Aut tanta inter eos dissensio, saepe etiam inter proximos, ut Apollinis exta bona sint, Dianae non bona? Quid est tam perspicuum quam, cum fortuito hostiae adducantur, talia cuique exta esse qualis cuique obtigerit hostia? At enim id ipsum habet aliquid divini, quae cuique hostia obtin- gat, tamquam in sortibus, quae cui ducatur. Mox de sortibus; quamquam tu quidem non hostiarum casum confirmas sortium similitudo, sed infirmas sortis conlacione hostiarum. 39. An, cum in Aequimaeliwm misimus

7. Aequimaeliwm wlg., aequimaelliwm AH, equimaelliwm B.

1. proximos: doubtless not merely of gods to whom offerings are successively made but also, especially, of those near of kin, as the example of Apollo and Diana indicates.

1. Apollinis exta: a brachylogy, as Kayser notes, for exta hostiae Apollinis immolandae. But the phrase is less difficult of comprehension because the victim (including its exta) was doubtless thought of by Cicero as the property of the god to whom it was to be sacrificed.

I. exta bona: cf. 1, 85: bonis extis.
2. quid est tam perspicuum quam: cf. N. D. 2, 4: quid . . . potest esse . . . tam . . . perspicuum . . . quam; Fin. 3, 41: nihil tam perspicuum videtur quam; 5, 31: quid est quod magis perspicuum sit quam, etc.
4. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).
5. cui ducatur: the dative is, of course, one of reference rather than of agent, the lots often being drawn (as in 2, 86) by another than the person directly interested.
5. max de sortibus: 2, 85-88.
6. casum confirmas: the MS reading is here perfectly intelligible. As stated in the next section and in 1, 118, there may be some divine power which guides one in the selection of an appropriate victim, just as one is thought of as guided to the drawing of an appropriate lot from an urn. The phrase hostiarum casum will then be an easily comprehensible brachylogy: meaning 'the element of chance in the selection of victims.' There is no need to emend to causam, and in fact 2, 39 (si casum in eo quoque dicis esse quasi sortem quandam) favors the MS reading here.

61. infirmas sortis: because the use of lots, if viewed by itself, appears to involve less that is contrary to the fundamental principles of natural science. If by a comparison between sortilege and extiapicy it is implied that in the former, as in the latter, there is a supernatual setting aside of natural laws, rather than an appropriation of them for purposes of revelation (cf. 1, 34, n. (divinitus)), then belief in lots must be rejected, not merely on the ground of their casual character (as in 2, 85-86) but as inconsistent with scientific principles. If, on the other hand, pure chance be suspected of determining the selection of victims—and the physicus, Cicero thinks, would find it hard to deny this—, what greater element of divine guidance is to be expected in sortilege?

qui adferat agnum quem immolemus, is mihi agnus adferitur qui habet exta rebus accommodata, et ad eum agnum non casu sed duce deo servus deducitur? Nam si casum in eo quoque esse dicis quasi sortem quandam cum deorum voluntate coniunctam, doleo tantam Stoicos nostros Epicureis inrindendi sui facultatem dedisse; non enim ignoras quam ista derideant. 40. Et quidem illi facilius facere possunt; deos enim ipsos iocandi causa

3. esse dicis C. Christ, Baier, Thorsen, dicis esse Salish, O. Müller, Heringa.

ac dies unum ienuit; solo aequata omnia
inter Salinas sc portam Carmentalem, cum
Aequimaelio Lugirio quicco, etc.; 38, 28, 3
(189 n. c.): substructionem super Aequi-
maelium in Capitolio . . . locaverunt;
Dion. Hal. 12, 4, 6: αναρεΐστηκας δὲ των
ἀνδρῶν (Sporius Maecius) . . . ἡ μοίρη
. . . ἡμισάτα . . . τὴν οἰκαί των ἱεράτων,
κατακατήθηκα. οὕτως δὲ τότε ἦταν καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ
τοιλαίᾳ τὰς πέριξ οἰκείας μόνον κενομένω
ζημία, καλούμενα ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίων Ἀλεξάνδρου'
ὡς ἐν ἡμεῖς εἰσελθείν λαβεῖν Μῆλιον. αἷον
gar ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸ μεθομένα ἔχον ἔρχεσθαι
calitai’ τότε δὲ τῶν Αἰκατερίνης Μῆλιον εἰ
drachmί κληθῆται, ὀστερον συμφαργέντων ἀλλή-
λοις κατὰ τὴν μιᾶν αἱρότων τῶν ἑομάτων
Ἀλεξάνδρου κάλλεσαν; Auct. de Vir. ill. 17, 5.

In spite of these traditions the derivation
and proper spelling of the name are
very uncertain; cf. Mommsen, i.e.; Pais,
Storia di Roma, 1, 1 (1898), 544, n. 1
(who suggests a popular confusion of
two etymologies, one from aepiare and
the other from eques Maecius). Richter,
Topogr. d. Stadt Rom, 2 ed. (1901), 192,
considers the place a piazza formed by
the enlargement of the Vicus Iugarium,
and our passage may indicate that it was,
as Mommsen remarks, the spot where
animals were kept as a preliminary to
sacrifice on the Capitol. Yet that other
animals than those intended for immediate
sacrifice on the Capitol were to be found
there seems to be indicated by the sup-
posed divine intervention leading to the
selection of a particular one, and the
sentence reads as though the sacrifice
might be one of a less formal and more
private character than a state ceremony
on the Capitol (for the modest rank of
the lamb among sacrificial animals cf.

Hor. Carm. 2, 17, 32: nos humilem seriem us
agnum). We may infer, then, that the
Aequimaelium was a market for live sheep
for sacrifice, as the Forum Boarium was
used for the sale of cattle, conveniently
situated, as Ernesti suggests, like the
market of sacrificial animals at Jerusalem,
at the entrance of the temple.

2. duce deo: cf. 1, 118.

3. quasi sortem quandam: cf. 1, 1,
n. (quandam).

4. Stoicos nostros: a playful expres-
sion; cf. Tusc. 1, 78: numquid igitur est
causae quin omnicos nostros Stoicos dimit-
tamus? Cicero is also perhaps sorry to
see the Stoics, with whose ethical theories
he had so much sympathy, exposed to
the ridicule of the Epicureans for whose
views he had far less liking (cf. 1, 5, n.
(Epicurum)). The typical Epicurean
feeling of humorous contempt for Stoic
tenets is to be seen through N. D. 1, 18-
56; 2, 162: nihil iam inriedit Epicurus
quam praedictionem rerum futurum;
Rep. 6, 3; Luc. Alex. 25: Ἐπίκουρος . .
πάρα ταύτα ἐν γέλῳ καὶ ταῦτα τόκια.

5. inrindendi sui: for Cicero’s use of
this construction in the plural cf. Müller in
Philologus. 17 (1861), 104; Mayor on
N. D. 2, 124; Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf.
Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 745-
746.

6. iocandi causa: with this charge
cf. N. D. 1, 123: at etiam liber est Epicuri
de sanctitate. ludimur ab homine non tam
facelo quam ad scribendi licentiam libero;
2, 46: hic quam volet Epicurus iocandi,
homo non apsiissimus ad iocandum minimo-
que resipiens patriam; 2, 74: ilia salem
istum quo caret vestra natio (i.e., the
Epicureans), in inrindendis nobis nolitote
induxit Epicurus perlucidos et perfabilis et habitantis tamquam inter duos lucos sic inter duos mundos propter metum ruinarum, eosque habere

1. perlucidos, etc.: cf. N. D. 1, 75: illud video pugnare te, species ut quaedam sit deorum quae nihil concreti habeat, nihil soliti . . . sique pura levis perlucida; 1, 123: neque enim tam desipiens fuisset ut homunculi similem demum fingeret, liniamenitis duntaxat eximemis, non habitus solidus, membris hominis praeeditum omnibus, usum membrorum ne minimum quidem, exilio quendam aliquo perlucidum, nihil cuiquam tribuentes, nihil gratificantes, omnino nihil curante, nihil agentem. quae natura prima nulla esse potest, tuique videns Epicurus re isolati, oratione relinquit deos; 2, 59: Epicurus monogrammos deos et nihil agentes commentum est; Dionysius ap. Eus. Pr. En. 14, 27, p. 783 c: katepetykos 'Athénaos (sc. ὑπὸ Ἐπίκουρος ὡς μὴ δοκολοι γοῦν) δικατὸ ἢν ἀθέοι είναι, καθά αὐτοῦ δανειστῶν θεών τερατευμόνως ἱστορόφροσ εἰς: For the Epicurean views which led to these charges see Usener, Epicurea (1887), 232-238 (especially the passage from N. D. 1, 48-49), and for a discussion of Cicero's misunderstanding of the probable meaning of Epicurus cf. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schriften, 1 (1877), 76-84. Lucretius (5, 148-149: lentis enim natura deum longeque remota / sensibus ab nostris animi vix mente videtur; 5, 154) refers to the extreme fineness or subtlety of the gods. Adversaries of the Epicureans charged that Epicurus had admitted the existence of the gods only to avoid the odium attaching to atheism (cf. N. D. 1, 85; 1, 87; 1, 123; 3, 3; Plut. non posse suaviter vivi, 21, p. 1102 b; Atticus ap. Eus. Pr. En. 15, 5, p. 800 c), but see the defence by Zeller-Wellmann, Die Philos. d. Gr. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 445; Hadzsits in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 39 (1908), 73-88; Bailey in Proc. of the class. Assoc. (Engl.), 19 (1922), 9-25.

1. perfabilis: a rare word, appearing later in Solinus, Palladius, et al.

1f. inter duos lucos: cf. Liv. 1, 8, 5: locum qui nunc saepius descendentibus inter duos lucos est ammonitum (sc. Romulus); Vell. 1, 8, 5: eam (sc. urbem) asilo facto inter duos lucos auxit; Dion. Hal. 2, 15, 4: to γάρ μεταξὸς χωρόν τοῦ τῆς Καπιτολίου καὶ τῆς ἑκάριας, ὃ καλεῖται μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτων μεθόριον ὅποιας δρόμων, κτλ.; Ov. Fast. 3, 429-430; Prop. 4, 8, 31; C. I. L. I, 2 ed., p. 233 (Fasti Praenestini): VEDIOVIS INTER DVOS LVCOS; Richter, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom, 2 ed. (1901), 130; Stara-Tedde in Bull. d. Comm. arch. com. 33 (1905), 211-214; Platner, Topogr. and Monum. of anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 305. As the occupants of the asylum of Romulus were thought of as having lived safe from interference in this saddle between the two summits of the Capitoline Hill (near the present statue of Marcus Aurelius), so the gods of Epicurus found their only security in the internundane spaces. Is any comparison between the respective occupants of these asylums—other than their general feebleness—intended?

2. inter duos mundos: cf. Diog. L. 10, 88-89 (the view of Epicurus): ἡμῶν δεῖ τιε περίχει τις ὀφθαλμοῖ ἄστρα τε καὶ πάντα τα ἔρειν περίχωμα περίχωμα . . . δεί δὲ καὶ τωνσώμα τῶν ἑωσίων ἐώς ἐπερώς (cf. Cic. N. D. 1, 53; Fin. 1, 21) τὸ πλήθος δεῖ καταβαίνει, καὶ δὲ τῶνσώμα δέντα ἡμῶν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑωσίω καὶ μετακομισθή, δὲ λέγουμεν μεταξὸς ἑωσίων διάστημα, ἐν τολμητή τόκη; N. D. 1, 18: Velleius . . . iamquam modo ex deorum concilio et ex Episcopi internum ob dies descendisset (for the term internum cf. Fin. 2, 75); Sen.'s de Ben. 4, 19, 2: hunc igitur (sc. deum) insaeptum ingeniss quidem et inexplicabili muro divisumque a contactu et a conspectu morialium non habes quere sereari; nulla illi nec tribuendi nec nocendi materia est; in medio intervallo hucus et alterius coeli desertus, sine homine, sine re, ruinas mundorum supra se circaque se cadensium evitare non exaudiens voce nec nostri curious; 7, 31, 3: alius illus (sc.
putat eadem membra quae nos nec usum ullam habere membrorum. Ergo hic circumstantial quadam deos tollens recte non dubitat divinationem tollere; sed non, ut hic sibi constat, item Stoici. Illius enim deus nihil habens nec sui nec aliorum negoti non potest hominibus divinationem impetire; vester autem deus potest non impetire, ut nihil minus mundum obscure subjicius auditus animum. There is probably a contrast between the word in this clause and recte in the next.

2. deos tollens: the constant accusation brought by the opponents of Epicureanism; cf. the note on per lucidos, etc., above; N. D. 1, 85; 1, 123.

2f. divinationem tollere: cf. 1, 5, n. (Epicurus).

4. negoti, etc.: cf. Diog. L. 10, 139 (=Usener, Epicurea, 71; the first of the xirai dieai, according to N. D. 1, 85): τὸ μακάριον καὶ δφφανον ὄμη ἀρνον τράγματα ἤχεω ὄροι ἀλλὰ παρὰ; N. D. 1, 45: veris exposita illa sententia est: ab Epicuro, quod beatum acerumneque sit, id nec habere ipsum negati quivquam nec exhibere alteri; 1, 51; 1, 85; 1, 102; 1, 123; Leg., 1, 21; Off. 3, 102; Lucr. 2, 646-651: omnis enim per sec divom natura necesset / immortalit actu summa cum pace fruatur / semota ab nostris rebus sequentiaque longe; / nam privata dolore omni, privata peridias, / ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indicia nostris, / nec bene promeritis captur neque tangitur ira; 5, 82: nam bene qui didiceris deos securum agere acervum, etc. (cf. Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 101); Lact. de Ira, 4, 2: ex hoc, inquit (sc. Epicurus), beatus est (sc. deus) et incorruptus, quia nihil curai neque ipsa habit negotium neque alteri exhibet; 17, 1; Hippol. Philosop. 22, 3 (Doxagrr. Gr. 572): ἡδονα τε καὶ θανάτου ἐν τῇ ἀκροβατίᾳ ἐξοφληθη καὶ οὕτω ἀπό τράγματα ζήσω Ὀμη ἀλλὰ παραίτη; and for other evidence cf. Usener, op. cit. 241-244.

4. non potest: note the logical antithesis between non potest and potest non. The latter possibility Quinio has attempted to disprove, by the long system of eliminations in 1, 82-83.

5. vester deus: cf. N. D. 1, 52; 1, 101; 1, 104; 1, 110; 1, 113; 1, 114.
regat et hominibus consulat. 41. Cur igitur vos induitis in eas captiones quas numquam explicetis? Ita enim, cum magis properant, concludere solent: 'Si di sunt, est divinatio; sunt autem di; est ergo divinatio.' Multo est probabilius: 'non est autem divinatio; non sunt ergo di.' Vide quam temere committant ut, si nulla sit divinatio, nulli sint di. Divinatio enim perspicue tollitur; deos esse retinendum est.

XVIII. 42. Atque hac extispicum divinatione sublata omnis haruspiceina sublata est. Ostenta enim sequuntur et fulgura. Valet autem in fulguribus observatio diuturna, in ostentis ratio plerumque coniecturaque adhibetur. Quid est igitur quod observatum sit in fulgure? Caelum in sedecim partis divisurum Etrusc. Facile id quidem fuit, quattuor quas

[421] 5f. mundum ... hominibus: for the arguments by which the Stoics passed from divine care for the universe to similar provision for the individual see N. D. 2, 164-165, and Mayor's note.

1. hominibus consulat: with the phrase as applied to the gods cf. 2, 125; N. D. 1, 122; 2, 165; 3, 166; 3, 70.


2. cum magis properant: i.e., what follows is a compression of 1, 82-83; cf. also 1, 10. For Stoic compression of statement, which at times seemed to make arguments less effective—or less overwhelming—than they would otherwise have been, cf. N. D. 2, 20; Quintil. Inst. 2, 20, 7 (following Cic. Fin. 2, 17; Ora. Nat. 113); Smiley, Latinitas et ΕΛΑΝΗΣΟΜΕΣ (1906).

3. si di sunt, etc.: the reverse of this argument is found in N. D. 2, 12: quorum enim interpretes sunt, eos ipsos esse certe necessit esse; deorum autem interpretes sunt; deos igitur esse fatalemur.

4. probabilius: cf. 2, 28, n. (persuaderi, etc.).

4. non est autem, etc.: the use of autem as introducing a minor premiss shows that the full form of the anti-Stoic version would be: si di sunt, est divinatio; non est autem divinatio; non sunt ergo di, the Stoics imperilling their cause by the rash form of the major premiss.


6. retinendum est: cf. Tusc. 1, 107: tenendum est ... nihil curandum esse post mortem.

7. extispicum ... ostenta ... fulgura: for the threefold division of haruspicine cf. 1, 12, n. (extispicum aut monstra, etc.).

7. sublata, etc.: cf. 2, 123, n. (quia sublata tollitur).

9. observatio diuturna: cf. 1, 3, n. (diuturna observatione); Leg. 3, 43: est autem boni auguris meminisse ... caeli ... partes sibi definitas esse traditas.

9. ratio ... coniecturaque: cf. 1, 42; 1, 128; Ac. 2, 42.

11. sedecim partis: cf. 1, 31, n. (in quattuor partis); Plin. N. H. 2, 143: in sedecim partes caelum in eo spectu divisere Tusci. prima est a septemtrionibus ad aequinoctialarem exortum, secunda ad meridiem, tercia ad aequinoctialarem occasum, quarta obtinet quod est reliquum ab occasu ad septemtriones. has iteram in quaternas divisere partes, ex quibus octo ab eis sinistras, septem et contrario appellavere dextras. ex ipsis maxime dirae quae septemtriones ab occasu attingunt. itaque plurimum referri unde venerint fulmina et quo conquererint; Serv. Aen. 8. 427: toto caelo, id est ab omni parte caeli: nam dicunt physici de
nos habemus duplicare, post idem iterum facere, ut ex eo dicerent fulmen qua ex parte venisset. Primum id quid interest? Deinde quid significat? Nonne perspicuum est ex prima admiratione hominum, quod tonitrua factusque fulmum omnium ex extimuissent, credidisse ea efficere rum omnium

sedecim partibus caeli iaci fulmina . . . toto caelo, hoc est de diversis partibus caeli, scilicet sedecim; Mart. Cap. 1, 45: nam in sedecim discerni dicitur caelum omne regiones (and in 1, 45-61 he divides the sky into 16 sedes or ‘houses,’ belonging to different divinities; cf. Thulin, Die Götter des Mart. Cap. v. d. Bronzeleber von Piacenza (1906), especially p. 19; id., Die eurusk. Discip. 1 (1906), 15, who points out that the marginal divisions of the Etruscan bronze liver found at Piacenza (cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in exilis) above) are sixteen in number; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 545, n. 5, and works there cited). Pliny’s division (N. H. 10, 21) of the kinds of augural hawks into sixteen classes, if read in its context, hardly justifies the view of Nissen (Orientation, 1 (1906), 275) that those divisions correspond to the sixteen regions. The sixteenfold division is found among no other people and is to be regarded as an Etruscan invention (Thulin, Die eurusk. Discipl. I. c.), perhaps under the influence of oriental astrological ideas.

[422] 11f. facile, etc.: Cicero carelessly, as an augur contemptuous of the details of the rival art of the haruspices, assumes the superior age of the Roman usage and concludes the Etruscan to be simply a refinement upon it (cf. Nissen, op. cit. 274), while Pliny (N. H. 2, 138) thinks of the Roman usage in regard to thunderbolts as abridged from the Etruscan. The difference in the matter of thunder interpretation is perhaps typical of the greater detail demanded by the Etruscans from their art in cases where the Romans sought merely a choice between two possibilities; cf. Regell, De Augurum publ. Libris, 1 (1878), 5.

1. post idem iterum facere: Nissen (op. cit. 275) would apparently hold that in this manner the divisions made by Attus Navius (1, 31) were produced, but, as there pointed out (n. on in quatuor paribus), it seems more likely that the subsequent divisions were by lines at right angles rather than radiating from a common centre.

2. qua ex parte: not only this but also the direction toward which the lightning passed was noted by the Etruscans; cf. 2, 45 below; Plin. N. H. 2, 143 (quoted above); Thulin, op. cit. 1, 16-17 (who cites additional instances).


praepotentem Iovem? Itaque in nostris commentariis scriptum habemus: 'Iove tonante, fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas.' 43. Hoc fortasse

Thes. 3, 661) ardua caelo / simulina cum caderent discussaque moeniaflammis / atque ictus flagrarat Aithos, etc. Mayor (on N. D. 2, 14) compares also Ps. 29 and Job, 38.

1. praepotentem: cf. N. D. 2, 4: illum vero et Iovem et dominatorem erum . . . et praesentem ac praepotentem deum; 2, 77; Leg. 1, 23.

1. nostris commentariis: that is, those of the augurs; cf. 1, 72, n. (augurales); Regell, De Augurum publ. Libris, 1 (1878), 40; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2323-2324. See Fest. p. 317 M.: sanqualis anis aρ . . . <com>mentaris augura:<ibus>; Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 398: multi tamen adserunt cynos inter augurales anes non inveniri neque augurilibus commentariis erum nonem inlatum. The X'Viri also had commentarii, as we learn from Censor. 17, 10; 17, 11.

1. scriptum habemus: for the phrase cf. 1, 28; 1, 100.

2. Iove tonante, etc.: cf. 2, 74; in Vat. 20: sed quero, si ad celeram vulnera quisbus rem publicam petasti deleri hanc quaque mortiferam plagam infestisses auguratus iui, utrum decertatuis fueris, id quod augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreverunt, Iove fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse, an, quia tu semper sic egisses, auspicia fueris augur dissoluturum? Phil. 5, 7: illa auspicia non ergent interpretatione; Iove enim tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat (cf. 5, 8; 5, 15); N. D. 2, 63: haunc (sc. Iovem munificam) augures nostri cum dicunt; Iove fulgienie (fulgente cor. ex fulgente cod. F) tonante; dicunt enim caelo fulgente et tonante; Liv. 40, 42, 10: ultimam de caelo quod comitia turbaret intervenit; Dio Cass. 38, 13, 4: tovtο τε ουκ ἔλεγα τον καὶ δια τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπάνω ἠτάντων ἢ ἑκτέρες προερχόμενα τια, καὶ ἐγνώριον ὑπέθεσιν καὶ ἐκεῖστο οὐσίωμα· τοῖς οὖν ἐπιγοηmouseupω, οὐ κωλύει, καὶ διεκερτιζότα, τά σε δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαφορίσεις πάντων ἐκπόνες, καὶ δὴ πρὸς ἄλτας ἐδιωκόμη, εἰτε καλαυρίον εἰτε καλαυρίον κτήριον; App. B. C. 1, 30: ὁ δὲ πολιτικοὶ δῆλος ἥβαλ ὡς γεμισθήνῃ ἐν καλαυρίῳ βρουττεί, ὥσπερ ὁς θησὶ καὶ 'Ρωμαίοις οἴον ἐν κυρίον (cf. 1, 78); Tac. Hist. 1, 18: quatum Idus Ianuarius, feedum imbribus diem, tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra soisim turbaverant. observatum id antiquitus comitii dirimendis non terruit Calgahm; Regell, op. cit. 1, 40-41; Momm- sen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 80, n. 3; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2335; id., Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 533, n. 1. Very suitable is the suggestion of Valeton (in Mnemosyne, 21 (1891), 78-79) that the reason assigned by Cicero in 2, 74 below is incorrect, and that in reality this form of check upon actions taking place sub divo (such as comitia, public assemblies, and certain parts of the marriage ceremony, as in Serv. Aen. 4, 161; 4, 166; 4, 339) is due in origin to the difficulty and inadvisability of attempting to carry on such actions in the midst of a tempest (cf., for example, Liv. 40, 59, 5: comitia tempestas diremit). On such public occasions if the storm did not actually disperse the assemblage it might drive away such a number that the quorum or the proper attendance of particular classes would be seriously endangered (cf. Leg. 3, 27: omnibus magistratis auspicio et judicio damnari, judicia si esset populi palestas ad quam praeconetur, auspicia si multos inutiles comitiis probabiles impediret moras; sacrum enim populi impetum iniuriam auspiciis di immortales represserent; Dio Cass. 5, ap. Zonar. 7, 19: οὐδέποτε οἵνε κατά τριμηνία οἱ πολίται πολέμων κατά το τρίμηνον πολέμου παντέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους οἰκουσιον ἐν πυλάγων χειραθηδε κατασκευάζον τὸ λόγῳ μετ' ἐννοίων τοίνυν καὶ ἄξιον τον . . . ἄργον δὲ κολλεῖ, ἐνα μὴ ρυθμὸν τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ τὸν πλῆθος δυνατόν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρόβαλε της οἰκουσιον ἐκεῖ τον ἕναδίδωσιν). Like
rei publicae causa constitutum est; comitiorum enim non habendorum causas esse voluerunt. Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optumum auspiciem habemus, si sinistrum fuit. Sed de auspiciis alio loco, nunc de fulgoribus.

other forms of public divination this one was much abused for merely political ends. For similar customs among the Greeks cf. Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, *De attische Process*, 2 ed. (1887), 945, and n. 511; Steinhauser, *Der Prodigienlaube u. d. Prodigienwesen der Gr.* (1911), 22, and nn. 5-6; see also Bulenger in Graevius, *Thees. Antiq.* 5 (1696), 490-492.

[424] 2. tonante: for the so-called 'meteorological' verbs (tonal, fulgurat, fulget (as in 2, 149), pluit, nixit, grandidat, etc.; cf. the Greek βροτάρ, φωτάρτας, βρας, etc.) see Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausc. Gram. d. lat.* *Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 3-4; and especially Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.* 4 ed. (1913), 656, and works there cited. The purely impersonal use is probably the original one; later the name of a god, usually Jupiter, is sometimes employed, as here. Thus in *Phil.* 5, 7; 5, 8; and *N. D.* 2, 65, Jupiter appears as the subject. Augustine (*Enarrat. in Ps.* 9, 1) remarks: *ita enim dicimus 'pluit,' 'serenal, 'tonal, et si quia sunt talia, nec addimus quis id faciet; quia omnium mentibus sponte esse offeri excellentia facientis nec verba desiderat. For the connection of Jupiter with thunder, so commonly asserted as to need no citation of examples, see the explanation given by Plin. *N. H.* 2, 82.

[424] 2. tonante, fulgurante: for examples of this *asynedon sollemne* of pairs of words in official and religious formulae see Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.* 2, 2 ed. (1914), 149-152.

1. rei publicae causa: cf. 2, 28, n. (*rei publicae causa, etc.*); 2, 74; 2, 75.

2. esse voluerunt: cf. 1, 4. The subject is here indefinite; perhaps *maiores* is understood, though the advantages seem to have accrued chiefly to the patricians rather than to the state as a whole.

2. solum: an adverb, with reference to *comitiorum*, not an adjective modifying either *vitium* or *fulmen*.


3. sinistrum: cf. 2, 82, n. (*laeum*).

4. alio loco: 2, 70-83. The phrase is appropriate for a written work rather than for a supposed dialogue; cf. the use of *ut supra dixi* in 1, 72. Sander (*Questaiones de Cic. Lib. quos scriptis de Div.* (1908), 13-15), following the lead of Hottinger, objects to this passage on the ground that Cicero is promising to discuss *alio loco* the question of auspices (of which *fulgora* form one kind) and at this point the matter of *fulgora*. The answer to this objection is hardly that of Kayser, that, in the use of *auspicium* and *auspicii*, Cicero is here speaking in a careless and familiar style, nor yet the rather summary one of Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 565 (cf. Sander's rejoinder in *Philologus*, 75 (1919), 387), but rather it is to be sought in the larger structure of the work. In 2, 28 ff. Cicero has been discussing haruspicine. At the beginning of 2, 42 extispicine has already been disposed of and *ostenta* and *fulgora* remain, of which the latter is treated first, our passage being included in this treatment. Now it happens that *fulgora*, unlike extispicine, are common to both the haruspices (of Etruscan origin) and the Roman augurs. In 2, 42, from a guess as to the origin of fulgural observation and its
XIX. Quid igitur minus a physicis dici debet quam quicquam certi significari rebus incertis? Non enim te puto esse eum qui Iovi fulmen fabricatos esse Cyclopas in Aetna putes. 44. Nam esset mirabile quo modo id Iuppiter totiens iaceret, cum unum haberet; nec vero fulminibus homines quid aut faciendum esset aut cavendum moneret. Placet enim Stoicis eos anhelitus terrae qui frigidi sint, cum fluere coeperint, ventos

ascription to Jupiter as a cause, he is led, by way of illustration, to cite what the Roman augural art states upon the subject (nosteris commentariis), but with the sentence under discussion he realizes that he is trespassing upon a matter which belongs also to augury (and which is actually treated in 2, 74), and so leaves auspices for future discussion and confines himself to the narrower field of augura.

1. physicis: cf. 2, 37, n. (physicus).
2. certi ... incerti: here it is perhaps even less the scientist than the Academic speaking.
3. non enim ... moneret: these words are to be taken as parenthetical, and the words non esset ... haberet constitute a second parenthesis within the larger one.
4. esse eum qui, etc.: cf. Reid on Ac. 1, 35.
5. Iovi: for the connection of Jupiter and the thunderbolt see especially Usener in Rhein. Mus. 60 (1905), 1-30; Blinkenberg, The Thunderweapon in Relig. and Folklore (1911), 13-41; 111-112.
7. cum unum haberet: Cicero here quibbles; the thunderbolt as a symbol doubtless does usually appear in the singular, though often in clusters (cf. Aen. Tact. 33, 2; Jacobsthal, Der Blits in der orient. u. gr. Kunst. (1906) 14 ff.), and is sometimes in literature so cited (e.g., Luc. Deor. Dial. 7, 3), but at other times we hear of more than one, e.g., Virg. Georg. 4, 170-171: ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis quam properant; and the fulmen of Aen. 8, 426-428 is apparently not the only one but simply the one then under construction (cf. Serv. ad loc.: lociebant fulmen in eorum similitudinem quae Iuppiter iacit tolo caelo). If the Cyclopes are thought of as constantly laboring on the fabrication of thunderbolts it is doubtless to keep up the supply!

5. faciendum ... cavendum: Caecina ap. Sen. N. Q. 2, 39 distinguishes various kinds of fulgura, including the consiliatorum ... cum aliquid in animo versantibus aut suadetur fulminis ictu aut dissuadetur ... status est ubi quietis nec agenitibus quicquam nec cogitantibus quidem fulmen intervenit et aut minatur aut promittit aut monet, etc.: 2, 49: montorium (sc. fulgura) quitibus docetur quid cavendum sit; and cf. Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 26.


The very different opinion of Posidonius is set forth by Sen. N. Q. 2, 54: e terrâ terrenisque omnibus pars umida
esse; cum autem se in nubem induerint eiusque tenuissimam quamque partem coeperint dividere atque disrupere idque crebris facere et vehementius, tum et fulgores et tonitrua existere; si autem nubium contractu

efflatur, pars sicca et fumida; haec fulminibus alimentum est, illa imbibitur. quicquid in aera sicci fumosoque penetrat id includi se nubibus non fert sed rumpit claudentia; inde est sonus quem nos tonitrum vocamus . . . tonitrua nihil aliud sunt quam cili aeris sonitus, qui sibi, nisi dum aut teritur aut rumpitur, non posset. Many other views are collected and the whole subject is discussed at great length by Seneca throughout book 2; cf. Arist. Meteor. 2, 9, p. 369 a 10 ff.; Plin. N. H. 2, 133-146; Aet. Plac. 3, 2, 1-15. Similar in many respects are the explanations found in [Arist.] de Mundo, 4, p. 395 a 8 ff.; Apul. de Mundo, 12.

[426] 6. anhelitus terrae: for the phrase cf. 1, 115, 2, 117. On these exhalations of the earth cf. Tusc. 1, 43: omne calidum hoc in quo nubes imbrices ventique coguntur, quod et humidum et caliginosum est propter exhalationes terrae; in N. D. 2, 25 Cicero notes the warm vapor rising from freshly broken ground; cf. Sen. N. Q. 5, 4, 1: quodam ergo, inquis, venti sunt . . . ? non uno modo: alias enim terra ipsa magnum sim aeris eicit et ex abdito spirat, alias cum magna et continua ex imo evaporatio in ament egit, quae emiserat, mutatio ipsa habitus missis in ventum verilut; 5, 5, 1; Plin. N. H. 2, 111: extra has causas non negaverim existere imbrices veniosque, quomiam umidam a terra, alias vero propter vaporem fumidum exhalato caliginem certum est nubesque liquore egresso in sublimi aut ex aere coacto in liquorem digni: 2, 114.

[426] 6. qui frigidē sint: in contrast, perhaps, to the clouds which contain arder. He is doubtless thinking of the sudden fall in temperature often characteristic of thunder storms.


calophēnos ērīa cypriēmos mēn kai βίοτα

ansam évai; 2, 4, p. 361 a 30-31; [Arist.]
de Mundo, 4, p. 394 b 7-9: ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπαύλ

ψύχοι μὲν ὀψίστοις ὑπὲρ μὲν ἀνωμος ἐγκε

νεῖτο: οὐκ ἔχει γάρ ἡτοι όποῖοι κηλὴ ἄρη πολὺ

ρώμ καὶ ἄροις; Aet. Plac. 3, 6, 1-2:

Ἀσωμάκδρος ἀνέμοι εἶναι ἐνότοι ἄροι τῶν

λευκῶν ἐν τῇ ἀυθίᾳ καὶ ἀνησυχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ

ὑλίου κυνητέων ἀρκημέων. Οἱ Στοιχοὶ τῶν

πυρῶν ἀρόι εἶναι δύσεων; Vitruv. 1, 6, 2:

ventus autem est aeris fluessus unda cum
certa motus redundantia; Sen. N. Q. 3, 12,
4: ventus est fluenès aer (cf. 5, 1, 1-4; 5,
13, 4); N. H. 2, 114: ventus hauī aliud
inellagert quam fluctus aeris (so Beda, de
Nat. Rer. 26).

2. dividere, etc.: the cold wind permeates the moist (and hot?) cloud, rending it into parts, the process of rending being accompanied by thunder. From the collisions of (parts of) the clouds fire is struck out (so from the clash of stones; cf. N. D. 2, 25: lapidum confictu atque irri elici ignem videmus) and descends in the form of the thunderbolt.

3f. fulgores . . . tonitrua . . .

fulmen: cf. Sen. N. Q. 2, 12, 1: tria sunt

quae accidunt: fulgurationes, fulmina, tonitrua quae una facta serius audiumtur. fulguratio ostendit ignem, fulminatio emitit, etc.; Plin. N. H. 2, 112: hinc nasci procellas et, si in nube lucatur flatus aut vapor, tonitrua edii; si erumpat ardens, fulmina; si longiori tractu nitatur, fulgetras. From this passage and what follows (part of which is quoted in following notes) it seems likely that Pliny is here copying Cicero or that both are based on a common source.

3. nubium conflictu: cf. Sen. N.

Q. 1, 1, 6: quemadmodum nubes collisae mediocriter fulgurationes efficient, maiore

impetu impulsae fulmina, etc.: 2, 23, 1:

fortasse nubes quoque in nubes incitatae
ardor expressus se emiserit, id esse fulmen. Quod igitur vi naturae, nulla constantia, nullo rato tempore videmus efiici, ex eo significacionem rerum consequentium quaerimus? Sic licet si ista Iuppiter significaret, tam multa frustra fulmina emitteret! 45. Quid enim proficit cum in medium mare fulmen ictit? Quid cum in altissimos montis, quodplerumque fit? Quid cum

fremente vento et leviter urgete ignem evocabunt; 2, 27, 4: non quemadmodum illisae inter se manus plausum edunt; sic illisorum inter se nubium sonus potesit esse magnus quia magna concurrent! Plin. N. H. 2, 113: posse et conflictum nubium eliti ut durorum lapidum, scintillantibus fulgetris; Min. Fel. Oct. 5, 9: nimbis conlidentibus tonitrua mugire; Ambr. Hex. 2, 7: tonitrua audimus nubium collisione generata (cf. 2, 16); Hier. Tract. de Ps. 96 (Anecd. Mareds. 3, 2, 143; 3, 3, 89); Beda, de Nat. Rer. 29. Cf. also the parody in Ar. Nub. 382-384.

11. nulla constantia: as Pliny says (2, 113): sed haec omnim esse fortuita. hinc bruta fulmina et vano, ut quae nulam habeant rationem naturae (as opposed to fatalistica fulmina).

2. rato tempore: cf. 2, 19.

2. significacionem, etc.: cf. N. D. 2, 166: significacionibus rerum futurarum.

3. scilicet: ironical, as in 2, 47; 2, 105; Ac. 2, 87; Fin. 2, 102; etc.; though the statement of Donatus (on Ter. Andr. 185): scilicet semper cum ironia ponitur, is too strong.

4. frustra, etc.: cf. Lucr. 6, 396, who inquires, if the gods hurl thunderbolts, cur etiam loca sola petunt, frustraque laborant? (and 2, 1100-1104); 6, 404-405: in mare qua porro militat ratione? quid undas / arquit et liquidam molem camposque notatiss? 6, 421-422: atque cur plerumque petit loca plurimaque eius / montibus in summis vestigia cerernus ignis? Sen. N. Q. 2, 51: nihil significat fulmine (that is, those of a class which he has just recognized as not portentous) aut id cuius notitia nos effugit, ut ulla quae in vastum mare sparguntur aut in desertas solitudines, quorum significatio vel nulla est vel

perit; Plin. N. H. 2, 113: his (sc. bruis fulminiibus) percussi montes, his maria, omnesque alios invitos actus. illa vero fatidica ex alto statiche de causis et ex suis venire sideribus.

The doctrine was carried still further, as in Ar. Nub. 398-402 (Socrates): καὶ τὸς ... / ἀπόρρητος οὐκ ἔχει τοὺς ἀκούοντας, διὸν ὁμοία Σίμων τηρεῖσθαι / οὐκ Χλώρων οὐκ ἢ ἔχων; καὶ ὁ σώφρον δὲ ὁ τῶν ἐκτοιρίων / ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τίς πέφθακε καὶ Σωκράτης ἢ ἄθροι / ἢ τὰς ἱερατάς τὰς μεγάς τι μάθων; οὐ γὰρ δέ ἤδη γ' ἔχει τοῖς; Lucan, 7, 447-451; Luc. I. 1. conf. 16: τι θάτορό τις λεσχηλών καὶ λαρατάς δώσει καὶ τοσοῦτος ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ βαλανὸς καὶ τηρίδως βρῶν τινα πολλάκις εραυνήτης ἢ λόγον ἢ ποιοτέρον ὤνιτε ἐξεσάχθη, κατέρευσαν τις καὶ ἄσως ὀδοτήρον. In these cases the thunderbolt is not for prediction but for punishment, yet the same caprice (or accident) appears in the choice of the objects struck. Geffcken (in Hermes, 42 (1907), 127-133), citing another passage in Lucian (Tim. 10), in which Zeus is described as having aimed the thunderbolt at Anaxagoras but having missed him, and taking into account the religious views of Anaxagoras and the fact that he also discussed meteorological phenomena, including lightning (cf. Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokrat. 1, 3 ed. (1912), 393, no. 84), suggests that the subsequent arguments of this sort, Epicurean and New Academic alike, are derived from him. For Geffcken's theory of the possible Stoic answers to this argument cf. op. cit. 131-132.

5. altissimos montes: a commonplace; cf. Lucr. 5, 1127-1128: invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant / plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cuncte; 6, 421-422 (quoted above); Hor. Carm. 2, 10, 11-12: feriunique summos /
in desertas solitudines? Quid cum in earum gentium oras in quibus haec ne observantur quidem?

XX. At inventum est caput in Tiberi. Quasi ego artem aliquam iustum esse negem! divinationem nego. Caeli enim distributio, quam ante dixi, et certarum rerum notatio docet unde fulmen venerit, quo conesserit; quid significat autem nulla ratio docet. Sed urges me meis versibus:

Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympos
Ipsi suos quondam tumulos ac templum petivit
Et Capitoline inicet sedibus ignis.

Tum statua Nattae, tum simulacra deorum Romulusque et Remus cum altrice belua vi fulminus insta conciderunt, deque his rebus haruspicum exteterunt responsa verissima. 46. Mirabile autem illud, quod eo ipso tempore quo fieret indicium coniurationis in senatu signum Iovis biennio 5. venerator . . . conesserit: cf. 2, 42, n. (qua ex parte).
6. urges: cf. 1, 12; 2, 117; al.
6. meis: cf. 1, 25, n. (vestra); 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius); Reid on Ac. 2, 62.
7ff. nam pater . . . ignis: = 1, 19.
10. Romulusque et Remus: cf. 1, 20; 2, 47.
11. altrice belua: the silvestris altrix of 1, 20.
11f. haruspicum . . . responsa: 1, 20: voces . . . chartis promebea Etruscis. The actual responsa (cf. 1, 97, n. (responsa haruspicum)) seem to have been verbally given; cf. Wülker, Die geschichten. Entwicklung d. Predigienwesen bei d. Römern (1903), 34; 36-37; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus der Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 545.
12f. mirabile . . . illud quod: cf. N. D. 1, 71.
12f. eo ipso tempore: cf. 1, 21: una fixi ac signati temporis hora; 2, 47.
13. fieret: in 2, 47 we have the indicative in a very similar situation.
13f. biennio post: in 1, 21 it is described as tardata diu; cf. in Cat. 3, 20: atque ilud signumconiicum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas
post quam erat locatum in Capitolio conlocabatur. "Tu igitur animur induces" (sic enim mecum agebas) "causam istam et contra facta tua et contra scripta defendere?" Frater es; eo vereor. Verum quid tibi hic tandem nocet? Resne, quae talis est; an ego, qui verum explicari volo? Itaque nihil contra dico, a te rationem totius haruspicianae peto. Sed te mirificam in latebram coniciestis; quod enim intellegere fore ut premere, cum ex te causas unius ciusque divinationis exquirerem, multa verba fecisti te, cum res videre, rationem causamque non quaerere; quid fieret, non cur fieret, ad rem pertinent. Quasi ego aut fieri concederem aut esset

1. tu igitur, etc.: cf. 1, 22.

3. frater es; eo vereor: in Off. 1, 136 Cicero remarks: quo modo in omni vita rectissime praecipitur ut perturbationes fugiamus . . . sic eius modi moibus sermo debet vacare, ne aut ira existat aut cupiditas aliqua . . . maximeque curandum est ut eos quibuscum sermonem conferemus et vereri et diligere videamur. obiurgationes etiam non numquam incidunt necessariae, in quibus utendum est foriasse et vocis contentione maiore et verborum gravitate acriore . . . sed ut ad uerendum et secandum, sic ad hoc genus castigandi raro insitique veniens, nec uquam nisi necessario, etc. The expression as it stands (and there is no occasion for emendation) means 'you are my brother, and I am accordingly showing you all due respect; I am not refuting this argument (as I might by the obvious explanation of the verses as colored by a natural poetic expression), but without assertion I am merely asking for a philosophic statement of reasons.'

3. eo: with this use Tyrrell (on ad Att. 1, 1, 2) compares Fam. 6, 20, 1.

4. verum explicari: cf. Tusc. 3, 46: "quid enim labore nisi ut veritas in omni quaestione explicetur?"

5. nihil contra dico, etc.: cf. 2, 48; his method is the characteristic Academic one illustrated by Cotta in N. D. 3, 1:

neque tam resellendi sui causa quam ea quae minus intellegam requirendi (cf. 3, 4). In this regard the New Academics are closely akin to the Pyrrhonian sceptics as described by Diog. L. 9, 69: ἀπορητῶν δὲ καὶ σκέπτων καὶ ἐν διαφθορῶν καὶ σφαλμάτων.

6. mirificam, etc.: cf. 2, 27.

6. latebram: in a similar metaphorical sense in 2, 111; Fin. 2, 107; cf. N. D. 2, 68: quod cum efficere multis in dulenta corruptis; Ac. 2, 112: cum sibi enim campus in quo essuere possit oratio cur eam . . . in Siviorum dumeta compellamust—also the figurative use of spinas and spinosus.


7. ciusque divinationis: analogous to the plural use of the word, for which cf. 1, 34, n. (duo genera divisionum).

7f. multa verba fecisti: for the phrase cf. de Imp. Pomp. 27; 52. Cicero is referring to such passages as 1, 12 (where see the note on eventa); 1, 15; 1, 16; 1, 23; 1, 85-86; 1, 109; etc.; in fact to the whole basis of the defense of divination in the first book, and his reply to Quintus resembles that of Cotta to Balbus (N. D. 3, 13): rumouribus . . . mecum pugnas, Balbe, ego autem a te rationes requiro; cf. 2, 27 supra.

9. ego aut: as Thoresen (Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 34) objects, ege does not properly apply to both aut clauses, but only to the former, and to produce correspondence he would adopt, in place of esse, the reading of B': esse. But Cicero is so often careless in such matters (cf. Madvig on Fin. 2, 15) that the vulgate reading seems defensible.
philosophi causam cur quidque fieret non quaerere! 47. Et eo quidem loco et Prognostica nostra pronuntiabas et genera herbarum, scammoniam aristolochiamque radicem, quam causam ignorares, vim et effectum videres. XXI. Dissimile totum; nam et prognosticorum causas persequiti sunt et Boethus Stoicus, qui est a te nominatus, et noster etiam Posidonius, et, si causae non reperiantur istarum rerum, res tamen ipsae observavi animadvertique potuerunt. Nattae vero statua aut aera legum de caelo tacta quid habent observatum ac vetustum? Pinarii Nattae nobiles; a nobilitate negotio et periculum. Hoc tam callide Iuppiter excogitavit! Romulus lactens fulmine ictus; urbi igitur periculum ostenditur ei quam ille

1. philosophi: cf. 2, 27, n. (philosophi, etc.). Marcus Cicero's definition of the philosopher agrees with that of Virgil, Georg. 2, 490: felix quia potuit rerum cognoscer causas.
1f. eo . . . loco: 1, 13-15.
2. pronuntiabas: governing, by a noteworthy but not difficult zeugma, both Prognostica and genera.
2. scammoniam: cf. 1, 16, where he referred to scammoniae radix . . . aristolochia. The change here to scammoniam aristolochiamque radicem seems to produce lack of correspondence, but inasmuch as the roots of both plants were used medicinally it mattered little, perhaps, with which the term radix was connected (Usener in Fleck. Jahrb. 139 (1889), 392, wished to emend radicum to radices). That Cicero would be consistent in the spelling of the word, though not certain, is more likely, and I have accordingly, with Orelli, here adopted a spelling agreeing with that in the first book. If we should retain scammonia the is probably to be considered as long; cf. 2, 8, n. (bibliothec . . . Lyco).
3. quarum: it is unnecessary to emend, with Thoresen (op. cit. 34-35), to quarum rerum (suggested by istarum rerum just below).
5. noster . . . Posidonius: cf. 1, 6, nn. (Posidonius; noster); also introd. p. 22, n. 100; p. 25, n. 117. There appear to be no definitely assignable fragments of the work of Posidonius upon this subject, but that he should have interested himself in it seems most probable.
7. aera legum: cf. 1, 19, and n. (elapsae).
7f. de caelo tacta: cf. 1, 92, n. (de caelo tacta).
8. quid habent, etc.: i.e., such occurrences are entirely sporadic and do not exhibit the apparent regularity to be noted in weather prognostics.
8. vetustum: i.e., with established precedents; cf. 1, 3, n. (diurna observatione); 2, 33. The words observatum ac vetustum are probably to be taken by hendiadys.
9f. a nobilitate . . . periculum: cf. 1, 20, n. (generosa a stirpe). Hottinger objects that the omen should have meant trouble to the nobility (if the statue of a noble man fell) rather than from it, if the haruspices had been sensible, but he admits that our text reading agrees with the interpretation in 1, 20. To emend to nobilitati (with Pearce) would violate this agreement. With the use of a cf. 2, 32; Off. 2, 19; Liv. 6, 10, 8.
9f. Romulus, etc.: cf. 1, 20; 2, 45.
10. urbi: cf. 1, 20; flammis urbem . . . urbem eripere.
condidit. Quam scite per notas nos certiores facit Iuppiter! At eodem tempore signum Iovis conlocabatur, quo coniuratio indicabatur. Et tu scilicet mavis numine deorum id factum quam casu arbitrari, et redepentor, qui columnam illam de Cotta et de Torquato conduxerat faciendam, non inertia aut inopia tardior fuit sed a deis immortalibus ad istam horam reservatus est. 48. Non equidem plane despero ista esse vera, sed nescio et discere a te velo. Nam cum mihi quaedam casu viderentur sic evenire ut praedicta essent a divinantibus, dixisti multa de casu, ut Venerium iaci posse casu quattuor talis iactis, sed quadringentis centum Venerios non posse casu consistere. Primum nescio cur non possint, sed non pungen; abundas enim similibus. Habes et respositionem pigmentorum et rostrum suis et alia permulta. Idem Carneadem fingere dicis de capite Panisci; quasi non potuerit id evenire casu et non in omni marmore necesse sit

11. respositionem: cf. 1, 23 (where aspersa and aspersio are used).
11f. rostrum suis: cf. 1, 23.
12. Carneadem, etc.: cf. 1, 23.
13. quasi: cf. 2, 46, n. (quasi); Nutting in Univ. of California Publ. in class. Philol. 5 (1922), 213, n. 57; 243-244.
inesse vel Praxitelia capita! Illa enim ipsa efficiuntur detractione, neque quicquam illuc adpertur a Praxitele; sed cum multa sunt detracta et ad liniamenta oris perventum est, tum intellegas illud quod iam expolitum sit intus fuisse. 49. Potest igitur tale aliquid etiam sua sponte in lapicidinis Chiorum extitisse. Sed sit hoc fictum; quid? in nubibus numquam animadvertisti leonis formam aut hippocentauri? Potest igitur, quod

5. in nubibus, etc.: cf. Ar. Nub. 346-347: ἢ ὕπο τοῦ ἀναβίσας εἰς μεθύρην Κενταύρου ὄνομαν / ἢ παρελάμβανε λύκω ταῦρον; (and schol.); Arist. de Insom. 3, p. 461 b 19 ff: δωσέ πά τι σῶς τῆς φόβου, τὰ παρελάμβαναι ναρκάτοις καὶ κενταύρως τελών μεταβαλλόντα; Diod. 3, 50, 4: περὶ γάρ τινας καιρὸς καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς τηώμας συνάσως ὀρώντας κατὰ τὸν ἄρα πᾶσαν τῶν ἑρμηνευτικῶν ἂν ἡνία συναφείναι; Lucr. 4, 133-140: οὐ nubes facile interdum concrescere in alto / cernimus et mundi speciem violare serenam / quae multis formata modis sublimis fuerunt / aëra mulcetem molu. nam saepe Gigan tum / ora violare videntur et umbrosum / ducere sea, / interdum magni monies / asoles奎e saxa / montibus anteite et solem / succedere praeter, / inde alios trahere atque inducere belua nimbo; Lucr. V. H. 1, 16; 1, 18; 1, 28; who mentions κενταύρως ναρκατος; see also Shakesp. Ant. and Cleop. act 4, sc. 12; Hamlet, act 3, sc. 2; Swift, Tale of a Tub, dedication; Jeremy Taylor, Worthy Communicati, init.; Wordsworth, Sky Prospect—From the Plain of France.

6. hippocentauri: for the tradition of the centaurs as a constellation (probably Chaldaean in origin and developed in the west in the Alexandrian period) see Roscher, in his Ausf. Lexikon, s.v. Kentauren (1897), 1057-1058, and for much material on their mythology and their representation in art id. 1032-1088; Baur, Centaurs in anc. Art (1912); Bethe in P.-W. s.v. Kentauren (1921), 177-178. The theory of their origin set forth by Roscher (in Neue Jahrb. 105 (1872), 421-428, and in his Lexikon, 1058-1072; cf. Bassi in Boll. di Filol. class. 3 (1897), 14-17; also Kretschmer in Götta, 10 (1919), 50-58; 211-212) regards them as the personification of the wild torrential streams
modo negabas, veritatem casus imitari.

XXII. Sed quoniam de extis et de fulgoribus satis est disputatum, ostenta restant, ut tota haruspicina sit praetractata. Muela partus prolatus est a te. Res mirabilis, properterea quia non sane fit; sed si fieri non

(χνηφάρρος), which, especially in the region of Thessaly, where the most important Centaur-myths are localized, pour violently down from the mountains after sudden rains. The precursor of such storms is the appearance of masses of clouds on the mountain tops, and Diod. 4, 12, 6 describes Nephele as the mother of the Centaurs (cf. N. D. 3, 51: quorum (sc. nubium) una eiam Centauros peperisse dicitur); aiding them in their battle with Heracles by means of heavy rains (id. 4, 70, 1; cf. Virg. Aen. 7, 674-677; etc.). With this in view their appearance in the clouds finds an additional appropriateness. Against this theory of Roscher, however, see Plew in Neue Jahrb. 107 (1873), 193-203.

In addition to Centaurs and Hippocentaurs (Cicero uses both forms) we hear of Onocentaurs (cf. Roscher, op. cit. 1068; to which add Vulg. Is. 34, 14; [Basil.] Comm. in Is. 13, 276 (Patr. Gr. 30, 605 B); Hier. Comm. in Is. 5. p. 175 Vall.; 6, p. 245 Vall.; in Galat. 1, p. 418 Vall.; Philo, de Anim. Propriet. 46; Isid. Etym. 11, 3, 39) and Ichthyokentaur (cf. Lamer in P.-W. s.v. Ichthyokentaur (1916), 830-843).

Various other theories of the origin of the centaurs—hybridity (the most common ancient view, as in Diod. 4, 70, 1; Luc. bis accusal. 33; Hier. Vit. Pauli, 7; etc.), mental composition of images (Zeno's view, as set forth by Diog. L. 7, 53; also cf. Plat. Rep. 9, p. 588 c; Lucr. 4, 732), misbirths (cf. Jastrow, Die Relig. Babylon. u. Assyris. 2, 2 (1912), 943, n. 1, and the literature there cited), or the surprise felt by a horseless nation at the first sight of cavalry (Irving, Life and Voyages of Columbus (1828), book 8, ch. 7) —need not here detain us. More significant is it that these came to be regarded by the rationalists as types of the non-ens.

Not only does Cicero hold this view (N. D. 2, 5: quis enim hippocentaurs fuisse aut Chimaeram putat? Tusc. 1, 90: hippocentaurs, quis numquam furit), but many other instances may be cited: Plat. Phaedr. p. 229 d; Lucr. 5, 878-881; Sen. Ep. 58, 15; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 44; Didymus Pythag. (Frag. Philos. Gr. 2, 81); Luc. Herm. 72; Fugit. 10; Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 9, 123; Min. Fel. Oct. 20, 3; Clem. Strom. 4, 3; Athenas. c. Gent. 22; Hier. c. Vigil. 1; Basil. adv. Eun. 1 (Patr. Gr. 29, 521 B); [Basil.] de Virgin. i (Patr. Gr. 30, 681 D); Cedren. Hist. (Patr. Gr. 121, 520 C); Psell. de Anim. (Patr. Gr. 122, 1068 A); and other compound animals such as τραγηβαφος appear in the same connection; cf. Plat. Rep. 6, 488 a; 9, 588 c; Greg. Naz. Ovrat. 25, 6; 31, 6. If, then, chance can imitate the non-existent so plausibly as to lead us to accept it as real, cannot it also at times imitate with equal versimilitude that which has an admitted existence?

1. negabas: in 1, 23.

1. veritatem, etc.: cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 26, 7: al nonnumquam iamen veritatem vel auspicia vel oraculó lategerunt, quamquam inter multa mendacia videri possit industria casus imitatus, etc.

2. de extis, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (exstiticum aut monstra, etc.).

3. muela partus: cf. 1, 36; 2, 61.

3. prolatus: cf. 1, 46, n. (proferam).

4. a te: cf. 1, 105, n. (a te).

4f. si fieri non potuisse: cf. 2, 61; Albucius Silus ap. Sen. Contr. 1, 3, 4: hoc unum sitio: nec fieri quod non polet nec portentum esse quod polet; Min. Fel. Oct. 20, 4: quid ilias amiles fabulas, de hominibus ovos et ferost ... quae si essent facta, ferent; quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt.
potuisset facta non esset. Atque hoc contra omnia ostenta valeat, numquam quod fieri non potuerit, esse factum; sin potuerit non esse mirandum. Causarum enim ignorantia in re nova miracionem facit; eadem ignorantia si in rebus usitatibus est non miramur. Nam qui mulam peperisse miratur, is quo modo equa pariat, aut omnino quae natura partum animantis faciat ignorant. Sed quod crebro videt non miratur, etiamsi cur fiat nescit; quod ante non vidit, id si event, ostentum esse censet. Utrum igitur cum conceptum mula an cum peperit ostentum est? 50. Conceptio contra naturam fortasse, sed partus prope necessarius.

XXIII. Sed quid plura? ortum videamus haruspicinæ; sic facillum quid habeat auctoritatis iudicabimus. Tages quidam dicitur in agro

11. haberet Erlang., editores, habet C.

2. sin potuerit, etc.: cf. 2, 61.
3. causarum . . . ignorantio: cf. 2, 42; Ac. 1, 29: fortunam, quod efficiat multa imprævisa ac necopinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignorantiamque causarum.
4. re nova: cf. 1, 34; 2, 50.
3. miracionem: a ἄρας λεγόμενον.
4. si in rebus usitatibus est, etc.: cf. N. D. 2, 96: sed assiduitate cotidiana et consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi neque admiratur neque requirit rationes carum rerum quam semper vident, prōinde quasi novitas nos magis quam magnitudō rerum debeat ad expirandas causas eìlare (and a number of good parallels quoted in Mayor's note); Fin. 4, 74: haec ἡπάσαμα illis; nos admirabili dicamus, quid autem habent admirationis cum prope accesseris?
5. quae natura: for this use of the word, in the sense of natural power or natural cause, cf. 2, 10; 2, 143.

6. etiamsi cur fiat nescit: cf. 1, 16.
8. contra naturam: and so, perhaps, to be regarded as an ostentum; cf. Ulp. Dig. 50, 16, 38: ostentum Labo deñinit omne contra naturam cuinque rei gentium factumque.
10. sed quid plura: Sander (Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scriptó de Div. (1908), 15-17) takes this passage as an example of the unfinished and careless state in which the work was left. For to imply by these words that the author has finished ostenta and then to continue in 2, 54-69 on the same subject appears inadmissible. Now perhaps Cicero (as Sander, p. 16, suggests) may have been called away from his work after 2, 53, but we need not assume that 2, 54-69 were composed later than at another sitting. Certainly those sections are quite essential, containing, as they do, answers to many points raised in the first book, and though it would be more logical for sections 50-53 to follow 2, 69, yet it is demanding too much rigidity of arrangement in the easy-going dialogue if we are disturbed by their presence where they stand.

10. ortum: for a Greek tradition of the origin of divination, quite different from that which follows, ascribing it to Delphus, son of Apollo, cf. Plin. N. H. 7, 203; Bleicher, De Etrusco (1905), 204.
10f. facillum . . . iudicabimus: cf. N. D. 1, 59; Of. 1, 146; de Or. 1, 8.
11. quid habeat auctoritatis: cf. 2, 110; pro Mur. 90.
11. Tages: the ancient passages dealing with this personage are collected by Muller-Deecke, Die Etrusk, 2 (1877), 23-26; Schmeisser, Die etrusk. Disciplin (1881), 20, n. 96; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 7, n. 1; Dennis, Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 1, 3 ed. (1883),
Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur et sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse

419, n. 7; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 2-3; 3 (1909), 58-60; Pauli and Schultz in Roscher, Ausf. Lexikon, s. v. Tages (1915), 3-5. The most significant ones are Ov. Met. 15, 553-559: haud aitier shrepuit quam cum Tyrrhenus arator / fatalem glæbam mediis aspexit in arvis / sponte sua primum nulloque agiante moveri, / semere max hominis, terraque amittere formam, / oraque venturis aperiens recentin flatis; / indigenae dicere Tagen, qui primus Etruscum / edocuit gentem causas aperiens futuros; Fest. p. 359 M.: Tages: nomine, / geni filius, nepos Iovis, puer dicitur disciplinam / haruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruriae; Columell. 10, 342-345; Lucan. 1, / 635-637: di vis secundeni / et fœbris sit nulla fides; sed conditnr artis / fœnitzer ista / Tages (followed by Serv. Aen. 2, 781; cf. / Schol. Bern. Luc. 1, 636: Tages Etursca / lingua vox terra missa. hic Tages dicitur, / cum terra araretur, subito natus. hic / augurorum libros scripsit. Tages aruspiciæ / disciplinam in Etruriam prolata / ferunt. nam Tarquinius flamen Dialis cum / semestis causa araret, puerum dicitur / exarasse Iovis nepotem, filium geni. hic / duodecim principum pueris disciplinam / aruspiciam dictavit nec post comparuit. / qui quoniam e terra natus est, Tages est / appellatus ào τῆς γῆς. et lingua Etrusca / significat 'vox terra emissa.'); Stat. Silv. 5, / 2, 1; Censor. de Die nat. 4, 13: in agro / Tarquiniensi puer dicitur divinis exaratus / nomine Tages, qui disciplinam cecinere / extispiciis, quam lucumones tum Etruriae / potentes exscripterunt; Arnob. 2, 69; / Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 10: cuius disciplinae / (sc. extorum) Tages nomine quidam mons / trator est; Mart. Cap. 2, 157: Tages / sulcis emicuit et ritum statim gentis τυπ- / numque (haruspicium, according to Mûll / ler-Deecke, op. cit. 2, 24, n. 16; genti / extispiumque according to Schmeisser, / op. cit. 21, n. 96; Thulin, op. cit. 1, 3) / monstravut; 6, 637: (Etruria) ipsis Tages / tis exarationem celebrata; Lyd. de Ost. 3: / φιλο ίδιον τῆς Τάρχων εις τοῦ συγγράμματος,

διπερ εις τινης Τάγητος άπεκτενευσιν, έπεφθα- / τερ ήκε κατά την διαλογισίαν ομιλιαν έρωτι / μεν δέδη για τάρχων, αποκρίνεται καί δέ τάγης έστ / προσκατεργάτω εκάστοτε τούς λεγόμενοι, υπο τι / τάης προς χρόνον γενόμενοι έπεσάμενος για / ή ότι του άπλακος πάλιν, δοκευεν έτείς είναι / δόξαι τις τόποι των άκη / καί λαμπαδόμενοι άρχονται—καί ού τι / πάλιν δέ τάγης, δέ καί χρόνον Ερυθρίου / είναι τούς Ἑλληνες δόξαις, υπο δέ καί Προπος / φιλος δέ διάδοχος . . . . / τάρχων δέ δέ προσβλεπ / τοις ταύτα τοις άλλων των πάλι / υπο τούς γενέσθαις γιαρος καί της / ταύτας προς χρόνον. αποκρίνεται δέ τάγης / γράμματος τόπος ή ταύτα ταύτα / άρχονται δέ τάρχων τάσις / τών άπλακος βίαν / ή πάλιν ἤ καί των κάτω των ανά / σφαιράμενων τοίχων Δωρί/ καί τούς άρχοντας τε τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρίνεται καί τάγης, δέ καί / ερυθρίον καί τών κάτω των τών / αποκρί

The story has points of contact with various other tales (cf. Braun in Rhein.)
repente et eum adfatus esse qui arabit. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia. Eius ad spectu cum obstipuisset bubulcus clamoremque maiorescum admiratione edidisset, concursum esse factum, totamque brevi tempore in eum locum Etruriam convenisse; tum illum pluram locutum multis audientibus, qui omnia verba eius exeperint litterisque mandarint; omnem autem

Mus. 10 (1842), 99). The chthonic character of this prophetic being is at once apparent (cf. 1, 38, n. (vis illa terrae); 1, 79; 1, 96, n. (excubabant); 1, 115; al.). With the apparition from the earth cf., in addition to the tales of the giants (γυγευσ), the story of the caput Oli (to the instances given in 1, 23, n. (in Chiorum lapidicinis) add: Varr. L. L. S. 41; Liv. 5, 54, 7; Plut. Camill. 31; Dio Cass. 2, ap. Zonar. 7, 11; Flor. 1, 1, 7, 9; Ioann. Canabutes, 37-38); the story of the boy *Aeris* (Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 1, 394); the curious tale in Plut. Rom. 2; the Eri- chthonius myth (for the passages cf. Frazer on Apollod. Bibl. 3, 14, 6); and the birth of Mithras from the rock (Cumont, Textes et Monum. figures relatifs aux Mysteres de Mithra, 1 (1899), 161-163). So, too, when Zamolxis rose from his three years’ subterranean residence (Hdt. 4, 95; et al.), his words were received as especially worthy of credence. Again, between this tale of the source of the Etruscan discipline and Varro’s account of the finding of the religious books of Numa, which were ploughed up by one Terentius on his farm on the Janiculum (Auct. de Vir. ill. 3, 2; Aug. C. D. 7, 34) there is some resemblance; for other likenesses between Tages and Numa cf. Schwegler, Röm. Gesch. 1 (1853), 552-553. For a modern Tuscan folk-belief akin to this story cf. Schulze, op. cit. 4.

The name Tages appears elsewhere as the name of a soothsayer in the empire (Lact. de Mort. Persec. 10), in inscriptions (C. I. L. IV, Suppl. 3340 (on pp. 357, 361, 371, 375, 376)), in Egypt (see Stephanus, Thes. Ling. Gr. s.v. Tāγν), etc., and various Etruscan and Latin derived names are given by Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 240. No Etruscan name Tages appears, but from the passage in Ovid Pauli (op. cit. 4) judges that the name is probably the Latinized form of a real Etruscan appellative. Pauli (i. c.) would further identify Tages (through a form Targes) with Tar- chon (of whom Strab. 5, p. 219 says: ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐκ παλδων σύνῳ πολὺν γεγενησάμοις; cf. Müller-Deecke, op. cit. 2, 24, n. 14), and compares the Tarchelius of Plut. Rom. 2.

For the sources from which Cicero may have drawn his account cf. introd. p. 28.


[436] II. ex titisse repente: cf. 1, 58; N. D. 1, 21.

1. eum . . . qui arabit: by Lydus called Tarchon, but Deecke (in Müller-Deecke, op. cit. 2, 24, n. 18) holds that to be a later combination and thinks the anonymous ploughman the earlier form of the story.


2. puerili specie: but compare the account of Lydus.


4. concursum esse factum: a frequent expression in the orations.

5. multis audientibus: according to Censorinus the lucumones are those who figure most prominently; the tale as told by Lydus makes the preservation of his words due to Tarchon.
orationem fuisse eam qua haruspicinae disciplina contineretur; eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscentis et ad eadem illa principia referendis. Haec accepimus ab ipsis, haec scripta conservant, hunc fontem habent disciplinae. 51. Num ergo opus est ad haec refellenda Carneade? Num Epicuro? Estne quisquam ita desipiens qui credat exaratum esse, deum dicam an hominem? Si deum, cur se contra naturam in terram abiderat, ut patefactus aratro lucem aspiceret? Quid? idem nonne poterat deus hominibus disciplinam superiore e loco tradere? Si autem homo ille Tages fuit, quonam modo potuit terra oppressus vivere? Unde porro illa potuit

[437] 6. litterisque mandarint: the aetiological story of the origin of the libri Tagetinici (for their various names cf. Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 1-2). Later works occasionally seem to have regarded Tages as the actual writer of the books; cf. Serv. Aen. 8, 398: scientiam secundum aruspicinam libros et sacra Acheruntiae, quae Tages composita dicerat, etc. Yet cf. Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 1, 2: est enim in libro qui inscribitur litterae iuris Etruriae scriptum vocibus Tagae, etc. Noteworthy in the De Ostentis of Lydus is the title of the Tonitruales of Nigidius: ἀφθιμέρας βρωσαται τοις πρὸς τὴν σελήνην κατὰ τὸν Ῥομαίον Πυξοῦν, ἐκ ἑως Τάγγης καθ ἀρματεῖα πρὸς λέβις; cf. de Ost. p. 110 Wachsm.: abōs γαρ Βυσσαλίων ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῶν Ταγγίων στίχων (προὶ ἀκαὶ Ἀττικῶν ὑστερῶν κλαδέω, κτλ.); Fulg. Scrn. antiqu. 4: Labra, qui disciplinam Etruscas Tagetis et Bacildis quindecim voluminibus explanavit, ita ait. Draheim (in Woch. f. kl. Philol. 10 (1893), 699) suggests that the inscription on the Agram mummy wrapping perhaps belongs to these books of Tages (cf. Thulin, Ital. sakrale Poesie u. Prosai (1906), 5-14. For the phrase litteris mandare cf. N. D. 1, 7; Fin. 1, 1; 1, 11; Tusc. 1, 6; 2, 8; 4, 5; Off. 2, 5; 3, 4; etc.

1. haruspicinæ disciplina: cf. 1, 3, n. (haruspicum disciplina); 2, 80.
2. accepimus: cf. 1, 33, n. (accepimus).
3. ipsis: i.e., the Etruscans.
4. num . . . opus est . . . Carneade: cf. 2 Verr. 3, 63: quid opus est Lollio?

4. ad haec refellenda: cf. N. D. 3, 61: annum censes igitur subtiliores rationes opus esse ad haec refellenda?
6. num: with this repeated and elliptical use cf. de Sen. 23.
8. exaratum: cf. 2, 80.
9. deum dicam an hominem: for the form of expression cf. de Imp. Pomp. 57; pro Caec. 71.
10. contra naturam: this statement would hardly be true as applied to chthonic divinities and heroes; cf. the similar expression in the verse quoted in Tusc. 2, 60: audiasne haec, Amphiaræ, sub terram abitī? But Cicero is perhaps here straining a point to appeal to the Stoics who laid much stress on what was in accord with—rather than opposed to—nature.
11. nonne: for the deferred position cf. 1, 89, n. (nonne).
12. superiore e loco: hence more impressive in effect; cf. Tusc. 1, 117: magna tamen eloquentia est utendum atque illa velut superiore e loco concionandum ut homines molerem . . . oplare incipient; 2 Verr. 1, 14; 2, 102; 4, 49; 4, 86; 5, 151. homo: changing from the previous construction (sc. dicam, or credit exaratum esse).
13. potuit . . . didicisse: the perfect infinitive of disco is probably here
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 scitum est, qui mirabat quod non riperet haruspex haruspicem cum vidisset. 52. Quota enim quaque res evenit praedita ab istor? Aut, si evenit quippiam, quid adefrri potest cur non casu id evenerit? Rex Prusias, cum Hannibali apud eum exsulani depugnari placaret, negabat se audere, quod exta prohiberent. 'Ain tu?' inquit, 'carunculae vitulinae mavis quam imperatoris veteri

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equivalent to the present ininitive of
scio; cf. Phil. 2, 117: neque intelligis
satis esse ... didicisse; Kühner-Stegmann,
Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed.
(1912), 135.

1. ego insipientior, etc.: cf. Ac. 1,
18: sumne sanus, quae haec vos docet?

2. illud: cf. 1, 55: illud Callani; also
1, 14, n. (illa); 1, 40, n. (illa); Reid on
Ac. 2, 86; of Antiph. 90: scitum est enim
illud Catonis, ut multa.

For the remark cf. N. D. 1, 71: mireibile videtur quod non riperet haruspex
cum haruspicem sidesit (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: 

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


There seems to be a brachylogy here for
quid adefrri potest cur non id casu evenisse
existimandum sit; cf. 2, 126, n. (presser-
tum cum ... dicat).


8. Prusias, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 3,
7, ext. 6: Hannibal vero, cum apud regem
Prusiam esset in XXII, et committerti
proelii esset, atque is non idem sibi existi
portendi dicere, 'aiz tu?' inquit, 'vitulinae
carunculae quam imperatoris veteri mavis
credere?' But contrast the account in
Plut. de Exil. 16: 'Aniias dē Karthŏnŏ
òox ἔχειτο παραφυλατή γραμμ. Ἀντίλŏ
βασιλεία ἢ τοι δύναμις ἢ περὶ καὶ ἢ ὀνόματος ἢ
καὶ ἐπικρατεῖν 

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 Perga-
mum. 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: προφητή καὶ μαντικὴ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
αὐτὰ 

8. aiz: a rather frequent form (cf.
Spr. 2, 1 ed. (1912), 135) in Cicero, appearing
in 2, 146 below with an added tandem
(as most commonly); aiz tu occurs in
Tusc. 5, 35; de Or. 1, 165; Brut. 152; de
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 (corunculae vitulinae; 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: HARISPICI MAXIMO; VI, no. 2161: MAGISTER PV <BLICVS> HARVSPICVM; cf. also IX, no. 1540 (from Beneventum): H A R. PVBL. PRIMARIO; and perhaps XIV, no. 164 (from Ostia): MAGISTRO. HARP. DE <L> X. That this particular haruspex was Spurinna (cf. 1, 119, and note), as suggested by Davies and others, is denied by Thulin (Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 135). There is especial force in the epithet summus, as indicating that this advice was given, not by a vicarius 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: et in aeternam castus est, qui urbis religiones inceptum et iussit, Africa, etc. For Caesar's rationalistic attitude in religious matters, especially in questions of divination, cf. 1, 119, n. (in extis, etc.); Morawecki in Eos, 19 (1909), 1-6.

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): ἔδωκεν ἀνδρί (the enemy) ἄνθριστος ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνῆδος προσωπείᾳ; Drumm-Groeb., op. cit. 3, 671.

uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent. Quid ego haruspicum responsa commemorem (possum equidem innumerabilia), quae aut nullo 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 interfuisse; 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-Groebel, op. cit. 3, 2 ed. 519-545, following, in large measure, the *De Bello Africano*.

2. **adversariorum:** Scipio, Juba, and their supporters.

3. **quid...commemorem:** cf. 1, 26, n. (*quid...commemorem*).

4. **haruspicum responsa:** cf. 1, 97, n. (*responsis haruspicis*).

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

6. **luserunt:** Thoresen takes the subject to be haruspices. 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.

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

8. **Pompeio:** 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-Groebel, 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 (*exitis et ostentis*) which really impressed him.

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

10. **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.

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

12. **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...scripsi*.

13. **recitasti:** cf. 1, 17-22.

14. **ante Marsicum bellum, etc.:** cf. 1, 99.

15. **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 deis profecta significatio 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 amicitias inpendentis 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, Heeringa.

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

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

1. Leuctris: this reading of the MSS Müller (in Fleck. Jahrb. 89 (1864), 624), following the edition of Marsus (1508), emended to Leuctricis, thinking δεκτριά to be the title of a part of the Ἐλληνικά 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 τὴν ἐν δεκτριᾷ μάχην (as in Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 33: ἐν δεκτριᾷ . . . μάχαιρα; 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, ὁπ. 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 Hispani). Again, in Cicero himself we find (ad Att. 8, 3, 6): navis et in Caetia est parata nobis et Brundisi, which Kühner-Stegmann (l.c.) explain on the ground that Caetia is an estate, not a town (but why not, then, rather

Caietano, like Cumano, Tusculano, etc.), and Schmidt (in Neue Jahrb. 3 (1899), 352, n. 2) by stating Caetia 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. Thees. 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. (existiunt nihil interesse; erimus . . . cautiores); 1, 119, n. (n. videre . . . non ut caverer); 2, 21, n. (n. cautiores simus); 2, 22, n. (ne utilem grediem); 2, 105.

8. ut medici: cf. Plat. Rep. 3, p. 389 b: et . . . τοῦ δότι θυσίαν μὲν ἀχρηστον ψυχός, ἀνθρώπου δὲ χρήσιμον ὡς ἐν φαινόμενοι εἴδει, δήλου ὅτι τὸ γε τούτον λατρεύῃ δοθήν, ἱδιώτης δὲ οἷς ἀπ' τῶν (cf. 2, p. 382 c), and in 5, p. 459 c-d he remarks that, as in the case of physicians, so συνήχθω τῷ ψυχω καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ καθιστεῖ ἡμῖν δέεσθαι χρήσιμα τοῖς
illo morbo eos esse morituros; 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 adiuverunt? 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 scire nolabant. XXVI. Iam vero coniectura omnis, in qua nititur divinatio, ingenii hominum in multas aut diversas aut etiam contrarias partis saeppe 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

8. didicitur Manuitius, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringa, deducitur C.
11. oratio C, Müller, Heeringa, ratio Hattinger, Christ, Baier, Thoresen.

Δροσοσ επ' ὀψελα τῶν Δροσοὺν. The question is put in a form yet more like the present by Aug. de Mendac. 5: si aliquid aegrotus interroget quod ei scire non expedet, qui etiam non respondente possit gravius affligi; audibisne aut verum dicere in periculum hominis, aut silere potius quam honesto et misericordi mendacio valutudini eius opulatam? (cf. his contra Mendac. 36; Enchirid. 22; Enarrat. in Ps. 5, 7; Schiller, Die Lüge in der 8aris. Lit. (in Gesch. d. christl. Allert. u. d. bys. Lit. (1922), 421-433)). For the 'medicinal lie' in general cf. Luc. Philopseud. 1: τολλα, δε Τυχαία, κατειν αὐτοῦ θεραπεύων ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκάζει τῇ προθέτες λέγειν ἐπὶ τὸ χρήσιμον ᾑτυβλιγοτας.

2. ad praedictionem cautio, etc.: cf. Fam. 11, 21, 3: ego enim quae provides poterunt non fallar in ipsis; quae cautio non habebunt de ipsis non ita valde laboro: de Am. 78.

3. Lacedaemonios: cf. 1, 75-76.
3. nuper: cf. 1, 24, n. (nuper); 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius); 2, 59.
3. nostros: as in the cases cited in 1, 77-78.
4. cur tam obscura: cf. 1, 83, where the Stoic reasoning asserts that by the art of divination these signs became no longer obscure.

4. si enim: for this elliptical usage cf. Mayor on N. D. 1, 22.
6. iam vero, etc.: cf. the note on quas autem res, etc. below.
6ff. coniectura . . . in qua nititur divinatio: cf. 1, 24, n. (conjectura . . . nititur). As Thoresen remarks, qua refers not to coniectura omnis but merely to coniectura.
7. ingenii: not a plural of the concrete used for the abstract, as Mayor on N. D. 1, 78 supposes, but a plural used to emphasize the diverse character of the ingenia of different men, leading to many diverse or even conflicting interpretations—a much more effective meaning than one asserting the results of the collective ingenuity of the race.
7f. in . . . didicitur: cf. 2, 145; 2, 147; de Invent. 2, 50; Ac. 2, 116.
9. accusatoris . . . defensoris: in a criminal case, as opposed to the petitor and possessor in a civil one.
10f. aniceps . . . oratio: cf. de Or. 3, 107: alii (sc. loci) vero anicipites disputations, in quibus de universo genero in utramque partem disseri copiose licet.
12. quas autem res, etc.: the logical connection of this passage, to which Sander (Quaest. de. Cic. Lib. quos script
erorem creat similitudo), magna stultitia est earum rerum deos facere effectores, causas rerum non quaerere. 56. Tu vates Boeotios credis Lebadiæ 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. Lebadiæ vidit, 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 connectura omnis (where most editors place it) to just before quas autem res, and (2) treating the words non numquam etiam errorem creat similitudo as parenthetical (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 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 causas 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 on 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. effec trores: 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 illa of 1, 74. The following term gallinæ 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. (hæc, 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 ceccinerint! 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 did crow even though they had not (themselves) won a victory. ‘For it is just in this,’ you will say, ‘that the portent lies.’ Al 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. inquiies: 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 Pub. in class Philol. 5 (1922), 220.
5. pisces, etc.: their muteness was proverbial. Whether the adjectives allas (Soph. Aj. 1297 (cf. Jebb’s note); anon. ap. Athen. 7, p. 277 d) and ἄλος (Hes. Scat. 212; Empedocl. fr. 117 Diels; etc.) mean ‘mute’ is very dubious (cf. Boisacq, Dict. élam. de la Lang. gr. (1916), 245), but undoubted allusions occur in Aesch. Pers. 577-578: ἄλος... / παίδων τὸς ἄλοντι; fr. 307 Sidgwick: θυρίδος... ἄλον; Soph. fr. 762 Pearson: ἄλον ἱγνών; Hor. Carm. 4, 3, 19: multis... piscibus; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 14; 2, 18; Plut. Quaest. conv. 4, 4, 4; Luc. adv. Indicil. 16: τῶν ἵππων ἄφωντας (cf. Pisc. 51; Serm. 1; Didym. Alex. de Trinii. 2, 7, 8 (Patri. Gr. 39, 585 A): ἄφωντας τῶν ἵππων ἵππων);

Opp. Hal. 1, 134; [Orig.] in Iob, 1 (Patri. Gr. 17, 406 C): nam pisces neque lingua neque vocem habet; Ambr. de Incarnat. Dom. Sacr. 15: piscator... ipsis... piscibus taciturnier erat; Symphys. AE. Aenigm. 12; Apostol. 13, 45 (Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 585): οὐρα ἱερὰ φωνὴ οὐρα ἑθαντές ἄρης, and the German saying ‘stimme wie ein Fisch’; Döger, 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.): οἱ 8' ἱεραὶ ἄφωνα μὲν ἀσωμ (οὔτε γὰρ πτερώματοι οὔτε ἄρημα καὶ φάρμαγα ἰχνεωτος), ψόφους δὲ τίμας ἀφάνας καὶ τρέμωσι σοὶ λέγοντες φωνέων, οὐκ ἰξώδα καὶ χρωμάτις (οὐδὲ γάρ ἀψίας ὄσσερ γρυλῖον) καὶ κάτως ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀχηρίδα, ἐξεὶ δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ χαλκὸς... πάντα δὲ τάστα τὴν δοκοῦσαν φωνὴν ἀφάνει τὰ μὲν τὴν τριβήν τῶν βραγχῶν... τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἱπποῖς περὶ τὴν κολλαν, τ.τ.λ.; and cf. Paus. 8, 21, 2 (and other passages cited in Frazer’s note and by Döger, op. cit. 2, 186, n. 2; 249, n. 2; 317, n. 1) for the vocal fishes in the Aranitis River. In spite of the statement of Plutarch (de Sollicit. Anim. 22) that, contrasted with the thousands of predictions from birds and land animals, ἐν οἷς δεσποτὰς ἀναφέρει τὰς προδικοῦσας τῶν ἄνδρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς προφητείας εἰς τῶν ἄνδρων καὶ τιμηθηκὸν ἀκρίβεια τὰς ἀνδρὲς ἀσάβη φύσεως, κ.τ.λ., divination from fishes, or ichthyomancy, is attested for the Orient, particularly in Lybia (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 151-152), the fish being apparently a symbol of the water numen, according to Ninck (in Philologus, 14 Supplbd (1921), 97, n. 4). For the fish-oracle at Sura see the evidence collected by Wolff, De noviss. Oracul. Aetale (1854), 41; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 152; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 168, n. 3; Ninck, L.c.; other cases are gathered by Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 503; Hopi, Thierarakel u. Orakeltiere (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 praeter solitum dulcedine laeti / inter se in folis strepitant.


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 Cicero's misunderstandings of the process of digestion are explained); Liv. 2, 32, 11: (seniorem)redemptem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas 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 anaapaest of Ennius. But if we accept the statement of Zillinger (Cic. u. d. alterm. Dichter (1911), 115, n. 1) that, in cases in which Cicero interrupts a poetical quotation by the phrase ut ait, 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 silentio noctis in Lucr. 4, 460; Ov. Met. 7, 184), for the metre will not permit them immediately to precede faveunt faucibus.

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: ἀν δει τ空前 ἄρρητον ἐχθρόν / οὐ τ' ἐπιλέπτων / ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατευματος. Further, to produce a more complete correspondence, Vahlen (Index Lec. 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: faveunt faucibus russis, / <missis>cantu 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, faveunt faucibus is used like faveunt linguis (cf. 1, 102, n. (faveunt linguis) above and the expression or faveutens 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; cantus edere quiete satiatos; cum igiur 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.
... faveat 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

1. cants lausuque Dumat A.
6. sanguine vide, sanguinem C, O.

24, 1-2, gives divisions of the day, and says: tempus quod hic proximum est vocatur de media nocte; sequitur gallicinum, cum galli canere incipient; dein continicum, cum conticuerunt; lunc ante lucem, et sic diluculum; cum sole nondum orto iam luce (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 Macrobi. Sat. 1, 3, 12; cf. Apul. Met. 8, 1; Ambr. 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 faveat, which, quickly disappears if it be taken with canto in the sense of 'sing' (as explained by Turenbaus, Aedaeus. 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, Röm. Trag. (1875), 95) is suggested by Plin. N. H. 10, 46: (galli) cum sole eunt cubilium, quaerant castrensi vigilia ad curas laboremque revocant, nec solis orum incanulis paucis usus obrepare, diemque veniam tem nuntiant canu, ipsum vero cantum plausu laetum; cf. Lucr. 4, 710-711: gallum noctem explaudemibus atis / au roram clara consuetum voce 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. altröm. Dichter (1911), 115), to assign this fragment to some undetermined play of Ennius, rather than to the Iphigenia. Before faveat 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-xliii.


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 iussisset. Cicero is here, of course, not referring to the regular morning crowing, but to the special occasion described in 1, 74.

4f. natura vel casus: cf. 2, 55.

6. sanguine pluisse: cf. 1, 98. For the syntax of the instrumental ablative with pluere, sudare, fluere, manare, etc., cf. Schmalz, Lat. Gram. 3 ed. (1900), 251; Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 384.

6. senatui nuntiatum: cf. 1, 97.

fluviwm fluxisse sanguine, deorum sudasse simulacra. Num censes his
nuntiis Thalen aut Anaxagoran aut quemquam physicum crediturum
fuisses? Nec enim sanguis nec sudor nisi e corpore. Sed et decoloratio
quaedam ex aliqua contagione terrena maxume potest sanguini similis
esse, et umor adlapus extrinsecus, ut in tectoriis videmus austro, sudorem
videtur imitari. Atque haec in bello plura et maiora videntur timentibus,
cadcm non tam animadvertuntur in pace; accedit illud etiam, quod in
metu et periculo cum creduntur facilius, tum finguuntur inpinius. 59. Nos
autem ita leves atque inconsiderati sumus ut si mures corroserint 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 divination
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 Oraclis:
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. Anaxagoras: on the declension
of this name in Latin see Kühner-Holzweiss-
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-
etal attitude of Anaxagoras towards irregu-
lar supernatural intervention in human
affairs is opposed (cf. 1, 93, n. (kominum
pecudum nec conceptu et satu) above); and,
as Bouché-Leclercq notes, a passage in
Plutarch (Peri. 6) shows an attempt of
Anaxagoras to explain away a supposed
portent on purely physical grounds (cf.
Jaeger, op. cit. 64). The tales that Anax-
agoras himself had powers of divination
(Philos. Vit. Apollon. 1, 2; Hippol.
Philosop. 8, 13 (Dosogr. 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
et . . . 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. tectoriis: for Cicero's use of the
word and the phrase opus tectorium cf.
Leg. 2, 65; ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 1.

5. austro: particularly damp; cf.
Gell. 2, 22, 14: Latine auster, Graece
trois nominatur, quoniam est nebulosus
taque umecus; nemo 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: H. 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 imitari). It is not dissimilar to
the expression of Cat. de Agr. 31, 2:
venio austro castelo ne quam materiem . . .
tracies.

6. in bello plura et maiora: cf. 1,
68, n. (remigem quendam). Davies also
de Bell. Goth. 227-229.
quorum est opus hoc unum, monstrum putemus? Ante vero Marsicum bellum quod clipeos Lanuvii, ut a te dictum est, mures rosissent, maximum id portentum haruspices esse dixerunt; quasi vero quicquam inter sit mures diem noctem aliud rodentes scuta an cribra corroserint! Nam si ista sequimur, quod Platonis Politian nuper apud me mures corroserunt, de re publica debui pertimescere, aut, si Epicuri de voluptate liber rosus esset, putarem annonam in macello cariocem fore.

2. Lanuviensis vulg., Müller.

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

2. ante . . . bellum: in 1, 99 the events with which this portent is associated are dated initio belli Marsici.

2. a te dictum est: 1, 99.

21. maximum id portentum: in 1, 99, it is not merely a noteworthy portent but a very unfavorable one (irritissimum).

3. quasi vero: cf. 1, 45, n. (quasi); 1, 56, n. (vero); 2, 52; 2, 81; 2, 119; Off. 3, 39; Nutting in Univ. 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 Politian): and for other evidence as to Cicero's use of this work cf. Hinze, Quos Scriptores Gr. Cis. in Lib. de Re p. compon. adhibuerit (1850), 3-11.

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

5. mures corroserunt: on the nibbling of books by mice cf. 1, 99, n. (clipeos, etc.). Rolls kept in an open capsa and so exposed at the top might easily suffer from the depredations of mice; cf. Quintil. Inst. 8, 3, 19: risimus, et merito, nuper poelam qui dixerat 'praetextam in cista mures reserat Camilli.' To the omens from mice cited in the notes on 1, 99 add Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 803, n. 1. Livy, in speaking of one case (27, 23, 2), remarks: adeo minime etiam rebus prava 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. Hic accipit consumptum asellus. O fatum Troiae! aut ecus aut asinus!

6. Epicuri de voluptate: cf. Usener, Epicurea (1887), 101, who finds no other allusion to this work πεπιθηκος (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 omnia quae ad beatam vitam peripletur 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 170 a. c. by M. Fulvius Nobilius. It was the place of sale of various food-stuffs; cf. Ter. Eun. 255-257; Varr. L. L. 5, 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, qualemque 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 nullam reperies, illud tamen exploratum habeto nihil fieri potuisse sine causa, eumque terorem, quem tibi rei novitas attulerit, naturae ratione depellito. Ita te nec terrae fremitus nec caeli discessus nec lapideus aut sanguineus imber nec traiectio stellae

7. terrem Laminus, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thorson, Hearings, vero rem C.

posteaquam contracta in unum locum quae ad victum perirebant et aedificatus locus, appellatum macellum, ut quidam scribunt, quod ibi fuerit hortus, ait quod ibi domus fuerit cui cognomem fuit Macellus, quae ibi publice sit diruta, et qua 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 des Macellis of Lanciani, Forma Urbis Romae, pl. 22); cf. Platner, Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 460.


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

2. ex pecude, etc.: cf. 1, 93, and n. (hominem pecudumque conceptu 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. (hominem pecudumque conceptu et satu).

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

5f. investigato ... habeto ... depellito: the imperative in -eo 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; Paral. 17.

7. nihil ... sine causa: cf. 2, 61; N. D. 2, 15; Nat. 25: ne omnes physici inrideant nos, si dicamus quicquam fieri sine causa; 26; 43; Fin. 5, 42; Tim. 5: nil autem gigni posse sine causis; Goedeckemeyer, Gesch. des gr. Skeptizismus (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 ... tremesci); 1, 35.

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

9. lapideus aut sanguineus imber: cf. 1, 98, n. (lapidum; sanguinis). For the phrase lapideus ... imber cf. Liv. 30, 38, 8.

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

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

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

1. quorum Salles, Christ, Boi, Muller, Thoresen, Heeringa, quarum C.

osophic common place, especially when applied in a broader way. Cf. Fin. 5, 87: *ille* (sc. Democritus) *summum bonum* *αὐτοίς* et *saepe* *άσμα* *αὐτολόγια* *απέλατο*, id est *animum terrae liberum*; Strab. 1, p. 61: τὸν ἄναγμασαν ἢνιν κατασκεύαζεν ἠγίλους, ἦν ὥμοι Νευμονίου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι πάντες; Clem. Strom. 2, 21, p. 498 P.: καθαροὶ Ναυαράκην τὸν διασκεδάζων τάσσων γάρ ἐπὶ ηὐδ θεοσκόπου ἀλμαθην λέγονται; N. D. 1, 55-56: *divinatio ... quae tanta inbueremur superstitione ... ut haruspices, augures, hariol, vates, connectores nobis essent colendi. his terroribus ab Epicuro soluti, etc.*; Tusc. 1, 48: liberato enim sc per eum (sc. Epicurum) dicunt (sc. nonnulli) *gravissimos dominis, terrae sempiternae et divinum ac nocturno meli; 5, 81: sapientis esi ... nihili, cum acciderit, admirari, ut ineptiarium ac notum accidisse videatur*; Hor. Ep. 1, 6, 1-5 (probably following Epicurean theories): *nihil admirari prope res est una, Numicii, / solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum, / hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis / tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla / imbit spectant; 1, 6, 9-11: qui timet his adversa, mere miratur / oedem / quo cupiens pacto: poter est utro- / biquis molestas. / improvisa simul species / exterrerit utramque. Cf. also 2, 42, and n. (extimuisserunt); and especially I. uc. 1, 146-154.

1. Chrysippo: cf. 1, 6, n. (Chrysip-pus); 1, 7. (Carneade).

2. auctor: not, of course, ‘founder,’ but rather ‘sponsor’ (cf. Off. 3, 116), one who lent to divination the support of his auctoritas (cf. 1, 62, n. (auctoritate) supra).

3. sine causa: cf. 2, 60, n. (nihil ... sine causa). In the series which follows he is perhaps imitating some of the chains-ylogism of which the Stoics were so fond (as in 1, 82-83). Certainly in referring to the rarity of the *sapient* he is meeting the Stoics on their own ground.

4. nec quicquam fit, etc.: cf. 2, 49, n. (si speri non peisset).

7. mulam peperisse: cf. 1, 36, n. (parus ... 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, 25).

7. sapientem fuisse: the increasingly elaborate demands which the sages 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. Aphrod. de Fat. 28: τῶν δὲ θαυμάσεων οἱ τελείωτα κακοί, μᾶλλον δὲ άγαθος μὲν εἷς ἢ δεύτερος ὅτι ἂντων γεγονότα μεθεστεί, ἑστη παράδοξοι ἤν τι περίπλοκος, καὶ παρὰ φίλων συνεπώτερον τοῦ φιλικοῦ τοῦ παρ’ άθομον; Sen. Ep. 42, 1: ille alter (sc. vir bonus) toriasse tamquam phoenix semel anno quin- gentesimo nascitur. A large number of other passages are collected by Hilzal, 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 *prokóstov*, or man progressing toward rather than having already attained virtue, but also how, beginning with Epictetus, 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 unquam esse, nec quod potuerit id portentum esse; ita omnino nullum esse portentum. 62. Quod etiam coniector quidam et interpres portentorum non inscite respondisse dicitur ei qui quondam ad eum retulisset quasi ostentum quod anguis domi vectem circumiectus fuisset: 'Tum esset,' inquit, 'ostentum,

4. qui quondam (aut qui, om. cum) cons. Davies, reserentur Müller, Illeinga; qui cum A, sed cum in rec. (et Moser qui cum rinsel, Ciceronem abacoedobon scripsisse existimant); qui quondam (quodam corr., quae inscriptionem adhibuit Almus) T; dicitur, qui, cum ad eum retulisset quis Kayser; dicitur, qui, cum ad eum retulisset cons. Boller; dicitur quidam cons. Balm; cui, cum Yahnem (in Rer. Mat. 27 (1872), 184); Ianxoni, qui cum Foster (Progr. Kalloniis (1874), 39; qui cum Geese, Théseum; ei, qui cum Christ, Boller).

are N. D. 1, 23 (where the sapientes are asserted by Velleius to be pauci); 3, 79: sapientiam autem nemo adsequitur (cf. Mayor's note); Tusc. 2, 51: in quo vero erit perfecta sapientia (quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus nomen); Off. 3, 16; Fin. 4, 64-65, ending: nec tamen ille (sc. Ti. Gracchus) erat sapientis; quis enim hoc? aut quando? aut ubi? aut unde? Ac. 2, 145: sed qui sapienti sit aut fuerit nec tibi quidem solent dicere (cf. Reid's note). See also Mayor on Juv. 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): 'tò γάρ ελθόσον ὁ τίρας; cf. Stein, ΤΕΡΑΣ (1909), 7 ff. for various definitions of tiras. In this connection Clement says (Strom. 7, p. 843 P.): δεί γάρ καὶ τὰ ἱλεγα τῶν γυνῶν τρίχην καὶ θέιν καὶ ράχησθαι καὶ τιτένω καὶ ἀποθάφησαι, ἃ ἡν, ἵκελον δοῦνα κατὰ φόσον, οὐκ ἀπ’ τοῦ ἴματος τοῦ κοραμενως; cf. Theo. Chr. 16, for the superstition of the man who reports such matters to the diviners.

2. omnino nullum: cf. 1, 65; 1, 113.

3. quod: for this use cf. 2, 87, and n. (quod).

3. non inscite: cf. 2, 30, n. (non inscrite).


5. domi: cf. 1, 36, and n. (duobus anguis); and just below in this section.

5. circumiectus: occasionally mentioned as ominous; cf. 1, 79, n. (pereum . . . amplexus); also Dio Cass. 47, 1, 2.


Further variants are Clem. Strom. 7, p. 842 P.: "τῆς δὲ καὶ ἑλµάσατο, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φησιν ὁ Βίλω, τὸν θιλακὸν διαπερασάν, οἶχ ἔτι οὔτοι δὲ τὰ φύτη τοῦ γάρ ἑνθραυσάτων, εἰ δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαίοις, τὸν μὲν ἐ μὲν θιλακό κατάξαν" (copied in Theodoret. Gr. Affect. 6, p. 854), and Aug. de Doctr. Christ. 2, 31: unde illud eleganter dicitum est Calonis, qui, cum esset consultis sibi quondam qui sibi a socrictibus strangis caligis diceret, respondit non esse illud monstrum, sed vero monstrum habendum fuisset si socrates a caligis roderentur. For the same motive in Lcope 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 circumplacivisset. ’ Hoc ille responso satis aperte declara-
vit nihil habendum esse, quod fieri posset, ostentum.

XXIX. C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit duobus anguis domi
conprehensis haruspices a patre convocatos. Qui magis anguis quam
lacertis, quam muribus? Quia sunt haec cotidiana, angues non item;
quasi vero referat, quod fieri potest, quam id saepè fiat. Ego tamen miror
si emissio feminae anguis mortem adferetat Ti. Gracco, emissio autem
maris anguis crat mortifera Corneliae, cur alteram utram emiserit; nihil
enim scribit respondisse haruspices si neuter anguis emissus esset quid
esse futurum. At mors insecuta Gracchum est. Causa quidem, credo,
aliqua morbi gravioris, non emissione serpentes; 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. rui., G. AB (in B supra lin.), om. V.
7.  Ti. rui., tito C.

that is news’” (Buchanan, l. c.; Pease in
N. Y. Evening Post, 11 Nov., 1911).
1.  circumplacivisset: 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 . . .
dicuntur).
3.  C. Gracchus, etc.: cf. 1, 36.
3.  ad M. Pomponium: cf. 1, 36, n.
(scriptum religiit).
5.  lacertis: for the species of the
genus Laceria found in Italy and Greece
cf. Keller, Die ant. Tierwelt, 2 (1913),
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 cf.
1, 39, n. (Galeatae); Bouché-Leclercq,
Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 147-148; Hopf,
Thiersorakel u. Orakelsphiere (1888), 181;
Keller, op. cit. 2, 275.
5.  haec: on the agreement cf. Küh-
ner-Stegmann, 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;
cf. Merguet, Lexion s. d. philos. Schr.
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 patent; etc.
Ti. Gracch. 1 (quoted in 1, 36, n. (duobus
anguis) supra), for the answer to this
question: ἥμερας μὲν οὖν ἰδίᾳ ἵνα λεγέην οἷς
ἀδέλφης. 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. (at). 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 assecula est
senectus; and other passages (especially
Ter. Herm. 750) make it unnecessary to
emend, with Davies, to Gracchi.
11.  neque enim, etc.: cf. 2, 52: si
evenit quippeiam, quid adseri potest cur
non casu id eveniret?
13f.  quod apud Homerum, etc.: the
Latin as it stands shows an anacolu-
Homerum Calchantem dixisti ex passerum numero belli Troiani annos auguratum; de cuius coniectura sic apud Homerum, ut nos otiosi convertimus, loquitur Agamemnon:

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

tho (with which Thoresen compares the only partly similar passage in 2, 126: praesertim cum Chrysippus . . . dicat = 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. Atzert, De Cic. Interpretre Graecorum (1908), 25-29, and for instances of divination drawn from Homer see 1, 1, n. (heroi- cici) above.

2. otiosi: cf. Tusc. 2, 26: studiis equidem utro nostris poetis; sed sicubi illi defecerunt veris ipse mula de Graecis, ne quo ornamento in hoc genere disputationis careat 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 chose to be writing, it would be easier to understand the slip by which he makes Agamemnon the speaker.

3. Agamemnon: really Ulysses; cf. II. 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.: II. 2, 299-330, 32 lines of the Greek being represented by 29 in the translation. The translation is a very free one, and Atzert (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 Lai. 147-153 (in Poet. Lai. min. 3, 14); Apollod. Epit. 3, 15; Petron. 89; Orig. in Cels. 4, 91; Procl. in Epic. Gr. Frag. p. 18 Kinkel; Lykophr. Alex. 202-203 (and cf. Schol.); Philostr. 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. Atzert, op. cit. 29. The interpretation of the portrait is discussed at enormous length by Schol. B II. 2, 305, parts of the explanation being ascribed to Aristotle (fr. 145 Rose), and others to ci . . . τὰ περὶ ὁμοιοτυπίας τῆς καὶ ὁμορροφάτης.

Lines 299-302 of the original read: τῆς, φίλε, καὶ μελινὴ ἐν χρόνον, δὸς δαίμον, / ἡ αἰνίον Κάλκας μποτερείται ὡς καὶ οὐκ. / ἐν γὰρ ἔπος ὅλου ἔπος ὁμορροφάτης, ἀλλ’ ἐν πάντες / μάρτυροι, οὐ πρὸς ὑπερθανάτων φησιν. In the first line, as Atzert (op. cit. 26) points out, ferte is the only word which corresponds to the original. For the phrase duros . . . tolerate labores Atzert (25-26) notes parallels from Tusc. 2, 30; 2, 35; 2, 43, Wresniok (De Cic. Lucretiisque Ennii Imiutoribus (1907), 7) thinks that duros . . . labores is Ennian, and compares Virg. Georg. 4, 114.

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

5. fatis: ‘predictions of fate’; cf. 1, 66; 1, 100, n. (fatti); 2, 98; in Cat. 3, 9.

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


6. pectoris orsus: cf. 1, 18: ratos
Namque omnes memori portentum mente retentant, 
Qui non funestis liquerunt lumina fatis.
Argōlicis primum ut vesīta est classibus Aulis,
Quae Priamo cladem et Troiae pestemque ferebant,
Nos circum latices gelidos fumantibus aris
Aurigeris divors placantem numina tauris,
Sub platano umbrifera, fons unde emanat aquai,

3. Aulis Erlang., vulg., sules C.

ora clā sūrenti / sēcōre sūndeabant; Virg. 
Aen. 6, 48; Od. ex Pont. 3, 4, 93. The word orsus is found only here and in 
Culex, 2.

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

2. liquerunt luminā: cf. 1, 18, and 
n. (nītia luminā liquit); and, for the 
alliteration, 1, 17, n. (aetheris aerinti).

3. Argōliciās, etc.: lines 303-319 read: 
χηθμέτα τε καὶ προφοράς ἔτοι ἐκ Λέλυτα ὑπῆρ Αχαλωρ/ ἦγαγε θέου καὶ Πρωτοὶ φιλουσαὶ; 
ἡμέρας θ᾽ ἀμφοτερ τε ἐστὶ κρήνη ἱεροῦ κατὰ 
βωμοῦ/ ἱδρυμὺν ἀδάνατοι θυσίας ἐκκαθῆμα, 
ℏαν ὑπὸ πλατανίτως, θεῖα μέν ἄγαλλων ὑποτρίπτη/ 
ὅθεν ἐστὶν καὶ μέγα σὴμα/ δραχμῶν ἐπὶ 
νότα ἑπεκοίμησι, / συμβολίδου, τὸν δ᾽ αὐτὸς 
Οὐλίμπως ἡ ἡράδε 


5. pestem: cf. 1, 42: peste Pergamó 
and, for the cadence, 1, 20: pestem 
que monebant.

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

6. aurigeris: on the form of compound (appearing here for the first time 
in extant Latin literature) cf. 1, 13, n. 
(tristīs). 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 
tοῦ Ἐνώ ἐμὸν χρυσὸν κέρατα περικύκλωσ (cf. 
3, 437); also cf. Nom. Dionys. 11, 200: 
μὴ κοτίσοι, δει, τάτε, τὴν χρυσωμα κέρατα. 
Roman usages in this regard (which 
Cicero may, of course, be more particularly 
reflecting) are indicated by Plin. 
N. H. 33, 39: deorum honores caura in 
sacris nihil aliud excogitatum est quam ut 
auralis cornibus hosliac, maiores dumtaxat, 
immoletur; cf. Virg. Aen. 9, 624; 
Livy 4, 16, 2; 7, 37, 1; 15, 12, 13 (=Macrobi. 
Sat. 1, 17, 29); Sen. H. 1, 7, 9; Val. Fl. 1, 89; 
and frequently in the Acta Fratrum 
Aralium (e.g., Henzen, Acta Fratrum 
Aralium (1874), xlii; cxii; cxiv; etc.).

7. platano: cf. Schol. B II. 2, 305: 
ὅ δ᾽ ἐπήλαγος ἐδι καὶ τὸ ὅριον καὶ ὁμηρί 
ἀσθῆμον τὴν καὶ ἐνῶν καὶ θάρσος μακρὰν πορελαν,
Vidimus inmani specie tortuque draconem
Terribilem, Iovis ut pulsus penetraret ab ara;
Quis placatam in ramo foliorum tegmine saeptos
Corripuit pullos; quios cum consumeret octo,
Nona super tremulo genetrix clangore volabat;

4. corripuit pullos: cf. Ov. Met. 12, 17: corripuit serpens. They are sparrows, and their symbolism is set forth in Schol. B II, 2, 305: στροβίθιον ἐκ καὶ ὀλέθρω δὲ ὑπὸ ὑπὲρίπλορης, δὲ λευκός μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἥ στροβίθιον, κατωφυσικότατον δὲ γαρ καὶ λάθησαν· οἷοι δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ οἱ Ὀτρίες, καὶ λατρεύει εἰσεκεῖ τοῦ τόπου οὐδὲν δεδομένον, ὅσπερ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶς λεοὶ ὁ δράκων. φίλοι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς οἱ Ἑλλήνες, οἳ τὴν σημεῖα ὁ δράκων λόγως; cf. especially also Throop, op. cit.


Cui feras inmani laniavit viscera morsu.

64. Hunc, ubi tam teneros volucris matremque peremit,
Quis luci ediderat, genitor Saturnius idem
Abdedit et durò formavit tegmine saxi.
Nos autem timidi stantes mirabile monstrum
Vidimus in mediis divom versari aris.
Tum Calchas haec est fidenti voce locutus:

a characteristically Ciceronian expansion of τηρεῖ... λάβει.


4. abdedit: the Greek phrase τον μὲν ἄλθεας θεός τὸν ἄθλημας is much disputed in meaning. Cf. Schol. Λ Π 2, 318: ἄθλημας θεός τὸ θερίτον γράφει ἀρίστηκα, κεὶ τὸ ἄθλημα προσθήκης, τὸ γὰρ ἀθρίλλον διὰ ἐμοίας, δηπο ἀπόθεον, διὰ τὸ τῶν πλαστῶν, τούτου ἄνωθεν. ("Whatsoever a god creates, that he brings to naught again. But there seems to be some lacuna in the quotation." Leaf on Λ Π 2, 318). ἂγετε μέσον γε δὲ ὁ φύτας ὑπὸ τὸν θεόν καὶ ἄθλημαν ἑπιθείμησεν. Cicero evidently takes the word in the sense of the last clause (cf. Hesych. ἄλθεας ἄθλημα), making a clear contrast between the two compounds of do, edicerat and abdedit. It is also clear that his text of the Illiad included line 319 which was probably attested by Aristarchus (cf. Leaf, l. c.). The words abdedit et occur in the same place in the verse in 1, 18 above.

4. tegmine saxi: petrifaction is one of the common forms of mythological metamorphosis; cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1900), 996, n. 3; 1200, n. 7; 1226, n. 1; 1920, s.v. Versteinern. In the case of snakes the myth may have been suggested by the appearance of certain fossils, such as ammonites; cf. Skeat in Folk-Lore, 23 (1912), 45-60; Halliday in Folk-Lore, 32 (1921), 263. Skeat (op. cit. 54) gives the following appropriate quotation from the Elizabathan period from Camden, Britonia, p. 419: lapides hic inveniuntur, serpenium in spiram revolventur effigie. naturae ludentis miracula...

serpentes slim fuisse crederes, quos lapideus cortex intercolles. For the prophetic meaning of the petrifaction cf. Schol. B Π 2, 305: ὅ θεος τοῦ ὀράκτου ἀπολίθωσε καὶ μὲν Ἀριστοτήλην τῆν βραδυτίαν ἄθλημα καὶ τὸ ἀθρίλλον τὸν πολέμου, κατὰ δὲ θᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἄθλημας, κτλ.; ibid.: τῆς πόλεως ἐν λίθοις μοῦνοι καταλειπθήσε: id. 308: οὖ ὃ δὲ θᾶλλον, ἐπὶ οἰκείῳ κήπῳ ἐθάλην ὅ πολέμως. Ovid here says (Met. 12, 22-23): illis, ut erat, virides amphiexus in arbore ramos / polit lapis (cf. 2, 65 infra: lapideus dicitur factus). et superal serpenius imagine saxum. Cicero apparently thinks of Zeus as hiding away the snake within his stony covering (as Daphne, in Ov. Met. 1, 549, within her covering of bark).

5ff. nos. etc.: lines 320-330 read: ἢ μειτὶ δ' ξυσάτες θαυμάζωμεν, οἷον ἱππότης. ὃς οὖν διὰ πέλαρα βοῶν εὐθήνεοι ἐκάτομας, / Κάλες δὲ αὐτοί ἐκεῖ αἰχμαλωτῶν ἄγρευσαν / 'τιτ' ἄνευ ἔγγενος, κάροι καρπωτικὸς ἄπαισοι: / ἕμειν μὲν τὸ δ' ζήσαν τέρας μέγα μητῆρα Ζέας, / δίψυχος διδάσκετον, δυο θέους ἐν τῷ δήλωτι. / ὃς ἄνοιξα κατὰ τεῖνα φάγες στρυούσε καὶ αὐθήν, / δηκῶ, ἀτὰρ μὴν θατράτη ἢ, ἢ τίκη τέκνα. / ἢ μεῖτὶ τοιοῦτοι ἤθελα πολεμίζωμεν αὖθι, / τῷ δεκατῇ τὸν αἰχμαλώτους εἰρύγανον. / Καίνις τοῖς ἄγρευσε τα δὴ νῦν πέμβα τελεῖται.


7. voce locutus: see Norden, l.c., 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 avis taetra macatas dente videtis, Tot nos ad Troiam bellii exanclabimus annos; Quae decumo cadet et poena satiabit 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 sit, qui, id quod fieri non potuit, lapideus dicitur factus? Postremo quid simile habet passer annis?

3. sera nimis rule., sera animis C.

and thinks it an archaic form of expression, like Pind. Ol. 6, 13-14: ἀπὸ γλῶσσας... φθόνταρο.
1. obstipuistis: so Ov. Met. 12, 18: obstupere omnes.
2. deum dedit: cf. 1, 17, n. (aetheris acterni).
2. deum... creator: not in the Greek, but a reminiscence of the Homeric πατήρ ἄνθρωπον 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: eadem rerem dicemus, non cedem modo—nam id quidem obtundere auditorem est, non rem expolire—sed commutate.
4. taetra macatas 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, Tensaurs 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 exanclavi diem, where Non. p. 292 remarks: exanclare eliam significat perpeti). Cf. also Heeringa, Quaesit. ad Cie. de Div. Lib. duas pertinentes (1906), 64-65.

6. cadet: here Ovid (Met. 12, 20: Troia cadet) follows Cicero rather than the Greek τόλην ἀλήσωμεν.
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, Cultes, 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 iudicia aut censuret? 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 eductor us esset, immolavit, et anguem ab ara extitisse, eoque die rem praclare 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 illa tritici grana in os pueri Midae congesta, aut apes quas 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 nudinanri 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:


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-Holzeissig, 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 revocabant.
5. **illa:** cf. 1, 40, n. (illa).
6. **tritici 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 quanvis nobis saepe dicitur; 'belle' et 'feste' minimum saepe nolo; Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 89-90 for Cicero's use of belle.
11. **ipso:** cf. 2, 52, n. (ipsa).
12. **Roscio, etc.:** cf. 1, 79, which for circumligatus fuerit angui reads circum- plicatum serpentis amplexu.
13. **falsum, ut ... ut ... mirum:** cf. such constructions as are cited by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausz. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 242.
14. **angui:** contrast angue in 2, 65; Kühner-Holzeissig, *Ausz. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 328 take the present instance as probably a dative.
15. **Solonio:** cf. 1, 79, n. (Solonio).

Launuvium was especially associated
haruspices responderint nihil illo clarius, nihil nobilius fore, miror deos immortales histrioni futuro claritate ostendisse, nulam 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 evelletbat quod fidenter infixerat. Nam Dionysii equus quid attulit admirationis quod emersit e fumina quoquae habuit apes in iuba? Sed quia brevi tempore regnare coepit quod acciderat casu vim habuit ostenti. At Lacedemonis in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt, eiusdemque dei Thebis valvae clausae subito se aperuerunt, eaque scuta quae fuerunt sublime

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

• Ael. N. A. 11, 16; cf. 1, 79, n. (puerum 
  . . . amplexus) above; Colburn in Am. Journ. of Arch. 2 ser. 18 (1914), 365;

[459] 12. nundinari: cf. the similar picturesque figure in Plin. N. H. 11, 109 (of anta): corii dies ad recognitionem mutuum nundinis dantur. The nundinae stand for the mercurius quando celebratum of Tusc. 5, 9. Several glosses (cf. Goetz, Corp. Gl. Lat. 6 (1899), 751, s.v. nundina) equate nundinae with the Greek καράγυρας. Cicero speaks familiarly of the snakes at Lannium, and Colburn (op. cit. 377) remarks that he was in the habit of journeying that way when going to his villas at Anium and at Tusculum (cf. ad Att. 12, 41, 1; 12, 43, 1; 12, 44, 3; etc.).

1. responderint: cf. 1, 40, n. (responderunt).
2. miror, etc.: for the thought cf. 2, 114, n. (magis terri simile, etc.).
3. histrioni, etc.: On the low estate of the theatrical profession cf. 1, 80, n. (ut ad lessi or veniamus). In 2, 114 Cicero complains that the divine purpose was revealed to a mere rower 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 impor-

tance. 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. (Pherecycdeum 
  . . . qui). The proper punctuation of the passage (essentially that here employed) is discussed by Madvig in 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).
7. Dionysii equus: cf. 1, 73.
7f. brevi tempore: 1, 73 says pannis diebus.
8. vim habuit ostenti: cf. 1, 73, n. (habuit hanc simi su).
7f. Lacedemonis, etc.: cf. 1, 74; 2, 54.
10f. scuta quae fuerant sublime: in 1, 74 we read: armaque quae fixa in paretibus 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 exitit corona ex asperis herbis, et quidem subita. Itane censes ante coronam herbae extitisse quam conceptum esse semen? Herbam autem asperam credo avium congestu, non humano satu; iam quicquid in capite est, id coronae simile videri potest. Nam quod eodem tempore stellas aureas Castor et Pollucis Delphis positas decidisse neque eas usquam repertas esse dixisti, furum id magis factum quam deorum videtur. 69. Simiae vero Dodonaeae improbitatem

δεικτ. For a similar use of sublimis cf. Tusc. 1, 102: huminum an sublimem.
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 congestu: 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 be accident be), for congerere (nidum) is not infrequently used of the nest-building of birds; cf. Plaut. Rud. 889; Virg. Aen. 3, 69: quo congessere palumbes (Serv. ad loc. and Corp. Gl. Lat. 5, 556, 9 explain as nidificavere; cf. Corp. Gl. Lat. 5, 183, 19: congessere: proprire congerere axes dicuntur quando nidos factum); Gell. 2, 29, 5; Ser. Sammon. 1021; Aug. C. D. 19, 12.

6. humano satu: Thoresen (in Norsk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 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: sic enim avium congestu Cicero semina sparsa esse exitimatu, sive ab hominibus—qui cur ita fecerint, non facile est videre—naturali rem attribuit causae. ut 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 Höttger well suggested that exitisse 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. (auferre 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 illum monstruosissimam bestiam urnam evertisse, sortes dissupavisse? Et negant historici Lacedaemonii  ullam ostentum hoc tristius accidisse! Nam illa praedicta Veientium, si lacus Albanus redundasset isque in mare fluxisset, Romam perituram; si repressus esset, Veios—itaqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbani, non ad arcem urbemque retinendam.

N. H. 19, 116: adversus improbitatem alium depressionium semina; 29, 28: non Homero (sc. fastidio fuil) ... improbitatem muscae 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 simili turpis sima 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: perciosum populo Romano.

5. si repressus esset: in 1, 100 the idea is quite different: sin aetem sia esset eductus ut ad mare pecunie non posset.

5. Veios: from the time of Lambinus a lacuna has frequently been recognized after this word, and various attempts have been made to fill it, as by Davies, who conjectured Veios, itaqua Albana deducta. aqua Albana deducta (explaining the corruption as due to haplography), by Rath (Veios—conser-varunime Romam itanc? aqua Alban, etc.), by Christ (Veios: omni ex parte ratus existitern? num minus Roma a Gallis capta est? ita aqua Alban, etc.), and by Brakman (cf. Heeringa’s note on the passage: Veios, qui dini fuerunt irrita? 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 in 1, 100 by the words: ex quo illa admirabilis a maioribus Albanis aquae 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 Albanus).

6. arcem urbeque: a formula, with which cf. Enn. Androm. 88 Vahlen (ap. Tusc. 3, 44; Orat. 93): arce et urbe orbam sum; Caecil. 146 Ribbeck: qui quasi ad hostis captus liber servio salva urbe atque arce; Liv. 4, 61, 9; 24, 37, 6; 31, 45, 6; 37, 37; 2; Paul. ex Fest. p. 115 M.: si sciens fallo, tum me Distipiter salva urbe arceque bonis cieiat.


[463] 1. a Gallis: this detail is lacking in 1, 101.
At paulo post audita vox est monentis ut providerent, ne a Gallis Roma caperetur; ex eo Aio Loquenti aram in nova via consecratam. 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 praeter quam de sue plena quid unquam moniti sumus?

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

3. ex eo ABV, et ex eo codd. Osor., ediores plurique Müller, ex . . . invenit secundum Basset, Thoresen. An ex eo [nomen invenit] posteaquam, etc.?
4. obmutuit malign., ommutuit C.

2. aram, etc.: an easy slipping into the indirect discourse construction; cf. 1, 55, n. (iussum 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 . . . invenii)). 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? Thus 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 adflatuque 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 facillimus. Non enim sumus ii nos augures qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus. Et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspicate condidit, habuisse opinionem esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam (errabat enim multis in rebus antiquitas), quam vel usu iam vel doctrina vel vetustate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem et ad

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

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

1. Marso: cf. 1, 105, n. (Soranum); 1, 132, n. (Marsum augurem).

2 fl. non enim, etc.: the duty of the official Roman augurs, as distinguished from private practitioners, was not to foetell the future but merely to declare whether proposals under discussion were satisfactory or unsatisfactory to the divine power; cf. Leg. 2, 21: (publici augures) divorum . . . iras providentis; Valeton in Mnemosyne, 17 (1889), 294, 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 fl. auspicate condidit: cf. 1, 3, n. (auspicato . . . condidisse); Leg. 2, 33 (for the relation of which to our passage cf. Reitzenstein, 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 native, 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: ita neque illi adserior quin hanc scientiam negat umquam in nostro collegio fuisse, neque illi qui esse aetiam nunc putat; quae mihi videtur apud maiores fuisse duplex, ut ad res 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 opinione, 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 (I.c.) 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, collegii auctoritas. 71. Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius L. Iunius consules, qui contra auspicia navigaverunt; parentum enim religioni fuit nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Iure igitur alter populi iudicium damnatus est, alter mortem sibi ipse conscivit. Flaminius non paruit auspiciis, itaque perit cum exercitu. At anno post Paulus paruit; num minus cecidit in Cannensi pugna cum

2. collegii A V, collagii B, Christ, Baader, Mùller, Thoresen, Huringa.

τέκναν δ' εν τοίς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, πλην οὖν εἰκάν τις αὐτῶι λεγέται τῷ διὸς ἂνακ γνῷσθη, καὶ ἂν τοικευεται άκοι το εἰς τό διὰ πολύν οἶδαμον ἡγομνώ. δὲ χρων αὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, τόλοφεργον δὲ εἰσήγησαν.


[464] 6 f. ad opinionem vulgi: so in the parallel passage in 1, 105: ad opinionem imperatorum esse flectas religiones.

1. ad . . . utilitates reipublicae: cf. 2, 28, n (rei publicae causa, etc.); 2, 43; 2, 74; 2, 75; Rep. 2, 16: tum, id quod rei publicae hodie magna cum salute 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 augurandi (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 Flaminius 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.

3 f. parentum religioni fuit: cf. N. D. 2, 8 (after citing the examples of Claudius, Iunius, and Flaminius): quorum exitio intelligi potest eorum imperii rem publicam amplificatum qui religionibus parvisser (and cf. Mayor’s note).

4. patrius mos: cf. Rep. 5, 1: mos 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.


6. Flaminii, 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.

exercitam? Etenim, ut sint auspicia, quae nulla sunt, haec certe quibus utimur, sive tripudio sive de caelo, simulacra sunt auspiciorum, auspicia nullo modo. XXXIV. Q. FABI, TE MIHI IN AVSPICIO ESSE VOLO;

ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere inminentem pestem Romam, etc.

Of the death of Paulus Cicero speaks in N. D. 3, 80; Tus. 1, 89; de Sen. 75; 82; each time with apparent respect for his character, and Lact. Inst. 2, 16, 17, asks: vel si dies tantummodo duas curam, ceterum multitudinem nelegunt, cur Varro solus exposisse quae hic fecit et Paulus qui nihil meruit occasum est?

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

1. etenim, etc.: cf. N. D. 1, 110: quae etiam si essent, quae nulla sunt; also N. D. 1, 65: quae primum 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 by this superstitious fiction.

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

2. de caelo: cf. 1, 92, n. (de carlo tacca); 1, 93: de caelo sedent.

2. simulacra . . . auspiciorum: cf. 1, 105: religionis simulacra; N. D. 3, 9: sed neclegentia nobilitatis auguris disciplina omissa veritas auspiciorum specta est, species tantum retenta; Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2: πάγα ολον εκαθ' αυτο(ι.e., augury) λειτουρας; Mommsen, 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 iia concepitur, 'si quis oriente Canicula natus est, in mari non moritur,' illud quoque verum est, 'si Fabius oriente Canicula natus est, Fabius in mari non moritur'; Top. 14; Boeth. in Cic. Top. 2, p. 299 Orelli-Baiter. Also thus used, particularly by legal writers, are Titiius, Seius, Stichus (cf. Corp, Jur. Inst. 3, 19; et passim), and Scipio (Boeth. op. cit. 3, pp. 320; 330). For slaves the name Manius was similarly used; cf. Cat. de Agr. 141. Basae (in AΘHNA, 7 (1895), 143-144) thinks that the name Fabius is here chosen to indicate a man of patrician birth, assisting in the observation and himself an augur (cf. below on IN AVSPICIO ESSE).

The abrupt beginning of this sentence is very effective, and it is quite unnecessary to suppose a lacuna before it.

3. TE MIHI, etc.: evidently a formula of the augural ritual.

3. IN AVSPICIO ESSE: cf. Leg. 3, 43: est autem boni auguris meminisses se maximis rei publicae temporibus praece, esse debere, iisque optimo maximo se consiliarii aequo administrum dulum, ut sibi quos in auspicio esse iussisset; Rep. 2, 16: nam et ipsa (sc. Romulus) . . . urbem condidit auspice et omnibus publicis rebus insituentiis qui sibi essent in auspiciis ex singulis tribibus singulos cooptati augures; ad Att. 2, 12, 1: iurabo Consuem (sc. Pompeium) nostrum . . . mili narrasse se in auspicio fuisset; M. Messalla ap. Gall. 13, 15, 4: nos . . . veterum auctoritate sem sumus secuti necque his comitii in auspicio fumus. Also Liv. 10, 40, 2-4: tertio vigilia noctis . . . Papi- rius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspiciis milit. nullum erat genus hominum in casiris intactum cupiditatem pugnae . . . si ardor omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intererant pervenit; nam cum pulli non pascerentur, pullarius auspiciis mentiri auserit tripudium solstitium consulis nunniatit.

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 adhibebantur, cum ita imperavit es qui auspicatur: DICITO, SI SILENTIVM ESSE VIDEITVR, nec suspicit nec circumspicit; statim respondet silentium esse videri. Tum ille: DICITO, SI PASCENTVR.—PASCVNTVR.—

4. adhibetur re, adhibentur C.
5. si Erlion, Christ, Baier, Müller, Thoresen, Heeringo; om. C.

that in the old days it was one who was peritus but nunc quilibet, and Valetum (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 (l.c.), who judges from the use of the name Fabi (see note on Q. FABI above) and from Cicero's words: hoc intellegeretur perfecti auguris est. For the opposite view, based upon such passages as Leg. 3, 43, see Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Auspicium (1890), 2336-2337; id., Relig. u. Kultus d. Römér, 2 ed. (1912), 531, and nn. 2-3.

1. peritus: cf. 1, 77.

2. silentium: cf. 1, 102, n. (faverent linguis); Fest. p. 348 M.: <silentio surgere ... ai >i dicer, ubi quis post mediam <notem auspic>and caus ex lectulo suo si <lens surr>exit et liberatus a lecto, in solidio < ... se >detque (cf. p. 347 M.), ne quid co tempore deciet, <casens, donec >e in lectum reposuit: hoc enim est <proprie sit>enium, omnis vitii in auspiciis vacuitas; p. 351 M.: seminaria in auspice significare ait Ateius Capito lactum et prosperum auspiciium; at silentium ubi dumtaxat vacat visio.igitur silentio surgere cum dictum significat non inierpellari quo minus rem gerat; Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 86, n. 1; Valetum in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 252-253; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Auspicium (1890), 2587.

3. vitio: cf. 1, 29, n. (vitio); 1, 33, n. (vitio); Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römér, 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 pascantur), 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 ... VIDEITVR: like si pascantur not indirect question. 'If there shall appear to be silence, then declare it.'

6. suscipit ... circumspicit: combined in Tusc. 5, 71. This carelessness as to fact (cf. 2, 74, n. (ille renuntiat)) in the making of observations led to actual falsification on the part of the pullarii (cf. 2, 74, n. (imperant 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. Haece sunt igitur aves internuntiae Iovis! Quae pascantur necne quid refert? Nihil ad auspicia; sed quia cum pascentur necesse est aliquid ex ore cadere et terram pavere (terrapium primo, post terrpium dictum est; hoc quidem iam tripumum dicitur)—cum igitur offa ceedit ex ore pulli tum auspicianti tripumum solistium nun-tiatur. XXXV. 73. Ergo hoc auspicium 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 magistrate, designed to revea the hollow mockery of the whole process. It is unnecessary with Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 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 Flasberg in his note on that passage).

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

1f. is qui . . . pullarius: Thoresen (i.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 his name pullarius.


2. haec, etc.: the contemptuous expression perhaps has a double force: (1) the fact that the lowly chickens (cf. 2, 56: hoc igitur per gallinas Iuppiter . . . signum dabati) 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 persistent 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), epistulis adnexas earum pedibus obsidione Muniensi in castra consulum Decumno Bruto mittenere.

2. Iovis: the especial deity presiding over auspices; cf. 2, 78; Valeton in Mnemosyne, 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. (necesse, etc.), where the derivations that follow are discussed.

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

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

6. solistium: cf. 1, 27, n. (necesse, etc.); 1, 28, n. (solidum).


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

8. coactum: cf. 1, 27, nn. (coactus; necesse, etc.).
usos argumento est quod decretum collegi vetus habemus omnem avem tripudium facere posse. Tum igitur esset auspiciun (si modo esset ei liberum) se ostendisset; tum avis illa videri posset interpres et satelles Iovis; nunc vero inclusa in cavea et fame enecta si in offam pulsit invadit et si aliquid ex eius ore cecidit, hoc tu auspiciun aut hoc modo Romulum

1. collegii C (colligii A\(^1\), colligii A\(^1\)), vulg., Muller.

1. decretum collegi: the decreta of the augurs are mentioned also in Leg. 2, 31: leges non iure rogaes (sc. quid religiosis quam tollere, ut Titiam decreto collegi, ut Livias consilio Philippi consulted et auguris? (and, in the same passage, the words: quid magnificentius quam posse decernere ut magistratu se obidicent consules?); Liv. 4, 7, 3: augurum decretum perinde ac viio creati honore abiere; Fest. p. 161 M.: pro collegio quidem augurum decretum est, etc.; cf. Regell, De Augurium publ. Libris, 1 (1879), 23; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. augures (1896), 2323. Other priestly colleges also promulgated decreta (cf. Wissowa, 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 decreatum the document referred to in the corrupt passage in 1, 28: quod audeo scriptum habetas aut (aut? or omni avit?) tripudium fieri?

Ilf. omnem avem, etc.: cf. 1, 27, n. (necessae, etc.); 2, 76; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 1, 398: muli sarrum adserant cymos inter augurales aves non ineuniri neque auguralibus commentariis eorum nomen inlatum, sed in libris reconditis lectum esse posse quamlibet avem auspiciun delectari, maxime quia non pescatur. hoc enim inter est inter augurium et petiuur et certis avibus ostendiur, auspiciun qualibet avi demonstratur et non peituur, etc.; Wissowa, op. cit. 530, n. 3. These references, however, apply to auspiciis 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 Wissowa, op. cit. 532, n. 5 cites Plin.

N. H. 8, 83; cf. Valeton in Mm. nomosyne, 18 (1890), 211-215 (but Seeliger'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 auspiciun (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 auspiciun, 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 (passcetur).)

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

3. satelles Iovis: cf. 1, 106, and n. (Iovis... satelles); 2, 72; internuntiae Iovis.

4. pulsit: cf. 1, 72, n. (offa).

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


[470] I. de caelo servare: cf. 1, 36, n. (servantes); 1, 107, 1, 130; de Dom. 40: tibi M. Bibulus quadrenti s. de caelo servasse 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 servare; Wissowa, 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 comitiorum vel in iudiciis populi vel in iure legum vel in creandis magistratibus principes civitatis essent interpretes. At Ti. Gracchi litteris Scipio et Figulus consules, cum augures iudicassent eos vitio creatos esse, magistratu se abdi-

1. servare rule., servari C.
2. habemus Manus edioresque plerique, Müller; quod habemus C (cf. Clark, The Descent of Manuscript (1918), 361), quam lectionem ista reiinit Memminen (Rbm. Studia, 1, 3 ed. (1817), 79 n. 4); ille renuntiat fulmen sinistrum, auspicium optumum quod habemus, etc.; quidem habemus ed. Pothier alter.

2. imperant pullario: cf. 1, 27, n. (necesse, etc.); Dion. Hal. 2, 6, 2: τὸν ἄνταξιον τῶν δικαστῶν μέτοχον ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ φορομένου ἀστράτην αὐτοῖς μνήμην ἐν τῶν ἀρχαγορῶν φῶς τὴν οἰ γραμμὴν; and, for the part played by pullarii, Cic. Fam. 10, 12, 3: recitatis litteris oblata religio Cornulo est pulliorum admissum non satis diligentem cum auspiciis operam dedisse.

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

4. fulmen sinistrum: cf. 2, 43 n. (Iove tonante, etc.; optumum auspicium); 2, 82, n. (Isleum); Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. augures (1896), 2332; id., Relig. u. Kultus d. Röm. 2, ed. (1912), 533.


6. comitiorum ... interpretes: for the following story cf. 1, 33, n. (scriptum apud te) with the quotation of N. D. 2, 10-11, where the account appears in detail. This phrase is part of the inadignant question asked by Gracchus of the haruspices (N. D. 2, 11): am nos Tusci ac barbari auspiciorum p. R. ius tenetis et interpretes esse comitiorum poletis?

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

8. iudicii populi ... iure legum ... creandis magistratibus: cf. Vaelton in Mnesyne, 18 (1890), 219-233; also Cic. Leg. 2, 31: quid gravis quam rem susceptam dirimi, si unus augur 'alia die' dixerit? quid magniscentius quam possis decernere ut magistratu se abdiscentis consules quis religiosius quam cum populo, cum plebe agendi iussu aut dare aut non dare? quid leges non iure rogatas tollere, etc.; 3, 10: omnes magistratus auspicium iudiciumque habento ... creato magistratuum, iudicia populi, iussu vetaeorum... sufragio cossecentur, optumaitus nos, plebii libera sunt; 3, 11: qui agent auspicia servante, auguri publico parento.


11. 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, viitio creatos consules esse augures rem ad senatum; senatus ut abdicaret consules; abdicaverunt.

caverunt. Quis negat augurum disciplinam esse? Divinationem nego. At haruspices divini; quos cum Ti. Gracchus propter mortem repentinam eius qui in praerogativa referenda subito concidisset in senatum introduxisset, non iustum rogatum esse dixerunt. 75. Primum vide ne in eum dixerint qui rogator centuriae fuisset; 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. Gracco, nonne et augurum et haruspicum comprobat 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.
7. Etrusi 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 . . . interpretus).
9. recte capto: as opposed to the tabernaculum vivis cepisset of 1, 33.
10. pomeri: cf. 1, 33, n. (pomerium); Wissowa, Rel. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 528, n. 8, and works there cited.
11. equidem adsentor, etc.: cf. Leg. 2, 32: est in conlegio vestro inter Marcellum et Appium, opimos augures, magna dissensio (nam eorum ego in libros incidi), quam alii placeat auspicia ista ad utilitatem esse rei publicae composita, alii disciplina vestra quasi divinare videatur posse; also introd. pp. 27-28 supra; 1, 29, n. (Appius). For Marcellus and his views cf. also 2, 28, n. (rei publicae causa, etc.); 2, 70 n. (auspicato condidit). For Appius see intr. p. 12; 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis); 1. 29, nn. (ut P. Clau-
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 superstitionis, videamus. Omnibus fere avibus utuntur, nos admodum paucis; alia illis sinistra sunt,

_26_ dius; M. Crasso; veram, etc.; 1, 31, n. (quis vETERum scripTorum); 1, 46, n. (redeamus); 1, 105; 1, 132, n. (psychomantico); 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 Varr. R. R. 3, 2, 2: _ibi Appium Claudium augurem sedenter incementum in subellis, ut consuli, Tuidex usus poposisset, esset praesto . . . ad quem cum accessissetus, Axius Appio subridens, ‘recipis nos,’ inquit, ‘in tuum ornithona, 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 suae). Cicero addresses ad Fam. 15, 8 to Marcello coniugiae (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.


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

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 noun.

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

4f. externa . . . videamus: cf. 1, 95.

5. artificiosa . . . superstitionis: 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 illie iis semper utebatur, nos, nisi dum a populo auspicia accepta habemus, quam multum iis utimur? Bellicam rem administrari maiores nostri nisi auspico noluerunt; quam multi anni sunt cum bella proconsulibus et a praeproribus administrantur qui auspicia non habent! 77. Itaque nec amnis transeunt auspico nol tripudio auspici-
cantur. Ubi ergo avium divinatio? Quae, quioniam ab iis qui auspicia

18. Verba ubi ergo . . . esse subjata, quae in codd. verba augur optumus sequuntur, hac Modowitz oculorum

transpositione Müller (Jahn. Jahrh. 99 (1864), 294-305), Thoresen, Ebbinga, ante verba itaque sec transpositioni

Forschhammer (Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 5 (1890), 38), Christi et Bailer mutare rebus.

oritur auspicio transit; p. 250 M.: Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspicio transitum, cum

in campo quid agere volunt; quod genus

auspicii perennem vocatur (for the Petronia

amnis cf. 1, 33, n. (scriptum apud loc));

Valeton in Mnemosyne, 18 (1890), 209;


'1901), 225, and pl. 6; Domaszewski,

Abb. sur röm. Religi. (1909), 217-220;

Serv. Aen. 9, 24: augurum . . . fuerat

consuetudo, ut si post acceptum augurium

ad aquam venissent, inclinati aqua haui-

rent exinde et manibus et fusis precibus

vola promitterent, ut visum perseveraret

augurium, quod aquae intercessis dissumpsi-

tur (and cf. Valeton, op. cit. 210, and n.

2, who well points out that from this

statement we may conclude that auspicia

perennia 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
repeltanda 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 territo-
ries, 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 settle-
ments 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 appellatur ab
auguribus puleus perennis, neque lamen
spiciendus videtur, quia fumen id spiciatur
quod sua sponte in annem insulat,

and thinks that, as the Roman sur-

veyors (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 inter-
rupted 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 it-

self; cf. Kuntze, loc.

Others would attempt to compare

the perennia with the numerous sacrifi-
ces made by the Greeks and orient's at
the crossings of rivers (διαβαρήμα—cf.

Stephanus, Thes. Gr. s.v. διαβαρήμα; Hes.

Op. 737-739; μηδὲ ποι' ἀλεξίων ποταμοί
callíropon ἄμορ / ποσάλ παρά, πάλι γ' ἐχθ

ίδων ἢ καλὰ μεῖθρα, / χτέρας κυψάμενοι

πολυτράγῳ δίατι λεονίφ; 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. Sph.

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. Jahrb. 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 fol-
lowing sentences, particularly the words ubi

ergo avium divinatio, seem to imply that
nulla habent bella administratur, ab urbanis retenta videtur, a bellicis esse sublata. Nam ex acuminibus quidem, quod totum auspiciam militare

1. ab urbanis C. Christ, Beiler, ad urbanae res Müller, Thoresen, Hearinæ, in rebus urbaæ Madvig.

Cicero supposed the perennia to be dependent upon the observation of augural animals, Servius to the contrary. On the subject of the perennia 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.

1. urbanis ... bellicis: cf. Öf. 1, 74; 1, 82.

1. urbanis: for the auspicia urbana cf. Wissowa, Röd. u. Kulstus 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 ed. (1887), 87, n. 6) considered these among the auspicia impetraliva, 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 oblata, 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. (stellaque); 1, 121, n. (caput arsisis); also the abundant illustrations collected by Martin, op. cit. 108–179 and Frazer on Paus. 2, 1, 9; cf. Stemplinger, Antike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen (1922), 31–32. The auspicia ex acuminibus are mentioned in N. D. 2, 9 (quoted in the note on amnis transiunt above); cf. Arnob. 2, 67: aut Martium discriment obest inCatii summis ex acuminibus auspiciis; Among the earliest references Mayor (on N. D. 2, 9) would class II. 10, 153–154: tēli δέ χαλεον / λάμφω ὡς τι στεφη τατρός Διός; 13, 245 (much more doubtful); 22, 317–320: ὄλος δ' ἀσθή ... / ἄσθησι, ... / ὃς ἀληθ fichals την εἴδη, ἢ μ' ἄμπιλεν / ἀλλὰν δηατιρη. For later instances cf. Bell. Afr. 47, 6: adem nolc in legionis pilorum caumina sua sponse arserunt; Dion. Hal. 5, 46: ει τούτων δέ των ουπερ περι τοις ἀκοις τῶν ὀβελαίων φιλότεν αὐτητότα, καλ δ' ὅλου του τραπεζούτου τὸ κύκλον ήτ, ὡστε ἄτο ταρακῶν, καὶ κατέχε τῇ νυκτὶ έκ τοις. ει τοίου κατελαβομος τοῦ φλαμος, ὡστε οἱ τραπεζούτοι κάπω τού κάπω κάπω τωρίων εμπιελευθνος ου χαλεον ήτ, δι' ὅν εν αυτοίς ταχιστω καὶ λαιμαί σημαίνετο τοι ταρακών, ενδιήτερο ἀπαίνει εἰς. <τῷ> πυρι καὶ ὀλοθρόν τι σοι υπό τοῦ πυρί διαφθειρας; Liv. 22, 1, 8: (sc. nuniadum est) in Sicilia milites aliguis spiculis, in Sardinia autem in muro circumcuncti vigilia equiti scipionem quem manu lenuerit arsisis; 33, 26, 8: ad Monesae duorum hastarum spicula asserant; 43, 13, 6: Fregellis in demo L. Atrei hasia, quam sibi militi emerat, interius pluas duas horas arsisis, ita us nihil eius comburere ignis, dicerbat; Virg. Aen. 5, 525–527: nonque alios liquidat in lubibus orbis harundo / signavitque viam flammis tenuisse recessit / consumpta in ventos; Sen. N. Q. 1, 1, 14: Gyliippo Syracusas petenti visa est stella super ipsum lanceam constitisse. In Romanorum causid: ordere visa sunt pila, ignibus scilicet in illa delapsis qui saepe fulminum modo ferire solet et arbusta; sed si minore vi utiusque defluant tantum et insidiant, non ferunt nec 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 impediretur auspiciis, lectica operta facere iter se solere. Huic simile

1. quinquies consul: B.C. 222, 215 (reckoned with his consulsips 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 consulsips was a matter of remark (id. 2753).

1. omisit: Mommsen (Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 88, n.) suggests that the custom was already antiquated at the time of its abandonment by Marcellus, because of changes in the army affecting the use of spears, and Boucè-Leclercq (Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 185) observes that these signs seem to have passed from the list of the auspices into that of prodigies, with which the augural science did not concern itself.

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

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

3. ne impediretur auspiciis: for, as Servius (Aen. 12, 259) remarks, in oblastmix augurii in postis postumis est utrum id ad se pertinere velit et refutet et abdominatur (cf. 1, 103, n. (accomio . . . omen) above); cf. Plin. N. H. 28, 17: haec saevis nisi exemplis ut appareat ostensorum vites et in nostra postis esse ac prout queaque accepta sine iia valere. In augurum certe disciplina constat neque divus neque uta auspicia pertinere ad eos qui quamque rem ingrediens observare se ea negaverint, quon munere divinae divinae divinae moxis nullum est; Cato ap. Fest. p. 234 M.: domi cum auspicas numorum honorem demum immortalium velim habuisse. servio, ancillae, si quis eorum sub centone creputit, quod ego non sensi nullum mihi viiium faciit, si cui ibidem servio aut ancillae dormienti eventis quod
est quod nos augures praecepimus, ne iuges auspicium obveniat, ut iumenta iubeant diiungere. 78. Quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspicium aut, si fiat, videri?

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

comitia prohibere solet ne is quidem miki viatum facit; Aug. de Doct. Christ. 2, 24: illa signa, quibus perversa daemonem societas comparatur, pro cuiusque observationibus valenti. quod manifestissime ostendit ritus augurium, qui et antiquum observant et posteaque observat signa tenerint id agunt ne videant velatus aut audiant voces avium; quia nulla ista signa sunt, nisi consensus observatorum accedat. It was this desire to avoid unfavorable omens that led to various customs of ceremonial silence (cf. 1, 102, n. [faverent linguis]; 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 auspicium: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 104 M.; iuges auspicium est cum iunctio iumentum sterces fecit; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 3, 537: sed multe de libris augurum tractum tradunt; ingetis enim dicitur augurium quod ex unctioni iumentis fiat, observator enim, ne prodituro magistratu divinitatis bobus plausurum obiari senial (there seems to be some mistake in the passage, which states exactly the contrary of what Cicero says; perhaps (with Daclier in his edition of Festus (1700), 195) we should insert nisi before disiunctis, or should emend to indistinctis—the syllable in—being an easy palaeographical omission after the preceding —ui). Regell (Comm. in Libr. augural. Frat. (1893), 18, n. 40) suggests in this connection that we should associate with this, as a technical augural expression, Paul. ex Fest. p. 113 M.: iniuges boves, qui sub iugo non fuerint; also a couple of glosses (cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. 6, 610, s.v. icious omne velum). Cf. also the Indiculus Superstitionum et Paeanarum in Concilio Lipiniensi ann. 743 (Duceane, Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v. sertoraces): de auguris vel aniam vel equorum vel boanum sertoribus; 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.] Probl. 7, 6: διὰ τι. . . . δεν οἵρωντα ὅνων, ὁμοίων, ἀλ μᾶλτα τὰς ὑπερτηγία, κτλ.

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

4f. negas Deiotarum, etc.: cf. 1, 27; acta sinit here represents the stronger expression secunda mention of the first book, as amicitiam here corresponds to libertatem 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; Patzinger, Beiträge zur anemis der Entwicklung des Cic. Stils: (1910), 89-90.


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

2. spectare Marvis edilesque, spectare C.
2. vero si prosperos Marvis edilesque, vero prosperos C., sed inter has voces in B una lit. errata est.
5. Trocmorum Brodaeus, Basler, Müller, Thoresen, Heerings, trochamorum C, Trocmorum Davies, Christ.
6. cui dedisset nescio, Müller, qui dedisset AB, quid dedisset AV, 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 il. 12, 237–243: τὸν δ’ οἶκον ταυτοπροσγείως κελέως / πείλθεται, τῶν οὖ τι μεταφέκου ὀθ’ ἀλεξίων, / εἰ’ τι’ ἐξέρχεται πρὸς ἡ’ τ’ ἠλωμιὸν τε, / εἰ’ κα’ ἀρσεναῖ τοῦ τε ποιεῖ τ’ ἱδρον ἥρεσται. / ημῖν δὲ μεγάλοι Δῖος τεθωμένει βουνῷ, / δ’ πάσα θεοτοί καὶ ἀναρκτοίς ἀνάσεις. / εἰ’ οἶκον ἄρας, ἀμυνθήτω πυτ’ τάπης. Cicero is, of course, here meeting the Stoic upon his own ground, since Stoic philosophy constantly insisted upon the supremacy and the sufficiency (ἀπράκτως) of virtue over all other things (naturally including all that fortune might offer); cf. the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations and Paradoxa Stoicorum, 16–18; 2, 2, n. (virtulem . . . contentum) above; also Hor. Carm. 3, 2, 17–20; 3, 3, 1–8.

1. vetat: it is undesirable, with Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1893), 38; following the second hand of code. B) to read vetant, 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 Stoic creed which is here being appealed to, favor fides irrespective of fortuna.

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

4. discissit: cf. pro Deiot. 13: uaque Pharsalic proelio facto a Pompeio discissit; spem infiniitam persequi noluit; vel officio, si quid debuerat; vel errori, si quid nescerat, satis factum esse duxit; domum se conuitit.

4. hostem et hospitem: cf. 1, 84, n. (constituerunt . . . considerant); 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 B.C., when Caesar came to his country; see note on Armeniam below.

4. hospitem: cf. pro Deiot. 8: per desteram istam te (sc. Caesarum) oro, quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti percessit . . . tu tectus hospitium renovare voluisti; Phil. 2, 94: quis enim cuiquam inimicior quam Deiotaro Caesar? . . . compellavit hospitem praesens, computavit, pecuniam imperarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitatibus suis conlocarat, Armieniam abstulerat a senatu datam; in Bell. Alex. 68, 1 Caesar is described as making some concessions in the case of Deiotarus veteri hospicio aqwe amicitiae.

5. tristius: cf. 2, 24, n. (tristissimis).
5. Trocmorum: the eastern part of Galatia; cf. Liv. 38, 16, 11; Plin. N.H. 5, 146: qui partem eam insidere Gallorum Tolistobogii et voturi et Ambitiu vocantur; qui Maeoniae et Phaphagoniae regionem Trogmi . . . oppida Tectoagum Ancyra; Trocmorum Tavium, etc.; Strab. 4, p. 187; 12, p. 566; Steph. Byz. s.v. Trocmoi; etc.

5. tetrarchian: for the term cf. 2, 59,
Armeniam a senatu datam, cumque ab eo magnificentissumo hospitio acceptus esset, spoliatum reliquit et hospitem et regem. Sed labor longius; ad proposition revertar. Si eventa quaeque exquiruntur avibus nullo modo prospera Deiotarum; 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. adsecula seu: 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 Bospori constituit . . . eadem tetrarchian Gallograecorum ire genis et cognationis adiudicavit occupatam et possessor populos ante annis a Deiotarum; Dio Cass. 42, 48, 4 says: τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμων κτηριακῶν τε Κάθαρι καὶ βασιλείας θωμιά θυσία; cf. also Strab. 13, p. 623.

[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 Nieße in P.-W. s.v. Deiotarus (1901), 2401, and especially Bell. Alex. 67, 1: cum proprium Pontum finis sine Gallograeciae accessisset, Deiotarum, tetrarches Gallograeciae tum quidem paene totilis, quod ei negre legibus negre moribus concussum esse ceteri tetrarchae contendebant, sine dubio autem rex Armeniae minoris ab senatu appellatum, depositis regis insignibus nequeiam privo vestiis sed eiam rerum habuit supplex ad Caesarem venit oratum ut sit ignoscere quod in ea parte positus terrarum quae nulla praevidit Caesaris habuisse exercitibus imperiosis <coactus> in Cn. Pompei castris fuerit.

1. magnificentissumo, etc.: cf. pro Deiot. 19: quo in loco Deiotarum ialem erga te (sc. Caesarem) cognoverit quis ex Alalos in P. Africanae fuit, cui magnificentissima dona . . . missi ex Asia, quae Africanae inspicienti exercitui accepti. quod cum praesens Deiotarum regio animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discussisti.

2. spoliatum: but cf. Bell. Alex. 68, 1–2: de controversis tetrarcharum posita se cognitum esse dixit, regium vestitum et (sc. Deiotarum) restituit. lectionem autem eam quam . . . Deiotarus . . . constitutam habebat equitatumque omnem ad bellum gerendum adducere iussit.

2. labor longius: cf. Leg. 1, 52: quin labesbar longius, nisi me relinquissim; pro Caecin. 101: nemo me praecerit . . . me longius esse prolapsum quam ratio . . . postulavit.

3. ad proposition revertar: cf. Off. 2, 35; 3, 39; Tuscul. 3, 11; also 1, 47 above.

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

5. litium Romuli: cf. 1, 30.

5f. maximo incendio: the burning of the city by the Gauls. Most modern authorities (following Diod. 14, 115, 6–8; Liv. 5, 43, 1; Plut. Macell. 31; etc.; cf. Paix, Storia 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 iturum 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 ista divinatio, quis inventis fuisse iecoris, quis cornicis cantum notavi, quis sortis; quibus ego credo, nec

2. augurii C. editoresque.
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 deterreretur? Aut num plerisque preference to divinationis in order to produce an homoœluteon with the contrasted humaniatis (cf. 1, 84, n. (constituenti...condiderenti)). For divinitas in the sense of divinatio cf. 2, 119; Plin. N. H. 2, 149: quod si quis praedicatum credat simul fatetur necesse est maioris miraculi diviniae fuisse. Davies also cites Lact. Inst. 1, 11, 10: et primum imprudentia in eo non dest, cui nisi Themis futura dixerit isae nesciret; si autem divinum 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 divinitatis et augurandi, quae ei Apollo obtulerat munera; Schol. Dan. Virg. Aen. 12, 304: sed et cithara et sagittae aries sunt, augurium vero munus; non enim sola arte verum cium indulta divinitate colligitur. The adjective divinus is more frequently used in this sense; cf. 2, 74, n. (at horuspices divini).

1. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (ad).
2. omnes, etc.: cf. 1, 1, and n. (consensu); 1, 84.
3. populi, nationes: cf. 1, 84, and n. (populi...nationes).
4. quasi vero: cf. 2, 45, n. (quasi); 2, 59.
5. 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.
6. quasi...placeat multitudo: in the eyes of the Stoic θεών μακράν (cf. Parol. 27; Tusc. 4, 54; S. V. F. 2, nos. 657-670), and the true philosopher is rarely or never found (cf. 2, 61, n. (sapientem fuisse); hence judgments depending upon consensus (cf. 1, 1, n. (consensu)) 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, vobis (sc. Stoici) praeertem qui illos insanos esse dicatis! The doctrine is also well set forth in Plat. Crat. p. 44 c: αλλὰ τι ἕξωθ, δὲ μακάρις Κρίτων, ὅτως τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ὅσης μέλες; οἴ τις θεοὶ συμμετοίχως, τινὶ λάβοντο κυρίων φροντιῶν, ἠγορασίαν αὐτὰ ὅσον περισσαὶ δοτὴρ ἄρη πράξει; and Allen cites the saying of Phocion as told by Plut. Reg. et Imp. Aprobyl. p. 187 f.

31. 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: ἄδιάφρον δὲ τὸ τοιαῦτα...καὶ τὸ ἔφυσιν, κτλ.; Gell. 5, 5: Zeno censuit voluptatem esse indifferentes, id est neutrum, neque bonum neque malum, quod ἵστω Graeco vocabulo ἄδιάφρον αρβελλασθησί), but other Stoics, probably in revulsion from Epicurean views, went yet further; cf. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 11, 73: οὐκ ἔστω ἵστων δὲ μὲν Ἐπικούρος ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φιλον., δὲ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ 'μακρὰν μᾶλλον ἤ θεότητα' καλὸν, ὃ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Στοάς ἄδιάφρον καὶ οὐ προηγοῦσαν, ἄλλα Κλαύθης μὲν μὴν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτήν εἶναι μήτε ἄξιον ἕκειν εἰς τὸ ἄξιον; καὶ τὸ ἀρχήγορον κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἔνσει ὡς τὰ τκὸ μακρὰν τρίχαι, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ ἄξιον ἔχειν, Παναθεῖος δὲ τὰ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν παράρχειν, τὰ δὲ περὶ φύσιν; Arnold, Rom. Stoicism (1911), 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 auctoritate multitudo? Quid mirum igitur, si in auspiciis et in omni divinatione inbecilli animi superstitione ista concipiant, verum dispicerem non possint? 82. Quae autem est inter augures conveniens et coniuncta constancia? Ad nostri auguri consuetudinem dixit Ennius:

Tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena.

4. augurii velg. M. Tull. auguri in A, auguris in B, augurii 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] *Si 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 austerely 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 animis putant; 2, 140.
4. dispicere: for this word cf. Reid on *Ac. 2, 61.

3. augures: in the wider application of the word; cf. 1, 3, n. (augur).


4. constantia: cf. 2, 28, n. (an haec . . . consulterni); 2, 80, n. (naturam . . . inventionem . . . consiantiam).

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 (Menasfr. fr. 103 Bücheler), dum sermone cennam variamus, interea ionui: bene tempestate serena;* Virg. *Aen. 2, 693: ionui laevum* (and see the important note of Servius and the Scholia Danellis); 9, 630-

631: *cadit genitor de parte serena / ionuit laevum.* We may also compare a line of Cicero’s *Marius* (1, 106 supra): *partibus ionuiti cadit 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: aestium tonai.*

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. Antig. 5* (1696), 407-411; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div. 4* (1882), 188, n. 5; Pottier in *Mélanges 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 *Ann. 146* Vahlen: *olim de cadito laevum dedit in locuto signum;* *Ov. Fast. 4, 833-834: tonitura dedit omina laevum / Iuppiter. ei laevus fulmina missa solum.*

Dion. Hal. 2, 5, 2-3: *θύρων δέ το ευημερίαν τα και των ανατολήν ἅτι τα δεξιά δυσρατάς αλλοιο, εἴτε ταύρων διδακτέντες, εἴτε πατέρων καθηγημένα κατά τοιούτο τιμά, ὡς εἴραν πέθαναν, λαοῦριπο, ὃι καθέρα μὲν εἶναι καὶ σώματα ἄρετη τῶν οὐνωρίων ματαιομένων ἢ βλάτοια πρὸς ἄνατον, λέον, διόνυσον τε ἄνδραφον γίγνομαι καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστήρων . . . ή τα τοῦ κόσμου περιφέρα . . . τοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολήν βλάτοιαν ἐριστηρὰ μὲν γίγνει τὰ . . πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρόφορα μήρη, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ . . πρὸς μεσοπρωτάν φρέοτα ταμώτερα δὲ τὰ πρότερα τέφανον εἶναι τῶν ἀστήρων; 2, 5, 5: ἡ
At Homericus Aiax apud Achillem querens de ferocitate Troianorum nescio quid hoc modo nuntiavit:

Prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit.

(301) [482] 5. bene: if this word be taken to modify serena (cf. the Greek ἐδοὺς?) cf. Enn. Ann. 32: bene firmrum; 234: bene saepe; Porphy. ad Hor. Carm. 3, 24, 50: (sc. bene) pro valde positum, ut apud Enniun frequenter; Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. bonus (bene), 2125-2126. But it is also possible to construe bene with iutum, 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. (Homericum ... 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 ... Torquinius); 2, 63.


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

XL. Atque hie superstitionibus non dubitasti etiam omina adiungere. Aemilia Paulo, Persam perisse, quod pater omen accepit; Caecilia, se sororis filiae sedes suas tradere. Iam illa: favete linguis et praerogativam, omen comitiorum—hoc est ipsum esse contra se copiosum et disertum. Quando enim ista observans quieta et libero animo esse poteris, ut ad rem gerendam non superstitionem habeas, sed rationem dicem? Itane? Si quis alicui
ex sua re atque ex suo sermone dixerit et eius verbum aliquod apte ceciderit ad id quod aeges aut cogitabis, ea res tibi aut timorem adferet aut alacrita-
tem? 84. Cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisi inponeret, quidam in
portu caricas Cauno advecas vendens ‘Cauneas’ clamitabat. Dicamus,
si placet, monitum ab eo Crassum, caveret ne ire; non fuisse peritumur,

4. advecas mgs., Müller, advecata C.

shows how superstitio impedes the sober use of the mind.

[484] I cf. si quis ... dixerit ... ea
rem: 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. (caus).

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

3. Brundisi: on the embarcation
there cf. Plut. Crass. 17: δ θ Κέλλων εἰς
Δρεπάνον ἔλθε. ὡς δ’ ἐκλαύσεις χαῖς ἐτηθή
παλάσσης οὐ περιμένεις, ἀλλ’ ἀνήκῃ καὶ σκεκ
των πολιῶν ἀσβάλε; Regling in Klio, 7
(1907), 364, who sets the date as 29 Dec.
(= 19 Nov.), 55 B.C.

4. caricas Cauno advecas: Caria
was noted for its figa (cf. Luc. Dial.
Meras. 14; Vit. Auct. 19), to such an
extent that the adjective carica is com-
monly 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
Hehn-Schrader, Kullurplanken u. Haus-
tiere, 8 ed. (1911), 97. It may be noted
that the modern botanical name of the
fīga is Ficus carica L. The town of Caunus
in southern Caria, 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
fīgas Athenaeus (3, p. 76a) remarks: δι
δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Κάλων τῆς Καλπὰς εἰπειδείς
καλῶς (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 hoc genere sunt ... 
coitana et caricae quaeque conscendenti na-
verm adversus Farnesam omescere M. Crasso,
venales practicantis voce, cauneae.

4. Cauneas: sc. ficus vendo, or emite
(so Madvig; cf. Thoresen ad loc.). The
point of the story of course lies in the
similarity of the word to the phrase case
ne eas (cf. carcer ne ire), below, as run
together in rapid speech. The confusion
of the two syllables -nēs is (this is probably
a substantively used adjective in -nēs
rather than in -nēs, and Latin rather than
Greek in formation; cf. Kühner-Holz-
weissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed.
(1912), 997) with an elided nē ēs offers
no difficulty, but the identity or similarity of
cau- and caudē has proved more trouble-
some to phoneticians. Lindsay (Latin
Long. (1894), 169) holds that in ordinary
speech this verbal phrase was treated as
a word-complex with a single accent:
cau(e)-n(e)-ēas (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 avē (for such cases in
avē and case cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, op.
cit. 110-111), also Phaedr. A.P. 21, 1-10,
where the cau of a crow is confused with
avē (in which we might perhaps find
the motif for a story told by Macrobius.
Sat. 2, 4, 29), etc. Birt (in Rhein. Mus.
61 (1898), Suppl. 25; 87; 137) asserts a
si omni parisse, Quae si suspiciumus, pedis offensio nobis et abruptio

syncope of care to cav before nas; Bergfeld (in Glotta, 7 (1915), 17) compares the disappearance of the of care to the process illustrated (id. 15) in the sequence *ölfacere* > *ölfacere* > *ölfacere*, etc., and will not admit exact equality of pronunciation between causse and care ne cas, but only similarity. Cf. also Kühner-Holsweissig, op. cit. 85.

For somewhat similar omen cf. Suet. Aug. 92, where it is stated that Augustus would not begin any undertaking on the Nones of the month: nihil in hoc quidem atid devitans ... quam novus novus novus nominis (i.e., Nonis suggests non is); also the story of Mancinus setting out for Spain and deterred by a vox impromissa 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 ‘câr, cêr, cêr,’ it is time to wind up (carter) the lines, for there will be no catch.”

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

1. pedis offensio: this is probably to be associated with the caducum auspicium (cf. 1, 19, n. (concitit); 1, 77, n. (Tobis Statoris)), but it involves the additional feature of motion, and was most significant 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 attaching to the threshold (cf. Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod (1911), 136-146). To the numerous cases of stumbling on thresholds 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), 1rvi; 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: ciam parmi dicunt in auguris sternuntam et ofensiones pedum; Tac. Germ. 39; Dio Cass. 58, 5; 62, 22; perhaps Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. 30; App. Syr. 56; Basil, Comm. in Is. 2, 77 (Patr. Gr. 30, 248 A): εὐταρά τις, φωνί, καὶ τὸ λάγυ, καὶ τὸ όρασμα, κατότερο μι της ἀνακάλας καὶ ἶμηόδοι τοῦτοῦ πάντων προσέκασεν κλαύσως τοῦ λάγυος τις σωτήρ; Amm. Marc. 22, 1, 2 (cf. 23, 1, 6). Also cases in which stumbling was converted to a good omen, as by Scipio (Front. Strat. 1, 12, 1; Nepot. Epit. 7, 3); Caesar (Suet. Jul. 59; Dio Cass. 42, 58, 3, Frontin. Strat. 1, 12, 2), and William the Conqueror (Knowlson, Origins of popular Supersitions (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 auspicious) foot (cf. Ogle. op. cit. 254, n. 2; and add Plin. N. H. 11, 253; Vitruv. 3, 4, 4; Suid. s.v. πρωτον ποδί) and that of putting on the right shoe first (Ogle, l.c.; Plin. N. H. 2, 24; Wagener, Pop. Assoc. of Right and Left in Rom. Lit. (1912), 41-43; and many modern instances).

1 f. abruptio corrigiae: cf. Menand’ Superslit. 109 Kock: ἄγαθον τι μοι γένοστον; πολλίσμοι θεον: ἵπποστιμον των ἱμάτων παρά δεξιά (hence a lucky omen) / ἰμάτιος ἄκριψης: B. ικάιως, ὥ φήμωρα / αὐτός τάχος, οὐ ἄκρος / καὶ τόνων προέπθας; Varr. Menipp. 267 Büche-
corrigiae et sternumenta erunt observanda.

ler: et cum corrigia disrupta est, enatere cum reliqua, pedem psanula scorrea perleger; Plin. N. H. 8, 221: mures ... portendere ... Carboni imperatori apud Ciusium fosceis (sc. adrosis) quibus in calcia utebatur exitium; Joah. Saresb. Policitri. 2, 8: Marcus evangelizandi causa Alexandriam profiscens cum navim egres- sus rupisset calcum graias agens iter sum expeditum esse protectus 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: ὅσῳ καὶ ὁμαίως τῶν ἰππημάτων ὁ δὲ βραγγεὺς, ὁδὲ ἄτα τὰ ὑπόδημα ἐπαιλοῦ, κτλ.; Theodoret. Gr. Affect. 6, p. 854: καὶ τῶν ἰππημάτων τοῖς δεμοιοί ὁ παλαιὸς διαρρίζεται, οἷον ὃς ἐρημολόγον χαλέπω τι προαρθράτω; 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 Bough, 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 weaver from some spiritual compulsion and so be a favorable omen (cf. John of Salisbury, as quoted above; Frazer, op. cit. 3, 313). Thus the loosening of the shoelatchet 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 sacrissique Vinculis (in Religions-
XII. 85. Sortes restant et Chaldæi, ut ad vates veniamus et ad somnia. Dicendum igitur putas de sortibus? Quod 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 Schw. Völksk. 2 (1912), 20-21; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 178-180; Toy, Introd. 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; Stemmlinger in Neue Jahrb. 47 (1920), 35-36; id., Anike Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen (1922), 25-26.


1. ut ... veniamus: Thoresen well compares Madvig, Adv. crit. 2 (1873), 477 for parallel uses.

1. vates: cf. 2, 110-118.


2. 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, Ther. Antiq. 7 (1699), 912; Sanftlebus in the same collection, 7, 1206-1207; Jahn in Annali dell' Inst. 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; Marquart, Privatleben der Römer, 1, 2 ed. (1886), 836; Marindin in Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. 2, 3 ed. (1891), 171; Lafaye in Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. 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 quasi sorte aut circando victus alteri cedet alter, cf. Non. p. 347 M.: micare est sortium digitis; Ptolem. Chenn. ap. Phot. Bibl. 190 (Pair. Gr. 103, 617 B): έλεγε πτωμένος τον δια διαμόλυνο κηθόν, καὶ Ανδρέφω λαξύνο λαξύνο; and the equation with the Greek λαξύν (Cor. Gloss. Lat. 2, 359, 2: λαξύνως ονει νικατίο); 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, decum, quicum in tentbris mices; cf. Fin. 2, 52, and other cases in Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer (1890), 221-222.

3. talos: cf. 1, 23, and n. (quattuor tali), to which add articles in Gronovius, Thes. Antiq. 7 (1699), by Bulenger (930-934), Souter (1009-1096), Sentlebus (1131-1212), and Calcagninus (1215-1232).

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. Calcagninus, op. cit. 1225-1229; de Fouquières, Les Jeux des Anciens (1873), 302-324; Yates and Wayte in Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. 2, 3 ed. (1891), 799; Lafaye in Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. 5, 125-129, 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 temerarium, nihil varium, nihil forciatum; 2, 56; Rep. 1, 60 (where consilium and temeritas are contrasted); Tusc. 2, 47: ut ratio coercet temeritatem; de Am. 20
fallaciis aut ad quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errem. Atque, ut in haruspicina fecimus, sic videamus clarissumarum sortum quae tradatur inventio. Numerium Suffustium Praenestinorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilim, somnis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iubetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis iridentibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est

3. Suffustium sulv., Müller suexcium V, Suffucium Lamianus, O.

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[488] 4. tota res: with this contemptuous use of the expression cf. N. D. 1, 107; 1, 108; Fin. 2, 103.

1. quaestum . . . superstitionem . . . errem: cf. 2, 83: errore . . . superstitione . . . fallendo; with ad superstitionem Thoresen compares 2, 70: ad opinionem suig. 1. ad quaestum: cf. 1, 88, n. (qui . . . quaestus causa); 1, 132, n. (ad iis drachum).

2. fecinus: 2, 50-51.

3. clarissumarum sortium: on Italic centres of sortilege cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium).

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

3. Suffustium: apparently not occurring elsewhere, but, in spite of the reading of codex V, probably not to be emended to Suffucium (with which cf. Sufficius; Schulze, 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 locus saeptus.

4. honestum: in the orations a frequent epithet of homo, and coupled with nobilis in 2 Verr. 5, 15.

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


7. in robore: for robur as applied to the wood of all sorts of oak cf. Olch in P.-W. s.v. Eiche (1905), 2048; 2055-2058. Wagler (in 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 Titora (Wagler, op. cit. 23); cf. also Cook in Class. Rev. 17 (1903), 421; id. in Folk-Lore, 16 (1905), 284-285; Olch, op. cit. 2051-2052. Plaut. Cas. 384 mentions sortes of poplar or fir wood.

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


1. Iovis puere: sc. aedem 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 divinities (cf. Marucchi, op. cit. 28), which Degering (in Göttingen. 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, Dreieheit (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. I, p. 235). Since the time of Jordan (Symbolae ad Hist. Relig. Ital. alterae (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 Prênesté (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: δι’ αὐτὸ Ῥώμαιοι θύησιν εἰσόμεθα Πρωτογενείᾳ, ήταν δὲ τὰ τινὰ πρωτογενεία; Vaglieri, op. cit. 256, n. 70, cites instances of the worship of Tóxh Πρωτογένεια at Itanos in Crete and at Delos, and Wisewa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 260, n. 3, admits this possible connection; the collocation in Dittenberger, Oriënt. Gr. no. 119 of Zesê Στρώπω and Tóxh Πρωτογένεια suggests that of Jupiter and Fortuna Primigenia; that in Dittenberger, Sylloge, 2 ed. no. 765 (Delos) of Isis and Tóxh Πρωτογένεια 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 τόξω ρωμυγωματι μακρον Πρωτογενεια, these instances appear to cast no light on the cult at Praeneste. Plutarch, i.e., continues: ἢ περὶ Στρώπου κατὰ τόξω ἡ φάσιν, ἢ τερατωνίδος γυνώματι βασιλεύσω τῷ Ῥώμιῃ ὕψιστῳ ὑπήθειν (οὐχι γὰ ρι παλλοὶ Ῥώμαιοι ὑπαληφθοῦσα) η μέλλω, δι’ τὴν Ῥώμης ἢ τόξου παράστιχο τὸν δραχα καὶ τὴν γίγνεσιν; ἢ ψυχωτέρως ἱκει λόγον τὸ πράγμα καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον, ὡς τήν τόξων κατά τῶν οσῶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τοῦ κατά τόξων συγταξίαν, ἢταν ἀπὸ ς ἢ τόξως ἀκολούθος τάξις ἡγανότα. Yet more important, Cicero’s own explanation (Leg. 2, 28) is clearly expressed and favors the active meaning of the compound: Fortunaque sit vel Huiusce dies (nam valet in omnes dies) vel Respiciens ad opem ferendum vel Fors, in que incerti casus significat 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 Iupiter puere. Here a point of contact must be sought, not so much with the
Iunone Fortuna 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. Schulse, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigenamen (1904), 137, n.; Otto in P.-W. s.v. Fortuna (1910), 24; Fowler, op. cit. 67), came an interpretation which set up a Iuppiter 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 (Fortuna Iovi pueru), 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, l.c.). More striking than these inscriptions is the more archaic no. 2863 (= Dessau 3864) which refers to Fortuna Diuovo filiæa Primigenia. Fowler (l.c.) notes the remarkable fact that this older inscription uses the familiar word filia 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; dist. Roman Essays and Interp. (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 (Vergine 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 Iuppiter and Iuppiter puer are distinct deities cannot be accepted; cf. Peter, op. cit. 1544; Otto, op. cit. 24. Fowler (l.c.) 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 Ferriìque (l.c.). 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 (1903), 260-261) suggest, a syncretism of two separate elements. Thulin would assume that there were two Etruscan goddesses of fate: tébnum (corresponding to Minerva) the mother of tina (Jupiter) and uni (Iuno), and citens (corresponding to Favores), the children of tina (Jupiter), and that at Praeneste both were represented by Fortuna; but Otto (l.c.) 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. Eigenamen, 1 (1916), 115)
matribus. 86. Eodemque tempore, in eo loco ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes,

1. est Kiots et Madrig, Christi, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Heringa, sit C, sita Pilhoen, sita est Marsu, 0 sita aedes est Lamninus.

compares the numerous Umbrian names of deities in which the epithet Iovis appears, and conjectures that originally there was worshipped at Praeneste a Fortuna Iovia, who under Greek or Greco-Etruscan influence was transmuted into a Iovis 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 betray each other 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 Iunonarium, which may be a cella 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 Pelasticharia, whom Marucchi connects with this cult, and the strange epithet of whom he would derive from πελάτης + στίχος, "Fraunze la quale presedeva 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 Jupiter and genius (e.g., Aug. C. D. 7, 13: quid est genus? deus, inquit, qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum... hic... est sigiliis quem appellant Iovem; this is not to be confused with the genius Iovis; cf. Wissowa, op. cit. 180, n. 11); (2) the fact that the name for the genius of a woman is Iuno (Wissowa, op. cit. 175, n. 4, 182-183); 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 genius in inscriptions; cf. Peter, op. cit. 1522-1523). With this theory compare that of Mackail (op. cit. 79): "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.

[400] 1. lactens: cf. 2, 47. Rath and other editors take the word in a substantival sense, to avoid tautology with mammam adpetens below. Giese considered the whole passage is est... matribus as a later addition, and Thoresen goes so far as to bracket it because of the succession of participles without connectives (lactens... sedens... adpetens). 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 Cat. 3, 19: Romuliais quem inauratum in Capitolio parum aique lacrastem uberibus lupinis inhiantem suisse meminitis), while Kayser inserted et before mammam. I cannot agree with Giese that the examples of such asynedon between participles which Wopkens has collected (Lection. Tull. 2 ed. (1829), 193-198) are not to the point, and I should retain the manuscript tradition.

[491] 1. in gremio sedens, etc.: Ferrari (op. cit. 214, no. 240) mentions two tem-
1. nobilitate Erlang., Christ, Boier, Møller, Thoresen, Heerings, 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 Matris cum Infante sedentis apud Antiquos (1920) has not been accessible to me; cf. Reinach in Rev. arch. 13 (1921), 160-161.

[491] If. 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): Orcevia Nuniarii natione gratia Fortuna Divo filia Primigenia donum dedi, i.e., Orcevia Numeri (uxor) nationis gratia Fortunae, Iovis filiae primigeniae, donum dedi. Mommsen (ap. Dessau in Hermes, 19 (1884), 455) compared Paul. ex Fest. p. 167 M.: in pecoribus quoque bonus prevalens feturae 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 better, I believe, interpret natio of a birth in the family, that is, of a child of Orcevia; cf. Jordan, op. cit. 4; Otto, l.c.; N. D. 3, 47: Natio quoque des putanda est ... quae quia partus matronarum iuteatur a nascentibus: Natio nominata est. For votive offerings in connection with childbirth cf. Rouse, Greek votive Offerings (1902), 251-258.

[492] 1. in eo loco, etc.: from the difference in terminology it appears (as Peter, op. cit. 1543, points out) that the (aeedes) Iovis pueri and the aedes Fortunae are distinct structures (yet cf. the view of Nibby, Analisi, 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. Vaglieri (op. cit. 240; 274, n. 129) attempts to locate the aedes Iovis pueri 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 Notezie 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; Vaglieri, op. cit. 221-241; Otto, op. cit. 27; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 260, n. 2.

1. mel: on the prophetic significance of bees cf. 1, 78, n. (Platoni), and for that of honey Allen and Sikes on Hom. Hymn. Herm. 559. The Thiae, reputed teachers of divination and the eponymous originators of ὕπαλε or lots (Schol. Callim. 2, 45) fed upon honey (Hom. Hymn. Herm. l.c.). Honey is frequently described as flowing forth from hollow oaks (cf. Wsercher in Rhein. Mus. 57 (1902), 181; also Theophr. fr. 190, who speaks of one type of honey as falling from the sky, εἰφἀνεται δὲ μάλιστα τι νεῖν ἔλειον τὴν ἀεί τούτος καὶ τῷ τῆς φίλαρεος. Of the association of honey and the olive I have noted no other instance, and Plin. N. H. 21, 71 says: cum olivae flore om ab his (sc. aribus) non attingi conste (but cf. id. 11, 18), yet the hollow trunks of olives would easily furnish a home for wild bees.

1. olea: Praeneste was apparently notable for its olives; cf. Cramer, Anecd. Gr. 4 (1841), 315, lines 25-26: τοῖς εἰς ἀκατορένθιον οἶνον ἐφυκέω τόλυον, Ἡ Νεκαμά καὶ Πραενεστᾶ, ἥ τ᾽ Ἑράκλειδα. Hensen (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 hodie 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.

[403] 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 etiam disciscere conatus est, sed maiosae Praenestinarum sortium terrius destinuit, cum obnignatos deventasque Romanam non reperisset in arca nisi relata rursus ad templum.* I know of no parallel for the use of such a wooden receptacle save that Arnold (*Ephod and Ark*, in *Hars. 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. Censio* 1, 2, 7; *Tert. de Spect.* 16), 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 *sicella* (Plaut. *Cas.* 342; 363; Liv. 41, 18, 8), a *φαλη* (Robbins in *Class. Philol.* 11 (1916), 278-292), a *cornua* (cf. Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 211, n. 4), a *κάλπα* (Luc. *Hermod.* 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. = Büchler, *Carm. epigr.* no. 249, 17); 2937 (of the Empire); 2972 (243 A. D.) mention a *Iuppiter Arakanus* (or *Arcanus*), 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 Arakanus* 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 Thulin (*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 puerae sortes tec ocului; illi / rextiui et trinis omnia certa puer;* Luc. *Hermod.* 57: *εκ κάλπας ἀμβατου γραμμάτων ἔχοντα τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ἔκκατον τόσον κάλπα παῖδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμβατον τιμά, προσελθόντα πρός τὴν κάλπαν, ἀνέλισθαι δ ο τι ἐν τρόπω ὑπὸ τὴν χείρα ἔλθη τῶν γραμμάτων.* Smith, (*in Tibull.* 1, 3, 11-12) compares Boiard, *Orland. innam.* 1, 1, 57; Ariost. *Orlando fur.* 30, 24; and the modern customs in the drawing of the Italian state lottery; for parallels from India see Thurston, *Omens and Supers. of southern India* (1912), 42; 47; for Morocco, Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 160-161. The mantic 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 posita in illo loco? Quis robur illud cecidit, dolavit, inscriptit? Nihil est, inquit, 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 explosit; fani pulchritudo et vetustas Praenestinarum etiam nunc retinet


A representation of this boy has been found on denarii of M. Platorius 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, 375; Wissowa in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 821; Dressel in Zeitschr. 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 Praenestinae 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 sacerdat Fortunae Primig. appearing in C. I. L. XIV, 3003 (=Dessau 6255).

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

[494] 2f. 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) ipsi dicere soleitis nihil esse quod deus efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo.


5. explosit: 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 Praepeste and her temple see Vaglieri, 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 n. 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 refrimerunt.
Quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, nusquam se for-
tunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam. Ergo hoc divinationis genus
omittamus.

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


1. quis enim magistratus, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium). The statement is per-
haps true for Cicero’s own day, but Dessau (C. I. L. XIV, pp. 295-296) notes that
from the imperial period we have dedica-
tions 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. refrimerunt: 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. Carneadem: cf. introd. pp. 24-
25; 1, 7, n. (Carneade); 1, 12, n. (Carnea-
des). Fragments of his sayings and letters
are collected by Vick, Quaest. Carneadeae
(1901), 21-22. He may have visited
Praeneste on the occasion of his famous
mission to Rome in 155 n. c. (cf. Vick,
op. cit. 27-28).

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

31. fortunatiorem . . . Fortunam:
for the play on the duality of appellation
and deity cf. Axtell, Deificatio of ab-
tract Ideas in Roman Lit. and Inscr.
(1907), 76, who cites 2 Verr. 3, 131: quo
ex indicio te ulla Salus servare possis; cf.
N. D. 3, 61.

4. Praeneste: on the form cf. Küh-
1, 2 ed. (1912), 329. Neuter city names in
-e (Arelate, Bibracte, Caere, Praeneste,
Reate, Sergusie) have the ablative and
locative in the same form as the nominative.

6. ad Chaldaeorum, etc.: the fol-
lowing passage (2, 67-2, 99), containing a
refutation of astrology, does not corre-
pond to any portion of the first book, in
which astrology is given only passing 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 Traite,
Philos. de Cic. (1885), 271-273), and prob-
ably represents our earliest philosophic
polemic against astrology; cf. Wendlaad,
Philos. Schriften über die Vorsehung (1892),
33. Panaetius himself probably derived
his argument from Carneades (his po-
lemic against Chrysippus; cf. Riess in
P.-W. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1813, and the
works there cited; but also Pfeiffer, Studi.
z. antiken Sternglauben (1916), 60, who sus-
pects a Peripatetic source, probably Crito-
lus), and the relationship between
them and subsequent writers on the
same subject is set forth in an inter-
esting stemma by Boll, Studiense über Claudius
Tolemacus (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 Fal. 12-16, the account
in Rep. 6, 17 being of an imaginative
character (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.
548; Wedel (The medPECIAL attitude toward
Astronomy (1920), 14) remarks: ‘Cicero,
who as philosopher fulminated 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 iudicio doctissimorum hominum facile princeps, sic opinatur, id quod scriptum reliquit. Chaldaeis in praedictione et in notatione cuilibusque 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 minulae 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 with it the discarding of lesser details.

[496] 6. monstra: cf. 1, 3, n. (monstris); 1, 93. The idea of prediction (monos) 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 (1890), 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 (Epictetion (1887), x1; followed by Kroll in Neue Jahrb. 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. Aen. 3, 40; cf. Suid. s.v. Εὐδοξος) 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 Φαυρομένα, 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 praedictar
reiecit, Anchialum et Cassandrum, summos astrologos illius aetatis qua
erat ipse, cum in ceteris astrologiae partibus excellenter, hoc praedictionis
genere non usus. Scylax Haliacarnassius, familiaris Panaeti, 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 defendunt.
Vim quandam esse signifero orbe, qui Graece ἵδικακός dicitur, talem

4. Haliacarnassius Mäler, Thoresen, Herbord. haliacarnassius AV, Christ, Baier, alcarnassius B, Halkarnasus 0.
8. ἵδικακός vulg., zodiaco BV, zodiacy A, sed y in ras.

[497] 3. cuuisque: genethiologia, 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 Chaldac, as in the
following passage) does not appear in Baby-
lonia (cf. 1, 2, n. (ultimus); Boucle-
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 Egyp-
tian origin. Not a few of the logical objec-
tions later raised against astrology could
have been avoided if the ‘art’ had been
limited as it was by Eudoxus.

1. nominat: probably in his πεπλ
προνοια; 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 Panaetii him-
sell against the beliefs of his fellow Stoics.

1. Panaetius: for his views on divina-
tion cf. 1, 6, n. (negari). 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 θυμάθαια τῶν ῥων (cf. 2
34, n. (μυκάθαιας) above), resemblances of
part to whole, kinship of man and the
universe, theory of the microcosm, etc.)

2. Anchialum: apparently not other-
wise 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
(argumenis, etc.).

8. vim quandam esse: quandam is here perhaps used to aid in translating
(cf. 1, 1, n. (quandam) above) the Greek
δίωμι. With the introduction into the
art of astrology of an effective vis there
arises that confusion of sign and cause
which the philosophical tried to avoid; cf.
1, 29, and n. (non causas adserunt); 1, 34.
n. (raionem); 1, 109; 1, 127; 1, 131, and n.
(non me, etc.); Orig. ap. Euseb. Pr. Euseb.
Pr. Euseb. 11, p. 283 b-c: ἐπίθηκας τὰς ἀρτακ
ri σημεια ος τη λαυβάναις αἰτίων ῥημά-
των ἐς σημείας ἐς λόγοι φημί. Gemius
in his Isagoge is at several points careful