 105; 1, 132, n. (psychomantio); Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2849-2853, who emphasizes (2853) the religious character of Appius. A jest upon his augural practices is found in Varri. R. R. 3, 2, 2: ibi Appium Claudium augurum sedentem in subsidiis, ut consulti, quietus usus poposissent, esset praestum... ad quem cum accessissetis, Axius Appio subridentis, 'recipis nos,' inquit, 'in iuxum ornithonub, ubi sedes inter aves?'

As Wissowa points out (in P.-W. s.v. augures (1896), 2315), such a difference of opinion among augurs as to the significance of the art could not have arisen until the reality of the augural discipline had become no longer intelligible to the augurs themselves; cf. 1, 25, and n. (nunc... ignorantur).

1f. collegae fuerunt: the dates of cooptation of Marcellus and Appius are not known (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 365-366), but their membership in the college had overlapped that of Cicero, who was elected in 53; cf. 1, 105, n. (collegae tui). Cicero addresses ad Fam. 15, 8 to Marcello coniugali (i.e., his fellow-augur) in the autumn of 51, between which date and that of the writing of our work Marcellus seems to have died (cf. Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2733); Appius died, apparently, about 48 (Münzer, op. cit. 2853).

2. ius augurum: cf. 2, 70, and n. (ius augurium)

2. divinationis opinione: cf. N. D. 1, 29: deorum opinione. For this theory of divination cf. 2, 70.

3. constitutum... conservatum: cf. Rep. 2, 64.

4. loco: cf. 1, 7, n. (locus).

4. plura in aliis: usually taken as a reference to the De Auguris, for which cf. introd. p. 10, n. 13, and the works there cited. The expression in aliis is an unusual one; possibly libris may be supplied, though more likely Cicero is not thinking of any definite nouns.

4. nunc hactenus: cf. N. D. 1, 24 (and Mayor's note); Fin. 4, 80.

5. externa... videamus: cf. 1, 95.

5. artificiosa... superstesiosa: cf. 1, 84, n. (constituerunt... condiderunt).

alia nostris. Solebat ex me Deiotarus percontari nostri auguri disciplinam, ego ex illo sui. Di immortales! quantum differebat! Ut quaedam essent etiam contraria. Atque ille iis semper utebatur, nos, nisi dum a populo auspicia accepta habemus, quam multum iis utimur? Bellicam rem administrari maiores nostri nisi auspicio noluerunt; quam multi anni sunt cum bella a proconsulibus et a propraetoribus administrantur qui auspicia non habent! 77. Itaque nec amnis transeunt auspicio nec tripudio auspici

1. auspicii C. add.
4. iis vulg., Müller, his C.


1. Deiotarum: cf. 1, 26, and n. (Deiotarum); 2, 20; 2, 78; 2, 79.


2. quantum differebat: cf. 2, 28, n. (an haec . . . contulerunt); 2, 42; 2, 82.

3f. a populo auspicia: the auspices were divided into private (auspicia privata) and public (auspicia publica populi Romani), the latter of which were received from the people at election to office, as this passage states, and laid down (posita) at the end of one's term (cf. N. D. 2, 9: tum enim bella gerere nostri duces incipient cum auspicia posuerunt); cf. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 90, n. 1; Wissowa in P.-W. s. v. auspiciun (1896), 2582.

4. quam multum, etc.: the context indicates that Cicero is hardly speaking here of the decay of private augury (cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 386, and n. 7) but rather of the disuse of public auspices by those officials who, in the dangers of foreign wars, might be supposed to stand most in need of divine counsel; cf. N. D. 2, 9: itaque maximae rei publicae partes, in his bella quibus rei publicae salus contineatur, nullis auspiciis administratur; nulla peremnia servatur, nulla ex acuminibus, etc.

5. auspicio: cf. 1, 3, n. (auspicio . . . condidisse).

6. proconsulibus . . . propraetoribus: these compound forms are rare in Cicero (cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 11—whose suggestion that in our case the preposition a may be due to corruption would make the construction more difficult rather than less), and from various passages they have been removed by emendation, on the supposition that they are later modifications, yet cf. Phil. 14, 6: a consulibus et a propraeto; Peterson in Class. Quart. 4 (1910), 175 (who defends other cases).

For the matter here discussed see 1, 95, and nn. (nihili in bello, etc.; habente auspicio); Wissowa in P.-W. s. v. auspiciun (1896), 2583, who points out that this neglect of auspices became regular, in the late republic, because Sulla separated the provincial administration from the magistracies, and in the empire, when wars were conducted by imperial legates. In Leg. 3, 10 Cicero lays down the principle: omnes magistratus auspiciun judiciumque habento, but how widely he intended the term magistratus to apply is not clear.

7. amnis transeunt: cf. N. D. 2, 9: nulla peremnia servatur, nulla ex acuminibus; Fest. p. 157 M. (quoted below); p. 245 M.: peremine dictiur auspiciari qui ammen aut aquam quae ex sacro (ex agro suggested by Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 97, n. 1)
cantur. Ubi ergo avium divinatio? Quae, quoniam ab iis qui auspicia

18. Verba ubi ergo . . . esse sublata, quae in cod. verba augur optimus sequuntur, huc Modvigio austri transposuerunt Müller (Jahn. Jahrh. 89 (1864), 524-525), Thorsten. Skjæringa, ante verba itaque sec transposuit Porchhammer (Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 sér. 5 (1890), 36), Christi et Botleri menses recusant.

oritur auspicio transiti; p. 250 M.: l’etronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluent, quam magistratus auspice transeunt, cum in campo quid agere volum; quod genus auspici peremne vocatur (for the Peironia amnis cf. 1, 33, n. (scriptum apud le)); Valeton in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 209; Richter, Topogr. d. Stadl Rom, 2 ed. ‘1901), 225, and pl. 6; Domaszewski, Abb. sur röm. Relig. (1909), 217-220; Serv. Aen. 9, 24: augurium . . . fuerat consuetudo, ut si post acceptum augurium ad aquam venissent, inclinati aqua haurrient esinde et manibus et fuis precibus vola promitterent, ut visum perseveraret augurium, quod aquae intercessu disrumpiatur (and cf. Valeton, op. cit. 210, and n. 2, who well points out that from this statement we may conclude that auspicia peremnia were observed, not by all who crossed rivers, but only by those citizens, magistrates, or priests who had occasion to cross a river between the time of the taking of auspices and the action with reference to which those auspices were taken, as, for example, by magistrates waging war, who had taken their auspices from Rome and for whom it was clearly undesirable to have to return to Rome ad repetenda auspicia (Mommsen, op. cit. 1, 99-101). Mommsen (loc.) suggests that the custom may have arisen from the situation of Rome on the Tiber, the boundary of Latin and Etruscan territories, and that each crossing of this stream was an initial act of war, while Frothingham (in Am. Journ. of Arch. 16 (1912), 110) would find in the custom the cause of the failure early to combine within the limits of one city the settlements on the different hills of Rome (cf. Kuntze, Prolegom. sur Gesch. Rom’s (1882), 94). Bouché-Leclercq (Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 231, n.) holds Mommsen’s suggestion a superficial one and quotes Fest. p. 157 M.: manalis fons appellation ab auguribus putetur perennis, neque lamen spiciendum videtur, quia fumum id spiciatur quod sua sponte in annem inflat, and thinks that, as the Roman surveyors (whose art was closely allied to that of the augurs) did not attempt to project their lines across water-courses, so the augurs, not because water-courses ‘broke’ the continuity of auspices (as Servius says), but because they interrupted the continuity of the geometric figure of the templum, set these limits for practical reasons which their successors (in the time of Cicero) had forgotten, to the consequent neglect of the custom itself; cf. Kuntze, loc.

Others would attempt to compare the peremnia with the numerous sacrifices made by the Greeks and orienta’s at the crossings of rivers (διαβαρήμα—cf. Stephanus, Thes. Gr. s.v. διαβαρήμα; Hes. Op. 737-739; μηδὲ ποτ’ αλεάων ποσαμώ καλλιροσ ς χωρίς νοσήμα καθ’ την γ’ εἰς ιδών ἤ καλα κέδρα, / χεῖρες μυόμενος πολυναργ’ θαλαττή σεκαυρ; Hdt. 6, 76; 7, 54 (where the Hellespont is treated like a river, as by Alexander; cf. Arr. Anab. 1, 11, 6); 7, 113; 9, 36; Aesch. Sept. 378-379; Xen. Anab. 4, 3, 18; Arr. Anab. 4, 4, 3 (Curt. 7, 7, 21-29); 5, 3, 6; 5, 28, 4; 5, 29, 5; Theopomp. (? Hellen. (Oxyrhynch. Pap. 5, 159, lines 49-52); Diod. 2, 19, 10; Dion. Hal. 5, 28, 1; Tac. Ann. 6, 37, 2; Amm. Marc. 18, 7, 1; Stengel in Fleck. Jahrh. 37 (1891), 450-451; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 117). But although the purpose may possibly have been similar the methods there employed were so different as to vitiate the comparison. In the present passage, if we accept the emended order, the references of the preceding and following sentences, particularly the words ubi ergo avium divinatio, seem to imply that
nulla habent bella administrantur, ab urbanis retena videtur, a bellicis esse subjacta. Nam ex acuminibus quidem, quod totum auspicium militare

1. ab urbanis C. Christ. Beizer, ad urbanas res Müller, Theoren, Herinçon, in rebus urbanis Medivis.

Cicero supposed the peremnia to be dependent upon the observation of augural animals, Servius to the contrary. On the subject of the peremnia cf. also Regell in Fleck. Jahrb. 27 (1881), 625; Kuntze, op. cit. 92-98.


[474] 1. ubi ergo, etc.: the change of order indicated by Madvig and described in the critical note seems a necessary and easy way of restoring logical order to the illogical arrangement of the manuscripts.

I. urbanis . . . bellicis: cf. Òf, 1, 74; 1, 82.

1. urbanis: for the auspicia urbana cf. Wissowa, Röd. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 528. Emendation of ab urbanis seems unnecessary; the contrast between officials in the city and events in war, though not strictly logical, is easily understood (to take bellicis as a masculine substantive would require a better parallel than I have been able to find).

2. ex acuminibus: Mommsen (Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 cd. (1887), 87, n. 6) considered these among the auspicia impetrativa, regularly taken before the beginning of a battle. But he offers no suggestion of a method by which they could be so observed, and it seems much more likely, with most scholars (e.g., those cited by Martin in Rev. arch. 13 (1866), 172, n. 5; Martin himself leaves the question open), to take them as auspicia oblativa, of a type many times mentioned by ancient writers and falling under the category of the electric phenomenon of St. Elmo’s Fire; cf. 1, 75, n. (stellaeque); 1, 121, n. (capua arsisse); also the abundant illustrations collected by Martin, op. cit. 168-179 and Frazer on Paus. 2, 1, 9; cf. Stegmüller, Antike Aberglaube in modernen Aussereaktionen (1922), 31-32. The auspicia ex acuminibus are mentioned in N. D. 2, 9 (quoted in the note on annim transunt above); cf. Arnob. 2, 61: aut Maritiurn discriminem obeuntes spem proelii sumitis ex acuminibus auspiciati? Among the earliest references Mayor (on N. D. 2, 9) would class II. 10, 153-154: τήν δὲ χαλάδο / λάμψι φεύχω τι περίοτον Δώτ, 13, 245 (much more doubtful); 22, 317-320: οἱ δὲ λευκὰ . . . / κατορχον. . . / ὡς αλφαβητὰ ἁγιωτέρα, καλ δὲ 'Αρχιλαύνει πέλελε διδυμήν. For later instances cf. Bell. Afr. 47, 6: etadem nocte v legionum pilorum cumacta sua sponte asserunt; Dion. Hal. 5, 46: ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὸν οὐδὲν τις τοῖς ἐκείνοις ὀμβελοσίων φίλον ἀνήκατο, καὶ δὴ δόλῳ τοῦ στρατιτέχου τὸ σιλαγ ᾛς, διότερ ἄνα λευκωθάν, καὶ κυκλαδα τῇ μυκτῇ ἐν τούλῳ, ἐκ τούτων καταλαμβάνον τοῦ φάματος, διότερ οἱ τετρακεφαλοὶ ἀτραβάτοι καὶ τάσις ἀτραβάτων συμβασίλευον ἀν χαλάξων ᾖς, ὅλη γὰρ ἀναφαίων τὰς σωματιὰς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἐκεῖθερ οὖν ἢ πείχες τἀτο πυρὶ καὶ οἶδήν τι ὅνον ὅτι τῶν πυρὸς διαβαθμαται; Liv. 22, 1, 8: (sc. numidum est) in Sicilia militibus aliquo spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumventi vigiliis equiti scipione quem manu tenuerit arsisse; 33, 26, 8: ad Monetae duorum hastarum spicula asserunt; 43, 13, 6: Fregelius in demo L. Atrei hista, quam filio militi emeral, interiitius plus duas horas arsisse, ita ut nihil eius combureni ignis, dicebatur; Virg. Aen. 5, 525-527: namque volons liquidis in nubibus orsit harundo / signati vetem flamennus tensus recessit / consumpta in ventos; Sen. N. Q. 1, 1, 14: Gyllippo Syracusae petenti visa est stella super ipsam lanceam constississe. In Romanorum castris ordere visa sunt pilae, ignibus scilicet in illa delapsis qui sube fulminum modo ferire solent et arbusa; sed si minore vi utilius defluunt tantum et insidient, non ferunt nee vulnerant; Plin. N. H. 2, 101: existunt stellae et in
est, iam M. Marcellus ille quinquies consul totum omisit, idem imperator, idem augur optumus. Et quidem ille dicebat, si quando rem agere vellet, ne impeditur auspiciis, lectica operta facere iter se solere. Huic simile

1. quinquies consul: a.c. 222, 215 (reckoned with his consulships on account of his election, but he was not allowed to assume the office; cf. Liv. 27, 22, 1, 214, 210, 208; cf. Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2738–2753. The number of his five consulships was a matter of remark (id. 2753).

1f. idem imperator, idem augur: cf. ad Fam. 9, 2, 1: Caninius <tuus> idem et idem noster.

2. augur optumus: he is mentioned as an augur by Liv. 27, 36, 5; Plut. Marc. 2.

3. ne impeditur auspiciis: for, as Servius (Aen. 12, 259) remarks, in oblatibus auguris in postestate videmis et urum id ad se pertinere volis an refuset et abominetur (cf. 1, 103, n. (accipio ... omen) above); cf. Plin. N.H. 28, 17: haec saeis sini exemplis ut apparent ostentorum vires in nostra postestate esse ac prout quæque accepta sint iia valere, in augurum cereum disciplina constat neque diras neque ulla auspicia pertinere ad eos qui quamque rem ingendiens observaret se ca negauerint, quo munere divinæ indigentia maius nullum est; Cato ap. Fest. p. 234 M.: domi cum auspicamus honorem meum immortalium velim habuisse. serri, ancillae, si quis eorum sub centone crepuit, quod ege non sensi nullum mihi vixium facit. si cui ibidem servo aut ancillae dormienti event quod

[475] 2f. totum . . . totum: cf. 1, 3, n. (videretur); 1, 19, n. (stellanti); etc.

[475] 2. militare: contrasted with the urbanis above.


1. ille: cf. 1, 28, n. (ille sapiens).
est quod nos augures praeципimus, ne iuges auspicium obveniat, ut iumenta iubeant diiungeere. 78. Quid est aliu denni moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspiciun aut, si fiat, viderit?

XXXVII. Nam illud admodum ridiculum, quod negas Deiotarum auspiciorum quae sibi ad Pompeium profiscendi faciunt sint paenitere, quod sedem secutus amicitiamque populi Romani functus sit officio; antiquum enim sibi fuisse laudem et gloriam quam regnum et possessiones suas. Credo equidem, sed hoc nihil ad auspicia; nec enim ei cornix canere potuit recte eum facere, quod populi Romani libertatem defendere pararet; ipse hoc sentiebat, sicuti sensit. 79. Aves eventus significant aut adversus

8. equidem Medici, Christ, Boiier, Muller, Thorson, Hearinge, id quidem CO.

comitia prohibere solet ne is quidem mihil vitiwm facti; Aug. de Doct. Christ. 2, 24: illa signa, quibus perniciosa duemontum societas comparatur, pro culpue observatiónibus valenti, quod manifestissime ostendit ritus augurum, qui et antequam observet et posteaquam observata signa tenerint id agunt ne videant velut us ad quidam voces avium; quia nulla ista signa sunt, nisi consensus observantium accedat. It was this desire to avoid unfavorable omens that led to various customs of ceremonial silence (cf. 1, 102, n. (faverent linguist); Plin. N. H. 28, 11), the habit of rising in the dead of night to name a dictator (cf. Liv. 8, 23, 15-16), veiling at sacrifice (Virg. Aen. 3, 405-409), etc.

1. iuges auspiciium; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 104 M.; iuges auspicium est cum iunctum iumentum stercus faci; Schoel. Dan. Virg. Aen. 3, 537: sed multi de libris augurum tractam tradunt; iugitis enim dicetur augurium quod ex iunctum iumentum fiat. observatur enim, ne prodituro magistratu disiunctis bobus planctum obviam veniat (there seems to be some mistake in the passage, which states exactly the contrary of what Cicero says; perhaps (with Dacier in his edition of Festus (1700), 195) we should insert nisi before disiunctis, or should emend to disiunctis—the syllable in—being an easy paleographical omission after the preceding -ui). Regell (Comm. in Libr. augural. Frag. (1893), 18, n. 46) suggests in this connection that we should associate with this, as a technical augural expression, Paul. ex Fest. p. 113 M.: intuges boves, qui sub igo non suerint; also a couple of glosses (cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. 6, 610, s.v. iugitis oveiesenvymos). Cf. also the Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum in Concilio Lipinensi ann. 743 (Ducange, Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v. stercoraces): de auguris vel avium vel equorum vel boum stercoribus; and, for varied omens from excrement, Bourke, Scatologic Rites of all Nations (1891), 246-248; Thurston, Omens and Superstitions of southern India (1912), 58-59. On coincidence in such phenomena as that here noted cf. [Arist.] Prob. 7, 6: δει τι... δειν αφοριστα ιδωσιν, αφοριστ, και μαλλιστα τα αναγεγρα, κτλ.

2. Iove: cf. 2, 72, n. (Iovis).

41. negas Deiotarum, etc.: cf. 1, 27; acta si, here represents the stronger expression secunda evenerint of the first book, as amicitiam here corresponds to liberatem in the first case; laudem and regnum are also here expansions of the other passage.

8. nihil ad auspicia: cf. 1, 66, n. (minus ad); 2, 72; Reid on Ac. 1, 15; Parzinger, Beiträge zur Annahmen der Entwicklung des Cic. Stili (1910), 89-90.


10. sentiebat ... sensit: as Kühner-
aut secundos; virtutis auspiciis video esse usum Deiotarum, quae vetat spectare fortunam, dum praestetur fides. Aves vero si prosperos eventus ostenderunt certe fefellunt. Fugit e proelio cum Pompeio; grave tempus! Discissit ab eo; luctuosa res! Caesarem eodem tempore hostem et hospitem vidit; quid hoc tristius? Is cum ei Trocmorum tetrarchian eripuisset et adsculueo suo Pergameno nescio cui dedisset eidemque detraxisset

2. spectare Marsus edilusque, espectare C.
3. vero si prosperos Marsus edilusque, vero prosperos C.; sed inter has voces in B una ill. trasa est.
4. Trocmorum Diochaeus, Basler, Müller, Thoresen, Harring, trochamorun C, Trocmorum Duties, Christ.
5. cui dedisset uisig., Müller, qui dedisset A·B, quid dedisset A'W, qui uidisset B'.

Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 131, point out, the former verb refers to Deiotarus's own course of action, the latter to Cicero's judgment upon it.

1. virtutis auspiciis: explained more clearly below by the words a virtute ipsius, non ab auspiciis. Iortinus compares II. 12, 237-243: tation b' omoiotei tautereit pelethei/ peletheai, toin bi ti metaritikou olh alei/ alei/ et' eti dezi iowei prods h(h) t' helou te/ eti eti' aristera to te yiti zophon aretopa. / hmeis et megalou Diw pedalwma boulh/ eti peti beitousi kal 'anatousi anastas. / eti olovo erostos, analei eis kal' eros. Cicero is, of course, here meeting the Stooic upon his own ground, since Stociphilosophy constantly insisted upon the supremacy and the sufficiency (aorakam) of virtue over all other things (naturallly including all that fortune might offer); cf. the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations and Paradoxa Stoicorum, 16-18; 2, 2, n. (virtulem... conteniam) above; also Hor. Carm. 3, 2, 17-20; 3, 3, 1-8.

1. velit: it is undesirable, with Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 38; following the second hand of code B) to read velint, for auspicia may at one time forbid and at another command one to follow fortune (notice that the verb is present and hence general in meaning), but virtue would always, particularly in the Stocic creed which is here being appealed to, favor fides irrespective of fortune.

2. eventus: cf. 1, 74, n. (eventia) for the Carneadean argument against Stocic empiricism.

4. discussit: cf. pro Deiot. 13: utique Pharsalico proelio facto a Pompeio discussit: speram infinitam persequi noluit; vel officio, si quid debuerat, si errori, si quid nescierat, satis factum esse duxit; domum se contulit.

4. hostem et hospitem: cf. 1, 84, n. (constiterunt... considerunt); 2, 99, n. (natura futura). For the coupling of these words Allen compares Liv. 1, 58 8: qui hostis pro hospite (cf. Ov. Fast. 2, 787); Ov. Her. 17, 10. The occasion described was in 47 n.c., when Caesar came to his country; see note on Armeniam below.

4. hospitem: cf. pro Deiot. 8: per dezetram islam te (sc. Caesarem) ego, quam regi Deioiaro hospes hospiti forresisti... tu vexit hospitium renovare volusti. Phil. 2, 94: quis enim cuinam inimicier quam Deioiaro Caesar?... compellaret hospitem praesens, computat, pecuniam imperaret, in eius tetrarchia usum ex Gracie comitibus suis conficatrum; Armeniam abulare a senatu datam; in Boll. Alex. 68, 1 Caesar is described as making some concessions in the case of Deiotarus vetere hospito atque amicitias.

5. tristius: cf. 2, 24, n. (tristissimae).

5. Trocmorum; the eastern part of Galatia; cf. Liv. 38, 16, 11; Plin. N. H. 5, 146: qui parum eam insidere Gallorum Tolstobogii et Veturi et Ambitobii vocaverunt; qui Mazonici et Paphlogoniae regionem Trojmi... oppida Tectosagum Ancyra; Trocmorum Tavium, etc.; Strab. 4, p. 187; 12, p. 566; Steph. Byz. s.v. Tragmi; etc.

5. tetrarchian: for the form cf. 2, 59,
Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissimo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem. Sed labor longius; ad propositum revertar. Si eventa quaeque exquiruntur avibus nullo modo prospera Deiotaro; sin officia, a virtute ipsius, non ab auspiciis petita sunt. XXXVIII. 80. Omitte igitur litium Romuli, quem in maximo incendio negas potuisse comburi; contemne cotem Atti Navi. Nihil debet

n. (Politian). On the historical allusion see 1, 27, n. (a Caesare tetrarchia, etc.).

[478] 6. adseculae suo: Mithridates of Pergamum; cf. 1, 27, n. (a Caesare tetrarchia, etc.). In Bell. Alex. 78, 2–3 there is a less contemptuous account of him: Mithridaten Pergamenum . . . regio genere oratum, disciplinis etiam regis educatum . . . regem Bosphori constituit . . . eodem tetrarchiam Gallograecorium iure gentis et cognitionis adiudicavit occupatum et possessor pauis ante annis a Deiotaro; Dio Cass. 42, 48, 4 says: τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Πηγαμνης τετραρχην τε ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βασσαλεῖς δομοὶ ἔως; cf. also Strab. 13, p. 625.

[478] 6. nescio cui: contemptuous, as in 2, 9; 2, 94; 2, 113; 2, 134; de Am. 87.

1. Armeniam: Armenia Minor. For the facts see Niese in P.-W. s.v. Deiotaros (1901), 2401, and especially Bell. Alex. 67, 1: cum propius Pontum fiasse Gallograeciae accessisset, Deiotaros, tetrarches Gallograeciae tum quemdam paene iusius, quod ei neque legibus neque moribus concussum esse ceteri tetrarchae contendebanti, sine dubio autem rex Armeniae minoris ab senatu appellatus, deposite regis insignibus quodiam trium privato vestitu sed etsi sciem auctor habere supplex ad Caesarem venit oratum ut sibi ignoscet et quod in ea parte positis tertiarum quae nulla praesidia Caesaris habuisset exercitibus imperiosis <coactus> in Cn. Pompei castris fuisse.

1. magnificentissimo, etc.: cf. pro Deiot. 19: quo in loco Deiotarum talem erasce (sc. Caesarem) cognovisti quisque rex Attalos in P. Africanum fuit, cui magnificissimam dona . . . misit ex Asia, quae Africanus inspeciente exercitu accepit. Quod cum praesens Deiotaros regio animo et more facisset, tu in cubiculum discissisti.


3. labor longius: cf. Leg. 1, 52: quin labebor longius, nisi me reiunissem; pro Caecini. 101: non me praetuerit . . . me longius esse prolapsum quam ratio . . . pro situlavit.

5. ad propositum revertar: cf. Off. 2, 35; 3, 39; Tusc. 3, 11; also 1, 47 above.

5. omitte: cf. Ac. 1, 2; Leg. 3, 29.

5. litium Romuli: cf. 1, 30.

5. maximo incendio: the burning of the city by the Gauls. Most modern authorities (following Diod. 14, 115, 6–8; Liv. 5, 43, 1; Plut. Camill. 31; etc.; cf. Paris, Siaori di Roma, 1, 2 (1899), 54, n. 4) understand that the city was practically razed to the ground; Roberts (in Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome, 2 (1918), 55–65) argues, not entirely convincingly, that the damage was much less, and that many temples, in particular, escaped destruction. That is clearly not the view of Cicero, however, who would hardly have lost the opportunity of explaining the preservation of the itusus by the saving of the building in which it was deposited, had he possessed any ground for such an explanation.

6. contemne, etc.: cf. N.D. 3, 14: unde porro sitia divinatio, quis invenitthus siccoris contum notavi, quis sortis; quisbus ego credo, nec

2. augurii C, editoresque.

possim Atti Navi quem commemorabas litem comimmere, sed qui isint intellecta simi a philosophis debo discere, proeritum cum plurimis ex rebus divinis isti memtiantur—a passage obviously closely related to the present; cf. 1, 12, n. (Carnea-des) above; 1, 30, and n. (integer); 1, 31.

1. commenticiis: cf. 1, 68, n. (non commenticiam rem).

1. fabellis: often with an unfavorable meaning; cf. N.D. 1, 41; 3, 12, 3, 13; pro Caet. 64.

1. illud erat philosophi: cf. 2, 27, n. (philosophi, etc.).

2f. naturam ... inventionem ... constantiam: what is its nature (including both cause and function), how man discovered it, and whether it is unvaryingly true. The first two points are briefly discussed in the remainder of this section, the third in 2, 81–83.

3. quae est ... natura: cf. 2, 18; 2, 143; also 1, 12, n. (Iuppiterne); 1, 120, and n. (eademque).

5. cantu aut volatu: cf. 1, 120, and nn. (alites; oscines).

5. aliis a laeva, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (a laeva); Valeton in Memomyne, 17 (1889), 286, and n. 3.

6. ratum ... facere: cf. 1, 85, n. (faciet ratum); 2, 63.

6. quo modo, etc.: cf. 2, 28, n. (quam diurnum); N.D. 3, 14, quoted in note on continemne, etc. above.

7. tamen: for this use of the word cf. Mayor on N.D. 1, 101. Slater in Class. Rev. 37 (1923), 54 thinks tamen is meaningless and emends to Tagen, supposing exaratum puerum to be a marginal gloss, which, after the corruption of Tagen to tamen, crept into the text. This seems unnecessarily complicated, and I should retain tamen.

7. exaratum: cf. 2, 50–51.

8. auctorem disciplinae: for the phrase cf. Fin. 1, 29.

8b. aliquot annis: in 1, 31 the events relating to Attus Navius are set multi annis post Romulum Frisco regnante Tarquinio.

9. antiquior Romulus et Remus: for similar cases of agreement cf. Ans, Cicero Sprachgebrauch (1884), 10.


10. Pisidarum aut Cilicum aut Phrygum: cf. 1, 2; 1, 25; 1, 92; 1, 94; 1, 105.

10f. placet igitur ... habere: cf. N.D. 3, 11; Fin. 4, 50.


11. divinitatis: possibly chosen in
XXXIX. 81. At omnes reges, populi, nationes utuntur auspiciis. Quasi vero quicquam sit tam valde quam nihil sapere vulgare, aut quasi tibi ipsi in iudicando placeat multitudo! Quotus quisque est, qui voluptatem neget esse bonum? Plerique etiam summum bonum dicunt. Num igitur eorum frequentia Stoici de sententia deterren tur? Aut num plerisque

preference to divinationis in order to produce an homoeoteleuton with the contrasted humaniatis (cf. 1, 84, n. (constituerunt...condiderunt)). For divinitas in the sense of divination cf. 2, 119; Plin. N. H. 2, 149: quod si quis praedictum credat simul fata tatur necessese est maioris miraculi divinitatem Anasagoreauisse; Davies also cites Lact. Inst. 1, 11, 10: et primum imprudentia in eo non desi, cui nisi Themis futura disisset ipsis nescire; si autem divinus non sit ne deus quidem sit, unde ipsa divinitas nominatur, ut ab homine humanitas; 1, 13, 1; Serv. Georg. 2, 486: gloria medicinae est...minor quam divinidadis et augurandi, quae ei Apollo obtulerat munera; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 12, 394: sed ei eis hara et sagittae ares sunt, augurium vero munus; non enim sola arte verum ciem induit divinitate colgitatur. The adjective divinitus is more frequently used in this sense; cf. 2, 74, n. (al haruspices divini).

1. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).
2. omnes, etc.: cf. 1, 1, and n. (consensus); 1, 84.
3. populi, nationes: cf. 1, 84, and n. (populi...nationes).
4. quasi vero: cf. 2, 45, n. (quasi); 2, 59.

2. valde: this, of course, modifies vulgare, from which it is awkwardly separated by quam nihil sapere; the present order is perhaps due to the desire for a more effective clausula.

2f. quasi...placeat multitudo: in the eyes of the Stoic τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν (cf. Parod. 27; Tusc. 4, 54; S. V. F. 2, nos. 657-670), and the true philosopher is rarely or never found (cf. 2, 61, n. (apopien...fuisse)), hence judgments depending upon consensus (cf. 1, 1, n. (consensus)) the Stoic school should feel logically bound to reject; cf. N. D. 3, 11 (where see Mayor's note): placet igitur tantas res opinione stultorum indicari, vos (sc. Stoici) praestet qui illos insanos esse dicatis! The doctrine is also well set forth in Plat. Crit. p. 44 c: ἀλλὰ τι ἃν, ὡς μακάρις Κρήτης, ὅπως τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀόρητά μιᾶς; οὐ γὰρ εἰκοσάτωον, ἂν μᾶλλον ἄλλων φρονήσεως, ἥγησαν ἂν αὐτὰ ἢ περίπλοια δοκεῖ ἢ πραξῆς; and Allen cites the saying of Phocion as told by Plut. Reg. et Imp. Αροποθ. p. 187 f.

3f. voluptatem neget esse bonum: pleasure was regarded by Zeno among the indifferent things (Stob. Ecl. 2, p. 57 W. = S. V. F. 1, no. 190: ἀπλάσις δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ᾑδὲν θἀνατον, ἀδικίαν ἀδίκησιν, πλὸς ἄμην, κ.τ.λ.; Gall. 9, 5, 5: Zeno censuit voluptatem esse indifferentem, id est neutrum, neque bonum neque malum, quod ipse Graeco vocabulo ἀδιάθηρον apellavit), but other Stoics, probably in revolt from Epicurean views, went yet further; cf. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 11, 73: ὅτι τε ἄρχην ὅ μὲν ἐπικουρός ἤγιος εἶναι φήμα, ὃ δὲ εἰσὶν 'μανήσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρχην καὶ καλόν, οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ζωᾶς ἀπλάσιον καὶ οὐ προηγοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ Κλάδης μὲν μήτε κατὰ φῶς αὐτὴν εἶναι μήτε ἄλλον ἔχειν καὶ τὴν βλε... ὃ δὲ Ἀρκείνιος κατὰ φῶς μὲν εἶναι ὡς τῶν ἀμαχῶν τρίχας, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλου ἔχειν, Παλαιόρης δὲ τίνα μὲ κατὰ φῶς ἕκρηκεν, τίνα δὲ τὰ φῶνα; Arnold, Rom. Stoicism (191), 315-316. Cicero in this sentence is not implying the numerical superiority of the avowed adherents of Epicureanism over those of Stoicism (in 2, 150 he suggests that but for the criticism of Carneades Stoicism would have swept the whole philosophical world before it), but is contrasting the austere
in rebus sequitur eorum auctoritatem multitudo? Quid mirum igitur, si in auspiciis et in omni divinatione inbecilli animi superstitionis ista concipiant, verum dispierce non possint? 82. Quae autem est inter augures conveniens et coniuncta constantia? Ad nostri auguri consuetudinem dixit Ennius:

Tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena.

4. augurii Relq., M. Tulli auguris in A, auguris in B, auguris in B.

Stoic theory of the sumnum bonum with the natural inclinations and theories of the unphilosophical throng (multitudo), the more extremely hedonistic of whom — and not the Cyrenaics and Epicureans alone — are designated by the next sentence (plerique ... dicunt).

[481] St. num sequitur ... multitudo: even the most convinced Stoic would admit that, as he did not follow the ideals and practices of the multitude, so it did not adopt his (the truth humorously presented by Hor. Sat. 1, 3, 133-136), and an austere and independent attitude became the boast of the philosopher; cf. Arnold, op. cit. 356; 366.

1. quid mirum ... si: cf. 2, 114; etc.
2. inbecilli animi: cf. 2, 125: qui eam ... superstitionem inbecilli animi atque anillis putant; 2, 140.
2. superstitionis: cf. 1, 132; 2, 148.
3. disipere: for this word cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 61.
3. augures: in the wider application of the word; cf. 1, 3, n. (augur).
3. conveniens ... coniuncta ... constantia: note the emphatic repetition of the prefix; cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 17, 2: cohaerencia conexa consonatata.
4. constantia: cf. 2, 28, n. (an haec ... consulerunt); 2, 80, n. (naturam ... inventionem ... constantiam).
4. Ennius: cf. 1, 40, n. (apud Ennium). The line is Ann. 527 Vahlen, and was imitated by other writers; cf. Non. p. 408: Varro Endymionibus (Menipp. fr. 103 Büchelet), dum sermone censuram variarius, interea tonuit bene tempestate serena; Virg. Aen. 2, 693: ionuit laevum (and see the important note of Servius and the Scholia Danielis); 9, 630-631: caeli genitor de parte serena / ionuit laevum. We may also compare a line of Cicero’s Marius (1, 106 supra): postibus ionuit caeli pater ipse sinistris. Giese would take our line as describing the omen which confirmed the assumption of power by Romulus; if so it should belong to the first book of the Annales. Vahlen, however, does not attempt to place it at any definite point in that work.

5. laevum: for the accusative cf. Virg. Aen. 2, 693; 9, 631 (both quoted in the last note); Juv. 14, 295: aestuum tonal. The question of right and left in augury has been treated in part in 1, 12, n. (a laev.) and works there cited, to which add: Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 407-411; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 188, n. 5; Pottier in Médanges Boissier (1903), 405-413; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 525, and n. 2; also above, 1, 29, 1, 106; 1, 108; 2, 43; 2, 74, and n. (fulmen sinistrum); 2, 76, and n. (sinistra). For thunder on the left further compare Enn. Ann. 146 Vahlen: olim de cado laevum dedit inclytus signum; Ost. Fast. 4, 833-834: lonitura dedit omina laeco / Iupiter. et laeco fulmina missa polo; Dion. Hal. 2, 5, 2-3: ridentes et Romauios tēs et τῶν ἀστρων ἐπὶ tā δεξία ἀστρατά τι Ιουλιον, ete παρὰ Τυρηνοῖς διδασκόντες, ete πατέρων καθηγημένως κατά τοῦδε τῷ, ἢ ἐν τῆ χειρὸς, λεγομένοι, ἃν καθώρας μὲν οὐκ ὁπείρησα ἀστρα των ὁλων οὕτως μεταφορές ἀπὸ θείους πρὸς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ὕλης, λέον το γὰρ ἀπαθεῖν γίνονται καὶ ἀσφένη καὶ ἀστίρων ... τε τοῦ κόσμου περιορά ... τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἀντικόλως βλέ
povnones ἀστερὸς μὲν γίνεται ... τὸν ἀστέρων κατατρόπον μήτη, δεξία δὲ τὴν ... πρὸς τοὺς μεγαλίπτεροι φέροντα τιμόφερες δὲ τὴν κρά
tera τήθεους ἐνεαῖ τῶν ἀστέρων; 2, 5, 5: οὐ
At Homericus Aiax apud Achillem querens de ferocitate Trojanorum nescio quid hoc modo nuntiat:

Prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit.

δέ των ἰστορούμεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ πρὶς ἡ παρά Τυρρηνῶν μαθέτες τῶν Ἱπποδομων κρυγόνων αἰείν ἐνομίζοντο αὐ τ ἐκ τῶν ἀρωτρῶν ἀστρατεί. Ἀσκαρίς γὰρ ἡ τε ἔνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰτουμένως ϑεός αἰεία σημεῖα δοῦται τῆς ἐξόδου φασίν αἰθίας πάντα τῶν ἄρωτρων ἀστράπτει τῷ ὀψαννῷ (and see the long account of Plut. Quaest. Rom. 78, who quotes this among other reasons); Fest. p. 339 M.: sinistrae aest... Varro l. ii. V epistol. carorum quaestionum ait, 'a deorum sedecum in meridiem spectes, ad sinistrum sunt partes mundi exorientes, ad dexteram occidentes; factum arbitrari ut interlocutor auspiciu quam dextra esset existimatur' (cf. Varr. L. L. 7, 97); p. 351 M.: sinistram in auspice significare Aeius Capito laecetum et prosperum auspicium; Val. Max. 4. 7, 2: sinistri... auspicii; Plin. N. H. 2. 142: laena (sc. fulgeta) prospera existinmatur quoniam laesa parte mundi oritus est; Stat. Theob. 3. 493: signa feras laesusque tene; Lyd. de Osient. p. 56 W.: πάντα δι' θρόνη, καὶ τοῦτον αὑτὸν καὶ διήθηται μάλητα, σημαυνοῦσι τι, καὶ διαφθοράς <al> ἐκ τῶν ἀρωτρῶν μέρους τοῦ κόσμου; Serv. Aen. 2. 54: scendendum laecatum, cum de humanis rebus est, esse contrarium, cum de caelestibus prosperum, ut (Aen. 2. 693) inotinu laecetum, quia sinistra numinum inuenitae dextra sunt; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 2. 693: inotinu laecem sinistrum prosperum; quia caeleste est; quae enim nobis laeca sunt <caelestibus> dextra sunt... sinistras autem partes septentrionales esse augurum disciplina consentiit, et ideo ex ipsa pariae significatio esse fulmina quoniam alliora est, vicini- ora domicilii Iovis; 9, 628; Amm. Marc. 14. 11, 12: numine laeco (cf. 31, 4, 9); Claud. de VI Cons. Hon. 274-275; sinistris /ausguris, Arnobius (4. 5) argues against all such beliefs, for mundus ipsa per se sibi neque dexteram neque laenas neque superas neque imas neque anticas habit neque posticas (and cf. Ambros. Hexam. 5. 34); Dsagr. Gr. 339; Valeton in Mnemosyne, 17 (1889), 305-306.

[482] 5. bene: if this word be taken to modify serena (cf. the Greek έδος?) cf. Enn. Ann. 32: bene firmum; 234: bene scepie; Porphyr. ad Hor. Carm. 3. 24, 50: (sc. bene) pro valde positum; ut apud Ennium frequenter, Theol. Ling. Lat. s.v. bonus (bene), 2125-2126. But it is also possible to construe bene with ionuit, in the sense of 'favorably,' and it seems more likely that Cicero understood and quoted the passage with that meaning in view.


1. Homericus: cf. 1, 52, n. (Homeri- cum... versum).

1. Aiax: Cicero has here made a mistake, for the speaker is Odysseus (cf. Il. 9, 223—the mention of Aias in that line probably misled him). For similar slips cf. 1, 31, n. (Prisco... Tarquinius); 2, 63.


3. prospera, etc.: Il. 9, 236-237: ζηδε δέ σφι Κρονίδος κοιλία αἵματα δαφνων / ἀντράγγει. Cf. Rep. 6, 17: est hominum generi prosperis et salutoris ille fulgor qui dicilium Iovis.


[484] 1. nobis... Grauis... barbaria: on this three-fold division cf. 1, 47, n. (barbaris).
Ita nobis sinistra videntur, Graii et barbaris dextra meliora. Quamquam haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint; sed certe nostri sinistrum nominaverunt externique dextrum, quia plerumque id melius videbatur. 83. Haec quanta dissensio est! Quid quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis, aliter observant, alia respondent, non necesse est fateri partim horum errore suspectum esse, partim superstitione, multa fallendo?

XL. Atque his superstitionibus non dubitasti etiam omina adiungere. Aemilia Paulo, Persam perisse, quod pater omen accepit; Caecilia, se sororis filiae sedes suas tradere. Tam illa: favete linguis et praerogativam, omen comitiorum—hoc est ipsum esse contra se copiosum et disertum. Quando enim ista observans quieto et libero animo esse poteris, ut ad rem gerendam non superstitionem habeas, sed rationem dicum? Itane? Si quis alicquid

9. se sororis Civitii, Baier. Muller. Theuren, Heeringa; sororis AB, se soris B, sessoris BV.

1. Graii ... dextra meliora: cf. Xen. Cyrop. 7, 1, 3: "βρωτὴ δὲ λέγει ἐφιθησάτο δ' ἔσειν ἡγομένα σοι, ἤζε ἡμείς ὑποτεθῇ." (cf. Nic. Damasc. in Frag. Hist. Gr. 3, 405); Plut. de Gen. Sorci. 26: "κυρίος δ' ἡσσοτεθή δεξιῶν ἄνω βρωτῆς ... καὶ τὸ σημίταν ἔδειξεν καὶ πρὸς ἀσβάληκαν καὶ δεξιῶν; Paus. 4, 21, 7: καὶ ἡσσοτεθή γὰρ τοῦτον καθ' δεξιὰ, ἀκέφαλη ἢ εἰς μάκτις ὢν ἀλας εἰς τὸ σημίταν." For indications on the right other than thunder cf. II. 10, 274: δεξιῶν ..., κριάδων; 12, 239-240; Od. 15, 160; 15, 525; Eur. Phoen. 1189: δεξιῶν Δῶς πίτασ; Xen. Cyrop. 2, 1, 1: "ἄεδος δεξιῶν; Callim. 1, 68-69; "ηθήκα καὶ ἀκτίνων μὲν ἀκτίνων ἀκτίνων ἀκτίνων ἀκτίνων τεράτων, δ' ἡμικείσι φιλίας ἱβαίδεια φαύνοις; Epigr. 8, 3-4; Schol. A II. 12, 201: "ἀριστερὰ γαρ τεταρτά τα ἀκτίσεια, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ συντετειρα; id. 12, 239: "δεξιὰ μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἀνασάλας, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰς νακταῖς λέγει Ar. Med. Omistcr. 2, 36: "Ἰρὶ δεξιὰ μὲν ὄρμου ἄγαθο, ἐνόμωσι δὲ ποτηρία. δεξιὰς δὲ καὶ ἐνόμωσιν οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄρμον ὧν ὡτει, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἡλίον; C. I. L. IV. Suppl. 2, no. 4496 (from Pompeii and showing Greek influence): ἀμφίπολος δεξτρος felix; Prud. c. Symmack. 2, 493: omne dextro (cf. 2, 564); Valetton in Memesynoe, 17 (1889), 300-308; Pottier in Mélanges Boissier (1903), 405-413; also the works mentioned in 1, 12, n. (a laecu). In Apul. Met. 2, 14 and Paulin. Nol. Carm. 17, 184 dexter is apparently used in a favorable

sense, but perhaps with reference to direction.

6. non necesse est: cf. Fin. 5, 40.

6. partim ... errore: cf. 2, 113: partim flecta aperte, partim effusia semere. For the substantival use of partim cf. Fin. 3, 51; Tusc. 5, 38; Leg. 2, 42.

6. susceptum: cf. 1, 7; 2, 84.

6. omnia adiungere: cf. 1, 102.

Aemilia, etc.: cf. 1, 103, whereas she is called Tertia, her full name doubtless being Aemilia Tertia.

9. omen accepit: cf. 1, 103, n. (accipio ... omen).

10. Caecilia, etc.: 1, 104.


10. favor linguis, etc.: cf. 1, 102.

10. praerogativam: cf. 1, 103. The accusative is apparently the object of some verbal idea, recurring, perhaps, to adiungere above.

11. hoc est ipsum esse: cf. Ac. 2, 80: hoc est verum esse.


11. quando: for this word with the implication of 'never' cf. Parad. 44, and with the thought of the sentence cf. 2, 149-150, where, at greater length, Cicero
ex sua re atque ex suo sermone dixerit et eius verbum aliquod apte ceciderit
ad id quod ages aut cogitabis, ea res tibi aut timorem adferet aut alacritas
et? 84. Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisi inponeret, quidam in
portu caricas Cauno adventas vendens ‘Cauneas’ clamitabat. Dicamus,
si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum, caveret ne irtet; non fuisset periturum,

3. Brundisi AB, Brundisii V0, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Hoeringa.
4. adventas wäs, Müller, adventas C.

shows how superstition impedes the sober
use of the mind.

[484] 13f. si quis . . . dixerit . . . ea
res: on the syntax cf. Nutting in Univ.
of California Publ. in class. Philol. 7
(1922), 142, n. 34.

1. apte ceciderit: cf. 1, 34, n. (apte
cadant); also 1, 23, n. (casu).

3. M. Crassus: for the bad omens
to Crassus before he started on his expedition
to the east cf. 1, 29, n. (M. Crasso).
The following incident is doubtless alluded
to in 1, 30 in the words nisi cavisset.

3. Brundisi: on the embarkation
there cf. Plut. Crass. 17: ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὡς
Βρεταννίων ἔλθεν. Ἰτι δὴ ἀστατοςις χειμονεῖ τῆς
θαλάσσης ὡς περίμενε, ἀλλ’ ἄραχθη καὶ συνεῖ
τῶν πλοίων ἀπῆβα; Regling in Klis, 7
(1907), 364, who sets the date as 29 Dec.
(= 19 Nov.), 55 B.C.

4. caricas Cauno adventas: Caaria
was noted for its fôs (cf. Luc. Dial. Meteis.
14; Vit. Auct. 19), to such an
extent that the adjective carica is com-
only used for ‘fig,’ even for those coming
from other parts of the world, e.g., Plin.
N. H. 13, 51; for the trade in them see
Huhn-Schrader, Kulturpfansen u. Haus-
tiere, 8 ed. (1911), 97. It may be noted
that the modern botanical name of the
fig is Ficus carica L. The town of Caenus
in southern Caaria, in particular, was
much noted for its fruit (the abundance
of which, according to Strab. 14, p. 651,
rendered the place unhealthful), and of its
figs Athenaeus (3, p. 76a) remarks: δὲ
καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Κανονοῦ τῆς Καρίας ἐπαινεῖται
κοῦτων (i.e., is well known). They are
mentioned by Celsus (5, 21) as of medi-
cinal importance; by Columella 10, 414;

Petron. 44; Stat. Silv. 1, 16, 15; and by
Plin. N. H. 15, 83, in connection with
the present story: ex huc genere sunt . . .
cottone et carioae quaque conscendentis na-
verm adversus Porthos omen fecere M. Crasso,
venales praedictinis voce, cauneae.

4. Cauneae: sc. ficus vendo, or omite
(so Madvig; cf. Thoresen ad loc.). The
point of the story of course lies in the
similarity of the word to the phrase care
ne cas (cf. caret ne irtet below), as drawn
together in rapid speech. The confusion
of the two syllables -nês (this is probably a
substantively used adjective in -nes
rather than in -nes, and Latin rather than
Greek in formation; cf. Kühner-Holz-
weissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed.
(1912), 997) with an elided nê ets offers
no difficulty, but the identity or similarity of
cau- and ets has proved more trouble-
some to phoneticians. Lindsay (Latin
Lang. (1894), 169) holds that in ordinary
speech this verbal phrase was treated as
a word-complex with a single accent:
cau(-e)(-e) -cas (somewhat similar is the
assumption underlying Lachmann’s emen-
dation of the MS. reading causis to case
sis in Juv. 9, 120); in Class. Rev. 8 (1894),
158 he connects this sort of unconventional
pronunciation with the law of prosody
known as the brevis brevians, and cites
Quintil. 1, 6, 21 for the shortening of the
second syllable of ase (for such cases in
ase and case cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, op.
cit. 110-111), also Phaedr. A pp. 21, 1-10,
where the care of a crow is confused with
ase (in which we might perhaps find the
motsf for a story told by Macrob.
Sat. 2, 4, 29), etc. Birt (in Rhein, Mus.
61 (1898), Suppl. 25; 87; 137) asserts a
si omni paruiisset. Quae si suscipiamus, pedis offensio nobis et abruptio

syncope of care to cas before neas; Berge-
field (in Glossa, 7 (1915), 17) compares the
disappearance of the of care to the process
illustrated (id. 15) in the sequence *dē-
facere→dēfacere→ofacere, etc., and will
not admit exact equality of pronunciation
between casneas and care ne eos, but
only similarity. Cf. also Kühner-Holz-
weissig, op. cit. 85.

For somewhat similar omens cf.
Suet. Aug. 92, where it is stated that
Augustus would not begin any undertak-
ing on the Nones of the month: nihil
in hoc quidem alius devitans . . . quan
votumque nominis (i.e., Nonis suggests
non is); also the story of Mancinus setting
out for Spain and deterred by a vox
improviso audita (Obseq. 24; Liv. perioch.
55; Val. Max. 1, 6, 7): mane Mancine;
Inwards, Weather Lore, 3 ed. (1898), 170
(quoting Swainson): “the fishermen about
Finisterre say that if you hear the gulls
cry ‘care, care, care,’ it is time to wind up
(caretett) the lines, for there will be no
catch.”

1. suscipiamus: cf. 1, 7; 2, 83.

1. pedis offensio: it is probably to be
associated with the caducum auspicium
(cf. 1, 19, n. (concilid); 1, 77, n. (Totis
Storitis)), but it involves the additional
feature of motion, and was most signifi-
cant if one stumbled upon the threshold
when setting forth (or in the case of a bride
entering) upon some new undertaking, the
omen in this case being further much
complicated by the folk-beliefs attach-
ing to the threshold (cf. Samter, Geburt,
Hochzeit, u. Tod (1911), 136-146). To
the numerous cases of stumbling on thresh-
olds collected by Ogle (in Am. Journ. of
Philol. 32 (1911), 251-254 (stumbling
elsewhere than on the threshold he treats
on p. 252, n. 1) see also his note in Proc.
Am. philol. Assoc. 40 (1909), lxvi; Smith
on Tibull. 1, 3, 19-20) and others cited by
Bulenger (in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5
(1696), 439; 473-474) and McCartney (in
Class. Weekly, 13 (1920), 217) may be
added (without attempting to separate
cases of stumbling at a threshold): Eur.
I. A. 598-600; Liv. 8, 6, 2; Dion. Hal. 12,
16, 23; Plin. N. H. 2, 24: etiam para
dictu in auguris sternunen et offensio
pedum; Tac. Germ. 39; Dio Cass.
58, 5; 62, 22; perhaps Plut. de Stoic.
Respmn. 30; App. Syr. 56; Basil, Comm.
in Is. 2, 77 (Past. Gr. 30, 248 A): ενηαρ
τις, φρονι, ἵνα τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τῷ σημαίνο
κατόν μι τις ὁμοίως καὶ ἰμιδίως τοῦτο; δὲ
πῶς προείστωσεν ἐντοτοκεῖον νυκτὸς κοινθίας;
Amm. Marc. 22, 1, 2 (cf. 23, 1, 6).
Also cases in which stumbling was con-
verted to a good omen, as by Scipio (Front.
Strat. 1, 12, 1; Nepot. Epit. 7, 3);
Caesar (Suet. Iul. 59; Dio Cass. 42, 58, 3,
Frontin. Strat. 1, 12, 2), and William the
Conqueror (Knowlson, Origins of popular
Superstitions (1910), 164-165). For a
Semitic instance see 1 Chron. 13, 9 (cf.
2 Sam. 6, 6); for stumbling as an omen
among the Malays see Skeat, Malay
Magic (1900), 533; in India, Thurston,
Omens and Superst. of southern India
(1912), 22; in Pennsylvania, Fogel,
Beliefs and Superst. of the Pennsylvania
Germans (1915), 85. The horse of Mungo
Park is said to have stumbled at the start
of his expedition to Africa (Lockhart,
Life of Scott (1838), ch. 4).

Possibly in part connected with the
same idea is the custom of starting an
undertaking with the right, i.e., the aus-
picious) foot (cf. Ogle. op. cit. 254, n. 2,
and add Plin. N. H. 11, 253; Vitr. 3,
4, 4; Suid. s.v. πρῶτος ποδο) and that of
putting on the right shoe first (Ogle, i.e.,
Plin. N. H. 2, 24; Wagener, Pop. Assoc.
of Right and Left in Rom. Lit. (1912),
4243; and many modern instances).

11. abruptio corrigiae: cf. Menand:
Superstii. 109 Kock: ἀγαθὸν τι μοι γένοτο
πολιτίμων θεοί: ἵνα ὑποδομήσω τὸν ἱερὰ
τὸς δεῖδα (hence a lucky omen) / ἡμέρας
ἀναφερέται: Εἰ σεβᾶσθαι, δὲ φίλοθρευτε / οὐκ ἐκ
γάρ ᾧ, συ ὅ δὲ μικρόλογος ἄρ τι οὗ θλίψεως /
κανάς πελάσθαι; Varr. Mem. 257 Büche-
corrigiae et sternuntia erunt observanda.

ler: et cum corrigia disrupta est, enotare cum reliqua, pedem paenula scortea portare; Plin. N. H. 8, 221: mures . . . portendere . . . Carboi imperatoris apud Clusium fascis (sc. adrosis) quibus in cicatia utelata est illud; Joan. Saresb. Polirol. 2, 8: Marcus evangelizandi causa Alexandriae proficiscens cum navim egressus ruptisset calcem graias agens aequum expedient esse protestatus est; see also Is. 5, 27: "none shall be weary or stumble among them . . . neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken"; Just. Dial. cum Tryph. 131: οὐ καὶ οἱ μάται τῶν ἐπιθυμίων οὐκ ἔρρηται, οὔτε αὑτοὶ τὰ ἑπεξήματα τὴν αἰλασθή τῇ θεῷ; Theodoret. Gr. Affect. 6, p. 854: οὐ τῶν ἐπιθυμίων τοις δεμοίς οὐκ παλαιοῖς διαρρέεται, οὐχ οὐχ ἐρεμολόγους καλεύνω τι προαγορεύων; also the strange tale in Greg. Mag. Dial. 3, 20. For omens from the breaking of a shoestring in the Hebrides see Folk-Lore, 13 (1902), 50.

In the instances cited there seems to be inconsistency in the meaning of the breaking or loosing of the corrigia, some instances being lucky, others not. Frazer (Golden Beugh, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 306) points out that knots and fastenings in the garment, such as the girdle and the shoestring, apparently serve as protective amulets for travellers and hunters. The breaking of a corrigia would allow the sandal to fall off and thus unshoe the man when setting out upon a trip. For others, however, the loosening of any sort of knot in the clothing may typify the release of the soul of the wearer from some spiritual compulsion and so be a favorable omen (cf. John of Salisbury, as quoted above; Frazer, op. cit. 3, 313). Thus the loosing of the shoe-latchet of the bridegroom is still in places regarded as an important marriage custom (Frazer, op. cit. 3, 300; and, for the magic significance of going barefoot and the avoidance of bonds of all kinds, the large collections of Heckenbach, De Nuditate sacra sacrisque Vinculis (in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 9, 3 (1911), passim)).

1. sternuntia: the ominous character of sneezing (a division of the form of divination known as ἀναμοῖρος; cf. 1, 6, n. (Posidonius); Diels in Abh. d. kgl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berl. Phil.-hist. Kl. 1907 (1908), 1-130, especially p. 10 for Cicero's neglect of this type of the present treatise, perhaps an account of its plebeian character), as I have attempted to show (in Class. Philol. 6 (1911), 429-443), is due to a belief, often probably not clearly realized, that the sneeze is the revelation of a demonic power temporarily, at least, resident in the sneezer (cf. Orig. c. Cels. 4, 94). The superstition is a very ancient one, continuing from Homer (Od. 17, 539-547) to the present day, and of wide geographical extension. Ancient passages in addition to those noted in the article cited are: Hippocr. Prog. vol. 1, p. 103 Kühn; Apul. Met. 9, 25; Solin. 1, 62; [Aug.] Serm. 278, 1 (Patr. Lat. 39, 2269); Apostol. 3, 64c (Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 303); Georg. Monach. Chron. 2, 60; Nonn. Dionys. 7, 107; Schol. Theocr. 7, 96; Joan. Saresb. Polirol. 2, 1; also 2 Kings, 5, 35. Additional treatises are the following: Niphus in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 329-330; 349-450; Bulenger in the same collection, 5, 454-458; Potter in Gronovius, Thes. Antiq. 12 (1702), 327-329; Ludwig, Omina caute observanda (1747), 120-123; Wilkins ed. of Browne, Pseudodoxia epidemic, 1 (1852), 410-413; Hare, Cities of S. Italy and Sicily (1883), 9; Lawrence, Magic of the Horseshoe (1898), 206-238; the work of Schadee cited in Arch. f. Religionswiss. 7 (1904), 501; Diels, op. cit. 12, n. 6; Knowlson, Origins of pop. Superst. (1910), 174-179; Henderson, Survivals of Belief among the Celts (1911), 21-22; Shearin in Journ. of Am. Folklore, 24 (1911), 320; Steinhauser, Der Propigieglauge u. das Propigienwesen der Gr. (1911), 14, n.; Doucté, cited in Arch. f. Religionswiss. 15 (1912), 502; Thurston, Omens and Superst. of southern
XLI. 85. Sortes restant et Chaldæi, ut ad vates veniamus et ad somniā. Dicendum igitur putas de sortibus? Quid enim sors est? Idem prope modum quod micare, quod talos iacere, quod tesseras, quibus in rebus temeritas et casus, non ratio nec consilium valet. Tota res est inventa

India (1912), 16; 25; Wyss in Schweiz. Volkst. 2 (1912), 20-21; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 178-180; Toy, Intr. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 416, n. (with a different explanation from mine); Davis in Journ. of Am. Folklore, 27 (1914), 248, and n. 1; Fogel, Beliefs and Superst. of the Pennsylvania Germans (1915), 81; 83; 124; Lasch in Arch. f. Religionswiss. 18 (1915), 592; MacCulloch in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 9 (1917), 398; Wallis in Scientific Monthly, 9 (1919), 526-538; Stempler in Neue Jahrh. 47 (1920), 35-36; id., Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen (1922), 25-26.

3. ut...veniamus: Thoresen well compares Madvig, Adv. crit. 2 (1873), 477 for parallel uses.
6. sors: cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium).

3. micare: the game of chance known as micare digitis, the modern Italian morra. For descriptions see Bulenger in Gronovius, Thes. Antiq. 7 (1699), 912; Sandfleibis in the same collection, 7, 1206-1207; Jahn in Annali dell' Instit. 38 (1866), 326-329, and plates U, V; Heydemann in Arch. Zeitung, 29 (1871), 151-156; de Fouquières, Les Jeux des Anciens (1873), 290-294; Marquardt, Privatleben der Römer, 1, 2 ed. (1886), 836; Marindin in Smith, Dic. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. 2, 3 ed. (1891), 171; Lafaye in Daremberg et Saglio, Dic. des Antiq. 3 (1904), 1889-1890, s.v. micatio; Rankin on Suet. Aug. 13. Two players facing one another raised at a given signal fingers of the right hand, varying each time the number of those stretched out at full length, and each at the same time called out the total number of fingers raised by himself and his opponent, the winner being the one who guessed correctly. The game, consequently, was largely a matter of chance, as is recognized by Cicero here and in Off. 3, 90: nullum erit certamen, sed quas sortes aut micando vic tus alcri cedat alter; cf. Non. p. 347 M.: micare est sortiri digitis; Ptolemy, Cherm. p. 57 B: ἡ βίβλιον πρώτης ἱππούς τὸν δίδακτον κήλημα, σαλ α' ἱππότων κηλήθη; and the equation with the Greek μαίξισι (Corr. Gloss. Lat. 2, 359, 2; λαχύσα βασικό μικέτιο; other passages in Lafaye, op. cit. 1889, n. 1. The game gave much opportunity for cheating, hence, to ensure simultaneous movement, the holding in the left hands of the players of the two ends of a stick, also the proverbial expression (Off. 3, 77): dignum esse dictum, quicum in senesbris mices; cf. Fin. 2, 52, and other cases in Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer (1890), 221-222.

3. talos: cf. 1, 23, and n. (quallwor tali), to which add articles in Gronovius, Thes. Antiq. 7 (1699), by Bulenger (940-934), Souter (1099-1096), Senfleibis (1131-1212), and Calcinagnus (1215-1231).

3. tesseras: these differed from tali in that they were cubes of ivory, bone, or wood, with numbers on six (rather than on four) sides. For their use cf. Calcinagnus, op. cit. 1215-1229; de Fouquières, Les Jeux des Anciens (1873), 302-324; Yates and Wayte in Smith, Dic. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. 2, 3 ed. (1891), 799; Lafaye in Daremberg et Saglio, Dic. des Antiq. 5, 125-1259, s.v. tessera.

4. temeritas, etc.: cf. N. D. 2, 43 nihil est enim quod ratione et numero moveri possit sine consilio—in quo nihil est temerarius, nihil varium, nihil fortium; 2, 56; Rep. 1, 60 (where consilium and temeritas are contrasted); Tusc. 2, 47: ut ratio coerced temeritas; de Am. 20
fallaciis aut ad quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errorem. Atque, ut in haruspicina fecimus, sic videamus clarissimarum sortium quae tradatur inventio. Numerium Suffustum Praenestinorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem, somnii crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterrimum visis iridentibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est

3. Suffustum \\textit{vulg.}, \textit{Müller suffusium V}, \\textit{Suffucium Laminus, O.}


1. quaestum \ldots superstitionem \ldots errorem: cf. 2, 83: errore \ldots superstitione \ldots fallendo; with ad superstitionem Thoresen compares 2, 70: \textit{ad opinione tem suigi}.

1. \textit{ad quaestum:} cf. 1, 88, n. (qui \ldots quaestus causa); 1, 132, n. (ab iis drachu- mum).

2. fecimus: 2, 50-51.

2. clarissimarum sortium: on Italic centres of sortilege cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium).

3. Numerium: on the form of the name cf. Schulze, \textit{Zur Gesch. lat. Eigen- namen} (1904), 164; 198; for its Samnite origin see Fest. p. 70 M. It appears at Praeneste on the famous \textit{fibula Praenestina} (C. I. L. XIV, 4123 = Dessau 8561): \textit{Manios mde the fhaked Numansio}; also in C. I. L. XIV, 2863 (= Dessau 3684): \textit{Orcenias Numeri, etc.} (the rest quoted in note on colitur a mairibus below). Dessau (in \textit{Hermes}, 19 (1884), 455, n. 1) cannot decide whether, in the latter inscription, \textit{Numerius} is a praenomen or a nomen (as it sometimes appears); on the \textit{fibula Praene- stina}, contrasted with \textit{Manios}, it appears to be a praenomen, and certainly so in our passage.

3. Suffustum: apparently not occurring elsewhere, but, in spite of the reading of codex \textit{V}, probably not to be emended to \textit{Suffucium} (with which cf. \textit{Sufficius}; Schulze, \textit{op. cit.} 239; 428; 518, n. 1).

3. monumenta: probably written memorials, but possibly inscriptions, which Cicero may himself have seen at the actual site of the \textit{locus saeptus}.


4. somnii crebris: on repeated dreams cf. 1, 54 n. (semel \ldots iterumque neglexit).


7. in robore: for \textit{robur} as applied to the wood of all sorts of oak cf. Olch in \textit{P.-W. s.v. Eiche} (1905), 2048; 2055-2058. Wagler (in \textit{Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol.} 13, 2 (1891), 34-35) notes that the fact that these lots are on oak wood is not due to mere chance, but to the same association of prophetic power with that tree which is to be seen in the rites at Dodona (cf. 1, 3, n. (Dodona) above) and in the oracle of Mars at Tiora (Wagler, \textit{op. cit.} 23); cf. also Cook in \textit{Class. Rev.} 17 (1903), 421; \textit{id. in Folk-Lore}, 16 (1905), 284-285; Olch, \textit{op. cit.} 2051-2052. Plaut. \textit{Cas.} 384 mentions sortes of poplar or fir wood.

7. priscarum litterarum: for the archaic alphabet cf. Cagnat, \textit{Cours d’Épi- graphie lat.} 4 cd. (1914), 1-4; Sandys, \textit{Latin Epigraphy} (1919), 37 f.; examples will be found in Ritschl, \textit{Prisciae Latinisatis Monum. epigr.} (1862). Cf. also Marucchi in \textit{Bull. d. Comm. arch. comun.} 41 (1913), 27, who judges from the expression \textit{nolis} that the \textit{sortes} may not have contained entire words (cf. the \textit{notae Tironianae}), but small units which had later to be grouped in order.
hodie locus saeptus religiosae propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum


1. Iovis pueri: sc. adem or sacellum; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 232; also Vaglieri, op. cit. 260, n. 79.

The passage which follows, though reasonably clear if we had only Cicero’s statement, becomes by comparison with other documents a matter of great perplexity and subject to diverse interpretations. In the first place there was apparently worshipped at this shrine or temple a triad consisting, like the Capitoline trinity, of one male and two female deities (cf. Marucchi, op. cit. 28), which Degering (in Götting. Nachrichten, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1897, 154, n. 2) and Thulin (in Rhein. Mus. 60 (1905), 260) compare also with other Italic-Etruscan triads (cf. Usener, Dreitheit (1903), 29-31).

Of this trinity the elder figure is Fortuna, commonly known by the epithet Primigenia, appearing in many Praenestine dedications (C. I. L. XIV, 2849-2888; 3003; cf. Dessau upon them (XIV, pp. 295-296); also C. I. L. 1, p. 235). Since the time of Jordan (Symbola ad Hist. Relig. Ital. alienae (1885); cf. Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpr. (1920), 64) Primigenia has been commonly taken as passive, meaning ‘first-born,’ but, as Fowler (op. cit. 64-70; reversing his view expressed in Rom. Ideas of Deity (1914), 63) well remarks, the best evidence from other instances of primigenius points toward ‘natural’ or ‘original’ as the proper meaning. Similarly Fernique (Étude sur Prineste (1880), 78) had held Fortuna Primigenia to be, so to speak, a primary divinity who had given birth to all the others, even the mightiest, such as Jupiter and Juno, in origin, then, a goddess-mother, a nurturing divinity. That the Roman- were themselves in doubt is perhaps to be judged from Plut. Quaest. Rom. 107: διὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίαν τίχεναν σεῖται Πριμιγένειαν, ἢν ἤτοι τίς εἶναι πρωτεύον; Vaglieri, op. cit. 256, n. 70, cites instances of the worship of Τύχη Πρωτεύον at Itanos in Crete and at Delos, and Wisowa, Relig. u. Kultur d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 260, n. 3, admits this possible connection; the collocation in Dittenberger, Oriente. Gr. no. 119 of Zeus Ζωτός and Τύχη Πρωτεύον suggests that of Jupiter and Fortuna Primigenia; that in Dittenberger, Synngle, 2 ed. no. 765 (Delos) of Isis and Τύχη Πρωτεύον recalls the possible conflation of these two at Praeneste, cf. C. I. L. XIV, 2867; Peter, op. cit. 1530-1533; Otto in P.-W. s.v. Fortuna (1910), 26-27, but, despite the additional equating in Corp. Gloss. Lat. 3, 291, 12 of τύχη πρωτεύον and fortuna primigenia, these instances appear to cast no light on the cult at Praeneste. Plutarch, i.e., continues: δὲ ἦν Σερεών κατὰ τίχην, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ θεραπείας ἡμειώθη και Βασιλείας τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιφάνεως ὑπηρέτου (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκλήσατο) ἦ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τῆς Ῥώμης ἡ τίχη παρέχει τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν; ὁ μεταστρέφει χεῖρι λόγον τῇ πράγμα καὶ φιλοσόφοις, ὡς τὴν τίχην κάτων οὔσαις ἀρχήν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τίχην συνεσταφάμεν, διὸν τινῶν ὧν ἴχνη καὶ ἄκοπών τέχνης ἐγγύτατα. Yet more important, Cicero’s own explanation (Leg. 2, 28) is clearly expressed and favors the active meaning of the compound: Fortunae sic vel Atiusco die (nam ego in omnes die) vel Respiciens ad opem ferendam vel Fors, in quo incerti casus significentur magis vel Primigenia a gigendo comes (and cf. the parallels in the excellent note in Vahlen’s 2 ed. of the De Legibus (1883), 107-108), but the expression a gigendo seems to point definitely to an active rather than a passive meaning; cf. Fowler, Rom. Essays and Interpr. (1920), 69.

The second member of the group is Iuppiter puer. Here a point of contact must be sought, not so much with the
Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam adpetens castissime colitur a


Wissowa (op. cit. 260) suggests that from a misunderstanding of the inscriptions Fortuna Iovis puer primigenia (C. I. L XIV, 2862 = Dessau 3685; cf. 2868 = Dessau 3686), in which puer is an archaic equivalent of puella (a usage occasionally appearing; cf. Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 137, n.; Otto in P.-W. s.v. Fortuna (1910), 24; Fowler, op. cit. 67), came an interpretation which set up a Juppiter puer. This explanation, though not an impossible one if based on some hypothetical inscription not preserved to us, is an unlikely one if derived solely from those extant, for in 2862 the words Iovis puer do not agree and appear between a divided Fortuna . . . Primigeniae, while in 2868 (Fortunae Iovis puer), where the word order does not prevent, the cases are not favorable to the theory (for doubts, however, attaching to the proper reading of this inscription cf. Peter in Roscher, Ausf. Lexikon, s.v. Fortuna (1886), 1542; Otto, loc.). More striking than these inscriptions is the more archaic no. 2863 (= Dessau 3646) which refers to Fortuna Diovo fílea Primigenia. Fowler (loc.) notes the remarkable fact that this older inscription uses the familiar word fílea while the two later employ the archaic (or archaistic?) use of puer. It should be stated in passing that indications of filiation, according to some scholars, do not appear elsewhere among native Italic divinities, except under Greek influence; cf. Vaglieri, op. cit. 275, n. 72; Fowler ap. Farnell in Hibbert Journ. 4 (1906), 932; id., Roman Essays and Interpr. (1920), 68; but for the contrary view, developed at some length, see Frazer, Golden Bough, 6, 3 ed. (1914), 230-236.

How to reconcile the Fortuna of Cicero, who appears as the mother, or at least the nurse, of Jupiter and Juno, with Fortuna as the daughter of Jupiter is the most puzzling point in the whole question. The situation is like that in Dante, Parad. 33, 1 (Virgine madre, figlia del tuo Figlio), but without the same method of explanation. The view of Mommsen (ap. Dessau in Hermes, 19 (1884), 454-455) that Juppiter and Juppiter puer are distinct deities cannot be accepted; cf. Peter, op. cit. 1544; Otto, op. cit. 24. Fowler (loc.) assumes a misinterpretation by Praenestine worshippers of statues and inscriptions already existing, though he offers no such definite suggestion as Wissowa (see above), and not dissimilar seems the view of Fernique (loc.). But there were many Fortunae in Latium, as Fowler admits (cf. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 74; de Fort. Rom. 10; Peter, op. cit. 1511-1529; Carter in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 31 (1900), 61-68), and it may be that in Fortune of Praeneste we have, not an originally unified cult, but, as Vaglieri (op. cit. 257, n. 72) and Thulin (in Rhein. Mus. 60 (1905), 260-261) suggest, a syncretism of two separate elements. Thulin would assume that there were two Etruscan goddesses of fate: tebām (corresponding to Minerva) the mother of tīna (Jupiter) and uni (Juno), and cīlens (corresponding to Favores), the children of tīna (Jupiter), and that at Praeneste both were represented by Fortuna; but Otto (loc.) is probably right in not accepting this view. Thulin's theory would give a trinity corresponding exactly in personnel, though not in order of rank, to the Capitoline triad. Meister (Lateinisch-griech. Eigennamen, 1 (1916), 115)
matribus. 86. Eodemque tempore, in eo loco ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes,

1. est Klato et Madris, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, sita C, sita uit Piheus, sita est Mursu, O sita aedes est Lambinus.

compares the numerous Umbrian names of deities in which the epithet Ionius appears, and conjectures that originally there was worshipped at Praeneste a Fortuna Iovia, who under Greek or Greco-Etruscan influence was transmuted into a Iois filia. This Hellenizing influence he sees not only in the cult statue as described by Cicero but also in the form of her epithet (at first Primigenia, later Primigenia), which betrays both by the connecting vowel and also by the formation of the second member a late imitation of Greek methods of word composition.

The third member of the group is Juno. C. I. L. XIV, 2867 (from Praeneste) speaks of the Iunonisium, which may be a cela devoted to her worship (cf. Peter, op. cit. 1544), or even an entire temple, which Marucchi (op. cit. 30) thinks may have corresponded in position to the modern cathedral. Of further interest is an inscription found near the Porta del Sole in Praeneste and published by Marucchi (op. cit. 22-30), which names Iuno Palasichoria, whom Marucchi connects with this cult, and the strange epithet of whom he would derive from παλαιός-παλαιχός, 'Giunone la quale presiedeva alla operazione di mettere in serie i tesselli delle sorti' (id. 27; but for a very different explanation of the name see Whatmough in Class. Quart. 17 (1922), 190).

One further view of the relationship of this triad merits notice, namely, that of Cook (in Folk-Lore, 16 (1905), 296-297), who notes (1) the identity at times existing between Iuppiter and genius (e.g., Aug. C. D. 7, 13: quid est genus? Deus, inquit, qui praeposuit est ac sim habet omnium rerum gignendarum ... hic est igitur quem appellani Iovem; this is not to be confused with the genius Iois; cf. Wissowa, op. cit. 180, n. 11); (2) the fact that the name for the genius of a woman is Juno (Wissowa, op. cit. 175, n. 4; 152-183); and (3) that the third member, by her name, Primigenia, seems to be connected with the same birth-process. He accordingly interprets her epithet to mean 'first of the genii or birth-gods,' and explains the infants Jupiter and Juno on her lap as the typical male and female genii (further pointing out the frequent coupling of Fortuna and genus in inscriptions; cf. Peter, op. cit. 1522-1523). With this theory compare that of Mackail (ap. Fowler, op. cit. 69): 'Fortuna primigenia would be the power which determines the whole movement of any life from its outset.' The appropriateness of such an interpretation in the case of a divinity worshipped, like this one, by mothers (doubtless in connection with childbirth—castissime colitur a matribus), is obvious.

[490] 1. lactens: cf. 26, 47. Rath and other editors take the word in a substantial sense, to avoid tautology with mammam adpes below. Giese considered the whole passage is est ... naius as a later addition, and Thoresen goes so far as to bracket it because of the succession of participles without connec- tives (lactens ... sedens ... adpes). Ernesti, Hottinger, and Baiter have, partly for the same reason, bracketed lactens and thereby reduced the number of participles to two (with which cf. in Cai, 3, 19: Romulus quem inaeratrum in Capitolo portum alque lactantem uberibus lupis inhaerentiam suisse meminisset), while Kayser inserted et before mammam. I cannot agree with Giese that the examples of such asyndetion between participles which Wopkens has collected (Lection. Tull. 2 ed. (1829), 193-196) are not to the point, and I should retain the manuscript tradition.

[491] 1. in gremio sedens, etc.: Fernique (op. cit. 214, no. 240) mentions two tera-
mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam eoque conditas

1. nobilitate Eriang., Christi, Eisler, Mülle, Thorsen, Heeringa, nobilitatem C.

cotta figurines from Praeneste in the Barberini collection representing a woman seated and nursing an infant, and states that similar ones have been found at Capua and Paestum. For various other supposed representations of this cult, some of them doubtless votives offered to the goddess, cf. Peter, op. cit. 1543; Otto, op. cit. 25. The work of Snijder, De Forma Materis cum Infante sedentis apud Antiquos (1920) has not been accessible to me; cf. Reinach in Rev. arch. 13 (1921), 160-161.

[491] II. colitur a matribus: in addition to the votives mentioned in the last note may be cited an archaic inscription (C. I. L. XIV, 2863 = Dessau, 3684): Orcsea Numeri nationu graia Fortuna Diovo fiae Primogenia donum dedi, i.e., Orcsea Numeri (uxor) nationis graia Fortunaex, Iovis filiae primogeniae, donum dedi. Mommsen (ap. Dessau in Hermes, 19 (1884), 455) compared Paul. ex Fest. p. 167 M.; in pecoribus quoque bonus proventus fetuara bona natio dicitur, and explained the inscription as set up in thanks for an increase in flocks. But in connection with Cicero's statements we may believe, I believe, interpret natio of a birth in the family, that is, of a child of Orcsea; cf. Jordan, op. cit. 4; Otto, Lc.; N. D. 3, 47: Natio quoque dea putanda est... quae quia partus matronarum Iueatur a nascemibis Natio nominata est. For votive offerings in connection with childbirth cf. Rouse, Greek votive Offerings (1902), 251-258.

[492] I. in eo loco, etc.: from the difference in terminology it appears (as Peter, op. cit. 1543, points out) that the (aedes) Iovis puers and the aedes Fortunae are distinct structures (yet cf. the view of Nibby, Analissi, 2 (1837), 508; Fernique, op. cit. 114). This fact need not, of course, prevent the worship in both places of a triad like that already discussed. Vaglici (op. cit. 240; 274, n. 129) attempts to locate the aedes Iovis puers at the site of the present cathedral; but see above.

For the remains of the imposing temple of Fortune at Praeneste, in addition to occasional references in the Notizie degli Scavi, cf. Fernique, op. cit. 97-117; Blondel in Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist. 2 (1882), 168-198, and pl. IV and V; Fernique in the same journal, 2 (1882), 199-202; Peter, op. cit. 1546; Vaglici, op. cit. 221-241; Otto, op. cit. 27; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 260, n. 2.

I. mel: on the prophetic significance of bees cf. 1, 78, n. (Plutonon), and for that of honey Allen and Sikes on Hom. Hymn. Herm. 559. The Thriae, reputed teachers of divination and the eponymous originators of θριας or lots (Schol. Callim. 2, 45) fed upon honey (Hom. Hymn. Herm. Lc.). Honey is frequently described as flowing forth from hollow oaks (cf. Usener in Reih. Mus. 57 (1902), 181; also Theophr. fr. 190, who speaks of one type of honey as falling from the sky, εὖσχον η δὲ μάλατα ἵνα τοῖς φθάσαι τῆς δρόμος καὶ ἐν τῆς φύλλου). Of the association of honey and the olive I have noted no other instance, and Plin. N. H. 21, 71 says: cum olitae florem ab his (sc. aπibus) non attingi constet (but cf. id. 11, 18), yet the hollow trunks of olives would easily furnish a home for wild bees.

I. oele: Praeneste was apparently notable for its olives; cf. Cramer, Αρχιε. Gr. 4(1841),315, lines 25-26: τριες ας ἡλιον ὕδα τῆς ἀφίνης πάλαι, / Νικαια και Πραιστοσ, ὤ τ' Ἑρεθλίου. Henzen (in Bull. dell'Inst. 1859, 230, n.) calls attention to an ancient Greek custom of placing a leaf of olive in the urn from which
sortis, quae hocodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur. Quid igitur in his potest esse certi, quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur? Quo

lots were to be drawn, and suggests that the olive, as an arbor felix, typified good fortune.

[493] 1. haruspices: whether at Rome or local ones at Praeneste is not clear. C. I. L. XIV, 2992 (from Praeneste) is in memory of one L. Nivellius, an haruspex, whom Dessau would consider a Roman public haruspex and Vaglieri (op. cit. 264, n. 88) a municipal one, but Vaglieri does not venture to connect him in any way with the management of the temple of Fortune.


[493] 2. arcam: it does not appear from the Latin that the sortes were drawn from this box but rather that they were kept in it when not in use. Suet. Tib. 63 says: vicina vero urbi oracula eiam disicere consuevit, sed maiores Praenestinarum sortium territus est. Odium, cum obsignatas devotasque Romanam non repperisset in arca nisi relata rursus ad templum. I know of no parallel for the use of such a wooden receptacle save that Arnold (Ephod et Ark, in Harv. theol. Stud. 3 (1917), 132-134) explains the ark of Yahwe as having been originally a repository for lots. Usually lots were drawn from some sort of vessel; e.g., an urna (2, 69; 2 Verr. 2, 42; Sen. Condiv. 1, 2, 7; Tert. de Spect. 10), a hydria (2 Verr. 2, 127), sometimes with water in it (Apollod. Bibl. 2, 8, 4; Paus. 4, 3, 5; cf. Plaut. Cas. 385; etc.; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 191, n. 4), a sitella (Plaut. Cas. 342; 363; Liv. 41, 18, 8), a φαλή (Robbins in Class. Philol. 11 (1916), 278-292), a cortina (cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 211, n. 4), a κάλλια (Luc. Hermot. 40; 57; Anth. Pal. 7, 384, 5), or even a helmet (Il. 3, 316; 7, 176; etc.), or were thrown upon a table (Paus. 7, 25, 10; Schol. Pind. Pyth. 4, 337; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 191; Halliday, op. cit. 206-207) or into a fountain (Suet. Tib. 14).

Three inscriptions from Praeneste (C. I. L. XIV, 2852 of 136 a. d.—Bücheler, Carm. epigr. no. 249, 17; 2937 (of the Empire); 2972 (243 a. d.) mention a Iuppiter Arkanus (or Arcaus), whose epithet is commonly associated with this arca (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 149; Vaglieri, op. cit. 261, n. 80; Otto, op. cit. 26). Bouché-Leclercq remarks that in this way Fortune seems to have been the dispenser (cf. Fortunae monitu) of the revelations of Jupiter. The relation of Iuppiter Arkanus to Iuppiter puer is not clear.

1. tolluntur: like ducuntur below, a technical term in the drawing of lots; cf. Tibull. 1, 3, 11-12 (see next note); C. I. L. V, 5801; Wissowa in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 821. On the methods of sortilege cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium).

2. pueri: Vaglieri (op. cit. 225) and Thulian (in Rhein. Mus. 60 (1905), 260) have taken him to typify Iuppiter puer, but (as noted by Otto, op. cit. 25) so widespread is the use of a boy for the drawing of lots that this view is unnecessary. Cf. Tibull. 1, 3, 11-12: illa sacras puere sortes ter susulti; illi / retulisti e terris omnia certa puer; Luc. Hermot. 57: η το κάλλια ημβαλων γραμματία έχουσα των φιλοσόφων έκάστου τούτου κάλλες παίδα των άθιστων ημβαλων την, προελθώντα προ την κάλλιν, άνελθαί 8 τη έκ πρώτων υπό την χύρα έλθη των γραμματίων. Smith, (on Tibull. 1, 3, 11-12) compares Boiard, Orland. innam. 1, 1, 57; Arist. Orland. fur. 30, 24; and the modern customs in the drawing of the Italian state lottery; for parallels from India see Thurston, Omens and Superst. of southern India (1912), 42; 47; for Morocco, Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 160-161. The manic influence of children was apparently due in part to their lack of intentional bias (cf. 1, 121, n. (scribit Herodotus)) and in part to their pure and virginal simplicity, which made them fit vehicles for the expression
modo autem istae positae in illo loco? Quis robur illud ceedit, dolavit, inscriptis? Nihil est, inquinat, quod deus efficere non possit. Utinam sapientis Stoicos effecisset, ne omnia cum superstitione sollicitudine et miseria crederent! Sed hoc quidem genus divinationis vita iam communis expolit; fani pulchritudo et vetustas Praenestinarum etiam nunc retinet


A representation of this boy has been found on denarius of M. Plaetorius Cestianus (ca. 69 B.C.); cf. Babelon, Monnaies de la Républ. rom. 2 (1885), 315, no. 10; Dressel, Sitz. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. 1907, 371; Wissowa in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 821; Dressel in Zeitscr. f. Numismatik, 33 (1921), 24-32 (with plate). Many scholars have misinterpreted this figure as that of a goddess Sors; others (cf. the second work of Dressel, 28) have taken the object which the boy carries for the arca mentioned by Cicero (yet the inscription on it, as Dressel well argues, would then be not SORS but SORTES), but Dressel believes it to be the pur holding a sors, whether representing one of the sortes Praesestinae or one of some other set is not certain. Some further interpretation of the lots when drawn may well have been given by the sortilegi, one of whom is mentioned in C. I. L. XIV, 2989 (=Dessau 6254); cf. also the sacerdos Fortunae Primig. appearing in C. I. L. XIV, 3003 (=Dessau 6255).

[494] 2. ducuntur: a common technical expression for lots; cf. 1, 34; 2, 38; 2, 70; 2 Verr. 4, 143; Virg. Aen. 6, 22; n. on tolluntur above.

[494] 21. quo modo, etc.: with the question here raised compare the similar doubts in regard to the legend of Tages in 2, 51.

2. nihil est, etc.: cf. N. D. 3, 92: vos enim (sc. Stoici) ipsis dicere soletis nihil esse quod deus efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo.


5. expolit: for the expression cf. 2, 148; Off. 1, 6; Fin. 4, 47; 5, 23.


5f. retinet . . . nomen: for various references in Latin literature to the fortune of Praecesta and her temple see Vogliari, op. cit. 256, n. 71. Through motives of rivalry and suspicion of a neighboring town her worship was apparently not at first favored by Rome (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 150; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 260), but in 204 B.C. it was introduced into the city of Rome (Peter in Roscher, Ausf. Lexikon, s.v. Fortuna (1886), 1516-1517; Carter in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 31 (1900), 67-68; Otto in P.-W. s.v. Fortuna (1910), 29; Wissowa, op. cit. 260-261). For the later history of the cult, which during the empire apparently regained a good deal of its lost
sortium nomen, atque id in volgus. 87. Quis enim magistratus aut quis vir
inlustrior utitur sortibus? Ceteris vero in locis sortes plane refrixerant.
Quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, nusquam se fortu
natiorem quam Praeneeste vidisse Fortunam. Ergo hoc divinationis genus
omittamus.

XLII. Ad Chaldaeorum monstra veniamus; de quibus Eudoxus, Pla-

prestige, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 151-153; Peter, op. cit. 1545-1546; Otto,
op. cit. 27-29.

1. quis enim magistratus, etc.: cf.
1, 12, n. (sortium). The statement is per-
haps true for Cicero's own day, but Des-
sau (C. I. L. XIV, pp. 293-296) notes that
from the imperial period we have dedications
put up by all classes, including two
(nos. 2849, 2866) by Roman senators.

2 ceteris . . . in locis: he is very
likely thinking of such places as the
shrine of Fortune at Antium, for which cf.
Peter, op. cit. 1546-1548.

2. refrixerunt: cf. ad Att. 2, 1, 6;
Phil. 5, 30, pro Planc. 55.

3. quod: object of dicere, but re-
sumed by the infinitive clause, as in 1,
102 by an ut clause; cf. 2, 62; N. D. 2, 24,
and Mayor's note.

3. Carneadeorum: cf. introd. pp. 24-
25; 1, 7, n. (Carneades); 1, 12, n. (Carne-
ades). Fragments of his sayings and letters
are collected by Vick, Quaeri Carneadeae
(1901), 21-22. He may have visited
Praeneeste on the occasion of his famous
mission to Rome in 155 B. C. (cf. Vick,
op. cit. 27-28).

3. Clitomachus: cf. introd. p. 22,
n. 100; 25, and n. 115.

3f. fortunatiorem . . . Fortunam:
for the play on the duality of appella-
tion and deity cf. Astarte, Deification of ab-
tract Ideas in Roman Lit. and Inscr.
(1907), 76, who cites 2 Verr. 3, 131: quo
es iudicio te utta Salus servare posset; cf.
N. D. 3, 61.

4. Praeneeste: on the form cf. Küh-
1, 2 ed. (1912), 329. Neuter city names in
-e (Arelate, Bibracte, Cacre, Praeneeste,
Reate, Argeste) have the ablative and
locative in the same form as the nomina-
tive.

6. ad Chaldaeorum, etc.: the fol-
lowing passage (2, 87-2, 99), containing a
refutation of astrology, does not cor-
respond to any portion of the first book, in
which astrology is given only pasting no-
tice (e.g., 1, 2; 1, 47; 1, 132). Its source is
Panaetius (cf. 2, 88; 2, 97; introd. pp. 25-
26; Thiaucourt, Essai sur les Traités
philos. de Cic. (1885), 271-273), and pro-
ably represents our earliest philosophic
polemic against astrology; cf. Wendland,
Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung (1892),
33. Panaetius himself probably derived
his argument from Carneades (in his
polemic against Chrysippus; cf. Riess in
P.-IV. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1813, and the
works there cited; but also Pfeiffer, Stud. i.
antiken Sternklauben (1916), 60, who sus-
ppects a Peripatetic source, probably Crito-
laus), and the relationship between
them and subsequent writers on the
same subject is set forth in an inter-
esting stemma by Boll, Studien über Claudius
Ptolemaeus (1894), 182. For a funda-
mental historical treatment of the argu-
ments against the art cf. Bouché-Leclercq,
L'Astrologie grecque (1899), 570-627. The
only other important discussion of astro-
logy by Cicero is in Fat. 12-16, the account
in Rep. 6, 17 being of an imaginative
character (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.
548; Wedel (The mediaval Altitude toward
Astrology (1920), 14) remarks: 'Cicero,
who as philosopher fumminated against
astrology, as rhetorician accepted its
tenets'). Wedel is mistaken, however,
in his statement (op. cit. 153) that the
opposition of Cicero and Sextus Empiricus
to astrology was not designed to replace it
tonis auditor, in astrologia judicio doctissimorum hominum facile princeps, sic opinatur, id quod scriptum reliquit, Chaldaeos in praedictione et in notatione cuiusque vitae ex natali die minime esse credendum. 

with a more plausible theory of the universe but merely 'because they were followers of the New Academy and were sceptical of all science.' In so far as this assertion relates to Cicero it falls far short of the truth, for though it might seem to derive support from part of 2, 150 it fails to consider sufficiently the purpose of the whole work as set forth in the full context in 2, 148-2, 150; cf. introd. pp. 10-13.

It should be observed that in the following account Cicero is little concerned with the technical minutiae of astrology, with which he was naturally less familiar than with those of augury, but rather with the larger and more general principles involved, the successful refutation of which would bring it with the discarding of lesser details.

[496] 6. monstra: cf. 1, 3, n. (monstris); 1, 93. The idea of prediction (medico) is doubtless uppermost in the word, but there is more than a shade of disparagement as well.


The statement in our text has aroused doubt, on account of the early date at which, if it be correct, it is supposed that astrology must have been known to the Greek world. Thus Unger (in Philologus, 50 (1891), 220; cf. Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1811) would ascribe the statement to Eudoxus of Rhodes (of the third century; cf. Jacoby in P.-W. s.v. Eudoxos (1907), 930), and Bouché-Leclercq (op. cit. 62, n. 3) somewhat hesitatingly suggests a possible interpolation as having occurred. Bouché-Leclercq admits, however, that Eudoxus of Cnidus from Hdt. 2, 82 might have known of the practice before it had become generally known in Greece (which it appears to have been as early as Theophrastus; cf. Riess, l.c.), and Usener (Epicius (1887), xl; followed by Kroll in Neue Jahrh. 7 (1901), 561, n. 2) believes that he learned of it during travels in Egypt (cf. Hultsch, op. cit. 931-932.)


1. in astrologia ... princeps: the various references to him as an ἀστρολόγος (e.g., Diog. L. 8, 86; Gell. 17, 21, 23; Didymus (in Frag. Philos. Gr. 2, 60); Geminus, Isagoge, 14; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1624; Chron. Pasch. P. 167c; Prob. ad Virg. Ed. 3, 40; cf. Suid. s.v. Ἐδοξος) are doubtless to be understood in the sense of 'astronomer'; Sext. Emp. 5, 1 classes Eudoxus and Hipparchus with the practitioners of 'astronomy,' who possess, to be sure, the ability to predict certain natural celestial and meteorological changes, but are already differentiated from the genethliologists.

1. facile princeps: for the phrase cf. Ac. 2, 2; Rep. 2, 34; Tim. 2, 2 Verr. 1, 64; pro Cluent. 11; post Red. in Sen. 5.

2. scriptum reliquit: on the Φαυδόμερα, the only work of Eudoxus of which we possess any definite knowledge, cf. Hultsch, op. cit. 940-941.
88. Nominat etiam Panaetius, qui unus e Stoicis astrologorum praedicta reiecit, Anchialum et Cassandrum, summos astrologos illius aetatis qua erat ipse, cum in ceteris astrologiae partibus excellerent, hoc praedictionis genere non usus. Scylax Halicarnassius, familiaris Panaetii, excellens in astrologia idemque in regenda sua civitate princeps, totum hoc Chaldaicum praedicendi genus repudiavit. 89. Sed ut ratione utamur omissis testibus, sic isti disputant qui haec Chaldaeorum natalicia praedicta defundant. Vim quandam esse aient signifero in orbe, qui Graece ἔνδοκος dicitur, talem

4. Halicarnassius Müller, Thoresen, Heeringo. halicarnassius AV, Christ, Bailer, alicarnassius B, Halicarnasseus O.
8. ἐνδοκος vulg., zodiacos BV, zodiaco A, sed y in rs.

[497] 3. cuiusque: genethliology, or the casting of individual horoscopes, is much less ancient than more general types of astrology and (in spite of constant references of it to the Chaldaei, as in the following passage) does not appear in Babylonia (cf. 1, 2, n. (ultimus); Bouché-Leclercq, L’Astrologie grecque (1899), 49-50), but is the earliest form of astrology attested for Greece (id. 27, n. 2) and is often considered as a Greek invention (Jastrow in Proc. Am. philos. Assoc. 47 (1908), 669), though Budge (Egyptian Magic (1901), 229) holds it to be of Egyptian origin. Not a few of the logical objections later raised against astrology could have been avoided if the ‘art’ had been limited as it was by Eudoxus.

1. nominat: probably in his ἄξιος προσφοράς; cf. introd. pp. 15; 26. Panaetius perhaps introduced the views of these astrologers into his work as a stronger argument against their colleagues in the same way in which Cicero has here brought in the opinion of Panaetius himself against the beliefs of his fellow Stoics.

1. Panaetius: for his views on divination cf. 1, 6, n. (negare). Some traces of his influence in the following passage are noted in introd. p. 26, n. 118.

1. unus e Stoicis: cf. 1, 6, where, as here, Panaetius is made practically the only exception among the Stoics. For the Stoic inclination towards astrology cf. Wendland, Philos Schrift über die Vor-

schung (1892), 34, n. 2; Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1813-1814; Bouché-Leclercq, L’Astrologie grecque (1899), 31-34; 572; 594 (in the second passage he points out the many places at which astrology agreed with Stoic tenets, in its assertion of the συναθέτων τῶν διόνων (cf. 2, 34, n. (συμφέρεις) above), resemblances of part to whole, kinship of man and the universe, theory of the microcosm, etc.)

2. Anchialum: apparently not otherwise known.

2. Cassandrum: perhaps the same person whom Censorinus (18, 11) mentions among those who have estimated the length of the annus magnus.

2. illius aetatis: the middle and latter part of the second century.

4. Scylax: also unknown.

6. omissis testibus: cf. 2, 27, n. (argumentis, etc.).

8. vim quandam esse: quandam is here perhaps used to aid in translating (cf. 1, 1, n. (quandam) above) the Greek δῶεπος.

With the introduction into the art of astrology of an effective vis three arises that confusion of sign and cause which the philosophical tried to avoid; cf. 1, 29, and n. (non causas adferunt); 1, 34, n. (ratione); 1, 109; 1, 127; 1, 131, and n. (non me, etc.); Orig. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ex. 8. 11, p. 283 b-c: ἡ ἐθνική ἐνάντια λαμβάνει ἐνάντια ἐν αὐτήν τότων ἐν αὐτήν ἐν λόγος φησί. Gemini in his Isagoge is at several points careful
ut eius orbis una quaeque pars alia alio modo moveat inmutetque caelum, perinde ut quaeque stellae in his finitumisque partibus sint quoque tempore, eamque vim varie moveri ab iis sideribus quae vocantur errantia; cum autem in eam ipsam partem orbis venerint in qua sit ortus eius qui nascatur, aut in eam quae coniunctum aliquid habeat aut consentiens, ea triangula 3. vocantur Marcus, O. Bailer, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, vocantur C. Christ. 5. habeat Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, habeat C, Christ, Bailer.

to guard the reader against this misunderstanding (e.g., Patr. Gr. 19, 844 A-B; 845 A; 849 C); cf. also Sallustius, de Diis et Mundo, 9 (in Frag. Philos. Gr. 3, 39): τὸ δὲ καὶ πατέρων ἀλήθειας ἢ διψώπης προλέγει, ὡς ὁ τάξα ποιοῦτοι, τινὶ δὲ σημαίνουσι μὲν τῶν πατέρων διάκοσις; Boeth. de Diis et Proseens. p. 395 Orelli & Bailer: ex quo intelligi datur, sidera infraquentur orla non facere quae proveniunt sed futura praenuntiari; sit enim, significant, alioquin qui has stellas pulant habere hanc potentiam ut volentes nociva decemanni magnam caelo jaciant inuriam. in huiusmodi vero tractatu Poseidonii aegre Fulii Firmici sive religiorum mathematicorum regnatio oratio, etc.; Bouché-Leclercq, L’Astrologie grecque (1899), 603. For the passage which follows see also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 181, n. 1, who calls attention to the general vagueness of Cicero’s expression and the confused nature of his ideas about astrology.

[498] 8. signifero in orbe: for the phrase cf. 1, 17, and n. (signorum in sede locatæ); N. D. 2, 53 (and Mayor’s note); Arat. 563-565 Müller: zodiaca hunc Graci vocitant nostrique Latinis / orbem signiferae perhibebunt nomine vero: / nam gerit hic volens bis sex argentia signa; Censorin. 8, 4: circulus est, ut ferunt, signifer, quem Graci vocant zodiacum.


1. una quaeque pars: Cicero is probably here thinking of the twelve major divisions (Sext. Emp. 5, 5: δεκαδοί) rather than of the subdivisions of these (each τοδόι = 30 μοίραι (the portionulae of Ambr. Hexaem. 4, 14), each μοίρα = 60 λεπτά (Sext. Emp. l.c.; cf. Censorin. 8, 5); for other smaller divisions cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 258, n. 2; Housman, ed. of Manil. 2 (1912), xii; also 2, 95, n. (dissimilis . . . naturas) below.

2. in his . . . partibus: of course, as had long been known, the planets were 'in' particular parts of the zodiac only by optical illusion, but in reality far removed from them; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 574. It is noticeable that Cicero makes no use of the technical term τῶν ('houses') in his discussion of astrology, and this is an additional indication of the philosophical rather than technical character of the objections raised against astrology by his source, Panaetius.

3. eamque vim, etc.: Boll, Stud. über Claudius Ptolemaeus (1894), 235, remarks upon the appearance as early as this of a combination of zodiacal and planetary astrology.

3. quae vocantur errantia: cf. 1, 17, n. (verbo . . . falsis . . . re vero); 2, 17, 12, 146; Firm. Mat. Mathes. 1, 4, 5. Of these the scholiast on Prud. Apoth. 211 (ed. Burnam) remarks: υπὸ sidera vocal VII planetas quae interpretantur errant <Α>ε, non quod ipsa errrent sed quod homines errere faciunt.

4. in qua sit ortus: i.e., in the zodiacal sign rising above the eastern horizon at the moment of the child’s birth; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 257-258, who points out that astrology apparently earlier observed in this connection the rising of extra-zodiacal stars, but grad-
illi et quadrata nominant. Etenim cum tempore anni temperatuumque caeli conversiones commutationesque tantae sunt accessu stellarum et

1. nominant Marcus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Eerelman, nominant C.
2. tempore C deae Aloum, Deier in Philologo, 46 (1889), 176; temporem Hottinger, Christ; cum caeli conversiones temperatuumque commutationes (temp. anni u. glossa ss.) partim ex suis cod. interp. Deiterius; tempore anni temperatuum caelecis conversiones commutationesque Giese; tempore anni temperatuum atque caeli conversiones, etc. Madvig (Fin. I, 3), Baier, Thoresen; temporum anni temperatuum ac caeli anni. Müller (p. xx), qui inueni in sexu prodest: cum tempore anni, etc. (lia Eerelinga).

ually limited itself to those within the zodiac, and, in default of convenient stars, accepted the zodiacal sign or a part of it.

[499] 5. aut in eam, etc.: for the various astrological aspects cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 165-179; Housman, ed. of Manilius, 2 (1912), xi-xvi. Cicero mentions only two of the possible terms (triangula and quadrata), but we may have conjunction, opposition (when the planets are separated by 180 degrees), and triangular (with a separation of 120 degrees), quadrates (90 degrees), and sextiles (60 degrees) aspects. Censorin. 8, 6-10 mentions four aspects (kata δέξιων, kata τετράγωνων, kata τριγώνων, and contrarium), Firmicus Maternus (Mathes. 2, 3, 3-6) the same four, Geminus (Isagoge 1, 9) three (kata διείσδυσε, kata τρίγώνων, kata τετράγωνων), and Sextus Empiricus, like Cicero, only two: εἰς τὸν ἀλέσαν ἕνομα τῆς ἄλλης καὶ συμφώνως ἄλλης, ὡς ὁ ἄλλης τοῦ τετράγωνος φανομένος, κατὰ τρίγωνον μὲν ὁδὸν σχετικῶς ἔχοι καὶ ἐν διείσδυσιν ἄλλης ἀντίθετος ἐν τοῖς ἕξι διέρεις ἐνομος τὸ μέγα ἄληθες κατὰ τετράγωνον δὲ τοῦ δοῦν. Cicero's general vagueness and carelessness (cf. n. on viam esse quondam above) make it unwise to seek too close a logical correspondence between triangula . . . et quadrata and what goes before, and to emend (with Thoresen in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 38-39) the words cum autem to cum aut. It is possible that triangula and quadrata are singled out on the principle noted by Censorin. 8, 9: quae duae visiones (i.e., aspects) τετράγωνων et τρίγωνων persuum efficaces incrementum partus mulitum administrandi (in the superiority of the τρίγωνων to other forms cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 169, n. 2; also Manil. 2, 352-353 (and Housman's note on 2, 352-357). Against conclusions from true and quadrate aspects Sallustius exclaims (de Divis et Mundo, 9): el δὲ τρίγωνω καὶ τετράγωνοι λέοντος, ἄτοπον τῆς μὴ ἀνθρώπω τὴν ἄρετην ταχοτοῦ τῆς αὐτῶν μένων, τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἐν τῶν τόπων μεταβέβληθαι.


1. etenim: in the sense of 'and further', cf. 2, 142; Madvig on Fin. 1, 3; Mayor on N. D. 2, 16.

1. cum tempore, etc.: this passage has been much emended but I prefer to retain the manuscript reading with (approximately) the interpretation of Deiter, who understands tempesatum to refer to units of time and caelum to weather (though he is, I believe, mistaken in thinking that the tempesates are periods longer than a year; cf. 1, 52, n. (tempes) above; the word caelis is hardly to be taken, as by
recessu, cumque ea vi solis effici tantr quae videmus, non veri simile solum sed etiam verum esse censent perinde, utcumque temperatus sit aer, ita pueros orientis animari atque formari, ex eoque ingenia, mores, animum, corpus, actionem vitae, casus cuiusque eventusque fingi. XLIII. 90. O delirationem incredibilem! Non enim omnis error stultitia dicenda est. Quibus etiam Diogenes Stoicus concedit aliquid, ut praedicere possit

Allen, with tempestatum, this use of the phrase in Lucr. 4, 168-169 (which he cites as a parallel) being in a different sense. The meaning will then be: 'Further, since within the space of a year and of the seasons such great contrasts and changes of weather occur, etc.' Some of these terms are found, though in a rather different relation, in N. D. 1, 4: tempestas aer temperum varietas caelica mutationes; cf. 3, 16; Tusc. 1, 68; Parad. 51; and on the basis of these Hottinger's emendation of emporis to tempora may seem to receive some support. Aug. C. D. 5, 6 (quoted in note on vi solis below) might suggest an emendation of tempore to tempora.


1. vi solis: inference from the effects of solar influence and that of the moon (cf. 2, 33-2, 34) apparently confirmed the defenders of astrology in the belief that such came also from the stars; cf. Bouche-Leclercq, op. cit. 572, n. 2; also Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 3: aquae eos, quoniam viderent terrae quaedam inter homines sita caelestium rerum sensu atque ductu moveri, quae est quod oceanus quas lunae comes cum ea simul senescit adolescuitque, hinc videlicet sibi argumentum ad suadendum parvis ut crederemus omnia rerum humanarum et pora et maxima tamquam stelis atque sideribus evincita duci et regi; Aug. C. D. 5, 6: cum igitur non usquequaque absurde dici posset at solas corporum differentias adflatus quasdam volvere sideros, sicut in solisibus accessibus et descessibus videmus etiam ipsius anni tempora variari et lunaribus incrementis atque decrementis augeri et minui quaedam genera rerum, etc.


2. perinde utcumque . . . ita: cf. pro Cluent. 70: perinde ut . . . ita.


3. orientis: i.e., nascentis; cf. orius eius qui nascatur above.

3. animari atque formari: cf. 1, 131, and n. (animal, formal).

3. ex eoque: for the position of the enclitic cf. Reid on Ac. 1, 24.

3. ingeniæ, etc.: for the different details of life foretold by astrology cf. Bouche-Leclercq, L'Astrologie gréque (1899), 403-457 (based on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos), including length of life, as well as time and manner of death (404-428), physical character (428-433), mental character (433-436), social position (436-447), affections (447-455), and travels (455-456); and, for the expressions here used, see Aug. C. D. 5, 1 (quoted in the note on geminorum, etc. below).

4. actionem vitae: on the phrase cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 62; Mayor on N. D. 1, 3.


5. error stultitia dicenda: the attraction of the gerundive to the gender of the predicate is discussed by Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 40.

6. quibus, etc.: the following frag-
dumtaxat qualis quique natura et ad quam quique maxume rem aptus futurus sit; cetera quae profiteantur negat ullo modo posse sciri; etenim geminorum formas esse similis, vitam atque fortunam plerumque dis-

ment = S. V. F. 3, 217, no. 36. The word quibus doubtless refers to Chaldæi or a similar word understood.

[501] 6. Diogenes: of Babylon, for whom cf. 1, 6, and nn. (quem subsequens; unum librum; Babylonius). The cause which led him to reject parts of the astrological teaching may have been the polemic of Carneades [cf. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schriften, 2, 1 (1882), 253-254; Schmelke, Die Philos. d. mitt. Sta. (1892), 320, n. 3]. What Diogenes still conceded to astrology was merely, as Bouché-Leclercq (op. cit. 594, n. 1) remarks, what was conceded to the physiognomonic.

1. aptus: cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 442, for aptitudes and definite acts foretold by the stars.

3. geminorum, etc.: two converse arguments appear very prominently among those urged against astrology: (1) those born under astrological conditions presumably the same have unlike fates (2, 95; 2, 97; and the present illustration from the experience of twins); (2) those born under seemingly different astrological conditions have the same fate (2, 97 for those who died at Cannae); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 581, and n. 5. Of the former of these the argument from twins is the strongest form, because (1) the interval between the two births is here reduced to a minimum and their conception might be thought of as absolutely synchronous (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 588, n. 1) and (2) there is here the most complete freedom from conflicting influences of heredity (cf. Hippocr. de Vict. Rat. 1, p. 653 Kühn, who explains the physiological reasons for the likenesses of twins), and consequently many opponents of divination stress the notorious differences in the lives of various sets of twins; cf. Pers. 6, 18-19: dissectat his alius. geminos, horoscope, varo / producis genio (where the scholiast remarks: horoscope lici geminos sub una hora producetas, dissimilibus lamen fatis et voluntatiibus eos in vitam trahatis); Sen. de B. 7, 1, 5: licet mescias ... cur pariter natis fata diversa sint maximeque rerum spatiiis distant quorum inter utoris minimum interest; Lamp. Commod. 1, 4: cum autem peperisset (sc. Faustina) Commodum aequum Antoninum (twins, as is shown by 1, 3), Antoninus quadrimum elatus est, quem parem auros cursus Commodo mathematici promitiebant; Favorin. ap. Cell. 14, 1, 26: si tam parum aequum rapidum est momentum temporis in quo homo nascessit fatum accipit ut in eodem illo puncto sub eodem circulo caelestis simul ad eandem competentiam nasci non quanton et si idcirco gemini quoque non eodem vitae sorte sunt, quoniam non eodem temporis puncto edidi sunt, peleo, inquit, respondeant. cursus illum temporis iransvolans ... quam pacto aut consulisse queant aut tibi perspicere et reprehendere, etc.; Orig. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 6, 11, p. 294c-d: ἐν γονίω τοῖς δεδομένοις γεννημένοις πολλάκις τὸ μεταξὶ καὶ ἀκραῖων ὄρας ἥκι, καὶ πολλὰ παραλλαγὰ τῶν συμβαίνων καὶ τῶν πρότυπων ἐκ' αὐτῶν ἀκατωστὶ, ὡς φασιν ἀκείνοι, παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς σχέσεως τῶν ἀκτεσίων, καὶ . Ἀπον. Εἰρημ. 2, 12: ὅρμουν γὰρ δήμων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ σχέδου γενομένην, καὶ διὸ κατὰ τάδε τιθὲν ἄτεκτον, ἃν τὸ μία μεκρόν ἀκολουθήσῃ, τὸ δ' ἐκ μικρῶν χρώμων προγένειο; Aug. C. D. 5, 1: quid licet quid nihil utrumque discrep potuerunt cur in ita gesto geminorum, in actionibus, in eventis, in professionibus, artibus, honoribus, ceterisque rebus ad humanam vitam pertinentibus atque in ipsa morte sit plerumque tene diversitas ut similiores eis sint ... multi
parem. Procles et Eurysthenes, Lacedaemoniorum reges, gemini fratres fuerunt. At ii nec totidem annos vixerunt; anno enim Procli vita breviar fuit, multumque is fratri rerum gestarum gloria praestitit. 91. At ego id

extranei quam ipsi inter se gemini peresiguo temporis interstallo in nascendo separati, in conceptu autem per annum concubitum uno etiam momento seminari? Chapter 2 of the same book is entitled: de geminorum simili dissimilique velutudine, and develops the subject at length, beginning with the statement: Cicero (de Fat. fr.; cf. de Fat. 5) dictit Hippocrates, nobilissimum medicum, scriptum religiiss quosdam fraternes, cum simul agrotario coepissent et eorum morbus eodem tempore ingraevseret eodem levaretur, geminos suspicatum. quos Posidonius... eadem constitutione astrorum natos eademque concepsos solebat asserere. In chapter 3 he cites the defence made by Nigidius against the argument from twins; in ch. 4 instances Jacob and Esau as examples of twins of diverse lives (and in de Doctr. Christ. 2, 33-34 and de Gen. ad Lut. 2, 36 he uses the same illustration); and in ch. 6 discusses twins differing in sex; cf. de f. Quaest. ad Simplic. 1, 2, 3 (Patr. Lat. 40, 112); also Caesarius, Dial. 2, 109 (Patr. Gr. 38, 981-984); Greg. Mag. Homil. 10, 4 (Patr. Lat. 76, 1112B); Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 558-591; 620-622 (who discusses the modifications of the doctrine by both sides, as a result of philosophical controversy). Chiefly through the influence of Augustine the argument from twins passed into the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Aelfric, Wyclif, Coluccio Salutati, et al.); cf. Wedel, *The medieval Attitude toward Astrology* (1920), 11, n. 3; 46, n. 2; 80; 86; 130

[502] 31. similis... disparrem: cf. N.D. 1, 98.

1. Procles et Eurysthenes: cf. Hdt. 6, 52: Αριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα, τῇ οὖν οὐναίτε ἄργους... ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν δίδουσα, ἑκατόν δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τίκνα νοσήμα τελευτᾷ. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τοὺς τότε ἓκτας βολικάς κατὰ νῦν βασιλεῖα τῶν παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσαται... ἀπο-

1. reges: Cicero here overlooks one argument later raised in such connections, namely, that kings could feel no confidence that their children had been born under such planets as to be destined for royal power; cf. Basil, Hexaem. Homil. 6, 7; Ambr. Hexaem. 4, 18.

1. gemini fratres: no objection to this phrase need arise from Quintil. Inst. 9, 4, 24 (quaedam ordine permutato finit supervacua, ut fratres gemini; nom, si praecesserint: 'gemini,' 'fratres' addere non est necessis) for Cicero need not have been bound by the rules and judgments transmitted to us by Quintilian.

2. nec... -que: cf. 1, 68. n. (necque...-que).

2. Procli: probably genitive; cf. Nep. Aes. 1, 3: duos... reges... ex dubius familias Procli et Eurysthenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis Spartanus reges fuerunt; also Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausz. Graec. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed.* (1912), 364, for similar cases from Cicero.

3. is: referring to Eurysthenes, as the nearer. His superiority over his brother is perhaps inferred from the greater
ipse, quod vir optumus Diogenes Chaldaeis quasi quadem praevariactione concedit, nego posse intellegi. Etenim cum, ut ipsi dicunt, ortus nascentium luna moderetur, eaque animadvertant et notent sidera natalicia Chaldaei, quae cumque luna iuncta videantur, oculorum fallacissimo sensu iudicant ea quae ratione atque animo videre debebant. Docet enim ratio mathematicorum, quam istis notam esse oportebat, quanta humilitate luna feratur terram paene contingens, quantum absit a proxima

2. cum Lambinus, Christ, Bailer, Müller, Theoreum, Hearring, cur C.

importance of the kinly line of his descendants (the Agids). That he was prior in birth is stated by Hdt. 2, 52; cf. Paus. 3, 2, 1.

1. quasi quadem: cf. 1, 1, n. (quandam). This doubly apologetic expression is used on account of Cicero’s employment of the legal term praevariaction, the giving away of one’s case by collusion, or, as here, by negligence.

2f. ortus nascentium: cf. 2, 89: ortus eius qui nascatur.

3. luna moderetur: for the influence of the moon on the physical life of the infant at birth cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 499-500; 521, n. 1. Its effects upon the growth of plant and animal life, as accepted by popular belief (without necessary astrological influence), are discussed in 2, 33, and notes.

3. animadvertent et notent: cf. 1, 12, and n. (animadversa et notata); for the latter word see also 1, 94, n. (cantus...notaverunt).


4f. fallacissimo sensu: various opponents of astrology (e.g., Origen ap. Euseb. Pr. Ec. 6, 11, p. 294-295) emphasize the impossibility, especially with the minute subdivision of the signs of the zodiac (cf. 2, 89, n. (una quaeque pars) above; Sext. Emp. 5, 99), of making an exact and instantaneous observation of all the points which the art demands; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 589, n.

5. animo videre: cf. Tusc. 1, 37: nihil enim animo videre poterant; ad oculos referebant; 1, 62; N. D. 1, 49; 2, 99 quae si, ut animis sic oculos videre possimus; so also with cerno (cf. 1, 126, n. (cerni...videant); Ac. 2, 22 (and Reid’s note); N. D. 3, 20: modo possumus...ut cetera oculos sic animo hoc cerne; de Sen. 82; Tim. 11: qui animo cernuntur et ratione intelleguntur (=votvēs).

6. ratio mathematicorum: cf. Fin. 5, 9. The word mathematicus is regularly used by Cicero of a ‘mathematician’ in our sense of the term, especially of an astronomer. It was apparently not till the empire that it came to be applied to astrologers; cf. Gel. 1, 9, 6: geocerriam, gnemonicam, musicam, celerasque item disciplinas altiores mathēmata veteres Graeci appellant; vulgo autem, quos gentilicum vocabulo Chaldaeos discre oportet, ‘mathematicos’ dicit.

7. humilitate: Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 192-199, points out that the terms ὁψος, ὀψλάγης, ὀψωμα, αἵλους, and βῆθος, ταῦφεως, ταῦφεσιν, δεῖκτοι, and κυμίτης are used in two senses: (1) declension of the planets toward the north (the top of the world) or the south respectively, and (2) the farthest point (apogee) and nearest point (perigee) of the planet with reference to the earth; cf. Theo Smyrn. p. 179 Hiller: ὁψος τε καὶ βῆθος, ὶτι μὲν ἀπωγείωτα, ἄτι δὲ περιγείωτα θεωροῦμαι. It is clearly in the latter sense that Cicero employs the term, his argument being that the moon, at its nearest point to the earth, is at such a vast distance from the other planets as to receive no effects from them, and that, a fortiori, the earth can receive none.
Mercuri stella, multo autem longius a Veneris, deinde alio intervallo distet a sole, cuius lumine conlustrari putatur; reliqua vero tria intervalla infinita et immensa, a sole ad Martis, inde ad Iovis, ab eo ad Saturni stellam, inde ad caelum ipsum, quod extremum atque ultimum est. 92. Quae potest igitur contagio ex infinito paene intervallo pertinere ad lunam vel potius ad terram?


[504] 7f. quantum ... multo autem longius: an awkward but not unparalleled shift from the relative to the direct form of expression.

[504] 7f. quantum absit, etc.: the relative distances of the planets as here stated (earth, moon, Mercury, Venus, sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) do not agree with those set forth in N. D. 2, 52 (based on a different source: [earth, moon, sun,] Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) and Rep. 6, 17 (earth, moon, sun [with Venus and Mercury revolve around it; cf. Vitruv. 9, 1, 6], Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). These differences are due, as Macro. Somn. Scip. 1, 19 recognizes, to diversity of opinion on the matter between the Egyptian and the Chaldaean astronomers. For the relations of other classical writers to these two theories cf. Mayor on N. D. 2, 52; and, especially, Bouché- Leclercq, op. cit. 105-109. On the fixing of the number of the planets at seven cf. id. 573, n. 2; Favorinus (ap. Gell. 14, 11, 1-12) objects to this limitation.

[504] 7f. proxima Mercuri stella: but cf. N. D. 2, 53: infima est quinque errantium terraeque proxima stella Veneris. For the intrusion of the names of divinities by which the earlier names of the planets were replaced cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 66-71; Gundel, De Stellarum Atributione et Religione Rom. (1907), 113-116.

2. cuius lumine conlustrari: cf. N. D. 1, 87: huius sc. solis) hanc lustrationem eiusdem incensa radiis mensuro spatii luna complet; quinque autem stellarum cundem orbem tementes, aliae proprias a terris, aliae remotius ... eaedem spatia conficiunt; Firm. Mat. Mathes. 1, 10, 14: tuque, luna, semper aucta luminitibus solis augusta radiatione fulgescit.

2. lumine conlustrari: cf. 1, 17, n. (conlustra lumine mundum).

2. tria: Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 39) notes that there are really four intervals here mentioned. Yet Cicero does not consider the last (inde ad caelum ipsum), for the astrologers made no account of the caelum itself, and its distance was, therefore, of no importance.

3. infinita et immensa: cf. N. D. 1, 26; 2, 15.

4. caelum ... extremum atque ultimum: cf. N. D. 2, 101: restit ultimus et a domiciliis nostris altissimus omnia cingens et coerens caeli amplexus, qui idem aether vocatur (cf. N. D. 1, 37).

5. contagio ex infinito: cf. 2, 33-34; Anon. Pernippus, 2, 44: soba de igitur he ym arkheh µα τα τουσούν ακριμεικα ανακτην της 8 φασιν οβαρη μυρων; and Pfaifer, Stud. s. antiken Sterngläuben (1916), 57 cites also Geminus, p. 185, 17M.: αφ' ξυ οδικα δύναμις ποιντα προς ψυχας. But two answers to this objection were employed: (1) the sun and moon are also distant yet influence mundane life (2, 89, n. (si solis) above) and (2) the stars are not causes but merely signs (2, 89, n. (sim quandam esse) above). As Bouché- Leclercq (op. cit. 572) points out, Chaldaean astrology had arisen at a time when the vast planetary distances later calculated by Greek astronomers were as yet undreamed of.

6. vel potius ad terram: for mankind is less interested in the question of the possibility of interaction of the moon
XLIV. Quid? cum dicunt, id quod is dicere necesse est, omnis omnium ortus, quicumqueignantur in omni terra quae incolatur, cosedem esse, saydemque omnibus qui eodem statu caeli et stellarum nati sint accidere necesse esse, nonne eius modi sunt ut ne caeli quidem naturam interpretes istos caeli nosse appareat? Cum enim illi orbes qui caelum quasi medium dividunt et aspectum nostrum definuinti, qui a Graecis ὀφθαλμοὶ nominantur, a nobis finientes rectissime nominari possunt, varietatem maxumam

6. ὀφθαλμοὶ suīīi, Müller, orientes C.

and planets than with the transmission of their resultant effects to life upon the earth.

1. quod is dicere necesse est: cf. 2, 21: quod certe ibi iba dicendum est; N. D. 1, 84: is iud quidem ibi ivos dicere necesse est.

1. omnis omnium: for the polyptoton cf. 1, 6, n. (Stoic Stoic); 2, 8, n. (Stoic Stoicorum); and, for the repetition of omnis, Parasinger, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des Ciceron. Stils (1910), 44-45.

2. omni terra quae incolatur: cf. Rep. 6, 21: omnis enim terra quae colitur a vos; N. D. 2, 165 (and Mayor's note); also 2, 93, n. (quae nos incolumis) below.

3. caeli ... caeli ... caeli: cf. 1, 3, n. (vierentur); etc.

4. necesse esse: note the cacophonous repetition.

6. ὀφθαλμοὶ: cf. 1, 1, n. (ματιαίος); Rose in Journ. of Hellen. Stud. 41 (1921), 106. For the definition cf. Hygin. Astron. 1, 4: horison appellatur is qui terminat ea quae perspicui aut non videri possunt; Manil. 1, 663-665; Vitruv. 6, 1, 5; Sen. N. Q. 5, 17, 3: hanc lineam quae inter aperia et occulta est, id est hunc circulum Graeci ὀφθαλμον vocant, nostri finissere esse disseunt, alii finiment; Ach. Tat. Isag. 22: ἀλλεια δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖ δέοι ὄρφη τὸ ὕπο γῆν καὶ ὄπερ γῆν ἡμιφαιρίων; Chald. in Tim. 65: dicitur etiam circulus finalis, quem nostri visus imaginatur, ὀφθαλμὸς Graeco nomine, limitans mundum, etc.; Method. Conv. decem Virg. 14 (Pair. Gr. 18, 164 C); Prob. ad Virg. Georg. 1, 244-246; Serv. Aen. 5, 835; Macrob. Sat. 7, 14, 15: hinc est quod ubicumque terrarum sitetis videte ilii quumdam caeli conclusionem videre, et hic est quod horisoniorem veieres vocaveri; Somm. Scip. 1, 15, 17-19; Amm. Marc. 18, 6, 22; Mart. Cap. 6, 603; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed. no. 761, line 30.

71. varietatem maxumam habeant: cf. Favorin. ap. Gall. 14, 1, 8: non ... poest ... ratio Chaldaceorum observationis manere si quis ea uis velet sub diversis caeli regionibus. nam quamia ... partium circumumque caecii ex detergencia et conversionibus mundi variates sit, quia non videat? Sext. Emp. 5, 80: οἱ δὲ λόφοι ἀκόμα ἀλλα ἄνωτρος εἰς γνωσίαν αὐθανασίαν ἂν ἄμφοτὲς ἄνωτες διάμεθον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χιλιάδας τρισάκχος ἀκολούθει μεν τὸν κόσμον ἥδυς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸ κατακλυσμὸν καὶ μεταβάλλοντος τοῦ κόσμου ἡν ἡμείς κατακλυσμοὶ ἐξ ἔμπινων ἢ σκοτών γῆς ἢ ἄλλου τοιοῦτος παθημάτων ἐνοχλοῦσιν ὡστε καὶ ἄπτε τὴν τόστην ἑξάκλησιν μὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν ἀντίστροφας γίνεσθαι παραπτωσίας, ἀλλ' ἐφείξας μὲ τὴν ἀυτήν αὐτὺς συμβαίνει παραπτωσίας διάφορος διαφέροντες δὲ τῶν ἄκομα ἀλλὰ ἄνωτρος ἄλλοις ἄνωτες κατὰ τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἀρχής ἀπεικόνισεν ἀλλ' ὧν ὥστε κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀπεικόνισεν ἀλλ' ὧν ἄπτε τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἀρχής ἀπεικόνισεν.
habeant aliquem in aliis locis sint, necesse est ortus occasusque siderum non fieri eodem tempore apud omnis. 93. Quodsi eorum vi caelum modo hoc modo illo modo temperatur, qui potest eadem vis esse nascentium, cum caeli tanta sit dissimilitudo? In his locis quae nos incolimus post solstitium Canicula exoritur, et quidem aliquot diebus, at apud Troglydias, ut

5. Troglydias inl., Müller, trogolitis C.

cal tās ἐπιτολάς καὶ τὰς δύσες τῶν ἄστρων γίνονται. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἱεροὶ ὁμότικοι ὡς ἡ σημεῖα ἦσαν τῆς περί τῶν ἁρα μεταβολῆς. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ παράτυχει οἱ δόναι ται καινοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκης ἵνα παρα- τηρηθῶν ἦν τῶν ἀστρον τοῖς ἁραμένοις καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦτο ἑπέτα μελασθῆναι διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτελεῖσθαι; Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1, 15, 18–19: horison semper quanta- cumque locorum transgressione mutatur. hunc autem quem diximus admissi aspectum aut in terris aqua planitiis aut pelagi tranquilia libertas, qua nullam occult obicit offension, etc. But, as Boucoë-Lecerq (op. cit. 580–581) points out, Cicero, Favorinus, and Sextus (and those who follow them) were probably not abreast of the best astrological practice of the day, which recognized and accepted these facts and tried to reconcile them with the astrological system by the theory of astræolus, or ascensions, for which cf. Boucoë-Lecerq, op. cit. 259–269.

2f. modo hoc modo illo modo: for the awkward repetition cf. 1, 108, n. (simul); 2, 94, n. (saecum simile).

3. vis: in the sense of indeoles, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests; cf. 1, 1, and n. (ad deorum simile); Fin. 5, 43. Hottinger notes that vis may be contrasted with vii just above.

4. quae nos incolimus: cf. 2, 92, n. (omni terra quae incolatur); N. D. 2, 95; 2, 164; Tusc. 1, 68.

4f. post solstitium Canicula, etc.: cf. Sext. Emp. 5, 84–85: ἐπεὶ οὖν τῶρα ταῦτα ἀναφαίνεται ἄλλα τοῖς μὲν θυτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ βραδέοις . . . ἡμικολοῦμε τῷ μὴ παρ' τοῦτο δοκεῖν ὑποκοκετεῖν ἢδειαν, ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τούτος ἂν ἀνατελέσαι τοῦτ' ἀλλοις ἀκμήν ὑπόγειον ὑπάρχειν . . . καὶ δεῖ ταῦτ' οὖν ἢεῖ πρόβληκέν τοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπλανεῖσι ἀστέρας, καθάπερ ἄριστόν τοι καὶ κύνα, μὴ καθά τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἐν παρτί κλεματι κατοικοῦσιν ἰδασμα, ἀλλ' ἀλλοις κατ' ἀλλ' ἀλλοι. For observations as to the rising of Canicula cf. 1, 130, and n. (ortum Caniculae); in Fal. 12 its rising is taken as a hypothetical astrological illustration. Other prognostics from its rising are collected by Boucoë-Lecerq, op. cit. 357.

Pln. N. H. 18, 288 says: pleniurum nocte ad IIII Non. Iul., cum Aegypto canicula exoritur (= 4 July), nel certe XVI Kal. Aug., cum Italiae (= 16 July). For what point in Egypt his observation is intended to hold he does not explain, but surely not for any as far south as the land of the Troglydyes.

5. Troglydias: these cave-dwellers (cf. Arist. Hist. An. 9, p. 597 a 9; Sen. N. Q. 4a, 2, 18; Plin. N. H. 5, 45; Mart. Cap. 6, 674; perhaps their cave life was designed to escape from the great heat, for which cf. Sen. L. c.; Strab. 2, p. 133; Dio. 3, 32, 2; Mart. Cap. 6, 702; and especially Lyd. de Mens. 4, 107) lived on the west shore of the Red Sea, opposite Arabia (Strab. 1, p. 42; 16, pp. 776; 780; 17, p. 819; Dio. 3, 15, 1; Curt. 4, 7, 18; etc.), and not far from Ethiopia (Strab. 2, p. 131; 16, p. 769; Dio. 1, 30, 3; Plin. N. H. 7, 31; 8, 25; Heliod. Ach. 8, 16; Mart. Cap. 6, 702). From their extreme southern position their land is occasionally cited, as here, in astronomical accounts (e.g., Mart. Cap. 6, 593; Beda, de Nat. Ker. 40). When no further qualification is given these Troglydyes of the Red Sea are usually understood, but other cave-dwellers of the same designa-
scribatur, ante solstitium, ut, si iam concedamus aliquid vim caelestem ad eos qui in terra gignuntur pertinere, confitiendum sit illis eos qui nascentur eodem tempore posse in dissimilis incidere naturas propter caeli dissimilitudinem; quod minus illis placet; volunt enim illi omnis eodem tempore ortos qui ubique sint nati eadem conditio nasci. XLV. 94. Sed quae tanta dementia est, ut in maxumis motibus mutationibusque caeli nihil intersit qui ventus, qui imber, quae tempestas ubique sit?—quarum rerum in proximis locis tantae dissimilitudines saepe sunt ut alia Tusculi,

[507] 5f. ut scribatur: the source is not named. Vitruv. 9, 5, 4 tells of astronomical information about the far south being derived from merchants travelling beyond Egypt, but a more definite source may perhaps be suggested in the second century geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus (cf. Geogr. Gr. min. 1, liv-lxxiii; 111-195), a writer much used by Diodorus and Pliny, and the author of five books on the Red Sea and five on the Troglydates (Phot. Bibl. 213 (Patr. Gr. 103, 700A)). His work would have been available to Panaetius, of whom he was a contemporary (and that it was known to Posidonius, at least, seems clear; cf. Leopoldi, De Agatharchide Cnidio (1892), 30-32; Philippson in Philol. Wochenschr. 42 (1922), 106).

1. ut si iam: cf. 2, 129; Tusc. 1, 50.
3. in dissimiliis naturas: cf. 2, 95; and, for the expression, N. D. 1, 23: nullo modo viderunt animi natura intelligentia in quam figuram cadere possit. The word incidere conveys the idea of falling by chance; cf. 2, 128.
5. eadem conditio nasci: cf. 2, 92; answered in 2, 95.

6f. ut... nihil intersit: brachylogy for ut nihil interesse existimetur, as Hottinger suggests.

6. motibus mutationibus: cf. N. D. 3, 27; Fin. 5, 71; Ac. 2, 119.

7. qui imber: the objections of Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 31) to this phrase, which he brackets in his edition, are unconvincing. For the effects of the atmosphere cf. 1, 79, n. (aliae quaeacula, etc.); 2, 89; Wendland, Philos Schild über die Vorschung (1892), 81, and nn. 3 and 4.

8. in proximis locis, etc.: cf. Gemin. Isagog. 14 (Patr. Gr. 19, 848 A-B): εις δο φανεροι δι’ ου φυσικοι αι των δοστων ικατολαι και δοσεις τα περι τον άφρα παδή άπογεωνωσιν άλλα καθ’ έκαστον δρομωντα διαφορον επαρρησιας γεγοναι, και των αιρενων μεταβαλαι, διαφερε οιδε ταχα επισημαι ιν τοις ποτηριοις άγωμαι, αλει συμφωνοντωσιν αιτι βαται μεν δε καθου ου γλυτσωναι, αλλα τοις μεγιστοις περιχωσοι χιμωναι ικατολαι και δοσεις εδεις αποτελοντως έστι δε κατα μεν την τοιον εδεις γλυτσονε, έτι χωρας δε άμφοτεροι, κτλ.

8. saepe sunt: because of saepe twice appearing immediately below Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 39) would emend to esse possunt. But such awkward repetitions are numerous in Cicero; cf. 1, 3, n. (videtur); 2, 93, n. (modo hoc modo illo modo); etc.

8. Tusculi: doubtless selected as an example because the place at which this dialogue is laid; also Cicero’s experience in passing from the Campagna to the
alia Romae eveniat saepe tempestas; quod qui navigant maxume animadvertunt, cum in flectendis promunturis ventorum mutationes maxumas saepe sentiunt—haec igitur cum sit tum serenitas tum perturbatio caeli, estne sanorum hominum hoc ad nascentium ortus pertinere non dicere (quod non certe pertinet), illud nescio quid tenue, quod senti tur nullo modo, intelligi autem vix potest, quae a luna ceterisque sideribus caeli temperatio fiat, dicere ad puorum ortus pertinere? Quid? quod non intellegunt semi-

5. quod non certe pertinet C, quod certe 'non pertinet' Schuets, 0, quod certe pertinet Davies; suspecta vis Hortinger (collato 2, 21), del. Christ, Baier, Müller, Hererinus; rei nemi Moser, Giese, Allen, Thoresen; def. Madinis (Emendat. in Cic. Lib. philos. 1 (1826), 36-38).

Alban Hills may well have furnished him with many illustrations of this.

2. in flectendis promunturis: cf. ad Att. 5, 9, 1: Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur. (Enn. Ann. 328 Vahlen says Leucatam campant). Apparently not elsewhere in Latin of rounding a cape (though occasionally of turning the men in a race course), and an imitation of the Greek use of κυματω; e.g., Hdt. 4, 42; 4, 43; 7, 122; al.

4. nascentium ortus: cf. 2, 91.

5. quod non certe pertinet: a phrase often misunderstood and unnecessarily deleted. The argument is this: it is consistent for astrologers not to say that these very perceptible atmospheric differences have any effect upon birth—though, in my judgment, it is not all certain that they do, and yet to say that those imperceptible astral influences are effective in this way? Through the words non dicere Cicero is making an admission for the sake of argument, but lest this should be understood as an expression of his real conviction he adds the cautious parenthesis quod non certe pertinet (cf. 2, 106; quod absurdum est; 2, 131: quod numquam faciam). In the clauses outside the parenthesis the antithesis is between hoc... non dicere and illud... dicere (not, as Rath suggested (emending to non pertinere dicere), between non pertinere... and pertinere). We perhaps do not even need, with Moser, to explain non dicere as equivalent to the Greek ὁδὲ φάναι: negare; that the astrologers should press a far less important consideration while neglecting a far more important one was sufficiently discreditable to their scientific claims. Again, the form of the parenthesis is correct as it stands; Cicero does not mean to assert that the weather has no effect upon children at their birth (as the emendation of Schuets would state: quod certe non pertinet), but rather, with Academic suspense of judgment, to declare that it is not clear that it has any such effect. The similarity of the gloss in 2, 21 is accidental and specious rather than real, and it has no relation to this passage, but in 2, 106 we have a real parallel; cf. the note there on quod absurdum est.


7f. seminum vim: again Marcus meets Quintus upon the Stoic ground, for that school laid great emphasis, in its doctrine of determinism, upon the importance of the seed; cf. 1, 128, n. (ut in seminibus visi). Cf. Anon. Hermippus, 2, 48-49: ἢ γὰρ δὲ ποιν δὴ καὶ τρεις ἐκ ταῦτα γεγονέτω αἰματο χρῶς ὑπερ τοῦ ὀμοίῳ περισσότερον νόσον μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἵππουν. τὸτε ὅτι οὐκ ἄστέρεις παραπλησίως ἐν τῇ γενεσί οὐκ ἔχεις ἀστρολογίαν (cf. Aug. C. Q. 5, 2; 5, 5), ἢ δὴ κατ’ ἐκείνο τὸ μίρο τὸ σημεία νοοῦτον νόσον ὑπερ τοῦ τοιοῦτου γεγονότος· ἓν γὰρ οὖν τάλαθα εἶναι τιθήματι· ἡ... νόσον γὰρ καὶ ἕγειραι καὶ μακροθύμησαι καὶ βοτανικά τυχόντος ἐνεργεύοιτο, καὶ καὶ κατά τόπον διαφοράς, λέγει δὴ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς βραδυτήτας καὶ ψυχές καὶ ἐφεξής καὶ ἀφθονίας ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἡλικίων μεταβολαὶ καὶ μάλιστα ή τοῦ σπείρατος, δοκιμός ποιεῖ ἑκούσι.
num vim, quae ad gignendum procreandumque plurimum valeat, funditus
tolli, mediocris erroris est? Quis enim non videt et formas et mores et
plerosque status ac motus effingere a parentibus liberos? Quod non con-
tingeret si haec non vis et natura gignentium efficeret, sed temperatio
lunae caelique moderatio. 95. Quid? quod uno et eodem temporis puncto
nati dissimilis et naturas et vitas et casus habent, parumne declarat nihil

6. declarat Davies, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Hearings, declarat C.

dōnus in tā γυμνόσκε; cf. 2, 53; Bouché-
Mathes. 1, 5, 5-6, on the other hand, em-
phasizes the great difference between
the members of the same family: unde
constat generis quidem nostris substantiam
et ipsum nudi ac solius corporis formam ex
quattuor elementorum commissione providi
numinis artificio esse formatum, colores
vero nobis ac formas, mores etiam et insti-
tuta de nulla re alia nisi siellarum perenni
cursus agitationis distribui.

11. funditus tolli: cf. 1, 5, n. (fundi-
tus sustulit); 1, 9; 2, 148.

2. erroris est: cf. Tusc. 4, 80.

3. status ac motus: frequently
coupled; cf. Fin. 3, 56; 4, 32; 5, 35; 5, 37;
5, 47; Off. 1, 102; 1, 126; Tusc. 3, 53.

3. effingere a parentibus: perhaps
cf. Tim. 34: cetera . . . impressa ab illis
qua imitabantur eōnserat. The imitation is
unconscious, like that of 2, 58: umor
. . . sudorem videor imitari.

34. quod non contingere sit: cf.
N. D. 3, 87.

4. vis et natura: cf. 1, 12, n. (vis et
natura). The vis et natura gignentium
represent internal causes as opposed to
the external influences of the moon.

4f. temperatio . . . moderatio: cf.
N. D. 2, 92; moderationes et temperationes.
Note the chiastic arrangement. It may
be, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests, that
caeli is here an objective genitive, as in
caeli temperatio above, in which case it will
mean the tempering effect which the
moon exercises upon the other heavenly
bodies and hence the resultant effect upon
those being born. The omission of

mention of the planets, however, makes
the expression ambiguous, and caeli may
be subjective, including both planets and
fixed stars.

5. uno et eodem: cf. 2, 97: unus et
idem; Meader in Univ. of Michigan Stud.
Humanist. ser. 3 (1910), 21.

5. temporis puncto: for the expres-
sion cf. N. D. 1, 52; 1, 57; 2, 94; Leg. 2, 14;
Tusc. 1, 82.

6. dissimilis . . . naturas: cf. 2, 93.
The argument is found in its most pro-
nounced form in the case of twins (2, 90,
and n. (geminorum, etc.), but is often
cited in that appearing here; cf. Plut.
N. H. 7, 165: alia mortalitas inconstan-
tia: Homenus eadem nocte natus
Hectorem et Polydamantam tradidit, tum
diversae sortis viros. C. Mario Cn. Carbone
III cos. a. d. V Kai. Iunias M. Caecius
Rufus et C. Licinius Calvus eadem die
genii sunt, oratores quidem ambo, sed tam
dispari eventu. hoc etiam isdem horis
nascentibus in loto mundo cotidie venit,
pariique domini ac servi gignentum,
reges et ineptos; Sext. Emp. 5, 88-89:
oi γαρ των αυτων καθ' βλεποντων γενεσθαι
ει των αυτων ζησαν ζων, άλλης ου των
χρονον εκδιδειναι, ου δε των καιρον συνθειναι.
οδηλω τινι Αλεξανδρω τω Μακεδονιω γηνω
τοις πολλων κατα την οικουμενη σωματω-
χωνατων αυτων, oδη Πλατω των φιλοσοφων, κτη
(repeated by Hippol. Refutat. 4, 5); 5, 99;
Ambr. Hexasem. 4, 14: (according to the
astrologers) brevi enim ato noxi
momento distare naturalem inops et polen-
tis, egeniis et divinis, innocentis et nesii, et
plurumque eodem hora generari longeversi
debilium et prima pueriæ æclae morti-
num, si reliqua disparia sint et mundo
ad agendum vitam nascendi tempus pertinere? Nisi forte putamus neminem
codem tempore ipso et conceptum et natum quo Africanum. Num quis
igitur talis fuit?

XLVI. 96. Quid? illudne dubium est quin multi, cum ita nati essent


1. ad agendum vitam: cf. 2, 89: actionem vitae.

1. nisi forte: cf. 2, 108; Pro Mil. 84, ad Q. Fr. 1, 1, 19; the expression is, of

course, sarcastic; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914),

416.

2. eodem . . . ipso: for the combination of these words cf. Meader, op. cit.
41-44.

2. conceptum et natum: on the important question whether the moment of

conception or that of birth determined the horseoscope cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.
373-383.

2. Africanum: on Africanus as the type of a man of importance cf. 2, 66, and

n. (Africanus). The argument is much the same as that in 2, 97, where Homer

appears as the example (cf. 2, 97, n. (vides-

me)); cf. also several of the instances cited

in the note on dissimilis . . . naturas above; and those cited by Bouché-Leclercq, op.
cit. 587, 'n. 1 (especially Favorinus ap. Gall. 14, 1, 29).

4. multi, etc.: Philo, de Prov. 8.3

contains a somewhat similar reference to

the overcoming of natural handicaps; cf.

Wendland, Philos Schrift über die Vorsch-\n
ung (1892), 33; also the important pas-

sage—too long to be here quoted—in Pat. 10-11. Ambrose (Hexaem. 4, 13) combats

the astrological fatalism which would

leave no room for individual improvement

or reform, thus cutting at the root of all

moral responsibility (id. 4, 19).

At some time not certainly known but

as early as St. Thomas Aquinas (Summa,

1, 1, 115, 4; cf. Wedel, The medieaval

Altitude toward Astrology (1920), 67-68)

there arose the notion that the influence
of the stars was limited in its application to corporeal objects, and that, by the emanicipation of one’s soul from bondage to the body, *vir sapiens dominabitur astris* (i.e., can escape altogether from astrological fatalism); cf. Wedel, *op. cit.* 135-141 for the development of this doctrine in the later middle ages. May the idea perhaps have been suggested by such passages as Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 18, in which he considers the arts of the Chaldaens a spider’s web, ensnaring the weak-minded, but powerless to catch and injure the sensible?

1. contra naturam: apparently meaning contrary to the natural norm or average, for the defects are not the result of bad habit or training but are congenital. In *Fin.* 2, 33 Cicero says: *ut bacillum olid est infexum et incurvatum de industria, olibd ita natum, sic fera rum natura non est ilia quidem depravata mala disciplina sed natura sua.* The peculiarities of individual birth (*natura sua*) may thus be, considered in a broader sense, abnormal (*contra naturam*).


3. linguae, etc.: for the *frenum* of the tongue cf. Galen, *de Usu Part.* 11, 10, pp. 883-885 Kühn. Fronto, p. 149 Naber speaks of the *vex vincta* of stammerers (cf. id. p. 159), and Aug. *Conf.* 1, 14 says: *in tuum invocationem rumpebam nodos linguae meae.* The operation of cutting the *frenum* was apparently the simple one often employed today for the relief of the tongue-tied.


4. meditazione atque exercitatione: cf. Tusc. 2, 41; Suet. *Nero*, 20: *mediari exercitique; also meditando in de Or. 1, 20* (quoted in the next note). The word *meditatio* = the Greek *mukêria*.

5. ut Demosthenem: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut *P. Claudius*).

5. Phalereus: on the form cf. Kühner-Holweissig, *Ausz. Gram. d. lat.* *Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 363; 367; 469. The writer here cited is Demetrius of Phalereum, the fourth century statesman and scholar, whose life is described by Diog. L. 5, 75-81 (with a list of his works in 5, 80-81; cf. also Martini in *P.-W.* s.v. *Demetrios* (1901), 2817-2841). The title of the work from which Cicero here draws is uncertain, but it may have been a monograph on Demosthenes (cf. Martini, *op. cit.* 2830-2831), for we have several references to Demetrius as an authority on that subject: *Q. Cic. Comment. Peti* 2: *saepè quaem de Demosthenis studio et exercitatione scriptis Demetrios recordare; Philoden. Rhei.* 1, 196-197 Sudhaus; Dion. Hal. *Demost. 53:* *kal γαρ τα ναθη τα της φοινικι τα σχημα τα ελαιων, δις κρατήσα η τη τημελιε, ο εμερυπ πινω κατεγράφω, καλου φοινι προς ταθα αλ περιν φοινι.
exercitacione fecisse ut planissime diceret. Quodsi haec astro ingenerata et tradita essent, nulla res ea mutare posset. Quid? dissimilitudo locorum

χρήσιμων, ὡς Δημήτριος τὸν θαύματα ψήφου καὶ οἱ άλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράφατε; Plut. Dem. 9; 11: τὸν δὲ σωματωτόν ἐκβάφισε τούτην ἐκτήνης θαύματι ὡς Δημήτριος Ιστορεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκόμη προεβλήματος γεγονότος τὴν μὲν γάρ ἀσάφεια καὶ τραυματικὴ τῆς γλώσσης καθίζεσθαι καὶ διαφθοράς εἰς τὸν σῶμα ψήφου λαμβάνειν καὶ ῥήσεις ἁμα τελεία τελεία, τὴν δὲ φωνῆς καιρικήν ἐν τούτω θόρυβος καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ μὲν ἀναβαίνειν διαλεγόμενον καὶ λέγοντα τινὰς δὲ στίχους ἁμα τῷ πνεύματι πνευμόνῳ προφερόμενον εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν καταστροφής εἰς τὸν τετράντων οἷος, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελίτες λέγομεν ἡ ἱστορία περιάλοιπα.

nonne dissimilis hominum procreationes habet? Quas quidem percurrere oratione facile est, quid inter Indos et Persas, Aethiopas et Syros differat corporibus, animis, ut incredibilis varietas dissimilitudoque sit. 97. Ex quo intellegitur plus terrarum situs quam lunae tactus ad nascendum

2. Aethiopas et Syros codd. dext. Meseri, Christ, Boller, Müller, Thorasen, Horning, et aethiopas siros AV.

188) well remarks that Cicero's source, Panaetius, evidently was unfamiliar with astrological teaching which relied upon precisely these geographic (and accompanying ethnographic) idiosyncrasies as a justification and proof of the art, namely by the theory of 

Γηγαιρα (for which see Wendland, Philos Schrifi über die Vorschung (1892), 33-36; Boll, op. cit. 181-235; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 327-347), and he therefore infers that the doctrine must have been introduced after the time of Panaetius (not necessarily after Cicero, who did not keep abreast of the innovations in the art) and before the fourth book of Manilius, in which it already appears. According to this doctrine different parts of the globe are each under the especial control of a particular zodiacal sign or planet or aspect, and this control is more powerful than the horoscope of the individual. Thus racial peculiarities were thought to be explained. In the face of this theory Boll (op. cit. 185) notes that the attacks of the critics were modified so that against genealogy they pointed to the identity of customs in any given nation, no matter under what star men were born, while against this newer astrological geography or ethnography they cited (1) the cases of individuals or minority races who differed from those with whom they lived, and (2) the fact that races emigrating to other lands still retained their peculiar customs (cf. [Clem.] Recognit. 9, 21; Bardesanes ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 6, 10, p. 275 b-c; the stock example of this was the practice of circumcision by the Jews; cf. Recognit. 9, 28; Wendland, op. cit. 30-32 (for cases from Philo, Bardesanes, Origen, and Procopius); Salust. de Diis et Mundo, 9 (Frag. Philos. Cr. 3, 39); Caesar. Dial. 110 (Patr. 38, 985); Greg. Nyss. c. Patr. (Patr. Gr. 45, 169C)). See also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 584, n. 1.

1. nonne: for its deferred position cf. 1, 89, n. (nonne).


2. Indos, etc.: many examples from these and other races are given in the passages cited in the preceding note and in their contexts, the general principle being, as Caesarius (Dial. 109 (Patr. Gr. 38, 980) remarks of the Chinese, λαχυρότας τῆς ἀνάγκης τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . δ θάρτος χώρας. Cf. the conclusion of Bardesanes (ap. Eus. Pr. Ev. 6, 10, p. 278 a-b): καταφερεται δε το λαβαριον των ἀνθρώπων χώρας και θάρσης το αντίστοιχον του ἀνθρώπου και ευκίναιται ἡ γένεσις τοις Σάραθ μη δήλωσι φιλανθρωπίας, τοις Βραχυμάνας κρεοφαγέας, τοις Πύρανας ἁμώτινως μη γαλαζόν, τοις Ἰνδοῖς μη καλεθείν, τοις Μίνδοσι μη ἡσθεθείν ἵππος, τοις Πάρθοις μη πολιγυρίαις . . . άλλι, ας προείνηται, έκαστος άνθρωπος και έκαστος των ἀνθρώπων χρήση την ιασίαν ἑλευθερία ώς μοιεται και στε τὸ μειον, και καλεί περικετικό το πάρον. In the present passage we have two groups, in each of which are two peoples, contrasted in both physical and mental characteristics with each other.

31. ex quo intellegitur: cf. 1, 70, n. (ex quo intellegitur).

4. plus terrarum situs, etc.: cf. Sext. Emp. 5, 101-102; Pyrrhon. Hyp. 1, 14, 80. Wendland (Philos Schrifi über die Vorschung (1892), 37, n. 2) well points out that, while the criticism of Camecades is purely negative, Panaetius here offers a positive explanation of the phenomena in question. For the astrological answer to the
valere. Nam quod aiunt quadringlea septuaginta milia annorum in periclitandis experiundisque pueris quicumque essent nati Babylonios posuisse, fallunt; si enim esset factitatum non esset desitum; neminem autem habemus auctorem qui id aut fieri dicat aut factum sciat. XLVII. Videsne me non ea dicere quae Carneades, sed ea quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit? Ego autem etiam haec requiro: omnesne qui Can-

objection raised cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 583, n. 2.

[514] 4. lunae tactus: cf. the tactus of the sun, described in N. D. 2, 40. Emendation to tractus, status, etc. is superfluous.

1. quadringlea: cf. 1, 36, and n. (quadringlea); Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 575, n. 2. Favorinus (ap. Gell. 14, 1, 2) states that disciplinam istam Chaldacorum tanti vetustatis non esse quantae sideri volunt; and Sextus Empiricus (5, 105) raises a more definite objection: οὖν οὗ τῶν αὐτῶν τόμημαντόρμος διὰ μαρίδων, οὐ φαίνει, χρόνων θεωρεῖται, ἀποκατα-

στάσεως γινόμενης του μεγάλου ιώνιου τοῦ ἐνπαλαξίων ἱππασσιῶν καὶ ἐφικμένης καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκεί, ὥς δὲν ἀπροκηκίς τότε τοις τοσοοῖσι αὐτοὶ συνθέμενις μὴ μᾶς γενίσαι καὶ ταῦτα, οἷον διὰ τὰ πολλά καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ ὑπέρον ὕφοράς, ἐφήσαις οὐ τις, μεσοδιάδοσις αὐτῖν ἢ τάντας γε τῇ κατὰ μέρος μεταβαλλεῖ ἑρμηνεύοντος τὸ συνεχεῖς τῆς ἱστορίας παράδειγμα; but cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 574, n. 2. Arnold (Rom. Stoicism (1911), 6, n. 9) would reduce the difficulty by assuming that the original tradition asserted observations through only 470 years, which number was later increased to 470,000. Our passage (quadringlea ... factum scial) is quoted by Pica della Mirandola, Disput. adv. Astr. 11 (1557 ed., p. 146 verso).

2. periclitandis: cf. Of. 3, 73; de Am. 63.

3. factitatum: cf. 1, 92.

5. videsne: cf. introd. pp. 25-26. There seems little doubt that the astrological discussion thus far is taken from Panaetius. The next sentence, however, seems to make Cicero himself authority for what follows. Yet, as Schmekel well

points out (Die Philos. d. mill. Stoa (1892), 176-177; cf. Wendland, op. cit. 36-37; Goedeckemeyer, Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus (1905), 79, n. 6), the arguments that follow so closely agree with what we find in Favorinus, Sextus, and others, that they seem derived from a common source, and this doubtless is Carneades (through Clitomachus), whom Cicero probably used more at length in the lost parts of the De Fato. This assumption will also the more easily help us to understand the clear logical doublt presented by the cases of Africanus (2, 95) and Homer (2, 97), here awkwardly separated (though logically of exactly the same force) because hastily borrowed from different but parallel originals (Schmekel, op. cit. 176).

5f. princeps Stoicorum Panaetius: cf. 1, 6, and n. (princeps ... discipline).

6. haec: in defending this reading of the manuscripts against hoc, the emendation of Marsus, Christ very properly remarks that haec applies to the following questions: omnesne ... urinii et qui ingenio ... quoque uno.

6. omnesne, etc.: cf. 2, 90, n. (seminalia, etc.): Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 27-28: quid esset quod adversum hoc dici posset requirebeat, quod homines utriusque sexus, omnium aetatum, diversis stellorum motibus in viae itinari, regionibus sub qui-

bus genitalis sunt longe distantibus, omnes tamen is qui hominem terris aut labinisus tecum aut oppidorum exspugnationibus aut eadem in nati facta obriti odem genera mortis eodemque ictu temporis universi simul interirent. 'quod scilicet,' inquit, 'numquam evenire, si moenia nasciendi singulis adhibita suas unumquidque leges
nensi pugna ceciderint uno astro fuerint; exitus quidem omnium unus et idem fuit. Quid? qui ingenio atque animo singulares, num astro quoque uno? Quod enim tempus quo non innumerables nascuntur? At certe similis nemo Homeri. 98. Et, si ad rem pertinet quo modo caelo adfecto compositisque sideribus quoque animal oriatur, valeat id nescesse est non in hominibus solum verum in bestiis etiam; quo quid potest dici absurdus?

3. nascuntur C, Christ, Thoresen (qui 2, 61 conferunt), nascuntur Saisib., O. Müller, Heringa.

haberent; [Clem.] Recognit. 9, 30: sicul in reos faciis (sc. Deus) qui diluvio perierunt, qui utique omnes una die, immo una hora extinxi sunt, cum certum sit non eos esse succendum genesis ordinem una hora natos; Sext. Emp. 5, 91-92: drōmen gαρ πολλος κατά τε θλίψεων διαφέρεται κατά κατά μονάδας σωμάτων καὶ κατὰ ἄλλας πανελθεῖται ἔδοξης παθῶν τῷ ἄγιο τέλει περιπετείωσις, καὶ ήτοι ἐν ψεύδω ἀπολογέομεν ἢ ἐν συμπλήρωμα ἡμῶν ἀποτελέσθαι οὐρανοῦ κατακομμήθη ς, οὐ εἶπεν ξυρ. τοῦ δὲ Χαλδαίου προήχει τὴν ισχυρίαν τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς, ᾧ πάνω δημοσίᾳ. εἶ γάρ δὲ μὲν τῇ ἀκίνητος γενεσίς κατα τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ σφαγῆναι λόγον, τὸ πού ἐποιήσατε μυριάδες τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναγεννησεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐν Μαραθῶν ὑπ’ ἐν καταστροφήν; οὕτω γὰρ δὲ γάρ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ αὐτὴν ἢ ὕπαιθρίαν, καὶ τὰ λίθο ἐν τῇ κατάθεσι τοῦ ἰδρυμέος γενεσίς ναυαρχῆες, ποίοι οἱ τῶν Θρακῶν αἰαναμένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὸ κόλπ τῆς Εὐπόρου συγκαταπωτίσθησαν; κτλ. (cf. Hippolyt. Refutat. 4, 5, who adds to the case of the battle of Marathon also that of Salamis); Greg. Nyss. c. Fideum (Pair. Gr. 45, 164D-165B; with many examples, including the Flood, the destruction of the cities, the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, earthquakes, etc.), who concludes: ἄρα τῶν καὶ τῶν τῶν ἀνθρωποῦ τῶν ἡμῶν συνδεόμενοι τὰ ὄντα τῶν γενεσίων ὄνομεν, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ Ῥωμαίους ὑποτάσσεται, καὶ μὴ καὶ τἀυτά τῶν ἐνδοξού ταύτα τῶν ἀλλήλων κατὰ ταύτα τῆς ἰδιότητος συνεργεῖται διαφόρως. εἰ δὲ δὲ μὲν τῆς γενεσίως ἄκατος διάφορος, ἢ τῶν συμφορῶν ταύτης ἐπιρροής παραλλαγῆ εὐ̣ τῇ κατὰ τὴν γενεσίαν εἰς ἑταίρον οἴδατον. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 582, n. 1, who cites the use of the same argument by Calvin.

2. ingenio . . . singulares: cf. 1, 53: singulari vir ingenio.
3. uno: the deletion of this word by Thoresen (Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 39-40; and in his edition) is unnecessary.
6. in bestiis etiam: cf. Diod. Tars. ap. Phot. Bibl. 223 (Patri Gr. 103, 846C-D): οἵ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς τα ἄνω ἀκραῖοι θεωρήματος καταστροφῆς τῶν ἡμῶν καταστροφῆς καὶ ἀναγεννήθη τίς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐν Μαραθῶν ὑπ’ ἐν καταστροφήν; οὐ γὰρ δὲ γάρ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ αὐτὴν ἢ ὕπαιθρίαν, καὶ καὶ τὰ λίθον ἐν τῇ κατάθεσι τοῦ ἰδρυμέος γενεσίς ναυαρχῆες, τοῖς οἱ τῶν Θρακῶν αἰαναμένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὸ κόλπ τῆς Εὐπόρου συγκαταπωτίσθησαν; κτλ. (cf. Hippolyt. Refut. 4, 5, who adds to the case of the battle of Marathon also that of Salamis); Greg. Nyss. c. Fideum (Pair. Gr. 45, 164D-165B; with many examples, including the Flood, the destruction of the cities, the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, earthquakes, etc.), who concludes: ἄρα τῶν καὶ τῶν τῶν ἀνθρωποῦ τῶν ἡμῶν συνδεόμενοι τὰ ὄντα τῶν γενεσίων ὄνομα, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ Ῥωμαίους ὑποτάσσεται, καὶ μὴ καὶ τἀυτά τῶν ἐνδοξού ταύτα τῶν ἀλλήλων κατὰ ταύτα τῆς ἰδιότητος συνεργεῖται διαφόρως. εἰ δὲ δὲ μὲν τῆς γενεσίως ἄκατος διάφορος, ἢ τῶν συμφορῶν ταύτης ἐπιρροής παραλλαγῆ εὐ̣ τῇ κατὰ τὴν γενεσίαν εἰς ἑταίρον οἴδατον. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 582, n. 1, who cites the use of the same argument by Calvin.
Lucius quidem Tarutius Firmanus, familiaris noster, in primis Chaldaicus


nulla ratio videretur cur ea siderum vis in hominibus valeret, defeceret in celere; Sext. Emp. 5, 94: ἄλλος δὲ τις ἀπόρησε καὶ τετράθη τῶν ἀλώγων ἄνθρωπος· εἰ γὰρ παρά τοὺς συνεχεῖς μανικουλοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων τὰ κατὰ τὸν βλεν ἀποτελεῖσθαι τίμων ἐκβαίνει, ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀνήθῃ τούτῳ τῶν ξύλων μηδὲν ἑκάστων ὠμα καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐκπολικοῦσα φιλοτικία τῆς ἀνηθῆς ἐν ἐμπεσέοις ἀκολουθεῖν τῶν βλεν ἐκβαίνως, κτλ.; Orig. ap. Eus. Pr. Et. 6, 11, p. 281b: τῶν καλόλινων πλασμάτων ἀστέρων ἐπικλεῖτο πρὸς τοὺς ἔν τις γρίφοις κάτως νομίζομεν (sc. τῶν ἀθέων) συμβαλλὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ γῆς καὶ τοῖς θεῶν ἐκλεχθοίς, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἀλώγων ἄνθρωπος; Aug. C. D. 5, 7: quis enim estiam exercos uti audaces dicere omnes arbores, omnes herbas, omnes bestias serpentes aves pisces vermiculorum nomina nascendi singulatim habere diversa? solent tamen homines ad templandam peritiam mathematicorum adferre ad eos constellationes mutorum animalium ... sic desipient homines ut existimemini cum homo nascitur celeros rerum orius ita inhiberi ut cum illo sub eadem caele plaga nec musco nascatur, et al.; Conf. 7, 6: ἀγαθαβανι ... ita ut mulorum quoque animalium, si quae domi purerent, observaret momenta nascentium atque ad ea caele portionem notarent, unde illius quasi oriis experimenta colligerent, also the curious passage in Cedren. Hist. (Patr. Gr. 121, 82C). But for a partial defence of the astrological theory from these misunderstandings by its opponents cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 585, n. 4, who also notes (586, and n. 2) the later applications of astrology to animals and (587) even moves to the mineral kingdom.

[516] 6. quo ... absurdus: cf. N. D. 1, 38; de Sen. 66.

1. Tarutius Firmanus: the gentle name is a rare one; the cognomen is thought by Haakh (in Pauly, Realencyclo. s.v. Tarutius (1852)), to mean 'from Firman.' Plin. N. H. ind. to book 16 reads: L. Tarutio qui Graece de astris scripsit.

Our accounts of this man are few but definite: Plut. Rom. 12: ἐν τοίς κατὰ Βάρβων τοῖς χρόνοις ... ἐν Ταροτίοισι εἰτεροῖς αὐτός, φιλοσοφὸς μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ μαθηματικὸς, ἀκτίμωνος δὲ της περὶ τῶν πλανήτων χρόνων τὰς ωρίμας καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ αὐτῆς περὶ τῶν ἐκείνων ωρίμας καὶ σεισμῶν καὶ των ἐν τῇ περὶ πολύτιμης ἑναντίον εἰναι. τοῦτο προβαλέτει ὁ Βάρβων ἀναγαγεί τὴν Ῥωμάλδου γένεσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὡραίον ἐκ τῶν λογομερῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων περὶ τὸν ἀνηθός χρονισμὸν τῶν συλλογισμῶν (i.e., the reverse operation of the ordinary casting of horoscopes) ... ἐκτότης οὖν τὸ τροπεκαθάρισσα ὁ Ταροτίος, καὶ τὰ τέλη καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑκάστων καὶ χρόνων ἔνθα καὶ τρόπων τελευτής καὶ πάντα τὸ τελευτής καὶ ταύτα τούτα συνεβί, εἰ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἀνδροὶ διάφορον τὴς τῆς μέν τις τῆς μετα τροπεκαθάρως ἔκκενθη τοῦ Ῥωμάλδου αὐτές τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν δευτερασίας διαμερίσθαι, οἷον καὶ Οὐσίμπαν Χαίδα (is this perhaps an indication that Tarutius was using Egyptian tables for his calculations?); τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδα, τρίτη ὡρα, καθ ἄν δὴ ὁ ἰδιὸς ἀπακτὸν παντίου (this looks suspiciously similar to the eclipse at the founding of the city; cf. 1, 108, n. (interoc, etc.); can the phrase καθ ἄν ... παντίου perhaps have been misplaced from the horoscope of the city a few lines below?). He then gives the exact hour of the birth of Romulus, κισσιδόρας δὲ τὴν 'Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκτης θαρμοθεία μηδὲς ἐταγμένον, μεταξὺ δευτερας ὡρας καὶ τρίτης; cf. Lyd. de Mens. 1, 14: 'Ῥωμώλοι δὲ κτίσει τὴν Ῥώμην τῆς πρὸ δεκαμαίας Καλλιόταν Μαντοὺ, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον τῆς ἐκτης, ῥ ὡς ἐτερα κατὰ τὸ ἑτερον τῆς ὑδης ὡς ὥρα τῆς πέλεξ ὑπα καὶ τρίτης πρὸ τρίτης, ἔτη Ταροτίοισι διάμετροι καταστροφίσκει, διὸς μὲν ἢθος ... Ἡλιοὺ δὲ Σαλώμε καὶ Σάληνος ἡμῆς (cf. in iuo cum esset luna below), κτλ.; Solin. 1, 18: Romulus ... auspiciato muro rum fundamenta icti diutue viginti natus annos, XI K. Mai., hora post secundam ante tertiam, sicut L. Tar-
rationibus eruditus, urbis etiam nostrae natalem diem repetebat ab is Parilibus quibus eam a Romulo conditam accepimus, Romamque in iugo cum esset luna natam esse dicerat nec eius fata canere dubitabat. 99. 0 vim maximam erroris! Etiamne urbis natalis dies ad vim stellarum et

runtius prodidit, mathematicorum nobilissimi, love in piscibus ... soli in luna, luna in libra constituit. et observantiam deincepta ne qua hostia Parilibus caederetur ut iste dies: a sanguine purus esset, etc.; Peter in Rhein. Mus. 57 (1902), 243.


2. Parilibus: the word is commonly derived by dissimilation from Pautilia (cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterb. 2 ed. (1910), 562; Wissowa, op. cit. 199-200; for varying views id. 200, n. 1 and the note on urbis ... natalem above), which, following Varro (L. L. 6, 15) and others (cf. Wissowa, op. cit. 200, n. 2), is in turn connected with Pales. Mommsen (in C. I. L. I, 1, 2 ed. (1893), 315) thinks both Parilia and Pales are connected with pario, but Walde (op. cit. 541) suggests pello (cf. opilio). Pales was a deity concerned with shepherds, of uncertain gender (cf. Wissowa, op. cit. 200, and nn. 3-5; more recently the discovery of further fragments of the Fasti Antiquae mention a festival on 7 July in honor of Pailibus II; cf. Mancini in Notizie degli Scavi, 1921, 101-102). For the details of the festival cf. Schwegler, op. cit. 1, 444-446; Fowler, Roman Festivals (1908), 79-85; Frazer, Golden Bough, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 324-348; Wissowa, op. cit. 199-201.

2. accepimus: cf. 1, 33, n. (accepimur).

2 f. in iugo ... luna: this use of iugum (=the sign Libra) seems to be hardly paralleled in Latin; in Greek, however Ἱδρεύς is so used (cf. Bouclet-Leclercq op. cit. 141-142). That this was the sign in which the moon was at the time indicated is also stated by Lydus de Mens. 1, 14 and Solinus, 1, 18 (both quoted in the note on Tarutilus Firmanus above); cf. Manil. 4, 773-775: Hesperiam sua libra tenet, qua condita Roma / orbis et imperio reiunet discrimina verum / luscibus et positis genitis solitque premisque.

3. fata canere: for the phrase cf. pro Sest. 47; also 1, 115 above: valesce nascissentur; other examples, especially from poetry, will be found in Thei. Ling. Lat. s.v. cano (1906), 271.

lunae pertinebat? Fac in puero referre ex qua adfectione caeli primum spiritum duxerit; num hoc in latere aut in caemento ex quibus urbs effecta est potuit valere? Sed quid plura? Cotidie relluntur. Quam multa ego Pompeio, quam multa Crasso, quam multa huic ipsi Caesari a Chaldaeos dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi senectute, nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum! Ut mihi permirum videatur quemquam extare qui etiam nunc credat iis quorum praedicta cotidie videat re et eventis refelli.

sortitam, quonam genio proprium exigat aevum. / cunctis nām populis seu mornibus inditur, inquit, / aut fatum aut genus, nostrorum more animarum, / qua sub disporili subsumi nova corpore sorte (after which some MSS. quote from Symmachus: varios custodes urbibus mens divina distribuit. ut animae nascinibns ita populis fatales genii disiduntur); 2, 449-453: resut ut ei fatum similis dementia cunctis / aeribus impomol, partes ut quisque sub astro / fundatus structusque suo, qua sorte maneret, / quando aulem rueret, primis acceperit horis. / ascribunt saxis Lochesiae mole ferta iia, / sectorumque irabes fuisse pendere rotatis / credunt, alque ipsis tribuent decreta tigilis; / ceu distet, cuius stellae sii fraozin ortu / eruta, quae summum conscendere ardua culmen; Bouché- Leclercq, op. cit. 585, n. 1, who remarks that the same criticisms would apply to the augural and other religious rites in connection with the founding of cities.

1. pertinebat: for the use of the imperfect cf. Plater on N. D. 1, 100. Thoresen renders by pertinere dicebat, and compares Hor. Carm. 1, 27, 19.

1. fac . . . referre: cf. 2, 106: fac dare deos, etc.

1. adfectione caeli: cf. Fat. 8; sic astrorum adfectio valeat.

1. primum: probably an adjective rather than an adverb; cf. extremus spiritus in Fin. 2, 99; Tusc. 1, 89; 1, 96; de Sen. 27.

2. latere . . . caemento: Rome was not yet of marble, as Augustus boasted to have remade it (Suet. Aug. 28). On the materials used for construction cf. the passages collected by Nissen, Pompeianische Studien (1877), 25; Middleton, Remains of anc. Rome, 1 (1892), 10-14; Porter, What Rome was built with (1907); Platten, Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 25. The word lotus unmodified by cocis or a similar adjective regularly refers to sunbaked brick, and caementum is, of course, here used of cut stone rather than 'cement' (a meaning which it did not acquire until much later).


4. huic ipsi Caesari: cf. 2, 52. The expression points clearly to his recent death.

5. nisi: for the repetition cf. 1, 84, n. (si . . . si . . . si . . . qui . . . qui).

5. cum claritate: for this phrase see Durand in Mélanges Boissier (1903), 181, n. 1. Caesar's death was not in a distant and foreign land, like those of Pompey and Crassus, and Durand thinks that his name may have been here interpolated by Cicero himself after the Ides of March without modifying the phrase cum claritate.
XLVIII. 100. Restant duo divinandi genera quae habere dicimur a natura, non ab arte, vaticinandi et somniandi; de quibus, Quinte, inquam, si placet, disseramus. Mihi vero, inquit, placet; his enim quae adhuc disputasti prorsus adsentior, et, vere ut loquar, quamquam tua me oratio confirmavit, tamen etiam mea sponte nimis superstitionem de divinatione Stoicorum sententiam iudicabam; haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in mentibus hominum tamquam oraculum aliquod ex quo futura praesentiant, si aut furore divino incitatus animus aut somno relaxatus solute movatur ac libere. His de generibus quid sentias et quibus ca rationibus infirmes audire sane velim.

XLIX. 101. Quae cum ille dixisset, tum ego rursus quasi ab alio principio sum exorsus dicere. Non ignoro, inquam, Quinte, te semper ita sensisse, ut de ceteris divinandi generibus dubitares, ista duo, furoris et somni, quae a libera mente fluere viderentur, probares. Dicam igitur de


1. restant . . . genera: for the expression cf. Ac. 2, 7; Rep. 3, 46.

11. a natura: cf. 1, 11, n. (duo sunt enim).

2. vaticinandi et somniandi: cf. 1, 12.


4. prorsus adsentior: cf. Fin. 1, 28; N. D. 3, 21; Leg. 2, 12; 2, 17; 2, 45; de Am. 57; Rolfe in Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc. 51 (1920), 32, and n. 5.


6. me Peripateticorum, etc.: on the Peripatetic affinities of Quintus cf. introd. p. 17 and n. 72; for the views of the Peripatetics on divination see 1, 5, n. (Peripateticis).


7. Cratippi: cf. 1, 5, nn. (Cratippus; tribuit . . . reiciit).

8. tamquam oraculum: cf. the view of Aristotle in 1, 81 above.

9. furore: cf. 1, 1, n. (furore).

10. solute . . . libere: cf. 1, 4, n. (soluto et libero); 1, 129 n. (per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur).

12f. quasi ab alio principio: 2, 1-25 had constituted a tamquam lex armaturae prima orationis excursio (2, 26), which was followed by a repetition of the definition of kinds of divination and general remarks (2, 26-27), after which Cicero began the discussion of artificial divination (2, 28: ut ordiar ab haruspicino, etc.). This is the sort of divination most easily open to attack, because of the element of human conjectura involved in it, as Quintus virtually admitted in 1, 124, and now that Marcus has demolished its claims in a manner to satisfy even its defender (cf. 2, 100: prorsus adsentior), he begins a second attack, this time upon natural divination (2, 101-147), and starts quasi ab alio principio. With this structure of the book, involving a general beginning and two subordinate beginnings of its main divisions, we may perhaps compare the Virgilian scheme in the Aeneid (1, 1-7 general statement; 1, 8-11 invocation for the first six books; 7, 37-45 invocation for the last six books).
istis ipsis duobus generibus mihi quid videatur, si prius et Stoicorum conclusio rationis et Cratippi nostri quid valeat videro. Dixisti enim et Chrysippum et Diogenem et Antipatrum concludere hoc modo: 'si sunt di neque ante declarant hominibus quae futura sint, aut non diligunt homines, quid eventurum sit ignorant, aut existuant nihil interesse hominum scire quid sit futurum, aut non censent esse suae maiestatis praesignificare hominibus quae sunt futura, aut ea ne ipsis quidem di signifi-icare possunt. 102. At neque non diligunt nos (sunt enim benefici generique hominum amici), neque ignorant ea quae ab ipsis constituta et designata sunt, neque nostra nihil interest scire ea quae futura sunt, (erimus enim cautiiores, si sciemus), neque hoc alienum ducunt maiestate sua (nihil est enim beneficentia praestantium), neque non possunt futura praenoscere. Non igitur di sunt nec significant nobis futura; sunt autem di; significant ergo; et non, si significant futura, nullas dant vias nobis ad significacionum scientiam (frustra enim significarent), nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio. ' O acutos homines! Quam paucis verbis confectum negotium putant! Ea sumunt ad concluendum quorum iis nihil conceditur. Conclusio autem rationis ea probanda est in qua ex rebus non dubii id quod dubitatur efficietur.

L. Videsne Epicurus, quem hebetem et rudem dicere solent Stoici,

6. hominum Daries et codd. lib. 1, 83, Christ, Baiier, Muller, Thoresen, Herinca, hominem C.

[520] 13f. te semper ita sensisse: there has been little in the exposition of Quintus in the first book to correspond to the statement which follows, but we must suppose him to be thought of as defending, like a lawyer, the side of the argument which had fallen to him.

[520] 15f. dicam . . . si prius . . . videro: for this form of expression cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 64.

1f. conclusio rationis: cf. 2, 103; Fin. 1, 30; 3, 59.

2. dixist:i: the following passage (through 2, 102) is quoted almost verbatim from 1, 82-83.

3. Chrysippum: cf. 1, 6, nn. (Chry-sippus; duobus libris).


5. Antipatrum: cf. 1, 6, n. (duo Antipater).

10. futura sunt: 1, 82 has eventura sunt.

13. igitur di sunt: 1, 83 has igitur sunt di.

13. significant nobis futura: 1, 83: significant futura.

14. si significant futura: 1, 83: si significant.


14. significacionum: 1, 83: significatio-onis (which also appears in the repetition in 2, 106 below).

16. acutos: contrasted with Epicurum . . . hebetem below; cf. Fat. 9; Tusc. 4, 32.

16f. confectum negotium: cf. Fat. 26; Off. 3, 59.

20 ff. videsne Epicurum . . . quem ad modum . . . concluderit: for the prolepsis cf. 2, 80: volucris . . . officium ut significant; N. D. 1, 88 (and the parallels cited in Plasberg's note); pro Planc. 52.

20. hebetem et rudem: coupled in de Or. 1, 248. For slurs upon the lack of
quem ad modum, quod in natura rerum omne esse dicimus, id infinitum esse concluserit? 'Quod finitum est,' inquit, 'habet extremum.' Quis hoc non dederit? 'Quod autem habet extremum, id cernitur ex alio extrinseco.' Hoc quoque est concededendum. 'At quod omne est, id non cernitur ex alio extrinseco.' Ne hoc quidem negari potest. 'Nihil igitur cum habeat extremum infinitum sit necesse est.' 104. Videsne ut ad rem dubiam concessis rebus pervenerit? Hoc vos dialectici non facitis, nec solum ea non sumitis ad concluendum quae ab omnibus concedantur, sed ea sumitis quibus concessis nihil magis efficiatur quod velitis. Primum enim hoc sumitis: 'si sunt di, benefici in homines sunt.' Quis hoc volvis dabit? Epicurusne, qui negat quicquam deos nec alieni curare nec sui? An noster

1. infinitum *mwt.*, Müller, finitum C.

7. concessis rebus C, Christi, a concessis rebus Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, concessis rebus non dubias Hesinger, Baiter, concessis rebus veris Hesinger.

education traditionally ascribed to Epicurus cf. 2, 116; N. D. 1, 72 (and the passages cited in Mayor’s note); 1, 85; Sext. Emp. 1, 1: *in tolois gid *μαθήσεις Ε'πικουρος λέγεται οδή εκ ταυτ καταλογεΐα καθαι
tes; Usener, Epicurta (1887), 88-90. But cf. Ac. 2, 97: *inde quam sit causus is (sc. Epicurus) quem isti (the Stoics) iurium mutant*


1. omne esse: esse is not necessary to the sense and is deleted by Madvig, followed by Christ and Baiter; but cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 126.

2. quod finitum, etc.: cf. Diog. L. 10, 41 (Usener, Epicurta, 7): *ἀλλα μὴ καὶ τὸ κῶς ἄτερον λατιν. τὸ γὰρ πεπραμενέων ἀκρον ἤξε τὸ δὲ ἀκρον παρ’ ἄτερον τὴν θεω
tεται. Εἰστι οὐκ ἔχει ἄκρον περας οὐκ ἔχει τις οὐκ ἔχει ἄτερον ἢ ἔχει καὶ ἀπερα
tημένων; Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 3, 4, p. 203 b 20 (Usener, op. cit. 211-212): τίτατον δὲ καὶ δυσαναθλίτων τὸ φαινόμε
tαι τὸν πεπραμενέων αἰ τρός τὸ περιεχεί. οὐ γὰρ πῶς τὸ πεπραμενέων πρὸς ἄλλο τι ζωομ οὐτὸ διὰ περιεχεῖ, τὸ ζωομ λείον πρὸς τὸ περιεχεί ώς ἄτερον οὐκ τὸν πεπραμενέων καὶ τὸν ζωομ λείον, ἐχουμον οὔτε διὰ τὸ ζωομ οὐκ ἄτερον 'ετέρον δὲ πεπραμενέων οἷον η γῆ, καὶ οὐσία πρὸς ἄλλο περιεχεί, καὶ τούτῳ οὐ' έτέρον

de ἐν 'έτερον, ὡστι τὸ ίνερον οὔδεν γὰρ τελεσταίον λαβέσθαι τιρας, ἑπερ καὶ τούτο πρὸς ἄλλο τι περιεχεί. τούτῳ δὲ τῇ λέγεται οὐ
cλίστε οἷς... βόλωτε τιμαιον ἄτερον ἠλεγεν εἰναι τὸ τῶς, διότι τὰ τὸ πεπραμενέων περα τι περιεχείν ξεφεβάν τι ἤ
cα; Alex. Aphrod. Quaest. 3, 12, p. 200 Sp. (Usener, op. cit. 212); Lucret. 1, 958-957 -important, but too long to be here quoted.

2 f. quis hoc non dederit: cf. 2, 104: *quis hoc volvis dabit; Fin. 4, 48; 4, 49; Reid on Ac. 2, 68.*

7. concessis rebus: easily understood either as ablative absolute or as ablative of the way by which; hence it is unnecessary to emend.

7. vos dialectici: in spite of 2, 100 Quintus is here still classed with the Stoics.

8. non sumitis: offset to sumitis below, as non dicere and dicere in 2, 94.

8 f. ea sumitis, etc.: cf. Fin. 4, 52: *vides igitur le aut ea sumere quae non concedantur aut ea quae etiam concessa se nihil sumem.*

10. si sunt di benefici... sunt: in the Stoic argument quoted in 2, 102 the thought is not put in this bald and clearly illogical form, but in the more enticing fashion of a parenthetical reason: *sum enim benefici, etc.*; cf. the change of form
Ennius? Qui magno plausu loquitur adsentiente populo: 
Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, 
Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus. 
Et quidem cur sic opinetur rationem subicit; sed nihil est necesse dicere quae sequuntur; tantum sat est intelligi, id sumere istos pro certo quod dubium controversumque sit. Ll. 105. Sequitur porro, nihil deos ignorare, quod omnia sint ab is constituta. Hic vero quanta pugna est doctissimorum hominum negantium esse haec a dis immortalibus constituta! At nostra interest sciere ea quae eventura sunt. Magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea melius esse quam scire. Negant id esse alienum maiestate deorum.

6. nihil deos ignorare: cf. 1, 82, n. (ignorant).  
6f. quod omnia sint: cf. 2, 104, n. (si sunt di benefici ... sunt).  
8. negantium ... constituta: among opponents of the theory of divine creation the Epicureans were doubtless the most conspicuous, though how well—from Cicero’s standpoint—the word doctissimorum would apply to them may be questioned. A full discussion of the Epicurean objections is found in Lucr. 2, 167-183.  
8. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).  
9. liber, etc.: for its possible relation to Plutarch’s treatise et ἕ ὅ ἐκ γένος ἀληθών πρὸς ὑπόκλησιν ὀφθαλμὸν (the fragments of which are found in the edition of Bernadakis, 7, 111-112) cf. Hirzel, Der Dialog, 2 (1895), 209, n.; also Martini in P.-W. s.v. Dikaiarchos (1903), 558. Other treatments of the same topic are those of Favorinus (ap. Gall. 14, 1) and Diogenianus (ap. Eus. Fr. Ev. 4, 3); cf. 2, 22, n. (ne utilem quidem); also 1, 119, n. (ut videret ... non ut caerel); 2, 54, n. (quae causae nequeamus).  
10. alienum maiestate: cf. 1, 82, n. (alienum ... maiestate).  
[524] 1. casus ... intorsipere: cf. 2, 109; 2, 129; N. D. 1, 54: quis enim non timeat omnia provideniem et cogitatem et
Scilicet casus omnium introspicere, ut videant quid cuique conduct. Neque non possunt futura praenoscer. 106. Negant posse ii quibus non placet esse certum quid futurum sit. Videsne igitur quae dubia sint ea sumi pro certis atque concessis? Deinde contorquent et ita concludunt: 'non igitur et sunt di nec significant futura'; id enim iam perfectum arbitratur. Deinde adsumunt: 'sunt autem di', quod ipsum non ab omnibus conceditur. 'Significat ergo.' Ne id quidem sequitur; possunt enim non significare et tamen esse di. 'Nec, si significat, non dant vias aliquas ad scientiam significationis.' At id quoque potest, ut non dent homini, ipsi habeant; cur enim Tuscis potius quam Romanis darent? 'Nec, si dant vias, nulla est divinatio.' Fac dare deos (quod absurdum est); quid referit si accipere non possimus? Extremum est: 'est igitur divinatio.' Sit extremum, effectum tamen non est; ex falsis enim, ut ab ipsis didicimus, verum effici non potest. Iacet igitur tota conclusio.

8. daht codd. interp. Moseri, Christ, Bailier, Muller, Thoresen, Hearne, dare C.
12. est est codd. aliquot Doversi et Moseri, Christ, Bailier, Muller, Thoresen, Hearne, est C.

animadvereriem et omnia ad se pertinere pulantem, curiosum et plenum negoti deum? Min. Fel. Oct. 10, 4-5: Christiani quaniam monsir... confungulium illum suum... in omnium mores, actus omnium, verba denique et occultas cognitiones diligenter inquirere, discurrense licet... aliquas adscientiam significationis. Another phase of the matter is treated in 11, 12, and n. (cariescerpe).

1. casus: probably not here equivalent to domus, as in the vulgar Latin (cf. Grandgent, In introd. to vulg. Lat. (1908), 9), but, as in Tusci, 3, 97, of huts, the smallness of which is contrasted with the greatness of the gods; cf. 2, 34, n. (lacelle... quaesticus); 2, 129, n. (grabato).

4. concludunt: with this metaphorical use cf. Ac. 2, 75 (and Reid's note); Tusci, 3, 22; 3, 63 (and Kühner's note); Fat. 17.

5. et sunt: in 2, 102 et does not appear; the nobis which there precedes futura is here omitted.

6f. non ab omnibus conceditur: cf. 1, 10; for the stock examples of agnosticism (e.g., Protagoras) and atheism (Diorgas of Melos and Theodore of Cyrene) see N. D. 1, 2 (imitated by Min. Fel. Oct. 8, 2-3).

8. nec, etc.: varied a little from 2, 102, nec replacing et non; futura being omitted; non... aliquas corresponding to nullas, and scientiam significationis (cf. 1, 83) to significationem scientiam.

9. potest, ut: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) comparat pro Cluent. 103.

10. Tusci... Romanis: cf. N. D. 2, 11: an vos Tusci ac barbari auspiciis populi Romani ius tenetis et interpretes use comitiorum potestis?

11. nulla: corresponding to non in 2, 102.


11. quod absurdum est: Ernesti. Kayser, and others have been troubled by these words, and some have considered them a gloss. But as Cicero in 2, 94 felt obliged to make perfectly clear by the parenthetical phrase quod non certe pertinent that his concession was only for the sake of argument, not from conviction, so he does here by this similarly parenthetical phrase.

LII. 107. Veniamus nunc ad optumum virum, familiarem nostrum, Cratippum. 'Si sine oculis,' inquit, 'non potest exstare officium et munus oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi non fungi suo munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis ut vera cerneret, is habet sensum oculorum vera cernentium. Item igitur si sine divinatione non potest officium et munus divinationis exstare, potest autem, cum quis divinationem habeat, errare aliquando nec vera cerneret, satis est ad confermandam divinationem semel aliquid ita esse divinatum nihil ut fortuito cecidisse videatur. Sunt autem eius generis innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem confitendum est.' Festive et breviter; sed cum bis sumpserit quod voluit etiam faciles nos ad concedendum habuerit, id tamen quod adsumit concedi nullo modo potest. 108. 'Si,' inquit, 'aliquando oculi peccent, tamen, quia recte aliquando viderunt, inest in iis vis videndi; item si quis semel aliquid in divinatione dixerit, est etiam cum peccet tamen existumandus sit habere vim divinandi.' LIII. Vide, quaes, Cratippe noster, quam sint ista similia; nam mihi non videntur. Oculi enim vera cernentes utuntur natura atque sensu, animi si quando vel vaticinando vel somniando vera viderunt usi sunt fortuna atque casu; nisi forte concessuros tibi existumam eos qui somnia pro somniis habent, si quando aliquod somnum verum evaserit, non id fortuito accidisse. Sed demus tibi istas duas summiones (ea quae

[524] 13. ab ipsis: particular stress being laid by the Stoics upon logic.

   1f. familiarem nostrum, Cratippum: cf. 1, 5.
   2f. si sine, etc.: quoted nearly verbatim from 1, 71.
   6. autem cum quis: 1, 71 has autem quis, cum.
   8. ita esse: 1, 71: esse ita.
   10f. faciles ... ad: cf. de Or. 2, 190; Brut. 180; Liv. 8, 11, 10: od credendum ... faciiores; Tac. Hist. 1, 19; etc.
   12. si ... aliquando, etc.: a further compression of the statement of Cratippus in 2, 107.
   14. dixerit: the manuscript reading may here be retained, aliquid ... dicere being apparently equivalent to speaking the truth in prophecy (as opposed to nihil dicere).

15f. vide ... quam sint ista similia: cf. N, D, 3, 9: quam simile estud sit, inquit, tu videris. nam ego, etc.

15. Cratippe: for the apostrophe cf. 1, 23, n. (Carmades); 2, 109; Fat. 13; Ac. 2, 123; Fin. 2, 22; Tusc. 3, 37. Rudberg (Forschungen zu Poseidonios (1918), 43) considers such apostrophe of an absent philosophical opponent as an especial characteristic of the style of Posidoni; but the evidence is not sufficiently abundant to form a clear judgment on this question.


19. si ... aliquod somnum verum evaserit: cf. 2, 146.


20. summiones: sumptio may be
λήμματα appellant dialectici, sed nos Latine loqui malumus), adsumpuntamen (quam pródelphi vénid vocant) non dabitur. 109. Adsumit autem Cratippus hoc modo: ‘sunt autem innumerables praesensiones non fortuitae.’ At ego dico nulam (vide quanta sit controversia); iam adsumptione non concessa nulla conclusio est. At impudentes sumus, qui, cum tam perspicuum sit, non concedamus. Quid est perspicuum? ‘Multa vera,’ inquit, ‘evadere.’ Quid, quod multo plura falsa? Nonne ipsa varietas, quae est propria fortunae, fortunam esse causam non naturam

1. λήμματα vélig. Müller, lemmata C.
2. πρόδελφους Ernesti, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Herrings, praesensio C.
3. idem O, Müller, Thoresen, Herrings, idem B, idem Christ, Baier.

used (1) for either premiss of a syllogism (as sumptiones (= λήμματα) here for the major and the minor premisses) or (2) for the major premiss (cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 44).

1. λήμματα: for the Greek term cf. 1, 1, n. (μαντεύον); it occurs in Arist. de soph. Elench. 33, p. 183 a 15, et al.; Clem. Strom. 8, 6, p. 916 P. It may also be used in the narrower sense of major premiss (Diog. L. 7, 76: λόγος δέ ἢ τοῖς ... τὸ σωτερεύοντα καὶ λήμματος καὶ προσδέλφους καὶ κτιφοράς, ὥσεν ἡς τουσίος, ἡ ἡμερα κατί, φῶς ἡς τοῖς ἡμερα δί τοῖς φῶς ἀρα κατί. λήμμα μὲν γάρ κατί τὸ εἰ ἡμερα κατί, φῶς τοῖς πρόδελφοις τὸ ἡμερα δε τοῖς κτιφορά δε τοῖς φῶς ἀρα κατί. Sext. Emp. Pythg. Hýp. 2, 144 ff. uses the terms πρόδελφον (or πρόδελφου) λήμμα and πρόδελφον (or δελφον) λήμμα for the major and minor premisses respectively, while for the second he also employs the term πρόδελφος (e.g., 2, 149; the word appears once in Arist. An. prior. 2, 5, p. 58 b 9; cf. Plut. de Eap. Delph. 6, p. 387 c; etc.).

1. appellant dialectici: for the similar taking over of the technical terms used by the dialecticians cf. Tusc. 4, 21; Fat. 20. His principle is doubtless that stated in Ac. 1, 25: en ian ur Latine loquar, nisi in huiusce modi verbis, ut philosophiam aut rhetorica ... appellem ... dialecticorum vero verba nulla sunt publica, suis uiantur, et id quidem commune omnium fere est artium; aut enim nova sunt verum novarum facienda nomina aut ex aliis transierenda.

1. Latine loqui malumus: cf. 1, 1 n. (os melius); 2, 11, n. (si necesse sit, etc.).
2. adsumpuntio: cf. 2, 109; the word is often used in the first book De Inventione. Thus in de Inv. 1, 67 he asserts that there are five parts in argument: (1) propositio (the major premisses); (2) approbatio of the propositio; (3) adsumpuntio (the minor premiss, per quam id quod ex propositione ad ostendendum fertis adsumitum); (4) approbatio of the adsumpuntio; and (5) complexio, or conclusion. Some emendation, like that of Pearce, seems necessary here.
3. f. sunt, etc.: cf. 2, 107, which, however, is not here rendered verbatim.
5. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (al).
5. impudentes sumus: cf. N. D. 1, 13: sum demum mihi procaz Academia videbatur, si aut consenseremin omnes aut erit intentus aliquid qui quid verum sì invenerit; Ac. 2, 115: utrum igiatan nos impudentes, qui labi nolumus, non illi adrogantes, qui sibi persuaserint scire se solos omnia? (cf. Ac. 2, 126; N. D. 1, 69).
7. inquit: cf. Plasberg on N. D. 1, 87; 2, 137 infra.
8. varietas ... propria fortunae: cf. N. D. 1, 43: fortunam, quae omnia varietatis constantiam respuit; Off. 1, 90: varietatem ... fortunae; Fin. 2, 10; 4, 17.
8. fortunam esse causam: cf. 1, 23,
esse docet? Deinde si tua ista conclusio, Cratippe, vera est (tecum enim mihi res est), non intellegis eadem uti posse et haruspices et fulguratores et interpretes ostentorum et augures et sortilegos et Chaldaeos? Quorum generum nullum est ex quo non aliquid sicut praedictum sit evasisti. Ergo aut ea quae genera divinandi sunt, quae tu rectissime inprobas, aut, si ea non sunt, non intellego cur haec duo sint quae relinquis. Qua ergo ratione haec inducis, eadem illa possunt esse quae tollis.

LIV. 110. Quid vero habet auctoritatis furore iste quem divinum

n. (casu); Theodoret. Gr. Affect. 10 (Patr. Gr. 83, 1068A): τὸ ἄληθὲν ποτὲ τοῖς καλοῦ-
μενοις μάντεσι ἐν ταῖς προανοικέσσων ὦν ἑπιστήμη ἀλλὰ γυμνὴς αἵτις ἔργον ἐν ἔτη. ὑπὸ τὸ μπάκοτο τοῦ προεξείρησεν 
πνέους, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ πάντοτε μηδὲ ὦς ἐτεὶ 
τὸ πλεῖστον μηδὲ ὦς ἐς ἑπιστήμης. διὰ τι 
καὶ ποτὲ τινάχθη, τύχη ἔργον καλῶν προεξε-
καμένην; Diogenianus ap. Eus. Pr. Ev. 4, 3, 
p. 137b-c: τὸ γὰρ ἀποθαλάνθη πολλά καὶ τὸν 
ἱεραγόν ἅπερ προλύγουσι οἱ μάντες εἰς τὸν 
μαντεύματι ἑπιστήμην εἷναι γεμίστος ἕν ἔτη, ἀλλὰ 
τοῖς τινίσσι κατεκτήτων ταῖς προανοικέσσων 
συμβολαῖς τὰ ἑκὰσας ἐντὸς ὄρθιον ἡμῖν 
ἐπιστήμην ὑποδείξαντο. οὕτω γὰρ τούτων 
ἐξ ἐπομεν ἑπιστήμων τὸν ἄτας ποτὲ τυχόν 
τὸ σεποῦ, πολλάκις ἐς ἀποτυχάναστα, ὁδὲ 
ἱατρῶν τὸν ἀναμοίραζα τοῖς πλέον τῶν 
θεοπανομολογών ὦν' αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ ποτὲ διασώη 
δικαίθηνα. . . . διὰ τὴν ἐπομεν ἑπιστήμην 
τὰ πολλά τοῖς καλοῦμενοις μάντεσι τὰ τῶν 
ἀνθρώπων βλέψι μᾶρατ ἐν ἐπομεν.


1. tecxum: cf. N. D. 1, 61: nam cum 
illo malo disserere; 1, 87: iam enim cum ipsi Epicuro loquar.

2. eadem, etc.: Cratippus would limit legitimate divination to the forms of the 'natural' type (cf. 2, 100), but Cicero asserts that, after all, natural and artificial, official and illegitimate divination stand or fall together; cf. 1, 132, n. (non 
me, etc.).

2f. haruspices . . . fulguratores . . . interpretates ostentorum: the threefold division of the Etruscan discipline so often met with already; cf. 1, 12, n. (exti-

spicium aut monstra, etc.). Thoresen (in 
Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 
(1893), 40-41) raises the objection that haruspex is a general term including exis-
spices and the two other groups here mentioned, and he would therefore either sub-
stitute for haruspices at this point the word exitispecies, or, preferably (as in his 
edition), bracket et fulguratores et inter-
pretes ostentorum as a gloss added by some-
one who did not understand the inclusive 
character of the word haruspices. But it 
appears that haruspex may be used in the 
narrower as well as in the wider sense (cf. 
Thulin, Die eurusk. Discliplinum, 2 (1906), 3), 
so that we are fully justified in retaining 
here the reading of the MSS.

2. fulguratores: a rare word, espe-
cially in this sense; cf. Non. p. 63 M.: 
fulgoratores, ut existispecies et aruspices ila 
hic fulgurum inpectores. Cato in Moribus 
Claudii Neronis: haruspicem, fulgorumaru 
squis addutac; C. I. L. XI, 6365 = Dessau 
6938 (from Pesaro): haruspex fulgirau-
ton: Serv. Aen. 3, 359: aut furos est, ut in 
vaticinantiibus; aut ars ut in aruspiciis, 
fulguriit sive fulgoratoribus, auguribus; 
Thulin, op. cit. 1, (1906), 4.

3. sortilegos: cf. 1, 132, n. (sortile-
gos).

3. Chaldaeos: cf. 1, 2, n. (Chaldari 
non ex ortis).

5. inprobas: cf. 1, 5; 2, 100.

6f. reliquem . . . tollis: cf. 1, 5: 
sustulit . . . reliquit (and note on reliquit).

8. furor: cf. 1, 1, n. (furore). In 1, 
100 it is described as divinus, but in the 
word vocatis Cicero is perhaps thinking
vocatis, ut quae sapiens non videat ea videat insanus, et is qui humanos sensus amiserit divinos adscutus sit? Sibyllae versus observamus, quos illa furnes fudisse dicitur. Quorum interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur eum quem re vera regem habebamus appellandum quoque esse esse regem, si salvi esse vellermus. Hoc si est in libris, in quem hominem et in quod tempus est? Callide enim qui

2. Sibyllae nunc, Müller, sibyllae AB, sibyllae V,
3. quodam sequ. deii, Mowrie, Christ, Boier, Müller, Thesem, Hearinge, quodam C.

rather of the view of the advocates of divination in general than of particular remarks of Quintus; yet cf. such passages as 1, 34; 1, 38; 1, 66; 1, 80; 1, 81; 1, 89; 1, 122; and especially 2, 100.

1. sapiens ... insanus: cf. 1, 85, n. (jurens ... sapiens).

2. Sibyllae: cf. 1, 4, n. (Sibyllinirs ... versibus); 1, 34, n. (Sibylla Erythrea); and, for her divine inspiration, Gruppe, Gr. Mythol. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 927, n. 9.

3. fudisse: cf. 1, 18, n. (fundebat); Reid on Ac. 2, 74.

3. nuper: for the allusion to the date cf. introd. p. 14. The event to which reference is made is described by other authors: Suet. Iul. 79: varia forma percussuit ... proximo ... senatu Lucium Collam (the interpres of our passage) quindecimannis sententiam dicturum ut, quoniam fatalibus libris continenter Parthos nisi a rege non posse vincí, Caesar rex appellaretur; Dio Cass. 44, 15, 3:ῥόμοι των τών προφητῶν τις Σιβυλλης λόγως προφητευομενα τις κινδυνω τη τοια ἀξιως ἐν τω λαυχοι μηνα τετελεσθαι μονον. χρησιμος γαρ τοις βασιλειοι Ρωμαιου αναστησει των, κα τω τω Γερμανω αυτον Ῥωμη το λαυκο θεσαυρισθησα. Is the likeness of this Sibylline prediction to ours purely fortuitous, or was the statement imputed to Cotta remembered and included in the third collection of Sibylline oracles made after the second had been burned by Stilicho in 405 A.D.? Or may there really have existed an oracle mentioning a king as the one who should lead the Romans to triumph over a barbarous foe, and then may this oracle have been applied by Cotta to Caesar as a leader against the Parthians (doubtless with other political purposes as well), as later, in the account of Procopius, it was applied to some other champion against the Goths? The last two sentences in this section certainly indicate that the form of the prediction—if such really
illa composuit perfect ut, quodcumque accidisset, praedictum videretur hominum et temporum definitione sublata. 111. Adhibuit etiam la-
tebram obscuritatis, ut idem versus alias in aliam rem posse accommodari videretur. Non esse aute illum carmen furentis cum ipsum poëma declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis et motus), tum vero ea quae *ἀκροστίχια* dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis versus litteris

3. idem O, Müller, Thoresen, Beerling, idem C, Christ, Baier.

existed—was general, and to be applied according to circumstances.

[528] 4. quem re vera regem habebam: cf. 2, 6, and n. (in unius potestate).


Τοις *Σιβύλλης* logwv *τὴν διάκρισιν πρὸ τοῦ ἄρχον ἐκκαθάρισθαι* οἷς ἀπεικονίζοντα ήπειρον διάθεσιν εἰς τε dìnastikà tov *καθερισμοῦ* ὑφαντον πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχον τῶν *Σιβύλλης* logwv *εὐεργεῖασ*; ὡς καὶ ἡ χρονικὴ αὐτῶν ἀναβασις ἢ πολυτικοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀρχηγοὶ τοῦ ἑπτάχρονο ἐνοχῶν;

4. carmen: for this word in the sense of 'oracle' Diels (Sibyllin. Blätter (1890), 26, n. 2) compares Liv. 1, 45, 5; 23, 11, 4; cf. also 2, 112 infra.

5. artis et diligentiae: cf. *Ac. 2, 45*.

5. incitationis: cf. 1, 89.

6. ea quae: = *id quod*, but attracted by *ἀκροστίχια* into the feminine; Thoresen compares in *Cassii. 5*; Fin. 4, 76.

6. *ἀκροστίχια*: for the Greek word cf. I, 1, n. (μαστιγή). Chance acrostichs occur in Homer (Eustath. ad II. 24, 1, p. 1335; Gell. 14, 6, 4; Graf in P.-W. s.v. *Acróstichis* (1894), 1200), and often in other writers; cf. the enormous collection of such made by Hilberg in *Wiener Stud. 21* (1899), 264-305; 22 (1900), 317-318. Though intentional employment of acrostichs may have appeared at a much earlier date (Diog. L. 8, 78 says that

Epicharmos *παραστιχία* τοῖς πλαστοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίαν ἔργον, ὡς ἰδιαφοράς διὰ αὐτῶν ἐτοί τὰ συμμάχοια, but cf. Diels, op. cit. 34, n. 1; id., Frag. d. *Vorsokrat.* 1, 3 ed. (1912), 116; see also the tale of Dionysius Metathemenos in Diog. L. 5, 92-93; Suid. s.v. *παραστιχία*, the first certain examples are from the Alexandrian period (Diels, op. cit. 33-34), and the oldest one preserved to us is the *Εὐβοῖαν τίχην* (see Wachsmuth's 2 ed. of Lyd. *de Ostent.* (1897), lxviii-lxix; etc.). For many subsequent Greek ones cf. Diels, op. cit. 34-35; Graf, op. cit. 1200-1205. Among the Romans the trick was apparently introduced by Ennius, it is uncertain in what work; Vahlen numbers this 53 of the *incerta*; may it perhaps be from the beginning of his *Epicharmus* (cf. Skutsch in P.-W. s.v. *Ennius* (1905), 2600; Diels, Frag. d. *Vorsokrat.* 1, 3 ed. 116)? But Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 122, wisely holds this to be uncertain. Ennius seems to have been imitated in the empire by one Bacchus (or Battus) in a scholium on Ov. *Ibis.* 257 (printed on p. 461 of Merkel's ed. of 1837), the initial letters of the eight lines of which read *ENN NIANI Q* (cf. Schmidt in *Rhein. Mus.* 20 (1865), 456-457). Many other Latin writers also used acrostichs (Diels, Sibyllin. Blätter, 35-36; Graf, op. cit. 1205-1207), especially acrostichs containing the name of the author, as in the *Finax* of Aurelius Opilius (Suet. *de Gram.* 6), and most strikingly in the case of the *Ilias Latina* (the large literature on which
aliquid conectitur, ut in quibusdam Ennianis: Q. ENNIVS FECIT. Id
1. Q. Aurelius, volv., Müller, quae C.

acrostich is cited by Schanz, op. cit. 2, 2, 3 ed. (1913), 121-122. Still other acrostics are alphabetic in character (cf. Ps. 119; parts of Lamentations; Moore, Literature of the Old Test. (1913), 226-227; also Krumbacher, Eys. Litteraturgesch. 2 ed. (1892), 718-720; Leclercq in Cabrol, Dict. d'Arch. chrét. et de Liturgie, 1, 1 (1907), 364-369), and finally, often in connection with telestichs and other similar forms, very elaborate types were evolved, of which Commodianus, Porfyrius Optatusianus, and their successors (cf. Graf, op. cit. 1206; Leclercq, op. cit. 369-371) were the most notable composers. For the use of acrostics in Byzantine literature see also Krumbacher, op. cit. 697-700; id. in Situb. d. bayr. Akad. 1903, 551ff.; Maas, Frühb. Kirchenpoesi, 1 (1910), 12-32. They appear in inscriptions as well (e.g., C. I. L. III, 6306; V, 1693; 3216; 6723; 6725; 6731; VI, 7946; 34001; VIII, 251; 4681; 7156; 9170; 16463; 20249; 20250; 25425; IX, 4796; XII, 631; Dessau 9351; cf. Lauth in Situb. d. bayr. Akad. Philos.-philol. Cl. 1877, 222-225; a Greek acrostich inscription is published by Gastinel in Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist. 15 (1895), 485-491). The work of Castellani L'acrostico nella litteratura latina pagana e cristiana medioevale (cf. Boll. d. Filol. cl. 29 (1922), 15) has not been accessible to me.

We must now consider the use of acrostichs in oracles. Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 6, in describing the official replacing of the Sibylline oracles after the burning of the Capitol in 83 b.c., says: ois εἴ τέν ὑπὲρ καὶ καλλίων εἰς αὐτομορτοῖς τόκων, οἱ μὲν τῶν ἡ ἱπταλία τῶν συμμυχίων, οἱ δὲ τῷ Ἐρυμάδω... οἱ δὲ τοῖς πόλεοι καὶ ἱδρύμοι ἀναγραφόντες καὶ κτισμα τοὺς λεγομένους τοῖς Σιβύλλαιοι, διέγερν οἱ ταῖς καλλιμάκαις ἀκροτικίαι: λέγω δὲ Τιτινίτου Ὑδράων λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ θεολογίᾳ πρωγματεύ. This some writers (most recently Mayor in Virgil's Messianic Eclogue (1907), 101; cf. Smith on Tibull. 2, 5, 17-18) have misunderstood, supposing that the acrostichs occurred in the artfully composed (and hence spurious) oracles. But, as Bouc'h-Leclercq (Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 295, n. 1), Diels (op. cit. 25-26), and Wissowa (Relig. u. Kultus d. Röm. 2 ed. (1912), 539) well recognize, the purpose of the acrostichs was to prevent unauthorized insertions and excisions from impairing the integrity of the collection, and they were thus an evidence of genuineness (cf. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 383, n. 9), as were acrostichs designed to testify to the authorship of a literary work. Just how early acrostichs were so used is uncertain. Diels (op. cit. 33) reasons that if Sibylline oracles were recognized as genuine only when containing acrostichs then the oracles traditionally sold to the Tarquin (cf. 1, 4, n. (Sibyllinis . . . versibus) must have been thought of, at least, as of this sort. An example is, according to Diels (op. cit. 28-33), to be found in two oracles preserved by Phlegon, Mirab. 10 (which Diels publishes in full; op. cit. 111-115). For other possible cases cf. Pomtow, Quaest. de Orac. (1881), 25-26; Diels, op. cit. 36; and the Christian Sibylline oracle (8, 217-250) Rzach (of which a Latin acrostich version appears in Aug. C. D. 18, 23 (cf. Diels, l.c.; Leclercq, op. cit. 356-357).
certe magis est attenti animi quam furentis. 112. Atque in Sibyllinis ex primo versus cuiusque sententiae primis litteris illius sententiae carmen omne praeextitur. Hoc scriptoris est non furentis, adhibitis diligentiam, non insani. Quam ob rem Sibyllam quidem sepositam et conditam habe-

was repeated, letter by letter, in the acrostich, so that one in the first line had the key to the whole (as seems to be described in the first sentence of 2, 112), yet this was not a necessary or even a normal feature of acrostics in general, and the comparison with the poem of Ennius is, with such an interpretation, not a happy one, for the marginal (or vertical) reading of the acrostich, Q. ENNIUS FECIT, was surely not the reading of the first verse of the poem. It seems a natural procedure (1) to define the acrostich as made up from the first letters of successive lines; (2) to compare it with the method used by Ennius, and then—and not till then—(3) to state that in the Sibylline oracles the first verse furnished the legend for the acrostich. I am inclined, therefore, with Vahlen to accept the reading of V: deinceps ex primis versus litteris, of which Vahlen remarks: senten-
tiae satis faciit, modo 'deinceps' recte interpreteret: ut se escipiant primae versus litterae. Further, primis might, at the hands of one thinking of the first sentence of 2, 112, easily have suffered corruption to the primi of codices A and B.

[530] 1. Q. ENNIUS FECIT: cf. the note on ἀκροστίσις above. Adoption of the happy and easy emendation of Auratus renders unnecessary the lengthy discussions of various editors who have taken the clause (quaes Ennius fecit) as a gloss on Ennius or else have rejected both phrases alike. The term fecit (ἐργασίας) is doubtless used in the sense of 'make poems'; cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. facio (1913), 91.

1. atque, etc.: according to the interpretation which we have accepted in the note on ex primis versus above, this sentence is not a mere repetition (as some earlier editors supposed; Frenzel took the words atque . . . insani for a gloss), but differentiates the particular type of the Sibylline acrostics from acrostichs in general.

11. ex primo versus, etc.: cf. 2, 111, n. (ex primis versus); Diels, op. cit. 26-28, also the critical note of Christ on this passage.

2. sententiae: here used of the oracle treated as a unit. As Diels (l. c.) points out, however, the number of its lines could not have been always adapted to the number of letters in its first line.

2. carmen: cf. 2, 111, n. (carmen).

3. non furentis: in the fullness of conversational style the following non insani does not render this phrase so much out of place as Thoresen (who brackets it) would suppose.

4. Sibyllam . . . sepositam, etc.: cf. Liv. 22, 9, 7-8 (217 B.C.): Q. Fabius Maximus dictator . . . rectissimi ut, quod non ferme decernuntur nisi cum tacta prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemtri libros Sibyllinos adire iubenerint; Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 5: ἡ τόλις ἀναλαβώσα τῶν τῶν χρησμῶν προ-
stasiai ἄρας τῶν ἐκφαντάστων ἀποδε-

κλησιν αὐτῶν φίλακες . . . καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοῖς παρακαλήσας, ἐν χωρὶς ἴδια ἐκ τὸν ἑαυτὴν τῶν χρησμῶν τοῖς ἀνδρῶν κοιμηθέν . . . χρωτέων εἰ αὐτοῖς, δια τὴν ἀνδρακιγραφίαν, οὕτως καταλαβόντων τῆς τοίς, ἡ δυδικοῖς τιμῶν μεγάλης συμμετοχῆς κατὰ πόλεμον πετράτω ταῖς . . . . ψυχῆς, κτλ.; Dio Cass. 39, 15: οὐ γάρ ἐξεὶ ἀνθρώπων ἢ Σύβελλων, ἢ μὴ τῇ φυλής φησίν, ἢ τό πλῆθος τῇ γέν

asal recitare; also 1, 97, and nn. (decem-
iros; ad libros ire) above; Bouché-Le-
amus, ut, id quod proditum est a maioribus, iniussu senatus ne legantur quidem libri valeantque ad deponendas potius quam ad suscipiendas religiones; cum antistitibus agamus ut quidvis potius ex illis libris quam regem proferant, quem Romae posthac nec di nec homines esse patientur.

LV. At multi saepe vera vaticinati, ut Cassandra:

IAMQUE MARI MAGNO . . .
eademque paulo post:

EHEU VIDETE . . .

113. Num igitur me cogis etiam fabulis credere? Quae delectationis habeant quantum voles, verbis sententiis numeris cantibus adiuvantur; auctoritatem quidem nullam debemus nec fidem commenticius rebus adiungere. Eodemque modo nec ego Publicio nescio cui nec Marcii vatibus nec

clercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 293-294; Mommes, Röm. Staatsrecht, 3, 2 (1888), 1061; Carter, The Relig. of Numa (1906), 67-68. This same feeling of caution lies at the bottom of many of the movements against astrologers and other diviners, particularly during the empire. For a similar feeling among the Greeks cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 51-53, and note the provision of Aeneas Tacticus (10, 4): μηδε θυσαι μαντων ιερ ανει των αρχητων.

2. valeantque ad, etc.: cf. 2, 97.

21. ad suscipiendas religiones: cf. Carter, op. cit. 64-65; 70-103; Wissowa, Reig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 50-52 for the part played by the Sibylline Books in the introduction of new cults into Rome. Cicero may perhaps speak with a little of the jealousy which might naturally be felt by augurs towards a rival college. The art of the augurs was, however, less open to the objection which be here raises.

3. antistitibus: i.e., the XVeiri saceris faciundis; cf. 1, 4 n. (Sibyllinis . . . versibus). Liv. 10, 8, 2 speaks of them as antistites . . . Apollinaris sacer. They stood in the relation of προφῆται to the prophecies concealed in the books, and, as Cicero implies in the word quidvis just below, were probably in a position to color the revelations, at least by judicious selection. Augustine (C. D. 3, 17), perhaps with our passage in mind, suggests even more in the direction of personal influence: in quo genere oraculorum, sicut Cicero in libris de divinatione commemorat, magis interpretibus ut possunt seu volunt dubia conieciantibus credi solet.

4. regem: a term notoriously distasteful to the Romans from the time of Brutus on; cf. Off. 3, 83: ecce sibi qui rex populi Romani dominusque omnium gentium esse concepserit idqueperfecerit hanc cupididadem si honestam quis esse dicit amens est, etc.; Suet. Jul. 80: subscriptore . . . statuae . . . ipseius Cassars: Brutus, quia reges eiecit, consul primus factus est; hic, quia censures eiecit rex postremo factus est. Liv. 6, 20, 5 remarks: illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines quae et quanta decora foeda cupiditatem non ingrat a solum sed invisa etiam reddiderit. Cicero was himself occasionally accused of being a rex (cf. pro Sull. 21; ad Att. 1, 16, 10), and the words regnum and regnare are not infrequently used, by him and by others, with this invidious meaning.

4. proferant: cf. 1, 46, n. (proferam).

5. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).


7. EHEU VIDETE: cf. 1, 114.

9. fabulis: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius); 2, 22; N. D. 2, 71: his fabulis
3. Apollinis opertis credendum existimo, quorum partim ficta aperte, partim effutita temere numquam ne mediocri quidem cuquam, non modo prudenti probata sunt. 114. Quid? inquies, remex ille de classe Coponi nonne ea praedixit quae facta sunt? Ille vero et ea quidem quae omnes eo tempore ne acciderent timebamus. Castrum enim in Thessalia castris conlata audiebamus, videbaturque nobis exercitus Caesaris et audaciae plus habere, quippe qui patriae bellum intuisset, et roboris propter vetustatem; casum autem proeli nemo nostrum erat quin timeret, sed ita ut constantibus hominibus par erat, non aperte. Ille autem Graecus quid mirum si

4. proeli C, vulg., Müller.

spretis ac repudiatis; Off. 3, 99; Rep. 6, 3: non somniamitum philosophorum esse commentia nec fabulas incredibles.


[532] 11. commenticiis: cf. 1, 68, n. (non commenticium rem); also 1, 42; Reid on Ac. 2, 125.


[532] 12. Marcii: cf. 1, 89, n. (Marcios quosdam fratres); 1, 115.


partim ficta, etc.: cf. 2, 83.


2. mediocri: i.e., the average man, the 'man in the street,' as opposed to the prudens, or man of superior intelligence. For the phrase mediocris (homo) cf. N. D. 1, 86; de Prov. cons. 38; pro Bald. 14; also cf. Rep. 3, 19; Off. 2, 30; the objections and emendations of Delaruelle (in Rev. de Philol. 35 (1911), 251-252) are far-fetched and improbable.


3. inquies: cf. 2, 56; 2, 117.

3. remex ille, etc.: cf. 1, 68-69.


5. castra . . . castris conlata: for the events of this period see Drumann- Groebe, Gesch. Roms, 3, 2 ed. (1906), 454-455; for the expression cf. Liv. 4, 27, 5: castra, castra collata sunt.

7. roboris propter vetustatem: cf. 1, 35: vetustate robustas.

9. Graecus: Thoresen considers that the word contains a slur, and compares Fin. 2, 80: sit ista in Graecorum levitate perversias; pro Lig. 11: externi sunt isti mores aut levis Graecorum aut immannium barbarorum; ad Q. Fr. 1, 2, 4: cum Graecorum querelas nimmer valere sentirem propter hominum insania ad fallendum parato; to which may be added: ad Q. Fr. 1, 1, 16: et Graecis ipris diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates prae- ter hominum perpauorum si qui sunt vetera Graecia digni; sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et levus et diviuruna servitute ad nimmer admutationem erudit; pro Flacc. 24: hominibus levitate Graecis, crudelitate barbaris; also the occasional uncomplimentary references to Graecum and their habits (e.g., de Or. 1, 47; 1, 102). Such contemptuous remarks are of course frequent in some other Roman writers.

9. quid mirum si: cf. 2, 81, n. (quid mirum . . . si).
magnitudine timoris, ut plerumque fit, a constantia atque a mente atque a se ipse discessit? Qua perturbatione animi quae sanus cum esset timebat ne evenirent, ea demens eventura esse dicebat. Utrum tandem, per deos atque homines! Magis veri simile est vesanum remigem an aliquem nostrum

1. magnitudine, etc.: cf. 1, 68, n. (remigem quendam); also the remark of Procop. Hist. Bel. 5, 9, 3: tois καρδιών ἀνορθόμενοι, δὴ μάλιστα τούτο ἀνθρώπου εἰς μαντεῖας ὅψην εἶπον.

1. timoris: cf. 1, 80: ut pellitur animi vehemens saepe . . . cura et timore.

1 f. a se . . . discessit: cf. Fin. 5, 33; Brut. 273. The phrase a se does, to be sure, mean much the same as the preceding words a mente, but that appears an inadequate reason for rejecting atque a mente as some scholars would do, e.g., Thoresen in his edition.

3f. per deos atque homines: cf. pro Coecin. 83: omnes homines deosque tector; Plaut. Capt. 727; Men. 990; Mil. gl. 541; Trin. 520; Hirzel, Der Eid (1902), 15.

4. magis veri simile, etc.: the objection to revelation given, not to the educated, and intelligent, but to ignorant and superstitious mediums is found elsewhere; cf. 1, 85; 2, 66; N. D. 3, 11: Tyndaridas . . . eissismas . . . victoriam fœtus Romani Valerio polius, homini rusticus, quam M. Catoni qui tum erat princeps noniaviis. Other authors who speak similarly are Arist. de Div. per Somn. 1, p. 462 b 20-22: τὸ τε γὰρ ἠδύνατο τὸν πυθόμασσα, τρίτο τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ βελτίωτος καὶ φρονιμωτάτος ἄλλα τοῦ τυχόντος πίστευν ἄστων; 2, p. 463 b 15-17: τάνω γὰρ ἐνεσθέντες ἀθρωπά προσομοιοί εἶσαι καὶ ἀληθινοὶ, ότι ὁ θεὸς πυθόμασσα, ἄλλ’ δεν ὄστερ ἄν ἐν τούτῳ ἡ φόβους καὶ μελαγχολία, κατευθυνάτα δέν εἴσοδον (cf. 1, 81, n. (Aristoteles above); 2, p. 464 a 20-22 (quoted in 2, 126, n. (illud . . . requiro cur) below); Apul. A pol. 41: an harudii licet iocierna rimari, philosopho conscripseri non licebit (said in a different connection, but implying the same fundamental notion); Arnob. 7, 43 (discussing the story told by Cicero in 1, 55 above): si sibi Iuppiter ludos scrutulosius fieri restituisse quaerebat . . . nomme rectius fuerat consulem ut ad ipsum veniret, sacerdotum ad aliquem publicorum, poniificum maximum aut ad faminem sumum Dialem eique per somnium et praecipue vitium et funesium causam temporis indicaret? quae fuerat ratio ut ruris hominum suae, obscuritiae incognitum nominis, urbanarum nesciam rerum . . . solvantiis sua deligerit numini et expetibat satisfactionis esciorem? The answers made to this objection appear in Arist. op. cit. 2, p. 464 a 17-27: εἰς δὲ αἱ κυβήρες φαντασμάτων τοιοῦτω, ἢ ἐν προσώπω τὸ μάλλον περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ διὰ τὴν συμβαλαίνει τὸ πάθος τοῦτο τῶν τυχόντων καὶ ὀρὺ τῶν φρονιμοτάτων. μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ γὰρ ἔγενεν ἀν καὶ τοῖς σοφίστοις, εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ πίστις· οὔτε δὲ εἰς τοὺς φυσικοὺς προσώπους ἢ γὰρ διάνοια τῶν τοιούτων ὁ φρονιμωτικὸς ἀλλ’ ἄνευ ἐρήμου καὶ κατὰ πάντως, καὶ καταδίκα κατὰ τὸ πεπωγότας ἐγεταί. καὶ τοῦ ἓνως τῶν φονικῶν προσώπων αἰτιῶν δὴ αἴτια κυβῆρες ὁ πρὸ καθόλου ἀλλ’ ἀνδρουχιαῖς καὶ νῖβα τηρητικοῖς ἐξῆλθο τοῦτο ὡς εἰς καταδικὴν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἔτοιμοτα καὶ εἰς ἐκτόνως πνεύματος ὁ πρὸ καθόλου εἶλεν ἐτύμοτης. Cf. also the principle set forth in Matt. 11, 25; 1 Cor. 1, 27.

4. vesanum: a rare word in Cicero, but found in de Dom. 3; cf. Parzinger, Beiträge zur Kennnis d. Entwicklung d. ciceron. Siils (1910), 105-106.

[535] 1. me: on the vanity of Cicero cf. 1, 24, n. (non nulla eiisam); 1, 80: eiisam in le... et, ut ad lepiora venimum, in Aesop; Petersson, Cicero (1920), 356-358.

qui ibi tum eramus, me, Catonem, Varrorem, Coponium ipsum, consilia deorum inmortals perspicere potuisses?

LVI. 115. Sed iam ad te venio,
O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,

Catoni? Cato, Varro, Coponius, and Cicero are all mentioned in 1, 68 as present on the occasion described.

1. Coponium ipsum: as being the commander of the fleet and hence apparently the proper one to receive the important revelation.

4. O sancte, etc.: the passage is from an unknown poet (Trag. Rom. Frag. ex incert. incertorum 19-20 Ribbeck; Ribbeck adds: duximum vix est quin Enniana haec sinis), the words somewhat suggesting a Latin version of Eur. Or. 591-592: ipse δ' Ἀπόλλων, διά μεσομφαλος θρασ' / νεωρ' χρονοισι συμμε μάιε σαφέστατον. The first verse of the Latin appears also in Varr. L. L. 7, 17: o sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum opines. umbilicum dictum aiunt ab umbilico nostro, quod is medius locus sit terrarum, ut umbilicus in nobis; quod utrumque est falsum; neque hic locus est terrarum medius neque noster umbilicus est hominis medius . . . praeterea si quod medium sit est umbilicus ut pila terrae, non Delphi medium; et terrae medium non hoc, sed quod vocant Delphis in sede ad latus est quiddam ut thesauri specie, quod Græci vocant ἴμφαλος, quern Pythonos aiunt esse tumulos; ab eo nostri interpretes ἴμφαλον umbilicum dixerunt.

The significance of the umbilicus terrarum ( dildo γίς) and similar expressions has been the subject of much discussion, of which the fullest treatment is found in three studies by Roscher: (1) Omphalos (in Abh. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 29, 9 (1913)); (2) Neue Omphalostudien (in the same series, 31, 1 (1915)); (3) Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern (in Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl. 70, 2 (1918)). In addition to these collections of material and the discussions cited by Roscher, especially Weniger, Allgr. Baumann (1919), 60-61; Deubner in Archv f. Religionswiss. 20 (1921), 412-413; Schwenemann in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 20 (1921), 481-484; Gruppe in Burs. Jahresb. 186 (1921), 110-112; Ehrenberg, Die Rechtsidee in frühen Griechenentum (1921), 44-48. The controversy concerning the Delphic ἰμφαλος centres about the question whether that object (which has actually been found, in the form of a seventh century poros stone 0.275 m. high, inscribed E and Π; cf. Courby in Comptes rend. de l’Acad. d. Inscr. 1914, 257-270; but see Ehrenberg, op. cit. 47, n. 3) represented, as Varro (l.c.) is the first ancient writer to assert, and as Miss Harrison in (Journ. of Hel- len. Stud. 19 (1899), 225-251; and in Bull. Corr. Hell. 24 (1900), 254-262), Rohde (Psyche, 4 ed. (1907), 133), and others (cf. Schwenemann, op. cit. 482) have maintained, the tomb of the Python, or whether it was, as Roscher asserts, originally regarded as the centre of the earth, with the legend connecting it with the Python as a later development (Schwenemann (op. cit.) also furnishes evidence pointing in that direction).

Roser also, particularly in his third work, traces the idea of the ἰμφαλος through many other nations: Chinese, Siberian Turkish tribes, Hindus (to the works he cites should be added Thurston, Omens and Superst. of southern India (1912), 211), Assyrians and Babylonians, in Palestine and Arabia (especially localized at Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethel, etc., among the Jews, and at Mecca among the Moslems), Egypt (to which add Homolle in Ren. des Études grecques, 32 (1921), 338-358), at the Ammonium (add Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 355-358), among the Etruscans andItalic peoples (where he finds a point of contact in the mundus
Unde superstitione primum saeva evasit vox fera.

and the *lapis manalis*; but cf. Deubner, *op. cit.* 414; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 111; to the Italian cases add also Reate (Varro ap. Solin. 2, 23; Mart. Cap. 6, 640), the Celts (add Henderson, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts* (1911), 24), the Magyars, the Peruvians, the California Indians, and in Cebes (cf. Roscher, *Onthologies*, 9, n. 13). See also Frazer on Paus. 7, 21, 2 and 10, 16, 3 for a large collection of cases.

Among the Greeks the idea was localized at many points. The navel of the sea occurs in Od. 1, 50; the oldest case of *ψωμαλὸς* γῆς Roscher (*Onthologies*, 10) finds ascribed to Epimenides (Plut. de Def. Orac. 1). Of places on Greek soil he considers that the oracle at Branchidae was the original claimant (*op. cit.* 44), but after its destruction in 494 B.C. its position was taken by Delphi, and he collects abundant literary (*op. cit.* 54-80; to which may be added: *Priapes*, 75, 5; Aristid. Or. 13, p. 153; Tat. adv. Graec. 8) and monumental (*op. cit.* 80-105) traces of the Delphic localization, as also for similar references to other spots in Greece (Delos, Paphos, Athens, Eleusis, Sicily (Enna; add: 2 Verr. 4, 106; also Callim. in Cer. 15 (generally bracketed); Diod. 5, 3, 2; *Oxyrh. Pap.* 4, 81, no. 665, line 1), etc.). For a *μεσωμαλὸς* at Constantinople cf. Cedren. *Hist.* (Petr. Gr. 121, 769 C); Anon. de Antiq. Constantinop. 2 (Petr. Gr. 122, 1240); Oberhummer in P.-W. s.v. Constantinopolis (1900), 998. Kadet in (Rev. des Études Anc. 19 (1917), 98-100) would locate one at Gordium in Phrygia.

The significance of the *ψωμαλὸς*, if not originally, at least after its development, appears to have had two especial phases: (1) centrality (cf. the *umbilicus soli* of the gromasics in Junius Nipus (Gromat. oct. et. 1, 285; 287; 288 Lachmann); also many references are given in Roscher's studies; (2) a connection between the upper and the under world, (cf. Lejay in *Rev. de Phil.* 41 (1917), 185-187) especially such as that found at a Pitonum (cf. 1, 79, n. (mortifera)), an oracle (e.g., Delphi, as in our passage, or the island of Ceram in the East Indies, for which cf. Frazer on Paus. 10, 16, 3 (on such *ψωμαλὸς* cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 777, n. 2); see also that ancient etymology which derived *ψωμαλὸς* from *ψώμι*; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 3 (1880), 79, n.), or other places of access to the underworld (e.g., in the vicinity of Enna; and cf. Joan. Scylitzes, *Hist.* (Petr. Gr. 122, 412 A) of Anthias near the Taurus: *ψωμαλογία εὐ μικρὸ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ κατελεύσει, καὶ *κλον* τοῦ*ψωμαλὸς* ἀληθές ἡ γῆ. A somewhat typical instance of the combination of these two points is found at Ampsanctus (cf. 1, 79, n. (*Amphiante* above), of which Virgil (*Aen.* 7, 563) says: *est locus Italiae medius*; and Serv. ad loc. explains: *hunc locum umbilicum Italiæ chorographi dicunt ... ibi aditus esse dicturs inferorum*.

We need not assume that all these *ψωμαλολα* were marked by definite monuments of the familiar form; in fact Gruppe (in *Burs. Jahrb.* 186 (1921), 112) believes the monuments to have originated, not from an attempt to represent the human navel, but from boundary stones and other landmarks, and Roscher's connection between the concave opening into the earth and the convex form of monument is perhaps, the least convincing point in his elaborately developed theory. Of course, if one should admit that the monuments and their associated literary concepts arose from an imitation of the navel of the body an opportunity would be found for coupling these, as Roscher does, with numerous superstitions associated with the umbilical cord, for which cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 182-201. The use of the terms *ψωμαλὸς* and *umbilicus* was apparently not considered at all indecent, even up to the middle ages; cf. Fletcher in *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* 20 (1921), 2, n. 2; and note also our modern phrase 'navel' orange.

The metre of the beginning of the
Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen inplevit partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione saepissime, partim flexiloquis first line has caused difficulty to editors, but it can be best solved by supposing that the second syllable of Apollo is regarded as metrically short (for such shortnings cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 230; also Müller’s critical note on this passage). Possibly at the time when the line was written the i in the word had not yet been doubled; we possess various Latin inscriptions in which it is still single (cf. Dessau, Inscri. Lat. sel. 3, 1 (1914), 517), but even that may be an inadequate explanation (cf. Evans, Allitteratio Latina (1921), 169). The other remedy, to omit the initial o, is not permissible because of its occurrence in the quotation of the line by Varro as cited above.

[35] 4. certum: Roscher (Omphalos, 65) takes this word as meaning that, though other places, such as Branchidae, Paphos, etc., may also claim to be the centre of the earth, yet the real centre is at Delphi.


[35] 1. fera: Thoresen (following Gruet) reads foras. But the three adjectives (with asyndeton, superstitiosa, saeva, fera, are more effective than two.

1. Chrysippus ... volumen inplevit: cf. 1, 6, and n. (de oracis); 1, 37.


2f. flexiloquis et obscuris: these words are again combined by Amm. Marc. 18, 5, 6; 31, 2, 11 (cf. introd. p. 31, n. 178 above), and flexiloquus apparently occurs in Latin only in these three cases, though compounds in -logus are not rare in the language, thirty-four being listed by Gradenwitz, Laterculi Vocab. Latina- rum (1904), 556.

The ambiguities of oracles were, of course, proverbial. In addition to the cases noted at 1, 52, n. (Homericum ... versum) cf. Aesch. Prom. V. 661-662: ἔκορε δὲ ἀναγγέλλωντα αἰώνοις ἡμών ἀγάμω τε ἔριμονοι; Aenam. 1255; Tac. Ann. 2, 54: per ambages, ut nos oras culis; Luc. Deor. Dial. 16, 1: ἔδει Ἀπόλλων προσευχαίῃ ἔριμονοι καὶ κατασκοράδων ἔριμονοι ἔγχετο τῆς πατρίτης τὸ μήν ἐλεφοτι, τὸ ἔδει ἐλεφοτί καὶ ἔδει ἐλεφοτώντα ἂντε ἀρχή ἀπὸ καὶ ἐλεφοτοῦ ὑπὸ καὶ ἐλεφοτέρων, τὸ ἐλεφοτέρων ἰδοὺ τοῦ ἐλεφοτέρου; Stat. Theb. 1, 495: nesin ambigibus augur A. pollo; Min. Fel. Oct. 26, 6; Tert. Apol. 22: in oraculis uel qui ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventu sciunt Crescis, scient Pyrrhi (and Mayor’s note on ambiguitates for additional instances); Eus. Pr. Ex. 4, 1, p. 131c: τὸ μὲν γὰρ πνεύματα καὶ τὰ τῶν χρησμῶν συμ βένθεαι σοι ἄφαι τῶν ἄφαι, εἰ μᾶλλα ἐὰν ἔπει συνάφως ἐκεινομερῶς πλάσματα τυχάναι, μάλαι καὶ ἄμφηβης συγκεκριμένος τόπος, πρὸς ἱεροτρόπου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κηδείας προσδιοκμένοις ὁμιλοῦσι δελφίνας; p. 132 c-d: τῶν χρησμῶν ἄμφως ἑωντικῶς καὶ ἄσ φελεῖς ἐπικοινωνεῖν, εἰ τὸ μὴ ταύτα συνάντη τὸ χρησίμεα, τῇ δὲ τοῦ λευκῶτος ἄληθε ἡθόπ. τοῦ ἠθόπ. λευκῶτος θεοῦ; Aug. C. D. 3, 17; Synes. de Insomn. 3 (Pair. Gr. 96, 1285A): οὕτως οὖσα τὰ χρηστῆρα πόσε συνέλαμβανος τοῖς ἑλεγχοῖς ἐπαγαγόν ὁ Πολύθρον χρηστήριον, κτλ.; Schol. Eur. Or. 165: Λαοίς ὁ Ἀπόλ λων καλεῖται διὸ λοῦτω καὶ διὰ τῆς ροομέλης ἱματεροῦ; Nonnus ad Greg. Naz. Or. 1 c. Jul. 96 (Pair. Gr. 36, 1033D-1036A); Suid. s.v. Λαοίς: ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ λοῦτος τῶν ἱματερῶν λοῦτος γὰρ ἱματεροῦ (but this explanation of the epithet is not the universal one; cf. Oenopides ap. Macro. Sat. 1, 17, 31; etc.; and Plut. de Garrul. 17 remarks: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ δήδο ἡθόπωντος ὡς καὶ ἑθολόγου ἦν τοῖς χρησίμεα, καὶ λαοῖς καλεῖται διὰ τὸ φήσεως τὴν ἱματερὰ μάλλον ἀ οίδες; Basil. Seleuc. VII. Theclae (Pair. Gr. 85, 564 A-D); and
et obscuris, ut interpres egeat interprete et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit, partim ambiguous et quae ad dialecticum referenda sint. Nam cum illa sors edita est opulentissumo regi Asiae:

Crosus Halyon penetrans magnam pervertat opum vim,

various cases noted in *Class. Philol. 12* (1917), 8-11; as well as those in the succeeding notes.


2. ad dialecticum: the Auct. *ad Herenn. 2, 16* speaks of cognitionem amphiboluarum eam quae ob dialecticis praferatur.

2. referenda: for this use of the word cf. 1, 97, n. (detala); the feminine—the reading of the manuscripts—doubtless refers to sorts; referenda—from the interpolated MSS. of Davies, which has been adopted by some editors—has reference to oracula.

2. illa: cf. 1, 14, n. (*illa*).
