A COMMENTARY ON

PLUTARCH'S CATO MINOR

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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A B S T R A C T

The INTRODUCTION is concerned with the antecedents, the circumstances of writing and the structure of the biography.

Its first chapter surveys the successive treatments of Cato's figure in the Roman literature: immediately after his suicide at Utica a great literary controversy around Cato came into being: Cicero, and later Brutus, Fadius Gallus and Munatius Rufus wrote laudatory accounts while Caesar and A.Hirtius composed defamatory Anticatones. This theme was also central a few years later in Sallust's Catilinarian Conspiracy and was taken up by the aged Augustus in a rhetorical reply to Brutus. With the completion of the Roman revolution the theme of Cato lost its urgency and relevance and during the early Principate Cato's figure is reduced to a few stereotyped acts and situations discussed in the schools of Rhetoric. Yet under the reign of Claudius and Nero a revival in the interest in Cato takes place: Seneca regards him as the Stoic Saint Incarnate, his nephew Lucan makes him the chief hero of his Pharsalia, while Thrasea Paetus composes a full scale Life of Cato: for the senatorial opposition under Nero Cato's figure again has a political relevance. The reign of Domitian ensures the end of the literary preoccupation with Cato:

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hero-worshippers found in Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus a more recent vintage of martyrs for the cause of libertas.

Chapter 2 (PLUTARCH AND CATO) examines Plutarch's references to Cato outside our biography and his possible Roman connections that would provide him with material about Cato. It is shown that Plutarch was acquainted with remnants of Thrasea's circle and moreover that other possible Roman connections like Tacitus and the younger Pliny would most probably refer him to Thrasea's work.

Chapter 3 deals with THE SOURCES of the Cato minor. In the first place Plutarch's dependence on Munatius Rufus and the extent and nature of the latter's work are examined: it is argued that Munatius Rufus composed Memorabilia which covered his years as Cato's companion between 67 and 49; its polemical nature is still apparent in the refutation of charges brought against Cato by Caesar and perhaps others. Among the longer sections of our Life cch.9-18,26-29 and 34-39 are shown to depend on Munatius Rufus as their main or only source, while in other sections he was used alongside with other sources.

Plutarch did not use Munatius Rufus' Memoirs directly, but through the mediation of Thrasea Paetus. It is submitted that in some sections Thrasea used Munatius as his only or

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main source while in other sections he used other sources to correct or to supplement him. Thus it is shown that in the report of the proposed marriage-transaction between Pompey and his son and Cato's nieces (ch.30) Thrasea used two contradictory accounts, one of which was Munatius': it is suggested that the other might have been Brutus' Cato.

Another important part of the Life that depends on Thrasea is the account of the African campaign, including the story of Cato's last days and death: this episode is shown to be akin to the literature of exitus illustrium virorum of the Empire. It is impossible to ascertain Thrasea's own source in this section: but perhaps it was, ultimately, one of Cato's companions in Utica, the most likely guess being the Peripatetic philosopher Demetrius. Other passages and details, it is suggested, might have been included because of Thrasea Paetus' personal interest in their subject matter.

Those passages of the Cato minor that do not derive from Thrasea Paetus - they are mainly historical narrative sections with an emphasis on Cato's role - go back to Plutarch's sources (or notes from them) for the other Roman Lives of this period; it is suggested that this was ultimately - for the events from 60 B.C. onwards - Asinius Pollio.

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Chapter 4 deals with the LITERARY STRUCTURE of the Cato minor: in the first place the stereotyped categories contained in the introductory chapters (as first laid down by Leo) are analysed; it is shown that the five childhood anecdotes contained in cch.2-3 are of a central importance in the structure of the biography, foreshadowing, as they do, the leitmotifs of the Life. The depiction of the hero's character and his comparison with Phocion are examined against their direct description in the introduction to the pair Phocion-Cato minor (Phoc.3).

Finally chapter 5 examines the TIME OF WRITING: first the cross-references are reviewed for their value to determine the relative chronology of the Cato minor: among these it is suggested that the reference to the Pompey should be rejected as a guide to the relative chronology of the two biographies. As regards the absolute chronology it is submitted that the Cato minor was composed after 99, but before the treatise de fraterno amore, which must have been completed well before A.D.107.

The COMMENTARY aims to provide the reader with continuous assistance towards the understanding, interpretation and appreciation of the text.

Linguistically parallel phrases and uses from Plutarch

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are adduced whenever possible: this task is the more difficult, and the more important, because of the absence of an adequate Index Verborum; words not entered in Wyttenbach's Lexicon are listed (23.3;48.6). Plutarch's relationship to the reigning Atticism of the time is reviewed by means of drawing attention to explicitly 'Atticistic' or 'Hellenic' usages. The translation of Latin terminology is constantly observed and words or phrases that might have been influenced by a Latin source are listed (e.g.14.8;20.6;44.11).

On the literary level all passages recurring in other writings of Plutarch are compared with the present ones; literary parallels from Plutarch and from other authors are adduced as far as possible; literary topoi are noted and parallels provided (e.g.5.6;18.5): a statement about Plutarch's biographical aims is closely examined (24.1).

Special attention is paid throughout to Stoic thought, terminology and connections (e.g.1.3-4;3.10;17.2;60.1).

From the historical aspect all parallel (and contradictory) information contained in other sources is referred to together with the main, or the latest, modern treatments of the subject.

A number of legal problems are discussed and some new solutions proposed: thus the legal side of Cato's first

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attested oration is for the first time examined (5.2); a full discussion is devoted to Cato's attempt to revive the actio ex sponsu (7.2); a new interpretation is put forward for the contents of the lex Fabia de numero sectatorum (8.4); the 'trial' of a quaestorian scriba is examined (16.5-10); the question of the legality of the remarriage of pregnant divorcees is raised (25.10).

Among prosopographical questions a generally accepted identification of M.Marcellus at 18.5 is questioned; a missing senator is noted (19.8); the universally accepted correction 'Curio' in 46.7 is dismissed; an alternative identification for the Crassus mentioned in 70.5 is proposed; the careers of Statilius and Demetrius are described and examined (65.10 and 11).

Problems of chronology are discussed, particularly with reference to magistrates: Cato's quaestorship is fixed to 64 with the aid of hitherto unnoticed evidence (16.1); the exact date and contents of Cato's corn-law are discussed (26.1); the meaning of Cato's 'extraordinary praetorship' is reviewed (39.3-4); a full reappraisal of the complicated question of the date of Favonius' aedileship is offered at 46.2 and 7; Cato's date of birth is investigated (73.1).

The two APPENDICES deal with prosopographical matters. I.SERVILIA AND CAEPIO examines the identity of Servilia,

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the wife of Lucullus, whom Plutarch describes as Cato's sister, and of Caepio, Cato's half-brother: it is submitted that the former was the latter's daughter (and thus niece, not sister, of Cato); Caepio's career is described by way of examining our extant information about the Servilii Caepiones of the last generation of the Republic. II.CANIDIUS OR CANINIUS? proposes to emend the name of Cato's emissary to Cyprus from Canidius to Caninius and to identify him with L.Caninius Gallus tr.pl.56.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The present Commentary is based on the second edition of Ziegler's Teubner text: this text, and the information contained in its critical apparatus is used throughout as the basis of the discussion, even where it is not accepted.

References to the Cato minor are, as a rule, by chapter and section only; to the rest of Plutarch's works without the author's name.

References to modern books and articles are mostly by easily intelligible abbreviations, or, in the case of very well-known or very often quoted books, by the author's name only: a full list of all the works referred to will be found in the Bibliography.

All dates in the Commentary and Appendices are, unless otherwise stated, B.C. and of the Republican (pre-Julian) calendar.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
1. Cato in the literature 1
2. Plutarch and Cato 17
3. The sources 28
4. Literary structure 80
Appendix: Table of contents, cch.8-73 . . . 97
5. The time of writing 102

COMMENTARY 127

APPENDICES
I SERVILIA AND CAEPIO 390
II CANIDIUS OR CANINIUS? 416

BIBLIOGRAPHY 428

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1 : CATO IN THE LITERATURE

Unlike the great majority of the Parallel Lives, the Cato minor treats a subject with a long and relatively well-known literary history. It is Plutarch's merit to have incorporated a life already treated ad nauseam in Roman literature in the series and to have brought it in line, as far as its form and structure are concerned, with the rest. Thus the Cato minor is in the unique position of belonging both synchronically to a series extant almost in its entirety and historically to a tradition of which it is the only major surviving representative. It is this twofold affinity of the Cato minor that renders it necessary to review here briefly its literary predecessors. However, it is not the aim of this chapter to analyse minutely the figure of Cato the Younger in the literary tradition and the changes it underwent: this has been done - and more than once [1] . If the retelling of some familiar facts cannot be avoided here

1) The entire subject has been dealt with by Busch, De Marco Porcio Catone Uticensi quid antiqui scriptores... censuerint, Diss. Münster 1911; Hemmen, Das Bild des M. Porcius Cato Uticensis in der antiken Literatur, Diss. Gött.1954; Pecchiura, La figura di Catone Uticense nella letteratura latina, Torino 1965. For partial treatments see below.

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they may at least be limited to those works and authors that might have some relevance to Plutarch's biography.

Though strictly speaking the figure of Cato came into the centre of a great literary and political controversy only after his death, it should be noted that at least one work of highly polemical character was published already in his lifetime: his personal enemy Metellus Scipio wrote a vicious invective of which some traces are still discernible [2] . It is not known whether Cato replied to this vituperation, but it can be assumed fairly certainly that Metellus Scipio was ultimately provoked by Cato's Archilochean iambics against himself (7.2). However this book clearly belonged to the genre of political invective, freely mingled with personal abuse, so often employed in the service of the various causes and personalities of the Republic. Thus it certainly was not different in character from the numerous other ephemeral political pamphlets of its time and cannot be regarded as the lineal ancestor or initiator of the subsequent volumineus literature around Cato's figure.

This literature came into being immediately after, and

2) 57.3: Σκιπίωνα ... ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ τι καὶ βιβλίον ἐκδεδωκότα βλασφημίας ἔχον τοῦ Κάτωνος; cf. Plin.n.h.VIII. 196. For a discussion of the deposit of this work in our Life see ch.3 of this Introduction.

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was directly caused by, Cato's suicide at Utica. The circumstances of its genesis were to be of crucial importance for its whole history, and not only for the polemical writings that followed closely Cato's death [3] , as will be seen from the prominent place assigned to this event by writers a hundred years removed from it.

Scarcely had the news of Cato's death arrived at Rome [4] when Cicero began, at Brutus' instigation [5] , to write a Cato [6] . Both the only major fragment extant [7] and the

3) On this polemical literature see, in addition to the appropriate chapters of the general works quoted in n.1, also e.g. Peter,Die gesch.Lit.I.164 ff.;Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 433 ff.;Strasburger,Caesars Eintritt 42 f.

4) This rests on assumption: Cato died on April 11th 46 (see 70.6 and 71.2n.); Cicero first mentions the Cato in Att. XII.4.2, but we have no clue for the date of this letter; Shackleton Bailey thinks May possible. It was finished before the publication of the Orator (Cic.Or.35) in Nov.46 (Gelzer, Cicero 284). Att.XII.5.2 probably refers to the finished work, but this letter, too, it is impossible to date precisely; Shackleton Bailey puts it in July or August.

5) Cic.Or.35.

6) The fragments and testimonia are conveniently available in Müller's edition IV.III.327 ff.;add App.b.c.II.99.414. The

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indirect evidence[8] testify unanimously to its encomiastic character. There is no need here to speculate about the exact nature of this book, its connections with the genre of *laudationes funebres* etc.; for our purposes the main points of interest are its being a *laudatio* and the fact that it proved to be the spark that set off the whole sequence of literary activity centred around the figure of Cato. Whatever the individual merits of this work were - and this is a question by no means easy to answer - its paramount importance in Roman literary history is mainly due to its initiating an entire series of writings set on exalting or defaming Cato.

The first to follow Cicero's suit was Cato's own nephew,

latest contribution, Kumaniecki, Festschrift Büchner 168 ff., is, one regrets to say, much too speculative and often inacceptable.

7) Macr.Sat.VI.2.33:Contingebat in eo, quod plerisque contra solet, ut maiora omnia re quam fama viderentur, id quod non saepe evenit, ut expectatio cognitione, aures ab oculis vincerentur; for another possible fragment (preserved in Plin.n.h. praef.9) see 44.8-9n.

8) Cic.Att.XII.40.1;44.1; Plut.Caes.54.5; App.b.c.II.99. 414;cf. Tac.ann.IV.34.

and now posthumously son-in-law, Brutus[9]; probably dissatisfied with Cicero's work he decided himself to give an account of his dead uncle, though it remains at least open to doubt whether his version did not show a serious lack of accuracy.

Silence from the Caesarean camp now would have meant admission of the moral victory of their dead adversary. But fortunately the victors by the sword could defend themselves also with their opponents' chosen weapon: the first to employ the pen in order to attack Cato's memory was A.Hirtius[10], Caesar's right-hand-man in literary matters. But Julius Caesar was not the man to fight his battles by proxy: while still resorting to the sword against the remnants of the Pompeian faction[11] he composed a vigorous attack, an *Anticato*, to answer Cicero's praises in his *Cato*[12].Caesar,

9) Cic.Att.XII.21.1;XIII.46.2. He was still collecting material in March 45, but by August the work was already published. Brutus married Porcia in June (see Miltner RE XXII.217); for the possible influence of this coincidence on our text see chapter 3 of this introduction.

10)in May 45: Cic.Att.XII.40.1;41.4;45.2;48.1.

11)Suet.Caes.56.5:sub tempus Mundensis proelii.

12)The testimonia and fragments are conveniently collected in Klotz' Teubner edition III.185 ff.;see also Dyroff,

most generous of men towards conquered enemies, could not maintain his accustomed magnanimity towards his dead adversary and turned to the style of venomous vituperation only too familiar among the numbers of the Republican aristocracy. The interest in this work, as can be seen from the references to it, continued through all antiquity, due no doubt as much to the author as to the subject.

Caesar's *Anticato*, far from terminating the controversy, only added oil to the fire by what must have been seen as an express permission by the dictator to continue the literary debate. Apparently shortly after Caesar M.Fadius Gallus wrote a *Cato*[13], about which nothing but its existence is known. Also after Caesar's *Anticato*, though impossible to tell exactly when, appeared the reminiscences of Munatius Rufus, Cato's *contubernalis*[14].

Another item of the controversy around Cato's figure is Sallusts famous σύγκρισις of Caesar and Cato, summing up the speeches of the two men on the Nones of December 63[15].

RhM L,1895,481 ff.;LXIII,1908,587 ff.;Drexler,Hermes LXX, 1935,203 ff.;Abel,MH XVIII,1961,230 f.

13) Cic.fam.VII.24.2;cf.25.1.

14) For a full discussion of this work and its author see ch.3 of this Introduction.

15) Sall.Cat.51-54.

Whatever our views on Sallust's aims and meaning, there can be little doubt that the comparison became possible and even necessary now that both antagonists were dead and the controversy concerning their respective personalities was ripe for summing-up. Certainly the verdict, that these two men excelled all others of their generation in virtue, sounds very much like an argument to end all arguments. Though evidence is lacking, it seems probable that Sallust's was a reply, well understood as such by his contemporaries, to all kinds of personal attacks and abuse against the two great men: it profited certainly from the fact that it was written after Caesar's death, when the controversy was still alive, but now of purely academic character.

One more work should be added to the list of polemic literature published after Cato's death, even though in the event it was written many years later. Caesar Augustus recited in advanced age *Rescripta Bruto de Catone*[16], a

16) Suet.Aug.85.1:multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in coetu familiarum velut in auditorio recitavit, sicut RESCRIPTA BRUTO DE CATONE, quae volumina cum iam senior ex magna parte legisset, fatigatus Tiberio tradidit perlegenda. In all probability we should date this after Tiberius' recall from Rhodes and adoption in 4 A.D.:cf.Taylor, Party Politics 240.75;contra Gelzer, Die Antike X,1934,64 (=Kl.Schr.II.261).

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treatise otherwise unknown. This work must have been written when both Brutus and Cato were figures from an increasingly remote historical past and could be recalled without danger. Caesar's heir, now able to speak generously of Cicero, the victim of the proscriptions[17], could afford a posthumous literary controversy with Brutus, the foe who fell at Philippi. Yet there are signs that Augustus might have been more magnanimous towards the memory of Brutus than that of Cato: the speech put into the mouth of Cremutius Cordus by Tacitus[18], listing the acts of indulgence and even praise reserved by the Divine Iulius and the Divine Augustus for their enemies would almost certainly have included a reference to Augustus' work on Cato, read out by Tiberius, if it could have been interpreted as containing a lenient verdict on its subject - provided of couse that Tacitus, or Cremutius Cordus, knew this pamphlet, apparently recited only in the immediate circle of the princeps[19].

Thus, except the belated contribution of Augustus, the

17) Plut.Cic.49.5

18) Tac.ann.IV.34

19) For Augustus' attitude towards Cato cf. also the left-handed compliment recorded in Macr.Sat.II.4.18; to interpret this as 'Catonism', as does Taylor, Party Politics 180, is absurd.

lively literary controversy around Cato's person was limited to the few years immediately following his death. The transition from the Republic to the Principate marks a watershed in the literary activity on the subject: it seems that no more works were dedicated to the figure of Cato and no new themes were taken up in the controversy around him. The polemics did not die, but after losing their urgency and relevance continued their existence in a frozen and artificial form. The most illuminating manifestation of this transition is the passing of the controversy from the real and vivid political scene into the artificial world of scholastic arguments in the Schools of Rhetoric. Here the outstanding events of Cato's life kept company with declamations on subjects drawn from Greek history or romantic inventions of pirates, seduced girls and disinherited sons[20]. Another aspect of the new dimensions of Cato's figure is the instant glorification and halo of saint awarded to him by the great Augustan poets[21]: it is the

20) For Cato in the Schools of Rhetoric see Kohl, de scholasticorum argumentis ex historia petitis,Diss.Münster 1915, 103 ff.; for the subjects of the Schools in general see e.g.Bonner,Roman Declamation 32 ff.

21) see Hor.c.I.12.35;II.1.23; whether Vergil means Cato the Elder or the Younger in Aen.VIII.770 is, and will

most convincing death-certificate of the Republic and Republican causes that the idealization of Cato's figure could be in total harmony with an absolute loyalty to the new regime. Other examples are Velleius Paterculus, the admirer of Tiberius, for whom Cato is a 'homo virtuti simillimus'[22] and Valerius Maximus, who often employs Cato as an outstanding moral example. Yet, high as the evaluation of Cato by these and other poets and writers was, it is clear that with them he ceased to be a person of the first importance, subject of entire literary treatises, and a touch-stone by which political allegiances are tested.

During the third quarter of the first century the figure of Cato and its literary representation undergo a significant revival, due to the literary activity of Seneca, Thrasea Paetus and their circles. The very special circumstances of life under a tyrant of Nero's sort produced a renaissance in the interest in the figure of Cato comparable only with that of the polemics following his death[23].

presumably remain sub judice;cf.also Liv.frg.55 (apud Jerome,prol.lib.II.in Hos.vol.VI. p.55Vall.)

22) Vell.II.35.2; but he may be reflecting the attitude of his source : cf.Hemmen, op.cit.57 ff.

23) Wünsch,Das Bild des Cato von Utica in der Literatur der neronischen Zeit,Diss.Marburg 1949, confines himself to

First and foremost among these writers is the philosopher Seneca[24]. Though he does not devote a special work to Cato, his example is an ever-recurring theme in the dialogues and epistles[25]. It is significant that in these writings the author limits himself to a few characteristic acts and situations in the hero's life: among these a position of absolute predominance is given to Cato's death[26]. Cato's death set an example to Seneca which he was ultimately to follow and repeat: for Seneca Cato was the Stoic Sage Incarnate whose life was the path of virtue and whose example to follow was the philosopher's duty[27].

While Seneca, dying in old age after an active life,

an analysis of the works of Seneca and Lucan;Thrasea Paetus is assigned a single sentence that assures us that nothing can be known about this work besides its very existence.

24) In addition to Wünsch see also Alexander,Trans.Roy.Soc. Can.XL.1946,59 ff.;Griffin,CQXVIII.1968,373 ff.

25) For a useful arrangement of the quotations in their supposed chronological order see Hemmen,op.cit.128 f.

26) cf.Alexander,op.cit.60.

27) For the typology of the deaths of Cato, Seneca and Thrasea Paetus see discussion in ch. 3 of this Introduction.

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has left behind a rich and many-sided literary heritage, his nephew Lucan, forced by Nero to commit suicide in his twenty-sixth year, bequeathed to us the sole monument of his *Pharsalia*. Though the formal antagonists of the Civil War are Pompey and Caesar the hero of the poem is Cato[28], the staunch defender of Republican *libertas*; while the heads of the contending armies are but human antagonists Cato is almost removed into the sphere of the superhuman (for the lack of which Petronius (118.6) seems to censure Lucan):

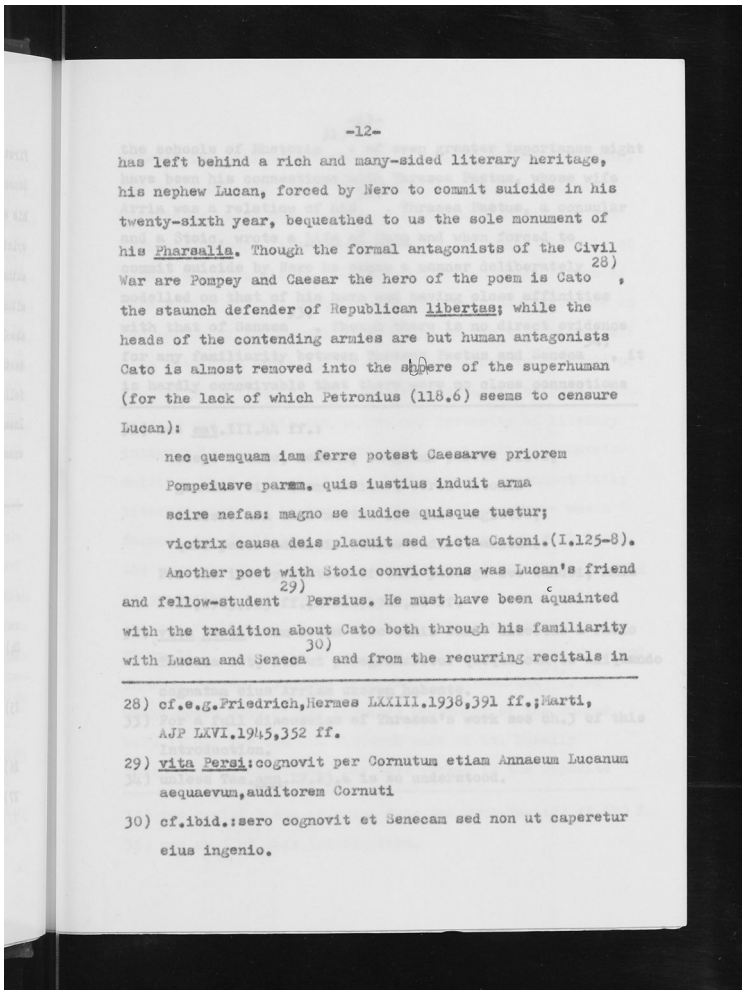
> nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem
> Pompeiusve parem. quis iustius induit arma
> scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur;
> victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni.(I.125-8).

Another poet with Stoic convictions was Lucan's friend and fellow-student Persius[29]. He must have been acquainted with the tradition about Cato both through his familiarity with Lucan and Seneca[30] and from the recurring recitals in

28) cf.e.g.Friedrich,Hermes LXXIII.1938,391 ff.;Marti, AJP LXVI.1945,352 ff.

29) *vita Persi*:cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum aequaevum,auditorem Cornuti

30) cf.ibid.:sero cognovit et Senecam sed non ut caperetur eius ingenio.



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the schools of Rhetoric[31]: of even greater importance might have been his connections with Thrasea Paetus, whose wife Arria was a relation of his[32]. Thrasea Paetus, a consular and a Stoic, wrote a *Life of Cato* and when forced to commit suicide by Nero he chose a manner deliberately modelled on that of his hero and having close affinities with that of Seneca[33]. Though there is no direct evidence for any familiarity between Thrasea Paetus and Seneca[34], it is hardly conceivable that there were no close connections

31) see *sat.*III.44 ff.:

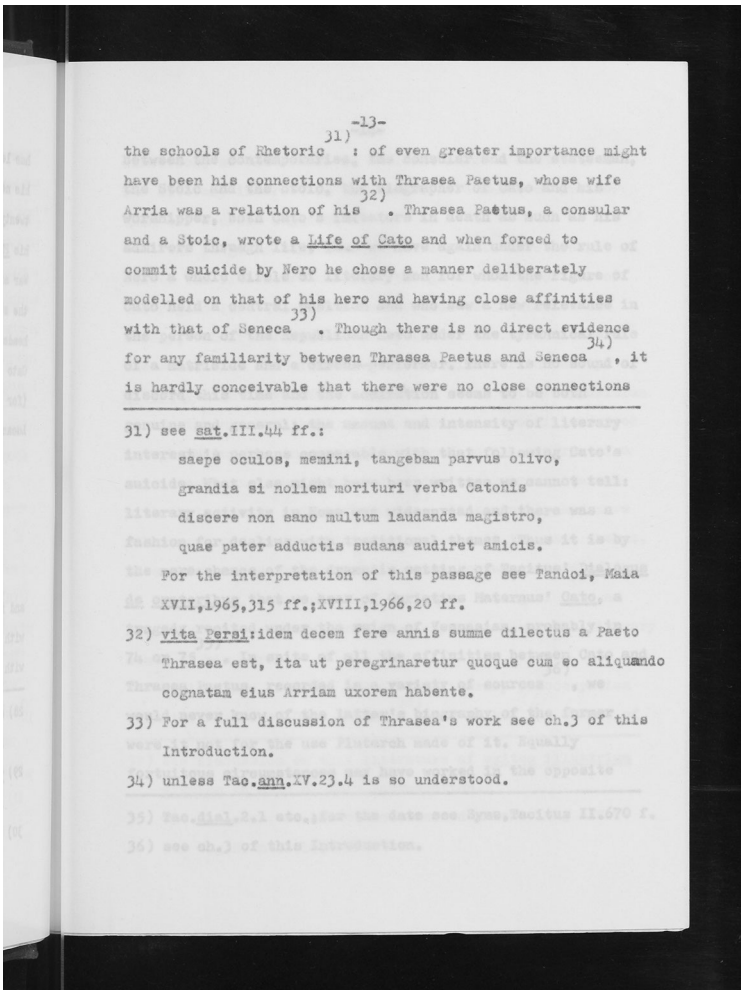
> saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus olivo,
> grandia si nollem morituri verba Catonis
> discere non sano multum laudanda magistro,
> quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis.

For the interpretation of this passage see Tandoi, Maia XVII,1965,315 ff.;XVIII,1966,20 ff.

32) *vita Persi*:idem decem fere annis summe dilectus a Paeto Thrasea est, ita ut peregrinaretur quoque cum eo aliquando cognatam eius Arriam uxorem habente.

33) For a full discussion of Thrasea's work see ch.3 of this Introduction.

34) unless Tac.*ann.*XV.23.4 is so understood.

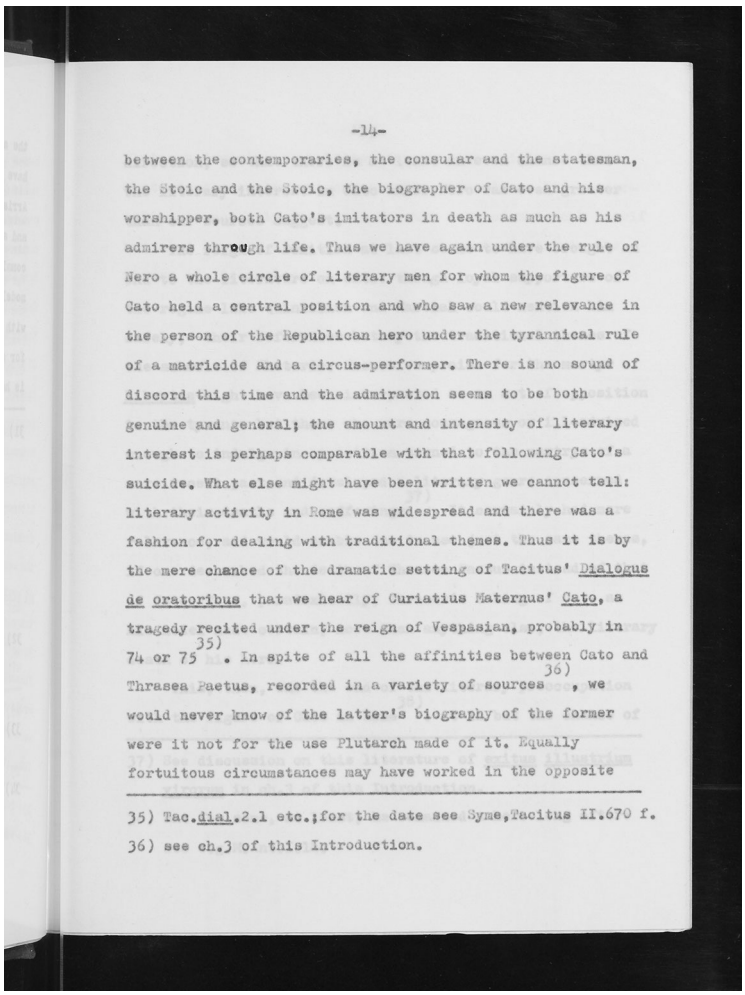


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between the contemporaries, the consular and the statesman, the Stoic and the Stoic, the biographer of Cato and his worshipper, both Cato's imitators in death as much as his admirers through life. Thus we have again under the rule of Nero a whole circle of literary men for whom the figure of Cato held a central position and who saw a new relevance in the person of the Republican hero under the tyrannical rule of a matricide and a circus-performer. There is no sound of discord this time and the admiration seems to be both genuine and general; the amount and intensity of literary interest is perhaps comparable with that following Cato's suicide. What else might have been written we cannot tell: literary activity in Rome was widespread and there was a fashion for dealing with traditional themes. Thus it is by the mere chance of the dramatic setting of Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* that we hear of Curiatius Maternus' *Cato*, a tragedy recited under the reign of Vespasian, probably in 74 or 75[35]. In spite of all the affinities between Cato and Thrasea Paetus, recorded in a variety of sources[36], we would never know of the latter's biography of the former were it not for the use Plutarch made of it. Equally fortuitous circumstances may have worked in the opposite

35) Tac.*dial.*2.1 etc.;for the date see Syme,Tacitus II.670 f.

36) see ch.3 of this Introduction.



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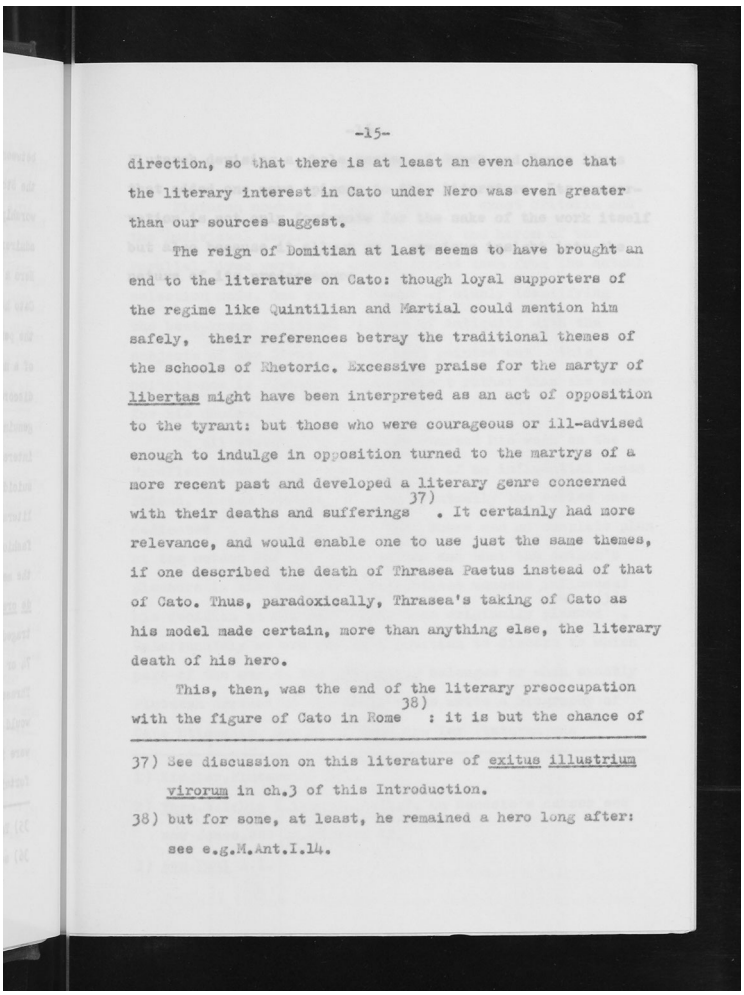
direction, so that there is at least an even chance that the literary interest in Cato under Nero was even greater than our sources suggest.

The reign of Domitian at last seems to have brought an end to the literature on Cato: though loyal supporters of the regime like Quintilian and Martial could mention him safely, their references betray the traditional themes of the schools of Rhetoric. Excessive praise for the martyr of *libertas* might have been interpreted as an act of opposition to the tyrant: but those who were courageous or ill-advised enough to indulge in opposition turned to the martyrs of a more recent past and developed a literary genre concerned with their deaths and sufferings[37]. It certainly had more relevance, and would enable one to use just the same themes, if one described the death of Thrasea Paetus instead of that of Cato. Thus, paradoxically, Thrasea's taking of Cato as his model made certain, more than anything else, the literary death of his hero.

This, then, was the end of the literary preoccupation with the figure of Cato in Rome[38]: it is but the chance of

37) See discussion on this literature of *exitus illustrium virorum* in ch.3 of this Introduction.

38) but for some, at least, he remained a hero long after: see e.g.M.Ant.I.14.



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Plutarch devising a whole series of Greek and Roman Lives that added one more epigone to this literature. Its preservation is not only fortunate for the sake of the work itself but also because it allows us a precious insight into the nature of its predecessors.

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2 : PLUTARCH AND CATO

Plutarch nowhere tells us what the exact criteria and the individual decisions for choosing the heroes of the Parallel Lives were, nor can we divine them from the actual selection made. One should beware of simply identifying the best-known political figures of Antiquity with the subjects of the Lives: as has been pointed out[1] this coincidence is Plutarch's achievement rather than the reason for his choice.

In all probability Plutarch started his work on the Parallel Lives on the encouragement of an influential Roman friend, Sosius Senecio, to whom eventually the series was dedicated[2]. Yet it is clear that there was no complete plan at the outset for the whole series and that the author's pleasure in his work and its doubtless success influenced his decision to add more Lives than originally planned[3]. Unfortunately we are not in a position to discern to which part of the series the Cato minor belonged or when exactly Plutarch arrived at the decision to write a biography of Cato Uticensis. Nor do we know how far Plutarch was

1) Ziegler, Plutarchos 261.

2) Thes.1.1; Dio 1.1; Dem.1.1; 31.7. On Senecio's career see now Jones, JRS LX.1970, 98 ff.

3) Aem.Paul 1.1.

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acquainted with the figure of Cato before he started collecting material for the Life. Though Cato is frequently mentioned in the Moralia most of the references are paralleled in the Cato minor[4] and we have nowhere reason to suppose that the version in the Moralia is prior to that of the Life[5]. The few references that do not have their counterparts in the Life betray nothing that cannot be attributed to conventional education[6].

4) cf. aud.poet.28B with 1.10;
cap.inim.ut.91DE with 21.5-6
apophth.reg.imp.204D and praec.ger.reip.810C with 52.3;
apophth.reg.imp.206E with 72.2;
vit.pud.534D and praec.ger.reip.808E with 16.6-8;
cum princ.phil.777A with 10.2;
praec.ger.reip.804C with 5.4 etc.;
praec.ger.reip.811AB with 19.3;
praec.ger.reip.818D with 26.1.

5) one case where the opposite is argued (frat.am.487C) is discussed in ch.5 of this Introduction.

6) princ.iner.781D gives a brief account of Cato's last hours and death; Her.mal.856B: among writers who invent discreditable reasons for worthy deeds are also those who state that Cato commited suicide out of fear from the death contemplated for him by Caesar; see also praec.ger.reip. 809D; it is not altogether clear whether Cato the Elder

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Another question to be answered is the identity of the Roman connections of Plutarch who would both suggest the person of Cato as suitable for the sequence of Greek and Roman Lives and if necessary direct attention to those Latin books which Plutarch came only late in life to use[7].

We have seen that the interest in the figure of Cato underwent an intense revival connected with the circles of Seneca and Thrasea Paetus. At the time of the deaths of these two men Plutarch was still a very young man, had in all probability not yet visited Rome and was thus almost certainly not personally acquainted with either of them. But it may prove significant that later in life Plutarch had opportunities to meet people connected with the circle of Thrasea Paetus. Thus we are told[8] that once, when Plutarch

or the Younger is meant at praec.san.tu.125F, cf. praec.ger reip.825D; mul.virt.243D. An interesting example of the sort of 'general knowledge' Plutarch might have had from oral sources is his quotation of Cicero's mot (Att.II.1.8) in Phoc.3.2. Though the quotation itself is correct, its misplacing into Cato's defeat at the consular elections makes it clear that Plutarch did not see Cicero's letter and was acquainted with the saying only from hearsay and deprived of historical context.

7) Dem.2.2.

8) curios.522DE.

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was lecturing in Rome, Arulenus Rusticus[9], who was among the audience, refused to interrupt the discourse and read a letter he had received from the Emperor before Plutarch has finished. The execution of Rusticus by Domitian in the last third of 93[10] gives us a useful terminus ante quem for this story, but there is no warrant for the view that it occurred during his consulship in the last months of 92, though perhaps a consul was more likely than a privatus to receive urgent communications from the Emperor. Whether the acquaintance of Plutarch with Arulenus Rusticus was merely casual or of a more profound nature we cannot tell; on the other hand Rusticus' connections with Thrasea proved to be the most influential of his life. When a young man and a tribune of the plebs he offered to interpose his veto on behalf of Thrasea against Nero - perhaps the most 'Catonian' gesture of the Principate. Posthumously he earned the gibe of 'simia Stoicorum' by M.Regulus[11] no doubt because of his admiration for men like Thrasea, Musonius Rufus[12] and, one

9) on Iunius Arulenus Rusticus see Kroll,RE X.1083 f.no.149; PIR^2 I.730;for his consulship in 92 Syme,Tacitus I.83.

10) the trial took place in 93, but Rusticus was still alive when Agricola died on Aug.23rd of that year(Tac.Agr.45.1).

11) Plin.ep.I.5.2.

12) For Rusticus' connections with Musonius see Tac.hist.III. 80 f.

may presume, Cato. In the event he wrote a Life of Thrasea, which, according to some of our sources, brought his end upon him. If the relations between Arulenus Rusticus and Plutarch were more than casual they would have provided our biographer with the opportunity to know Arulenus' Life of Thrasea, and, perhaps only indirectly, Thrasea's Life of Cato.

Another connection of Plutarch with the circle of Thrasea Paetus is through T.Avidius Quietus[13] cos.93. He was- presumably when still a very young man - a familiaris of Thrasea[14] and a family-friend of Helvidius[15]. Plutarch dedicated to Quietus the important treatise de sera numinis vindicta and to him and his brother Nigrinus the de fraterno amore. Quietus must have been on close terms with Sosius Senecio, the addressee of the Lives, as may be seen from the anecdote about his honesty as a provincial governor, in which Plutarch and Sosius are the interlocutors[16].

13) v.Rohden,RE II.2385 f.no.8;PIR^2 A.1410.

14) Plin.ep.VI.29.1.

15) ibid.IX.13.15.

16) quaest.conv.II.1 632A; for the emendation of the manu in the MSS see Patzig,Quaestiones Plutarcheae,Diss.Berlin 1871, 48 ff. The anecdote appears also in Macr.Sat.VII.3.5, but since it is clearly derived from Plutarch his statement that the proconsulate occurred under Domitian is a mere

Plutarch's acquaintance with Quietus is to be placed under Domitian and Nerva and perhaps the early years of Trajan: Quietus was present in the Senate in 97[17] and dead by 107[18].

Though Plutarch's known Roman friends, many in influential positions and most of them with literary interests, are numerous[19] it must be conceded that no straightforward evidence exists for his connections with two contemporaries, both of them consulars and men of letters, with whom a variety of common interests might offer more than one opportunity for acquaintance. Yet the number of common friends of Tacitus and Pliny, for it is they who require our attention for a moment, and Plutarch suggests that he could not be entirely unknown to their circle. Arulenus Rusticus and Avidius Quietus, Plutarch's acquaintances from the remnants of Thrasea's circle, were both friends of Pliny; and Tacitus not only made use of Arulenus

conjecture; it might well have been his attested governorship of Britain in 98 (see CIL III.Suppl.p.1969).

17) Plin.ep.IX.13.15.

18) ibid.VI.29.1.

19) On Plutarch's Roman friends see Ziegler, Plutarchos 51 ff.; Jones,Plutarch and his Relations with Rome,Diss.Harvard 1965, ch.2;Barrow,Plutarch and his Times,36 ff.

Rusticus' biography of Thrasea Paetus in his Annales[20], but his language elsewhere[21] suggests familiarity with him. Avidius Nigrinus, Quietus' nephew and son of the joint addressee of the de fraterno amore, one of the four consulars put to death in 118, might have been as an orator a disciple of Tacitus, it has been suggested[22]. Sosius Senecio, one of Plutarch's closest friends, to whom in addition to the Lives also the quaestiones convivales and the short treatise quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus are dedicated, was a friend of Pliny with whom he shared literary interests[23]. C.Minicius Fundanus[24], cos.107 and a proconsul of Asia in the early years of Hadrian, was a close friend of Pliny (he is the recipient of letters I.9;IV.15;VI.6;VII.12; cf.V.16) and acquainted with Tacitus[25]: he is also the principal speaker, probably expounding Plutarch's own views, in

20) see discussion in ch.3 of this Introduction.

21) Agr.45.2;cf.2.1.

22) Syme,Tacitus I.299.1;II.669

23) Plin.ep.I.13;cf.IV.4.

24) Groag, RE XV.1820 ff.no.13 PIR M.439; for his early career see Syme, Tacitus II.801.3.

25) Plin.ep.IV.15.1.

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the de cohibenda ira[26].

A different link with Roman literary circles is offered in the person of Terentius Priscus[27], the friend and patron of Martial and the addressee of Plutarch's dialogue de defectu oraculorum. From Pliny's relations with Martial we may deduce that he was acquainted with Priscus as well: Priscus' absence from the correspondence is caused probably by the fact that he returned in 95 to Spain for good[28].

Thus the circumstantial evidence clearly supports the acquaintance of Plutarch with Pliny and Tacitus; on the other side remains the powerful argumentum ex silentio. Yet there is no need to explain Tacitus' silence; the reasons and criteria of Plutarch's references are by no means clear; and the absence of Plutarch from Pliny's letters might easily be understood if we assume, as well we may, that the Greek did not visit Rome after the accession of Nerva, the starting date of the correspondence.

Now the place of Cato in Tacitus and Pliny is of some interest and worth investigation.

It has been observed[29] that Tacitus never mentions

26) cf.also trang.an.464B.

27) Stein,RE VA 667 f.no.63;PIR T.62.

28) see Immisch,Hermes XLVI.1911,501 ff.

29) Syme,Tacitus II.557.4.

Cato in his digressions and excursuses on Republican history and that he is referred to only in speeches. The absence from the digressions is perhaps not so surprising considering Tacitus' denseness and brevity and his concentration on the strictly relevant. More interesting is the recurrence in speeches of central importance: Cremutius Cordus invokes the example of Julius Caesar who restricted himself to the Anticato against Cicero[30]; Cossutianus Capito in his accusation of Thrasea Paetus compares his relations with Nero with the antagonism between Cato and Caesar[31]; Brutus and Cato are exempla of fortitudo and constantia in the speech of Eprius Marcellus[32]. It is revealing to compare with this Tacitus' friend in the epistles of Pliny Caesar's Anticato is referred to once, where it is said of Cato that 'tamen C.Caesar ita reprehendit ut laudet'[33]; the only other reference tells us that Titinius Capito used to have pictures of Brutus, Cassius and Cato at home[34]; the other two places where Cato is mentioned is in quotations of poems, once of Martial[35] and once of one Sentius

30) Tac.ann.IV.34.3

31) ibid.XVI.22.2.

32)id.hist.IV.8.3.

33) Plin.ep.III.12

34) ibid.I.17.3.

35) ibid.III.21.5 (=Mart.X.20(19).12 ff.).

Augurinus[36]. In both Tacitus and Pliny Cato belongs to a remote past, his is almost a legendary figure, revered and glorified. If any of these men were approached for books on Cato it is easy to imagine where their first thoughts would turn: Tacitus' interest in Thrasea Paetus is one of the dominant features of the last hexad of the Annales: his introduction to the deaths of Thrasea and Barea Soranus 'Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit'[37] is a rare deviation from the usually strict aloofness of the historian; his sense of guilt for the execution of Arulenus Rusticus could only increase his veneration for Rusticus' hero. Thrasea's Cato could not escape the attention of Tacitus, nor are we allowed to suppose that he was not conscious of the parallels in the lives, and especially in the deaths, of Thrasea and Cato, so neatly brought out by Rusticus[38].

Neither would Pliny's recommendation be different: he was at pains to stress his relations with the circle of Helvidius Priscus[39] and it was there he would most naturally

36) ibid.IV.27.4.

37) Tac.ann.XVI.21.1.

38) see discussion in ch.3 of this Introduction.

39)cf. Syme,Tacitus I.92.

turn for material on Cato[40].

Admittedly, all this evidence is circumstantial at its best; yet it is the very nature of circumstantial evidence to gain credibility by sheer accumulation. It has demonstrated how Plutarch could have become acquainted with the biography by Thrasea: but since it is a fact that he was acquainted with it[41] the evidence passes from the realm of the merely possible into that of the probable. Thrasea's influence and the vogue for the remnants of the circles of Thrasea and Helvidius under the reigns of Nerva and Trajan and the fact that Plutarch preferred Thrasea's work on Cato to all other monographs on the subject cannot be assigned to mere coincidence; on the contrary, they explain satisfactorily the otherwise apparently arbitrary fact, that Plutarch chose one special item out of the large amount of literature on Cato.

40) Even more hypothetical is the case for Martial: but I.8 might denote familiarity with Thrasea's Cato, and if Terentius Priscus proves a link between the epigrammatist and the biographer this would be a further opportunity for turning Plutarch's attention to Thrasea's work.

41) see discussion in ch.3 of this Introduction.

3 : THE SOURCES

Twice in the Life of Cato the Younger Plutarch refers to Thrasea Paetus as his source:

1) In the course of the Cyprian expedition, where Cato's friend Munatius was present and is mentioned several times, we are told (37.1): Ὁ μέντοι Μουνάτιος οὐκ ἀπιστίᾳ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ'ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὀλιγωρίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν,αὐτοῦ δὲ τινι ζηλοτυπίᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κανίδιον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ὀργήν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς σύγγραμμα περὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐξέδωκεν,ᾧ μάλιστα Θρασέας ἐπηκολούθησε.

2) The same authority is relied upon in the relation of the Marcia-affair (25.2): ... ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θρασέας,εἰς Μουνάτιον, ἄνδρα Κάτωνος ἑταῖρον καὶ συμπιστεύσαντα,ἀναφέρων τὴν πίστιν.

From the manner of these references it should be clear, that Plutarch did not read, and did not claim to have read, Munatius, and was acquainted with his work only via Thrasea[1].

1) cf.Peter,Quellen 65 ff. For other instances of Plutarch stating that he used a secondary source see Rom.3.1;17.5; Cato Mai.17.5; Solon 6.7;11.2; Alex.54.1; Dem.5.7;30.1; def.orac.422E (tertiary source!). On the whole question of secondary sources in Plutarch see Theander,Bull.Soc. Roy.Lettres Lund 1950-51,54 ff. It would be interesting to know how the above list (which is by no means complete)

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Peter assumed that Thrasea was Plutarch's sole source in this Life: this view has been accepted ever since and may have been current even before Peter[2].

It will be our task to define the extent to which Plutarch's use of Thrasea can be proved. This will be done by

a) tracing the passages indirectly derived from Munatius' σύγγραμμα

b) establishing whatever parts may be dependent on Thrasea using a source different from Munatius;

c) investigating whether those sections of the Life that are not derived from Thrasea are attributable to other sources, and what these sources are. As far as possible this whole enquiry should also extend to the nature, not only the identity, of the sources under consideration.

a.Munatius Rufus[3]

is explained by those who time and again charge Plutarch with relying only on secondary authorities without acknowledging this fact. Thus Leo, Die gr. - röm.Biogr.162 doubts whether Plutarch used Thrasea directly or through an intermediary.

2) Thus a very inferior medieval translation of the Life could pass in 1875 as Thrasea's Latin original followed by Plutarch: for this curious incident see Cobet,Mnem.IV. 1876,74 ff.;A.v.Gutschmid,Kl.Schr.V.359 ff.

3) Plutarch never mentions the cognomen, but the identific-

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Munatius Rufus is first mentioned in 9.1-3: from this passage it is clear that he was a friend of Cato and of the family, one of the four friends (9.4) who accompanied him in his military tribunate and very probably one of the two (11.2) who were with him on his dangerous sea-voyage from Thessalonice to Aenus. Cato's military tribunate and the closely following[4] Asian journey form one inseparable sequence of events, their description is very detailed and bears throughout the stamp of an eye-witness account (e.g. the Demetrius anecdote in ch.13 etc.). The whole section contains material almost completely unknown to the rest of our extant sources: besides the parallel version of the Demetrius anecdote in the Pomp. (discussed in ch. 5 below) only Cato's encounter with Athenodorus is mentioned by Strabo and Pliny the Elder. Thus Munatius' participation in the military tribunate and Asian journey is a strong argument for his being the source of their description, i.e. we can

ation with the Munatius Rufus of Val.Max.IV.3.2 is certain. Confusion with Munatius Plancus is to be found in Drumann (Drumann-Groebe V.173,corrected by Groebe); Miltner, RE XXI.176 (characteristic of the general carelessness of this article on Cato) and Theander,Bull.Soc.Roy.Lettres Lund 1950-51,54;69.

4) On the chronology see 16.1m.

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assume with some certainty that Munatius' account is the ultimate source of the whole section 9-15[5].

The next reference to Munatius is, as has been seen, 25.2, where Plutarch refers the Marcia-episode to the authority of Munatius through Thrasea Paetus. Munatius, who had been used as a go-between in the most confidential family-matters and was on familiar terms with Marcia (see below) might have had a role to play in the transactions between Cato and Hortensius as well. Either as participant or merely as an eye-witness, Munatius is our source for this episode too.

We next encounter Munatius Rufus in 27.6 supporting his friend in the fight against Metellus Nepos, Caesar and their followers in January 62. It is clear that he must have been one of the friends referred to earlier (27.2) and the ultimate authority for the whole section 26.2-29.1, by far the most detailed and trustworthy account of the closely-knit events of the stormy tribunate of Cato and his antagonist Metellus Nepos. The whole episode is depicted in vivid colours and the many circumstantial details leave no doubt that we have here the eye-witness description of a participant in the events: especially so compared with the

5) Probably the passage 8.4-5,Cato's election to the military tribunate, already belongs to this section.

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very meagre accounts of the other sources.

Munatius is mentioned several times as the mediator between Cato and Pompey in the latter's unsuccessful attempt to marry into the optimate leader's family (ch.30). This incident grants us a valuable insight into Munatius' status, being apparently not only a confidant of Cato but also on excellent terms with the women of his household. Plutarch's version here is derived from Thrasea, though it will be shown later that Thrasea relied here on another source in addition to Munatius. It is significant that no other version independent of Thrasea has come down to us of these proceedings.

In the story of the Cyprian expedition (cch.34-39) Munatius is again mentioned, first for his disapproval of Cato's methods of high-pressure salesmanship in disposing of the property of the king of Cyprus (36.5) and later in the incident (ch.37) of his quarrel with Cato: it is instructive that the subsequent reconciliation described there was brought about by Cato's wife Marcia. This in itself would be sufficient to suggest Munatius as the ultimate source of the Cyprian expedition, even though he was not all the time at Cato's side (see 37.2): he may have been absent for a short or insignificant period and certainly received the news about recent developments immediately on his arrival. Here too the account is vastly superior to all

the other sources, significant details otherwise unknown are related and we possess descriptions of a number of lively scenes (e.g. Cato's encounter with Ptolemy Auletes, the auction of the royal treasure, the quarrel of Munatius and Caninius) that must be due to Munatius' own narrative.

Munatius' authorship of the story of the Cyprian expedition is corroborated by important outside evidence: Valerius Maximus, in the sole reference to Munatius Rufus that does not come from our Life (IV.3.2), attributes to his authority the anecdote about Cato's abstinentia in dealing with the royal wealth of Cyprus: id Munatius Rufus Cypriacae expeditionis fidus comes scriptis suis significat. Close verbal resemblance suggests that the same authority was drawn on in the story about Cato's rejection of a proposal after his return from Cyprus, ut praetoriis comitiis extra ordinem ratio eius haberetur (IV.1.14):

IV.3.2	IV.1.14
cum pecuniae deportandae ministerium sustineret	Cypriacam pecuniam maxime cum diligentia et sanctitate in urbem deportavit, cuius ministerii gratia senatus...[6]

Now we can be certain that a third story in Valerius Maximus dealing with Cato's return from Cyprus (VIII.15.10) also derives from the same source and that Valerius has split

up one passage into several anecdotes[7]. This assures us - if such assurance is needed - that the last chapter of the story of the Cyprian expedition (ch.39), relating Cato's return and the proposals concerning the preatorship, also depends on Munatius Rufus' version.

Plutarch's last reference to Munatius is in 52.4, where we are told that at the outbreak of the Civil War Cato, while keeping his elder son at his side, sent the younger to Munatius in Bruttium. Since in the course of the subsequent narrative Cato had only one son with him (see 65-73 passim) it must have been the elder one. Thus it seems a fair assumption that Munatius did not accompany Cato during the Civil War and that at its outbreak they parted company for ever[8].

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6) Note that the word ministerium is absent from Cicero (except for a passage of translation in Timaeus 50) or Caesar, but does occur in Livy and Tacitus. Vell.II.38.6 employs it in the context of Cato's Cyprian mission: (Cyprus) ministerio Catonis...facta provincia est.

7) cf. Hemmen, op.cit.69; but he assumes from this that Munatius Rufus was the source of Val.Max. in all his anecdotes concerning Cato - certainly an untenable proposition.

8) Though from here on Munatius vanishes from the records it seems a fairly certain guess that he was engaged in recruiting troops for Cato in Southern Italy (see 52.4n.).

The final parting between Cato and Munatius comes at the major turning point of Plutarch's biography and might well indicate the terminal point of Munatius' σύγγραμμα. This consideration can be supported by a powerful argumentum ex silentio: the detailed description of Cato's last days provided ample opportunity to mention those who were on his side during those glorious days in Utica, and indeed Plutarch's narrative mentions a fair number of Cato's companions. On the experience of the previous passages featuring Munatius Rufus it seems highly unlikely that he would have failed to mention himself prominently were he at Cato's side during his last days; and there is no reason to suppose that the author's presence, lending additional authority to the story, would have been suppressed by either Thrasea or Plutarch. But there remains of course the possibility that Munatius Rufus continued his narrative at second hand to include Cato's participation in the Civil War and his death.

Thus far the limits of express information about Munatius Rufus; what follows are some general considerations concerning him and his σύγγραμμα, presented in the hope that the conclusions arrived at will enable us to trace more of our Life to Munatius Rufus than is apparent at first sight.

Munatius' personal association with Cato lasted at least

18 years, from the military tribunate in 67 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 49. That this association was neither casual nor intermittent is shown by its continuation during the two long periods of Cato's absence from Rome: Munatius accompanied Cato both on the military tribunate and the Asian journey and during the Cyprian expedition, each of which lasted about two years.

Another dominant feature is Munatius' position as a friend of the family and his close relationship with the women of Cato's household. The anecdote 9.1-3 shows him on confidential terms with Atilia, Cato's first wife. That he was on at least equally good terms with Cato's second wife Marcia can be seen from her attempts to reconcile her husband with Munatius (37.7-9), and from Munatius' familiarity of Marcia's marriages to Cato and Hortensius (25;52.5); it was Marcia's son for whom he took responsibility at the outbreak of the Civil War (52.4). Munatius must have held a confinential position with Cato's revered half-sister Servilia and her daughters to judge from his contacts with them concerning Pompey's marriage-proposals (30.4). Finally it is Munatius who provides us with information about Caepio's death and the provisions of his will (ch.11.).

Yet Munatius' confidential position was by no means restricted to family or private matters: his association

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with Cato in public affairs can be seen clearly in his participation in the fight against Metellus Nepos' and Caesar's men in 62 (cch.26-29) as well as in his being on Cato's staff in the military tribunate and the Cyprian propraetorship, and we have seen that very probably he was recruiting troops for Cato in the Civil War. His role of go-between in the delicate negotiations with Pompey may well indicate familiarity with the imperator, and certainly never have Roman marriage-alliances had a more political character than in this case.

So much for Munatius: of more immediate interest are the characteristics and extent of his work.

Both Munatius' long association with Cato and the lively controversy around Cato's figure after his suicide suggest most naturally that Munatius' writings formed part of these polemics. Indeed the polemical nature of Munatius' book is still apparent on the surface, and from the extant fragments it is clear beyond doubt that it contained large amounts of controversial material directed against the invectives of Julius Caesar, and possibly others.

In ch.11, a passage derived from Munatius, the charge is brought against Cato that his behaviour at his brother's death was unbecoming of a philosopher, only to be dismissed as showing a lack of understanding. More explicitly

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attributable is the charge at the end of the chapter that Cato passed the ashes of his brother through a sieve in order to save the grains of melted gold: οὕτως οὐ τῷ ἔλφε μόνον,ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ γραφείῳ τὸ ἀνυπόδυνον καὶ ἀνυπόδητον ⟨δι⟩εκπέπωκεν .No reader, ancient or modern, could fail to recognise in this a polemic against Caesar and his Anticato, a dismissal of the vituperator by the weight of the superior evidence of the eye-witness. Though it would be tempting to credit the same writer with the attack earlier in the chapter, its line seems to be in conflict with an extant fragment of Caesar's Anticato[9] and thus it seems preferable to attribute it to some other defamatory writing about Cato, perhaps the one by A.Hirtius[10].

Next, the description of the Marcia-affair (ch.25): Caesar attacked Cato on this account, claiming that he was motivated by avarice and that the whole transaction was only a means to win Hortensius' inheritance (52.6-7). This information about the Anticato is quoted together with facts obviously derived from Munatius' σύγγραμμα and seems to emanate from the same source; clearly the minute descrip-

9) frg.1 Klotz (=Priscian.GL II.227.2):Caesar in Anticatone priore: uno enim excepto,quem alius modi atque omnis natura finxit,suos quisque habet caros.

10)cf.Beuzekamp,Observationes in vitam Catonis Uticensis, diss.Amsterdam 1876,4.

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tion of the Marcia-affair in ch.25 was designed to rectify the invectives and insinuations spread by Caesar and his friends.

A central issue in the controversy around Cato seems to have been his conduct as propraetor of Cyprus. Already during Cato's lifetime, and probably only a few months after his return from Cyprus, Metellus Scipio published his invective full of charges about his conduct of the affairs of the island[11]. The Elder Pliny drew on this pamphlet when enumerating the various objects sold by Cato in the auction of the royal household (see 36.4n), and it probably also dealt with the mode of Cato's return to the city (see 39.2). Cato's conduct in Cyprus formed also πικροτάτην τὸ μέρος of Caesar's accusations (36.5), depending, as Pietrowicz has argued, on Metellus Scipio. It is through Munatius Rufus answering these charges that they came to be included in Plutarch's Life - though it is noteworthy that he was not able to refute them as wholeheartedly as he may have wished (ibid). Whether Munatius Rufus drew directly on Metellus Scipio's invective or whether he was acquainted with it only through Caesar's Anticato it is impossible to tell and does not seriously effect the question of Plutarch's sources.

Thus far all the references to Caesar's Anticato in

11)On this and what follows cf.Pietrowicz,Eos XVIII.1912;29 ff.

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our Life have been included in Munatius' polemics against the defamation of his hero: it seems plausible that this was also the case with the one outstanding reference at 54.2[12]. Here we are told that Caesar charged Cato with unbecoming conduct towards his 'sister' Servilia (actually his niece: see Appendix I), formerly wife of Lucullus. Familiarity with the conventions of Roman invective suggests accusations of incestuous relationship, though Ed.Meyer[13] has maintained that on the contrary he was charged with neglecting her. Servilia's licentious behaviour, causing her divorce from Lucullus, was mentioned at 24.4-5, closely connected with the report about the similar conduct of Cato's first wife Atilia (24.6) and the story of his marriage to Marcia and the subsequent divorce that enabled her to marry Hortensius (ch.25). As we have seen, this last affair was narrated by Munatius, who refuted Caesar's charges that Cato trafficked in marriage in order to obtain Hortensius' wealth. Caesar's Anticato, a piece of rhetoric that

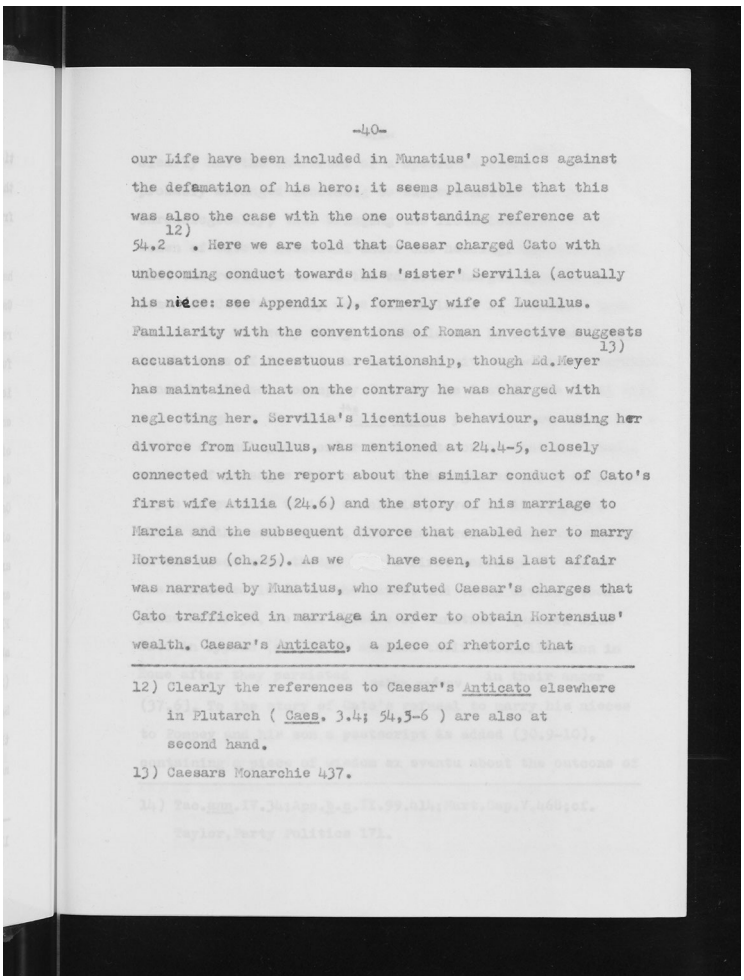
12) Clearly the references to Caesar's Anticato elsewhere in Plutarch (Caes. 3.4; 54,3-6) are also at second hand.

13) Caesars Monarchie 437.

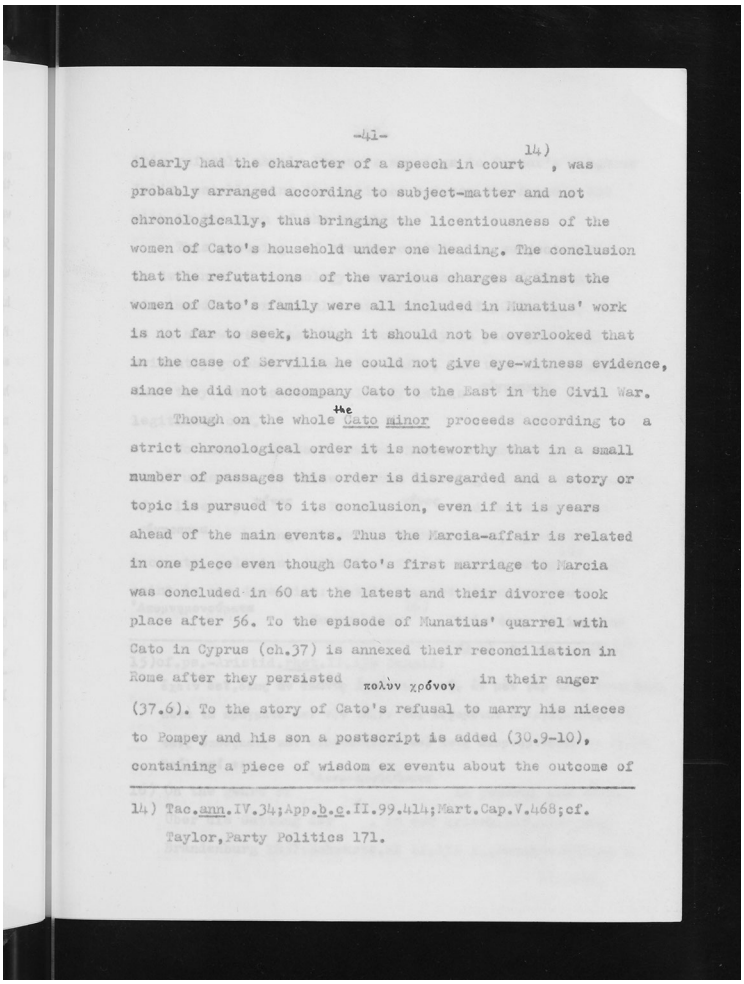
clearly had the character of a speech in court[14], was probably arranged according to subject-matter and not chronologically, thus bringing the licentiousness of the women of Cato's household under one heading. The conclusion that the refutations of the various charges against the women of Cato's family were all included in Munatius' work is not far to seek, though it should not be overlooked that in the case of Servilia he could not give eye-witness evidence, since he did not accompany Cato to the East in the Civil War.

Though on the whole the Cato minor proceeds according to a strict chronological order it is noteworthy that in a small number of passages this order is disregarded and a story or topic is pursued to its conclusion, even if it is years ahead of the main events. Thus the Marcia-affair is related in one piece even though Cato's first marriage to Marcia was concluded in 60 at the latest and their divorce took place after 56. To the episode of Munatius' quarrel with Cato in Cyprus (ch.37) is annexed their reconciliation in Rome after they persisted πολὺν χρόνον in their anger (37.6). To the story of Cato's refusal to marry his nieces to Pompey and his son a postscript is added (30.9-10), containing a piece of wisdom ex eventu about the outcome of

14) Tac.ann.IV.34;App.b.c.II.99.414;Mart.Cap.V.468;cf. Taylor,Party Politics 171.



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this refusal, namely Pompey's marriage to Caesar's daughter Iulia, establishing the alliance between the dynasts and with it the doom of the Republic.

This grouping of events according to subject-matter in defiance of chronology could be the work of Plutarch, his immediate or his ultimate sources (cf.30.9-10n.): but it is noteworthy that they occur only in passages which evidently go back to Munatius Rufus, and thus the assumption that they were contained already in his σύγγραμμα is a legitimate one.

No ancient writer, however humble or modest his aims, could undertake to write without adhering to the requirements of a literary γένος. To what γένος did Munatius Rufus' σύγγραμμα belong? Personal reminiscences, eye-witness accounts, polemics, deviations from a strict order[15], all point to one direction: Cato's trusted companion wrote Ἀπομνημονεύματα - Memorabilia[16]. It is easy to imagine

15) cf.ps.-Aristid.rhet.II.139 Schmid: Τὰ δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὕτως ἔχειν δεῖ,ὅπως ἂν ἐκάστῳ ἁρμόζειν δοκῇ, ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἱστορίαις αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἀπεργάζεται,ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποθήκαις καὶ διδασκαλίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ὡς ἂν βούλεταί τις.

16) On the genre of Ἀπομνημονεύματα in general see Köpke, Über die Gattung der Ἀ. in der griech.Lit.,Programm Brandenburg 1857:Schwartz,RE II.170 f.;Schmid-Stählin I. III.229.

where Munatius would get his inspiration from and upon which work he would model his own Reminiscences: Xenophon's Memorabilia were written in surprisingly similar circumstances to those that brought Munatius to take up the pen:

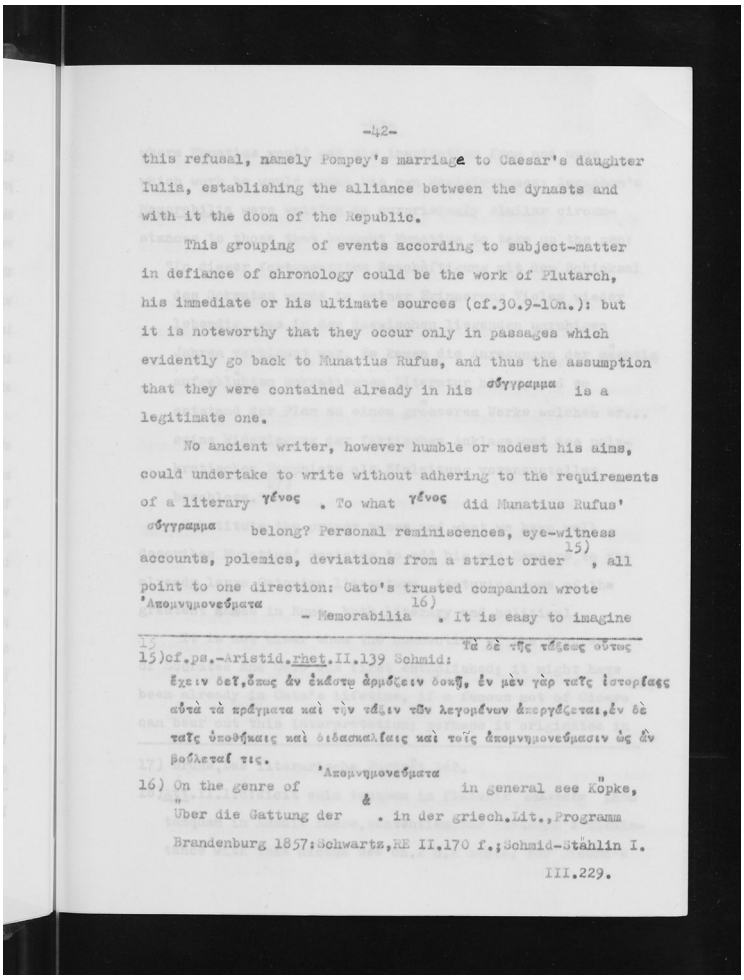
> "In dieser fortgesetzten Beschäftigung mit dem Schicksal des Sokrates wurde in seiner Erinnerung Vieles wieder lebendig, was in den dazwischen liegenden unruhigen Jahren verblasst war. Es kamen die Anregungen der mächtig aufgeblühten sokratischen Literatur hinzu, und so entstand der Plan zu einem grösserem Werke welchem er... seine Widerlegung der faktischen Anklage und des polykratischen Pamphlets als Einleitung voranzustellen beschloss."[17].

Substitute the proper names and what we have well describes Munatius' decision to add his own Memoirs to the already large Catonian literature, featuring some of the greatest names in Rome, both literary and political.

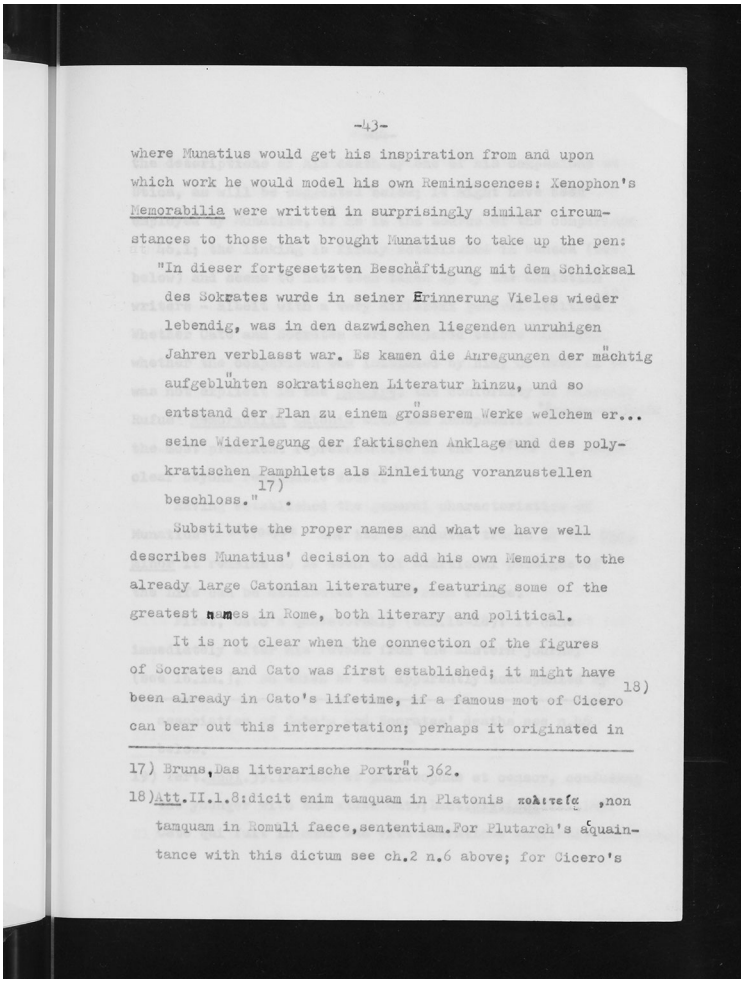
It is not clear when the connection of the figures of Socrates and Cato was first established; it might have been already in Cato's lifetime, if a famous mot of Cicero[18] can bear out this interpretation; perhaps it originated in

17) Bruns,Das literarische Porträt 362.

18) Att.II.1.8:dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ ,non tamquam in Romuli faece,sententiam.For Plutarch's acquaintance with this dictum see ch.2 n.6 above; for Cicero's



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the descriptions of his death by one of his companions at Utica, as will be suggested below; it might have been employed by Munatius, if he is the source of the comparison at 46.1; the linking is firmly established in Seneca (see below) and seems to have been taken up by the Christian writers - albeit with a very different general attitude[19]. Whether Cato and Socrates were compared before Munatius, whether the comparison was initiated by him, or even if it was not explicit in the Memoirs, the conformity of Munatius Rufus' Memorabilia Catonis with the Xenophontic Ἀπομνημονεύματα, the most prominent representative of the γένος, seems clear beyond reasonable doubt.

Having established the general characteristics of Munatius' σύγγραμμα and its undisputed traces in the Cato minor it remains to be seen what additional passages of the Life can be attributed to the same source.

First, Cato's quaestorship (cch.16-18): it came immediately after his return from the Eastern journey (see 16.1n.), on which he was apparently accompanied by

association of Cato's and Socrates' deaths see n.46 below.

19) Tert.apol.39.12:leno et philosophus et censor, confusing the younger with the elder Cato;Lact.div.inst.III.185: Cato qui fuit in omni sua vita Socraticae vanitatis imitator.

Munatius (see 15.4), and the descriptions of the two events follow each other closely. The narrative provides us with material completely unknown from other sources[20], it betrays intimate acquaintance with the working of the Roman government and contains several anecdotes most likely to be found in an eye-witness account, as is the case with such details as the sum Cato paid for copying the accounts of the Treasury (18.9). Hence it is most natural to assume that Munatius continued in his confidential position with Cato during the first important public office of the quaestorship and included later a laudatory account of this year in the Memoirs.

It is impossible to tell how much of the following section (cch.19-21) may depend on Munatius, though from his stand with Cato in the difficult first weeks of the tribunate we may assume with confidence that he was also with Cato during the canvass for this office. At least the anecdote of Cato's encounter with Metellus Nepos on the way to Lucania (20.2-6) bears the stamp of a first-hand account, and of course Munatius might have easily been one of the friends mentioned as accompanying Cato (20.4)[21].

20)The parallels of the anecdote 16.6-7 in vit.pud.534D and praec.ger.reip.808E are clearly secondary.

21)For Munatius' possible connections with Lucania cf.also 52.4n.

Other remnants are more scattered and difficult to establish. Caesar attacked Cato on account of his heavy drinking[22] and we may have in our Life echoes of this charge and of Munatius' defence[23]. Even less certain is the next point: Plutarch is at pains to recall the Stoic manner in which Cato took his repeated defeat at the elections (ch.42 for the praetorship; 49-50 for the consulate). Though the remnants of the Anticato include no explicit statement on this, there is reason to believe that Caesar attributed some at least of Cato's actions to his bitterness and disappointment at his failure at the elections[24]; our version might well be based on the attempt of the faithful companion to rectify this view.

Another passage that could owe its existence to Munatius Rufus' eye-witness account is the story of the conference of Cato and Pompey after the latter's appointment as sole consul (48.1-4): the meeting was strictly private in Pompey's suburban villa and this might be the reason for its being

22)Plin.ep.III.12.2;cf.Sen.tranq.an.17.9.

23)44.2: ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ μετ' ἄριστον οἶνον πεπωκότα χρηματίσαι· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῶς λέγεται; cf.6.2.

24)Caes.b.c.I.4.1:Catonem veteres inimicitiae Caesaris incitant et dolor repulsae.

totally unknown to other sources[25]. On the other hand Munatius' presence may easily be presumed, the more so since we have seen him earlier (ch.30) in the role of go-between between Cato and Pompey in most delicate matters.

One could go on to speculate about the provenance of one or two other passages from Munatius, but they could hardly alter the general picture of Munatius' Memoirs and the extent of their use in Thrasea. Thus we may proceed to the next stage of our enquiry, namely the establishment of the passages where Plutarch is dependent on Thrasea Paetus, but the latter's source is not Munatius.

b.Thrasea Paetus[26]

It will be expedient to start with a passage, the only one of its kind in our Life, where we have express evidence for the use of two contradictory versions:

25)Again the parallel in Pomp.54.8-9 is but a different version based on the same source:see ch.5 below.

26)Thrasea Paetus (in Plutarch always referred to only by the first of these cognomina) is far too well-known a figure to need reappraisal here;for the standard accounts see PIR I^2.C938;Kunnert,RE IV.99 ff.no.58;Peter HRR II.CXXX; the best assessment of his ideological position is Wirszubski,Libertas 138 ff.

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30.3: (Pompey) μετεπέμψατο Μουνάτιον ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ,καὶ ὁδὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀδελφιδᾶς ἐπιγάμους ἔχοντος, ἤτει τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υἱῷ· τινὲς δέ φασιν οὐ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν,ἀλλὰ τῶν θυγατέρων τὴν μνηστείαν γενέσθαι.

It is self-evident that the first version, giving as the object of Pompey's intentions Cato's nieces, goes back to Munatius, the actual go-between in the negotiations; the variant version theoretically might have been

a) added by Plutarch to his main source Thrasea Paetus
b) quoted by Thrasea, who used a different source in addition to Munatius, or
c) mentioned by Munatius in order to refute it.

Fortunately two other references in Plutarch enable us to decide conclusively in favour of the correct solution.

Pomp.44.2: καὶ δυεῖν οὐσῶν ἀδελφιδῶν τῷ Κάτωνι,τὴν μὲν αὑτὸς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν γυναῖκα,τὴν δὲ τῷ παιδὶ συνοικῆσαι.

This is plainly equivalent with our version no.1,i.e. derived from Munatius through Thrasea. On the other hand the second passage agrees with version no.2:

Cato min.45.2-4:Clodius accused Cato in the year 54 of taking for himself much of the treasure of Cyprus, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἀπαξιώσαντι γάμον αὐτοῦ θυγατρός. To this Cato answers: πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἡγήσασθαι προσήκειν,οὗ ἄνδρα νομίζων

ἡγούμενος,ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διαφοράν [27]

This passage enables us to dismiss possibility c) immediately: were the parallel version in 30.3 contained in Munatius' Memoirs only for the sake of discussion and refutation, its reappearance in 45.2-4 could not well be accounted for. On the other hand possibility a) would require a special source on Cato other than Thrasea used by Plutarch, of which otherwise no trace is to be found. (The occurrence of the story in any source not devoted specifically to Cato seems highly unlikely in light of its total absence from our extant tradition, including Cicero's correspondence [28]). It would also require a reason to explain why Plutarch

27)The divergences between the alternative version given in 30.3 and 45.2-4 are apparent rather than real. That Clodius found it fit to represent Pompey as the one who rejected a marriage-alliance offered by Cato may confidently be accepted as malicious misrepresentation; and it is corrected in Cato's answer. For Clodius' purposes it was certainly sufficient and prudent to mention one daughter only as offered to Pompey. This whole incident is dealt with rather clumsily in Drumann-Groebe V.210.4;Münzer RAA 349 ff., while amending their obvious errors, conjectures freely:"Später,die seine (scil.Clodius') Behauptung mit dem Zeugnis des Munatius verglichen,wollten beide

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should mention a version from a mysterious source which he evidently disbelieves, as is shown by the fact that in the shortened account in the Pompey he discards it altogether.

There remains possibility b) - i.e. that Thrasea used another source in addition to Munatius Rufus. This is the more welcome since even without additional evidence it seems prima facie the most preferable alternative.

That Thrasea would peruse the entire literature on Cato still available in his time, and did not simply copy out Munatius, should stand beyond need of further proof; equally axiomatic is his familiarity with the bulk of the historical literature on the Republic, which must have formed a basic part of his education. Thus,a priori, no conceivable writer, whether known to us or not, can be ruled out as referred to by Thrasea. Who the other writer quoted by Thrasea was we may never know but a certain set of facts may add up to an educated guess. In all likelihood Thrasea quoted the second source only to refute it by Munatius' eye-witness testimony:

miteinander vereinigen und machten aus einer Tochter zwei weil Munatius von zwei Nichten sprach". One suspects that Münzer did not clearly visualise the relations between the sources of Plutarch that would support his thesis.

28)The version in Zonar.X.5 p.352 Dind. is derived from the Pomp.:see 30.1n.

it has been convincingly demonstrated [29] that Munatius' version of Pompey's proposals is correct, and that the two nieces in question were Servilia's daughters and Brutus' half-sisters. Thrasea was an ardent admirer of Brutus [30] and thus extremely unlikely not to consult the account one of his heroes gave of the other - if it was still extant. Brutus' unreliability needs hardly to surprise us, as the only known detail of his 'Cato' is his inaccuracy in the account of the debate on the fate of the Catilinarians [31]. It may be noted that the events under discussion were less than two years remote from the Catilinarian conspiracy: Brutus might have been more accurate when writing about closer events and times when he had a part of his own to play. On the other hand his reasons - if the distortion was intentional - are more difficult to discern, though a few observations might elucidate the circumstances. The enmity between Brutus and Pompey, the supposed murderer of his father, at the time is well-known [32], so that he would hardly share his mother's and sister's great enthusiasm for the proposed alliance (30.4). Yet at the time of the

29) Münzer,RAA 349 ff.

30) Juv.V.36 ff.;cf.Tac.ann.XVI.22.5

31) Cic.Att.XII.21.1.

32) see e.g.Syme,Rom.Rev.27;58.

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composition of Brutus' Cato the ladies in question could scarcely be expected to protest against the suppression of the truth: Servilia, Brutus' mother, according to rumour once Caesar's mistress, was still on close terms with the dictator, from whose rule she continued to profit financially; one of the daughters was now married to Aemilius Lepidus, the future triumvir, Caesar's Master of the Horse, the other to P.Servilius Isauricus,cos.48,41, another of Caesar's most reliable supporters among the ranks of the nobility. The substitution of Cato's daughters for his nieces was not only demonstrably inaccurate, but also impossible, since Cato had only one marriageable daughter at the time: she was Porcia, Bibulus' widow, who married Brutus about the time of the composition of his Cato!

This might at first sight appear as a consideration against Brutus' authorship of the parallel version in ch.30; but we know little about Porcia - and the little we know is likely to make us have second thoughts. Of the numerous accounts of the Marcia-affair only Plutarch tells us that Hortensius first intended to marry Porcia, and only after Cato's refusal asked for Marcia (25.4-8). Since in the event Hortensius married Marcia there is no way of testing the reliability of our text: but it is noteworthy that once again Thrasea's work contained uncorroborated information

33)on the relative chronology see ch.5 of this Introduction.

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about marriage intentions toward Porcia.

After her death Porcia became a favourite subject of romance. A patent invention featuring her heroic suicide after her husband's death gained wide credence (see 73.6n.); Q.Calpurnius Bibulus, Porcia's son of her first marriage, composed τι βιβλίδιον μικρὸν ἀποφθεγματευόμενον Βροῦτον in which his mother seems to have occupied a prominent place (Brut.13.3-11;23.2-7): here too her behaviour is worthy of a romantic heroine. It is not impossible that it is from this source that the invention of her suicide emanated.

All this, of course, is hardly evidence to support Thrasea's use of Brutus' Cato: but it might be judged sufficient to neutralise any attacks on this hypothesis on the ground of the story's inacceptability to Porcia. A further consideration involving Thrasea's use of Brutus' Cato might be added: it will be shown later that in the account of the debate on the fate of the Catilinarians (cch.22-23) in all probability Plutarch used a source different from Thrasea. Now it is totally inconceivable, that any work on Cato would not have contained a full account of these proceedings, especially so after Sallust's exposé; the cause of Plutarch's preference for another source might have been the wish to keep the account uniform to those already given in previously written Lives like the Cicero[33].

33)on the relative chronology see ch.5 of this Introduction.

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This would be the more so if the account found in Thrasea differed significantly from the accepted one. This would be certainly the case if Thrasea drew on Brutus' distorted narrative. There is a negative consideration to support this view: there is no evidence that Munatius Rufus was a senator and among the numerous remnants of his Memoirs in our Life we have no piece that relates to senatorial business: the possibility that the Catilinarian debate was dealt with summarily by Munatius is strong and would account for Thrasea's reliance on an alternative source.

Another part of the biography for which in what follows Thrasea will be claimed as source is the section describing Cato's participation in the Civil War and his last days and death at Utica. It has been argued above that Munatius Rufus did not accompany Cato in that time and that probably his Memoirs did not include these events; an attempt will be made to find out as much as possible about the ultimate source of this section, though the possibility that Munatius Rufus acted as intermediary between this ultimate (oral) source and Thrasea Paetus cannot entirely be ruled out.

The question of the sources of the section describing Cato's last days and death cannot be treated separately from the literary environment that produced it and is essential for its understanding. At about the same time that Plutarch was engaged in reproducing in pairs the Lives of the heroes

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of Hellas' glorious past and of the Roman Republic a peculiar kind of Kleinliteratur - to use Reitzenstein's word - was flourishing in Rome: the untimely deaths of famous men, of which so many occurred under the tyrants' rule, called for admiration and emulation and produced a whole literary genre devoted to them. Thus we learn that Titinius Capito composed exitus illustrium virorum[34] and C.Fannius at his death completed three books of a work dealing with exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone[35]. These were not the sole examples of their kind nor was this literature ephemeral and restricted to deaths of Roman senators under the more tyrannical Emperors[36]. Since the Alexandrian period collections of τελευταί of philosophers and heroes had been made[37]; the generic connection of the literature of the exitus illustrium virorum with the Acts

34)Plin.ep.VIII.12.4

35)ibid.V.5.3;they are described as subtiles et diligentes et Latinos;this is mistaken by Schunck,SO XXXIX.1964,41 f. to mean that they are contrasted with previous specimens of the genre that were written in Greek;for the correct meaning of Latinus in this passage of Pliny cf.e.g.VII.4.3.

36)kindred to these works is Pliny's description of his uncle's death (ep.VI.16).

37)see Musurillo,The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs,238.

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of the Pagan Martyrs was recognized a long time ago[38] and certain parallels with the first Christian martyrologies are apparent[39]. Connected with the literature on the deaths of famous men were biographies of heroes of the resistance against the tyrannical Emperors: though here a full-scale account of the life of the hero was given, a special emphasis was laid on a detailed picture of his last hours and death[40]; thus, e.g., Arulenus Rusticus' biography of Thrasea Paetus and Herennius Senecio's Life of Helvidius Priscus[41] no doubt reached their culmination and peak in depicting the martyrdom of the heroes. Fortunately we are in a position to trace one of these accounts in an extant writer: it is generally recognized[42] that Tacitus' narrative of the end of Thrasea Paetus depends on Arulenus Rusticus. Perhaps the most significant characteristic of the scene, as will be shown in detail, is the series of remarkable similarities with the end of Cato of Utica, as we know it mainly from Plutarch.

38)first apparently by Reitzenstein,Nachr.Gött.1904,326 ff.; see also Musurillo,op.cit.236 ff.

39)see e.g.Saumagne,REL XXXIII.1955,241 ff.

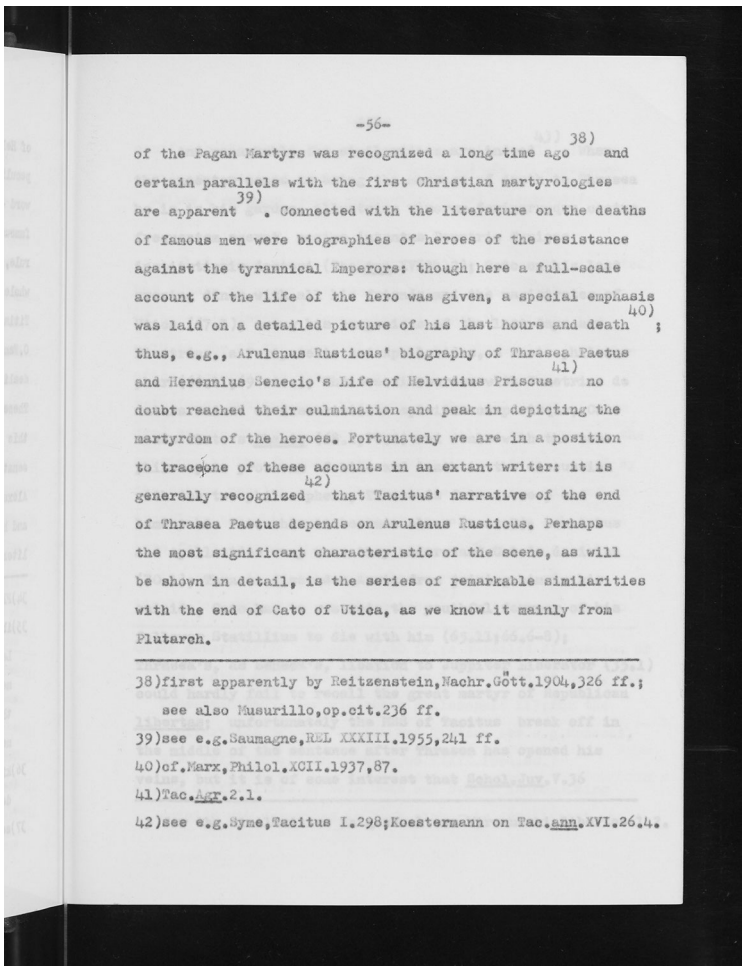
40)cf.Marx,Philol.XCII.1937,87.

41)Tac.Agr.2.1.

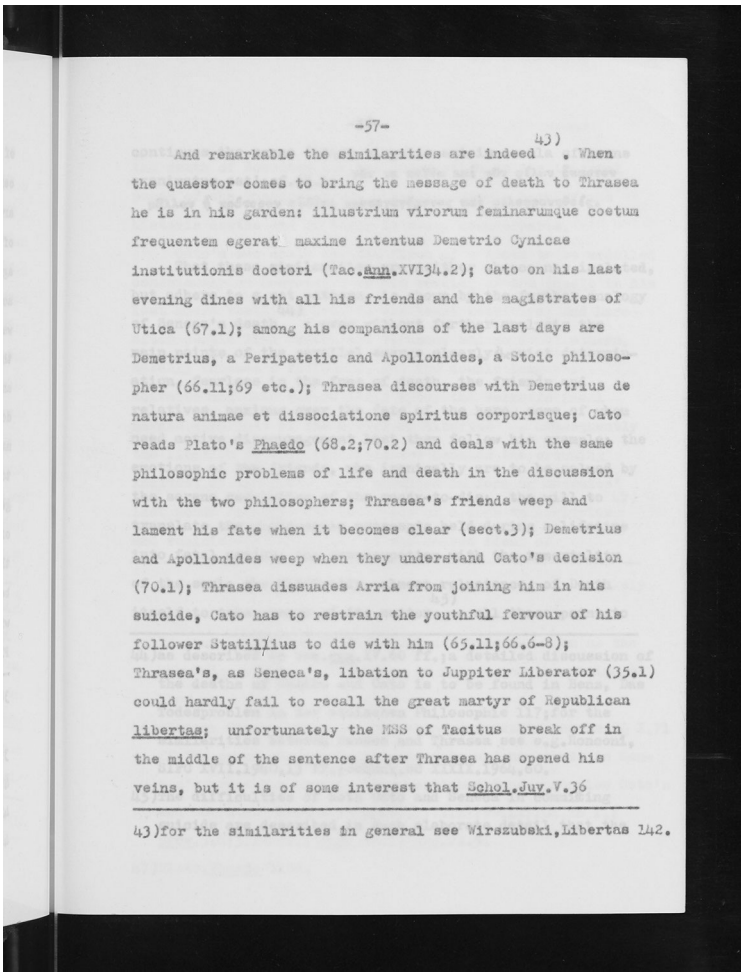
42)see e.g.Syme,Tacitus I.298;Koestermann on Tac.ann.XVI.26.4.

And remarkable the similarities are indeed[43]. When the quaestor comes to bring the message of death to Thrasea he is in his garden: illustrium virorum feminarumque coetum frequentem egerat maxime intentus Demetrio Cynicae institutionis doctori (Tac.ann.XVI34.2); Cato on his last evening dines with all his friends and the magistrates of Utica (67.1); among his companions of the last days are Demetrius, a Peripatetic and Apollonides, a Stoic philosopher (66.11;69 etc.); Thrasea discourses with Demetrius de natura animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque; Cato reads Plato's Phaedo (68.2;70.2) and deals with the same philosophic problems of life and death in the discussion with the two philosophers; Thrasea's friends weep and lament his fate when it becomes clear (sect.3); Demetrius and Apollonides weep when they understand Cato's decision (70.1); Thrasea dissuades Arria from joining him in his suicide, Cato has to restrain the youthful fervour of his follower Statilius to die with him (65.11;66.6-8); Thrasea's, as Seneca's, libation to Juppiter Liberator (35.1) could hardly fail to recall the great martyr of Republican libertas; unfortunately the MSS of Tacitus break off in the middle of the sentence after Thrasea has opened his veins, but it is of some interest that Schol.Juv.V.36

43)for the similarities in general see Wirszubski,Libertas 142.



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continues the scene 'atque singulis amicis oscula offerens exanimatus est';cf.68.1: τόν τε παῖδα καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον εἰδὼς προσαγαγόμενος καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος.

That these similarities are neither chance nor isolated, but adhere to a set pattern, is shown by the further analogy of Seneca's death[44]: even without further analysis the main points of the parallel emerge clearly: the quiet determination, fearless in the face of death, the friends and relatives, anxious over the fate of the hero, some of whom need active discouragement lest they follow his example; the emotions of the friends, who ironically are to be calmed by the serene resolution of the ready-to-die; the will to translate the philosophic praecepts held during a lifetime into fatal action; the preoccupation with the immortality of the soul; the difficulty, almost reluctance, of Death itself to take charge of its suitor[45]; all these point to

44)as described in Tac.ann.XV.60 ff.;a detailed discussion of the deaths of Seneca and Cato is to be found in Benz, Das Todesproblem in der stoischen Philosophie 117;for the similarities between Seneca and Thrasea see e.g.Ronconi, SIFC XVII.1940,13 ff.;Schunk,SO XXXIX.1964,60.

45)The difficulties of both Cato and Seneca in committing suicide are described in such elaborate detail that the

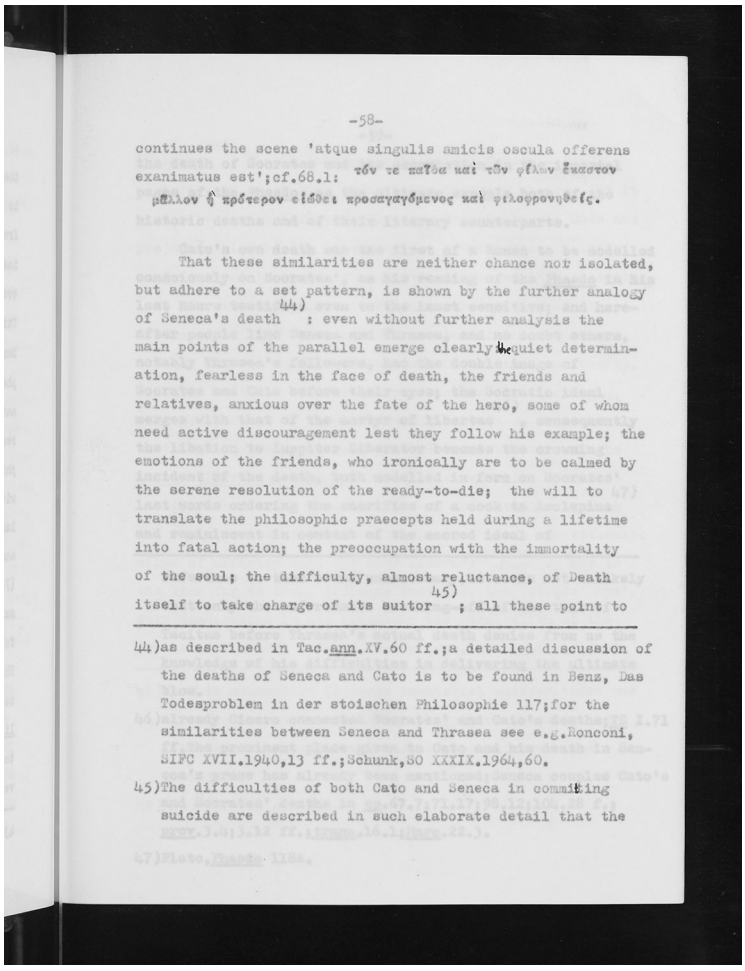
the death of Socrates and its description in the immortal pages of the Phaedo as the ultimate example both of the historic deaths and of their literary counterparts.

Cato's own death was the first of a Roman to be modelled consciously on Socrates', as his reading of the Phaedo in his last hours testifies even to the least sensitive; and hereafter people like Seneca and Thrasea, and no doubt others, notably Thrasea's followers, had the double image of Socrates and Cato before their eyes; the Socratic ideal merges with that of the martyr of libertas[46], consequently the libation to Iuppiter Liberator becomes the crowning incident of the death, both modelled in form on Socrates' last words ordering the sacrifice of a cock to Asclepius[47] and reminiscent in content of the sacred ideal of

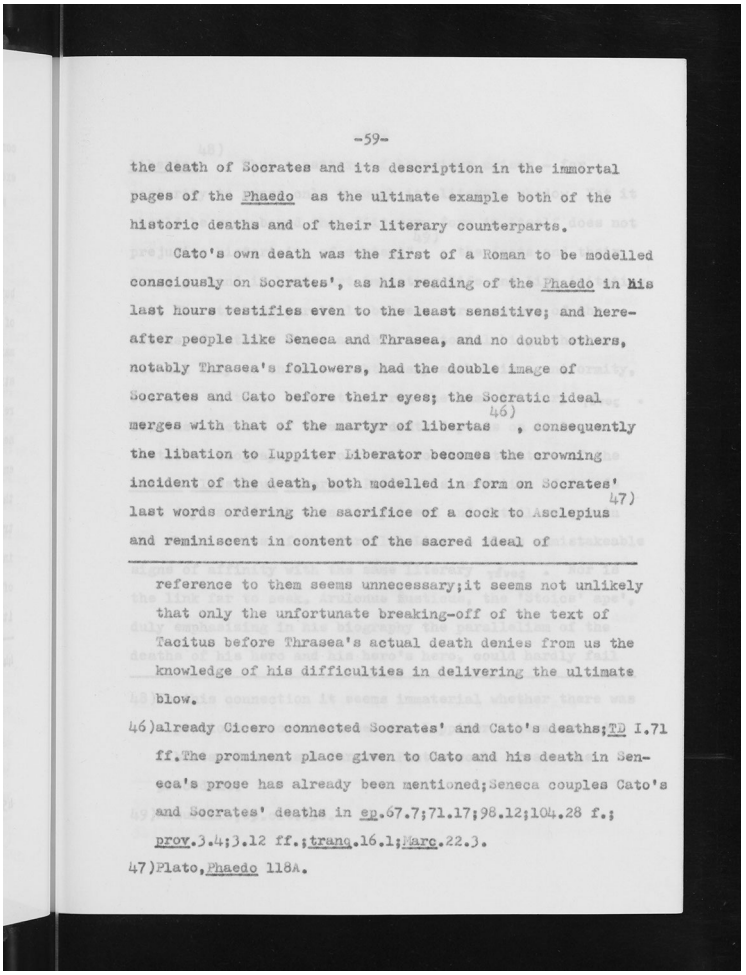
reference to them seems unnecessary;it seems not unlikely that only the unfortunate breaking-off of the text of Tacitus before Thrasea's actual death denies from us the knowledge of his difficulties in delivering the ultimate blow.

46)already Cicero connected Socrates' and Cato's deaths;TD I.71 ff.The prominent place given to Cato and his death in Seneca's prose has already been mentioned;Seneca couples Cato's and Socrates' deaths in ep.67.7;71.17;98.12;104.28 f.; prov.3.4;3.12 ff.;tranq.16.1;Marc.22.3.

47)Plato,Phaedo 118A.



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libertas[48]. Thus a pattern of behaviour arises - for posterity to grasp only through its literary shadow. Yet it should be remembered that "literary form in itself does not prejudice historicity of content"[49]; the facts and their image go hand in hand, Art imitating Life and Life imitating Art. The striking parallels between our accounts of the deaths of Cato of Utica and his senatorial biographer are due not only to their - doubtlessly authentic - uniformity, but also to their derivation from the same literary γένος. Tacitus' account of Thrasea's death depends on Arulenus Rusticus' biography, a work akin to the literature of the exitus illustrium virorum; Plutarch's narrative of Cato's last days and death - in its pattern and detail unique in the whole series of the Parallel Lives - shows unmistakeable signs of affinity with the same literary γένος. Nor is the link far to seek. Arulenus Rusticus, the 'Stoics' ape', duly emphasizing in his biography the parallelism of the deaths of his hero and his hero's hero, could hardly fail

48)In this connection it seems immaterial whether there was a previous association between Iuppiter Liberator and libertas;Seneca and Thrasea Paetus would create the precedent.

49)Musurillo,op.cit.236.

to consult the description of the latter by the former. Thus our narratives resemble each other not only because Thrasea modelled his death on Cato's, but also because Arulenus Rusticus must have modelled his description of Thrasea's death on Thrasea's description of Cato's death and because Tacitus reflects Arulenus Rusticus and Plutarch Thrasea Paetus. This is well in line not only with resemblances of particular points but also with the general underlying motif and attitude of the two martyrs: it has been pointed out that Thrasea

> "acted primarily as a courageous and upright Roman senator who held Stoic views, not as a Stoic philosopher who happened to be a senator at Rome"[50]

and equally Cato's idea of liberty

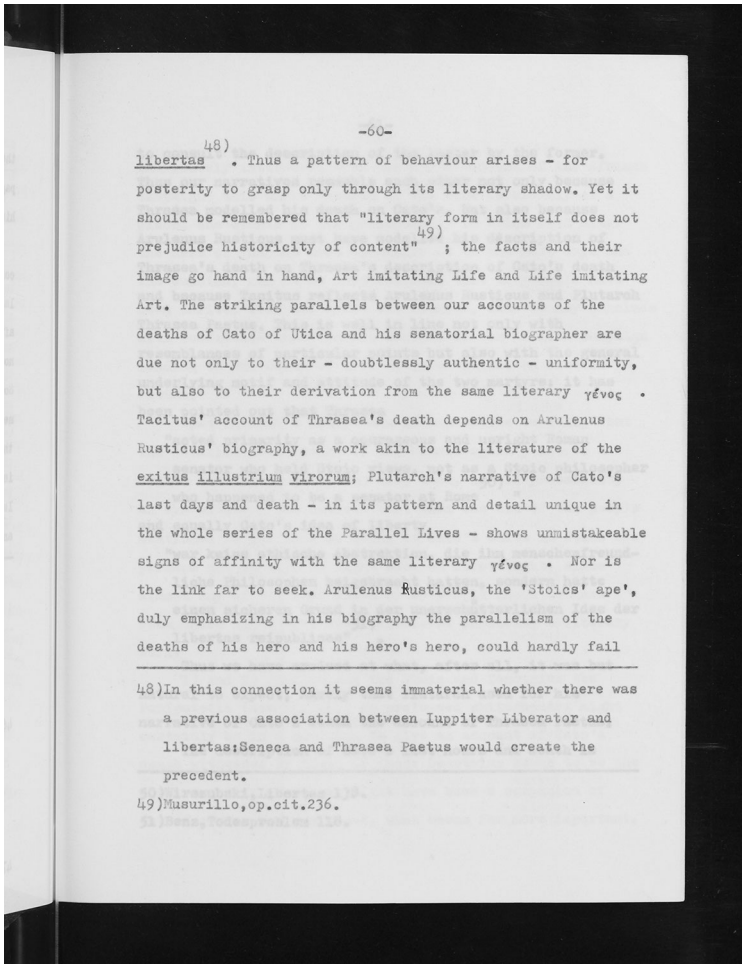
> "war keine ethische Abstraktion, die ihm menschenfreundliche Philosophen beigebracht hatten, sondern hatte einen sicheren Grund in der unerschütterlichen Idee der libertas reipublicae"[51].

Thus we have arrived at what, after all, it was but natural to expect, namely that Plutarch used for his narrative of Cato's death the account of Thrasea Paetus.

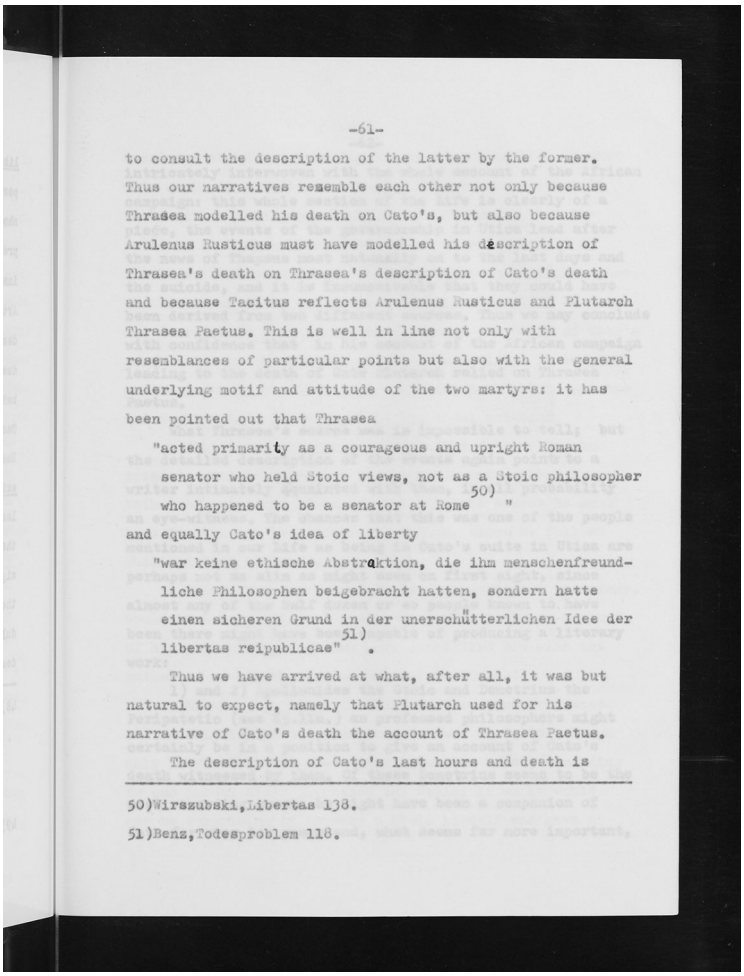
The description of Cato's last hours and death is

50)Wirszubski,Libertas 138.

51)Benz,Todesproblem 118.



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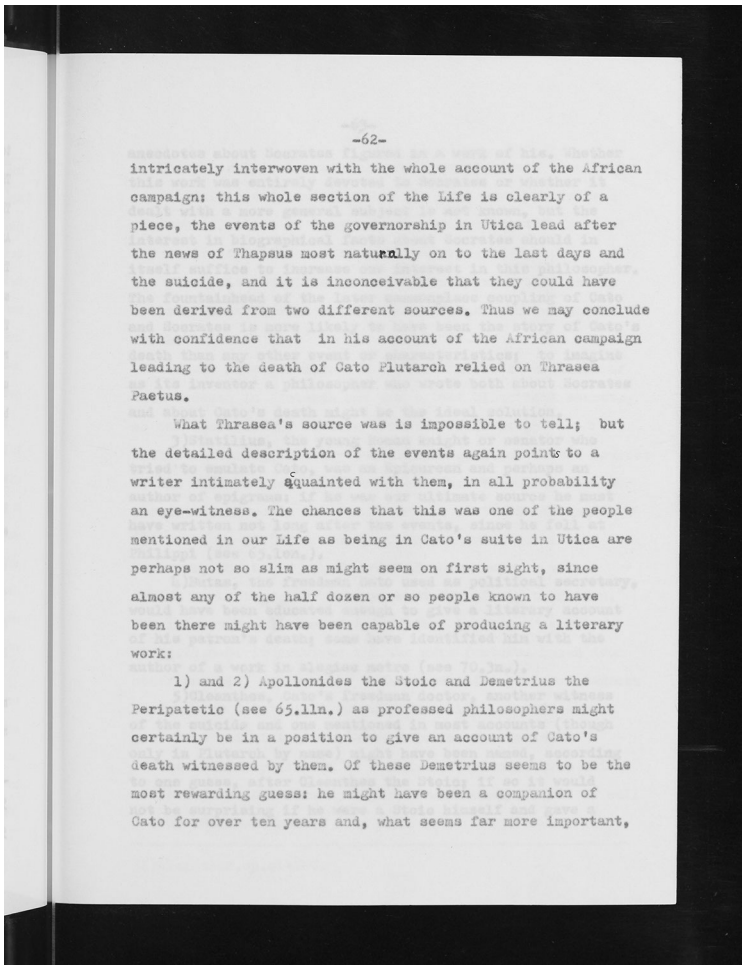


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intricately interwoven with the whole account of the African campaign: this whole section of the Life is clearly of a piece, the events of the governorship in Utica lead after the news of Thapsus most naturally on to the last days and the suicide, and it is inconceivable that they could have been derived from two different sources. Thus we may conclude with confidence that in his account of the African campaign leading to the death of Cato Plutarch relied on Thrasea Paetus.

What Thrasea's source was is impossible to tell; but the detailed description of the events again points to a writer intimately acquainted with them, in all probability an eye-witness. The chances that this was one of the people mentioned in our Life as being in Cato's suite in Utica are perhaps not so slim as might seem on first sight, since almost any of the half dozen or so people known to have been there might have been capable of producing a literary work:

1) and 2) Apollonides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic (see 65.11n.) as professed philosophers might certainly be in a position to give an account of Cato's death witnessed by them. Of these Demetrius seems to be the most rewarding guess: he might have been a companion of Cato for over ten years and, what seems far more important,



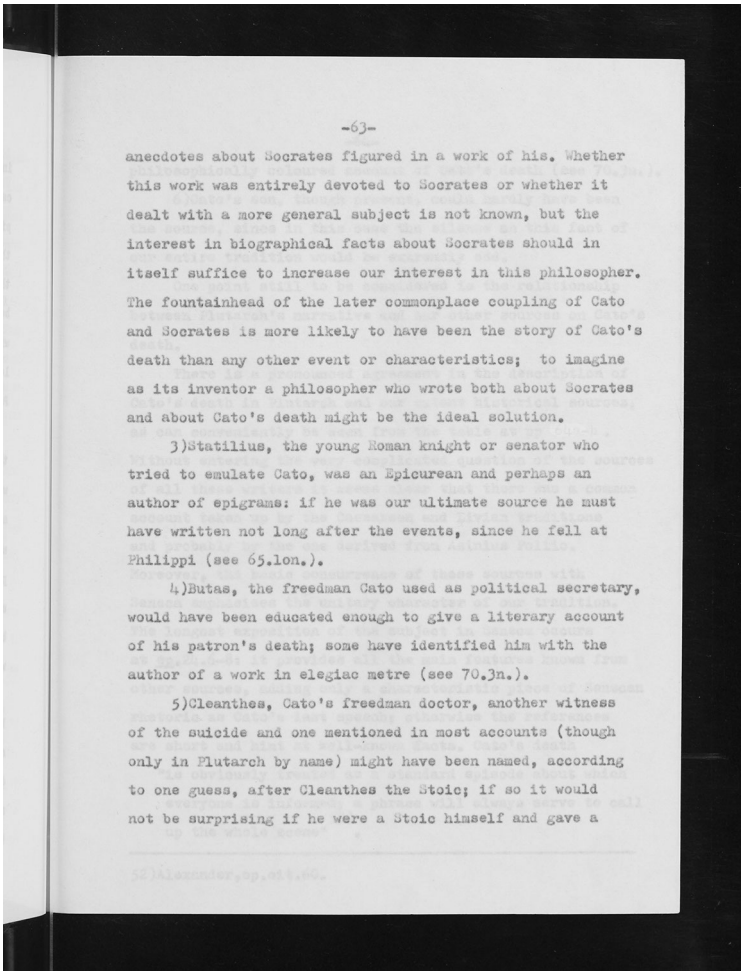
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anecdotes about Socrates figured in a work of his. Whether this work was entirely devoted to Socrates or whether it dealt with a more general subject is not known, but the interest in biographical facts about Socrates should in itself suffice to increase our interest in this philosopher. The fountainhead of the later commonplace coupling of Cato and Socrates is more likely to have been the story of Cato's death than any other event or characteristics; to imagine as its inventor a philosopher who wrote both about Socrates and about Cato's death might be the ideal solution.

3)Statilius, the young Roman knight or senator who tried to emulate Cato, was an Epicurean and perhaps an author of epigrams: if he was our ultimate source he must have written not long after the events, since he fell at Philippi (see 65.1on.).

4)Butas, the freedman Cato used as political secretary, would have been educated enough to give a literary account of his patron's death; some have identified him with the author of a work in elegiac metre (see 70.3n.).

5)Cleanthes, Cato's freedman doctor, another witness of the suicide and one mentioned in most accounts (though only in Plutarch by name) might have been named, according to one guess, after Cleanthes the Stoic; if so it would not be surprising if he were a Stoic himself and gave a



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philosophically coloured account of Cato's death (see 70.3n.).

6)Cato's son, though present, could hardly have been the source, since in this case the silence on this fact of our entire tradition would be extremely odd.

One point still to be considered is the relationship between Plutarch's narrative and our other sources on Cato's death.

There is a pronounced agreement in the description of Cato's death in Plutarch and our extant historical sources, as can conveniently be seen from the table at pp 64a-b. Without entering the very complicated question of the sources of all these writers it seems clear that there was a common account taken up by the Caesarean and Livian traditions and probably by the one derived from Asinius Pollio. Moreover, the basic concurrence of these sources with Seneca emphasises the unitary character of our tradition. The longest exposition of the subject in Seneca occurs at ep.24.6-8: it provides all the main features known from other sources, adding only a characteristic piece of Senecan rhetoric as Cato's last speech; otherwise the references are short and hint at well-known facts. Cato's death

> "is obviously treated as a standard episode about which everyone is informed; a phrase will always serve to call up the whole scene"[52].

52)Alexander,op.cit.60.

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It seems more than plausible that the literary descriptions of Cato's death all depend on a common archetype, written probably close to the events and perhaps by an eyewitness. Whether Thrasea went back directly to this primary source or whether he relied on an intermediary is impossible to tell; neither are we in a position to detect the exact relationships of the other extant writers to this archetype though their very nature would most probably suggest that they derived their information on Cato's death from their main historical sources, who acted here as intermediaries.

Besides these main recognizeable parts of Thrasea's work other bits of information in our Life may occasionally be traced back to the senatorial biographer, who must have been interested in parallels and common factors between himself and his hero. Among the otherwise unrecorded facts in the Life is the story of the boy Cato taking a leading part in the 'Troia' (3.1-2). This story might have been of some interest for Thrasea, who himself at his birthplace Patavium 'ludis cetastis a Troiano Antenore institutis habitu tragico cecinerat'[53]. The notice of Cato being a

53)Tac.ann.XVI.21.1;cf.Dio LXII.26.4. On these ludi cetasti see Koestermann,arch.ven.LXXVI.1965,5 ff. Of course the 'Troia' had nothing to do with the city (see 3.1n.): but the popular etymology and the game's provenance from Troy

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XVvir sacris faciundis (see 4.1n.) might well go back to the XVvir Thrasea (Tac.ann.XVI.22.1); the name of Cato's first wife Atilia, daughter of Serranus, is not recorded outside our biography (7.3;9.1-2;24.6); and though certainly the second, and probably the third, of these notices goes back to Munatius Rufus it might well have been that Thrasea had an independent interest in the Atilii Serrani, whose progeny might have been his Patavine compatriots[54].

This, then, comprises those parts of the biography that can be shown to depend on Thrasea Paetus, whether he is relying on Munatius Rufus or on other sources. The scope of the remnants of Thrasea prove it to be a full-fledged Life, though we must be careful not to extend to that notion our primary association of ancient with Plutarchean biography. The extent of Plutarch's drawing on Thrasea Paetus shows it to be the main source of the Cato minor; this may well lead on to the assumption that the same work is used in parts of the Life, where the source cannot be otherwise inferred. But before reverting to this solution of a residual source one should investigate those sections of

seem to have been generally accepted at this time (Schneider,RE XIII.2060) and this belief must have been shared by Thrasea.

54)cf.Koestermann,Athen.XLIII.1965,185.

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the Life that can be shown with good reason to be independent from Thrasea.

c.Non-Thrasean and doubtful sections.

The last century of the Republic provides Plutarch with material for more biographies than any other period of comparable length in history: the Lives of the Gracchi, Marius and Sulla, Sertorius, Lucullus, the 'triumvirs' Pompey, Crassus and Caesar, Cicero, Cato the Younger, Brutus and Antony equal, in fact, to the sum total of all the other Roman Lives. Though Plutarch did not, and did not pretend to, write History[55], it is hardly conceivable that for any given time within the period with which we are dealing he did not use at least one historical source in order to verify and supplement the special sources of the various Lives. Another reason for assuming the use of such a source or sources is the fact that the same occurrences are often retold in different Lives: though admittedly Plutarch was not over-sensitive to minor discrepancies between various Lives or even within one Life it seems to have been his practice in describing historical events already narrated elsewhere to fall back

55)see e.g.Alex.1.1.

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on the same source-material. It will be shown that Plutarch followed this practice in the Cato minor, so that a considerable part of it is dependent on a historical source and not the main biographical source Thrasea Paetus.

First, the Catilinarian conspiracy and Cato's speech on the Nones of December (cch.22-23). This affair is dealt with in great detail in the Cicero, written in all probability before the Cato minor (see ch.5 below), and briefly in the Caesar, while in the Crassus the episode is restricted to a short dismissal of Crassus' participation. The comparison of these accounts provides an interesting insight into Plutarch's workshop, showing the methods of the construction of Biography out of the material provided by History[56]. The general agreement on all details in these accounts must be attributed to the use of the same source; nevertheless the stress on the personality of the hero in each Life brings about an emphasis on different aspects of the events. For Cicero the consulate and the suppression of the conspiracy were the greatest achievement of his life: consequently their exposition in Plutarch is a full account duly laying the emphasis on Cicero's role; Cato's part in

56) For an analysis of perhaps the best example of this practice, the Coriolanus, see Russell, JRS LIII.1963, 21 ff.

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the events was restricted to the debate in the senate and the delivery of his speech. But in the event this speech proved decisive for the action taken against Catilina's associates in the City: consequently the Cato minor contains only a few introductory sentences to elucidate the general circumstances of the debate while most of the space is dedicated to the debate and Cato's speech itself. That here the narrative is more detailed than in the Cicero should hardly surprise us: the significance of the different versions in the different Lives is not so much in the reiteration of facts that might be relevant to one Life but irrelevant to another as in the total absence of contradictions and serious divergences. Thus e.g. Cato's speech is described in more detail in his Life than in Cicero's, and the taking of shorthand notes is mentioned only here (23.3-4); but the reasons of Plutarch for doing so are absolutely clear. The alternative, that Plutarch used for the relation of the Catilinarian conspiracy different but nevertheless concurring sources in the various Lives, seems highly unlikely and should not be accepted without serious reasons. The suggestion may be repeated here that in the account of the Catilinarian conspiracy Thrasea Paetus might have relied on Brutus, whose very different version Plutarch could not well use after the composition of the

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Cicero. What Plutarch's source for the Catilinarian conspiracy was is impossible to ascertain: the analysis of the fullest version, in the Cicero, does not point to a conclusive direction, though it may be mentioned that the possibility of Livy seemed the least unlikely to Peter[57].

The next section of the Life to consider is cch.31-33, describing the events of the years 60-58. Here again we have a certain overlapping of the accounts given in the various Lives, the emphasis being shifted according to the importance of the parts played by the respective heroes. Thus e.g. the opposition to Pompey's Eastern settlement is related also in the Pompey and Lucullus, the Lives of the two protagonists, but absent from the Life of Caesar, who himself was not party to the struggle. The fullest concordance is that between the present section of our Life and the Caesar, while some passages are paralleled in the Pompey and the Lucullus. The arrangement and the general scheme are remarkably similar, though a number of discrepancies should not be overlooked. First and foremost among these is the question of Caesar's agrarian laws. Only our

57) Quellen 132 f. Another, more remote, possibility is that Plutarch used Livy in the Cicero and Thrasea Paetus in the Cato minor, and that Thrasea on his part depended on his Patavine compatriot Livy.

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Life (see 33.1n.), in agreement with Dio Cassius and Suetonius, has two agrarian laws, while the Caesar and Pompey, like Appian and Velleius, have one law only. This disagreement between the different Lives cannot be easily dismissed, and may eventually go back to the use of different sources[58], although another likely explanation is Plutarch's carelessness in the handling of historical matters. 32.8-10 and 32.5-6 relate two episodes not recorded in the other Lives, but their importance is almost totally restricted to Cato; the possibility of their derivation from a special source dealing with Cato should not be excluded. On the other hand the most cogent argument for the employment of the same source in the different Lives is the agreement in the general lay-out of the narratives, supporting the a priori assumption that Plutarch relied on a single coordinating source as a matter of convenience as well as in order to avoid discrepancies. The use of the same source in the various Lives is also the best way to explain the great verbal agreement between certain passages: thus 31.7 contains what seems to be an authentic saying of Cato, quoted also in the Pompey and Caesar. It is noteworthy that the sentiment of the saying agrees with Asinius Pollio's dating of the beginning of the Civil War, since, as will

58) cf. Pavaloro, Delle fonti di Plutarco 41 ff.

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be seen, there is good reason to believe that another section of our Life is ultimately based on Pollio.

Perhaps the most likely solution to the question of Plutarch's sources in cch.31-33 is the reliance on a historical source supplemented by a source containing personal information about Cato. This latter source might well have been Thrasea Paetus again.

Next, the section dealing with the events between the Cyprian expedition and the outbreak of the Civil War (cch.40-51). We have seen that certain parts of this section (42;44.2;48.1-4;49-50) very probably go back to Munatius Rufus through Thrasea Paetus; to these perhaps a few more passages may be added, e.g. ch.45, unparalleled in Plutarch or elsewhere, containing (sect.2) a sentence derived from Thrasea Paetus; ch.46 tells us a story otherwise unknown, which looks very much like an eye-witness account. On the other hand most of the material contained in this section appears also in other Lives (Caes.,Pomp.,Crass.,Cic.) and similarity in arrangement leaves no doubt that the same general scheme has been followed in all these Lives. The close parallels are numerous, and in one case (ch.40) a whole chapter resembles the account in a previously written Life (Cic.34). A glimpse at the actual historical source is provided at 51.1-2: here we are told of Cato's proposal to extradite Caesar to the Germans for his crimes. The same

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story is told also in Crass.37 (comp.4).2 and Caes.22.4, where Tanusius Geminus is expressly named as source. The fact[59] that Plutarch knew Tanusius Geminus only through an intermediary does not matter as far as the immediate question of the use of the same historical source in several Lives is concerned.

The pattern that emerges is similar to that of the previous section under consideration: Plutarch must have relied here both on a general historical source, used also in other Lives of this period, and on the specific source of the Cato minor,i.e. Thrasea Paetus. Clearly this supplementation was needed because on the one hand Plutarch, despite his assertion that he wrote Biography, not History, did give a general outline of the historical events connected with the life of his heroes and on the other hand Thrasea Paetus apparently dealt with Cato's life in a way that could not have been followed by Plutarch without serious changes if he wanted to preserve the general conformity of the Late Republican Lives.

A similar situation prevails, it seems, with the section describing Cato's acts from the outbreak of the Civil War to the landing in Africa (cch.52-56). We have seen that some portions of this section (52.4-9;54.2-3)

59)see Peter,Quellen 120 ff.

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ultimately depend on Munatius Rufus; on the other hand the main events are again closely paralleled in the Cic.,Caes. and Pomp. and must derive from a common historical source. At one place a precious insight is offered into the identity of this source. In 53.2-4) Asinius Pollio is described as if in charge of the Caesarian conquest of Sicily. This agrees with the version of Appian but is decisively refuted by Caesar himself, Cicero and Dio Cassius. That this misrepresentation[60] goes back to Pollio is generally recognized and should not be doubted. Again, there is no possibility of telling how exactly Plutarch relates to Pollio[61] : both this and the connections with the rest of our extant

60)see Kornemann,Die hist.Schriftstellerei des A.P.,Jb.f.kl. Phil.Suppl.XXII.1896,602; André,REL XXV.1947,124 ff.; id., La vie et l'oevre d'A.P. 14 ff;cf.Gabba, Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili 229 ff.

61)The suggestion of Kornemann,op.cit.581, that Thrasea Paetus himself might have been the intermediary between Asinius Pollio and Plutarch is in itself not improbable, but would still not be sufficient for the establishment of an 'Einquellentheorie' for the Cato minor in face of the concordance between this and the other Lives covering the same period.

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secondary sources cannot be tackled separately from the complicated issue of the relations of all these sources to Caesar, Livy, Asinius Pollio and their intermediaries. What seems fairly certain is that for this section of the Life Plutarch again consulted his main historical source for the period together with Thrasea Paetus.

The two remaining sections of the Life confront us with some of the greatest difficulties as far as their sources are concerned. First, the information contained in the last chapter about Cato's son (73.2-5); though the fact that Caesar pardoned him at Utica and his later death at Philippi are also mentioned in other sources, the story of his sojourn in Cappadocia, including the three Greek verses about him, is not otherwise attested. Since his death at Philippi is described in almost the same words in Brut.49.9, where Messala Corvinus seems to be the source[62], there is a faint possibility that the rest of our information also derives from the same source, which might have contained a longer obituary. Messala Corvinus may have written in Greek[63], so that the Greek verses could have been contained in his work without offending ancient literary conventions. Another possibility is that the information about Cato the

62)see Peter,HRR II.LXXXII;but cf.id.Quellen 137 ff.

63)Peter,HRR II.LXXVIIII.

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son, interest in whom must have been due mainly to his descent, was contained in a work dealing with Cato's family. Now we happen to have some knowledge about a work of this sort. M.Valerius Messala Rufus[64] wrote a work de familiis[65] which dealt, among others, with the Servilii and the Porcii Catones[66]. This work consisted of several volumina[67] and one of these might have been the liber commentarius de familia Porcia mentioned by Gell.XIII.20.17. Two additional facts of some interest may be mentioned: first, Messala was himself related to the Servilii and the Porcii, his mother being Hortensia, sister of the orator, who himself married Cato's wife Marcia, and whose daughter, Messala's first cousin, was married to a close relative of Cato (see Appendix I); second, Messala was Caesar's legate in the African campaign in 46 and the very person who accepted the capitulation of Utica after Cato's suicide (see 71.2n.), i.e. he was an eye-witness and had probably some part in young Cato's pardon by Caesar, one of the events mentioned. Of course we need not presume that Plutarch would have been directly acquainted with a work like Messala Rufus' de

64)Hanslik,RE VIIIA.166 ff.no.268.

65)Peter,HRR II.LXXVIII;65.

66)Münzer,Beiträge zur Quellenkritik etc.350 ff.

67)Plin.n.h.XXXV.8.

familiis: Thrasea Paetus would be a very likely intermediary.

Another possibility is that the information about Cato's son goes back to Munatius Rufus; we have seen that he did occasionally relate stories concerning Cato's family to which he was not an eye-witness and which were probably beyond the chronological boundaries of his work; he was also wont to finish stories without undue attention to chronological order, so that it is not impossible that the events told in 73.2-6 were appended to an earlier story about Cato's elder son. One point that must remain insoluble is the authorship of the Greek verses about young Cato and their original context.

Last but not least there remains the task of tracing the origins of the information contained in the first chapters of the Life, prior to the commencement of Munatius Rufus at 8.4.

The arrangement of the material in the opening chapters, so uniform with the principles Plutarch employs elsewhere in the Lives[68], makes it extremely unlikely that he follows here the order of one particular source. Some of the things said here are only generalizations of specific events related later in the Life (cf.e.g.5.6-7 with 9.4); some passages (3.1-2; mention of Cato's being a XVvir at

68)see discussion in ch.4 of this Introduction.

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4.1) we tried to trace back to special interests of Thrasea Paetus; the acquaintance with Cato's half-brother Caepio in the anecdote 3.8-10 is most likely a sign of dependence on Munatius Rufus through Thrasea Paetus, who might be also the source of the numerous Stoic connections (see e.g.nn.on 1.3;3.10;4.2;5.6) in this section. Highly reliable source-material is also drawn upon in passages whose provenance we are not in a position to infer (see e.g.6.5n.). On the whole it seems most likely that though Plutarch did not follow his source's arrangement of the material, but constructed out of the material he found in his sources an introduction to the Life in line with the pattern of the corresponding chapters of the other Lives, he nevertheless drew most heavily on Thrasea Paetus. The ultimate sources of Thrasea are in many cases indiscernable, though it is still apparent that they must have been very well informed.

To sum up: it seems clear that Thrasea Paetus, who wrote a full-fledged Life of Cato Uticensis, was Plutarch's main source in his biography. As a supplementary source, both to supply the historical framework perhaps lacking in Thrasea and in order to bring the Cato minor in line with the other Lives covering the same period Plutarch used the same historical source as he employed in other Lives of the heroes of the Late Republic. What this source was is

impossible to tell, though it seems to have contained material ultimately traceable to Asinius Pollio's History of the Civil War.

Again, Thrasea Paetus' sources were more numerous than appears ar first sight: besides Munatius Rufus' Memoirs, a work containing mainly personal recollections of the author from the long years he spent with Cato and polemics against Caesar and perhaps other writers of anti-Catonian invectives, he used another contemporary source as a corrective and supplementary, perhaps Brutus' Cato; finally, for the narrative of the African campaign and Cato's last days and death he seems to have relied on an eye-witness account, perhaps that of Demetrius the Peripatetic.

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4 : LITERARY STRUCTURE

It is to the credit of Plutarch the author that he both adheres to a more or less uniform structural pattern in his biographies and employs, in a number of Lives, a variety of often ingenious literary devices. But while the former practice has been discussed and seems to have been recognized ever since Leo[1] it appears that the latter has not received sufficient attention. It is both these aspects we are called on to investigate in approaching the Cato minor. In doing so we hope to avoid a major injustice often inflicted on Plutarch: while it is agreed that he wrote his Lives with a literary purpose and with no pretentions of writing History only rarely is an attempt made to assess and understand them as what they primarily purport to be - namely works of art.

Leo established that at the outset of a Life, before the narration of the πράξεις of the hero proper, Plutarch assembles certain sets of information divided into categories: though all these categories do not have to appear in each of the Lives (actually only categories (a) and (c) below are absolutely invariable) and though their order may sometimes differ from that given below, it can be said that by and large the pattern is followed throughout.

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1)Leo,Die gr.-röm.Biographie 180 ff.

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The categories of Leo include:

(a) γένος ,ancestors, parents, birth
(b) εἶδος, ἰδέα τοῦ προσώπου, σῶμα
(c) ἦθος, τρόπος, φύσις
(d) δίαιτα , the βίος proper
παιδεία
(e) λόγος
(f)
(g) family

According to Leo the Cato minor contains the categories a c e d f g; the following analysis will show to what extent this is true and how much more than these categories is included in the introductory section.

(a) Cato's γένος and his illustrious ancestor the Censorius are mentioned in l.1-2, together with his and his brother's and sisters' orphanhood in the house of their uncle Livius Drusus, closely followed by (b) Cato's ἦθος (1.3-5) and (e) παιδεία (1.6-10); his (d) δίαιτα is elaborately described in 5.6-6.7, after some hints have already been given in 3.10 and 4.2, while his (f) λόγος is treated at 4.3-5.5 (here, incidentally, it would be better to reverse Leo's order of d f to f d); the episode in ch.7 about Cato's first abortive engagement, his feud with Metellus Scipio and eventually his first marriage are apparently included by Leo into category (g) (family).

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One realizes immediately that a large section of the first part of the Life - cch.2-3 - is left out of this analysis: but though Leo refers to this section briefly in saying that sometimes, as with both Catos and Alcibiades, characteristic anecdotes are told beforehand, the significance of these chapters goes far beyond that and is crucial to the structure of the whole Life. The two chapters are, on their face value, the narration of a number of anecdotes from the childhood of Cato. Yet these episodes are not merely 'characteristic anecdotes told beforehand' but suggestive in their features of the central issues of the whole Life. There is no need here to repeat that Plutarch regarded characteristic deeds, even if of small significance in themselves, as the best way to expound the character of his heroes: one of the most important utterances of Plutarch to this effect is contained in the Cato minor itself (24.1). It is clear that these anecdotes are inserted in their place not only because they belong to Cato's childhood, but also because they reveal much about his ἦθος, which was ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ βέβαιον ἐν πᾶσιν (1.3). His steadfastness of character was bound to react over and over again in the same way in the same circumstances and call for the same reactions; hence these childhood anecdotes are not merely characteristic stories about our hero, but become foreshadowings, subtle

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prefigurations, of other, more important incidents of his life. Thus the themes of these episodes assume the force of leitmotifs, and in ever-recurring incidents of a familiar shape we are reminded of the main traits of the character of our hero.

In the first of the childhood anecdotes we are told (2.1-5) how Poppaedius Silo, the Italian leader, when at Livius Drusus' home in Rome during the agitation of the Allies for citizenship, asked Cato, then four years old, to exert his influence with his uncle on behalf of the claims of the Italians; when the boy silently refused, Silo turned to menaces and threatened to throw him out of the window. After all this was of no avail he let him go and expressed to his friends his admiration for the boy's character.

The steadfastness of character and absence of fear from physical harm were time and again put to trial in later life, when the violent clashes of the Late Republic often converted the forum into a battle-field. Plutarch emphasises the courage of Cato, last to retreat even against the most formidably superior enemy: thus he defies Metellus Nepos and his gangs and bravely fights back until victory (27.4-28.5). He is last to retreat when Caesar's men maltreat Bibulus and his followers and drive them away from the forum (32.4). When he offered single-handed

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resistance to Caesar's Campanian Law he did not stop arguing and persuading even when led away to prison (33.2). Cato is the last to retreat before the partisans of Pompey when they use force to stop Domitius from presenting himself as a candidate for the consular elections (41.6-8). Lastly, Cato resists force used against him in his various attempts to stop the passing of the lex Trebonia (43.2-7).

In the second of the childhood anecdotes (2.6-8) young Cato, while taking part in the games at a birthday-party, is asked for help by a boy imprisoned in a chamber by an elder boy; Cato frees him and when angrily departing is escorted home by the other boys. The purpose of the anecdote is to show Cato's inherent sense of justice and righteousness, brought out again and again in the Life.

Among the many acts of justice related by Plutarch it will suffice to mention Cato's handling of the Treasury (17.2-4), the story about the absolute trust in his uprightness even by his adversaries (21.5-6), his choice as umpire to ensure the fairness of elections (44.7-14 with a short digression on the virtue of δικαιοσύνη); his support for Favonius against foul play at elections (46.2-3) and his saving the Uticans from mass-murder (58.1). Small wonder that Cato becomes a byname for uprightness (19.7) and his membership of a jury is considered sufficient to

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ensure a fair and just trial (48.9-10). His being escorted home by his playmates is often repeated in later life by his supporters: on the last day of his quaestorship he is escorted home by almost all the citizens, who approve of his conduct (18.5); the senators accompany him when he is led away by Caesar to prison (33.3); upon his return from Cyprus he is met by all the magistrates, priests, senate and a large part of the people (39.1); when defeated at the praetorian elections he was escorted home by more people than all the successful candidates together (42.7); and when arrested by Trebonius he was followed on the way by such a crowd that the tribune preferred to let him go (43.6).

When the aristocratic youth were performing the 'Troia' under Sulla's regime the participants insisted on substituting Cato for their appointed leader (3.1-2). Consequently Plutarch is at pains to make Cato appear as a popular favourite, always deemed worthy of leadership, though, of course his failure to obtain the highest offices of state could easily be suggestive of the contrary, as Plutarch himself must have been aware[2]. Cato receives from his soldiers while a military tribune δόξα καὶ χάρις καὶ

2) Phoc.3.1 καὶ γὰρ οὗτος οὐ πιθανὸν ἔσχεν οὐδὲ προσηλὲς ὄχλῳ τὸ ἦθος, οὐδ' ἥνθησεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸς χάριν.

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ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμὴ καὶ φιλοφροσύνη (9.8); there is a graphic description of the emotional scenes when he leaves them (12.1). He is invited to stand for the tribuneship (20.1); in the praetorian elections he would have headed the poll but for Pompey's machinations (42.4); only Cato, of all the commanders, is able to arouse the soldiers before Dyrrhachium (54.7-9); in Africa he yields the command to Metellus Scipio, his superior in rank, although he is the popular favourite (57.6); he is appointed commandant of Utica upon request of the inhabitants as well as of Scipio (58.2); the council in Utica prefer to die with him than to escape by betraying his virtue (60.2); the horsemen who escaped from Thapsus said that they did not need Iuba to pay them and would not be afraid of Caesar if Cato were to lead them (63.3); and his esteem in the eyes of the Uticans is shown by their lamentations and the honours they bestow on him after his death (71). His escort on many occasions is another series of examples of the favour he commanded.

Perhaps the most interesting and certainly the most important among the anecdotes of Cato's youth is the one where he, then fourteen years old, asks his tutor Sarpedon for a sword to slay Sulla and free the State from slavery (3.3-7). Libertas and Cato's determination to fight for it

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is the leitmotif that goes through the whole of the Life, gaining strength as the fight for the survival of the Republic becomes more and more desperate, until Cato's self-immolation on the altar of Libertas ends it all in an all-powerful crescendo. Cato who as a youth wanted to slay the tyrant Sulla prefers to die rather than receive mercy from the hand of the victorious tyrant Caesar. Characteristically Cato already envisages the possibility of death in the fight for Libertas when Metellus Nepos returns to Rome to stand for the tribunate in 63 (20.5); henceforth ἐλευθερία is the watchword that permeates all the political controversies in which Cato takes part; every struggle and fight of Cato from now on is a fight for Roman Libertas; Cato dies when there is no hope left for Libertas, and there is no hope left for Libertas when Cato dies. Even the epilogue carries on this story of Libertas, telling how Cato's son falls at Philippi ἀγωνιζόμενος ... ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας (73.5) and his daughter commits suicide after the death of her husband Brutus the Liberator (73.6).

The last episode in the series tells us about the brotherly love of Cato and Caepio and Caepio's admiration for his half-brother's σωφροσύνη and μετριότης (3.8-10). This story is to some extent out of the line with the preceding ones since its concern with the ἤθεσι, the

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private conduct of the hero and not his public image and behaviour. Nevertheless the one is as much part of the biography as the other and the episode told here is as characteristic of Cato's δίαιτα in later life as were the foregoing anecdotes of his public life. Love for his brother, we are told, made him join the army in the war against Spartacus (8.1) and his conduct at the untimely death of Caepio (ch.11) is sufficient proof of this trait in his character. Indeed his reliance on family and marriage ties (towards Silanus 21.3; Lucullus 29.6; Domitius 41.3) may reveal something of the same feature. Last but not least Caepio's praise for Cato's σωφροσύνη and μετριότης; here we should mention, besides the characteristics that Plutarch assembles under the category of δίαιτα (5.6-6.7), his first campaign (with brother Caepio!) where his εὐταξία and ἀνδρία, reminiscent of his glorious ancestor, are mentioned among his virtues as opposed to the μαλακία and τρυφή of his fellow soldiers (8.2;cf.3.10!); his modesty as military tribune (9.4) and on his Asian journey (12.3-4); the modest prizes he gives to the victors at the games (46.4-5) and, of course, his conduct when leading his troops through the hardships of the African desert (56.6-7).

So it happens that at the outset of the narration of

Cato's career (see Appendix to this chapter for a detailed table of contents) we have not only sufficient knowledge of his background, ἦθος, παιδεία, δίαιτα etc., but the events of his life themselves, the πράξεις of his career, from their beginning until his glorified end, present themselves to us with an ease that makes any explanations and interruptions of the flow of the narrative superfluous. The story from Cato's first campaign in the war against Spartacus and the military tribunate on until the end in Utica is more coherent than what we can expect in most of Plutarch's biographies, and on the whole the chronological arrangement shows remarkably few mistakes and gaps. The narrative is relatively well-balanced for the different periods of Cato's life, though of course the limitations of the source-material are sometimes felt. A treatment that is prima facie long is given to Cato's death and its prelude, yet this seems justified both by the historic importance of the event and the literary merits of the description. This description is not only connected with the literature of *exitus illustrium virorum* as far as its source-material is concerned, but is also akin to these works in literary form and tries to emulate the ultimate example of the narrative of Socrates' death in the *Phaedo*. Plutarch skilfully builds up the climax of

the biography leading to the crowning event of the suicide, one of the most impressive episodes in the *Parallel Lives*[3]. After this the accounts of the hero's funeral and the fate of members of his family after his death, a regular feature in the pattern of Plutarchean biography[4], can serve only as an anti-climax. There are no digressions in the Life and only rarely does Plutarch consciously ignore the chronological set-up in order to assemble together various incidents under a single topic as he does in cch.24-25 with the stories about the women of Cato's family.

Plutarch was not, and would not claim to be, an impersonal and objective biographer: his attitude to his heroes varies from unreserved admiration through a wide scale to outward condemnation, as in the case of Demetrius and Antony, who are brought into the series to provide deterring examples[5]. It is not surprising, considering the history of the literature on Cato and Plutarch's sources,

3) Barbu, Procédés de la peinture des caractères etc.214 ff., in his discussion of the descriptions of the deaths of Plutarch's heroes fails to see the uniqueness of the central importance of this part of the *Cato minor*.

4) see Leo, op.cit.182 f.

5) *Demetr.*1.

that the younger Cato's life is narrated in strongly encomiastic terms. The literature on Cato being, as it was, from its very beginnings highly polemical, Plutarch merely fits into the pattern when he not only extols his hero, but is also at pains to refute the numerous charges brought against him. Only rarely does a note of criticism enter the narrative, as most notably when Plutarch questions the political wisdom of Cato in refusing the proposed marriage-alliance with Pompey, thus clearing the way for the union with Caesar and ultimately for the overthrow of the Republic (30.9-10): but of course the notion of a staunch political dogmatist unaware of the realities of the times was a judgment pronounced on Cato even in his lifetime: dicit tamquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ non tamquam in Romuli faece sententiam[6]. Other instances of criticism include 36.4-5, where Cato's methods of 'high-pressure salesmanship' are censured, and implicitly 68.5, where he loses his temper in most un-Stoic manner.

Though personal references to the author or his life are absent from the biography, there is a fair number of passages where Plutarch recurs to the first person and

6) Cic. *Att.*II.1.8; for Plutarch's acquaintance with this sentence cf. ch.2 n.6 above.

expresses his own personal views and attitudes. Indeed it is in the nature of Plutarch's moralistic biography and moralizing tendency in general to introduce his often instructive, though not necessarily very deep, thoughts into his various writings. Thus we hear in our Life something about Plutarch's thoughts on marriage (7.3), on justice (44.12-14) and on memory (1.7).

Since Plutarch's Lives were composed, and meant to be read, in pairs, it is essential to look at our Life also in its broader context, the syzygy. The book[7] Phocion-Cato minor has a formal procemium (Phoc.3) but is one of the few, alongside with the Themistocles-Camillus, Pyrrhus-Marius and Alexander-Caesar, that do not terminate in a synkrisis. This absence, it was suggested[8], is explained by Plutarch himself by the fact that the two men were too similar to point out their differences in particular matters in a detailed comparison at the end of the book. Phocion and Cato are compared οὐ κατὰ κοινὰς ἀρετότητας but simply as good men devoted to the State (Phoc.3.6). The reason for their linking is their outstanding virtue:

7)cf.Dem.3.1;Per.2.5;Alex.1.1;Demetr.1.7.

8)Stiefenhofer,Philol.LXXIII.1914-6,474 and esp. Erbse, Hermes LXXXIV.1956,404.

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(Phoc.3.8): τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ ἀρεταὶ μέχρι τῶν τελευταίων καὶ ἀτόμων διαφορῶν ἕνα χαρακτῆρα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ χρῶμα κοινὸν ἤθους ἐγκεκραμένον ἐμφήνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἴαν μέτρῳ μεμιγμένων πρὸς τὸ αὐστηρὸν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ ἀνδρείου, καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μὲν πράξεως, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ' ἀφοβίας, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ αἰσχρὸν εὐλαβείας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δίκαιον εὐτονίας συνηρμοσμένης ὁρῶσι.

It is important to remember that this outline is the most extensive direct characterization of the two heroes: in the Lives proper the delineament of character is done by the usual means of the πράξεις of the men. Thus it is left to the reader[9] to follow up and judge for himself to what extent Phocion and Cato conform in their actions to Plutarch's sketch.

The mixture of αὐστηρόν and φιλάνθρωπον in Phocion is apparent from the contradiction between his ἦθος and his countenance (5.1); it is well brought out by his speech (5.3); the Athenian people, when in need of a commander, would call upon one who was αὐστηρότατος and φρονιμώτατος (8.3). Phocion, though harsh and stern

9)as was Plutarch's wont to do:cf.Stiefenhofer,Philol.LXXIII. 1914-6,468.

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(τραχὺς ... καὶ σκυθρωπός) earns the surname of χρηστός (10.4) and in the following section Plutarch discusses at length this mixture of austerity and kindness.

In Cato too austerity seemingly overcame kindness: hence the saying of Curio (14.7-8). Cato seemed to be a by-word for austerity (19.9) yet it is suggested that his severity was outward, deemed suiting for public business, while in private he behaved εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως (21.10). Cato's legislation to provide cheap food for the populace is an act of φιλανθρωπία and χάρις (26.1), his restraint towards his enemy Metellus Nepos appears to the people as an act of φιλανθρωπία and μετριότης (29.4); Cato's speech to the Uticans displays his ἀδεές γενναῖον and φιλάνθρωπον (60.1).

The combination of ἀσφαλές and ἀνδρεῖον is more easily apparent in Phocion, whose public career was in the first place that of a military leader. Phocion attached himself to the general Chabrias, whose boldness was not counterbalanced by caution, as was the case with Phocion (6.1 ff.); on the whole his entire art of war demonstrated the admirable balance of the two qualities, as can be seen e.g. from the battles cch.13,25. Cato on the other hand never had real opportunity to display his qualities as a general(and only for him is caution becoming), yet on the

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occasion of his service in the slave-war his courage was among the qualities that were admired (8.2).

The next shared quality of Phocion and Cato, their care for others mingled with fearlessness for their own person, is again and again demonstrated in their Lives: e.g. Phocion, always fearless for the own person, is worried about the resources of his city (23.3), does everything possible to save his fellow-citizens (23.1,cf.31.2) and his chief concern when facing trial is not for himself, but his fellow defendants (34.8). Examples of Cato's fearlessness have been collected above, starting with his behaviour as a four-year-old; his care for others is extended to the Syracusans (53.4) and to all cities subject to Rome and Roman citizens (53.5-6); he saves the Uticans from mass-murder (58.1) and during his last days constantly the fate of his friends and the inhabitants of Utica is before his eyes, while he prepares without fear for death.

Finally, the avoidance of meanness and the pursuit of justice. Here again examples are too numerous to be collected here entirely; for Cato what has been assembled above should suffice. With Phocion the examples of his treatment of prisoners and allies (13.7 ff.), and his own relatives (22.4) are characteristic of a man who, in true Socratic fashion, would prefer to suffer rather than inflict

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injustice (32.6;cf.Plato,Gorg.469c) and who was recognized after his death by the people as a patron and guardian of moderation and justice (38.1). Phocion rejected all attempts to bribe him or influence him with money (21.3-4;18.1;30.1), and it is Plutarch's belief that to attack Cato for αἰσχροκερδεία is like accusing Hercules of cowardice (52.8)

Thus on the whole Plutarch was successful in demonstrating the similarities of character between Phocion and Cato. Few will lament the absence of a formal synkrisis at the end of the book which would hardly add significantly either to our historical knowledge or to the psychological understanding of Plutarch's characters by pointing out in antithetical form the minute differences of the fortunes and fates of the two heroes. On the other hand the transition between the two Lives of the book is a most skilful structural device. The last sentence of Phoc. draws the parallel between the deaths of Phocion and Socrates: it is left to the reader to draw the parallel between the deaths of Socrates and Cato, so often alluded to, but never expressly stated in the Life.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 4: TABLE OF CONTENTS, CATO MINOR 8-73

8-15: MILITARY SERVICE AND TRAVEL
- 8.1-3 Voluntary service with Caepio in slave-war
- 8.4-12.2 Military tribunate
- 8.4-9 elected military tribune, serves under Rubrius in Macedonia
- 10 attaches himself to Athenodorus Cordylion from Pergamum
- 11 arrives in Aenus after Caepio's death; Caepio's funeral
- 12.2-15 Asian journey
- 12.2-6 Cato's mode of travel
- 13 Cato mistakenly thinks Antiocheans' welcome for Demetrius prepared for him
- 14 meets Pompey in Ephesus
- 15 refuses gifts of Deiotarus; sails back to Brindisi

16-19: QUAESTOR AND JUNIOR SENATOR
- 16-18 elected quaestor holds magistracy in exemplary manner
- 19 Cato as a senator; his character becomes proverbial

20-23: THE TRIBUNATE I: Tribune designate
- 20 decides to stand for tribunate since Metellus Nepos is a candidate
- 21 elected tribune prosecutes Murena for bribery

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- 22-23 the Catilinarian conspiracy: the debate in the senate and Cato's speech
- 24-25 Digression: the womanfolk of Cato's family; the Marcia-affair

26-29.4: THE TRIBUNATE II: The clash with Metellus Nepos
- 29.5-8 Lucullus' triumph

30-33 FROM THE TRIBUNATE TO THE CYPRIAN MISSION
- 30 Antagonism between Cato and Pompey: Cato refuses to marry his nieces to Pompey and Pompey's son
- 31 struggle over Pompey's Eastern settlement; Cato opposes Caesar's election to the consulate and the forming of the 'triumvirate'.
- 32-33 Cato leads the fight against Caesar's legislation during the latter's consulship.

34-39: THE CYPRIAN MISSION
- 34 Clodius legislates to send Cato to annex Cyprus and restore exiles to Byzantium
- 35 Cato receives Ptolemy Auletes in Rhodes
- 36 auctions the property of the king of Cyprus
- 37 Cato's quarrel with Munatius Rufus and their subsequent reconciliation
- 38 Cato's arrangements for the return of the money to Rome; loss of part of the cargo and the accounts
- 39 his reception in Rome

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40-51: FROM THE CYPRIAN MISSION TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR
- 40 Cicero's quarrel with Cato after the latter's refusal to renounce the legitimacy of Clodius' tribunate
- 41 Cato supports Domitius' candidacy for the consulate against Pompey and Crassus
- 42 Pompey's intervention foils Cato's candidacy for the praetorship: Vatinius elected instead
- 43 Cato opposes provincial commands of the triumvirs
- 44 elected praetor; fights bribery; chosen arbiter by candidates to check corruption; his justice
- 45 clashes with Clodius; opposes Pompey and Caesar
- 46 assists Favonius in his aedileship
- 47 after initial opposition to extraordinary powers for Pompey surprisingly supports his election to the sole consulship
- 48.1-4 Cato refuses Pompey's offer to be his adviser
- 48.5-10 trials under Pompey's laws
- 49 Cato's failure at the consular elections
- 50 bears his defeat philosophically
- 51.1-5 proposes to extradite Caesar to Germans
- 51.6-7 discussion and vote on proposals to send successors to Pompey and Caesar

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52-55: THE CIVIL WAR I.

52 after Caesar's crossing the Rubicon Cato supports Pompey; remarries Marcia; attacked by Caesar on this issue

53.1 his mourning for his country in Civil War

53.2-4 in charge of Sicily; abandons island to save inhabitants

53.5-6 exerts his influence to mitigate war and delay decision on battle-field

54 dispatched to Asia; refused command of fleet but arouses spirit of soldiers before battle of Dyrrachium

55.1-3 remains in charge of garrison at Dyrrachium

55.4-6 saves Cicero from younger Pompey's anger after defeat of Pharsalus

56-73: THE CIVIL WAR II: AFRICA, THE END

56 Cato sails to Africa and leads army through desert

57 opposes Iuba's claims to supremacy; refuses command in favour of Scipio

58 saves people of Utica; strengthens her defences; news of defeat of Thapsus

59 exhorts Uticans to fight Caesar

60 Uticans' spirits restored by Cato

61 but they again change their mind

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62 Cato proposes to horsemen who escaped from Thapsus to join the defence of Utica

63 the Uticans refuse to fight Caesar and the horsemen refuse to defend the Uticans; Cato persuades the horsemen to stay until the senators flee

64 Cato, having made up his mind to die, refuses the Uticans' proposal to plead for him before Caesar

65 supervises flight of senators; saves Uticans from plundering horsemen

66 refuses to ask for Caesar's mercy but advises Uticans how to obtain it

67 discusses Stoic paradoxes at supper

68 reads Plato's Phaedo and demands his sword

69 discussion of right conduct with philosophers

70 ascertains safety of those who set sail and commits suicide

71 Uticans give Cato public funeral and erect him statue

72 Caesar sorry for not given opportunity to pardon Cato

73 Cato's son dies at Philippi; daughter commits suicide

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5 : THE TIME OF WRITING

The chronology of Plutarch's works is one of the most frustrating questions concerning this author, both because of the paucity of the evidence and the controversial nature of much of it. A short outline of the research in this field will be given before proceeding to discuss the particular facts relevant to our Life.

The evidence produced and the arguments advanced are of three kinds:

1) References, explicit or covert, to known events or persons of Plutarch's time, or facts relating to his own life. These are to be found mainly in the Moralia. Though in proportion to the volume of the writings they are not numerous they are sufficient to date approximately a considerable number of treatises. This is the only section of chronological studies of Plutarch where real progress has been made in recent years owing mainly to the advance of prosopographical and epigraphical knowledge of the Empire[1]. From the results it seems probable that the bulk

1) The most recent results of this evidence are summed up by Jones, JRS LVI.1966,61 ff.: most of his conclusions in this part are convincing or acceptable.

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of the works of Plutarch were written after the death of Domitian, but none demonstrably under Hadrian. Within these fairly broad limits of the reigns of Nerva and Trajan falls the whole series of the Parallel Lives. There is sufficient evidence[2] that they were written after Domitian's death and the suggestion of Jones[3] that the first dedication of the series to Sosius Senecio is to be dated to his consulate in 99 is attractive. The only other absolutely certain date in the Lives is the publication of the Lysander-Sulla before 115[4]. Also the other suggested chronological arguments about the Lives, some of them not unlikely though none of them cogent, do not exceed these limits. With the further advance of prosopographical studies and further discoveries of epigraphical evidence this field promises to yield still more results, though it may be doubted whether this will ever amount to an even approximate chronology of all of Plutarch's works.

2) The second line of investigation concerned itself

2) ibid.69

3) ibid.70

4) Sulla 21.6 states that almost 200 years have passed since the battle of Orchomenus (86 B.C.); Jones is but one of those who consistently get their results wrong by adding a year 0 to the calendar.

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with style and subject-matter, mainly of the Moralia. A number of dissertations, chiefly German, around the turn of the century tried to establish priority of some treatises in relation to others (i.e. a relative chronology, mainly of the Moralia) by ascertaining the 'original' and 'derivative' places of the numerous duplicate passages in Plutarch. Unfortunately most of these efforts turned out to be indecisive and the arguments double-edged weapons, since no generally accepted method has been discovered to deal with such doublets; nevertheless one argument of this kind, bearing on the Cato minor will be presented below. Another set of arguments affecting style and subject-matter was one that tried to distinguish between the declamatory juvenile works and the philosophical-ethical works of old age: but the conclusions arrived at, even if always accepted, affect only a limited number of treatises.

3) The numerous cross-references contained in the Parallel Lives, along with the express description of the Demosthenes-Cicero, Pericles-Fabius Maximus and Dio-Brutus as the fifth, tenth and twelth pairs respectively[5], have long been seen as a convenient means of establishing their relative chronology[6]. The authenticity of some, at least, of these

5) Dem.3.1; Per.2.5; Dio 2.7.

6) For previous bibliography see Stoltz, Zur relativen

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cross-references was often doubted and rejected for different reasons: the most cogent and consistent among these is the existence of a number of contradictory cross-references[7].

Mewaldt proposed[8] to accept all cross-references as genuine; the contradictory references were due, according to his thesis, to the fact that Plutarch both worked on and published the biographies not in single books but in larger groups containing a number of pairs. As far as publication is concerned Stoltz refuted[9] Mewaldt's theory, though it still remains likely that Plutarch worked at the same time on a number of biographies, connected by common source-

Chronologie etc. 6 f.; for contributions after this date see Jones, JRS LVI.1966, 66.48; add Theander, Eranos LVI.1958, 12 ff. All cross-references are conveniently collected in Stoltz, op.cit.9 ff.

7) viz. Dio 58.10 refers to the Timol.; Timol.13.10 and 33.4 to the Dio; Brut.9.9 cites the Caes. and Caes.62.8 and 68.7 the Brut.; and finally Cam.33.10 refers to the Rom.; Thes.1.4 to the pair Lyc.-Numa and Rom.21.1 to the Numa, Numa 9.15 and 12.13 to the Cam.; all in the past tense.

8) Hermes XLII.1907, 564 ff.

9) op.cit.58 ff.; followed by Ziegler, Plutarchos 263.

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material and subject-matter. Stoltz himself, after a laborious investigation, involving a wide range of arguments, arrived at the conclusion that all the cross-references are in all probability authentic, with the exception of the three contradictory ones at Cam.33.10, Dio 58.10 and Brut. 9.9, though even here he does not dare to call them outright interpolations[10]. Some of Stoltz' arguments are convincing, others should be met with varying degrees of scepticism; yet the most disturbing factor of the book is not in any of its details but in the fact that its final conclusion seems to be statistically so highly improbable. Or should one believe that on some 1000 folio pages an author has made 45 references to other places in his work: in addition to these 3 other references, through interpolation, corruption or otherwise, have made their way into the text: and all three of these had the bad luck to have one at least of the genuine references, so sparsely sown in the text, to testify to their false pretentions? Strangely the absurdity of this solution has not been, to my knowledge, noticed hitherto; it should, at least, make us more sceptical of each of Stoltz' arguments, which must now fall under the suspicion of having been dragged in by the hair to prove

10) see op.cit.95.

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a point.

Thus it remains for us to examine the authenticity of those cross-references which are relevant to the position of our book in the series.

The Phoc.-Cato min. is nowhere referred to, but contains five references to other Parallel Lives. If we were to accept all these we should infer that the syzygy Phoc.-Cato min. was posterior to the Arist.-Cato mai. (see 1.1) to the Dem.-Cic., the fifth pair (see 22.4 and Phoc.29.1), to Dio-Brut., the twelfth pair (see 73.6) and Ages.-Pomp.(54.9). Since there is also a reference in the past to the Brut. in Pomp.16.8 it is generally accepted that our pair belongs to the last part of the series.

Of these, the reference at 22.4 should be obelized for textual reasons (see n.ad loc.). Yet the priority of Dem.-Cic. can still be maintained because of the reference in Phoc. 29.1 pointing to Dem.28-30; this reference seems the more genuine since it does not refer specifically to the Dem., but to the deaths of Demosthenes and Hyperides 'that have been described elsewhere'[11]. Moreover, since it is generally accepted that the lost Epaminondas-Scipio was the first book in the series[12], and the Dem.-Cic. definitely the

11) cf. Stoltz, op.cit.22 f.

12) the suggestion appears to have been put foward first by Wilamowitz, Reden u. Vorträge II.260.

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fifth, the odds against Phoc.-Cato min. being the earlier of the two would be 20 : 3; and it would require that not only the reference at Phoc.29.1 be spurious, but also the one to the Brut. at 73.6, since Dio-Brut. as twelfth pair is later than Dem.-Cic.

More difficult is the question of the relationship between Phoc.-Cato min. and Ages.-Pomp., and it cannot be solved without a thorough investigation: the cross-reference at 54.9 is only one side of the argument. Here we are told that after none of the commanders was able to arouse the soldiers before the battle at Dyrrachium only Cato could inspire them for the fight. The battle itself is absorbed in one sentence:

τρεφαμένων δὲ καὶ πρατομένων , ἀφείλετο τὴν πανοπλὴν νύκτα ὁ Καῖσαρος θαίμων , τῇ Πομπηίου χρησάμενος σάλπιγξι καὶ ἀπατήσας περὶ τὸ εὐτύχημα • ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πομπηίου γέγραπται .

But when all the others rejoiced over the victory Cato wept for his country. Indeed the story of the battle of Dyrrachium is also told at Pomp.65.7-9, and, in much greater detail, at Caes.39.4-8. Speculative arguments as to whether such a reference would be more appropriate to Plutarch or an interpolator[13] are irrelevant and potentially dangerous

13)Stoltz,op.cit.27 f.

as long as we know no more than at present about interpolators' behaviour and Plutarch's methods of and reasons for quotations - a subject that still awaits thorough investigation.

On the other hand the interrelations between the many parallel passages in the two Lives should be brought under scrutiny with a view to establishing priority with reference to the sources used. The results thus arrived at are likely to be relevant to the chronology of the composition rather than of the publication of the Lives; but since there is no serious reason to doubt that the series was published in single books there is a strong prima facie assumption of at least partial correspondence between order of composition and publication.

The extent of the use Plutarch made of Thrasea Paetus' book on Cato has been discussed at length. Now it is reasonable to assume that Plutarch read Thrasea Paetus for the primary purpose of the composition of the Cato minor; on the other hand some passages that appear in double versions in the Pomp. and the Cato can be proved to derive from Thrasea. The inescapable conclusion is the acceptance of the secondary character of the versions in the Pomp. and thus the later date of the Pomp. at least as far as the composition is concerned.

First, Pompey's proposal for intermarriage with Cato (30.3-8//Pomp.44.2-6). It has been argued that this story is based on Thrasea's work, who used for this section both Munatius Rufus' Memoirs and some other source, perhaps Brutus' Cato. Table (1) will show clearly that in the Pomp. Plutarch drew on the same account as in the Cato. The version in the Pomp.is on the whole strongly abbreviated: particularly noteworthy is the absence of all reference to Munatius, though the last section, concerning Pompey's bribery and the subsequent vindication of Cato's view, is more lengthy and detailed in the Pomp. Both the remarkable agreement in contents and the fairly different wording point to the conclusion that Plutarch relied in the Pomp. on the source, or the notes taken from it, of the Cato, but not on the finished version of the biography. This general observation could be supported by one particular detail which, incidentally, all but rules out the possibility that Plutarch recorded the version in the Pomp. from memory. In the Cato Pompey resorted to bribery on behalf of 'one of his friends'; in the Pomp. this friend is expressly referred to as Afranius (to become consul in 60). This detail must have been contained in the source, and perhaps in Plutarch's notes; the name is totally irrelevant and unimportant as far as our Life is concerned, but worth mentioning in the

Pomp. where L.Afranius had already made a number of appearances as one of Pompey's lieutenants in the Mithridatic War (34.1;36.2;39.3; he appears also subsequently at 66.4 and 67.6).

The next pair of parallel passages is at 13//Pomp. 40.1-5[14]. Here again the account is derived from Munatius Rufus' Memoirs through Thrasea Paetus, but even if we did not know its provenance a number of considerations would suggest that the version in the Cato is primary and the one in the Pomp. secondary:

a) The interest in the anecdote must have been due to Cato, not Demetrius, and hence it is more likely that it was contained in a source dealing with Cato.

b) while in the Cato the story is in its proper chronological place, in the Pomp. it is an insertion forming, together with other material on Demetrius, an interruption of the main narrative.

c) the passage in the Pomp. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὅσπερ δεῖ πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν , οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνώδευον ἵπποις χρῶμενοι is, of course, not an integral part of the narrative, but a repetition from Cato min.5.7 and 9.4.

A synopsis of the two passages (table (2)) shows again

14)a version,expressly derived from Plutarch,is to be found in Julian.Misop.p.358 Spanh.

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the complete agreement in arrangement and subject-matter and frequent disagreement in wording. These suggest that the version in the Pomp. is not derived from the completed text of the Cato min.; moreover the variants can best be explained by assuming different translations of the same original (this, incidentally, would speak for Thrasea's work being written in Latin). The differences in the wording of the two passages are conveniently assembled in table (3). There is on the whole a strong impression that the text in the Cato minor got more attention from the stylistic point of view as well (see e.g. the nn. on 13.1 παραπτινομένων and 13.3 πηνίκα), as might be expected from the first narration of a story.

The next pair of passages under consideration is 48.1-4 //Pomp.54.8-9 (table (4)), relating the meeting of Cato and Pompey after the former's surprising support for the latter's appointment to the sole consulship of 52. Once again the resemblance between the two versions leaves no doubt as to their common provenance; on the other hand the differences in wording and phraseology can again be best explained by assuming that Plutarch twice translated the same passage. Though this time there is no clear indication of the source the suggestion should be repeated (cf.ch.3 above) that Plutarch ultimately follows the eye-witness

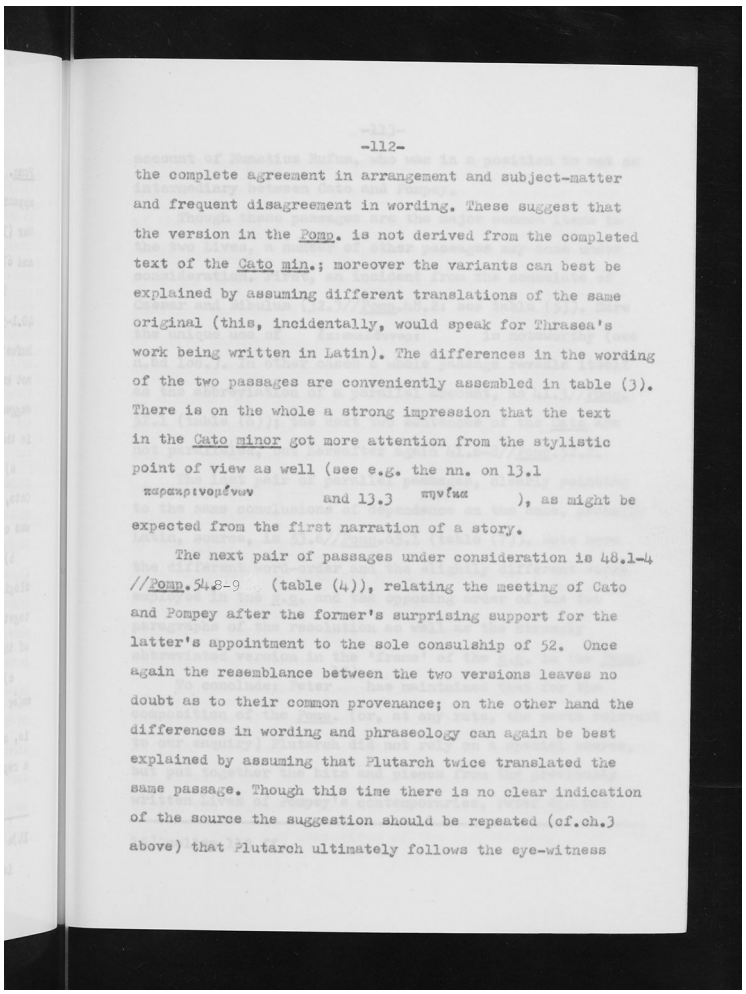
account of Munatius Rufus, who was in a position to act as intermediary between Cato and Pompey.

Though these passages are the major common items to the two Lives, a number of other passages may come under consideration. First, an incident from the consulate of Caesar and Bibulus (32.3//Pomp.48.2: see table (5)). Here the unique use of ἐπισκοδόμημα is noteworthy (see n.ad loc.). In other cases a whole passage reveals itself as the abbreviation of a parallel account, as 41.3//Pomp. 52.1 (table (6)); the next two sentences of the Cato are not paralleled, but hereafter again 41.6-8//Pomp.52.2.

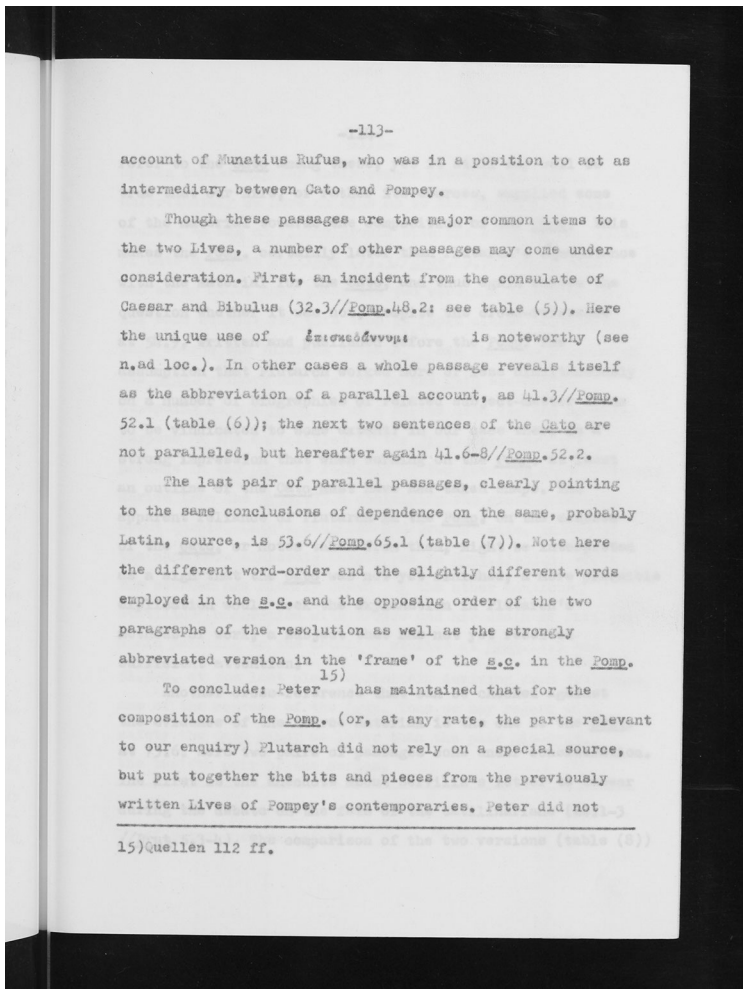
The last pair of parallel passages, clearly pointing to the same conclusions of dependence on the same, probably Latin, source, is 53.6//Pomp.65.1 (table (7)). Note here the different word-order and the slightly different words employed in the s.c. and the opposing order of the two paragraphs of the resolution as well as the strongly abbreviated version in the 'frame' of the s.c. in the Pomp.

To conclude: Peter[15] has maintained that for the composition of the Pomp. (or, at any rate, the parts relevant to our enquiry) Plutarch did not rely on a special source, but put together the bits and pieces from the previously written Lives of Pompey's contemporaries. Peter did not

15)Quellen 112 ff.



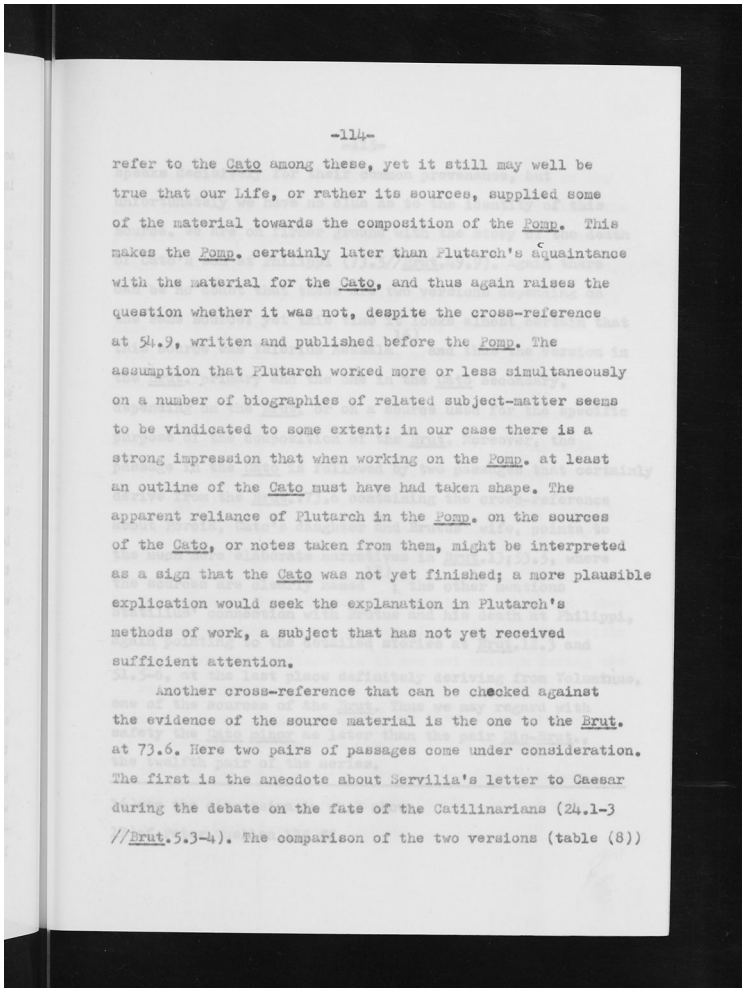
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refer to the Cato among these, yet it still may well be true that our Life, or rather its sources, supplied some of the material towards the composition of the Pomp. This makes the Pomp. certainly later than Plutarch's acquaintance with the material for the Cato, and thus again raises the question whether it was not, despite the cross-reference at 54.9, written and published before the Pomp. The assumption that Plutarch worked more or less simultaneously on a number of biographies of related subject-matter seems to be vindicated to some extent: in our case there is a strong impression that when working on the Pomp. at least an outline of the Cato must have had taken shape. The apparent reliance of Plutarch in the Pomp. on the sources of the Cato, or notes taken from them, might be interpreted as a sign that the Cato was not yet finished; a more plausible explication would seek the explanation in Plutarch's methods of work, a subject that has not yet received sufficient attention.

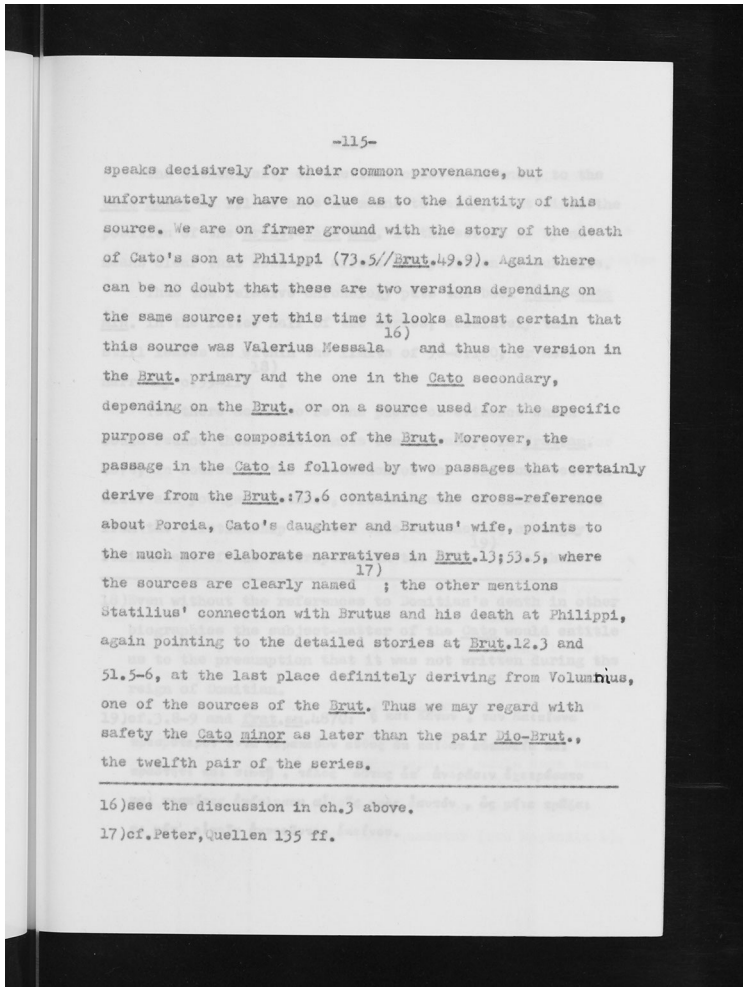
Another cross-reference that can be checked against the evidence of the source material is the one to the Brut. at 73.6. Here two pairs of passages come under consideration. The first is the anecdote about Servilia's letter to Caesar during the debate on the fate of the Catilinarians (24.1-3 //Brut.5.3-4). The comparison of the two versions (table (8))



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speaks decisively for their common provenance, but unfortunately we have no clue as to the identity of this source. We are on firmer ground with the story of the death of Cato's son at Philippi (73.5//Brut.49.9). Again there can be no doubt that these are two versions depending on the same source: yet this time it looks almost certain that this source was Valerius Messala[16] and thus the version in the Brut. primary and the one in the Cato secondary, depending on the Brut. or on a source used for the specific purpose of the composition of the Brut. Moreover, the passage in the Cato is followed by two passages that certainly derive from the Brut.:73.6 containing the cross-reference about Porcia, Cato's daughter and Brutus' wife, points to the much more elaborate narratives in Brut.13;53.5, where the sources are clearly named[17]; the other mentions Statilius' connection with Brutus and his death at Philippi, again pointing to the detailed stories at Brut.12.3 and 51.5-6, at the last place definitely deriving from Volumnius, one of the sources of the Brut. Thus we may regard with safety the Cato minor as later than the pair Dio-Brut., the twelfth pair of the series.

16)see the discussion in ch.3 above.
17)cf.Peter,Quellen 135 ff.



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The authenticity of the last cross-reference, to the Cato maior at 1.1 we have no means to verify; but since the position of the Arist.-Cato mai. in the series is by no means clear this does not affect the position of our Life.

Thus the relative chronology puts the book Phoc.-Cato min. in the latter half of the series; absolutely this still leaves us within the limits of 96-c.120, or more narrowly c.99-117[18].

Yet there seems to be one piece of evidence which could reduce these wide limits considerably: in frat.am. 487C, in course of the discussion of the relations between elder and younger brothers, Plutarch uses an illustration from the relationship between Cato and Caepio, strongly reminiscent of his description in the Life[19]; he then

18) Even without the references to Domitian's death in other biographies the subject-matter of the Cato would entitle us to the presumption that it was not written during the reign of Domitian.

19) cf. 3.8-9 and frat.am. 487C: ἢ καὶ Κάτων, τὸν Καίπωνα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα θεραπεύων αὐτὸς ἐκ παίδων εὐπαθείᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ σιωπῇ, τέλος οὕτως ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοσαύτης ἐνέπλησεν αἰδοῦς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὡς μήτε πρᾶξαί τι μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἀγνοοῦντος ἐκείνου.

proceeds to tell a story involving the two, which is not recorded in the Life: μνημονεύεται γοῦν, ὅτι μαρτυρίας ποτὲ γραμματεῖον ἐπισφραγισαμένου τοῦ Καίπωνος ὁ Κάτων ὕστερος ἐπελθὼν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπισφραγίσασθαι, καὶ ὁ Καίπων ἀπαιτήσας τὸ γραμματεῖον ἀφεῖλε τὴν αὑτοῦ σφραγῖδα πρὶν ἢ πυθέσθαι τί παθὼν ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν ἀλλ' ὑπεῖδετο τὴν μαρτυρίαν.

There is a strong case for the assumption that this must have been derived by Plutarch from his source-material for the Cato and hence that he must have read this source-material before his composition and publication of the treatise on Brotherly Love. Caepio, one should remember, is never mentioned in our extant sources outside the Life of Cato and this very passage in the Moralia; he died young and before he could have occupied a public post of any consequence[20] and did not, as far as we can tell, leave any literary or spiritual heritage. Thus it will be fair to assume that any interest in his figure that might have existed must have been due to his being the well-beloved half-brother of Cato Uticensis and would have been

20) he was tr.mil. in 72 (see 8.1n.); at the time of his death in 67 he might have been quaestor (see Appendix I).

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contained in the biographical material concerned with his person. This assumption can now be supported by the observation (ch.3 above) that as far as we can see the information about Caepio in the Cato derives from Munatius Rufus, the friend of the family, through Thrasea Paetus: hence we may infer that the information about Caepio in the frat.am. is derived from Thrasea Paetus, the source of the Cato and thus arrive at the conclusion that the biography was probably written before the essay[21].

21) Brokate, De aliquot Pl-i libellis 58 f. already arrived at this conclusion, though on a somewhat different argument. First, Brokate tried to relate the anecdote in frat.am. quite unnecessarily to Cato 18; then he assumed that the story refers to a public business, but since Caepio died before Cato entered public life this story could not have happened, and is only a confusion of what we are told in ch.18 of the Life. A quick reading of the passages concerned obviates the need to refute these arguments. Cf. also the perverse contention of Ziegler, Plutarchos 82, that the chronological order of the two works is the other way round, since Plutarch should have otherwise included the story of Cato min.11 in the frat. am. This argument rests on a general assumption that even

Now we posses a fairly certain terminus ante quem for the publication of the frat.am.[22]: the essay is dedicated to Plutarch's friends Avidius Quietus and Nigrinus; since we know that Quietus, still alive in 97, was dead by 107[23], the frat.am. must have been written and published before this latter date; the Cato min. if earlier than the treatise was probably written in the first years of the century[24].

its author would not dare to employ consistently. Brokate's argument is accepted by Helmbold in the Loeb ed. of the frat.am.

22) the existence of the terminus post quem 68 (Jones, JRS LVI, 1966, 70) is irrelevant.

23) Plin. ep. IX.13.15; VI.29.1.

24) It would be rash to make deductions from this date alone concerning the rapidity of the publication of the Lives.

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TABLE (1)

Cato min.30.3-8	Pomp.44.2-6
μετεπέμψατο Μ. ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ	
καὶ δο τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀδελφιδᾶς	καὶ δυεῖν οὐσῶν ἀδελφιδῶν τῷ Κάτωνι
ἐπιγάμους ἔχοντος ,	
ᾗτει τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν ἑαυτῷ	τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν
γυναῖκα,τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υἱῷ·	γυναῖκα,τὴν δὲ τῷ παιδὶ συνοικίσαι.
τινὲς δέ φασιν κτλ.	
	- - - - -
εἶτα μέντοι πράττων τινι τῶν	ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλόμενος ὕπατον ἀπο-
φίλων ὑπατείαν ὁ Πομπήιος	δεῖξαι Πομπήιος Ἀφράνιον
ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἔνεμε,	ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἀνῆλισεν
	ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
καὶ περιβόητος ὁ διακομιδὴ ἦν,	καὶ τοῦτο κατιόντες εἰς τοὺς
ἐν ᾗπιοις ἐκείνου τῶν χρημάτων	Πομπηίου ᾗπους ἐλάμβανον,ὥστε τὸ
ἀριθμουμένων .	πρᾶγμα περιβόητον εἶναι,
	καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον κτλ.
εἰπόντος οὖν τοῦ Κάτωνος πρὸς	"Τοῦτων μέντοι" πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας
τὰς γυναῖκας	ὁ Κάτων ἔφησε,
ὅτι τοιοῦτων ἦν κοινωνεῖν καὶ	"τῶν ὀνειδῶν κοινωνητέον οἰκείοις
ἀναπίμπλασθαι πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη	Πομπηίου γενομένοις."
Πομπηίῳ συναφθέντα δι' οἰκειότητος,	
ὡμολόγουν ἐκεῖναι κάλλιον αὐτὸν	αἱ δὲ ἀκούσασαι συνέγνωσαν βέλτιον
βεβουλεῦσθαι διαπρουσάμενον.	αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον λογίζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ
	πρέποντος.

TABLE (2)

Cato min.13	Pomp.40.1-5
βαδίζων γὰρ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν	ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν
εἶδε	κατιὼν
περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔξω πλῆθος	δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλης ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ	ἐν ἐσθῆσι λευκαῖς,
παρακειμένων,	καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔνθεν μὲν τοὺς
ἐν οἷς ἔφηβοι μὲν χωρὶς ἐν	ἐφήβους,ἔνθεν δὲ τοὺς παῖδας
χλαμύσι καὶ παῖδες ἑτέρωθι	διακεκριμένους,
κοσμίως εἱστήκεσαν, ἐσθῆτας	
δὲ καθαρὰς ἔντοι καὶ στεφάνους	
εἶχον,ἱερεῖς θεῶν ὄντες ἢ ἄρχοντες.	
πάντων οὖν μᾶλλον οἰηθεὶς ὁ	ἐδυσχέραινεν οἰόμενος εἰς τιμὴν τινα
Κάτων αὐτῷ τινα πράττεσθαι	καὶ θεραπείαν ἑαυτοῦ μηδὲν δεομένου
τιμὴν καὶ δεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῆς	ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.
πόλεως,ὠργίζετο μὲν τοῖς προ-	
πεμφθεῖσι τῶν ἰδίων,ὡς μὴ κωλύσασιν,	
ἐκέλευσε δὲ καταβῆναι τοὺς φίλους,	τοὺς μέντοι φίλους ἐκέλευσε κατα-
καὶ πεζῇ προῆει μετ' αὐτῶν.	βῆναι καὶ πορεύεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ·
ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν	γενομένοις δὲ πλησίον
ὁ πάντα διακοσμῶν ἐκεῖνα καὶ	ὁ πάντα διακοσμῶν ἐκεῖνα καὶ
τὸν ὄχλον εἰς τάξιν καθιστάς,	καθιστὰς
ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἤδη,	

TABLE (2) cont'd.

ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ στέφανον	ἔχων στέφανον καὶ ῥάβδον
κρατῶν,	
ἀπήντησε τῷ Κάτωνι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων,	ἀπήντησε
καὶ μηδ' ἀσπασάμενος ἤρετο	πυνθανόμενος παρ' αὐτῶν
ποῦ δημήτριον ἀπολελοίπασι	ποῦ δημήτριον ἀπολελοίπασι
καὶ πηνίκα παρέσται.	καὶ πόσ' ἄφίξεται.
τοῖς μὲν οὖν φίλοις τοῦ Κάτωνος	τοὺς μὲν οὖν φίλους τοῦ Κάτωνος
γέλως ἐνέπεσε τοσοῦτος,ὥστ' ἀνα-	γέλως ἔλαβεν,
λαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο,	
διὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἅμα βαδίζοντες ὁ	
δὲ Κάτων τότε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς διατραπείς.	
"Ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος" ἔφη "πόλεως"	ὁ δὲ Κάτων αὖθις "Ὦ τῆς ἀθλίας πόλεως"
ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφθέγξατο·	παρῆλθεν,οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀποκρινάμενος.

TABLE (2)

Cato min.13	Pomp.40.1-5
βαδίζων	ἀνέβαινεν
εἶδε	κατιὼν
πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων	ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν
παρακειμένων	διακεκριμένους
ἐσθῆτας καθαρὰς	ἐσθῆσι λευκαῖς
τιμὴν καὶ δεῖσιν	τιμὴν καὶ θεραπείαν
ἐγγὺς	πλησίον
ἤρετο	πυνθανόμενος
πηνίκα παρέσται	πόσ' ἄφίξεται
γέλως ἐνέπεσε	γέλως ἔλαβεν
Ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως	Ὦ τῆς ἀθλίας πόλεως
ἐφθέγξατο	ἀποκρινάμενος

TABLE (4)

Cato min.48.1-4	Pomp.54.8-9
παρεκάλει σύμβουλον αὐτῷ καὶ πάρεδρον εἶναι τῆς ἀρχῆς.	παρακαλῶν γίνεσθαι σύμβουλον ἰδίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς.
ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μήτε τὰ πρότερα πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν εἰπεῖν Πομπηίου μήτε ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι πάντα τῆς πόλεως.	Κάτων δὲ χάριν μὲν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν Πομπήιον οὐκ ἠξίου· δι' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ὧν εἶπεν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν διὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν·
ἰδίᾳ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ παρακαλοῦντι σύμβουλος ἔσεσθαι,	ἔσεσθαι δὲ σύμβουλος ἰδίᾳ παρακαλούμενος,
δημοσίᾳ δὲ κἂν μὴ παρακαλῆται πάντως ἐρεῖν τὸ φαινόμενον.	ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρακαλῆται, δημοσίᾳ φράσειν τὸ φαινόμενον.

TABLE (5)

Cato min.32.3	Pomp.48.2
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Βύβλῳ καταβαίνοντι	Βύβλῳ τε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὰν τῷ ὑπάτῳ κατιόντι μετὰ Λευκόλλου καὶ Κάτωνος ἄφνω προσπεσόντες
κοπρίων ἐπεσπεδάσθη κύφινος, ἔπειτα τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις προσπεσόντες αὐτοῦ κατέκλασαν τὰς ῥάβδους.	κατέκλασαν τὰς ῥάβδους, αὐτοῦ δέ τις κοπρίων κύφινον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Βύβλου κατεσκέδασε ...

TABLE (6)

Cato min.41.3-8	Pomp.52.1-2
πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μετιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τότε παρασκευαζομένων,	οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστάντων τοῦ παραγγέλειν ὑπατείαν,
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὀφθέντες ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις ἀπέτρεψαν	
μόνον δὲ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον Πορκίᾳ συνοικοῦντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ	Λεύκιον Δομέτιον
Κάτων ἔπεισε μὴ ἐκστῆναι μηδ' ὑφέσθαι,	Κάτων ἔπεισε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε μὴ ἀπιστεῖν·
τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ περὶ ἀρχῆς ὄντος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας.	οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους.
... ὑφεῖσαν ἑνὸραν τῷ Δομιτίῳ, καταβαίνοντι ⟨περὶ⟩ ὄρθρον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων εἰς τὸ πεδίον.	οὐκ εἴασαν εἰς ἀγορὰν κατελθεῖν τὸν Δομέτιον, ἀλλ' ἐπιπέμψαντες ἐνόπλους ἄνδρας.
καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ προφαίνων ἐπιστὰς ἀπέκτειναν μὲν τὸν προηγούμενον τῷ Δομιτίῳ πληγεὶς καὶ πεσὼν ἀπέθανε.	λυχνοφόρον
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συντιτρωσκομένων,	ἐτρέψαντο δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους·
ἐγίνετο φυγὴ πλὴν Κάτωνος καὶ Δομιτίου.	ἔσχατος δὲ Κάτων ἀνεχώρησε
κατεῖχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάτων, καίπερ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν βραχίονα τετρωμένος πρὸ τοῦ Δομετίου. καὶ παρεκελεύετο κτλ.	τρωθεὶς τὸν δεξιὸν πῆχυν ἀμυνόμενος

TABLE (7)

Cato min.53.6	Pomp.65.1
ἀλλὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδελφὰ Πομπήιον ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ψηφίσασθαι μήτε πόλιν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίων διαπράξειν,	Ἐπεὶ δὲ βουλῆς γενομένης καὶ γνώμην Κάτωνος εἰπόντος ἐψηφίσαντο μηδένα Ῥωμαίων ἄνευ παρατάξεως ἀναιρεῖν
μήτ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔξω παρατάξεως ἀναιρεῖν,	μηδὲ διαπράξειν πόλιν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίοις,
καὶ ὀδὰξ ἤνεγκε καὶ προσηγάγετο πολλοὺς τῇ Πομπηίου μερίδι ...	ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ Πομπηίου μερὶς ἠγαπήθη

TABLE (8)

Cato min.24.3	Brut.5.4
τὸν δ' ἀναγνόντα Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιστόλιον ἀκόλαστον πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα γεγραμμένον, ἐρᾶσης καὶ διεφθαρμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,	ἀναγνόντα Σερβιλίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀκόλαστον ἐπιστόλιον,
προσῴφαι τε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ εἰπεῖν "κράτει μέθυσε" καὶ πάλιν οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον τραπέσθαι.	ἐκεῖνο μὲν ῥῖψαι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ εἰπεῖν "κράτει μέθυσε" πρὸς δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὸν λόγον αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τραπέσθαι.

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l.1 Κάτωνι : both the elder and the younger Cato are normally referred to by Plutarch only by their cognomen. But the Censor is called Μᾶρκος Κάτων at the beginning of his Life, and several times (praec.ger.reip. 803C; apophth.reg.imp.198D;200A) Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος or Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτης (quaest.Rom.273E). In our Life he is ὁ παλαιὸς Κάτων (5.1;8.3). Cato the Younger is called Κάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος in Brut.2.1 and Pomp.40.2 and Κάτων ὁ νέος in Phoc.3.1.

δὲ corresponds to the μὲν of the previous sentence (Phoc.38.5), the two Lives of the book no doubt meant to be read continuously.(μὲν . . . δὲ clauses connect also the pairs Lyc.-Numa, Cim.-Luc.,Lys.-Sulla, Dem.-Cic.). Thus from the very outset of the Life the link between Socrates and Cato, of such importance in the final section, is established.

ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανείας . . . καὶ δόξης cf.Cam.2.1 Οὔπω δὲ τότε περὶ τὸν τῶν Φουρίων οἶκον οὔσης μεγάλης ἐπιφανείας αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτος εἰς δόξαν προῆλθεν . . .

προπάππου Κάτωνος the relation of great-grandfather/great grandson is well established in all our sources: see Cic.Mur. 32; 66; Arch.22; Vell.II.35.2; Plin.n.h.VII.113; Sen.beat. vit.21.3 and esp. Gell.XIII.20. Only Cato mai.27 fin. has one link too many in the chain of descent: but even here it is possible that we have only a textual corruption (see

Münzer,RAA 329).

ἐν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει a favourite combination with Plutarch; cf.e.g. 49.3 below; Mar.33.1; Cam.6.3; Fab.Max.24.5; Cato mai.22.2; Nic.8.5; Crass.7.2; ad.et am.49D; frat.am.485D; quaest.conv.VII.700B; also Cato mai.3.4; praec.ger.reip.806C.

ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται the reference is to Cato mai.27.7; for the value of the cross-reference see Introd.ch.5.

κατελείφθη δὲ γονέων ὀρφανὸς Cato's parents were M. Porcius Cato (Miltner RE XXII.166 no.12) who had been tr. pl. and died while a candidate for the praetorship, and Livia (Münzer RE XIII.900 no.35), daughter of M.Livius Drusus tr.pl.122 and sister of the tribune of the same name of 91. The loss of Cato's parents must have occurred between his birth in 95 (see 73.1n.) and 91 (see 1.2n.).

ἀδελφοῦ Καιπίωνος Cato's half-brother from his mother's first marriage to Q.Servilius Caepio (Münzer RE IIA 1786 f. no.50); for an exhaustive discussion see Appendix I.

Λιβίας ἀδελφῆς Miltner RE XXII 216 no.27 and 2.1-5n.

Σερβιλίας Κάτωνος ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφῆ on the future mother of the tyrannicide Brutus and mistress of the dictator Caesar see Münzer RE IIA 1817 ff.no.101.

l.2 Λιβίῳ Δρούσῳ M.Livius Drusus tr.pl.91 (Münzer RE XIII 859 ff.no.18); for a useful bibliography up to 1958 see Gabba, Appiani b.c.I.,117 ff; add Fuks and Geiger, Studi Volterra II 421 ff.; Weinrib, Historia XIX.1970,414 ff. (with further bibliography).

ἄγοντι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν τότε this establishes 91 as the terminus ante quem by which Livia's children came to live in her brother's house. For the expression cf.Thuc.I. 127.3; also praec.ger.reip.822F ἄγειν τὴν πόλιν

θείῳ μὲν ὄντι τῆς μητρός as Drusus was Cato's, not his mother's uncle (see Cic.Mil.16;fin.IV.66;VAL.Max.III.1.2; vir.ill.80.1;cf.Cic.Brut.222) this statement is clearly false, But Plutarch was aware of the truth (cf.2.2 and 3 below), so that it is perhaps more convincing to suggest a textual corruption than a lapsus. Xylander's conjecture πρὸς is the most probable,cf.e.g.Luc.1.1

Θεῖος δὲ πρὸς μητρὸς Μέτελλος . . .

καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν δεινότατος ἦν cf.Diod.XXXVII.10.1 λόγῳ μὲν δεινότατος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν and the evidence on Livius Drusus as orator in Malcovati ORF^3 271 f.

καὶ τἆλλα σώφρων ἀνὴρ κτλ. his only other occurrence in Plutarch's works is in praec.ger.reip.800F, where he is described as ἀνὴρ σώφρων καὶ κόσμιος.

l.3-4 Dihle, Studien zur gr. Biogr. 63 draws attention to the fact that while Plutarch usually follows the Peripatetics in making deductions from anecdotes and sayings from the youth of his heroes about their φύσις , not their ἦθος (cf. also Leo,Gr.-röm.Biogr.186 ff.), in this place we have an express description of Cato's ἦθος as a boy. It is possible that this description of Cato having from childhood a fully-fledged personality is due to a source with Stoic colouring lying beneath our passage. Though I could not find an exact parallel in Stoic sources to the conception of a strongly delineated character existing already in youth, (but cf. Sen.ep.95.5 Non potest enim quisquam nisi ab imitio formatus et tota ratione compositus omnes exsequi numeros, ut sciat, quando oporteat et in quantum et cum quo et quemadmodum et quare), it is still well in line with a philosophy according to which a man is either an absolute sage or an absolute fool and an action is either totally virtuous or totally vicious (see e.g. Pohlenz,Stoa I^2 153 ff.). The language of the passage has distinct Stoic colouring: thus ἀπαθὲς is a well-known Stoic term; The Stoic Dionysius of Heracleia wrote περὶ ἀπαθείας in two books (Diog.La.VII.166) and the σοφὸς is often described as ἀπαθὴς (see e.g. Chrys.SVF III.109=Diog.La.VII.117;cf.SVF I.99). For

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ἄτρεπτον (in Stoic Physical theory) see SVF II.158-Diog.La.VII.150; for ὁρμαί as a Stoic term see SVF III.40. ff. (including exx. from Plutarch).

1.5 πρὸς ὀργὴν...ὀλιστηρός for this rare metaphorical use cf.praec.ger.reip.822C πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὀλιστηρόν

δυσπαραίτητος this adjective is rarely applied to persons as here and Flam.22(comp.1)4.

1.7 cf.Arist.mem.1.1(449b7-9): οὐ γαρ αὐτοί εἰσι μνημονικοὶ καὶ ἀναμνηστικοί,ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μνημονικοὶ μὲν οἱ βραδεῖς, ἀναμνηστικώτεροι δὲ οἱ ταχεῖς καὶ εὐμαθεῖς.

The distinction goes back to that between μνήμη and ἀνάμνησις : see Blum,Ant.Mnemotechnik 56 ff. (on Plato) and 70 ff. (Aristotle).

1.8 οἷον ἔγκαυμα τῆς ψυχῆς for the image cf.amat.759C αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐρωμένων εἰκόνες ὑπ' αὐτῆς οἷον ἐν ἐγκαύμασι γραφόμεναι διὰ πυρὸς εἰδώλα ταῖς μνήμαις ἐναπολείπουσι,κινούμενα καὶ ζῶντα καὶ ῥθεγγόμενα καὶ παραμένοντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον :

see also Plato,Tim.26c.

1.10 τῷ μέντοι παιδαγωγῷ cf.aud.poet.28B: ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κάτων ἔτι παιδάριον ὢν ἔπραττε μὲν ὁ προστάξειεν ὁ παιδαγωγὸς

αἰτίαν δὲ καὶ λόγον ἀνῄτει τοῦ προστάγματος.

κονδύλου cf.Ar.Pax 123 with Schol.

Σαρπηδών nothing is known about him besides our Life and a parallel to the anecdote 3.3-6 in Val.Max.III.1.2.

2.1-5 For a discussion of the significance of this and the following anecdotes for the structure of the biography see Introd.ch.4. This story occurs also in Val.Max.III.1.2 and, in an abbreviated form, in vir.ill.80.1. It appears that the story was already exploited in literature shortly after Cato's death: Cicero writes (fam.XVI.22.1) to Tiro on July 27th,45: Tu istic quid librarii mea manu non intellegerent, monstrabis: una omnino interpositio difficilior est, quam ne ipse quidem facile legere soleo, de quadrimo Catone. There is no need to read quadrivio with Schmidt, Briefwechsel des Cicero 365 ff., and take the reference to be to Cato's position in the de finibus; it is natural to relate it to our anecdote (see Schiche, Zu Ciceros Briefen 13 ff.). Tyrrell and Purser, followed by Münzer RAA 297n., assume that the story was to appear in a second edition of the Cato; but there is no evidence for such a second edition. Much more probably it was to be contained in a corrected version of the laudatio Porciae (cf.Renders,l'ant.cl.VIII

1939.113; this possibility is also mentioned in Tyrrell and Purser's second edition.) Cicero sent this corrected version to Atticus on Aug.21st of the same year (Att.XIII.48.2;37.3). The death of Porcia must have occured not too short a time before that (Att.XIII.48.2 and Shackleton Bailey ad loc.). Thus at the end of July we have Cicero writing to Tiro to procure a corrected version of the laudatio, which was to contain, inter alia, the anecdote about four-year-old Cato: this is the corrected copy he sent to Atticus a few weeks later. One should bear in mind that Porcia grew up together with her brother in Drusus' house (see 1.1-2) and it is certainly in connection with her own childhood in her uncle's house that the anecdote is told.

2.1 παιδὸς τοῦ Κάτωνος ὄντος in the year 91 he was four years old: see 73.1n.

ἔπραττον οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅπως μεθέξουσι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας the most recent exhaustive treatment of the question is by Brunt JRS LV.1965,90 ff. For other sources stating that the Italians sought the citizenship see ibid.93.20.

2.2 Ποππαίδιος Σίλλων the Italian leader in the Social War (Nesselhauf RE XXII.78 ff.). For the correct form of the name (Pop(p)aedius Silo) see ibid. and Schulze, Lat.Eigenn.367.

ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα in Mar.33.4, where he is erroneously called Ὄππιος Σίλλων , he is characterized as μέγιστον εἶχε τῶν πολεμίων ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν cf.fort.Rom.321F ἀνὴρ δύσερις καὶ πολεμοποιός . . . Σίλλων ὁ Θρασύς .

τοῦ θείου see 1.2n. and sect.3 below.

2.3 ὦ νεανία : ironically. No attempts should be made to make deductions from this expression on Cato's birthdate (Münzer RAA 297n.).

2.5 οἷον εὐτύχημα τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅ⟨τι⟩ παῖς οὗτός ἐστιν For the expression cf.Lyc.7 fin., where Lycurgus is called εὐτύχημα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις cf.also Ehrenberg and Jones 98 11.8-9 τὸ κοινὸν πάντων εὐτύχημα ἐκεγεννήθη Καῖσαρ with Laffi, Studi Cl. & Or. XVI 1967,52. The correction is Sintenis', who adduces Val.Max.III.1.2 hunc esse tam parvum .

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2.6-8 This anecdote is not known from any other source.

2.6 ἐν γενεθλίοις for the plural cf.quaest.conv.V. 717A;718C; Fronto,ep.Caes.II.12.1 (van den Hout p.32). On birthday celebrations see Schmidt,RE VII.1135 ff.s.v. γενέθλιος ἡμέρα with bibliography.

ἐπὶ δείπνου for birthday meals see Plaut.Pseud.165 ff.;Fronto,ep.Caes.II.10;12.1 (van den Hout pp.31-2);cf. Sen.ira II.33.4; Cic.Phil.II.15; Verg.Ecl.III.76 with Servius ad loc.

τοὺς περὶ Κάτωνα this must be understood as an emphasis on Cato's position as the leader of his playmates.

σχολὴν ἄγοντες κτλ. this seems to be the only known instance of a children's birthday-party in antiquity and hence of games played at such an occasion.

τὸ δὲ παιζόμενον ἦν ὅπλαι καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ ἀγωγαὶ τῶν ἁλισκομένων Our main coherent source on children's games is Poll.IX.94 ff., which depends largely on a lost work by Suetonius περὶ παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν. For Roman children's games imitating the political (in the broad sense) life see Sen.const.sap.12.2 illi inter ipsos magistratus gerunt et praetextam fascesque ac tribunal imitantur; Suet.Nero 35.5 ...ducatus et imperia ludere.

After Caesar's departure from Rome in 49 the boys in the city divided into Pompeians and Caesareans and played a Civil War-game (Dio XLI.39.4). We are told (SHA X.1.4) that Septimius Severus in prima pueritia...nullum alium inter pueros ludum nisi ad iudices exercuit, cum ipse praelatis fascibus ac securibus ordine puerorum circumstante sederet ac iudicaret. These games seem to have been popular in Cyrus' childhood (Hdt.I.114) as much as in the time of the HA: it is said (SHA XXIII.4.3) that Gallienus governed neque aliter...quam cum pueri fingunt per ludibria potestates.

2.8 καὶ παῖδες ἕτεροι συνεκολούθησαν as he is often (18.5;33.3;39.1;42.7;43.6) escorted in later life: see Introd. ch.4.

3.1-2 For the special interest Thrasea Paetus may have had in this story see Introd.ch.3.

3.1 τὴν παιδικὴν καὶ ἱερὰν ἱπποδρομίαν ἣν καλοῦσι Τροίαν see Schneider RE XIII.2059 ff.s.v. lusus Troiae and Mehl RE Suppl.VIII.888 ff. (with bibliographies). The name derives, as is generally agreed, from the verb * truare (=moveri, see Festus p.9M s.v. antroare). Any connection with the city is of course popular etymology. For the

phrase ἱερὰν ἱπποδρομίαν cf.Sen.Tro.778 Troici lusus sacrum; Galen.XIV.p.212 Kühn. This celebration of the Troia in Sulla's time is the earliest known to us: but see the discussion on the origins of the game in Schneider art.cit.2060. The most exhaustive source on the Troia is Verg.Aen.V.545 ff.

τοὺς εὐγενεῖς παῖδας the boys taking part in the Troia are similarly described in Dio XLVIII.20.2;LIII.1.4; LIX.7.4;11.2; cf.Sen.Tro.778 f.

sollemne referens Troici lusus sacrum
puer citatas nobilis turmas ages

and Tac.ann.XI.11 pueri nobiles; they are called clarae stirpis indoles in Suet.Aug.43.2 and εὐπατρίδαι in Dio XLIII.23.6;LI.22.4;LIV.26.1; οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παῖδες ibid.XLIX.43.3; οἱ πρῶτοι ibid.LV.10.6. ἠγεμόνας ὅδε the boys were divided into two turmae maiorum minorumque puerorum (Suet.Caes.39.2;Aug.43.2; cf.Tib.6.4); on the other hand we have in Verg.Aen.V.560 a threefold division. This is variously interpreted as an antiquarian innovation of Augustus' time (thus Schneider, art.cit.2062 and most modern writers, based ultimately on Servius ad Verg.loc.cit.), or as another description of the same scene, in which each of the three turmae was subdivided into maiores and minores (Holzapfel Klio I.1902,

243 f.) Against the usual view that the maiores and minores were boys of different age, Mommsen RStR III.31 prefers a derivation from maiores and minores gentes, though of course in our passage as well as in Suet.Aug.43.2 at least one of the ductores is a plebeian.

Μετέλλης . . . υἱὸς Caecilia Metella (Münzer RE III.1234 f.no.134), daughter of Metellus Delmaticus, was Sulla's fourth wife and mother of his twins Faustus and Fausta. She was previously married to M.Aemilius Scaurus cos.115, to whom she bore a son and a daughter. (In all probability Scaurus' other son, who disgracefully committed suicide in 102, was born of a previous marriage, see Münzer RAA 280 f. against Klebs RE I.587). Apparently this son of Scaurus and Metella is referredto: he was M.Aemilius Scaurus (Klebs RE I.588 ff.no.141; see also Henderson, CJ LIII. 1957-8, 194 ff.), according to his cursus perhaps by a year or two Cato's senior. In the year 54 he was defended in a trial by six counsel, among whom was Cicero:most of his speech is extant. Cato as praetor repetundarum presided at the process.

3.2 ἀδελφιδοῦν . . . Πομπηΐου , ἕξτον probably son of Sex. Pompeius the philosopher and thus first cousin, not nephew, of Pompey the Great (Miltner RE XXI.2060 no.19; Cichorius,

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Röm.St.164 ff.).

3.3-7 This is our first encounter with the theme of Cato and libertas: see Introd.ch.4. The story is also told in Val.Max.III.1.2 after the Poppaedius Silo anecdote.

3.3 φίλος . . . πατρικὸς αὐτοῖς the expression is quite loose, as Sulla could hardly have been a φίλος πατρικὸς to both boys who had different fathers (cf. Cichorius, Festgabe Bezold 66, though it is a far cry from this to the conclusions Cichorius tries to arrive at, see Appendix I.), especially as all we know of Caepio the father hardly suggests that he was a friend of Sulla (cf. Badian, Historia VI.1957,318 ff.). The most likely explanation is a slight inadvertance of our biographer, who throughout treats the halfbrothers as if they were true brothers.

3.4 ἀσεβῶν χόρου cf.sollert.anim.975B and superst.165F with Wyttenbach's n.; see also Verg.Aen.VI.563 sceleratum...limen with Norden ad loc.; Rohde,Psyche 288; 672.

3.ἦν μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἐκεῖνο τῷ Κάτωνι τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον This agrees with Plutarch's other statements on Cato's age:

see 73.1n.;cf. also Val.Max.III.1.2, where he is described as praetextatus. This story must have occurred (if at all) before June 1st 81, the terminal date of the proscriptions (Cic.Rosc.Am.128), most likely in the autumn of 82.

ἐκνομιζομένας for the use cf.Cic.42.4.

3.6 φοβοῦνται γὰρ αὐτὸν ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἦ μισοῦσι this alludes to the well-known Latin proverb oderint dum metuant; it appeared in Accius' Atreus (v.203 Ribb.=60 Diehl) and is often quoted in literature (Cic.Phil.I.34; off.I.97;Sest.102;Sen.clem.I.12.4;II.2.2;ira I.20.4; Suet. Cal.30.).

3.7 τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πιμπλάμενον ὀργῆς καὶ μένους characteristic fulness of expression. The word-order αὐτοῦ πιμπλάμενον (Z) is superior to πιμπλάμενον αὐτοῦ (AP), which would produce hiatus (cf. Benseler 371).

πιμπλάμενον ὀργῆς καὶ μένους is a poetic reminiscence of Ar.Vesp.424 ὀργῆς καὶ μένους ἐμπλήμενος. μένος does not seem to occur elsewhere in Plutarch.

3.8-10 Another passage about the brotherly love of Cato and Caepio is to be found at frat.am.487C. On relations between

elder and younger brothers Plutarch tells us: ἦ καὶ Κάτων, τὸν Καιπίωνα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα θεραπεύων εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων εὐπαθείᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ σιωπῇ, τέλος οὕτως ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοσαύτης ἐνέπλησεν αἰδοῦς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὡς μήτε πρᾶξαί τι μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἀγνοοῦντος ἐκείνου.

3.8 παιδάριον . . . μικρόν here the redundance in expression actually leads to pleonasm.

ἕως οὗ one of the few allowed cases of hiatus; cf. also 5.8;28.2;59.8;61.1;64.6; and μέχρι οὗ 16.3;63.11 etc.: in almost all of these and similar places there exists an alternative reading ἄχρις, μέχρις but on the whole the forms without ς are accepted as Attic and were apparently used by Plutarch (see Kallenberg,RhM LXXIV.1925,95 ff., esp.103 f.).

3.9 ἔτη γὰρ εἴκοσι γεγονὼς, χωρὶς Καιπίωνος οὐκ ἐδείπνησεν, οὐκ ἀπεδήμησεν,εἰς ἀγορὰν οὐ προῆλθε We have seen (1.2) that between 95 and 91 Livia's children from both marriages came to live in her brother's house. But M.Livius Drusus died a mysterious death before the end of 91 and we have no clue as to what henceforth the fate of the children was. An obvious suggestion would be that they remained to live with Drusus' widow Servilia, paternal aunt of Livia's children

from her first marriage and aunt by marriage of her children from both marriages. It has been suggested (Münzer RAA 293 f., followed by Badian,Historia VI.1957,326) that Drusus had divorced Servilia; but this is unsupported by evidence and the arguments are far from convincing. Wherever the children lived after their uncle's death - and no other obvious candidate presents himself - it is clear from our passage that Livia's children from both marriages stayed together. As it seems very likely that Caepio had a marriageable daughter by 65 (see Appendix I) the probable meaning of our passage is that Cato went on to live with his elder half-brother until c.75, after the latter had married and set up a household of his own. Note that their sister Servilia must have married about a decade earlier as her son Brutus was born in 85. It was probably Cato's first marriage that separated the two brothers (see 7.1n.).

3.10 βίον "way of life".

οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ μαίνομαι Σιττίου διαφέρειν, τῶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ τινα καὶ μαλακίᾳ περιβοήτων ὀνομάσας.

cf.Athen.XII.543a (in an enumeration of Romans known for luxury) διεβόητος δ' ἦν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Σίττιος ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ μαλακίᾳ, ὡς φησι Ῥουτίλιος. If he is to be identified with one of the known Sittii it can be only no.2

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(Münzer RE IIIA.409), father of the well-known Sittius of Nuceria (ibid.no.3). It is noteworthy that our passage contains information that must have been familiar in Stoic circles. Pais, l'autobiografia...di P.Rutilio Rufo 94;107 thinks the fragment was contained in the Latin Autobiography, while Peter HRR I. 188 assignes it to the Greek History; Hendrickson, CP XXVIII.1933,152 ff. argues that these are two versions of the same work.

4.1 ἱερωσύνην . . . Ἀπόλλωνος This can only be taken as his becoming a XVvir sacris faciundis. The only other place where a XVvir s.f. is called a priest of Apollo is Tibull. II.5.1. For the connection of the XVviri s.f. with the cult of Apollo see Livy X.8.2; Obseq.47; Gagé,Apollon Romain 695 ff. Cato's joining one of the four major colleagues of priests at a relatively young age - the terminus post quem of c.75 is given by 3.9 - is the first step of his public career known to us. For the possible interest Thrasea Paetus may have had in Cato's priesthood see Introd.ch.3.
μοῖραν τῶν πατρώων , ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ταλάντων γενομένην

As the drachma was generally equated with the denarius in Rome 120 talents were 720,000 denarii or HS 2,880.000. This sum, though well over the senatorial census, could still be described, considering Cato's status and family,

as exiguum...patrimonium (Val.Max.II.10.8).
τὴν μὲν δίαιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον συνέστειλεν for the expression cf.Hp.Art.50.

4.2 Ἀντίπατρον δὲ Τύριον τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλοσόφων This is the first of the considerable number of Cato's philosopher-friends we hear of. See on him v.Arnim RE I. 2516 no.27. According to the Ind.Herc.col.79 his teachers were Panaetius' pupil Stratocles of Rhodes and a certain Antidotus. He seems to have written περὶ καθήκοντος and περὶ κόσμου; in regard for his other works there is constant confusion with the much better-known Stoic Antipater of Tarsus (no.26). Apparently he died shortly before 44 in Athens (Cic.off.II.86).
τοῖς ἠθικοῖς μάλιστα καὶ πολιτικοῖς ἐνεσπούδαστο δόγμασι Cato did not differ in this respect from his compatriots, as a primary emphasis on ethics and politics was one of the main characteristics of the Romans interested in philosophy.
ὥσκερ ἐπιτηδές τινι κατάσχετος γεγονώς ἐπιτηδές is a favourite word with Plato and appears in all Atticists. κατάσχετος is found in Plutarch here and Brut.15.6. For the expression as a whole cf.Agis.7.4 κατασχεθῆναι οἷον ἐπιτηδὲς πρὸς τὸ καλόν .
διαφόρως δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἅτενες καὶ

ἄκαμπτον εἰς ἐπιείκειαν ἢ χάριν ὑπεργαπτικός For this attitude of the Stoics see SVF III.639 ff. Cato is ridiculed on this count in Cic.Mur.60 ...doctrina non moderata nec mitis, sed, ut mihi videtur, paulo asperior et durior, quam aut veritas aut natura patitur and 61 (Zeno's praecepts) Sapientem gratia numquam moveri, numquam cuiusquam delicto ignoscere; neminem misericordem esse nisi stultum et levem; viri non esse neque exorari neque placari...

4.3 ὀργανικὸν . . . λόγον cf.Jeuckens,Plut.v.Chaer.u.d. Rhet.24 where we are told that with Plutarch rhetoric was "Werkzeugeines Wichtigeren, des ἦθος ". For this theory see Per.8.1;Fab.Max.1.7; Cato mai.1.5; Cic.32.6; aud.poet.33F; cum princ.phil.777B; praec.ger.reip.801CD; Cicero, who otherwise did not have a very high opinion of Stoic orators (de or.220;II.157 ff.; III.65 f.; Brut.116 ff.) makes a point to emphasize that Cato was both a perfect Stoic and an accomplished speaker (Brut.118 f.;cf.fin.IV.7; parad.praef.1).

4.4 οὐ μέντοι μεθ' ἑτέρων ἐποιεῖτο τὰς μελέτας , οὐδ' ὑπεδύσατο λόγοντος οὐδενός On Cato's rhetorical instruction see Cic.Brut.119 dicere didicit a dicendi magistris eorum-

que more se exercuit; cf.fin.IV.7. For declamatory exercises of the contemporaries of Cato's youth see Cic.Brut.249 (M.Claudius Marcellus cos.51) and ibid.272 (C.Calpurnius Piso Frugi q.58) with Bonner Rom.Decl.17;cf.Clarke,Rhetoric at Rome 183.

ἔρχομαι δὲ λέγειν , ὅταν μὴ μέλλω λέγειν ἔχειν σιωπῶν Plutarch has devoted an entire treatise to Talkativeness (502B ff.) with the same general sentiment. For the dictum cf. the saying to a similar effect attributed by Plutarch to Simonides garr.515A; praec.san.tu.125D;cf.lib.ed.10F.

5.1 Πορκία βασιλική See Platner-Ashby,Top. Dict.82. It was the first basilica erected in Rome, during the censorship of Cato the Elder (184). "It stood a little west of the curia, IN LATUMIIS...It was burned in 52 B.C. with the curia of Sulla at the funeral of Clodius and probably totally destroyed, as there is no further mention of it" (ibid., with sources). For new theories on the use of the basilica with recent bibliography see Fuchs, Bonn.Jb. CLXI.1961,39 ff.

τιμητικὸν 'censorius'. The term appears first in Dion.Hal., but it is difficult to believe that Plutarch's use of it is due to his influence, as Goetzeler, Festschr. v. Christ 194 ff. seems to suggest. The word is

used only in this sense by Plutarch, but otherwise in cons.Ap.120A; this treatise is undoubtedly apocryphal according to Ziegler, Plutarchos 157 f.

τοῦ παλαιοῦ Κάτωνος cf.1.1n. and 8.2.

5.2 τοῦτο Κάτωνα πρῶτον εἰς ἀγορὰν ἥκοντα προήγαγεν· ἀντέστη γὰρ αὐτοῖς Cato's only conceivable legal remedy was to obtain from the praetor an interdictum NE QUID IN LOCO PUBLICO FIAT (Lenel,Edictum Perpetuum[3] 458 f.; Berger RE IX.1653 ff.; id.,Enc.Dict.508),i.e. a command to the tribunes NE QUID IN LOCO PUBLICO FACIAS INVE EUM LOCUM IMMITTAS, QUA EX RE QUID ILLI DAMNI DETUR, PRAETERQUAM QUOD LEGE SENATUS CONSULTO (DECRETOVE PRINCIPUM) TIBI CONCESSUM EST (D.XLIII.8.2 pr.). The subsequent speech of Cato would have to prove that the premiss of the interdict, viz. that a harm would be done by the action of the tribunes, is true. Our passage does not conflict with Dio XXXVII.22.4, according to whom Cato's first public speech was against the honours proposed to Pompey in 63, since here a speech in court is meant, while in Dio the reference is presumably to a speech in the senate.

5.3 The whole passage should be compared with Plutarch's ideal of the rhetorical qualities of the statesman in praec.ger.reip.802E f.:

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Ὁ μέντοι λόγος ἔστω τοῦ πολιτικοῦ μήτε ναυτῶν καὶ θεατρικὸς, ὥσπερ πανηγυρίζοντος καὶ στεφανηπλοκοῦντος ἐξ ἀκαλῶν καὶ ἀνθηρῶν ὀνομάτων 'μήτ' αὖ πάλιν, ὡς ὁ Πυθέας τὸν Δημοσθένους ἔλεγεν, ἀλλυχνίων ὄζων καὶ σοφιστικῆς περιεργίας ἐνθυμήμασι πικροῖς καὶ περιόδοις πρὸς κανόνα καὶ διαβήτην ἀπηκριβωμέναις· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ τὴν ὄξιν ἀσιοῦσι τῶν χορδῶν ἡθικὴν καταφαίνεσθαι μὴ κρουστικήν, οὕτω τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ πολιτευομένου καὶ συμβουλεύοντος καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπιφαινέσθω μὴ δεινότης μηδὲ πανουργία, μηδ' εἰς ἔπαινον αὑτοῦ τιθέσθω τὸ ἐκτικὸς ἢ τεχνικὸς ἢ διαιρετικὸς, ἀλλ' ἤθους ἀκλύστου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ παρρησίας πατρικῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ συνέσεως ἡδομένης ὁ λόγος ἔστω μεστός, ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ἔχων καὶ ἀγωγὸν ἔκ τε σεμνῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων ἰδίων καὶ πιθανῶν.

5.4-8 The somewhat random arrangement of material in these paragraphs may be due to the association of ideas that (a) training of the voice is a healthy exercise (praec.san.tu. 130A) and (b) excessive heat and cold cause illness (ibid. 127B).

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5.4 ἡ δὲ φωνὴ . . . ἄτονον cf.praec.ger.reip.804BC

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ φωνῆς εὐεξίᾳ καὶ πνεύματος ῥώμῃ πρὸς οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀλλὰ πάμμαχον ἀγῶνα τὸν τῆς πολιτείας ἡθλημένα νομίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύοντα καὶ σβεννύμενον ὑπερβάλλῃ τις αὐτὸν

ἅρπαξ πεπράκτης κυκλοβόρου φωνὴν ἔχων (Ar.Eq.137)

Κάτων δέ, ὧν οὐκ ἤλπιζε πείσειν τῷ προκατέχεσθαι χάριτι καὶ σπουδαῖς τὸν δῆμον ἢ τὴν βουλήν, ἔλεγε τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἀναστὰς καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὕτως ἐξέκρουε.

ἡμέραν γὰρ ὅλην εἰπὼν πολλάκις οὐκ ἀπηγόρευσε

Beuzekamp 16 f.: "ipsius Plutarchi verba sunt, quibus id exprimere voluit Graece, quod Latine dicitur 'diem dicendo exemit', sed revera aliud quid Graeca significant. nam diem dicendo eximere non idem est ac per totum diem verba facere." For the term diem dicendo eximere cf. Cic.Q.fr.II.1.3; see also 31.5n. on Cato's filibustering.

5.6 Askesis is a well-documented feature of Stoic thought: Herillus of Carthage wrote περὶ ἀσκήσεως (SVF I.91=Diog. La.VII.165) and Dionysius of Heracleia wrote in two books on the same subject (SVF I.93=Diog.La.VII.166); see also Aristo of Chios in SVF I.85 and Pohlenz,Stoa I[2] 302; Lohse, Askese und Mönchtum 56 ff. On the endurance of heat and cold in particular see Cic.TD II.40 pernoctant venatores in

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nive, in montibus uri se patiuntur, and the topical characterizations of Hannibal by Livy XXI.4.6 (caloris ac frigoris patientia par) and Catilina by Sallust Cat.5.3 with Augustin.ep.167.7 (Catilina, ut de eo scripserunt qui nosse potuerunt, frigus sitim famem ferre poterat etc.); see also SHA.I 23.1 (Hadrian). The ultimate example for Cato might well have been Socrates' endurance of cold (Plato,conv.220ab); see also his march through the African desert 56.6.

5.7 see 9.4n. The two topoi of endurance of cold and heat and marching on foot are combined also in Herodian III.6.10 (Septimius Severus) and Dio LXIX.9.3-4 (Hadrian).

5.8 On Cato's health we have only the casual notices in 35.5 and two from the year 54: Cic.Q.fr.III.1.5 Cato non valebat and Att.IV.17.4 Cato aegrotat. (The reference of these passages to our Cato is arbitrarily denied by Broughton MRR II 222). In later life he seems to have been deaf (63.8); his doctor was the freedman Cleanthes (70.3).

κυρέττων γὰρ μόνος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ διημέρευε . . . ἕως οὗ . . . αἴσθοιτο ῥαστώνην this use of the optative in temporal clauses (Kühner-Gerth II.450) appears according to Hein, de optativo 94, only five times in

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Plutarch (only once in the Moralia).

6.1 δεῖπνοις cenae. μερίδων these are the cenae properly so called, i.e. the portions of the main dish. Ἀφροδίτης for the Venus as the best throw (which is certainly here alluded to) see Marquardt, Privatleben 852 f. Though no other instance is known of throwing dice for portions it was regularly done for the office of the rex convivii (ibid.).

6.2-3 Talking to friends is also given as the reason of Alexander's heavy drinking (quaest.conv.I.623E; Alex.23.1,6). Plutarch's apologies for the drinking habits of such heroes as Alexander and Cato should be seen against the background of his writing under Trajan (see Introd.ch.5). For Trajan's heavy drinking see Fronto p.214 van den Hout; Dio LXVIII. 7.4; Julian, Caes.318C; 327C; SHA Hadr.3.3; Sev.Alex.39.1; Victor, Caes.13.10; epit.13.4; 48.10.

6.2 The habit of drinking after the cena referred to is the comisatio (Marquardt, Privatleben 321 f.) For the textual crux see Ziegler, RhM LXXXI.1932,57 and Erbse, RhM C.1957,274: considering the above-mentioned habit Erbse's conjecture of μετὰ for ἐπὶ is perhaps preferable. Cato was

attacked by Caesar in his Anticato (cf.Introd.ch.3) on account of his heavy drinking; see Plin.ep.III.12.2 f. Erunt officia antelucana, in quas incedere impune ne Catoni quidem licuit, quem tamen C.Caesar ita reprehendit ut laudat. Describit enim eos, quibus obvius fuerit, cum caput ebrii retexissent, erubuisse; deinde adicit: 'Putares non ab illis Catonem, sed illos a Catone reprehensos'. Potuitne plus auctoritatis tribui Catoni, quam si ebrius quoque tam venerabilis erat? Caesar's attack might have been prompted by Cato's provocation: see Suet.Caes.53 M.Catonis est: unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad evertendam rempublicam sobrium accessisse. On the other hand if we are to assume that Caesar was the originator of the controversy he must have taken up the subject well before the Anticato. On Cato's drinking see also Mart.II.89.1-2

Quod nimium gaudes noctem producere vino
ignosco: vitium, Gaure, Catonis habes.

Sen.tranq.an. 17.4 Cato vino laxabat animum curis publicis fatigatum; ibid.9 Catoni ebrietas obiecta est etc. Cf. also inst.Trai.6 (=Bernard.vol.VII.pg.188); Hor.c.III.21 clearly refers to the Censor.

6.4 Μαμύρου see 29.5n.
Cicero's witticism may be derived from the de iocis edited

by Tiro (see Schanz-Hosius I.548), as Plutarch seems to have been acquainted with the collection (Peter, Quellen 129).

6.5 ἐπεὶ πορφύραν ἔδρα τὴν κατακόρως ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ὀξεῖαν ἀγαπωμένην, αὐτὸς ἐφόρει τὴν μέλαιναν.
on these two basic colours of the purple-snail see Arist. hist.an.547a8; cf. also Vitr.VII.13; on the different qualities of purple in the 1st cent, B.C. see Reinhold, History of Purple 44 f. We happen to have a most interesting historical notice in connection with our passage. Plin. n.h.IX.137 quotes Cornelius Nepos as writing: Me iuvene violacea purpura vigebat, cuius libra denariis centum venibat, nec multo post rubra Tarentina, huic successit dibapha Tyria, quae in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. hac P.Lentulus Spinther aed.cur. primus in praetexta usus improbabatur etc. Cornelius Nepos was born c. 110, Lentulus Spinther was aedile in 63; thus the fashion of the rubra Tarentina, which is certainly identical with our κατακόρως ἐρυθρὰν καὶ ὀξεῖαν, seems to have ruled in the seventies and the early sixties. This passage provides us with insight into two interesting aspects of the text: (a) obviously Plutarch depends here on a very good and reliable source; it is only the confirmatory passage of Cornelius Nepos that prevents us from seeing in Plutarch's

account a generalizing statement, perhaps invented by the biographer. (b) Plutarch's methods of composition: according to Meizsäcker's definitions our passage is 'eidologic' rather than 'chronographic'. Here we see how Plutarch uses a 'chronographic' historical fact in order to arrive at 'eidological' reflection (see Meizsäcker, Untersuchungen 66 f.)

6.6 πολλάκις δ' ἀνυποδήτους καὶ ἀχίτωνας εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προῆλθε μετ' Ἀρίστου as Plutarch proceeds in his 'eidologic' description he adds a fact which, torn out of its proper chronological setting and deprived of its historical context (see 44.1n.) is suitable for 'timeless' character-painting.
ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς αἰσχύνεσθαι μόνοις cf.Tim.41(comp. 2)12 δεῖ δὲ τὰ αἰσχρὰ φεύγειν καὶ αἰδεῖσθαι.
This is the other side of the well-known Stoic maxim ὅτι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν (SVF III.29.ff.); the definition nearest to it is probably turpia per se esse fugienda (Cic.fin.III.38=SVF III.41); for an analysis see Bonhöffer, Epictet u.d.Stoa 291 f.

6.7 ἀνεψιοῦ Κάτωνος Münzer RAA 330 suggests that he may have been identical with M.Porcius Cato, the

praetorian who died in Gaul and 'last of the Catones Liciniani' (Miltner RE XXII.165 f.no.11). But if so there were the descendants of the consul of 114 who would have been in a closer position to inherit (see stemma ibid.103). If, on the other hand, the ἀνεψιός is a son of L.Porcius Cato (ibid.107 no.7) Cato would have been most probably the nearest relative: also the term ἀνεψιός would be used in its most proper sense. (Thompson,Glotta XLVIII.1970,75 ff. maintains that in classical usage ἀνεψιός refers always to a cousin, with one exception first cousin. Plutarch's usage seems to be less strict, but similar: Brut.13.3; Caes.1.2; Aem.Paul.5.5; Thes.7.1; Ant.9.3; Alex.55.8; Arist.25.6 (cf. Busolt,Gr.Gesch.III.I. 111) refer certainly to first cousins. In Dem.27.4 probably a son of a first cousin is meant (Kirchner,Pros.Att.253 f.), while Per.7.4; Alc.32.3; seem to refer to a cousin once removed (Busolt,Gr.Gesch.III.1.363 f.) Thes.19.5 depends on the mythological tradition Plutarch is following for the descent of Aegeus from Erechtheus). Badian, Mélanges Piganiol 118 argues that the praetorian died in Gaul probably before 80 (this seems to concur with our suggestion); cf. also Rowland,Historia XVIII.1969,375, who thinks that the praetorian M.Cato, or an unattested son of his, might

have been identical with a Pompeian wine-merchant and our ἀνεψιός.

ἑκατὸν ταλάντων εἰς ἀργύριον for the expression cf. Dio.19.6. The sum is equivalent to HS 2.400.000 (cf.4.1n.). The millionaire Seneca writes (vit.beat.21.3): M.Cato... possidebat ipse quadragies sestertium, minus sine dubio quam Crassus, plus quam censorius Cato. Maiore spatio, si comparentur, proavum vicerat, quam a Crasso vincerextur. The four million HS Seneca mentions are considerably less than the combined sum of the two inheritances already mentioned, on which a third will shortly (11.6) follow (cf.Conant 63). But Seneca's remark may well refer to a different period in Cato's life. Alternatively he may have been inaccurate or drawing on inaccurate sources; at any rate we should not accept the statement of Seneca to the detriment of Plutarch's.

παρεῖχεν ἄνευ τόκων χρῆσθαι τῷ δεομένῳ τῶν φίλων lending without interest, mutuum properly so called, must have been a fairly common practice among leading politicians who could afford it and other people desireous of influence, as well as for purely personal reasons. Plutarch tells us of the similar practice of Crassus (Crass.3.1 τοῖς φίλοις ἐδάνειζεν ἄνευ τόκων: cf. Sall.Cat.48.5); Atticus must have lent without interest to Cicero (although

apparently there is no unambiguous source to this effect) as he did to the Athenians (Nep.Att.3.4) and to Fulvia (ibid.9.5); Cicero himself gave a large mutuum to P.Sulla (Gell.XII.12.2). Still these cases are heavily outweighed in the sources by the opposite practice of lending for interest (see e.g. Frank,Ec.Surv.Anc.Rome I.351).

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χωρία καὶ θεράποντας αὐτοῦ διδόντος καὶ βεβαιοῦντος ὑπέθεντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον This refers to an altogether different practice from the foregoing: Cato acted as praes (i.e. surety for debts to the state, as opposed to sponsor, a surety for debts to private people: see Shackleton Bailey on Cic.Att.IX.9.4) for debts to the aerarium (on these see 17.2n). For other examples of praes in Cato's time see e.g. Cic.fam.V.20.3,4; Att.XII.52.1. But note that there seems to be no other evidence for pledging slaves as security to the aerarium. Since the security was land and slaves we may assume that the legal form in the former case was pignus, and in the latter, hypotheca (see Manigk RE IX.344). Thus χωρία should be taken as object of βεβαιοῦντος and θεράποντας as object of διδόντος.

7.1 Ἔτι δ' ὥραν ἔχοντα πρὸς γάμον ἔχειν

As he had a marriageable daughter in c.60 (see 25.4n.) this could not be later than 75; from the evidence of 3.9, that

he lived with his brother Caepio until the age of twenty, we may assume with confidence that he did not marry earlier than this date either.

Ἀκιλίαν otherwise unknown. In the Republic this cognomen appeared only in the gens Aemilia. Münzer RAA 314 assumes that she was a daughter of Man.Lepidus Livianus, who, according to him (ibid.312 f.) was probably the son of M.Livius Drusus, Cato's uncle. Thus she might have been both a relation and a 'glänzende Partie'. If at all daughter of a known personality, she might as well have been a daughter of M.Aemilius Lepidus cos.78, father of the future triumvir. In that case Cato intended to marry the daughter of the closest political ally of his brother-in-law M.Iunius Brutus. This suggestion may seem unattractive in view of Cato's later political alignments; but it is questionable whether such considerations are justified. On the other hand all we know of Cato's attitude towards the Sullanum regnum (see 3.3-7 and 17.5) would not run contrary to the assumption that he allied himself with the more extreme opponents of the dictator's regime.

Σκιπίωνι Μετέλλῳ see Münzer RE III.1224 ff.no. 99; van Ooteghem, Les Caecilii Metelli 298 ff.; now also Shatzman, Athenaeum XLVI.1968,350 ff.; Badian, ibid.XLVIII. 1970,4 ff. He was born P.Cornelius Scipio Nasica and on

adoption by Metellus Pius he became Q.Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio. On his candidacy for the consulate of 53 see 47.1. In 52 Pompey married his daughter and made him his colleague in the consulate. On his part in the African campaign see 56 ff.; on his polemical writing against Cato 57.3 and Introd.ch.3.

7.2 ὁ δὲ Κάτων . . . ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐπεξελθεῖν διὰ δίκης

It is accepted among students of Roman law that breach of sponsalia was not actionable in the Late Republic, as Varro refers to the actio ex sponsu as long derelict (for the most recent treatments of the problem see Kupiszewski,ZSS LXXVII.1960,125 ff.; Watson,Law of Persons 11 ff.). Still our passage poses a difficulty not easily dismissed: (a) Any assumption of an error in Plutarch or his source would take for granted that this refers to an action long obsolete, of which Plutarch or even his source could hardly have any knowledge. (b) It is questionable, to say the least, whether one can take the passage as referring to any legal remedy other than the actio ex sponsu, which stipulated a material compensation for the loss of the bride. Thus the view of Marchi, Bull.Ist.Diritto Rom.XVI.1904,245, that Cato wanted to go to court 'per avere Lepida' is totally unfounded. So we remain with the apparent contradiction of

Cato seeking damages for an injury no longer actionable. On the whole one may accept the solution propounded by Volterra, RISG n.s.II.4 1927,592, even if not necessarily concurring with the colouring of his characterization of Cato: Certo a quel tempo l'actio ex sponsu doveva già essere caduta in disuso, ma non e impossibile che la mente bizarre di Catone, amante di ricuscitare l'antico, ricorresse in questa circostanza ad un istituto archaico. This would of course explain very well why Cato's friends thought it adviseable to dissuade him from taking legal action. ὀργῇ καὶ νεότητι τρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἴαμβους , πολλὰ τὸν Σκιπίωνα καθύβρισε , τῷ πικρῷ προσχρησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου , τὸ δ' ἐπίκαστον ἀφεὶς καὶ παιδαριῶδες This turns out to be our only evidence on Cato writing poetry. The Romans were acquainted with Archilochus at least since the days of Lucilius (Marx on vv.698-9,vol.II.253). Plutarch often quotes and mentions (22 and 10 times respectively) Archilochus, though our passage seems to imply an attitude less than sympathetic; cf.curios.520B τῶν ὑπ' Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἀκολάστως εἰρημένων κτλ.

For a similar attitude see Val.Max.VI. 3.ext.1 Lacedaemonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari iusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur;noluerunt enim ea liberorum suorum

animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret quam ingeniis prodesset. itaque maximum poetam aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisam obscenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio multarunt; cf. also Max.Tyr.diss.18 p.230, 10 H.; Aelian.frg.80 H. Cato's situation was not unlike Archilochus' after Neobule was denied to him by her father: hence the similar reaction. For the 'Archilochian edicts' of Cato's son-in-law Bibulus see Cic.Att.II.20.6;21.4; cf.Suet.Caes.49.2; see also Scott,CP LXIV.1969,27 for the notion that Catullus addressed c.56, taken as an Archilochian poem, to M.Porcius Cato, the author of such poems.

7.3 Ἀτιλίαν Σερράνου θυγατέρα Atilia is not mentioned by name outside our biography. Her father, one of the Atilii Serrani (Klebs RE II.2094 ff.) is identified by Cichorius, Röm.St.241 ff. with the adoptive father of Sex. Atilius Serranus tr.pl.57 (Klebs RE II.2099 f.no.70). Λαίλιος ὁ Σκιπίωνος ἑταῖρος Laelius is constantly referred to as Scipio's friend in Plutarch (apophth.reg. imp.200C; praec.ger.reip.806A; Ti.Gr.8.5). For this proverbial friendship see, in the first place, Cicero's de amicitia; cf. also Vell.II.127.1; Val.Max.VIII.8.1; vir.ill.58.7. The statement about Laelius' marriage is not corroborated by other evidence; this and many other details

may have been contained in Plutarch's lost Scipio Aemilianus. ἀλλ' εὐτυχέστερος ἐκεῖνος , ἐν πολλοῖς οἷς ἔβίωσε χρόνοις μίαν ὧν ἔγημεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γυνοὺς γυναῖκα

On the subject of marriage see Goessler, Plutarchs Gedanken über die Ehe,esp.74 f., where she brings parallels to Plutarch's opposition to divorce and second marriage. There can be little doubt that in this passage Plutarch speaks about his most intimate personal convictions and experience (cf. Ziegler, Plutarchos 11 ff.). Nevertheless his feelings seem to coincide with a well-known literary topic. See Hor. c.I.13.17 ff.

felices ter et amplius
quos inrupta tenet copula nec malis
divolsus caerimoniis
suprema citius solvet amor die

with Nisbet and Hubbard ad loc.

8.1 Τοῦ δὲ δουλικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος , ὃν Σπαρτάκειον ἐκάλουν As Sallust's Histories survive only in fragments our main sources for the slave-war of Spartacus are the Crassus and Appian. For bibliography see Gabba, Appiani b.c.I.316 ff. Γέλλιος μὲν ἐστρατήγει L.Gellius Publicola (Münzer RE VII.1001 ff. no.17) was consul in 72 together with Cn.

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Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus. "Both consuls were defeated, first separately and then together, by Spartacus, and withdrawn from command by decree of the Senate" (Broughton MRR II.116 with the sources).

ἑθελοντής presumably Cato would accompany Caepio as his comes and would serve perhaps on the consilium of Gellius.

χιλιάρχει . . . Καικίλιον There is no foundation to the assertion of Suolahti, Junior Officers 57, that Caepio was an elected military tribune (cf.8.4n.). For the etymology of χιλίαρχος - a calque from Persian - see Benveniste, Titre et noms propres etc.67 ff.

8.2 τὸ μὴ καλῶς στρατηγεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον , ἄλλως δὲ κτλ.

For the low morale of the Roman troops cf.App.b.c.I.117.545.

τὸ θαρραλέον . . . καὶ ξυνετόν note the Attic forms: though -ρρ- for -ρσ- is usual with Plutarch, ξυν- for συν- is very rare.

8.3 ἀριστεῖα καὶ τιμάς On the appropriate military decorations see Watson, The Roman Soldier 115; in general Steiner, Bonn.Jb. 114-6, 1906-7, 1 ff.

8.4 Between the previous sentence and this occurs the most

serious chronological gap in our biography: while the service with Caepio took place in 72, the military tribunate must be assigned to 67 (see 10.3n.) and the elections to 68. No fact from any other source fills this gap, which must remain a blank leaf in Cato's life. Perhaps particularly painful is the absence of information on his attitude towards the first consulate of Pompey and Crassus and the legislation for Pompey's extraordinary commands. The probable reason for this gap is the nature of Plutarch's sources, viz. Munatius Rufus' Memoirs seem to commence with Cato's military tribunate, while there is no comparable source for the earlier sections of Cato's life (cf.Introd. ch.3.).

νόμου γραφέντος ὅπως τοῖς παραγγέλλουσιν εἰς ἀρχὴν ὀνοματολόγοι μὴ παρῶσι According to Rotondi LPPR 369 f.,378 f. this may have been a clause of the lex Aurelia de ambitu, of the lex Fabia de numero sectatorum, or else a separate, otherwise unknown, law. Yet there is an additional piece of evidence, that must be directly related to our passage: Cic.Mur.77 says that Cato employed a nomenclator in his campaign for the tribunate of 62 and indicates clearly that this was by no means illegal (cf. also comm. petit.41). Conant 70 ff., who is aware of the difficulty, proposes that Plutarch misunderstood the law against

adsectatores as relating to nomenclatores: but it is difficult to believe that Plutarch's use of the word ὀνοματολόγοι is not echoing the appearance of 'nomenclatores' in his source. The enacting of the law and its subsequent repeal would be an obvious way out; but it would involve too many unknowns, viz. the enactment of an otherwise unknown law by an anonymous author, its repeal after a few years in unknown circumstances etc. A different solution to this puzzle may perhaps be proposed. First, it should be noted that all our later evidence speaks apparently about the employment of one nomenclator only (Cic.Att.IV.1.5; Hor.epist.I.6.49 ff. cf. Macr.Sat.II.4.15). Our evidence can be viewed as supplementary rather than contradictory: according to Plutarch the use of nomenclatores was forbidden in 68, according to Cicero the employment of one nomenclator was legal in 63. Thus the lex Fabia de numero sectatorum (enacted somewhere between these two dates) probably provided for the use of but one nomenclator. According to this interpretation this legislation did not come instead of total licence, but in order to replace even harsher measures - laid down perhaps in the lex Aurelia de ambitu.

ὀνοματολόγοι 'nomenclatores': this seems to be an ad hoc translation of the term.Lucian.merc.cond.10

uses ὀνομαυλάτωρ : cf. also νομενλάτωρ (CIL III.6080: Ephesus, date unknown;P.Oxy.1244 introd.).

χιλιαρχίαν μετιὼν ἀρχὴν μέτειμι as equivalent of munus ambire is very common in Plutarch: cf.e.g.20.3;41.1; 46.2;49.5 etc.; it appears also in Dion.Hal. (see Goetzeler, loc.cit.) and Appian (Gabba,Appiani b.c.I.p.XXXV). On the office of the military tribune see Mommsen,RStR II.575 ff., Suolahti, Junior Officers 35 ff. Under the Late Republic 24 military tribunes (6 for each of the 4 legions) were elected - the so-called 'tribuni militum a populo' or 'comitati' - while the rest were appointed by the general - the so-called 'rufuli'. The elections took place in the comitia tributa, probably under a consul, in the late summer, at the end of the election season. Among the important figures of the period Julius Caesar is known to have been a tribunus militum a populo (Caes.5.1; Suet. Caes.5).

8.5 τὸ δυσμίμητον ... βαρυνομένοις for the use see Holden on Nic.21.3 with parallels.

9.1 Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ χιλίαρχος For the year 67: see 10.3n.

Ῥοσβρίου Münzer RE IA.1169 no.4; Broughton MRR II.147;150 n.12.

στρατηγόν here, as frequently in Plutarch (cf.e.g. 31.3; Caes.4.2;5.4; Mar.40.6 f.) applied to governors with propraetorian or proconsular powers.

Μουνάτιον On Munatius Rufus, through the intermediary Thrasea Paetus no doubt the source of the anecdote concerning him, see Introd.ch.3.

9.2 Note the irony in the solemn legal expression τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐμπεδῶσεις .

9.4 εἵποντο δ' αὐτῷ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν οἰκέται, ὁδῷ δ' ἀπελεύθεροι , φίλοι δὲ τέσσαρες Also on other occasions he was satisfied with a modest entourage; see Val.Max.IV.3.12 (Cato) cum bellis civilibus interesset, filium secum trahens XII servos habuit.

ὃν . . . προσεπιλεγόμενος cf. almost the same words at 5.7; clearly in our place the story is in its true historical context, derived most probably from a reliable eye-witness, while in the other passage it was adduced for the sake of 'eidological' character-painting. For a similar case of endurance cf.56.6.

9.5 πλειόνων ταγμάτων for other evidence for the strength of the army in Macedon in this period see

Smith, Service in the Post-Marian Army 22.

ταγμάτων though used in Plb. to translate manipulus it is since Dion.Hal. the most usual equivalent of legio and thus it appears very frequently in Plutarch (e.g.33.5;65.4 etc.), so that the word λεγεῶν has to be explained as the Latin equivalent of τάγμα : Rom.13.1; Otho 12.4; cf.also Rom.20.1.

ἄρχων The legatus legionis is most usually called ἡγεμὼν λεγεῶνος or τάγματος (e.g.Galba 22.10) and πρεσβυτὴς λεγεῶνος or τάγματος (e.g.Otho.12.6); for more examples and further equivalents see Magie 122 f.; Mason, Phoenix XXIV.1970,153; for ἄρχων τάγματος cf. Galba 10.5.

ἄρχων ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ as far as we know the normal practice at this time was rotation of the tribuni militum in the command of the legion (Suolahti, Junior Officers 46); on the other hand the office of the legatus legionis seems to have been established only in Caesar's Gallic wars (Fröhlich, Das Kriegswesen Caesars 19; Mommsen RStR II.701). It is quite possible that, as Mommsen comments (ibid.700) on our passage "oft genug ein Offizier längere Zeit eine Legion geführt haben wird": thus we may have here the first seeds of the later practice of establishing legati as permanent commanders of legions.

For the different conjectures to emend the text see Ziegler, RhM LXXXI.1932,58; Erbse RhM C.1957,284; to Ziegler's parallels add also Pel.2//Marc.33(comp.3).

9.6 Note the chiasmus in εἰρηνικοὺς . . . πολεμικούς , . . . προθυμοτέρους . . . δικαιοτέρους . For the idea cf.Dio of Prusa's contemporary First Discourse On Kingship (I.27): καὶ πολεμικὸς οὕτως ἐστὶν ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸ πολεμεῖν , εἰρηνικὸς δὲ οὕτως ὡς μηδὲν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι . καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε οἶδεν , ὅτι τοῖς κάλλιστα πολεμεῖν παρεσκευασμένοις , τούτοις μάλιστα ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν .

9.7 φοβεροὶ μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις , ἥμεροι δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις The underlying concept is parcere subjectis et debellare superbos, expounded under the Empire by men like Aristides (see Norden on Verg.Aen.VI.847 ff.p.335 ff.); it is at least as old as Gorgias: see epith.frg.6 (Diels-Kranz II^5 286) ὑβρισταὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑβριστάς , κόσμιοι εἰς τοὺς κοσμίους , ἄφοβοι εἰς τοὺς ἀφόβους . . .

ἄτολμοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀδικεῖν , φιλότιμοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους The fine equilibrium of the antitheses in the period rounds up in what is the logical consequence of the beginning ἐπομένης τιμῆς καὶ κολάσεως .

9.8 καὶ δόξα καὶ χάρις καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα τιμὴ καὶ φιλοφρασύνη the Didot translation gives gloria gratia observantia amorque. For the sentiment cf. also 12.1.

10.1 Ἀθηνόδωρον τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Κορδυλίωνα v.Arnim RE II.2045 no.18; Grimal REA XLVII.1945,261 ff., esp.264 ff. He was a native of Tarsus and head of the library at Pergamum, in which capacity he tried to 'purge' writings of unorthodox Stoics (evidently this office is meant in our passage by the words διατρίβειν περὶ Πέργαμον); he is often confused with the fellow-Stoic Athenodorus the son of Sandon (v.Arnim RE II.no.19; Philippson RE Suppl. V.47 ff. Cichorius, Röm.St.279 ff.) from Kana near Tarsus (see Cic.fam.III.7.5 with Grimal REA XLVII.1945,265 and Att.XVI.11.4 with Shackleton Bailey ad loc.). Relevant to our passage are the accounts of Strabo XIV.674 Ἀθηνόδωροι δύο , ὁ μὲν , Κορδυλίων καλούμενος συνεβίωσε Μάρκῳ Κάτωνι καὶ ἐτελεύτα παρ' ἐκείνῳ and Plin.n.h.VII.113... Uticensis Cato unum ex tribunatu militum philosophum, alterum ex Cypria legatione deportavit (=Solin.I.122). Plutarch himself mentions the story in cum princ.phil.777A Κάτων δ' αὐτὸς ἐλεύσειν ἀπὸ στρατείας (στρατίας Coraes) ἐπ' Ἀθηνόδωρον .

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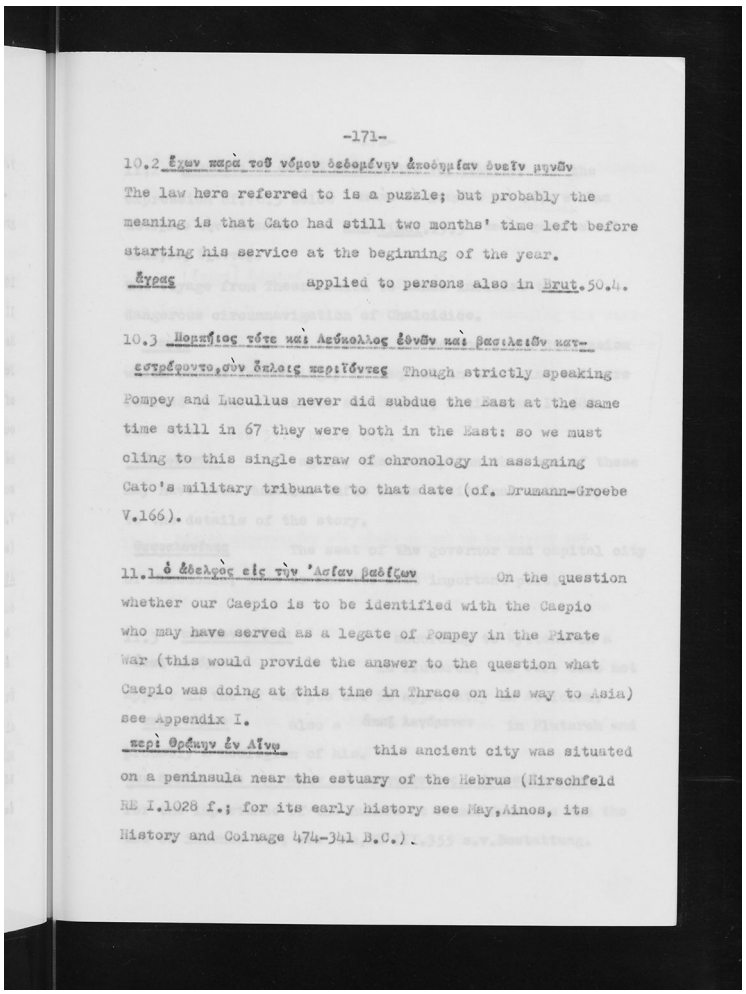
10.2 ἔχων παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δεδομένην ἀποδημίαν δυεῖν μηνῶν
The law here referred to is a puzzle; but probably the meaning is that Cato had still two months' time left before starting his service at the beginning of the year.
ἄγρας applied to persons also in Brut.50.4.

10.3 Πομπήϊος τότε καὶ Λεύκολλος ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλείων κατεστρέφοντο, σὺν ὅπλοις περιῒόντες Though strictly speaking Pompey and Lucullus never did subdue the East at the same time still in 67 they were both in the East: so we must cling to this single straw of chronology in assigning Cato's military tribunate to that date (cf. Drumann-Groebe V.166).

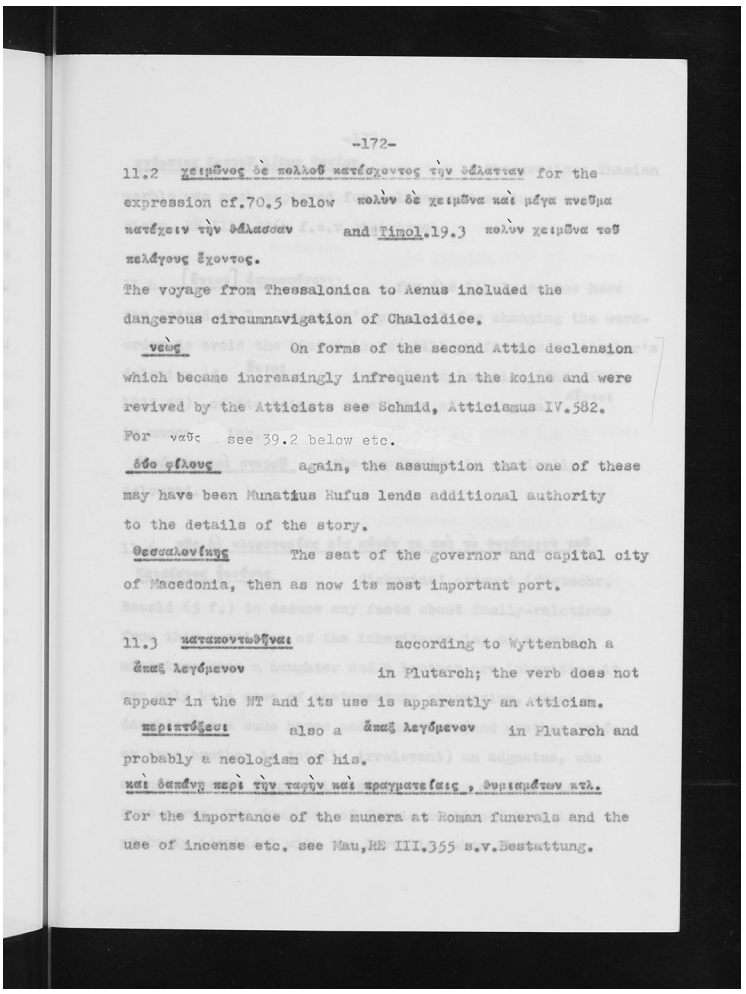
11.1 ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν βαδίζων On the question whether our Caepio is to be identified with the Caepio who may have served as a legate of Pompey in the Pirate War (this would provide the answer to the question what Caepio was doing at this time in Thrace on his way to Asia) see Appendix I.
περὶ Θρᾴκην ἐν Αἴνῳ this ancient city was situated on a peninsula near the estuary of the Hebrus (Hirschfeld RE I.1028 f.; for its early history see May,Ainos, its History and Coinage 474-341 B.C.).

11.2 χειμῶνος δὲ πολλοῦ κατέχοντος τὴν θάλατταν for the expression cf.70.5 below πολὺν δὲ χειμῶνα καὶ μέγα πνεῦμα κατέχειν τὴν θάλασσαν and Timol.19.3 πολὺν χειμῶνα τοῦ πελάγους ἔχοντος.
The voyage from Thessalonica to Aenus included the dangerous circumnavigation of Chalcidice.
νεὼς On forms of the second Attic declension which became increasingly infrequent in the koine and were revived by the Atticists see Schmid, Atticismus IV.582. For ναῦς see 39.2 below etc.
δύο φίλους again, the assumption that one of these may have been Munatius Rufus lends additional authority to the details of the story.
Θεσσαλονίκης The seat of the governor and capital city of Macedonia, then as now its most important port.

11.3 κατακοντωθῆναι according to Wyttenbach a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Plutarch; the verb does not appear in the NT and its use is apparently an Atticism.
περιπτύξεσι also a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Plutarch and probably a neologism of his.
καὶ δαπάνῃ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν καὶ πραγματείαις, θυμιαμάτων κτλ. for the importance of the munera at Roman funerals and the use of incense etc. see Mau,RE III.355 s.v.Bestattung.



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μνήματος ξεστοῦ λίθων Θασίων the precious Thasian marble was much employed for columns and statues: see Plehn, RE IIIA.2264 f.s.v.Steinbruch.

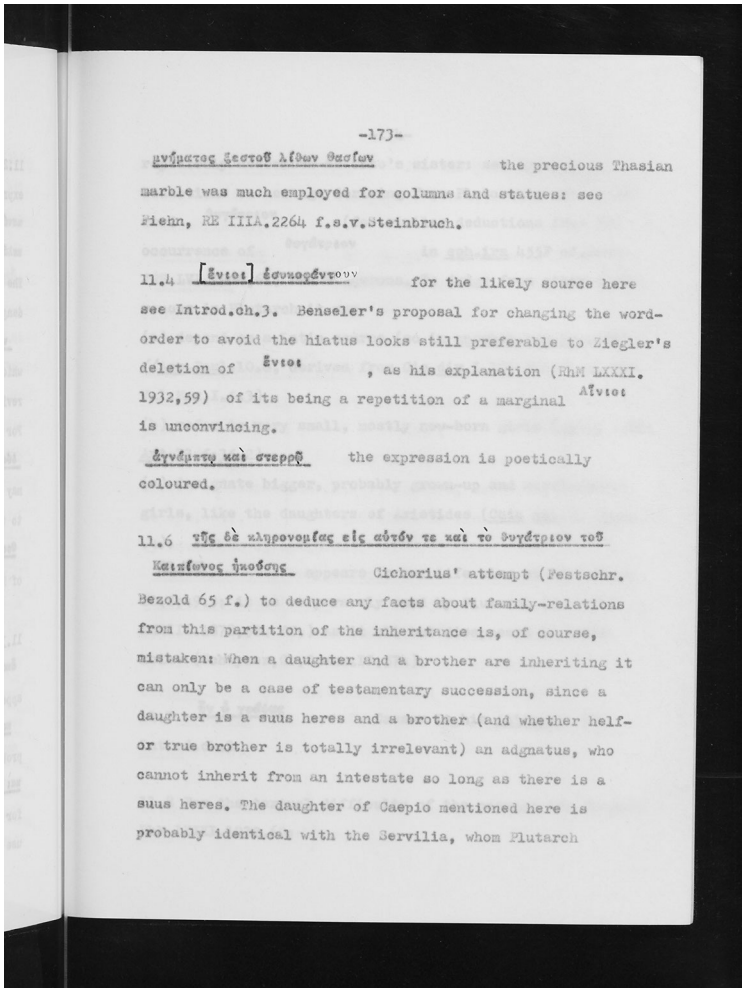
11.4 [ἔνιοι] ἐσυκοφάντουν for the likely source here see Introd.ch.3. Benseler's proposal for changing the word-order to avoid the hiatus looks still preferable to Ziegler's deletion of ἔνιοι, as his explanation (RhM LXXXI. 1932,59) of its being a repetition of a marginal Αἴνιοι is unconvincing.
ἀγνάμπτῳ καὶ στερρᾷ the expression is poetically coloured.

11.6 τῆς δὲ κληρονομίας εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ θυγάτριον τοῦ Κατωνίνου ἠνέσης Cichorius' attempt (Festschr. Bezold 65 f.) to deduce any facts about family-relations from this partition of the inheritance is, of course, mistaken: When a daughter and a brother are inheriting it can only be a case of testamentary succession, since a daughter is a suus heres and a brother (and whether half- or true brother is totally irrelevant) an adgnatus, who cannot inherit from an intestate so long as there is a suus heres. The daughter of Caepio mentioned here is probably identical with the Servilia, whom Plutarch

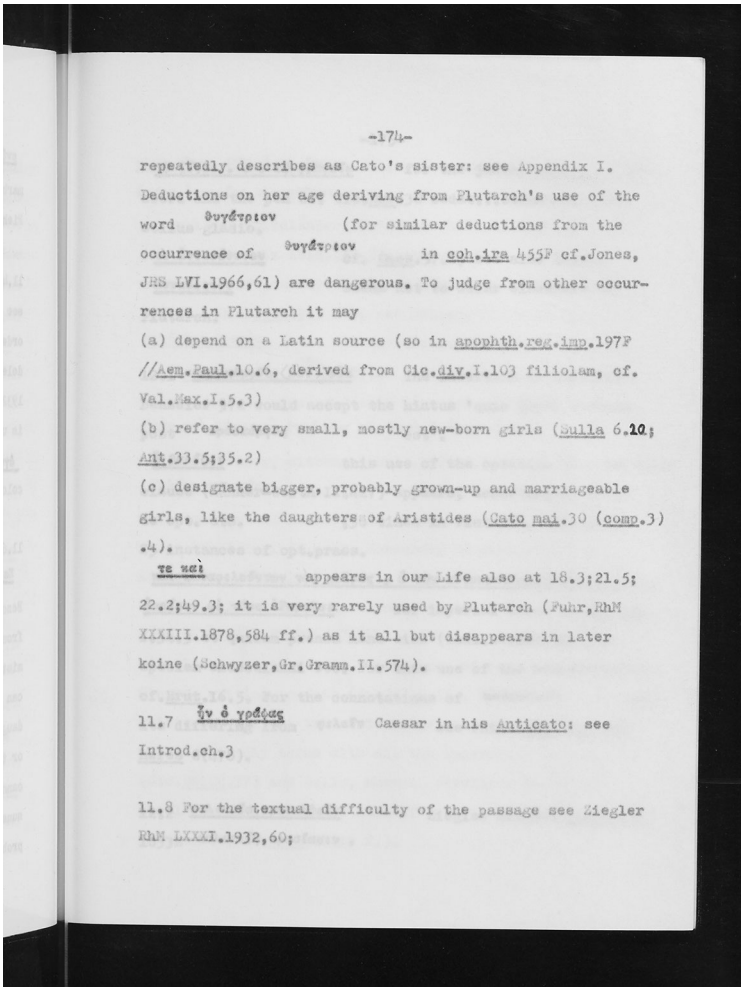
repeatedly describes as Cato's sister: see Appendix I. Deductions on her age deriving from Plutarch's use of the word θυγάτριον (for similar deductions from the occurrence of θυγάτριον in coh.ira 455F cf.Jones, JRS LVI.1966,61) are dangerous. To judge from other occurrences in Plutarch it may
(a) depend on a Latin source (so in apophth.reg.imp.197F //Aem.Paul.10.6, derived from Cic.div.I.103 filiolam, cf. Val.Max.I.5.3)
(b) refer to very small, mostly new-born girls (Sulla 6.10; Ant.33.5;35.2)
(c) designate bigger, probably grown-up and marriageable girls, like the daughters of Aristides (Cato mai.30 (comp.3) .4).
τε καὶ appears in our Life also at 18.3;21.5; 22.2;49.3; it is very rarely used by Plutarch (Fuhr,RhM XXXIII.1878,584 ff.) as it all but disappears in later koine (Schwyzer,Gr.Gramm.II.574).

11.7 ὃν ὁ γράψας Caesar in his Anticato: see Introd.ch.3

11.8 For the textual difficulty of the passage see Ziegler RhM LXXXI.1932,60;



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τῷ ξίφει . . . τῷ γραφείῳ for the juxtaposition of the sword and the pen cf. Cic.Mur.30 cedat...otium militiae, stilus gladio.

τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον cf. Caes.57.1; see also 14.5n.

ἀνυπεύθυνον seems not to occur elsewhere in Plutarch.

12.1 προεπέμφθη ⟨μὲν⟩ οὖν The insertion is Emperius'. Benseler 372 would accept the hiatus 'quia pausa quaedem post προεπέμφθη est'.

ᾗ βαδίζοι this use of the optative in a relative clause (Kühner-Gerth II.427) appears, according to Hein, de opt. etc. ,36 times in Plutarch, including 25 instances of opt.praes.

καὶ καταφιλούντων τὰς χεῖρας , ἃ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ὀλίγοις μέλις ἐκείνου οἱ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι for imperial times cf.Tac.ann. I.34.3 et quidam prensa manu eius (scil.Germanici) per speciem exosculandi etc. For this use of the verb καταφιλεῖν cf.Brut.16.5. For the connotations of καταφιλεῖν and its differing from φιλεῖν see Philo,quis rer.div. heres 8(478).

12.2 πολιτείᾳ προσελθεῖν Ziegler adduces Stoic.rep. 1033E πολιτείᾳ προσῆσαν .

πλανηθῆναι παθ' ἱστορίαν for the expression cf.Sol.2.1 ἕνεκα ἱστορίας πλανηθῆναι . For Bildungsreisen in general see Friedländer, Sittengesch.II.85 ff.; on such journeys to Asia ibid.122 ff. Among Cato's contemporaries note e.g. the journey of Cicero (the main sources are Cic. 3.6 ff.; Cic.Brut.313 ff.; see Gelzer,Cicero 23 ff.).

γενέσθαι θεατὴς for the expression cf.14.7;Per. 1.6; Cato mai.12.5; Ant.29.6. For the characteristically inconventional aims of Cato's journey(γενέσθαι θεατὴς ἠθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ δυνάμεως τῆς περὶ ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν) see Friedländer, Sittengesch.II.160 ff.; cf. also 19.4n.

Γαλάτῃ Δηιοτάρῳ On Deiotarus, tetrarch of the Tolistobogii and later ruler of the whole of Galatia see Miese RE IV.2401 ff.no.2; Rosenberg RE Suppl.III.328; Adcock JRS XXVII.1937.12 ff.; Hoben,Untersuchungen zur Stellung kleinasiatischer Dynasten etc.64 ff.

διὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν πατρῴαν Nothing is known of previous relations between Cato's family and Deiotarus; in 50 Cicero, writing to Cato (fam.XV.4.15), refers to ...regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Deiotarus was on friendly terms with all the imperators in the East (Cic.Deiot.37) and Sulla, Murena, Servilius Isauricus, Lucullus, Pompey, Cicero himself and Bibulus are expressly mentioned (Cic.Phil.XI.33 f.).

12.2-6 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κτλ. Cato's modesty in travelling was highly exceptional among members of the Roman aristocracy. The more usual manner is represented by the baggage and entourage of Metellus Nepos (see 20.3). Similar extravagance is attested for Clodius and Milo (Cic.Mil.28), Julius Caesar (Suet.Caes.46), not to mention the oriental luxury (cf. the Parthian Surena in Crass.21) of Mark Antony Ant.9.7 f.; Cic.Phil.II.58; Att.X.10.5); on the whole subject see Friedländer,Sittengesch.II.29 ff.

12.3-4 On inns see ibid.32 ff. πανδοκεῖῳ , πανδοκείου this is the usual form in Plutarch, though in MSS occurs also the condemned form (by the Atticist Phrynichus 276) in -χ-: (see Wyttenbach's Index;cf.Schmid,Atticismus IV. 683).

12.3 ἐνοχλοῦντες οὐδενί the norm in Plutarch's time would be the proconsul (later Emperor) Antoninus' occupation of Polemo's house in Smyrna (but not Polemo's reaction): Philostr.VS I.25.

12.6 Κάτωνες 'people like Cato'. Though the usage is more widespread in Latin (Kühner-Stegmann I.72) than in Greek (Kühner-Gerth I.15) it is fairly common in

Plutarch; see e.g.64.5; Per.16.8; Fab.Max.14.2; Alex.55.2; Crass.14.2; bellone an pace 345E etc.

13 The story of this ch. is also told in Pomp.40.1-5 and Julian.Misop.p.358 Spanh. (depending expressly on Plutarch). For a discussion of the interrelation of the two versions of Plutarch see Introd.ch.5. The reception prepared by cities to important persons is a regular feature in antiquity and a well-treated literary topic (for an excellent collection of examples see Pearce CQ XX.1970,315); the irony of our story is that these honours were paid to Pompey's freedman Demetrius.

13.1 Ἀντιόχειαν Journeys of tourists to Antiochia seem to have been very rare in this time (Friedländer, Sittengesch.II.129) and Cato's visit was no doubt an outcome of the rather extraordinary aims of his tour (cf.12.2).

παρακεκριμένων this use of παραιρέω seems to be singular; in the parallel version in Pomp.40.3 the more regular διαιρέω is employed.

13.1 and 3 On white garments, crowns and wands see Stengel, Die gr. Sakralaltertümer 33 f.

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13.3 δημήτριον Münzer RE IV.2802 f.no.50; Shackleton Bailey, Proc.Cambr.Phil.Soc.V.1958-9,11 ff., but cf.65.11n. below; Treggiari, Roman Freedmen 185.

πυγίλα does not seem to appear elsewhere in Plutarch and is clearly a rather arbitrary alternative for the regular πότε (the latter appears in the parallel version in Pomp.40.4).

13.4 τότε δὲ πάντων ὡς ἕνος εἶκεῖν ἀνθρώπων εἰς Πομπήιον ἀποβλεπόντων cf.Alex.52.5 (words of Anaxarchus of Abdera): οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει: see also Sert.18.4; in Latin cf. Cic. ad Brut.17.2 in te non solum exercitus tui sed omnium civium ac paene gentium coniecti sunt oculi; cf.Vitr.I.1 gentes omnes subactae tuum spectarent nutum.

14.2 Ἔφεσον Drumann (Drumann-Groebe V.168), arguing that Pompey did not visit Ephesus before 62, makes this one of his points for rejecting Plutarch's evidence of the chronology of Cato's Asian journey and quaestorship (see 16.1n.). Honigmann, RE IVA.1622 s.v.Syria, accepting Drumann's objections, proposes to read Ἔμεσαν instead of Ἔφεσον, presuming that this was Cato's next stage after Antiochia. Yet the rejection of Pompey being

at Ephesus about 66 rests solely on the argumentum ex silentio: while his being there in 62 is attested only in App.Mithr.116 - a passage that makes him, incidentally, 35 years old at that time! Thus the evidence of Plutarch on Cato's encounter with Pompey in Ephesus in 66, resting almost certainly on a dependable eye-witness source, should be accepted. For Ephesus as a target for tourists see Friedländer, Sittengesch.II.126.

14.3 ῥᾳδιότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν on ῥᾳδιότης in Plutarch see Martin GRBS III.1960.65 ff.; on Cato's μεγαλοψυχία see Cic.Mur.60; Sest.62, and the famous synkrisis of Cato and Caesar in Sall.Cat.54.1; also Knoche, Magnitudo animi 45 ff.

14.5 ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχῶν apparently this is the only instance of this adjective in Plutarch applied to persons: see Smits on Lys.19.2. It is noteworthy that another appearance of the adjective in our Life (11.8, see n.; it appears also at 42.3) is one of the two places where it is used as a substantive.

διὰ συγγένειαν We have no further evidence for this relationship, thus the explanation of its nature must rest on speculations. Pompey was married at this time

to Mucia Tertia (Fluss RE XVI.449 f.no.28), daughter of Scaevola the pontifex, his third wife. She was the mother of his three children Pompeia, Gnaeus and Sextus. The most obvious assumption would be that either Mucia's mother or one of her grandmothers (who are all unknown) was a Livia or a Porcia. Yet Metellus Nepos, Mucia's uterine brother (Cic.fam.V.2.6 with Tyrrell and Purser; Dio XXXVII.49.3; cf.Cic.Att.I.12.3 with Shackleton Bailey; fam.V.1; contra Drumann-Groebe IV.561) was Cato's most violent enemy (see below 20.3 ff.): thus perhaps the relationship through Mucia's paternal grandmother may seem the most acceptable.

14.6 τοὺς φίλους again we may assume that one of these was Munatius Rufus.

Κουρίωνος Ziegler's Index attributes the saying to C.Scribonius Curio the Younger (Münzer RE IIA.867 ff.no.11), while Münzer (ibid.862 no.10) would rather have it as the Elder's. Certainly Münzer's attribution is preferable as Curio pater was tr.pl. in 90 and cos.76, while Curio filius, born c.84 was certainly too young for the remark. On the eloquence of the two Curiones respectively Malcovati ORF[3] no.86 pp.297 ff. and no.170 pp.510 ff. Curio's description as Cato's φίλος and συνήθης is evidently no proof that the younger man is meant: cf.16.6 where Lutatius

Catulus is described as Cato's συνήθης. A further observation may be appropriate here: we have seen (6.4) that C.Memmius also made an ironic remark about Cato. C.Memmius and Curio pater were brothers-in-law and they are both credited with attacks on Caesar about his association with Nicomedes of Bithynia (Suet.Caes.49.1,2; cf. Münzer RE XV.611).

14.8 "σὺ λέγεις" εἶπεν ὁ Κουρίων "ἡδέων γὰρ ἐπανήξεις ἀκροατὴν καὶ μᾶλλον ἥμερος" οὕτω πως καὶ τῷ ῥήματι χρησάμενος. Undoubtedly Plutarch indicates that he is trying to render a Latin phrase; the Didot translation 'iucundior et mansuetior' is a possibility; another for μᾶλλον ἥμερος is 'humanior'.

15.1 τοὺς παῖδας From Deiotarus' many children (Stoic.rep.1049C, see below) we know a daughter that was married to Brogitarus (Cic.har.resp.29), another who was wife of Castor Tarcondarius or Saocondarus (Strabo XII.568; Suid.s.v. Κάστωρ Ῥοδίος); Cic.Deiot.30; cf. Kubitschek RE X.1347 ff.no.8) and his son and coregent Deiotarus II.Philopator (?) (Niese RE IV.2403 f.no.3) who seems to have predeceased him. Deiotarus killed his daughter together with her husband Castor so as to add their territory to his own (Strabo loc.cit; Suid.loc.cit.; Cic.div.II.79)

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and elsewhere Plutarch tells us (Stoic.rep.1049C) that Deiotarus the Galatian πλειόνων αὐτῷ παίδων γεγονότων , ἐνὶ βουλόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἅπαντας ἐκείνους ἀπέσφαξεν , ὥσπερ ἀμπέλου βλαστοὺς ἀποτεμὼν καὶ κολοβὸς , ἵν' εἷς ὁ λειφθεὶς ἰσχυρὸς γένηται καὶ μέγας .

If this refers to our Deiotarus - and there is nothing to suggest the contrary - the one son meant to survive was plainly Deiotarus II. Deiotarus' queen and Deiotarus' II. mother was Berenice (Coupry,rev.arch.VI.1935,140 ff. =ann. ep.1936,110; cf.adv.Col.1109B),thus the story about Stratonice, wife of Deiotarus, in mul.virt.258D, refers most probably not to our Deiotarus, but rather to his son (Stadter, Plutarch's Historical Methods 106 f.).

περὶ τρίτην ὥραν between c.8.30 and 9.30 a.m., according to season.

15.2 ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι on Pessinus see Ruge RE XIX.1104 ff. This is our sole evidence that Pessinus was included at this time in the territory of Deiotarus. In 58 Pessinus passed through a law of Clodius to Brogitarus, but was restored in 56 by Deiotarus to the priests: Cic.har.resp.28 f.; domo 129 f.; Sest.56.

15.3 ὑπομεμφομένους - seems to be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον

in Plutarch. The only other place cited in L-S-J is from Nonnus' Dionysiaca.

For the optative see Hein, de optativo etc.61;Kühner-Gerth II.358 f.

16.1 Ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς Ῥώμην the date of Cato's return to Rome after his Asian journey is closely connected with, and should not be discussed separately from, the date of his quaestorship. We have seen (10.3n.) that the single clue to date Cato's military tribunate points to the year 67. It is evident from our text that the Asian journey followed closely on the military tribunate (note e.g. that Curio knows beforehand of Cato's intention to go to Asia after the military tribunate (14.7)), viz. it began somewhere around Jan.1st,66. If Cato were to stand for the quaestorship of 65 this would leave him hardly more than six months for the whole of the journey including the sea-voyage back to Brindisi. This is a very short period to include visits to Ephesus, Galatia and Antiochia, though perhaps not impossibly short. Drumann (Drumann-Groebe V. 166 ff., followed tacitly by Ziegler in his edition) thought that in order to harmonize the Asian journey with a quaestorship in 65 one must split the journey in two parts, before and after the quaestorship, contrary to the

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evidence of the text. Such extreme measures should be resorted to only if the evidence were unequivocal in favour of a quaestorship in 65; so far we have only seen that a quaestorship in 64 would more easily be reconciled with the Asian journey than one in 65, though both seem probable. The one piece of positive evidence usually adduced to date Cato's quaestorship is its coincidence with Lutatius Catulus' censorship (16.6); yet this evidence is not conclusive to decide between 65 and 64 (cf. Syme, CP L. 1955,130 f.).Lutatius Catulus was censor in 65, but owing to differences with his colleague resigned his office (for the evidence see Broughton MRR II.157). We are not told when he resigned his office, and since this could have happened after Dec.5th,65 (the date of the new quaestors entering office) and indeed in early 64, the synchronism of Cato's quaestorship with Lutatius Catulus' censorship merely proves that Cato was quaestor either in 65 or in 64. Another point that has been raised (Renders,l'ant.cl.VIII. 1939,115 ff.) is whether Cato's quaestorship in 65 would accord with the legal requirements of age in this period. Since Cato was born in 95 (see 73.1n.) and the practice seems to have been to enter the quaestorship after completing the 30th year (see Mommsen,RStR I.567 ff.) it appears that Cato could not have been quaestor before 64. Mommsen indeed

(ibid.571.1) accepts Cato's quaestorship in 65 and maintains that the current 30th year would have been counted as completed: since there is no other known example of such a practice it is highly doubtful whether we should accept it even on the authority of Mommsen. Moreover, if it is correct that a minimal age limit applied not only for the holding of the praetorship, but also for the presenting of the candidacy (see 39.3n.), and if analogous requirements were in force for the quaestorship, Cato must have completed his thirtieth year already at the start of the electoral campaign in 65. But there exists an additional piece of evidence, as seems hitherto unnoticed that testifies almost conclusively for 64. We are told (17.7) that Cato as quaestor called to account people who received money from Sulla for killing proscribed men as having public money unjustly in their possession. Immediately (εὐθύς) they were charged with murder. Now we happen to know that such trials took place in 64 (Dio XXXVII.10.2) and the two specific trials we know of took place in mid-summer of that year, shortly before the delivery of Cicero's speech in toga candida (Asc.90-91C). If we place Cato's quaestorship in 65 we have to interpret εὐθύς as after six to eighteen months, while a quaestorship in 64 would admit a much more natural interpretation.

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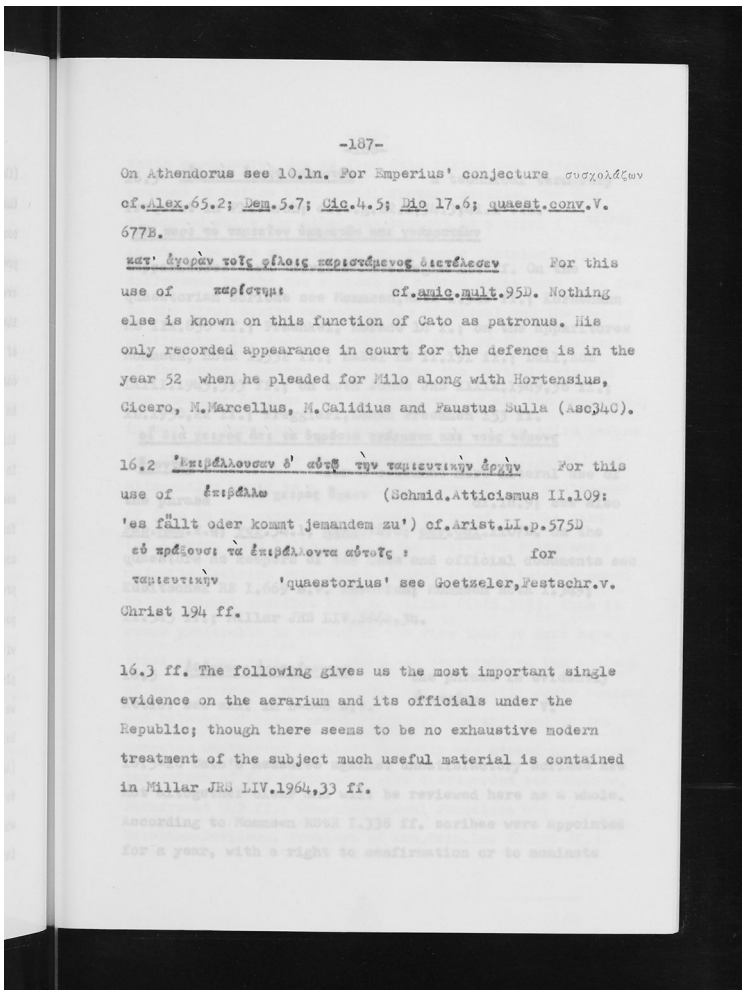
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On Athendorus see 10.1n. For Emperius' conjecture συσχολάξων cf.Alex.65.2; Dem.5.7; Cic.4.5; Dio 17.6; quaest.conv.V. 677E.

κατ' ἀγορὰν τοῖς φίλοις παριστάμενος διετέλεσεν For this use of παρίστημι cf.amic.mult.95D. Nothing else is known on this function of Cato as patronus. His only recorded appearance in court for the defence is in the year 52 when he pleaded for Milo along with Hortensius, Cicero, M.Marcellus, M.Calidius and Faustus Sulla (Asc34C).

16.2 ἐπιβάλλουσαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν ταμιευτικὴν ἀρχήν For this use of ἐπιβάλλω (Schmid.Atticismus II.109: 'es fällt oder kommt jemandem zu') cf.Arist.LI.p.575D εὐ πράξουσι τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ; for ταμιευτικὴν 'quaestorius' see Goetzeler,Festschr.v. Christ 194 ff.

16.3 ff. The following gives us the most important single evidence on the aerarium and its officials under the Republic; though there seems to be no exhaustive modern treatment of the subject much useful material is contained in Millar JRS LIV.1964,33 ff.



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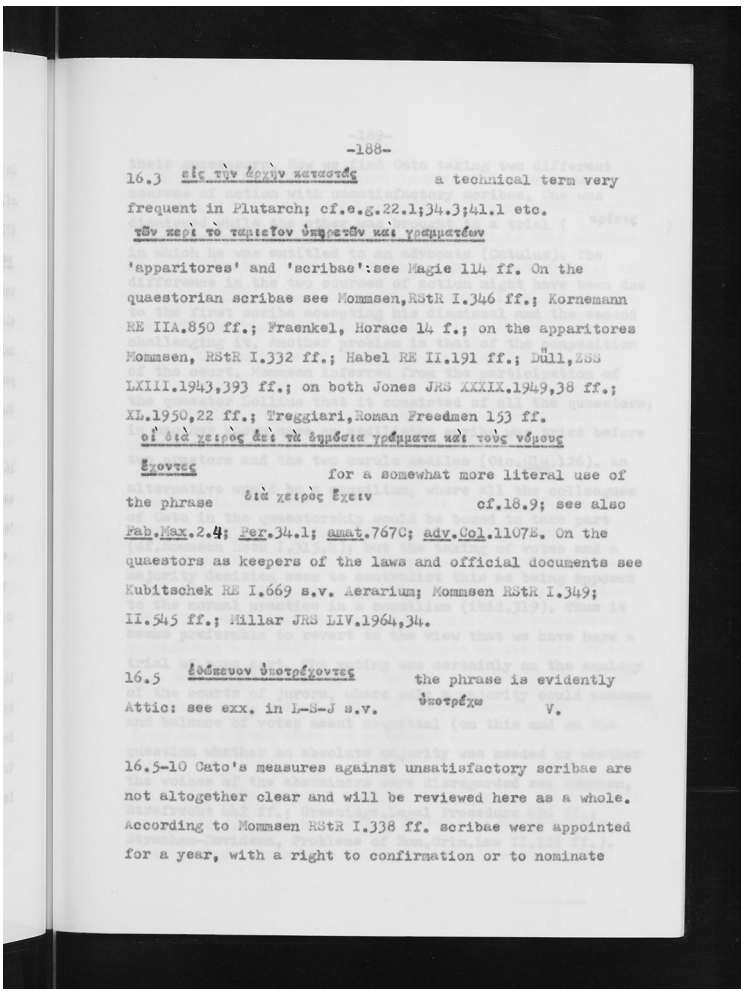
16.3 εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασταθείς a technical term very frequent in Plutarch; cf.e.g.22.1;34.3;41.1 etc.

τῶν περὶ τὸ ταμιεῖον ὑπηρετῶν καὶ γραμματέων 'apparitores' and 'scribae':see Magie 114 ff. On the quaestorian scribae see Mommsen,RStR I.346 ff.; Kornemann RE IIA.850 ff.; Fraenkel, Horace 14 f.; on the apparitores Mommsen, RStR I.332 ff.; Habel RE II.191 ff.; Düll,ZSS LXIII.1943,393 ff.; on both Jones JRS XXXIX.1949,38 ff.; XL.1950,22 ff.; Treggiari,Roman Freedmen 153 ff.

οἳ διὰ χειρὸς ἔσει τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔχοντες for a somewhat more literal use of the phrase διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν cf.18.9; see also Fab.Max.2.4; Per.34.1; amat.767C; adv.Col.1107E. On the quaestors as keepers of the laws and official documents see Kubitschek RE I.669 s.v. Aerarium; Mommsen RStR I.349; II.545 ff.; Millar JRS LIV.1964,34.

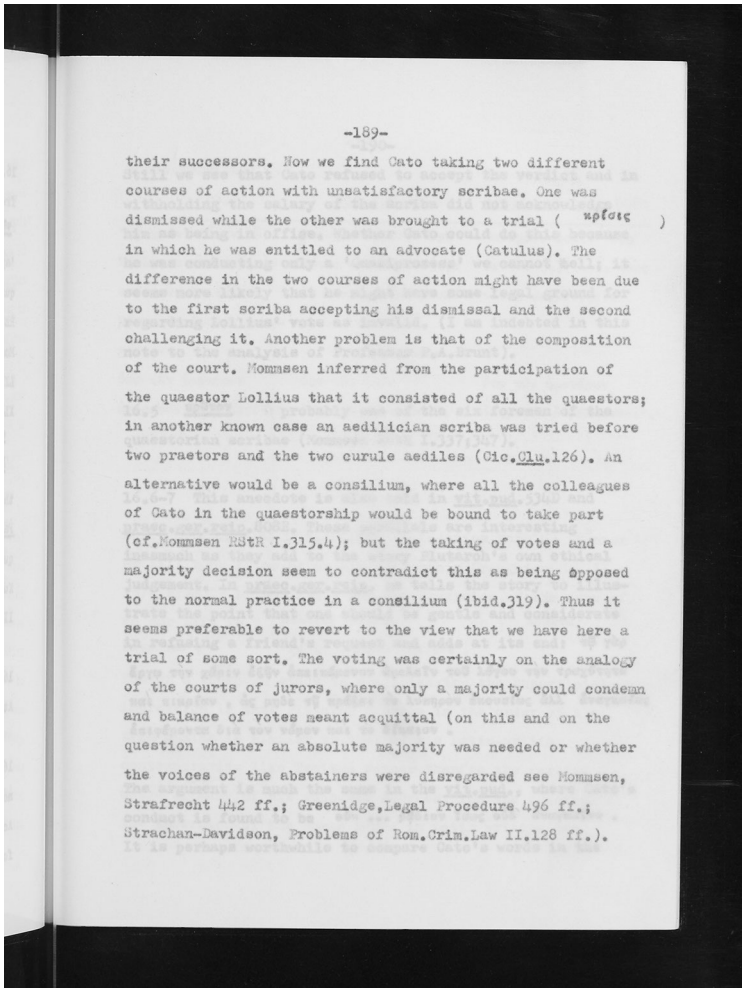
16.5 ἐῤῥᾳθύμουν ὑποτρέχοντες the phrase is evidently Attic: see exx. in L-S-J s.v. ὑποτρέχω V.

16.5-10 Cato's measures against unsatisfactory scribae are not altogether clear and will be reviewed here as a whole. According to Mommsen RStR I.338 ff. scribae were appointed for a year, with a right to confirmation or to nominate



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their successors. Now we find Cato taking two different courses of action with unsatisfactory scribae. One was dismissed while the other was brought to a trial (πρῶσις) in which he was entitled to an advocate (Catulus). The difference in the two courses of action might have been due to the first scriba accepting his dismissal and the second challenging it. Another problem is that of the composition of the court. Mommsen inferred from the participation of the quaestor Lollius that it consisted of all the quaestors; in another known case an aedilician scriba was tried before two praetors and the two curule aediles (Cic.Clu.126). An alternative would be a consilium, where all the colleagues of Cato in the quaestorship would be bound to take part (cf.Mommsen RStR I.315.4); but the taking of votes and a majority decision seem to contradict this as being opposed to the normal practice in a consilium (ibid.319). Thus it seems preferable to revert to the view that we have here a trial of some sort. The voting was certainly on the analogy of the courts of jurors, where only a majority could condemn and balance of votes meant acquittal (on this and on the question whether an absolute majority was needed or whether the voices of the abstainers were disregarded see Mommsen, Strafrecht 442 ff.; Greenidge,Legal Procedure 496 ff.; Strachan-Davidson, Problems of Rom.Crim.Law II.128 ff.).



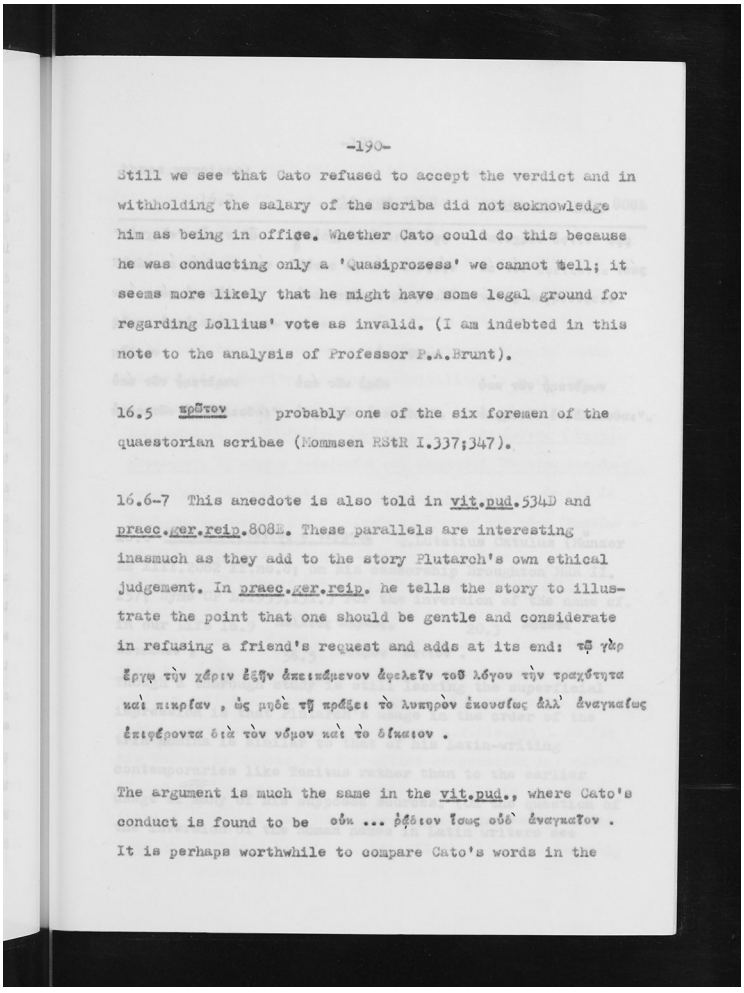
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Still we see that Cato refused to accept the verdict and in withholding the salary of the scriba did not acknowledge him as being in office. Whether Cato could do this because he was conducting only a 'Quasiprozess' we cannot tell; it seems more likely that he might have some legal ground for regarding Lollius' vote as invalid. (I am indebted in this note to the analysis of Professor P.A.Brunt).

16.5 πρῶτον probably one of the six foremen of the quaestorian scribae (Mommsen RStR I.337;347).

16.6-7 This anecdote is also told in vit.pud.534D and praec.ger.reip.808E. These parallels are interesting inasmuch as they add to the story Plutarch's own ethical judgement. In praec.ger.reip. he tells the story to illustrate the point that one should be gentle and considerate in refusing a friend's request and adds at its end: τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ τὴν χάριν ἔξῆν ἀπειπάμενον ἀφελεῖν τοῦ λόγου τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ πικρίαν , ὡς μηδὲ τῇ πράξει τὸ λυπηρὸν ἑκουσίως ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἐπιφέροντα διὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον .

The argument is much the same in the vit.pud., where Cato's conduct is found to be οὐκ ... ῥᾴδιον ἴσως οὐδ' ἀναγκαῖον . It is perhaps worthwhile to compare Cato's words in the



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three versions:

16.7	vit.pud.534D	praec.ger.reip.808E
"αἰσχρόν" εἶπεν "ὦ Κάτλε, σὲ τὸν τιμητὴν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους βίους ὀφείλοντα δοκιμάζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπηρετῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι".	"αἰσχρόν ἐστιν" ἔφη "Κάτλε σὲ τὸν τιμητὴν ἀπαλλαγῆναι μὴ βουλόμενον ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἑλκεσθαι".	"αἰσχρόν ἐστιν" ἔφη "τὸν τὸν ὀφείλοντα τοὺς νέους σωφρονίζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπηρετῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι".

16.6 **Κάτλος Λουτάτιος ὁ τιμητὴς** Q.Lutatius Catulus (Münzer RE XIII.2082 ff.no.8; on his censorship Broughton MRR II. 157; Syme CP L.1955,131.) For the inversion of the name cf. in our Life 16.9 **Ἀδλλιος Μᾶρκος**, 20.3 **Νέπωτα Μέτελλον**, 56.5 **Φάβρον Ἄττιον**. Though a thorough study is still lacking the superficial impression is that Plutarch's usage in the order of the tria nomina is similar to that of his Latin-writing contemporaries like Tacitus rather than to the earlier usage of many of his supposed sources. (On the question of the inversion of the Roman names in Latin writers see

Lahmeyer,Philol.XXII.1865,469 ff.; Schulze,Gesch.Lat. Eigennamen 506 ff.; cf. also Syme,Historia VII.1958,172 ff.; Shackleton Bailey on Cic.Att.II.44.3).

ἀνέβη βοηθήσων As the censors had no officials of their own and were dependent on the quaestorian scribae etc. (Mommsen RStR I.350) the clash between Cato and Catulus might have been the outcome of the intersection of their spheres of authority; another possibility is that the offending scriba might have been a client of Catulus.

ἀνὴρ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων ἀξίωμα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς [ἔχων] μέγιστον, ὡς πάντων δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ Ῥωμαίων διαφέρων, a very similar evaluation we find in Pomp.16.1 **ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀξιώματι σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης μέγιστος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων**: see also Crass.13.1; Caes.6.3;7.1; Galba 3.1.

ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπαινέτης καὶ συνήθης διὰ τὸν βίον certainly the expression is highly exaggerated, yet it seems to contain a solid core of truth as we can detect that the two men were connected by various family-ties and similar political convictions: generally Catulus is the upright optimate par excellence (see e.g.Cic.Att.I.20.3); his defeat by Caesar for the office of pontifex maximus in 63 and his opposition to Caesar's proposals in the Catilinarian debate of Dec.5th,63 even before Cato's speech (Cic.21.5; Caes.8.1; cf. Cic.Att.XII.21.1) were obviously

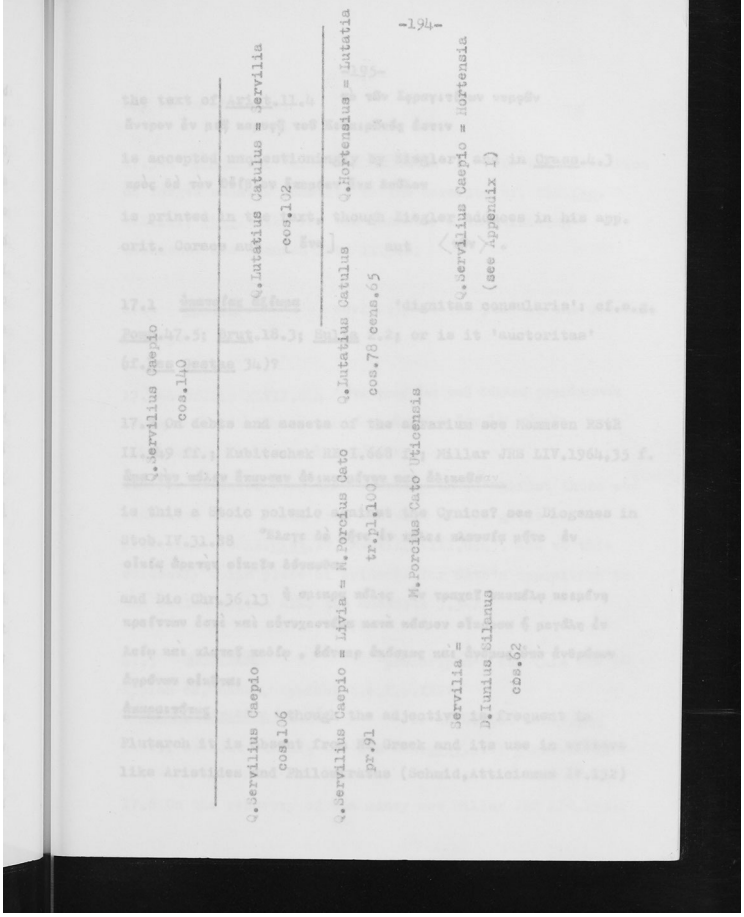
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but two of the central issues where Cato and Catulus found themselves in the same camp. As to family-connections: Catulus' mother was most probably Servilia (Münzer RAA 286 f.) aunt of Cato's mother's first husband and thus great-aunt of his beloved half-brother Caepio and his revered (Asc.19C) half-sister Servilia; Servilia was herself married to D. Iunius Silanus (see 21.3n.), who may have himself been connected with the Lutatii, as we find in the Early Empire a M.Iunius Silanus Lutatius Catulus (CIL VI.1439=ILS 959); Hortensia, daughter of the orator and Catulus' niece, was almost certainly married to a Servilius Caepio, probably half-brother of Cato's uterine sister (see Appendix I). For the stemma p.194 cf. the stemmata in Münzer RAA 224; 346 16.7. For the meaning of **προσλιπαροῦντος** cf. Pomp.13.4;Eum.21(comp.2).8.

16.9 **Ἀδλλιος Μᾶρκος** Münzer RE XIII.1377 no.9; Badian,Historia XII.1963,137. Münzer conjectures that his illness may have been fatal, as he is not mentioned after this time.

εἰς συνέδριον despite Ziegler's assertion that this use of **εἰς** is not Greek, it appears both in other writers and in Plutarch: see L-S-J s.v. **εἰς** 4.; Bruhn,RhM XLIX.1894,168 ff. cf., in the first place, 35.7 below: **θύρας ἑνὸς ἄρχοντος προσελθεῖν**;



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the text of Arist.11.4 τὸ τῶν ἀργαιτίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐν μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνός ἐστιν

is accepted unquestioningly by Ziegler; and in Crass.4.3 πρὸς δὲ τὸν Οὐάριον ἔπεμψεν ἕνα δοῦλον

is printed in the text, though Ziegler adduces in his app. crit. Coraes aut [ἕνα] aut ⟨τῶν⟩ .

17.1 ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα 'dignitas consularis': cf.e.g. Pomp.47.5; Brut.18.3; Sulla 2.2; or is it 'auctoritas' 6f.Res Gestae 34)?

17.2 On debts and assets of the aerarium see Mommsen RStR II.549 ff.; Kubitschek RE I.668 f.; Millar JRS LIV.1964,35 f.

ἅμα τὴν πόλιν ἔπαυσεν ἀδικουμένην καὶ ἀδικοῦσαν

is this a Stoic polemic against the Cynics? see Diogenes in Stob.IV.31.88 Ἔλεγε δὲ μήτε ἐν πόλει πλουσίᾳ μήτε ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀρετὴν οἰκεῖν δύνασθαι

and Dio Chr.36.13 ἡ σμικρὰ πόλις ἐν τραχεῖ σκοπέλῳ κειμένη κρείττων ἐστὶ καὶ εὐτυχεστέρα κατὰ κόσμον οἰκουσα ἢ μεγάλη ἐν λείῳ καὶ πλατεῖ πεδίῳ , ἐάνπερ ἀκόσμως καὶ ἀνόμως ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀφρόνων οἰκῆται .

ἀπαραιτήτως though the adjective is frequent in Plutarch it is absent from NT Greek and its use in writers like Aristides and Philostratus (Schmid,Atticismus IV.132)

may be an Atticism.

17.3-4 δόγματα ψευδῆ παραδέχεσθαι κτλ. for the submission of forged senatus consulta to the aerarium cf. Cic.fam. XII.1.1; Phil.V.12; for the quaestor authenticating documents see Mommsen RStR II.548.

17.4 ὑπάτους obviously of the year of the decree's passage.

17.5-6 cf.Dio XLVII.6.4 ὅτι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Σύλλου φονεύσαντάς τινας ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος ταμιεύσας ἀφῆτησε ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰλήφεσαν , ἥττόν τινα ἀποστεῖνῃ :

similar measures were taken already in 72 against those who benefited under Sulla from the sale of the goods of the proscribed (Sall.hist.IV.1M=Gell.XVIII.4.4). Add to this evidently solid piece of evidence for Cato's opposition to the Sullan regime also the anecdote 3.3-7.

17.5 προγραφῆς 'proscriptio'; for this use in Appian cf. Gabba, Appiani b.c.I.p.XXXV.

μυρίας ὀκτακισχιλίας δραχμάς or HS 48.000 (cf.Sulla 31.6); without stating the sum Sen.prov.3.8; ben.V.16.3.

17.6 On the recovery of the money see Millar JRS LIV.1964,

36.

17.7 εὐθὺς ἦσαν ἔνοχοι φόνῳ they were brought before the quaestio de sicariis, with Julius Caesar acting as iudex quaestionis (Dio XXXVII.10.2; Suet.Caes.11). Among those prosecuted we know L.Luscius and L.Bellienus, who was charged with the murder of Lucretius Ofella; the trials took place in the summer of 64 (Asc.90-91C).

18.1 οὔτε γὰρ πρότερός τις ἀνὴρ τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον Κάτωνος , οὐδ' ὕστερος ἀπῆλθεν cf.19.1; where he is similarly behaving in attending the senate.

τῶν συναρχόντων Of the quaestors of the year besides Cato and Lollius only Marcellus (see 18.5) is known.

18.2 ἐκκλησίαν δὲ καὶ βουλὴν οὐδεμίαν παρῆκε While attendance at the comitia was never, as far as we can tell, obligatory, this seems not to have been the case with sessions of the senate, though of course this duty was generally neglected in our period (Mommsen RStR III.915 ff.). Certainly Cato's perseverance in both Senate and Assembly was the exception rather than the rule among members of his class; yet note that under Caesar's consulate he boycotted the senate (Cic.Sest.63).

ὀφλημάτων καὶ τελῶν ἀνέσεις perhaps this statement is again (cf.6.5n.) a generalising 'eidologic' deduction from a 'chronographic' fact: Plutarch might have had in mind Cato's fight against the remission of payments by the Asian tax-collectors in 61-60 (see evidence in Miltner RE XXII.178). For Cato's attitude in general cf. Cic.off.III.88: Nimis mihi praefracte videbatur aerarium vectigaliaque defendere, omnia publicanis negare etc.

18.5 Τῶν δ' ἡμερῶν τῇ τελευταίᾳ on Dec.4th,64, as Dec.5th is the usual date for the new quaestors to enter office (Mommsen RStR I.606).

σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν προπεμφθεὶς εἰς οἶκον cf.2.8n. The honour of being escorted home is a widespread and important one in the Republic: see Cic.22.5; Aem.Paul. 10.6;Cic.Att.I.16.5; am.12; domo 76; Pis.7; Verr.I.18; Gell.XIII.29.1;Vell.II.14.1; Val.Max.II.1.9.

Μαρκέλλῳ the three candidates for identification are M.Claudius Marcellus cos.51 (Münzer RE III.2760 ff. no.229); his brother C.Claudius Marcellus cos.49 (ibid. 2736 f.no.217); or their cousin C.Claudius Marcellus cos. 50 (ibid.2734 ff.no.216). Not much is known of the early career of these men: of their cursus before the consulate we know only, beside what we are told here, that one of

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them was a candidate for the aedileship in 57 (Cic.Att. IV.3.5). The identification of our Marcellus was carefully avoided by Drumann, yet after Münzer opted for Marcus (RE III.2760) his preference was generally accepted (e.g. by Groebe in Drumann-Groebe II.330.2;Sobeck,Die Quaestore der röm.Rep.49; with a query by Broughton MRR II.162). Münzer's reason probably was that though a quaestor of 65 (than the accepted date for Cato's quaestorship) would not be consul suo anno neither in 51, 50 or 49, he would still be nearest to it in 51, and this would point to Marcus, by far the most prominent personality among the three. Yet on the same line of reasoning we could make Marcus consul suo anno, and presume the career of the two remaining Marcelli as even more retarded; this would incidentally well agree with the line of three consulates, which was initiated and supported by the election of the most gifted and most successful member of the family.

18.6 ἦν δ' ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐκ παίδων φίλος τῷ Κάτωνι

we have no evidence for Cato's previous connections with any of the three Marcelli. In later years we know only that Cato appeared together with M.Marcellus in the defence of Milo (Asc.34C); but this and the absence of information for the other two Marcelli may simply be due to the pre-

eminence of Marcus.

κατάντης πρὸς πᾶσαν χάριν for this metaphorical use of κατάντης cf.Sulla 2.3 πρὸς πᾶσαν ἔντευξιν ὑποχείριος καὶ κατάντης Sd.et am.53E πρὸς τὰ χείρονα κατάντης .

18.7 τὰς δέλτους ταμιακαὶ δέλτοι are mentioned in an unpublished inscription from Aphrodisias.

18.8 ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου the aerarium was in the aedes Saturni at the foot of the Capitoline and edge of the forum: see Platner-Ashby,Top.Dict.463 ff.

18.9 This provides us with an interesting insight by what means the conscientious statesman had to gain access to even basic information. For another example (this time the copying of a law) see Cic.leg.agr.II.13.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐβλαε χρόνων as anything older would have been impracticable. There is no need to assume that the reason was connected with Sulla's reform of the quaestorship.

πέντε ταλάντων or HS 120.000; this would be an enormous figure even in terms of ancient book-prices (on which see Birt,Buchwesen 322 ff.).

δεῖ διὰ χειρὸς εἶχεν see 16.3n.

19.1 Εἰς . . . ἀπηλλάττετο cf.18.1n.

πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἄλλων σχολῇ συναγομένων , καθεζόμενος ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἡσυχῇ , τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ βιβλίου προϊσχόμενος cf.Val.Max. VIII.7.2 ... Cato ita doctrinae cupiditate flagravit, ut ne in curia quidem, dum senatus cogitur, temperaret sibi quo minus Graecos libros lectitaret etc. On his keenness for reading cf.Cic.fin.III.2.7.

ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἡσυχῇ Ever since the appearance of Balogh's paper 'Voces Paginarum' (Philol.LXXXII.1927,84 ff.) the subject of silent reading in antiquity was much discussed; for the latest contribution (including a bibliography) see Knox, GRBS IX.1968,421 ff. Another instance of Cato reading (presumably) in silence is 24.3, cf.Brut.5.4;cf. also 59.4n. It is amazing that Balogh not only inferred in the story of Servilia's letter that Cato read aloud (refuted by Knox 432) but seems to have thought that Cato could not read silently at all - not noticing the evidence of our passage. It seems to be generally agreed that the normal practice with literary texts was reading aloud; it would not be surprising if Cato's reading in anticipation of discussions in the senate was of official documents (the like of those he copied 18.9) rather than of literary works - despite the assertion of Valerius Maximus

that he read 'Greek books'.

τὸ ἱμάτιον 'toga'; but cf.28.3 where τὴν τήβεννον is used.

ἀποδύμενος δ' οὐδέποτε βουλῆς γενομένης cf.18.2n.

19.2 οἱ περὶ Πομπήϊον This seems to be the first - and for this time only- evidence for hostility between Cato and the Pompeian faction (but cf.14 above); yet it is entirely credible in the light of future developments (see below).

δυσκαβίαστον the word seems to be a neologism of Plutarch - and a favourite one at that: see 29.1; Brut. 47.6; Dio 46.3; Phoc.10.7; Ages.2.2;32.6; Cor.2.1; praec. san.tu.127A.

19.3 ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλόμενος

cf.praec.ger.reip.811AB Πολιτείας δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς ἅπαν ἐνδόσιμοι μέρος , ὅσπερ ὁ Κάτων , οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς δύναμιν ἀπολείπεσθαι φρονήσεως οὐδ' ἐπιμελείας τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην .

The doctrine of the Old Stoa is probably best expressed in Diog.La.VII.121 (=SVF III.697) πολιτεύσεσθαί φασι τὸν σοφὸν ἐάν μή τι κωλύῃ , ὡς φησι Χρύσιππος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ βίων cf.also Dio Chr.47.3, referring to Zeno,Chrysippus and Cleanthes: ἀλλὰ καλὸν μὲν ἡγοῦντο καὶ

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τῷ ὄντι μακάριον καὶ πρέπον ἀνδράσι σοφοῖς πρᾶγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως ἐπιμελείαν : however, continues Dio, they were fully aware of the practical difficulties and thus never put their doctrine to test. A more positive approach to politics seems to have been introduced by the Middle Stoa. Thus Pliny the Younger writes (ep.I.10.10) about Euphrates: Ille me consolatur, affirmat etiam esse hanc philosophiae et quidem pulcherrimam partem, agere negotium publicum, cognoscere iudicare, promere et exercere iustitiam, quaeque ipsi docuerit in usu habere; cf.also Cic.fin.I.68 sapiens velit gerere et administrare rempublicam. Cato's view as expressed by Plutarch is in full harmony with this approach. Nevertheless a Roman nobilis, a descendant of Cato the Censor, did not have to resort to Greek doctrine to justify his participation in politics; on the other hand it might have been reassuring to find that one's family-traditions and natural behaviour did coincide with the Stoic teaching of the time; see also Zeller, Phil.d.Gr.III.I.306: "Mögen daher auch unter den Stoikern der Römerzeit tüchtige Staatsmänner gewesen sein, so war es doch nicht die stoische Philosophie, sondern nur das Römertum, was sie dazu gemacht hat; jene für sich konnte wohl treffliche Männer bilden, aber keine Staatsmänner".

μᾶλλον ἦστο δεῖν προσέχειν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἢ τῷ κηρίῳ τὴν μέλιτταν

the phrase seems to be proverbial; cf.Aem.Paul.23.7 (on Perseus after Pydna) τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ κρῆτες , οὐ δι' εὔνοιαν , ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν ὥσπερ κηρίοις μέλιτται προσλιπαροῦντες : similes from bee-keeping are among the most frequent in Plutarch's writings.

19.4 ὅς γε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν πράγματα καὶ δόγματα καὶ κρίσεις [καὶ πράξεις] τὰς μεγίστας ἔργον πεποίητο διὰ τῶν ἐπασταγδεῖ ξένων καὶ φίλων πέμπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν

cf.also the aims of the Asian journey (12.2): γενέσθαι θεατὴς ἠθῶν καὶ βίων καὶ δυνάμεως τῆς περὶ ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν. This interest in and care for the provinces seems to have been a constant factor in Cato's politics. It is strongly apparent from Cicero's correspondence with Cato during the Cilician proconsulate (see esp.fam.XV.4.1;5.1); it has been suggested (Gelzer RE VIIA.982) that Cato might have sent at this time a special circular to the provincial governors containing recommendations as to their lines of conduct. Among the examples of Cato's care for the provincials are his courses of action towards the Sicilians (53.4 below) and Uticans (58.1).

19.5-6 Though the exact setting of the episode is far from clear, it must have been connected with Clodius' charges against Catilina de repetundis (thus Drumann-Groebe V.165).

19.5 Κλωδίῳ τῷ δημαγωγῷ Fröhlich RE IV.82 ff.no. 48 gives an extremely lean outline of Clodius' career; but he is extensively dealt with in all the works concerned with the late sixties and especially the fifties, when he was one of the central figures of Roman politics; there is a reasonable bibliography on Clodius in Gruen, Phoenix XX. 1966,120 ff.; add Seager Latomus XXIV.1965,519 ff.; Rowland, Historia XV.1966,217 ff.; Lintott, G and R XIV.1967,157 ff. For his description as demagogue by Plutarch cf.Luc.34.2; Brut.20.5; Ant.2.6;10.5. For character-sketches see Cic. 28.1; Caes.9.2.

Φαβία Τερεντίας ἀδελφὴ τῆς Κικέρωνος γυναικὸς on this Vestal see Münzer RE VI.1885 f.no.172. The two were, as the names show, uterine sisters. On Fabia's trial for incest with Catilina see Cic.Cat.III.9; Brut.236; Sall.Cat.15.1; Asc.91C;Oros.VI.3.1.

19.7 πολλοὺς δ' ἤδη περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ παραδόξων ὥσπερ ἐν παροιμίᾳ τινὶ λέγειν , ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ Κάτωνος λέγοντος πιθανὸν ἔοικε.

Otto, Sprichwörter 78, adduces Jerome, adv.Ruf.2.24 unique testi nec Catoni creditum est and adv.Ioann.Hieros.40 O testimonium pro se nec Catoni creditum!

19.8 This story is told also in Luc.40.3. The most notable difference between the two versions is that in the Lucullus the saying is attributed to Cato himself, with the addition that 'some' record the dictum without mentioning that it was made by Cato.

Ἀμνάϊος not mentioned elsewhere and notably absent from Broughton's MRR (and Syme's 'Missing Senators'). Various conjectures have been made to emend the name; Willems, Sen.Rép.Rom.I.508, proposes to identify him with the senator Annaeus Brocchus mentioned in the trial of Verres. Yet "if a gentilicium is uncommon, or even unique, that is no ground for discomfort. The nomenclature of Italy is startling, fantastic and myriad in its manifestations" (Syme JRS XXXIX.1949,6).

19.9 Ziegler RhM LXXXI.1932,62 proposes to change the Κάτωνας of the MSS., which is 'nicht erträglich' to him, to Ψευδοκάτωνας and adduces as parallel Cic. Att.I.14.6 bonis utimur tribunis plebis, Cornuto vero Pseudocatone. But the emendation may be unnecessary, as

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the saying would be understood ironically. It is perhaps worthwhile to compare Cato mai.19.7 καὶ τοὺς ἔνια μεμεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐπαριστέρους καλεῖσθαι Κάτωνας .

For the proverbial qualities of Cato cf.Val.Max.II.10.7 quisque sanctum et egregium civem significare velit, sub nomine Catonis definiat; Mart.X.19.21 rigidi...Catones; Suet.Aug.87 'contenti simus hoc Catone' etc.

20.1 Πολλῶν δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν καλούντων κτλ. cf.Cic.Mur.81: omnes boni ... te ad tribunatus petitionem vocaverunt. See also 16.2 where Cato is similarly depicted as reluctant to stand for election. Yet the two situations are entirely different: it is extremely unlikely that Cato would ever have entertained the idea of not standing for the quaestorship, the necessary preliminary to all higher magistracies, and thus deny himself the opportunity of a political career; on the other hand the plebeian tribunate was optional and most nobiles at this time preferred to it the aedileship. Thus it is entirely credible that Cato would have chosen to stand some years after the quaestorship for the aedileship and presented himself for the tribunate only yielding to the special circumstances (cf. also 21.1-2n.). The explanation that the tribunate should

be employed, like a strong drug, only when absolutely necessary, seems well in line with Cato's other views of politics.

ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς for the expression cf.Cic.52 (comp.3)2.

ὥσπερ ἰσχυροῦ φαρμάκου δύναμιν ἐν πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίοις ἐξαναλῶσαι for the simile cf.47.2;ser.num.vind. 553A;ad.et am.74D καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ καὶ περὶ τὴν παρρησίαν φιλοτεχνεῖν , ὅσῳ μέγιστόν ἐστι καὶ πράτιστον ἐν φιλίᾳ φάρμακον , εὐστοχίας τε καιροῦ μάλιστα καὶ πράσεως μέτρον ἐχούσης ἀεὶ δεομένην .

20.2 σχολῆς οὔσης τῶν δημοσίων it is impossible to elicit from that the date of Cato's encounter with Metellus Nepos. Nevertheless the approximate time of the year is given by two considerations: (a) Cato had time to go on to Lucania, stay there for a short while and return for the tribunician elections in July (see 21.3n.); (b) Metellus Nepos returning from the East (cf.Cic.contra cont.Q.Metelli frg.6 p.270 Müller=Quint.IX.3.43: Venit ex Asia. Hoc ipsum quam novum! tribunus pl. venit ex Asia!) could not reach Italy before the end of April, owing to the limitations on ancient navigation; thus May or June is an almost certain guess for the date of the encounter.

σχολῆς οὔσης τῶν δημοσίων

The assurance of is necessary in light of the statements in 18.2 and 19.1.

παρελαβὼν βιβλία καὶ φιλοσόφους on books see 19.1n.; the philosophers would have included Athenodorus Cordylion (see 10.1n. and 16.1n.) and perhaps Antipater of Tyre (cf.4.2).

ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Λευκανίαν , ἀγροὺς αὐτόθι κεκτημένος

Nothing is known otherwise of connections of the Porcii Catones, whose origins lie in Tusculum, with Lucania; the lands there might ultimately go back to the confiscations that followed the Hannibalic War. For other connections with Southern Italy (this time Bruttium) cf.52.4n.

οὐκ ἀνελευθέρους διατριβάς for the expression cf.Dio 9.1; Rom.6.5; Alc.2.7; Cim.13.7. For landownership as the liberal occupation par excellence see e.g. Cic.off. I.151: Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid adquiritur, nihil est agricultura melius, nihil dulcius, nihil uberius, nihil homine libero dignius (and Cicero refers his son to his previous treatment in am.51 ff.).

20.3 καθ' ὁδὸν since Nepos probably disembarked at Brindisi it is most likely that the encounter took place on the Via Appia somewhere between Rome and Capua, a road that Cato would have to take on his way to Lucania.

πολλοῖς τισιν For the Atticists' use of adjectives with τις see Schmid, Atticismus I.136; for exx. from Plutarch Weissenberger, Die Sprache Plutarchs 14.

On Metellus Nepos' entourage and mode of travel see 12.2-6n.

Μέτωτα Μέτελλον Q.Caecilius Metellus Nepos (Münzer RE III.1216 ff.no.96 (stemma ibid.1229-30); van Ooteghem, Les Caecilii Metelli 280 ff.). The future consul of 57 was Pompey's brother-in-law and one of his lieutenants in the East since 67, so that it is conceivable that he and Cato had had a less than amiable encounter there (on Cato's relations with Pompey's followers in the East see 14).

20.4 τῶν δὲ φίλων one of them might have been Munatius Rufus.

20.4-5 The whole tenor of the speech bears the mark of Plutarch who indulges here in a short rhetorical exercise in order to present the reasons for his hero's decision.

20.4 ἐμπληξίας means here probably furor, madness, as in Ant.87.10 (on Nepos' furor cf.26.5 below); cf. for the meaning also ad.et am.56C and Thuc.III.82.

ἐκ τῆς Πομπηΐου γνώμης the Didot translation renders 'de sententia Pompeii'; perhaps 'consilio'?

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εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐμπεσεῖται δίκην σκηπτοῦ

for the metaphorical use of σκηπτός cf.Mar.16.2 ὅπως νέφος τοσοῦτον πολέμου καὶ σκηπτὸν ὑσόμενοι διασώσουσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν .

20.5 οὐκοῦν σχολῆς οὐδ' ἀποδημίας καίρος σχολῆς is a verbal reminiscence of Plutarch's words σχολῆς οὔσης τῶν δημοσίων (20.2) while ἀποδημίας refers back to 19.1· καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιζόμενον except for the foreshadowing in the anecdote about young Cato's proposal to slay Sulla (3.3-7) this is the first appearance of the leitmotif of the biography, Cato's death for libertas (see Introd.ch.4). Though eventually Cato did become a martyr of libertas it is difficult to believe that he envisaged such a possibility when deciding to compete with Metellus Nepos for the tribunate.

20.6 τὰ χωρία χωρίον is regularly used by Plutarch in the sense of 'estate', 'praedium' (e.g.Sulla 31.6 τὸ ἐν Ἀλβάνῳ χωρίον 'Albanum praedium'); the use of the plur. with a sing. meaning here and in Cato mai. 1.1;3.2; Crass.4.4,cf. also App.b.c.II.21.75,may be due to a Latin source employing the almost exclusive plur. form 'praedia'.

20.7 ἔωθεν for this and other words from the poetical language in Plutarch cf. Weissenberger,op.cit.13.

20.8 Cf.quaest.Rom.81 (283B-D), which deals with the tribunate.

21.1-2 Clearly Plutarch's description of Cato's canvass for the tribunate is exaggerated and bears the stamp of the author's own romantic and rhetorical colouring. Nevertheless it may contain more than a grain of truth. It was essential for the optimates to have one at least of their number in the tribunician college: not only must Metellus Nepos' intentions have been viewed with apprehension, but another of the tribunes eventually elected, L.Calpurnius Bestia (Münzer RE III.1367 no.24), was actually involved in the Catilinarian conspiracy. Thus Plutarch's assertion that as soon as Cato's intention to stand for the tribunate became known all the χρηστοὶ καὶ γνώριμοι came to support him must have had a certain factual basis (cf.Cic. Mur.81 omnes boni...te ad tribunatus petitionem vocaverunt) although it could not have been too difficult for a nobilis of Cato's standing to secure for himself one of the ten tribuneships.

21.1 οὐ λαμβάνοντα χάριν , ἀλλὰ τὴν μεγίστην διδόντα κτλ.

the same sentiment in Val.Max.VII.5.6 where, commenting on Cato's failure in the praetorian elections we are told that non Catoni tunc praetura, sed praeturae Cato negatus est. πολλάκις ἀπραγμόνως ἄρξαι παρὸν οὐ θελήσας Evidently Plutarch is carried away by his own rhetoric so that he does not pay attention to the fact that this assertion is contradicted by the basic data of Cato's cursus honorum: actually Cato stood for the tribunate at the earliest possible date.

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας [καὶ πολιτείας] ἀγωνιούμενος Ziegler's deletion of καὶ πολιτείας is an unjustified interference with the MSS-tradition: as ἐλευθερία stands here, as in the parallel places adduced by Ziegler (20.5;27.8) for the established Republican constitution (see Wirszubski, Libertas 5) the addition of καὶ πολιτείας is but a stylistical device not uncharacteristic of Plutarch, rather than a gloss, as Ziegler seems to prefer.

21.2 The story of the crowd surrounding Cato and even endangering his person is a variation on the theme of Cato being escorted by large numbers of citizens approving of his actions (see 18.5n.).

21.3 Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ δήμαρχος σὺν ἑτέροις καὶ τῷ Μετέλλῳ

The other known members of the tribunician collegium of 62 are Minucius Thermus (see 27.3), a L.Marius who proposed together with Cato a law about triumphs (Val.Max.II.8.1), L.Calpurnius Bestia (21.1-2n.) and perhaps L.Fabricius (see Broughton MRR II.174 f.).

τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ὠρῶν ὠνίους οὔσας

ἀρχαιρεσίαι stand in Plutarch regularly for 'comitia', which he distinguishes carefully from 'contio' (see 26.2n.); thus e.g.30.1;47.1; Mar.11.1;14.11; Sulla 34.3; Pomp.44.1; Caes.13.1 etc.

ἀρχαιρεσίας . . . ὠνίους on the metaphorical sense of ὠνίοι cf. Schmid,Atticismus III.175; Brut.23.1 ὠνίων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων Petron.119.41 venalis populus, venalis curia patrum.

In this period both consular and tribunician elections were held usually in July (Mommsen RStR I.584 f.); our evidence points to consular elections in July or perhaps August in this particular year (Gelzer,Cicero 82). There were naturally no interrelations between the dates of the elections for curule and plebeian magistracies; thus probably in 63 the tribunician elections were held in July some time before the consular elections, as Cato swore his oath about prosecuting candidates who employ bribery after his being elected as a tribune and before the consular

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elections took place. The unsuccessful contenders for the elections that were won by Silanus and Murena (see below) were Ser.Sulpicius Rufus and Catilina. It is interesting to note that both defeated candidates were patricians, thus contending for the single place open to them. Sulpicius' subsequent prosecution of Murena but not of Silanus may point to the fact that the two patrician candidates canvassed against each other and against Murena, while the other place went perhaps uncontested to Silanus. This, and not Cato's relationship with Silanus, might be the clue to the prosecution of Murena and not of Silanus, as it is inconceivable that Cato's oath would have been binding for Sulpicius.

Σιλανὸν D.Iunius Silanus (Münzer RE X.1090 f.no.163): though his consulate in 62 is fairly well described in our literary sources, not much is known either of his early or of his subsequent career. He seems to have been dead by 57, as he is not included in the list of pontifices in Cic.har.resp.12.

Σερβιλίαν γὰρ ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος ὁ Σιλανὸς εἶχε corroborated by Cic.Brut.240 where Silanus is called Brutus' stepfather. Servilia and Silanus had three daughters who subsequently became the wives of Cassius, Lepidus and Servilius Isauricus respectively (see 30.3n.).

21.4 Λεύκιον δὲ Μουρῆναν L.Licinius Murena (Münzer RE XIII.466 ff.no.123). Our chief source for the trial of Murena, prosecuted under the lex Tullia de ambitu, is, of course, the extant oration of Cicero for the defence (for literature see Schanz-Hosius I.423 f.); for a reconstruction of Cato's speech for the prosecution see Ayers,CJ XLIX. 1954,245 ff. The trial probably took place in late November.

21.5 νόμῳ δέ τινι τοῦ φεύγοντος ἁλῶναι τῇ κατηγόρῳ διδόντος κτλ. this law, though not corroborated by other evidence outside Plutarch, seems perfectly credible despite Mommsen's assertion (Strafr.393.2): Dass ein Vertreter des Angeklagten dem Ankläger gesetzlich beigeordnet ward ist mit Ciceros Worten div.Caec.16.41 (read 51) nicht zu vereinigen und kann, wenn überhaupt, erst spät angeordnet sein. The quoted passage refers to Caecilius' claim to be appointed as a subscriptor to Cicero (see Greenidge, Legal Procedure 475) and it is totally incomprehensible why this should be relevant to our passage. The whole story of 21.5-6 is briefly retold in cap.inim.ut.91D. There can be little doubt that the version of the Moralia is dependent on that of the Life. The verbal resemblance is great, the main difference being the use of the sing. in one place and the plur. in the other: yet this is unimportant for the essence

of the story (though not for the question of the exact contents of the law) and may well be due to a certain vagueness of the source. Cf. the following:

21.6	cap.inim.ut.91D
εἴ μέλλει τι σήμερον πραγματεύσεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν·	εἴ τι μέλλει σήμερον συνάγειν ἢ πραγματεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν
εἰ δὲ μὴ φαίη , πιστεύων ἄπεισι .	εἰ δὲ μὴ φαίη , πιστεύοντες ἄπεισαν .

The subsequent passage in the Moralia is Plutarch's own moralizing addition: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς δόξης ἔχει τεκμήριον μέγιστον·ἀλλὰ μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιστον,ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς ἐθισθέντες οὐδέποτε μὴ προσενεχθῶμεν ἀδίκως καὶ πανούργως τοῖς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις .

σοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας (corr.Wyttenbach;MSS θύραις); a favourite expression with Plutarch: cf.Timol.38.2; Mar. 32.1; Cic.8.6; Ant.24.1; Nic.5.2; Lys.6.4; for other writers of the period cf. Schmid, Atticismus III.159.

21.7-8 This incident is recorded also in Cic.50 (comp.1)5: λέγεται δὲ Κάτωνος Μουρῆναν διώκοντος ὑπατεύων ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν Κάτωνα παμπόλλην τὴν Στωϊκὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀτοπίαις τῶν παραδόξων λεγομένων δογμάτων ·γέλωτος δὲ λαμπροῦ

κατιόντος ἐκ τῶν περιεστώτων πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς , ἠσυχῇ διαμειδιάσας ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ·"'Ως γελοῖον , ὦ ἄνδρες , ἔχομεν ὕπατον."

Cicero himself explained eighteen years later his conduct towards the now dead Cato in a dialogue the dramatic date of which is 52 (fin.IV.74): Non ego tecum iam ita iocabor ut isdem his de rebus, cum L.Murenam te accusante defenderem. Apud imperitos tum illa dicta sunt, aliquid etiam coronae datum; nunc agendum est subtilius. The reference to Cicero's ridicule of the Stoic paradoxa is to Mur.61; cf.75; see also the beginning of the passage from the de finibus; on the whole subject see J.Strenge, Das komische Moment in Cicero's Rede für Murena, Programm Parchim 1896.

21.7 παρασκῶπτων for this verb cf.Cic38.2;41.6; Demetr.28.8.

21.9 ἀποφυγὼν δ' ὁ Μουρῆνας cf.Cic.domo 134. On the relations between Cato and Murena after the trial cf. 28.2.

22-23 Plutarch gives a full account of the Catilinarian conspiracy in the Cicero (presumably written before the Cato min., see Introd.ch.5). In our Life, as in that of

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Caesar, only the points strictly relevant to the hero are repeated. As Cato's role in the events consisted almost exclusively of his famous, and decisive, speech on the fate of the arrested Catilinarians, Plutarch contents himself with a very short resumé of the plot before he goes on to relate the debate of the Nones of December (cf.Introd.ch.3). The other sources for this debate are, in addition to Plutarch's versions in Cic.20.4 ff. and Caes.7.7., Cic. Sest.61; Sall.Cat.50 ff.; Vell.II.35; Dio XXXVII.35 ff.; App.b.c.II.5 f.; Flor.II.12.10 f. A later edition of Cicero's own speech on the occasion is the Fourth against Catilina; a short reminiscence eighteen years after the events Att.XII.21.1.

The amount of modern writing on the Catilinarian conspiracy is vast and forbidding; yet fortunately the sources on the debate in the senate are almost unequivocal, so that the polemical writing on this particular issue is not great and limited to minor points like the timing of Nero's proposal and Cato's suspicions against Caesar. A detailed paraphrase of all the sources is to be found in Drumann-Groebe V.518 ff.; a lucid and short exposition in Gelzer, Cicero 97 ff.; important discussions in Hardy, The Catilinarian Conspiracy 85 ff.(=JRS VII.1917,209 ff.); Holmes, Rom.Rep.I.467 ff.

22,2 ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος in the session of the senate on Nov.7th, when Cicero delivered his first oration against Catilina.

ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως on the following night, see Cic.16.6; Sall.Cat.32.1; erroneously Dio XXXVII.33.1.

22.3 Λέντλος P.Cornelius Lentulus Sura (Münzer RE IV.1399 ff.no.240). After his consulate in 71 he was expelled from the senate by the censors of 70; he reentered the senate after becoming praetor for the second time in 63. He is alleged to have been motivated by a prophecy, according to which three Cornelii were destined to hold monarchic power in Rome, interpreted as referring to Sulla, Cinna and himself.

Κέθηγος C.Cornelius Cethegus (Münzer RE IV.1278 f.no.89). He and Lentulus were by far the most noble and high-standing among Catilina's associates and are often mentioned together as the leaders of Catilina's party in Rome.

τῷ Κατιλίνᾳ δεῖλίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν τῶν τολμημάτων ἐπιπλοῦντες this seems to be confirmed by the style and contents of the letter sent to Catilina and quoted in Cic.Cat.III.12 and (slightly differently) Sall. Cat.44.5.

22.4 The text of our MSS is clearly corrupt. The solutions of Ziegler, who indicates a lacuna, of the anonymous conjecturer in the Frankfort edition of 1599, who proposed to print καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, of Mewaldt, Hermes XLII.1907,566 f., who wanted to alter προθέντος to ἐρωτηθέντος, are all due to their reluctance, shared by Stoltz, Zur relativen Chronologie 54, to accept the gloss of a reader, who added in the margin ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κικέρωνος γέγραπται, as the cause of the corruption. Yet this is the most probable solution if only considerations of the text are taken into account without clinging to the cross-references as the clue to the relative chronology of the biographies (on this question cf.Introd.ch.5). Thus Sintenis, who printed γενομένης, [καὶ] Κικέρωνος ἐν βουλῇ κτλ. restored most probably the original text.

ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν Σιλανὸς ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπατεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κικέρωνος he was asked by the presiding consul Cicero in the first place being a consul-designate (Mommsen RStR III.966;973). For the extreme penalty as his sententia cf.Cic.20.4;Cic.Cat.IV.17;Sall.Cat.50.4;51.16; App.b.c.II.5.18 f.; Suet.Caes.14.1; without mention of the name Caes.7.7; Dio XXXVII.35; Vell.II.35; cf. also Cic.Att. XII.21.1.

οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐφεξῆς ὡμολόθησαν ἄχρι Καίσαρος

Ti.Claudius Nero proposed to defer the decision until the defeat of Catilina (App.b.c.II.5.19; Sall.Cat.50); it is not entirely clear when this proposal was made. According to Hardy, The Catilinarian Conspiracy 90, Nero delivered his sententia before Caesar, while Holmes,Rom.Rep.I.468 f. argues that Nero's turn in the debate came after Caesar's. Since the date of Nero's praetorship is unknown it is impossible to establish his precedence by that means.

22.5 Caesar, as praetor designate, spoke immediately after the consulares (or after Nero, also a praetor designate? - There were 16 consulares present: see Cic.Att.XII.21.1). Sall.Cat.51 certainly reproduces the general argument and the tenor of the speech; see also Cic.20.6 ff.; Caes.7.8 ff.; Cic.Cat.IV.7 f.; App.b.c.II.6; Vell.II.35.3 (the proposal without name); Suet.Caes.14.1; Dio XXXVII.36.1, all the sources agreeing as to the main points.

22.6 τῆς βουλῆς φοβηθείσης τὸν δῆμον this is nowhere else given as the motivation of the change of heart; but for the popularis attitude cf.Cic.Cat.IV.9 f.; on the other hand the influence of the assembled and armed knights should not be underestimated (cf.Strasburger, Concordia ordinum 40 f.).

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ὥστε καὶ Σιλανὸν ἔξαρνον εἶναι καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἴποι θάνατον, ἀλλ' εἰργμὸν ἔσχατον· χαλεπῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ τοῦτο πασῶν ἀπάντων

For Silanus explaining away what he meant by the 'extreme penalty' cf.Sall.Cat.50.4; Suet.Caes.14.1. In Cic.21.4 Plutarch is more specific: ἔσχατην γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι δίκην τὸ δεσμωτήριον. There seems to be no other evidence for this assertion, though it may render accurately an accepted custom (cf.Garnsey, Social Status 105).

23.1-2 For Cato's speech cf.Sall.Cat.52, where the broad outlines of the historical speech are certainly preserved: it is given considerable prominence in all our authorities, and there is general agreement as to its sentiment and argument. As a tribune designate Cato's speech came at a comparatively late stage of the debate.

23.1 ἴστο τῷ λόγῳ I could find no parallel to this figurative expression.

μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ πάθους cf.Cic.21.5; Vell.II.35.3; Cic. Sest.61.

σχήματι δημοτικῷ on Caesar's speech as popularis cf. Cic.Cat.IV.9; δημοτικός is 'popularis' in the technical sense; cf.e.g.Ant.5.1, where τῶν μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῶν, supporting Pompey, are opposed to τῶν δὲ

δημοτικῶν, who supported Caesar.

λόγῳ φιλανθρώπῳ cf.the mansuetudo and misericordia in Sall.Cat.52.11;27;54.2.

For the suspicions of Cato raised against Caesar cf.Cic. 21.3;Caes.8.1; Sall.Cat.52.16; App.b.c.II.6.21; the point of the allusions in Sallust is suppressed by Last,Mélanges Marouzeau 363.

23.2 πολεμίους Cato referred to the Catilinarians as 'hostes' also according to Sall.Cat.52.25 etc.

23.3-4 On Dec.3rd Cicero employed four senators especially suited to the job to keep the records of the hearing of the conspirators (Cic.Sulla 41 f.). It is somewhat strange that on two very close occasions two different methods of keeping the records should be employed by Cicero: yet the former method may have proved unsatisfactory or else the senators may have been unwilling to be engaged in taking notes while a debate of the utmost importance was going on. At any rate there seem to be no good reasons to dismiss the evidence of our passage, as Drumann-Groebe V.534.1 do (followed by Last,loc.cit.), as a mere doublet of the proceedings on the 3rd. It is not implied that only of Cato's speech was the record taken: on the contrary, the distrib-

ution of the writers in various parts of the temple was certainly meant to enable the taking of notes from all parts of the assembly. The importance in the case of Cato's speech was naturally emphasized by the later curiosity about his only published oration.

On the subject of the Notae Tironianae see Weinberger RE XI. 2217 ff., esp.2222 ff.; Morgenstern,Arch.f.Sten.LVI.1905,1 ff.; Mentz, Hermes LXVI.1931,369 ff.; Boge, Das Altertum XII.1966,39 ff. with further bibliography.

23.3 φασι This does not imply any kind of claim by Plutarch to be personally acquainted with the document (thus correctly Jones, Plutarch.and...Rome 125; contra Theander, Eranos LVIII.1959,28 ff.).

ἀλλαχόσε L-S-J quote for this word only a varia lectio in Xenophon and an occurrence in Simplicius (VI. cent.A.D.). Though it is not entered in Wyttenbach's Lexicon it appears also at Pomp.53.1 and Publ.6.3; also absent from the Lexicon is πολλαχόσε (Fab.Max.5.3).

23.4 τοὺς καλουμένους σημειογράφους the word, occurring only here in Plutarch, is used in Greek official language (L-S-J s.v.). The Latin equivalent 'notarius' is not

attested before the I.cent.A.D.

τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἴχνος τι κατασταθῆναι λέγουσιν for the expression cf.an virtus 439F εἰς ἴχνος τι πρῶτον ἀρετῆς καθιστάντες.

23.5 On Cato's sententia being accepted cf.Cic.Att.XII.21.1; Sall.Cat.53.1;55.1; Vell.II.35.4; Flor.II.12.11; App.b.c. II.6; Dio XXXVII.36.3.

24.1 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μηδὲ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἔργων σημεῖα παραλιπεῖν, ὅσπερ εἰκόνα ψυχῆς ὑπογραφομένους.

This and the similar statement at 37.10 are among the most straightforward pronouncements of Plutarch about the aims and methods of his biographical writing. Plutarch is primarily interested in the character of his heroes - and the moral to be deduced from them - and the narration of their deeds serves mainly to illustrate their character, i.e. to infer from their πράξεις (and, with orators, λόγοι) to their ἦθος (the most important passage is probably Alex.1; for a valuable discussion see Leo, Die gr.-röm.Biogr.184 ff.; see also Erbse, Hermes LXXXIV.1956,419, who maintains that Plutarch made collections of characteristic virtues and vices). Thus naturally the

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importance of the individual deeds and the criteria for their inclusion in the biography and the scope provided for them is not to be measured by their historical importance but by the light they throw on the hero's character and personality.

Some observations on the language of the sentence: the σημεῖον is a "sign as observable basis of inference to the unobserved or unobservable" (L-S-J s.v. σημεῖον II.3.b) The whole subject of σημεῖα is extensively treated in Sex.Emp.Math.VIII.143 ff. Two classes of things require a σημεῖον : (a) τὰ φύσει ἄδηλα and (b) τὰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἄδηλα For these we have respectively the ἐνδεικτικὸν and the ὑπομνηστικὸν σημεῖον: clearly our concern here is with (a). (For a similar meaning of 'signum' cf.Cic.Cael.12: Habuit enim ille, sicuti meminisse vos arbitror, permulta maxumarum non expressa signa, sed adumbrata virtutum).

εἰκόνα ψυχῆς cf., in the first place, Cic.49.2, where upon the exhibition of Cicero's head and hands on the rostra by Antony the Romans thought that what they saw was not Cicero's face, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίου ψυχῆς εἰκόνα : see also Demetr. περὶ ἑρμηνείας 227: σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰκόνα ἕκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν . καὶ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλου λόγου παντὸς ἰδεῖν τὸ ἦθος τοῦ γράφοντος , ἐξ

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οὐδενὸς δὲ οὕτως , ὡς ἐπιστολῆς ,

and cf.Dion.Hal.Ant.Rom.I.1;περὶ ὕφους 18.1 on εἰδοποιία with Russell ad loc. Εἰκὼν ψυχῆς became after its application for letters by Dion.Hal. one of the most important τόποι of letter-writing: cf. Thraede, Grundzüge gr.-röm.Brieftopik 23; 87 etc.

24.1-3 This anecdote is also told at Brut.5.3-4, where it is more expressly stated that it belongs to the debate of the Nones of December. The two versions derive from the same, unidentified, source. The narrative in the Brutus is somewhat more detailed and explicit than here; for a discussion see Introd.ch.5. The notorious love-affair of Caesar and Servilia is attested for the year 59 (Suet. Caes.50.2; cf.Cic.Att.II.24.3), and in the Civil War he may still have had a soft spot for the lady, now in her fifties (Suet.loc.cit.). Münzer RE IIA.1919 f. dismisses our story as 'haltloser Klatsch' (followed by Carcopino, Les Secrets etc.II.124 ff.): yet the existence of the relations in 59 does not in itself prove their fictitiousness in 63. Understandably Münzer wishes them to exist only at a time when Caesar was divorced and Servilia a widow; but, on the one hand an affair between them while any or both of them were married would not be contrary to the reputation

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of Caesar and of Roman matrons generally, and on the other hand though Silanus, Servilia's husband, seems to have been dead in 57 (cf.21.3n.), he may have been, for all that we know, alive and well in 59 (cf. also 30.3n.). Münzer's main argument to support his preconceived view on the affair is that nobody except Cato, Caesar and Servilia would have known of it and that they certainly would keep it secret. It is difficult to know whence Münzer's assurance that Servilia would have known the occurrences in the senate derives, while on the other hand it remains to be asked whether none of the several hundred witnesses to what happened between the two protagonists of the debate would have had enough knowledge of its details. Nor is it an axiom not to be questioned that the participants would have sworn unconditional secrecy.

Still, it must be conceded that an undeniable air of fiction surround our story. It is not inconceivable, though far from proved, that it had its origin with somebody who noticed that the three principal participants in the celebrated debate on the fate of the Catilinarians were all closely connected with one woman. But, admittedly, Life itself is the greatest inventor of romance: thus we best leave the question of the authenticity of our anecdote open.

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24.1 δελτάριόν τι μικρὸν a special sort of small wax-tablets, mainly used for billets-doux, were called Vitelliani in Imperial times (Mart.XIV.8;9; cf. Marquardt, Privatleben 804.6). After erasing the letter the answer was written on the same tablet.

24.4 γυναικωνῖτις Plutarch is extremely fond of using this word, literally the 'women's quarters', in a figurative sense for 'women' (cf.the German 'Frauenzimmer'); see e.g.30.5;Artax.28.1;praec.ger.reip.819D;tranq.an.465D.

τῆς ἑτέρας Σερβιλίας,ἀδελφῆς δὲ Κάτωνος Servilia is mentioned four times by Plutarch (29.6 and 54.1 below; Luc.38.1) and each time referred to as Cato's sister; yet it is quite certain that she was his niece (see Appendix I), the crucial argument being that young Lucullus' maternal grandfather, who commended in his testament his child(ren) to Cicero (Cic.fin.III.8 f.) could not have been Cato's mother's first husband, as this would make a patrician nobilis of praetorian standing commend his child(ren) to the fifteen year old son of a knight of Arpinum. Lindskog, Symb.Danielsson 159, argues that τῆς ἑτέρας Σερβιλίας , ἀδελφῆς δὲ Κάτωνος is an unlikely expression (he would prefer something like ἀδελφῆς καὶ ταύτης Κάτωνος);

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the remedy he offers is to emend either in sect.3. or sect. 4 ἀδελφῆς to ἀδελφιδῆς ; incomprehensibly he prefers to do so in the first place - though acquainted with Cichorius' argument on the identity of the second Servilia (Appendix I)!

24.5 Λευκόλλῳ...προτεθέντι Ῥωμαίων κατὰ δόξαν ἀνδρί Gwosdz, Der Begriff des röm.princeps 67, maintains that this is a paraphrase of Plutarch for 'princeps': unfortunately he thinks that the reference is to Lucullus' brother Marcus. Lucullus is described as princeps also by Cic.off.I.140; cf.App.Mithr.33.131. Plutarch uses a similar expression to designate Lutatius Catulus as princeps (Galba 3.3; cf.Gwosdz,op.cit.69).

παιδίον the child of Lucullus and Servilia was M. Licinius Lucullus (Münzer RE XIII.418 f.no.110); the divorce between the parents took place after 60, when she is hinted at as committing adultery with Memmius (Cic.Att.I.18.3).

24.6 The date of the divorce of Atilia is not known; but as by c.56 Cato had already three children from Marcia (see 25.9n.) it could not have been much later than 60. Their two children were Porcia, wife of Bibulus and Brutus (see 25.4) and a son, on whom see 52.4 and 65 ff. below.

25 The story of the strange marriage transaction between Cato and Hortensius, so famous in antiquity, is given here in its most explicit, and certainly most authentic, version. The other detailed treatment is to be found in Lucan II. 329 ff. (with the comm. and adnot.). The probable connections between Thrasea Paetus and Lucan (see Introd.ch.1) may point to a common provenance. There is also a brief version in App.b.c.II.99.413; cf.Strabo XI.515; Quint.III.5.11;X.5.13. The Church brought the story up again and again (Tert.apol. 39; Augustin.fid.et op.7.10;bono coni.18.21;Jerome,adv. Iovin.I.46;Salvian,gub.Dei.VII.103) as an example of the immorality of the pagans; and Caesar did not miss the chance to attack Cato on this issue in his Anticato (see 52.6n. and Introd.ch.3).

25.1 ἔγημε the marriage took place by or shortly after 60, since they had already three children in about 56 (see 25.9 and 10nn.); it was Marcia's first marriage (Lucan. II.329; App.b.c.II.99; Jerome,adv.Iovin.I.46 clearly interchanges the two women when he says Brutus Porciam virginem duxit uxorem; Marciam Cato non virginem).

Φιλίππου L.Marcius Philippus cos.56 (Münzer RE XIV.1568 ff.no.76; Ooteghem,L.Marcius Philippe et sa famille 173 ff.). His first wife, the mother of Marcia,

is not known; his second wife was Atia, mother of the future Emperor Augustus.

Μαρκίαν Münzer RE XIV.1602 no.115; Ooteghem, op. cit.183 ff.

καθάπερ ⟨γὰρ⟩ ἐν δράματι τῷ βίῳ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος προβληματῶδες γέγονε καὶ ἄκομον Plutarch is fond of comparisons between the life of his heroes and drama, especially Tragedy; cf.e.g. Lys.23.6, where Plutarch likenes Lysander's role to that of a messenger or servant who plays the leading role and overshadows the actual king; Demetr.53.10, at the end of a Life with an unusual number of theatrical comparisons, Plutarch likenes the two Lives in the book to plays; at Luc.39.1 the hero's life is compared with Old Comedy; on these and other comparisons with Tragedy see De Lacy, AJP LXXIII.1952,159 ff.

προβληματῶδες a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Greek. Cato's divorce of Marcia and her marriage to Hortensius was apparently a standard subject for debates in the schools of Rhetoric: Quint.III.5.11 expressly makes 'an Cato recte Marciam tradiderit' (cf.X.5.13 'Cato Marciam honestene tradiderit Hortensio') a declamatory thesis. Hence προβληματῶδες must mean something that is posed (see L-S-J s.v. προβάλλω II.5) as a problem (πρόβλημα or θέσις).

25.2 ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θρασέας εἰς Μουνάτιον , ἄνδρα κάτωνος ἑταῖρον καὶ συμπιστήν , ἀναφέρων τὴν πίστιν see Introd.ch.3.

25.3 Κόϊντος Ὁρτήσιος the orator Q.Hortensius Hortalus cos.69 (von der Mühll RE VIII.2470 ff.no.13); his first wife was Lutatia, daughter of Lutatius Catulus cos. 102 and Servilia (Münzer RAA 286 f.), by whom he had a son, who was executed by Mark Antony after Philippi, and a daughter who was probably married to a Q.Servilius Caepio (see Appendix I). Family ties as well as similarities in political outlook might have brought Cato and Hortensius together.

ἀνὴρ ἀξιώματός τε λαμπροῦ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικὴς but cf. von der Mühll RE VIII.2476: "Wenn Plut.Cato min.25... ein Lob enthalten soll, so urteilt er zu günstig".

25.4-8 None of our other versions of the story seems to be aware of Hortensius' first proposal to marry Porcia. Whether this is due to the brevity of the other sources or to the superior information of Munatius Rufus it is impossible to tell, (but see the discussion on Porcia's figure in the extant sources in Introd.ch.3).

Another difficulty arises from the contents of Hortensius'

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speech: the commenta Bernensia on Lucan and Strabo assert that the transaction between Cato and Hortensius was according to ancient Roman custom. But there is absolutely no warrant for this view and it seems more likely that they 'derived' the custom from the story about Cato, the exemplary Roman. On the other hand there is evidence that Zeno and Chrysippus recommended to the Sages community of women (Diog.La.VII.131=SVF III.728). But should one believe that such arguments were put fōward by Hortensius, whose opposition to philosophy and lack of philosophical erudition are well attested (Cic.Att.XIII.12.3;16.1;19.5; Brut.322; and, generally, his role in the lost Hortensius)? There is of course the possibility of attributing Hortensius' reasoning to Thrasea Paetus, though from all that we know about him it is difficult to credit him with such a Stoic doctrinaire attitude. It seems more likely that Plutarch tried to supply Hortensius' arguments: in Lyc.15.3 a rather similar description is given of the ancient Spartan custom: ἐξῆν δὲ πάλιν ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ , τῶν εὐτέκνων τινὰ καὶ σωφρόνων θαυμάσαντι γυναικῶν ἑτέρῳ γεγαμημένην , πεῖσαι τὸν ἄνδρα συνελθεῖν , ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ καλλικάρπῳ φυτεύοντα καὶ ποιούμενον παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς , ἀγαθῶν ὁμαίμους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐσομένους .

note especially the simile ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ καλλικάρπῳ κτλ.

which reappears in'Hortensius'' speech as ὥσπερ εὐγενῆ χώραν.

25.4 τὴν θυγατέρα Πορκίαν , Βίβλῳ συνοικοῦσαν καὶ πεποιημένην ἐκείνῳ δύο παῖδας on Porcia see Miltner RE XXII. 216 ff.no.28. Her mother was Atilia and she was married for the second time in the summer of 45 to her cousin Brutus. As her son L.Bibulus was a candidate for the augurship in 43 she must have been married at about 60 and been born in the mid-seventies. Her second child seems to have been dead by the time she married Brutus. It was an unusual blunder for Mommsen (Hermes XV.1880,99 ff.; cf. also Münzer RAA 343) to mistake her for Cato's sister instead of daughter; on her death see 73.6 below.

Βίβλῳ M.Calpurnius Bibulus cos.59 (Münzer RE III. 1368 ff.no.28; Collins,CJ L.1955.261 ff.).

ἐντεκνώσασθαι a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Greek.

25.5 καταπτωχεῦσαν for this rare composite verb cf. Cic.10.5.

25.6 καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὑτὴν ἀνακεραννύναι ταῖς οἰκειότησιν for this metaphorical use of ἀνακεράννυμι cf.Rom.29.5... βούλεσθαι λέγων τοὺς Λατίνους ἐκλιποῦσαν ἤδη

τὴν παλαιὰν οἰκειότητα καὶ συγγένειαν ἐπιζωπυρῆσαι , καινοῖς ἀξιοῖς ἀναπραθέντων ἐπιγαμίαις τῶν γενῶν .

25.9 ἔχοντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀποχρῶσαν διαδοχήν

he had two children by Atilia (see 24.6n.) and three by Marcia (Lucan.II.331 with the commenta and the adnotationes), a son and two daughters (see 52.4n.).

25.10 κύουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν τότε τυγχάνειν λέγουσιν

None of the other sources records this fact. The remarriage of pregnant divorcees seems to have been regarded as scandalous in Rome. Plutarch lists as a tyrannical act of Sulla that he and his wife Metella persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia and marry Metella's daughter Aemilia although she was married and pregnant at the time; shortly after the marriage she died in childbirth (Pomp.9.2-4; Sulla 33.3-4). The other famous case, still a scandal after a century and a half, is Octavian's marriage of the pregnant Livia after her hasty divorce. That there must have been religious doubts about the propriety of this act is shown by the fact that the pontifical college was approached in the matter (Suet.Aug.62;69;Tib.4.3;Cal.25.1;Claud.1.1;Tac. ann.I.10;V.1;Dio XLVIII.44.2-5). Though there is no evidence to this effect it is just possible that these doubts may

have been connected with Octavian's being a patrician (as was Livia by birth) and the likelihood that their marriage took the form of confarreatio. A paragraph of the lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus ordered divorcees to remarry after six months, thus potentially rendering statutory the remarriage of pregnant divorcees; this interval was altered to eighteen months by the lex Papia Poppaea (Ulp.reg.14). What the connections between Augustus' own marriage and his legislation was and whether the alteration was due to public opinion or religious scruples we may never know; yet Suetonius' and Tacitus' reactions show that these matches were viewed still as highly irregular under the Empire. It is the more surprising that Marcia's divorce of Cato and marriage to Hortensius, so eagerly attacked from various quarters, was not called in question on this count. This should not be sufficient to cast doubt on the reliability of our source or the soundness of our text; perhaps a more likely explanation would be that the marriage between Hortensius and Marcia took place only after she gave birth to Cato's child?

25.12 οὐκ ἄλλως ἐνεγγύησε τὴν Μαρκίαν ἢ παρόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεγγυῶντος the transaction took place in two stages: (a) divorce of Cato and Marcia and (b) Marcia's marriage

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to Hortensius. Note that also in the similar case of Octavian and Livia she was given away in marriage by her former husband Ti.Claudius Nero (Dio XLVII.44.3); the parallel is not absolutely complete, one presumes, only because Livia's father was dead at the time of her second marriage.

25.13 χρόνοις ὕστερον not earlier than 56: see 39.5.

26.1 Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λέντλον ἀναιρεθέντων The most detailed account on the execution of the conspirators is in Sall.Cat. 55; for the other sources see Magnino on Cic.22.1 ff.

τοῦ Καίσαρος...εἰς τὸν δῆμον καταφυγόντος cf.Caes.8.2 ff.; Cic.21.6;Suet.Caes.14.2; to this incident to be related also Sall.Cat.49.4.

ὁ Κάτων ροβηθεὶς...διαλυθείσης this is also retold in praec.ger.reip.818D and Caes.8.6-7, where the sum of 1250 talents is expressed as 7.500.000 denarii (but A read 5.500.000). The frumentatio seems to have provided corn at the highly reduced price of 6 1/3 asses established by the legislation of C.Gracchus. The cost to the state is the subsidy needed to keep the price at this artificial level. Cato's measure increased the number of the beneficiaries in relation to the latest legislation on the subject, the lex Terentia Cassia of 73. The number of beneficiaries under

Cato's law is calculated at 200.000 by Beloch,Bevölkerung 397; accepted by Frank,Ec.Survey I.329; Cardinali,Diz. Epigr.III.233 s.v.frumentatio; see on the legislation also Rostowzew RE VII.174;Holmes,Rom.Rep.I.384 f. Rowland,Acta Ant.XIII.1965,81 ff. calculates that the number of recipients before Cato's measure might have been as high as 180.000 and that it was increased by Cato to 270.000; but his reliance on the reading of Λ in Caes.8.7 (see above) and his distinction between this as 'additional expenditure' and our passage stating the 'total expenditure' is not convincing. To what extent Cato's move was opposed to his usual policies and practice in regard of the state finances can be seen from the exposition of these at Cic.off.III.88. The date (surprisingly the exact evidence seems to have been hitherto overlooked: see Rowland,Acta Ant.XIII.1965,82.14) of the senatus consultum initiated by Cato is between Dec.5th (execution of the Catilinarians) and the 10th (the tribunes entering office). This timing, more than anything else, is an important clue for the reason of the corn-dole: Cato had to wait only a few days to carry a plebiscite to the same effect. The hurry to pass a popular corn law by the rather unusual means of a s.c. shows that Cato and his political friends were afraid that if they waited until the beginning of the tribunate of Cato and Metellus the latter

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(perhaps in conjunction with Bestia?) might outdo them in winning the favour of the populace, perhaps by means of a similar measure. Taylor, Party Politics 127, thinks that "it is indicative of Cato's 'optimate' policy that he proposed his measure not in a popular law but in the senate". Though it seems apparent from the text that we have here a s.c., Rotondi LPPR 384 still considers the possibility of a lex Porcia frumentaria (i.e., technically a plebiscite).

26.2-29.4 For the whole episode of the clash between Cato and Metellus Nepos cf. the less detailed accounts in Cic. 23.4 f.;and the letter to Metellus Celer fam.V.2, written shortly after the events; an important modern discussion is Meier, Athenaeum XL.1962,101 ff.

26.2 Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦλθεν ὁ Μέτελλος the tribunes entered office on Dec.10th 63 (Mommsen RStR I. 604)

ἐκκλησίας τε θορυβώδεις 'contiones tumultuariae'. ἐκκλησία as opposed to ἀρχαιρεσίαι (see 21.3n.) regularly refers to contio (cf.Magie 17); thus e.g. Popl.7.2;Mar.28.2,4;33.5; Sulla 34.2;Pomp.23.1;26.2;43.3 etc. For the expression as a whole cf. App.b.c.I.32.143 ἐκκλησία θορυβηδεστάτη. Metellus' contio took place on Jan.3rd.62 (Cic.fam.V.2.8:

a.d.III.Non.Januar.), after he had prevented Cicero from addressing the people in the usual manner on the last day of the year.

καὶ νόμον ἔγραφε Πομπήιον Μάγνον ἔφεσι κατὰ τάχος μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ παραλαβόντα σῴζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπὸ Κατιλίνα κινδυνευούσαν

For this rogatio Caecilia de Cn.Pompeio ex Asia revocando (Rotondi LPPR 383) see Cic.23.4 καὶ νόμος ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσήγετο καλεῖν Πομπήιον μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὡς δὴ καταλύσοντα τὴν Κικέρωνος δυναστείαν: Schol.Bob.134St ut praesidio Italiae veniret (Pompeius) adversus arma Catilinae; Dio XXXVII.43.1; cf.Suet.Caes.16.1; according to the Schol.Bob. this proposal was moved together with one ut absens consul Cn.Pompeius fieret. Meier, Athenaeum XL. 1962,105 f.; after giving some excellent reasons for not accepting this source, and adducing much of the modern literature where it is in fact ignored, concludes surprisingly (p.106): "Es ist also durchaus möglich, dass Nepos diesen Antrag nicht offiziell ausgesprochen hat. Wie dem aber auch sei, dass er ihn zu stellen beabsichtigte, lasst sich nach dem Zeugnis der Quelle gleichwohl nicht bestreiten.." The point of the argument is that in the following Meier relies heavily on his reconstruction, according to which the consulship of 61 was vital for Pompey to maintain his

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position in Rome. Plaumann, Klio XIII.1913,368 considers the possibility that the formula παραλαβόντα σῴζειν τὴν πόλιν may have been due to Metellus' use of the style of the senatus consultum ultimum for his rogatio.

26.3 ἔργον δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τέλος ἐγχειρῆσαι τὰ πράγματα Πομπηΐῳ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Dio XXXVII.43.1 suggests, probably rightly, that Metellus was working for enlarging his own influence rather than as a henchman of Pompey.

26.4-5 Stein, Senatssitzungen 17 places this session before the middle of January, considering that Caesar is already praetor and Catilina dead. He concludes that the senate was against the rogatio Caecilia; contra Meier, Athanaeum XL.1962,121.68.

26.4 τὴν Μετέλλων οἰκίαν ἀεὶ γενομένην ἀριστοκρατικὴν the optimate traditions of the Metelli are well attested in our sources; it is but natural for Cato to appeal to Nepos with this argument, since his policies were a real departure from the family traditions. Perhaps a note of caution may be added not to take this mention of Metellan family politics as evidence for the line of a 'Metellan factio'

that haunts the writings of some modern scholars.

λόγους θρασεῖς here, as at 29.1, Metellus is 'audax' in the technical sense: see Wirszubski, JRS LI.1961,12 ff.

26.5 ὅτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ Πομπήιος οὐ παρέσται μετ' ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν in the same vein Cic.Att.IV.18.4 (autumn 54): Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum. id ego puto ut multa eiusdem ad nihilum recasurum.

μανίᾳ 'furor'; cf.20.4n.

ἀρετῆς ἐνθουσιασμός for the expression cf.recta rat. aud.42B πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐνθουσιασμός .

27.1 ὅπλα καὶ ξένοι καὶ μονομάχοι καὶ θεράποντες on the use of these various types of people in the gangs and the political violence of the Late Republic see Lintott, Violence 76 ff.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορᾶν the forum was the meeting place of the comitia tributa and the concilium plebis for legislative business (Taylor, Voting Assemblies 40 ff.).

ἦν δὲ μεγάλη καὶ ἀπὸ Καίσαρος ὁρᾶν στρατηγοῦντος τότε in addition to their usual attendance of lictors it was a common enough practice with the consuls and praetors to recruit privately organized praesidia (see e.g.Lintott, Violence 89 ff.).

27.2 οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν πολιτῶν 'principes civitatis'; cf. Cato mai.8.12; Gelzer, Nobilität 73.

τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα including Munatius Rufus, who is revealed below as a participant in the events.

διακρουνῦσαι a rare word and according to Wyttenbach not found elsewhere in Plutarch.

καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφάς It is impossible to establish the date of Cato's divorce of Atilia and his marriage to Marcia, so that it would be in vain to guess which wife is meant here. The sisters are Servilia and Porcia, though Plutarch may have had in mind also the other Servilia, whom he erroneously thought to be Cato's sister (see 24.4n.). Porcia was married to L.Domitius Ahenobarbus cos.54, a close political associate of Cato,(see 41.2n.).

ποντισθέντας see Moeris p.208 Bek. ποντισθέντος Ἀττικοί , δυσφοροῦν Ἕλληνες ; nevertheless this verb is found only in late prose writers (not infrequently in Plutarch).

27.3 ἑνὸς τῶν συναρχόντων Μινυκίου Θέρμου Q.Minucius Thermus, recipient of a number of letters of Cicero (Münzer RE XV. 1972 ff.no.67). He seems to have been a senator as early as 73 and did not reach the consulship. In the Civil War he sided with Pompey and may have escaped the proscriptions

by joining Sex.Pompey.

27.5 ὁ Κάτων κατεῖδε...μονομάχων cf.Cic. Sest.62 templo a collega occupato; the place served a little later also as the base of Clodius' gangs: Cic.domo 54;110;Sest.34.

τὸν νεὼν τῶν Διοσκούρων the aedes Castoris, as it was usually called, stood "at the southeast corner of the forum area, close to the fons Iuturnae" (Platner-Ashby,Top. Dict.102 ff.); see also Nash,Pict.Dict.I.210 ff.; for holding contiones there see Taylor, Voting Assemblies 25 ff.

αὐτὸν δὲ καθήμενον ἄνω μετὰ Καίσαρος τὸν Μέτελλον The presence of the patrician Caesar reveals that we are still in the contio, that was preparatory to the plebejan assembly proper, in which Caesar naturally could take no part (thus correctly Taylor, Voting Assemblies 61 f.).

"δ' θρασέος" εἶπεν "ἀνθρώπου καὶ δειλοῦ" δ with the genitive is comparatively rare in late writers (not occurring in the NT) and somewhat poetic; for another example in Plutarch see Ages.32.4 δ' τοῦ μεγαλοπράγμονος ἀνθρώπου . The oxymoron is made possible by the ambiguity of θρασύς used both with a view to praise and to blame.

27.6 πόλις Plutarchprefers usually this common form to the more especially Attic, (Schmid,Atticismus I.54)

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μόγις ; but see for the latter coni.praec.138E; Crass.26.2;Cato mai.20.11 (MSS divided)

Μουνάτιον he, through the intermediary Thrasea Paetus, is our ultimate source for the episode (cf.Introd.ch.3).

27.8 τὸ θάρσος Plutarch upholds the distinction of Attic prose between θάρσος and θράσος ; see Fab.Max.29 (comp.2)4 μία γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπειρία καὶ θράσος γεννᾷ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται ; for the definitions of the difference add to those in L-S-J s.v. θράσος Aristippus in Schol.Apol.Rhod.II.77; Lucian.Musc.Enc.5.

μὴ προεἰδέναι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγωνιζόμενον cf.20.5n.

28.1 Ἔνθα δὴ τοῦ ὑπηρέτου τὸν νόμον προχειρισαμένου The situation of the contio has passed now to that of the concilium plebis, the people having divided into their tribes, as the reading of the proposal could not have taken place in the informal assembly. Presumably Caesar, a patrician, departed beforehand. The reading aloud of the law was the business of the praeco, to whom the words were read out by the scriba (Mommsen RStR I.363;III.391). Elsewhere the praeco is referred to by Plutarch more specifically as κῆρυξ (Brut.27.5;Rom.25.7;Cor.25.3).

τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος . . . τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀπέκλεισεν the reciting of the law by the presiding officer, in this case Metellus Nepos, was expressly forbidden (Mommsen RStR III. 391:Taylor, Voting Assemblies 75); for other cases of contravention of this law see Cic.Phil.I.24;Vat.5;Asc.58C.

28.2 οἴκοθεν It is difficult to understand why the paradosis is objected to here. Metellus may well have had his strategic reserve of armed men at his house some distance from the forum.

28.3 Cf. the similar description in Dio XXXVII.43.3. On Murena's assistance cf.21.9 above.

τὴν τήβεννον frequently used by Plutarch for 'toga'; but see also τὸ ἱμάτιον 19.1 above.

28.6 ἥ τε σύγκλητος ἀθροισθεῖσα παρῄγγειλεν ἀρχῆθεν βουθετεῖν τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον , ὡς στάσιν ἐπεισάγοντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον .

cf.Dio XXXVII.43.3, whence it appears much more explicitly that the senatus consultum ultimum was passed (see Plaumann, Klio XIII.1913,368).

ἀρχῆθεν L-S-J render ad loc. 'immediately'; αὐτόθεν might be a reasonable conjecture.

29.1 For Metellus' departure cf.Cic.26.10; the occurrence of this contio is not related elsewhere.

29.3 Suet.Caes.16.1 claims that both Caesar and Metellus administratione rei publicae submoverentur. As Mommsen reminds us (RStR I.262), such a decree of the senate would be only a request without binding force. It seems clear from our text, by far the most detailed and reliable source on the events of Metellus' and Cato's tribunate, that Nepos' departure to Pompey preceded, and ergo was not caused by, the senate's intention to depose him. Thus it looks probable that the move to depose him was legally founded on his absence from the City - which was for a tribune unlawful -;this may perhaps still be traced in Dio's account (XXXVII.43.4). We should prefer Plutarch's version to the brief statement of Suetonius and accept that though a motion to depose Metellus Nepos, and perhaps Caesar, was made, it was not carried. Stein, Senatssitzungen 17f., tries to harmonize Dio and Suetonius with Plutarch so that though Caesar and Nepos were suspended from office, their deposition was prevented by Cato.

29.5 Ἐκ τούτου Λεύκολλος ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας Lucullus came back from Asia in 66, but was compelled to wait three years outside the pomerium for the celebration of

his triumph (Cic.Ac.pr.II.3:inimicorum calumnia triennio tardius quam debuerat triumphavit). On the chronological error of our passage (cf.29.8n.) see Weizsäcker, Untersuchungen 65 f.

Γαΐου Μεμμίου certainly the man mentioned at 6.4 above. C.Memmius (Münzer RE XV.609 ff.no.8; see also Biedl, WSt XLVIII.1930,48 ff.;XLIX.1931,107 ff.; for further bibliography on the family see Wiseman,CQ XVII.1967,164 ff.) is perhaps best known as the patron of Lucretius; for his adultery with Servilia, Cato's niece, see 24.5n.

δίκας ἐπάγοντας according to Luc.37.1-2 Memmius first accused Lucullus' brother Marcus for his actions under Sulla's regime, and after Marcus' acquittal took on L. Lucullus himself ὡς πολλὰ νενοσφισμένῳ καὶ μηδέναντι τὸν πόλεμον .

εἰς τὴν Πομπηίου χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἔχθος ἴδιον on Memmius' connections with Pompey see Gruen, Historia XVIII.1969,76.

29.6 ὁ δὲ Κάτων , οἰκειότητός τε πρὸς Λεύκολλον αὐτῷ γεγενημένης , ἔχοντα Σερβιλίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ cf.24.4,5nn.

29.8 Λεύκολλος μὲν οὖν θριαμβεύσας Lucullus' triumph occurred in 63 (Cic.Ac.pr.II.3:nos consules introduximus

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paene in urbem currum clarissimi viri), in the summer before the consular elections, when Lucullus' veterans were already able to support the candidacy of Murena (Cic.Mur. 37;69). On Lucullus' triumph see Drumann-Groebe IV.175 ff.; Gelzer,RE XIII.406;Ooteghem,L.Licinius Lucullus 163 f.

30.1 Πομπήιος δὲ μέγας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπανιὼν

Pompey landed at the end of 62 at Brindisi and - to the surprise of many - disbanded his army before going to Rome, where he was to celebrate his third triumph over the third continent; cf.Pomp.43.3 (//Zon.X.5 p.351 Dind.);App.Mithr. 116.567;DioXXXVII.20.6;Vell.II.40.3.

καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς πεποιθὼς οὐδὲν ἂν δεηθεὶς ἀποτυχεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν on his reception see especially Pomp43.5;App.loc.cit.

30.1-2 προὔπεμψεν ἀξιῶν . . . . ὥστε ἀποψηφίσασθαι

cf.Pomp.44.1 (//Zon.X.5 p.352 Dind.); Cic.prov.cons.27. A somewhat different story is told by Dio XXXVII.44.3: καίπερ οὔτω πάντες τὸν Πομπήιον ἐδέδισαν (οὐδέπω γὰρ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀφῆσων ἔθλος ἦν) ὥστε , ἐπειδὴ Μᾶρκον Μέσσαλαν ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἴτησιν ὑπατείας προὔπεμψε , τάς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας , ὅπως ἀπαντήσῃ ἐς αὐτάς , ἀναβαλέσθαι , καὶ παρόντα αὐτὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀποδεῖξαι . καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς

ἐχθροῖς συνέστησεν αὐτόν .

Though Plutarch's version is certainly correct and is generally accepted (see e.g.Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 41.4; Holmes,Rom.Rep.I.289.2; Gelzer,Pompejus 127) Dio is preferred by Stein,Senatssitzungen 19.99; cf. also Meier, Athenaeum XL.1962,123.80.

30.1 Μέσσαν: M.Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus was born a Calpurnius Piso Frugi and adopted by a M.Pupius (Drumann-Groebe II.69 ff.no.15; Gundel RE XXIII.1987 ff. no.10; on his family and descendants Syme,JRS L.1960,12 ff.). Though his early career is relatively well attested (notably he was one of Pompey's lieutenants in 67) nothing is known about him after his consulate in 61.

συναρχαιρεσιάσαι this verb seems not to occur outside Plutarch; for a collection of his usage see Wyttenbach's n. on amic.mult.97A.

30.3 The attempt of Pompey to form marriage-relations with Cato is related also in Pomp.44.2 ff. (whence Zon.X.5 p. 352 Dind.: see Schmidt, Über die Quellen des Z., Zimmermanns Zeitschr.1839 no.30 ff., reprinted in Dindorf's ed. vol.VI.p.XXXIX; Büttner-Wobst,Comm.Fleck.150; Zonaras did

not peruse the Cato minor: see Schmidt,op.cit.XL.). On the sources of this passage see the discussion in Introd.ch.3. The date of the episode is early 61, after Pompey's arrival in the City and before the canvass for the consular elections (cf.30.7 below).

προσπαίσειν τῷ Κάτωνι for προσπαίω with the dative cf.Per.32.6;Fab.Max.30(comp.3)3.

καὶ δύο τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀδελφιδᾶς ἐπιγάμους ἔχοντος , ἥτει τὴν μὲν πρεσβυτέραν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα , τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υἱῷ .

Münzer RAA 349 f. has demonstrated (against Drumann-Groebe V.210.4) that the two nieces referred to are Servilia's daughters by D.Iunius Silanus. Of the three daughters, later the wives respectively of P.Servilius Isauricus (Münzer RE X.1110 no.192), M.Aemilius Lepidus the future triumvir (ibid.no.193) and C.Cassius the future tyrannicide (ibid.1114 no.206), obviously the two first-mentioned are meant, as Cassius' wife was surnamed Tertia and survived until A.D.22 (Tac.ann.IV.76). One question to be asked is why did Pompey approach Cato instead of Silanus, the father of the girls. Two conceivable answers may be provided: (a) Silanus was no longer alive (cf.21.3n. and 24.1-3n.). But since he was consul in 62 and the events related here took place in early 61 this seems not very likely: had he died during his holding office we would almost certainly

have heard of it.

(b) a more acceptable explanation would be his absence from Rome. Now we are told (Cic.Pis.56) that Silanus was eager to obtain a provincial command; and it seems more likely than not that he would get one. Moreover, he is mentioned together with C.Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulate, as examples of this desire, and there would not be much point in it if he, as opposed to Antonius, was unable to fulfil it. A vacant proconsulship in 61 is Cisalpine Gaul, governed in 62 by Metellus Celer, but vacated by him in the following year when he returned to stand for the consulate in Rome.

If we accept the deductions of Miltner RE XXI.2214 (cf. also the inconclusive paper by Rougé,REL XLVI.1968,180 ff.) for the age of Pompey's younger son Sextus (born not before 68) the son mentioned here could be only the older Gnaeus, born ca.80-76 (Miltner RE XXI.2211).

τινὲς δέ φασιν οὐ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν , ἀλλὰ τῶν θυγατέρων τὴν μνηστεῖαν γενέσθαι not only is the statement of the source here manifestly wrong (see Introd.ch.3), but impossible, as Cato did not have two marriageable daughters at the time (cf.24.6n. and 25.9n.); Miltner's compromise (RE XXI.177) of one daughter and one niece is not only unsupported by evidence but to be rejected as unmethodical.

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30.4 ἀλλὰ πλουτεῖς εὖ οἶδ' εἶπε the participle is concessive: Ziegler's crux is unjustified. Kronenberg, Mnem.I.1934,168 rightly adduces quaest.conv.III.653E for a similar meaning of πλήσσω.

30.5 γυναικωνίτιδος see 24.4n.

30.7 In the consular elections for 60 Pompey notoriously used bribery to get his candidate L.Afranius (Klebs RE I. 710 ff.no.6) elected: cf.Pomp.44.4-5;Cic.Att.I.16.12; see also praec.ger.reip.806AB where we are told that Afranius has wanted to become consul in the previous year but put off his claim in favour of others (Piso?) preferred by Pompey. Afranius was a constant target of the ridicule of Cicero ('Auli filius': see Ooteghem,Pompée 291) and was remembered by posterity as a good dancer (Dio XXXVII.49.3). A Pompeian to the bitter end he was executed by P.Sittius after Thapsus. His colleague in the consulate was Metellus Celer.

εἰς τὰς φυλὰς bribes were most conveniently handed out in the tribes even though the elections took place in the centuriate assembly: cf.42.4n.

30.8 διακρουσάμενον 'to decline','to reject'; cf. Holden on Timol.12.1.

30.9-10. It is difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether these reflections come from Plutarch, his source (Thrasea Paetus) or his source's source (Munatius Rufus). Gelzer, Pompejus 131; Strasburger, Caesars Eintritt 66.4; Meier, Historia X.1961,68.4 all think that the criticism derives from Munatius Rufus. On the other hand Babut, Plutarque et le Stoicisme 174, takes it as a comment of Plutarch, who criticizes the Stoic dogma of omnia peccata esse paria (SVF III.524 ff.) and refuses to accept the view of Cato that the small aberration of yielding to Pompey's wishes is equivalent to the great loss of the ruin of the Republic. On the crucial importance of the marriage-relations between Caesar and Pompey cf.31.7.

31.1 Ἀνυδάλλου δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ διατάξεων στασιάσαντος πρὸς Πομπήϊον - ἤξίουν γὰρ ἰσχύειν ἑκάτερος τὰ ὑφ' αὑτοῦ γενόμενα. the struggle against the confirmation of Pompey's Acts in the East: cf.Pomp.46.4;Luc.42.6;Dio XXXVII.49 f.;Suet. Caes.19.2;Flor.II.13.9;Vell.II.40.5;App.b.c.II.8.32;Cic. Att.I.20.5. While Pompey demanded ratification of his Acts en bloc, Lucullus insisted on discussing them point

by point, countering each proposal with his own provisions. Among those backing him there are listed, besides Cato, also Crassus and Metellus Creticus, who bore Pompey a grudge for delaying his Cretan triumph; see also Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 51; Syme,Rom.Rev.33; Gelzer,Pompejus 138 f.; Ooteghem,L.Licinius Lucullus 173 f.; Broughton, TAPA LXXVII.1946,40 ff.

προσεμβύνοντος after occurring three times in the Iliad (not in the Odyssey) this verb is apparently not found again in literature until Plutarch, when Wyttenbach lists eight places (including this and 44.6 below); frequent in Dio Cassius.

31.1-2 ἐλαττούμενος ὁ Πομπήϊος . . . ἐξέμπρουσε τὸν νόμον cf.Cic.Att.I.19.4;Dio XXXVII.49.2;50.1;51.2 ff. The proposal was brought by the tribune L.Flavius and the main opposition came from the consul Metellus Celer, whose half-sister (thus also Syme,Rom.Rev.33 despite Fluss RE XVI.449 no.28, who takes her for a cousin; Gelzer,Caesar 60.161 wavers) Mucia Pompey had recently divorced. See also Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 52 ff.; Gelzer,Pompejus 137 f.

31.2 οὕτω Κλωδίου τε περιεῖχετο τοῦ τότε θρασυτάτου τῶν δημαγωγῶν for the evidence of Clodius as audax see Wirszubski,JRS LI.

1961,15.18.

καὶ Καίσαρα προσήγετο see 31.6n.

τρόπον τινὰ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ παρασχόντος ἀρχήν for the sentiment cf.30.9-10.

31.3-5 ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ . . . αἰτεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. cf.Caes.13. 1-2 (//Zon.X.6 p.354 Dind.);App.b.c.II.8.28 ff.;Suet.Caes. 18.2;Dio XXXVII.54.1 f. The provision that the candidate had to appear in person to present himself seems to have been introduced in 63 (Gelzer,Caesar 57, with literature).

31.3 στρατηγίας Caesar's title was probably that of proconsul (Broughton MRR II.180) as of most praetorian governors at this time (Mommsen RStR II.647 ff.; Balsdon, JRS LII.1962,135.10): στρατηγός is the most usual designation of Plutarch for provincial governors, whether holding praetorian or consular imperium (cf.9.1n.).

31.4 ἔξω τείχους 'outside the pomerium'. For the word πωμήριον with explanation see Rom.11.4.

31.5 ἀντέλεγεν ὁ Κάτων . . . λέγων ὅλην κατανάλωσε τὴν ἡμέραν cf.Caes.13.2;Dio XXXVII.54.2;App.b.c.II.8.30;Suet.Caes.18.2 (multi contra dicerent). The debate had to be finished

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before sunset (Mommsen RStR III.919); on obstructionism in the Roman senate as a whole see Groebe,Klio V.1905,229 ff.; other examples of Cato's filibustering in the senate are against the rogatio Iulia agraria (see 33.2n.); at the end of 61 and the first half of 60 in the matter of the Asian publicani (Cic.Att.I.18.7;II.1.8;Schol.Bob.157 St.;cf.159) and against the law of the ten tribunes in 52 (Caes.b.c. I.32.3; cf.Liv.per.107).

31.6 **χαίρειν οὖν ἐάσας τὸν θρίαμβον ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰσελθὼν εὐθὺς εἶχετο Πομπηΐου καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας** as can be seen in the parallel passages in Plutarch the formation of the so-called First Triumvirate is here alluded to, though Crassus is not mentioned. Plutarch (also Caes.13.4-14.1; Pomp.47.1 ff.; Crass.14.1 ff.)is supported by App.b.c.II.9.33 ff. and Liv.per.103 in the view that the forming of the triumvirate preceded the consular elections for 59, while on the other hand according to Dio XXXVII.54.3 ff.;Suet.Caes.19.2;Vell. II.44.1;Flor.II.13.10 f.;Cic.Att.II.3.3 the coalition was formed after the elections. Modern opinion seems to be equally divided: the former view is accepted by Mommsen, Röm.Gesch.III.^{8}209; Holmes,Rom.Rep.I.474 ff.; Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 60 f. (assuming two phases, before and after the elections); Cary CAH IX.IX.513; Heitland,Rom.Rep.III.123;

Meier,Resp.amissa 279.80 (but cf.280): the latter held by Gelzer,Pompejus 141 (//Caesar 61); Syme,Rom.Rev.35; Hanslik,RhM LXXXVIII.1955,330 ff. (with further literature); for further literature cf. also Sanders,Mem.Am.Ac.Rome X. 1932,55 ff. Note the zeugma **εἶχετο Πομπηΐου καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας . τὴν τ' Ἰουλίαν ἐνεγγήσασαν αὐτῷ** Iulia (Münzer RE X. 894 f. no.547), Caesar's only child by Cornelia, Cinna's daughter, was born ca.73-72 (Cichorius,Festgabe Bezold 59 ff.). The marriage took place in late April 59 (Cic.Att. II.17.1, cf.Carcopino, César 213 f.); elsewhere Plutarch (Pomp.47.9;Caes.14.7) puts the marriage before the passage of the first agrarian law. Cf.Suet.Caes.21;App.b.c.II. 14.50;Dio XXXVIII.9.1;Vell.II.44.3;47.2;Flor.II.13.13; Gell.IV.10.5;Cic.Att.VIII.3.3. The union, despite the political motivation and the great difference in age between the partners, proved highly successful and happy and was terminated only by Iulia's untimely death in 54: with it an important stabilizing factor vanished from the political scene. For the previous engagement of Iulia see Appendix I. Meier,Historia X.1961,73.20, asserts that both the omission of Crassus from the preceding sentence and the faulty dating of Pompey's marriage to Iulia are due to what he believes to be Munatius Rufus' construction of the connection between Cato's refusal to marry his nieces to

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Pompey and Pompey's subsequent marriage to Iulia (cf.30.9-10n).

ὁ μὲν εἰσφέρε νόμους , τοῖς πένησι κληρουχίαν καὶ νομὴν χώρας διδόντος Most sources do not distinguish between Caesar's first agrarian law and the lex Campana and accordingly the treatment by the moderns is not separated: hence see discussion at 33.1 below.

τοῖς πένησι cf.33.1 **τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν**.Elsewhere Plutarch (Cic.26.4) says that the land was to be given **τοῖς στρατιώταις** . In fact Caesar's agrarian legislation was designed to provide land both for Pompey's veterans and the masses of the urban poor. Nevertheless Plutarch's language here seems to betray him to be thinking about social problems in Greek rather than in Roman terms.

31.7 **ἤδη μὲν ὀφρῶμενος τὴν Καίσαρος καὶ Πομπηΐου φιλίαν καὶ σύστασιν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ δικαίῳ γεγενημένην** Elsewhere Plutarch expressly attributes to Cato the saying that not the quarrel, but the friendship between Pompey and Caesar was the cause of the Civil War (Pomp.47.7;Caes.13.5-6). Cato is consistently credited with seeing through Caesar's schemes from the beginning (see 33.5;43.9;49.1-2;51.4-5; 52.1-3 and the discussion of Strasburger, Caesars Eintritt 66). Not only the insistence of our biographer, but also

Cato's acts from the start of the rule of the Three render this remarkable foresight credible. In the event of course many saw Cato's point: Asinius Pollio dated the beginning of the Civil War back to 60 (Hor.c.II.1.1) thus probably taking the establishment of the 'First Triumvirate' as his starting-point (cf.Pohlenz, Epithymbion Swoboda 201 ff.= Kl.Schr.II.141 ff. for the suggestion that Pollio might have invoked the authority of Cato for his decision); Caelius (Cic.fam.VIII.14.2) and Cicero himself (Att.VIII. 3.3) as well as others about whom no evidence survives, saw the point when it was too late; yet this must not detain us from accepting as reliable our authority's assertion of Cato's foresight.

φοβεῖσθαι δὲ φάσκων οὐ τὴν νομὴν τῆς χώρας , ἀλλ' ὃν ἐνεὶ ταύτης ἀπαιτήσουσι μισθὸν οἱ χαριζόμενοι καὶ δελεάζοντες τὸ πλῆθος cf.also 26.1, where Cato is not so much afraid of a popular measure (frumentatio) as of popular politicians gaining following through them (for this idea cf. also Cic.leg.III.26).

32.1 **ὁμόψηφον** apparently sole occurrence in Plutarch; for its synonym **σύμψηφος** see Dio 30.1 (otherwise **σύμψηφος** is strictly 'voting together with', see quaest.conv.II.628E;Fel.24.3;Otho.8.4). Lobeck

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in his edition of Phrynichus p.2 claims that σύμφηφος is preferred by Atticists (cf. also Schmid, Atticismus II. 152) to ὁμόφηφος ; the former is found in Plato, Demosthenes and Aristotle, the latter in Andocides, Lysias and Gorgias.

τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀνδρῶπων οὐκ ὀλίγοι παρίσταντο

but a sizeable proportion of the equites must have harboured bad feeling against Cato over the issue of the Asian publicani (cf.18.2n.).

32.2 ἃ γὰρ οἱ θρασύτατοι δήμαρχοι καὶ ὀλιγωρότατοι πρὸς χάριν ἐπολιτεύοντο τῶν πολλῶν , ταῦτ' ἀπ' ἐξουσίας ὑπατικῆς αἰσχρῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς ὑποδυόμενος τὸν δῆμον ἔπραττε cf.Caes.14.2 οὐδὲν εἰσφέρε νόμους οὐχ ὑπάτῳ προσήκοντας , ἀλλὰ δημάρχῳ τινὶ θρασυτάτῳ and Pomp.47.5 τρόπον τινὰ δημαρχίαν τὴν ὑπατείαν καθιστάς. Steidle, Sueton 20.1, correctly remarks that this is a party-political slogan and adduces parallels from Livy III.1.3 and VIII.12.10.

ὑποδυόμενος L-S-J s.v.II.1.d: 'insinuate oneself into favour with'; cf.57.1 below and Pomp.25.8.

32.3-4 for the whole incident cf.Pomp.48.2-3 (for the inter-relations between these two versions with a comparative table see Introd.ch.5); Luc.42.6;Dio XXXVIII.

6.2-3;Suet.Caes.20.1;App.b.c.II.10.35 f.;Also Cic.Att.II. 16.2;Vat.5. Several of these sources mention Lucullus as playing a prominent part in the events. On the date of this scene, bound up with that of the passage of the first agrarian law of Caesar, see Taylor,AJP LXXII.1951,245 ff. (arguing for January 28th); Meier, Historia X.1961,68 ff. (after February 18th). Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus I.406 ff., holds, that the events in the forum took place in connection with the lex Campana in late May.

32.3 πομπῖον ἐπεσκεδάσθη κάρινος an isolated use of ἐπισκεδάννυμι instead of the more usual κατασκεδάννυμι as e.g. in the parallel version Pomp. 48.2; reg.imp.apophth.177B etc.

32.5 Cf. Dio XXXVIII.7.1-2;Cic.Sest.61;Schol.Bob.133 St. Besides Cato and Favonius (32.11 below) Dio mentions also Metellus Celer as refusing to take the oath.

32.6 τὸ Μετέλλου τοῦ πελαιοῦ πάθος κτλ. According to Dio it was Metellus Celer who recalled the fate of Numidicus. On the exile of Q.Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (mentioned in Mar.29,where we learn that Plutarch intended to write his life) see the detailed discussions in Robinson, Marius,

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Saturninus und Glaucia,75 ff.; Gruen,Latomus XXIV.1965, 576 ff.

32.7 This bit of information about the reaction of the women of Cato's household again betrays Munatius Rufus as one of the friends mentioned.

32.8-10 The argument here might well derive ultimately from Cicero himself and it certainly agrees with Cicero's political attitude at the time: cf. his later reference to Cato's accepting the Cyprian mission in Sest.61: cur igitur rogationi paruit? - Quasi vero ille non in alias quoque leges, quas iniuste rogatas putaret, iam ante iuraverit! Non offert se ille istis temeritatibus, ut, cum reip. nihil prosit, se civi remp. privet.

καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ Κάτων τῆς Ῥώμης , ἀλλ' ἡ Ῥώμη δεῖται Κάτωνος for the sentiment cf.Val.Max.VII.5.6 and 21.1-2n above.

32.11 Φαωνίου M.Favonius, the only known bearer of the name in Republican times (MünzerRE VI.2074 ff.no.1). From his very first appearance in 61 he is associated with Cato and his policies (Cic.Att.I.14.5); in the next year he prosecuted Metellus Scipio, Cato's enemy, after

he was beaten in the tribunician elections; his rhetoric produced in Cicero the pun dixit ita ut Rhodi videretur molis potius quam Moloni operam dedisse (Att.II.1.9; it is very doubtful whether we can attribute to him the fragment in Gell.XV.8: see Malcovati, Athenaeum VII.1929,216 ff. On the complex questions concerning these elections see Alford,CR XLI.1927,215 ff.; Meier, Historia X.1961,96 ff; Shackleton Bailey on Cic.Att.II.1.9; Broughton,MRR Suppl. 24). During the fifties he was the staunchest supporter of Cato's policies and a most determined adversary of the triumvirs. On his aedileship see 46 below. He was praetor in 49 and opposed any reconciliation with Caesar in the Civil War. Though faithful to Pompey to the end he refused to take part in the conspiracy against Caesar, but joined the conspirators after the murder: he was captured and executed at Philippi. In Brut.34 he is described as a Cynic, in Tac.ann.XVI.22.7 as a Stoic: probably he was one of those called by Cicero (off.I.128) Stoici paene Cynici. He was, and is, remembered mainly as the friend and imitator of Cato: for a collection of judgments on him see Münzer,art.cit.2077.

33.1 Ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄλλον εἰσέφερε νόμον , τὴν Καμπανὴν σχεδὸν ὅλην προσπατανέμοντα τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν .

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cf.31.6 above. Besides our passage also Dio XXXVIII.7.3 and Suet.Caes.20.1,3 indicate the existence of two separate agrarian laws; Plutarch elsewhere (Pomp.47.5;48.3;Caes.14.2; on this discrepancy between Plutarch's different versions in the various Lives see Introd.ch.3), App.b.c.II.10.35; Vell.II.44.3 seem to know one law only. Cic.Att.II.15.1; 16.1-2 (with a detailed description); 17.1;18.2 deal all with the lex Campana. See also Cic.Att.II.6.2;Fam.XIII.4.2; Schol.Bob.161 St.;Liv.per.103;Rotondi LPPR 387 f. For discussions of the laws and their dates see Cary,JP XXXV. 1920,174 ff.; Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 62 ff.; Holmes,Rom. Rep.I.312 ff.; Taylor,Historia XVII.1968,173 ff.; cf. also Meier,Historia X.1961,72.

τοῖς ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν cf.Pomp.47.5: (Caesar) εὐθὺς δὲ θεραπεῦων τὸν ὄχλον καὶ πένητα ; for the combination see also Stoic.absurd.poet.1058B;Aristid.10.4; and their personification in Them.21.1, going back to the V.century (Hdt.VIII.111).

33.1-4 ἀντέλεγε δ' οὐδεὶς . . . . . ἐξελεῖσθαι τὸν Κάτωνα

In Caes.14.11 ff. Plutarch relates the incident as happening because of Cato's protest against the lex Vatinia de provincia Caesaris; according to Dio XXXVIII.3.2-3 and Suet.Caes.20.4 the events took place in the senate; Val.

Max.II.10.7 agrees with this, though the occasion he gives is Cato's filibuster in the debate on the publicani;Gell. IV.10.8, quoting from Ateius Capito's de officio senatorio, tells that Caesar ordered Cato to be led away from a session of the senate in order to stop his filibuster. Though the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος is usually interpreted as if our text referred the episode erroneously to the forum rather than to the senate (e.g.Willems,Sen.Rép.Rom. II.187.5;Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 69), it may have been but a lapsus of our author, as his description of the Senate following Cato to the prison suggests his awareness of the truth (cf.18.5n. for Cato being accompanied, in this case not by senators; on the other hand the special mention of the senators in 39.1 is justified by the circumstances); on Cato's obstructionism in the senate cf.31.5n.

33.5 τιθασσεύσαντες for the meaning cf.praec.ger.reip. 802B.

ἐψηφίσαντο Καίσαρι μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα στρατιᾶς εἰς πενταετίαν cf.Pomp.48. 4;Caes.14.9;Crass.14.4;Cic.Vat.36;Vell.II.44.5;Suet.Caes. 22.1;App.b.c.II.13.49;Dio XXXVIII.8.5;Oros.VI.7.1;Eutrop. VI.17.1; cf also Cic.Att.VIII.3.3. The lex Vatinia de

provincia Caesaris (Rotondi LPPR 392) gave Caesar Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum with three legions while Transalpine Gaul and a fourth legion were later granted by a senatus consultum. For discussions of the law and its date see Marsh,CJ XXII.1927,504 ff.;Gelzer,Hermes LXIII.1928, 113 ff.(Kl.Schr.II.206 ff.);Meier,Historia X.1961,68 ff.; Taylor,Historia XVII.1968,182 ff. For bibliography on the question of the 'terminal date' of Caesar's imperium see Jameson,Latomus XXIX.1970,638.1.

προλέγοντος Κάτωνος κτλ. cf.31.7n.

ἀκρόπολιν cf.Crass.14.4 καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐχειρίσαντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν .

For Gallia's designation as the citadel in a commanding position above Rome cf. also App.b.c.II.27.103 and Cic. Phil.V.37 Galliaque, quae semper praesidet atque praesedit huic imperio...cf.also prov.cons.33 f.

33.6 Πόπλιον δὲ Κλώδιον ἐκ πατρικίων εἰς δημοτικοὺς παρανόμως μεταστήσαντες , ἀπέδειξαν δήμαρχον For Clodius' transition to the plebs by means of adrogatio by a certain Fonteius and his election as a tribune for 58 see Caes. 14.16;Cic.30.1;Cic.domo 77;Best.16;Att.II.12.1;VIII.3.3; Vell.II.45;Suet.Caes.20.4;Vib.2.4;App.b.c.II.14.52 f.;Dio XXXVII.51;XXXVIII.12; cf.also 40.3 below.

33.7 ὑπάτους δὲ Πείσωνά τε Μαλεοβρήνιον , ὃς ἦν πατὴρ τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικός , καὶ Γαβίνιον Ἄβλον , ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου πόλλων ἀνθρώπων , ὥς φασιν οἱ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον εἰδότες .

cf.Pomp.48.4;Caes.14.8;Suet.Caes.21;Dio XXXVIII.9.1;App. b.c.II.14.51. For the consular elections for 58 see Grummel,CJ XLIX.1953-4,351 ff.;Linderski,Historia XIV. 1965,423 ff.;Taylor,Historia XVII.1968,188 ff. The two consuls were L.Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (Münzer RE III. 1387 ff.no.90;Nisbet's edition of Cic.Pis.188 ff.; on Calpurnia,Caesar's wife from 59 until his death Münzer RE III.1407 no.126) and A.Gabinius (von der Mühll RE VII.424 ff.no.11;Sanford,TAPA LXX.1939,64 ff.;Badian,Philol.CIII. 1959,87 ff.).

ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου πόλλων ἀνθρώπων the objections of Ziegler RhM LXXXI.1932,64 do not take into account the possibility of translating a Latin phrase containing 'sinus'.

34-40 This account of Cato's Cyprian mission - by far the most detailed of its kind - derives from Munatius Rufus through Thrasea Paetus (see Introd.ch.3). Plutarch deals with this story and Brutus' part in it at Brut.3. Other versions of differing brevity are Dio XXXVIII.30.5 and XXXIX.22 f.;App.b.c.II.23.85 f.;Liv.per.104;Vell.II.45.4-5; Flor.I.44;Strabo XIV.6.6;Trog.Prol.XL.;vir.ill.80.2;Fest.

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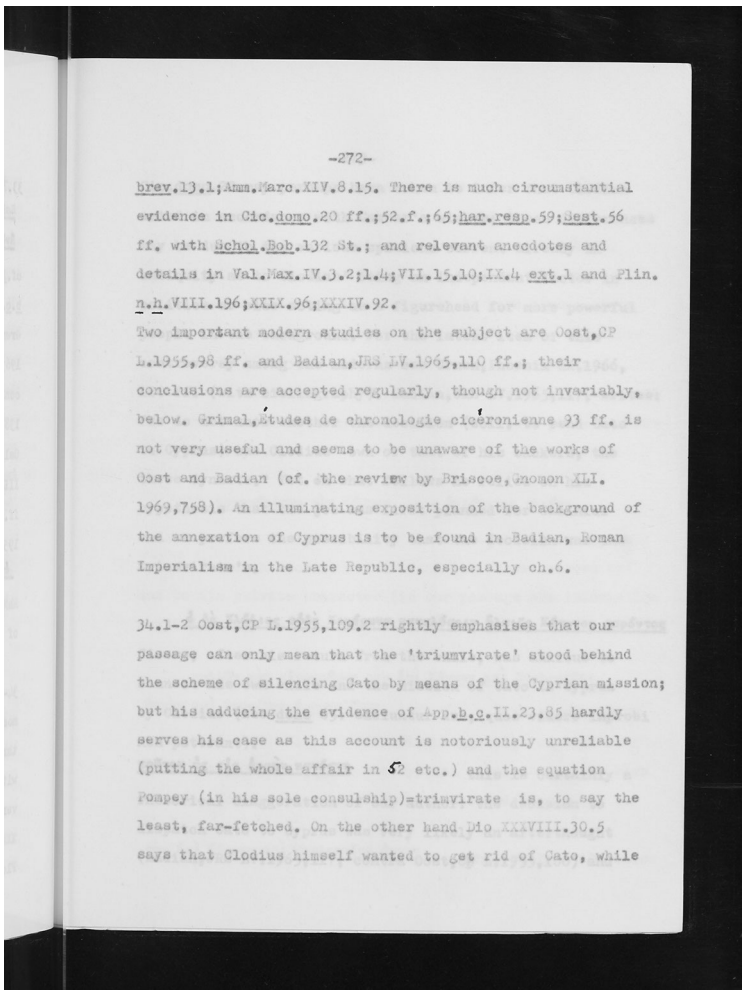
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brev.13.1;Amm.Marc.XIV.8.15. There is much circumstantial evidence in Cic.domo.20 ff.;52.f.;65;har.resp.59;Sest.56 ff. with Schol.Bob.132 St.; and relevant anecdotes and details in Val.Max.IV.3.2;1.4;VII.1.5.10;IX.4 ext.1 and Plin. n.h.VIII.196;XXIX.96;XXXIV.92.
Two important modern studies on the subject are Oost,CP L.1955,98 ff. and Badian,JRS LV.1965,110 ff.; their conclusions are accepted regularly, though not invariably, below. Grimal,Études de chronologie cicéronienne 93 ff. is not very useful and seems to be unaware of the works of Oost and Badian (cf. the review by Briscoe,Gnomon XLI. 1969,758). An illuminating exposition of the background of the annexation of Cyprus is to be found in Badian, Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic, especially ch.6.

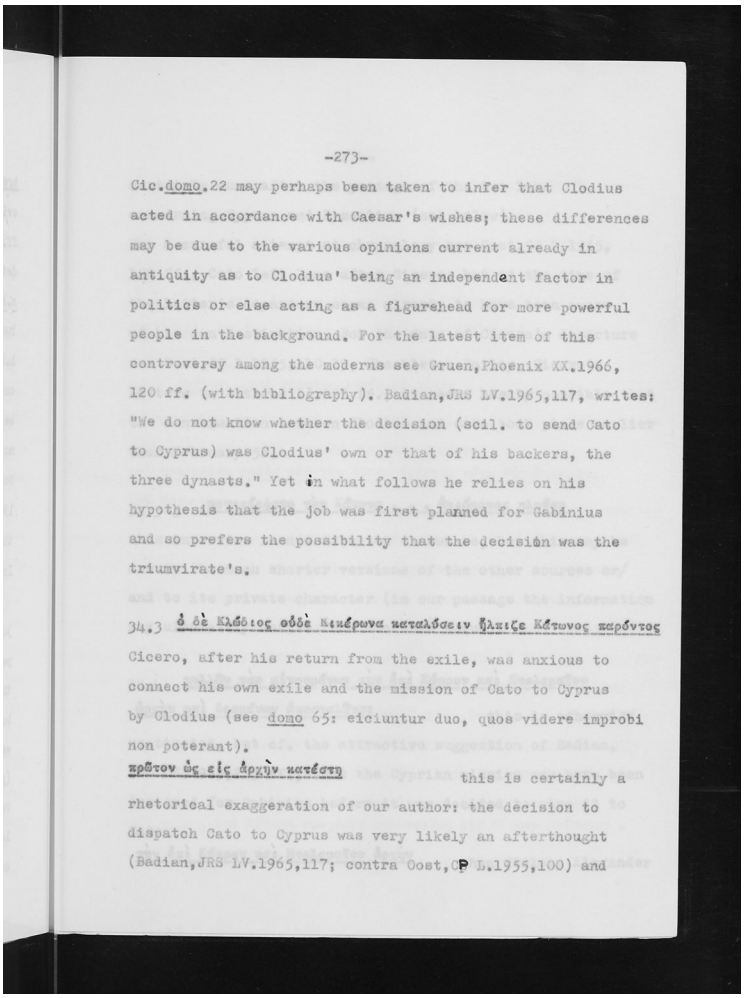
34.1-2 Oost,CP L.1955,109.2 rightly emphasises that our passage can only mean that the 'triumvirate' stood behind the scheme of silencing Cato by means of the Cyprian mission; but his adducing the evidence of App.b.c.II.23.85 hardly serves his case as this account is notoriously unreliable (putting the whole affair in 52 etc.) and the equation Pompey (in his sole consulship)=trimvirate is, to say the least, far-fetched. On the other hand Dio XXXVIII.30.5 says that Clodius himself wanted to get rid of Cato, while

Cic.domo.22 may perhaps been taken to infer that Clodius acted in accordance with Caesar's wishes; these differences may be due to the various opinions current already in antiquity as to Clodius' being an independent factor in politics or else acting as a figurehead for more powerful people in the background. For the latest item of this controversy among the moderns see Gruen,Phoenix XX.1966, 120 ff. (with bibliography). Badian,JRS LV.1965,117, writes: "We do not know whether the decision (scil. to send Cato to Cyprus) was Clodius' own or that of his backers, the three dynasts." Yet in what follows he relies on his hypothesis that the job was first planned for Gabinius and so prefers the possibility that the decision was the triumvirate's.

34.3 ὁ δὲ Κλώδιος οὐδὲ Κικέρωνα κατελύσειν ἤλπιζε Κάτωνος παρόντος
Cicero, after his return from the exile, was anxious to connect his own exile and the mission of Cato to Cyprus by Clodius (see domo 65: eiciuntur duo, quos videre improbi non poterant).
πρῶτον ὡς εἰς ἀρχὴν κατέστη this is certainly a rhetorical exaggeration of our author: the decision to dispatch Cato to Cyprus was very likely an afterthought (Badian,JRS LV.1965,117; contra Oost,CP L.1955,100) and



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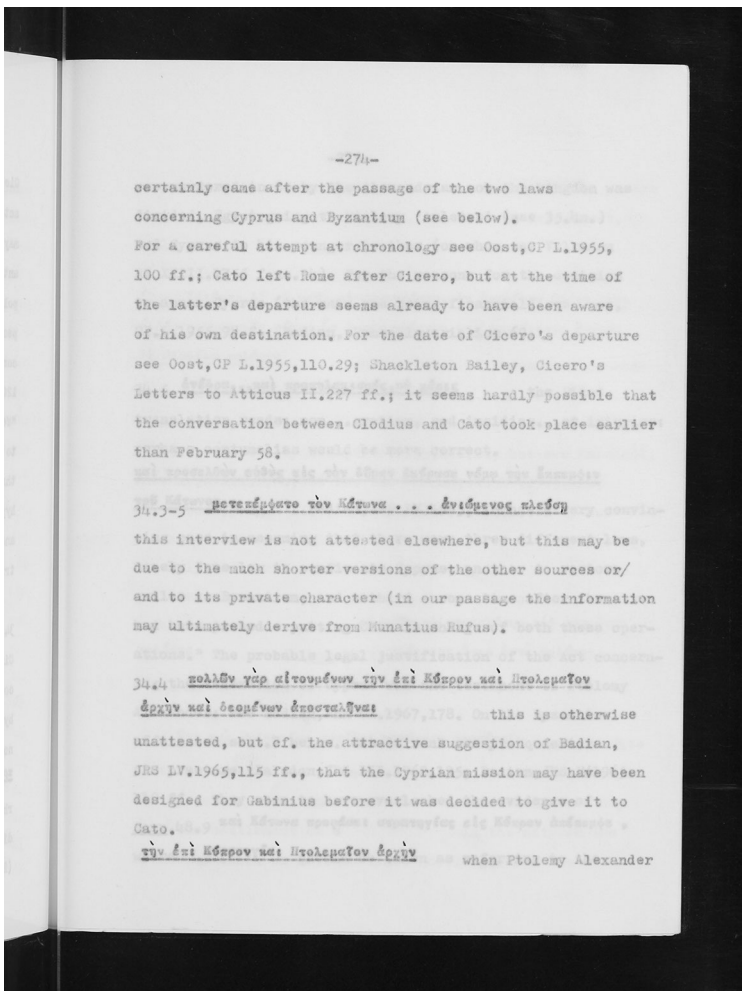


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certainly came after the passage of the two laws concerning Cyprus and Byzantium (see below).
For a careful attempt at chronology see Oost,CP L.1955, 100 ff.; Cato left Rome after Cicero, but at the time of the latter's departure seems already to have been aware of his own destination. For the date of Cicero's departure see Oost,CP L.1955,110.29; Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus II.227 ff.; it seems hardly possible that the conversation between Clodius and Cato took place earlier than February 58.

34.3-5 μετεπέμψατο τὸν Κάτωνα . . . ἐνιδόμενος πλεῦσαι
this interview is not attested elsewhere, but this may be due to the much shorter versions of the other sources or/ and to its private character (in our passage the information may ultimately derive from Munatius Rufus).

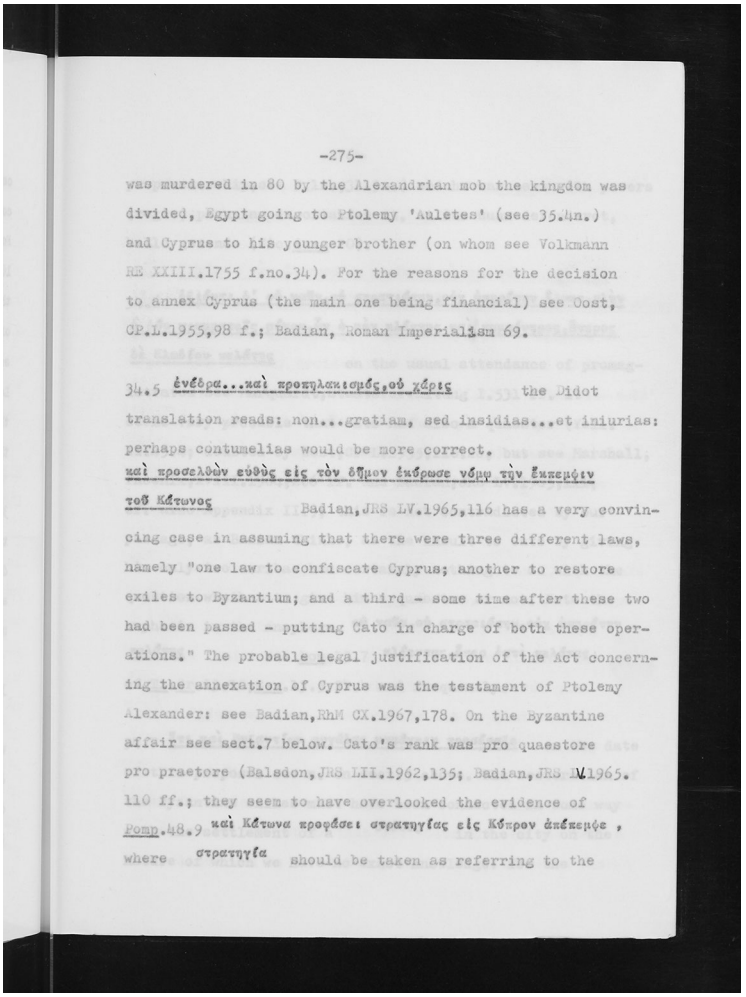
34.4 πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτουμένων τὴν ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀρχὴν καὶ δεομένων ἀποσταλῆναι this is otherwise unattested, but cf. the attractive suggestion of Badian, JRS LV.1965,115 ff., that the Cyprian mission may have been designed for Gabinius before it was decided to give it to Cato.
τὴν ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Πτολεμαίου ἀρχὴν when Ptolemy Alexander



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was murdered in 80 by the Alexandrian mob the kingdom was divided, Egypt going to Ptolemy 'Auletes' (see 35.4n.) and Cyprus to his younger brother (on whom see Volkmann RE XXIII.1755 f.no.34). For the reasons for the decision to annex Cyprus (the main one being financial) see Oost, CP.L.1955,98 f.; Badian, Roman Imperialism 69.

34.5 ἐνέδρα...καὶ προπηλακισμός,οὐ χάρις the Didot translation reads: non...gratiam, sed insidias...et iniurias: perhaps contumelias would be more correct.
καὶ προσελθὼν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἐκέλευσε νόμῳ τὴν ἔκπεμψιν τοῦ Κάτωνος Badian,JRS LV.1965,116 has a very convincing case in assuming that there were three different laws, namely "one law to confiscate Cyprus; another to restore exiles to Byzantium; and a third - some time after these two had been passed - putting Cato in charge of both these operations." The probable legal justification of the Act concerning the annexation of Cyprus was the testament of Ptolemy Alexander: see Badian,RhM CX.1967,178. On the Byzantine affair see sect.7 below. Cato's rank was pro quaestore pro praetore (Balsdon,JRS LII.1962,135; Badian,JRS LV.1965. 110 ff.; they seem to have overlooked the evidence of Pomp.48.9 καὶ Κάτωνα προφάσει στρατηγίας εἰς Κύπρον ἀπέπεμψε , where στρατηγία should be taken as referring to the



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proprastorship, see 9.1n.,31.3n.) and he was sent with powers (regis) pecuniae deportandae et, si ius suum defenderet, bello gerendo (Cic.dom 20).

34.6 ἐξιόντι δ' οὐ ναῦν,οὐ στρατιώτην,οὐχ ὑπηρέτην ἔδωκε,πλὴν ἢ ὁδο γραμματεῖς μόνον,ὧν ὁ μὲν πλέκτης καὶ καμπύνρος,ἕτερος δὲ Κλωδίου πελάτης on the usual attendance of promagistrates see Marquardt,Staatsverwaltung I.531 ff. It seems very probable that Cato had also a quaestor (Vell. II.45.4; doubted by Oost,CP L.1955,110.26, but see Marshall, Phoenix,XVIII.1964,206 ff. and Badian,JRS LV.1965,111; cf. also Appendix II.); this is not contradicted by our passage, as Badian thinks, as the insult to Cato by giving him only two scribae had certainly nothing to do with the question whether to give him a quaestor or not. Note the emphasis in the anaphora οὐ ναῦν,οὐ στρατιώτην,οὐχ ὑπηρέτην . πελάτης see Rom.13.7 πλέκτας,ὅπερ ἐστὶ πελάτας; cf.Ti.Gr.13.10;Cor.13.5;21.4 and frequently.

34.7 ἔτι καὶ Βυζαντίων φυγάδας κατάγειν προσέταξε on the date of this proposal see n. on sect.5 above. The restoration of the Byzantine exiles must have been connected in some way with the settlement of a στάσις in the city on the nature of which we have no exact knowledge: for the

settlement see 36.2,3 below; cf. also Cic.domo.52 f.; har.resp.59;Sest.56 with Schol.Bob.132 St.

35.1 Κικέρωνι μὲν ἑλαυνομένῳ παρῆνεσε μὴ στασιάσαι μηδ' εἰς ὅπλα καὶ φόνους τὴν πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν , ἀλλ' ὑπεκστάντα τῇ καιρῷ πάλιν γενέσθαι σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος Apparently Cato's mission to Cyprus was already decided when Cicero was about to leave Rome. For this interview cf.Dio XXXVIII.17.4 Ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὖθις ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὅπλα ἄρασθαι (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον φανερῶς προεπηλάκιζε) καλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὁρτησίου , μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται .

Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus I.21, thinks that our text conflicts with Att.III.15.2: nam quod purgas eos quos ego mihi scripsi invidisse et in eis Catonem, ego vero tantum illum puto ab isto scelere afuisse ut maxime doleam plus apud me simultationem aliorum quam istius fidem valuisse, and may be due to Plutarch's misunderstanding of the passage. Yet Shackleton Bailey overlooked Dio's evidence (did he, too, read and misunderstand Cicero's letters?!) and on the other hand the interpretation of the letter that what Cato did was "to tell a demoralized man to stand his ground" is by no means the

only possible one. We are here in one of those frustrating passages where only Atticus' letter could provide the clue for understanding.

πάλιν γενέσθαι an allusion with hindsight to Cicero's restoration from exile, his celebrated παλιγγενεσία (Cic.Att.VI.6.4 with Shackleton Bailey ad loc.)?

σωτῆρα τῆς πατρίδος cf.Cicero's letter to Cato (fam. XV.4.11): tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisti togato non ut multis rep. bene gesta sed ut nemini re p. conservata. On the application of the term 'conservator patriae' to Cicero see Lenaghan's n. on har.resp.58; according to Plutarch Cato also hailed Cicero as 'pater patriae' (Cic.23.6).

35.2 Κανίδιον probably a corruption for Κανίνιον and to be identified with L.Caninius Gallus tr.pl.56 (see Appendix II).

ἔπειθε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἄνευ μάχης εἶκειν cf.Cic.dom.20...si ius suum defenderet, bello gerendo M.Catonem praefecisti.

ἱερωσύνην γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐν Πάφῳ θεοῦ δόσειν τὸν ὄγμον

For the temple and cult of Aphrodite in Paphos see Schmidt, RE XVIII.951 ff. (with bibliography). This offer is not mentioned elsewhere. It is reasonable to assume that it was incorporated in Clodius' Act, since otherwise the reliance

on the future consent of the Roman People would ill fit the circumstances: cf.Oost,CP L.1955,99 and 110.18.

35.3 αὐτὸς δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ , παρασκευαζόμενος ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένων cf.Brut.3.2 ὁ Κάτων αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥόδῳ διατριβὴν ἔχων ἀναγκαίαν Rhodes was certainly the most convenient base for anybody who had business both in Cyprus and Byzantium. Cato might of course have had traditional ties with Rhodes, dating back to his great-grandfather's defence of the island in the senate (cf.also 54.3). Intellectual pursuits might also have played a role in Cato's choice of base.

35.4-7 Cato's encounter with Ptolemy Auletes is not related elsewhere.

35.4 Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λίγδητου βασιλεύς on Ptolemy Auletes see Volkmann RE XXIII.1748 ff.no.33; Bloedow, Beiträge zur Gesch. des Ptolemaios XII.,Diss.Würzb.1963; Olshausen, Rom u. Ägypten 45 ff.

ὑπ' ὀργῆς τινος καὶ διαφορᾶς πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἀπολειπόμενος μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν cf.App.Syr.21.258;Liv.per.104;Strabo XII.3.4.558;XVII.1.11.796;Porphyr.FGH IIB 260 F.14;Dio Chr. 32.70 says that he was driven out by the strife of the

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factions; Plutarch (Pomp.49.13) quotes Timagenes as saying that Ptolemy was not compelled to leave, but was persuaded by Theophanes in order to secure a new command for Pompey. While we must allow for the notorious anti-Roman bias and malice of Timagenes it is not adviseable to reject this important eyewitness account. Dio XXXVIII.12.2-3 says that the cause of Ptolemy's expulsion was his extortion of money after spending huge sums of bribes in Rome and his refusal to demand Cyprus from the Romans. The date of his expulsion is after Aug.11th 58, and very probably after Sept.7th (Samuel,Ptolemaic Chronology 155 f.).

ὡς Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος αὖθις αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως καταξόντων

in the event of course Ptolemy Auletes hoped to be restored by Pompey (Cic.fam.I.5b.2;DioXXXIX.16.2). For the debate on the 'Egyptian Question' see e.g.Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 126 ff.;Sternkopf, Hermes XXXVIII.1903,28 ff.

35.5 For Cato's reception of the king of Egypt cf. his behaviour towards Deiotarus (15.1-3) and later Juba (57.1-3). This behaviour fits well both a disciple of the Stoics and a Roman senator and descendant of Cato the Censor.

κοιλίας κάθαρσιν the employment of laxatives as opposed to emetics (cf.praec.san.tu.134A); probably a longer cure is meant, so that the vivid description of

Bevan, Hist. of Egypt 353, that Cato received the king "while sitting on a stool and evacuating his bowels" seems to misread the situation.

ὑπεξαναστάς this verb, otherwise very rare, appears ar least a dozen times in Plutarch, who is generally fond of multiple composites.

35.6 ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ διδάσκοντος , ὅσην εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπολιπὼν κτλ. this seems to be in line with the tradition that maintains that Ptolemy Auletes was not compelled to leave Egypt.

καὶ διαλλάττεσθαι ... καὶ συνδιαλλάττειν cf.Hyg.8.1 τῶν γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων ... μεταβαλομένων καὶ διαλλαγέντων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς , φανερῶς μὲν ἥδεσθαι προσεποιεῖτο καὶ συνδιαλλάττειν κτλ.

35.7 ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι κτλ. the anecdotal colouring is our biographer's; for the Egyptian king's stay in Rome see e.g. Holmes,Rom.Rep.II.66 ff.; Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 126 ff.;Volkmann RE XXIII.1752 f.

36.1 For the suicide of Ptolemy of Cyprus cf. Brut.3.2; Vell.II.45.5;Dio XXXIX.22.2;Flor.I.44.9;Amm.Marc.XIV.8. 15;Fest.brev.13;Strabo XIV.6.6; see also App.b.c.II.23.86; Val.Max.IX.4.ext.1.

36.2,3 αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγνω πλεῖν εἰς Βυζαντίους . . . τοὺς δὲ συγγόδας διαλλάξας καὶ καταλιπὼν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ Βυζάντιον for the Byzantine settlement cf.34.7 above; for an attempted chronology of the events see Oost,CP L.1955,111.37.

ὁμόνοια is the technical term for the peaceful στάσις : see Asheri,Leggi greche sul problema dei debiti 81 f. and passim.

36.2 πρὸς δὲ τὴν Κύπρον ἐξέπεμψε τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Βροῦτον , οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύων τῷ Κανιδίῳ cf.Brut.3.2. Brutus was in Pamphylia so that the convenient nearness may have influenced the choice as much as the family connection, especially so, if the suspicions against Caninius arose suddenly.

36.4 οὔσης δὲ πολλῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐν ἐπιδόσει καὶ τραπέζαις καὶ λίθοις καὶ πορφύραις κατασκευῆς Pliny the Elder, drawing on Metellus Scipio's invective (see Introd.ch.3), enumerates among the chattels of Ptolemy sold by Cato triclinaria Babylonica, sold for HS 80.000 (VIII.196), cantharides for HS 60.000 (cf.Sen.contr.VI.4 venenum Cato vendidit) and ostrich suet for HS 30.000 (XXIX.96); the one thing he did not sell was a statue of Zeno (XXXIV.92).

36.5 καὶ Καίσαρι γράφοντι λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος πικροτάτην τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας διατριβὴν παρασχεῖν on the incorporation of these charges in Caesar's Anticato and the direct and ultimate sources of our passage see Introd.ch.3.

37.1 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς σύγγραμμα περὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐξέδωκεν,ᾧ μάλιστα θρασέας ἐπηκολούθησε see Introd.ch.3.

37.2 ὕστερος μὲν εἰς Κύπρον ἀφικέσθαι was this directly from Rome or was he in Rhodes, and thus able to report the (otherwise unattested) interview between Cato and Ptolemy Auletes? He certainly came in time to be present at the auction of the king's property (see 36.5).

37.3 ὅτι κινδυνεύει τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν,ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος,αἴτιον τοῦ μισεῖν γίνεσθαι πολλάκις apparently a reference to Theophrastus' περὶ φιλίας , a treatise in three books (Diog.La.V.45;Jerome,comm.in Mich.VI.517 Vall.). Note that a quotation from Theophrastus is put here in the mouth of the Stoic Cato: perhaps his adherence to the School was less rigid than Cicero and later Seneca want us to believe. His choice of philosopher-friends of different schools would certainly well agree with this; see esp. 65.11 below on Demetrius the Peripatetic, one of his companions in

Utica. On the other hand the quotation might be an embellishment of Plutarch: Theophrastus is, with the exception of Plato, the most quoted philosopher in the works of Plutarch. It seems that he used the περὶ φιλίας in such extant works as the de adulatore et amico and the de amicorum multitudine (see Heylbut,De Theophrasti libris περὶ φιλίας , Diss.Bonn 1876), as well as in such lost treatises as πρὸς Βιθυνὸν περὶ φιλίας (Lamprias Catalogue no.83) and ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Φαβωρῖνον περὶ φιλίας ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ περὶ φίλων χρήσεως (no.132); see the fragments in Sandbach's Teubner ed.VII.frg.159 ff. or in the Loeb ed.XV.pp.298 ff.

37.6 ἀπειλοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὥσπερ εἰώθασι τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἐνέχυρα λήψεσθαι on the pignoris capio by the magistrate see Mommsen,RStR I.160 f.;Steinwenter RE XX. 1234 f.

The MSS read μηδὲν φροντίσας ἐκπλεῦσαι , Ziegler prints πλεῦσαι accepting the conjecture of Kronenberg, Mnem.III.1.1934,168 f.: "Non magis credo homini esse nihil curantis (μηδὲν φροντίσαντος) 'navem solvere', quam audientes celaturum fuisse narratorem quo navigesset aut quanto revertisset; credo eum Catoni pignoris capionem minanti 'caperet si ita videretur' respondisse, i.e. μηδὲν φροντίσας πλεῦσαι .

37.7-9 The events related here must have happened in Rome, since Cato as a provincial governor was forbidden to take his wife with him (Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung I.533).

37.7 Βέρκα the name undoubtedly points to a Phoinician Cypriot (though I have not found it attested in the Semitic inscriptions from Cyprus); still, for the reason given in the preceding n. we must assume that he gave this dinner-party in Rome. He might perhaps have been one of the royal officials manumitted there (see 39.4n.).

37.9 ἔωθεν cf.20.7n.

37.10 For the aims of Plutarch's biographical writing cf. 24.1n.

πρὸς ἔνδειξιν ἤθους καὶ κατανύξιν for a collection of examples of this artistic word-order in Plutarch see Stiefenhofer,Philol.LXXIII. 1914-6,486 ff.

38.1 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα μικρὸν ἐπτακισχιλίων δισδέουσα cf.Vell.II. 45.5 pecuniam longe sperata maiorem; Flor.I.44.9 ...latius aerarium populi Romani quam ullus triumphus implevit; Val.Max.VIII.15.10 magnum pondus auri et argenti; see also Dio XXXIX.22.4; Oost CP L.1955,104 and 45.3n.

below.

τοῦ πλοῦ τὸ μῆκος the expression already in Thuc.VI. 34.4.

δύο τάλαντα καὶ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας or, the round sum of, 12.500 denarii = HS 50.000.

παλαιότατον ... μικρόν the diminutive suffix is here of course meaningless; but it explains the error of one scribe who wrote μικρόν .

38.2 πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν presumably lost with Philargyrus' cargo (sect.3 below).

λόγους δὲ πάντων ὧν διῴκησε γεγραμμένους ἐπιμελῶς ἔχων ἐν δυσὶ βιβλίοις under the lex Iulia de pecuniis repetundis from 59 (Rotondi LPPR 389 ff.) provincial governors were to leave copies of their accounts in two cities of their province (Cic.Att.VI.7.2;fam.V.20.2). We may assume with Oost, CP L.1955,105 that "perhaps the law was not technically applicable to one holding an extraordinary commission like Cato." On the loss of the documents cf. Dio XXXIX.23.3.

δυσί on the form see Schmid,Atticismus IV.586 f., I.84,II.17.

38.3 Φιλάργυρος a telling name, very often given to slaves or freedmen responsible for their master's business operations as can be seen from its frequent occurrence on tessarae nummulariae (Herzog, Tessarae Nummulariae 16, where see also the literary evidence).

Κεγχρεῶν on the port of Corinth see Scranton and Ramage, Hesperia XXXVI.1967,124 ff.

ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατεσκήνωσε for this custom see Friedländer, Sittengesch.II.32.

τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν πυρὰ πολλὰ καιόντων τῆς νυκτός this chilly night seems to have occurred in the spring of 56 rather than late in the year, as Oost,CP L.1955,108 has shown.

38.4 οἱ βασιλικοὶ διοικηταί see 39.4n.

οὐ γὰρ εἰς πίστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους κτλ. cf.Vell.II.45.5 (Catonis) integritatem laudari nefas est.

39.1-2 On Cato's return cf.Vell.II.45.5 una cum consulibus ac senatu effusa civitate obviam, cum per Tiberim subiret navibus, non ante iis egressus est, quam eum locum pervenit, ubi erat exponenda; Val.Max.VIII.15.10 Potest et M.Catonis ex Cypro cum regia pecunia revertentis adpulsus ad ripam urbis memorabilis videri, cui nave egredienti consules et

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ceteri magistratus et universus senatus populusque Romanus officii gratia praesto fuit, non quod magnum pondus auri et argenti, sed quod M.Catonem classis illa incolumem advexerat laetatus. These parallels only emphasize the fact that the inclusion of a separate category of ἱερεῖς among those who came to welcome Cato derives from Plutarch's Greek world of ideas rather than Roman realities.
For an excellent collection of examples of the great man's entry into a city and the welcome he receives see Pearce, CQ LXIV.1970,313 ff.
For the conjectured date of Cato's return (spring 56) see Oost CP L.1955,107 f.

39.2 νεὼς ἐξήρους βασιλικῆς Cato did not miss the opportunity of sailing up the Tiber into the City on board what had been, in all probability, the flag-ship of the Royal Cypriot Navy.

τὸ ναύριον though the location is not absolutely certain, the navalia seem to have been situated on the Tiber between the porta Carmentalis and the porta Trigemina (Platner-Ashby,Top.Dict.358 ff.;Nash, Pict.Dict.II.117 ff.).

39.3-4 ἥ τε βουλὴ συναχθεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἱερεπόντων ἐπαίνων ἐψηφίσατο τῷ Κάτωνι στρατηγίαν ἐξαίρετον δοθῆναι, καὶ τὰς θέας

αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσθῆτι περιπορφύρῳ θεάσασθαι.ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων παρητήσατο, cf.Val.Max.IV.1.14 senatus relationem interponi iubebat, ut praetoriis comitiis extra ordinem ratio eius haberetur, sed ipse id fieri passus non est; Dio XXXIX. 23.1 οἱ ὕπατοι γνώμην ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐποιήσαντο στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι καίπερ μηδέπω ἐκ τῶν νόμων προσήκουσαν.καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη μέν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντεῖπε)...

Plutarch and Valerius Maximus derive their information ultimately from the same source, Munatius Rufus (see Introd.ch.3). Certainly Plutarch (as well as Dio) uses a very loose expression when he says that the senate voted to give an extraordinary praetorship to Cato, since the Republican senate (unlike that body in Plutarch's day) could not grant offices; hence his words στρατηγίαν ἐξαίρετον δοθῆναι mean exactly the same as 'praetoriis comitiis extra ordinem rationem haberi'. Thus the s.c. was to exempt Cato from certain requirements of the candidacy; what these requirements were is to be inferred from Dio who says that according to the laws Cato could not yet hold the praetorship; a further clue is given by the fact that although Cato declined the privileges granted to him he nevertheless stood for election in the long delayed comitia for 55 (cf.42.1). The inescapable conclusion is

that though it would have been contra leges for Cato to stand for the praetorship of 55 at the regular time of the elections in the summer of 56, it was legitimate for him to do so at the delayed elections in early 55. Since the only difference - as far as we can see - between these two occasions is the time that passed between them we must assume that this passage of time is relevant. Thus the only conceivable explanation of ἐξαίρετον: extra ordinem is a grant of exemption for Cato from the legal requirements of age; but since he did present himself as a candidate at the postponed elections we must assume that these requirements applied to the age of the candidate when presenting himself rather than his age at the time of entering office. Indeed such are the regulations of the Tabula Heracl.91 f.(qui minor annos XXX natus est erit...neve petito neve capito neve gerito) and we now must assume that these provisions were analogeous to those of the leges annales in Rome. Moreover, contrary to Mommsen's view (RStR I.567 ff.) there must have been clearly defined ages for the holding of quaestorship, praetorship and consulate, rather than a fixed age for the quaestorship only and set intervals for the remaining offices. From the case of Cato we must arrive at the conclusion that the concluded 39th year was a condition for the candid-

ates for the praetorship, and that Cato's birthday fell somewhere between the normal date of the praetorian elections in the summer and the date of the actual elections, held after Feb.10th,55 (see 42,1n.). If such provisions were also cogent for the quaestorian elections then by the time of the elections in 65 for the quaestorships of 64 Cato had already concluded his thirtieth year (cf.16.1n.); in other words Cato's birthday would fall between the normal dates of the praetorian and quaestorian elections, i.e. presumably somewhere in the late summer or early autumn of 95 (cf.also 73.1n.).
It has been argued (Lange, Röm.Altertümer III.326; cf. Drumann-Groebe V.178.2; Conant,op.cit.124 ff.) that all that was proposed for Cato were ornamenta praetoria and voting inter praetorios; though this is certainly untenable in view of the discussion above, there is no need to reject the statement of our passage that among the proposals in the senate was also the wearing of the toga praetexta at public festivals, i.e. practically the ornamenta praetoria (cf.Mommsen RStR I.465).
One important piece of evidence from Dio is that the proposals came from the consuls: on this see 39.5n. Note also the accusations quoted by Dio, that the proposals as well as the refusal were deliberately planned by Cato.

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(I am indebted in this n. to the analysis of Prof.P.A. Brunt).

39.4 Νικίαν δὲ τὸν οἰκονόμον τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐλεύθερον ἔπεισε τὴν βουλὴν ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρήσας ἐπιμελείαν καὶ πίστιν.

In Ptolemaic Egypt the διοικητής was the economic and financial minister of the realm, while the οἰκονόμος was his regional equivalent. Among the subordinates of the οἰκονόμος again regional διοικηταί are to be found (see Rostovtzeff SEHHW I.269.). We have little knowledge of the financial administration of Cyprus, but if its chief financial officer when under direct rule of Egypt was an οἰκονόμος this title may have been retained under an independent Ptolemaic king for what was the equivalent of the διοικητής in Egypt (cf. ibid.339). In this case Nicias would have been the last Ptolemy's Chancellor and the διοικηταί mentioned in 38.4 his subordiantes. The manumission of Nicias (and perhaps other Cypriots with him) would automatically invest him with the Roman citizenship and a Roman name. Indeed Dio XXXIX.23.2 informs us that Clodius wished the Cypriots to be called Clodii, while some proposed to give them the name of Porcii: but Cato opposed both measures, and

they were called Cyprii. Mommsen RStR I.321.6 (followed by Münzer RE XVII.335 no.16; Badian Foreign Clientelae 255.3;304) interprets this as giving to the freedmen the gentilicium Cyprius and the cognomen Porcianus (instead of Clodianus): yet this theory relies solely on the authority of its propounder.

39.5 ὑπάτευε δὲ Φίλιππος ὁ πατὴρ τῆς Μαρκίας this establishes Cato's return from the Cyprian mission to the year 56. On Philippus see 25.1n.

τοῦ συνάρχοντος Philippus' colleague in the consulate was the patrician Cn.Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (Münzer RE IV.1389 f.no.228; on his consulate see Broughton MRR II.207); for the friendly attitude of both consuls towards Cato see the evidence of Dio XXXIX.23.1 that the proposals in favour of Cato (see 39.3-4n.) originated with them.

40 The whole chapter is closely paralleled by Cic.34 and thus probably derived from the source of this previously written Life (cf.Introd.ch.3 and 5); see also Dio XXXIX.21-22.1.

40.1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἦν ἥκων ὑπὸ Κλωδίου καταλυθήν on Cicero's return from the exile and the steps leading to it see e.g. Gelzer, Cicero 142 ff. τὰς δημαρχικὰς δέλτους ἅς ὁ Κλώδιος ἔθηκεν ἀναγράψας εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀπέσπασε βίᾳ καὶ καθεῖλε τοῦ Κλωδίου μὴ παρόντος

cf.Cic.34.1. According to Dio XXXIX.21.1-2 Cicero, accompanied by Milo (and perhaps, as Gelzer, Cicero 178 thinks, by the tribune L.Racilius) took down the tablets, Clodius and his brother Gaius, who was a praetor, restored them, and Cicero removed them again from the City, On the tablets cf. also Cic.aer.al.Mil.frg.5 with Schol.Bob. 171 St.

εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον the Tabularium, or repository of the state archives, was situated "between the two summits of the Capitoline Hill, facing the Forum." (Nash,Pict.Dict. II.402 ff.; Platner-Ashby,Top.Dict.506 ff.).

40.1-3 παρανόμως τῷ Κλωδίῳ τῆς δημαρχίας γενομένης κτλ.

The question of the legality of Clodius' transition to the plebs (cf.33.6 above) was often raised by Cicero; see e.g. his exhausting treatment in domo 34-42; on the issue see Mommsen,Röm.Forsch.I.124 ff.,397 ff.

On the discussion in the senate cf.Cic.34.2; see also Dio XXXIX.21.3-22.1. Relevant to our passage are two texts

of Cicero:domo 42: video enim quosdam clarissimos viros, principes civitatis, aliquot locis iudicasse te cum plebe iure agere potuisse; qui etiam de me ipso, cum tua rogatione funere elatam rempublicam esse dicerent, tamen id funus, etsi miserum atque acerbum fuisset, iure indictum esse dicebant; quod de me civi ita de republica merito tulisses, funus te indixisse reipublicae, quod salvis auspiciis tulisses, iure egisse dicebant.

prov.cons.45:Nam summi civitatis viri...illam proscriptionem capitis mei contra salutem reipublicae, sed salvis auspiciis rogatam esse dicebant. Itaque vir summa auctoritate, summa eloquentia, dixit graviter casum illum meum funus esse reipublicae, sed funus iustum et indictum. This vir summa auctoritate, summa eloquentia is best identified, in view of our text, with Cato (as has been proposed already by Manutius), even though Cato was not yet in Rome at the time of the delivery of the prov.cons. (see Caes.21.8). This fact does not necessarily preclude Cicero's reference to him: note that Cato left Rome only after the exile of Cicero (34.4n). Gelzer's identification (Cicero 172) of the man referred to in prov.cons.45with Hortensius seems unlikely.

It is difficult to decide whether Cato's position was more

influenced by his opposition to the annulment of his own acts in Cyprus and Byzantium or by his adherence to the principle of legitimacy.

40.4 For the quarrel between Cato and Cicero cf. Cic.34.3

41.1 On the conference of Luca see Caes.21.5.; Crass.14.6 f.;Pomp.51;App.b.c.II.17.62 f.; Suet.Caes.24.1;cf.also Vell. II.46.1. It is noteworthy that Cicero was apparently unaware of the events at the time (cf.Gelzer,Cicero 167). The conference took place in mid-April 56 (Gelzer,Caesar 109 ff.); Luca, formerly a Latin colony and by now a town of citizens, lay in Caesar's province, conveniently on the border of Italia proper. The provinces of Pompey and Crassus were to be the Spains and Syria respectively; for a full evaluation see Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 140 ff.; see also Gruen,Historia XVIII.1969,71 ff.;Luibheid,CP LXV.1970,88 ff.
ἄλλον τεσσοῦτον ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι χρόνον for this meaning of the verb ('to add by voting') cf.Flam.7.1 and, in a parallel passage, App.b.c.II.17.63 ἄλλην ἐπιψηφισθῆναι πεντετηρίαν.

41.2 ὅπερ ἦν ἐπὶ νεμέσει τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταλύσει τῆς πολιτείας συνωμοσία probably the most concise and correct ancient evaluation of the Conference of Luca.

41.3 πολλῶν . . . ὑφέσθαι cf.Pomp.52.1;Crass.15.3 f.; App.b.c.II.17.64;Dio XXXIX.31.1;Suet.Caes.24.1.
Ἀσήνιον Ἀουΐτιον Μαρκῖς συνεπισπόμενα τῇ ἀδελφῇ
L.Domitius Ahenobarbus (Münzer RE V.1334 ff.no.27). His political association with Cato is attested as early as 61 (Cic.Att.I.16.2) He remained faithful to the Republican cause, which took him to defend Corfinium and Massilia against Caesar and his armies, up to the end at Pharsalus. For his marriage to Porcia cf.Cic.Phil.II.27; they had a son, Gnaeus (Münzer RE V.1328 ff.no.23), cos.32, who died shortly after his desertion of Antony on the eve of Actium.
τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ περὶ ἀρχῆς ὄντος , ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας and sect.8 below τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους cf.Pomp.52.1 οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς,ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους and Crass.15.4; for the recurring motif in our Life cf. 20.5;27.8 etc. For Cicero's similar feeling in these years of the loss of political freedom and the dominance of one man see e.g.fam.I.8.3 f.

41.5 καὶ συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀουΐτιον for the expression cf.Ant.15.1;Phoc.12.1.

ἐν τοῖς ψήφοις ὑπάρξειν 'will help the poll': this meaning of the verb is also to be found in Ages.28.6, if we accept the reading of N (followed by Ziegler) αὐτοῖς μὲν ὁμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅλης ὑπαρχούσης.

41.6-8 For very similar versions of this incident cf. Pomp.52.2;Crass.15.6;35(comp.2)2;Dio XXXIX.31.1 and App. b.c.II.17.64. According to the last-mentioned writer the blame for the fighting was to be laid equally on both sides.

41.6 εἰς τὸ πεδίον 'to the campus Martius' (cf.50.1). This shows that the incident occurred on the very day of the voting (cf.Dio XXXIX.31.1), which, for praetors and consuls, took place in the comitia centuriata assembled in the Campus Martius. In the parallel version Pomp.52.2 the forum is substituted for the Campus; this oversight, for such it is, since clearly the two versions derive from the same source, has earned Plutarch serious rebuke from Taylor,Voting Assemblies 11. Yet the slip may be indicative of the fact that the version in the Pomp.is secondary in its relation to the one in our Life (see Introd.ch.5).

41.7 † ἐπιστὰς for proposed emendations see Kronenberg Mnem.LV.1927,73 f.;Erbse,RhM C.1957,273.

42.1 ἠρέθησαν μὲν ὕπατοι Μεμμῖος καὶ Κράσσος
though the exact circumstances are unclear it is evident that the elections were postponed until the beginning of 55, so that they could be held by an interrex and not the consuls, who were hostile to the dynasts; they took place probably in the first half of January. A detailed account of the events only in Dio XXXIX.27-31.1; see also Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 149 ff.
οὐκ ἀπέκαμε δ' ὁ Κάτων,ἀλλ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν στρατηγίαν μετῄει the praetorian elections were to be held, of course, only after the consular elections; they had not yet taken place by Febr.10th (Cic.Q.fr.II.7.3).
ὀρμητήριον for the metaphorical uses of this word see Wyttenbach's n.on ad.et am.48F.

42.2 ὡς τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξιουμένου διὰ Κάτωνα πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν ναυτασμένης cf.17.1 Κάτων ὑπατείας ἄξιωμα τῇ ταμιείᾳ περιέθηκε. One suspects that these pronouncements contain an apologetic element in view of Cato's defeat at the consular elections; but there is certainly a core of truth in them insofar as Cato's position and personal

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authority in Roman politics were far beyond the dignitas accruing to him from the magistracies he had held.

ἐξαίφνης καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοούντων βουλὴν συναγαγόντες

the senate could be convoked in cases of emergency rapidly and without public announcement: see Mommsen RStR III. 917 f.; Willems, Sen. Rép. Rom. II.146 f.

ἐφηῤῥισαντο τοὺς αἱρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς εὐθὺς ἄρχειν καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντας τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ ⟨οὐ⟩καὶ τοῖς δεικάσασι τὸν δῆμον ἦσαν.

Since the elections were delayed it should have been expected that the magistrates would enter office immediately after election, thus not allowing for the customary designatio, which would normally enable people to prosecute them. In order to prevent this state of affairs, which would lead to widespread bribery, a number of senators added a rider to the s.c. on ambitus proposed by the consular Afranius, ut praetores ita crearentur, ut dies LX privati essent. The rejection of this rider made the failure of Cato at the elections a fait accompli (Cic. Q. fr. II.7.3). On the prosecution of magistrates-elect see Shackleton Bailey, Phoenix XXIV.1970, 162 ff.

42.3 ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν προῆγον

For the praetors of 55 see Broughton MRR II. 215 f. Among the protégés of the dynasts, besides Vatinius,

Metellus Scipio, Plautius Hypsaeus and a certain Gutta may be listed. To these C. Porcius Cato tr. pl. 56 is to be added, if Cic. Q. fr. III.4.1 refers to him: despite his opposition to Pompey in the Egyptian question he was by now strongly supporting the triumvir (Dio XXXIX.27.3 ff.); it is a probable inference that a deal between C. Cato and Pompey secured the former's election to the praetorship in return for his vetoing the consular elections until they could be held by an interrex.

That not only those approved by the triumvirate, but also pronounced optimates could be elected is proven by the fact that Milo was one of the praetors of the year.

αὐτοὶ μὲν διδόντες ἀργύριον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ταῖς ἥῤῥαις φερομέναις ἐφεστῶτες

for anaphora before μὲν...δὲ see Denniston, Gr. Particles 370. The praetorian elections were held of course by the newly elected consuls Pompey and Crassus.

42.4 ἥ τε πρώτη πληθεῖσα τῶν φυλῶν ἐκεῖνον ἀπέδειξεν

the expression is not incorrect: though the elections of the praetors took place in the comitia centuriata, each centuria of the first class consisted of the junior or senior members of one tribe; for other texts referring to the voting units in the comitia centuriata as tribes

see Walbank on Plb. VI.14.7 (p. 683). Hence the bribes were handed out in the tribes even if the elections were to be held in the centuriate assembly, see e.g. 30.7 above, Pomp. 44.4; 52.3 etc. Magie 56 probably misreads this situation when he thinks that φυλή here means 'centuria' and that Plutarch confused tribes and centuries. As far as our evidence is to be depended upon, the centuria praerogativa usually consisted of the iuniores of one tribe (exx. in Livy XXIV.7.12; XXVI.22.2; XXVII.6.3). On the decisive importance of the vote of the centuria praerogativa see Taylor, Voting Assemblies 91 ff.

ὁ Πομπήιος ... ἔλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ... ἀποσημήας γενομένης

cf. Pomp. 52.3 Πομπήιος ἔλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰωνοὺς αἰτιώμενος. Pompey, as consul, presided over the assembly; but he was also an augur (evidence in Broughton MRR II.192 and 255) and thus had additional authority in announcing and interpreting the signs from heaven (cf. Taylor, Party Politics 81 f.).

42.5 αὖθις δὲ πολλῷ χρησάμενοι τῷ δεκασμῷ ἀργυρίῳ τὰς φυλὰς διαφθείραντες τοὺς βελτίστους ὄσαντες ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου βίᾳ

cf. Pomp. 52.3 ; Quint. VI.1.13. but cf. contra Dio XXXIX.32.2 καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν κατάστασις (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδὲν βίαιον πρᾶξαι ἠξίωσεν) εἰρηναία ἐγένετο.

διεπράξαντο Βατίνιον ἀντὶ Κάτωνος αἱρεθῆναι στρατηγόν.

On P. Vatinius see Gundel RE VIIA.495 ff. no. 3 and Pocock's ed. of Cic. Vat., esp. 29 ff. On his election to the praetorship while Cato suffered a repulsa cf. Pomp. 52.3; Cic. fam. I.9.19; Liv. per. 105; Val. Max. VII.5.6; Sen. prov. 3.14; ben. V. 17.2; Quint. IX.2.25; Petron. 119.45 ff.; Dio XXXIX.32.1. The meaning of Vatinius being elected instead of Cato (thus also Pomp. 52.3 ἀντὶ δὲ Κάτωνος Βατίνιον ἀνηγόρευσεν) could be one of three things:

(a) Simply that while a scoundrel like Vatinius was elected the virtuous Cato failed to get the votes

(b) Since Vatinius came out at the bottom of the eight praetors elected, he occupied the place of Cato, who would have come next, were not Vatinius elected.

(c) Vatinius was returned at the top of the poll, having been named by the centuria praerogativa, thus occupying the place of Cato in the former, dismissed, assembly.

The first possibility is obviously acceptable, though it would mean a somewhat loose expression; the second is hardly credible in view of Vatinius' career and the massive backing he received from the triumvirs. By far the most attractive alternative is the third: if Vatinius' name was returned by the centuria praerogativa this would be

obviously an election instead of Cato; it would also be a sign for the following centuries not to back the staunchest opponent of the dynasts (but note that an optimate like Milo could nevertheless secure election). This state of affairs would explain how Cato, who in the dismissed assembly was returned by the centuria praerogativa, could not now secure election in any of the eight places available.

42.6 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις συνισταμένοις καὶ ἀγανακτοῦσι δημάρχου τινὸς αὐτοῦ παρασχόντος ἐκκλησίαν this contio must have been held by one of the tribunes friendly to Cato, viz. either P.Aquilius Gallus (see 43.7 below) or C.Ateius Capito (Broughton MRR II.216). The other tribunes were Trebonius (see 43.1 below) and the five authors of the lex Mamilia Roscia Alliena Peducea Fabia; only two tribunes of that year are unknown.

ἅπαντα μὲν ὅσπερ ἐκ θεῶν ἐπίστευον τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει προεπεῖν cf.35.7 ὃς οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λόγων,θεοῦ δὲ μαντείας καταφρονήσας on Cato's foresight see 31.7n.

42.7 On Cato's escort see 18.5n.

43.1 Γάϊον δὲ Τρεβώνιον C.Trebonius (Münzer RE VIA. 2274 ff.no.6). After his tribunate he became a legate of

Caesar and fought under him in the Civil War. In 48 he became praetor urbanus and at the end of 45 he earned a suffect consulship only to become the sole consular among the conspirators; he was killed at the beginning of 43 in Asia by Dolabella.

γράψαντος νόμον κτλ. For the lex Trebonia de provinciis consularibus see Pomp.52.4;Crass.15.7;Caes.28.8;36.1;Dio XXXIX.33.2;Liv.per.105;Vell.II.48.1;46.2;vir.ill.77.8; App.b.c.II.18.65;Cic.Att.IV.9.1;Rotondi LPPR 408. Plutarch shares the erroneous statement that Pompey received Africa (also in Caes. and Pomp.) with Appian, but the allocation of Egypt to Crassus is found only here. The error may perhaps have its roots in later abandoned plans of the 'triumvirs': the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes might at one stage have been considered to go together with Crassus' Parthian campaign and there might have been room for action for Pompey in matters affecting the Mauretanian kingdom. From Cic.Att.IV.9.1 it appears that the lex Trebonia was not yet passed, and perhaps not even proposed, at the end of April. On the other hand it seems that it was passed before the praetorian elections (44.1 below), which were apparently held at the usual time in July-August.

43.2 cf. Dio XXXIX.33.4-34.4. According to Dio Favonius was given one hour to speak and Cato two, which he used up on general matters, so that he would be stopped by Trebonius when he had still apparently said nothing on the main subject. We have no parallel for the fixing of a definite time-limit for speakers at a contio, though in the debate on the triumph of Aemilius Paulus the tribunes refused the request of Ser.Galba to adjourn the debate to the following day, since only four short hours of an autumn day were left (Aem.Paul.30.6; Livy XLV.36.3). Groebe,Klio V.1905,232, concludes from our passage that Trebonius defined a time limit in contiones analogous to that of the law-courts.

43.2-7 Κάτωνι . . . πλεῖστην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Κάτων κατανάλωσε after the - at times successful - application of the filibuster in the senate (see 31.5n.) Cato now employs this method in the assembly as well.

43.6 ὁ Τρεβώνιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἄγεσθαι cf.Dio XXXIX.34.4;Liv.per.105.

καὶ πλῆθος ἐπῃκολούθει cf.18.5n.

43.7 Ἕνα δὲ τῶν δημάρχων Ἀκύλλιον P.Aquilius Gallus (Klebs RE II.330 no.25) is unknown to us but for his

activity against the lex Trebonia and the triumvirs during his tribunate.

ὄχλοις εἱρξάντες ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προελθεῖν according to Dio XXXIX.35.3 he spent the night in the senate-house.

αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα βροντὴν γεγονέναι βοῶντα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες cf.Dio XXXIX.35.5, where Ateius Capito is joined with Cato in this matter. Of course it is all right for Cato to hear thunder in order to stop the proceedings, but when Pompey declared that he heard thunder he could do so only φενακίσας αἴσχιστα (42.4).

τοὺς Πομπηίου...ἀνδριάντας We know of a statue of Pompey on the rostra (see Dio XLII.18.2;XLIII.49.1; Suet.Caes. 75.4) besides the famous statue in the curia where Caesar was murdered, and which was erected perhaps already in this year (Brut.14.2;Cic.div.II.23;Suet.Aug.31.5).

43.8 τῷ δὲ Καίσαρι πάλιν νόμου γραφομένου περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων on the lex Licinia Pompeia de provincia C.Iuli Caesaris see Rotondi LPPR 404 f. The last item in the controversy on the 'Rechtsfrage' is Jameson, Latomus XXIX.1970,638 ff. (with a good bibliography).

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43.8-9 οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ὁ Κάτων , ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν τραπόμενος Πομπήϊον κτλ. this is the important turning-point when Cato first realizes that he cannot oppose both Pompey and Caesar and decides to try to bring over Pompey to his own party against the more dangerous Caesar.

43.9 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τράχηλον ἀναλαμβάνων Καίσαρα . . . μήτ' ἀποθέσθαι δυνάμενος , μήτε φέρειν ὑπομένων . . . the picture seems to point to the folk-lore motif (see Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature G.311 (vol.III.347), K. 1241 (vol.IV.378)) of the ogre riding his victim until the latter's fall.
On the motif that Cato perceived in advance Caesar's plans see 31.7n.

44.1 Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἑξῆς ἔτος αἱρεθεὶς ὁ Κάτων στρατηγός namely for 54. On Cato's praetorship and possible colleagues see evidence in Broughton MRR II.221 f., to which add the references in Cic.Phil.XIII.30 and Gell.XIII.20.3,14. The elections of this year were a setback for the 'triumvirs', the consuls returned being Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of their staunchest opponents, and Ap.Claudius Pulcher.
ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἐχίτων πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προερχόμενος ,

καὶ θανατικὰς δίκας ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε βραβεύων

cf.Asc.29C: Cato praetor iudicium (scil. of Scaurus), quia aestate agebatur, sine tunica exercuit campestri sub toga cinctus. In forum quoque sic descendebat iusque dicebat, idque repetierat ex vetere consuetudine secundum quam et Romuli et Tati statuae in Capitolio et in rostris Camilli fuerunt togatae sine tunicis. Val.Max.III.6.7 M. autem Cato praetor M.Scauri ceterorumque reorum iudicia nulla indutus toga, sed tantum modo praetexta amictus egit; Hor.epist.I.19.12 ff.:

quid? siquis voltu torvo ferus et pede nudo
exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,
virtutemque repraesentet moresque Catonis?

The truth seems to be that Cato was barefoot and wearing a short toga without a tunica. It is unnecessary to ascribe Cato's dress only to his principles: Asconius' reason, that his behaviour was due to the climatic conditions is probably more correct: Cicero could not recall such hot weather as that of the summer of 54 (Q.fr.III.1.1;cf.II. 16.1). See also 6.6n.,50.1n. In addition to the trial of Scaurus for extortion Cato presided at the trial of Gabinius (Cic.Q.fr.III.2.1).
θανατικὰς δίκας charges involving the caput of Roman citizens. For the controversy whether trials de

repetundis were capital see Sherwin-White PBSR XVII.1949, 5 ff.;JRS XLII.1952,43 ff.; Henderson JRS XLI.1951,71 ff.

44.2 ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ μετ' ἄριστον οἶνον πεπωκότα χρηματίζειν evidently a charge made by Caesar in his Anticato: see 6.2n. and Introd.ch.3.

44.3 Διαφθειρομένου ... πολλῶν cf.Cic.Att.IV.17.3 Messalla noster et eius Domitius competitor liberalis in populo valde fuit, and ibid.4.
φιλαργούντων the verb appears only here in Plutarch. Otherwise the adj. φιλάργυρος is grouped together with φιλάργυρος and φιλότιμος among τὰ φαῦλα (vit.pud.535B) and together with φιλότιμος opposed to the φιλόκαλος (praec.ger.reip.806C;cf.Crass.36(comp.3)8).
ἔπεισε δόγμα θέσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον , ὅπως οἱ παρασταθέντες ἄρχοντες , εἰ μηδένα κατήγορον ἔχοιεν , αὐτοὶ παριόντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς ἕνορκον δικαστήριον εὐθύνας διδῶσιν .
this is the proposal on the tacitum iudicium referred to by Cic.Att.IV.17.3. Shackleton Bailey ad loc.: "It would thus seem that the absence of a prosecutor constituted the main feature of a tacitum iudicum, concerning which we have no other evidence." Perhaps not only Plutarch's

language but also the idea itself was inspired by the Athenian procedure of εὐθύνας διδόναι .
The proposal was vetoed by the tribune Terentius.
εἰ μηδένα κατήγορον ἔχοιεν . . . εὐθύνας διδῶσιν for the construction see Hein,de opt.131.

44.4 ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπῶς μὲν ἔσχον οἱ μετιόντες ἀρχάς of Cic.Att.IV.17.3 magnus timor candidatorum.
ὁ μισθαρνῶν ὄχλος for the expression cf. Livy XXXV. 50.4 venalem pretio multitudinem; Petron.119.41 venalis populus.

44.6 προσαμύνοντας see 31.1n.

44.8-9 cf. the contemporary accounts in Cic.Att.IV.15.7 tribunicii candidati iurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petituros. apud eum HS quingena deposuerunt ut, qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet et competitoribus tribueretur, and similarly Q.fr.II.15.4.Cicero adds that if the scheme succeeds, plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes leges omnesque iudices. To this incident refers also Plin.n.h.praef.9 Cum apud Catonem, illum ambitus hostem et repulsis tamquam honoribus ineptis gaudentem, flagrantibus comitiis pecunias deposuerunt candidati, hoc se facere, quod tum pro inno-

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centia ex rebus humanis summum esset, profitebantur. inde illa nobilis M.Ciceronis suspiratio: 'O te felicem, M. Porci, a quo rem inprobam petere nemo audet!' Could this be a fragment of Cicero's Cato? - The same attitude is reflected also by Sen.cons.Marc.20.6 neminem ausurum coram Catonem peccare.

44.8 ὁραχμῶν ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου δεκαπέντε μυριάδας 125.000 denarii = HS 500.000 (Cic.Att.IV.15.7 HS quingena). δεκαπέντε apparently an isolated use (there is no entry in Wyttenbach's Lexicon) of this late Hellenistic (see Schwyzer,Gr.Gr.I.594) form.

44.10 ἕνα τῶν παραβαλομένων only three of the tribunes of this year are known: see Broughton MRR II. 228 f.

44.11 βουλῆς καὶ δικαστηρίων καὶ ἀρχόντων δύναμιν αὐτῇ περιποιησάμενος this is the exact Greek equivalent of Tacitus' famous description (ann.I.2.1;cf.XI.5.1) of Augustus: munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahens. It is difficult to say whether we have here a genuine slogan of the Late Republic or whether the expression was coined at the beginning of the second century, either by

Tacitus, or by Plutarch or somebody else. It should be kept in mind that the Annales and the Lives are roughly contemporary works; the possibility of a coincidence seems unlikely. On the possible connections between Plutarch and Tacitus see Introd.ch.2.

44.12-14 A typical piece of Plutarchean moralizing. Note that while here, in true Platonic fashion, Justice is put above the other virtues in the Life of the Elder Cato (5.2) Justice itself is declared insufficient in the absence of kindness and gentleness of heart. For the justice of the Younger Cato see e.g.Lucan.II.389 iustitiae cultor, rigidi servator honesti.

44.14 εὐρωστίαν ψυχῆς for this Peripatetic term (e.g.ps.Aristot.Physiogn.810a25,b10,35) cf.Timol.41 (comp.2)10;gen.Socr.597E and the adj. εὐρωστόψυχος in St.Oud.s.v. Αἴσοπος.

καπίαν ἀπροσδιόριστον for the passive meaning of the adj. cf.quast.conv.IX.742C;Marc.12.5.

45.2 ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ Κύπρου χρήματα νοσφισαμένου according to Dio XXXIX.23.3-4 Clodius attacked Cato's administration in Cyprus and demanded the accounts that

were lost in the shipwreck (cf.38.2-3 above). These accusations were contained in a letter sent to Clodius by Caesar (cf.Pietrowicz.Eos XVIII.1912,132); cf. also Sen. contr.X.1.8 M.Cato Pulchro obiciente furtorum crimina audivit. quae maior indignitas illius saeculi esse potuit quam aut Pulcher accusator aut reus Cato?
Πομπηΐῳ δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐπαξιώσαντι γάμον αὐτοῦ θυγατρός deliberate distortion of the truth by Clodius: see also sect.4 below.

45.3 ὅτι χρήματα . . . οὐκ ἀνῆγκε Cato brought from Cyprus almost 7.000 talents (38.1 above), while Pompey's booty after his wars in the East was about three times as much (e.g.Gelzer,Pompejus 133), but then, of course, Cato's expenditure was indeed minimal.
τὴν οἰκουμένην κινήσας cf.Aristoph.Pax 270 ἐκίνουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα : Ach.531 ξυνεκίνουν τὴν Ἑλλάδα .

45.4 κηδεστὴν δὲ μηδέποτε προελέσθαι Πομπήϊον cf.30.3 above and Introd.ch.3.

45.5 "αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ" ἔφη "διδομένης μοι μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπαρχίας ἀπέστην . . . " Cato's refusal of a province after his praetorship is not reported elsewhere. Though

he tries here to depict this refusal as a sacrifice, it was a common enough practice with politicians who were afraid of losing touch with the events in the City: Cicero is one celebrated case in point.

45.6 νυνὶ on the form see Schmid, Atticismus IV. 199 f.
τέλος,ἑξακισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν δύναμιν,Καίσαρι πέχρησεν εἰς Γαλατίαν Pompey gave Caesar a legion in the winter of 54/3 (cf.Pomp. 52.4Caes.25.2;Cic.fam.VIII.4.4;Caes.b.g.VI.1.2;VIII.54.2; Dio XL.65.1;App.b.c.II.29.114 f.;Oros.VI.10.13): thus the events here related seem to have occurred at the end of Cato's praetorship.

45.7 αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ στρατηγός 'imperator et proconsul'. Very probably these are Cato's own words: although not an imperator since his last triumph, Pompey seems to have used the title at this time, as it is attested for 52 (ILS 877; cf.Syme,Historia VII.1958,178); Cato's outburst is directed, among other things, against the illegitimate use of the title. Syme (ibid.180) remarks that among the generals in the Civil Wars Cato was a notable exception in not assuming the title 'imperator'.

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46.1 Μᾶρκος Φαώνιος see 32.11n.

ὁ Φιλήρους Ἀπολλόδωρος Kirchner RE I.2549 f.no.15; Prosop.Att.no.1453. Plutarch would have such passages in mind as Plato, conv.172a ff.; Phaedo 59ab; 117d. Note that Apollodorus "seems to have belonged to the Cynic section of the Socratic circle, which agrees very well with the tendency to παιγνιῶδία and with other traits mentioned in the Symposium" (Burnet on Phaedo 59a); thus the comparison with the Stoicus paene Cynicus Favonius (cf.32.11n.) is particularly appropriate.

περὶ Σωκράτην . . . τὸν παλαιόν the only outspoken comparison between Cato and Socrates in our Life: but see 1.1n.,68.2n. and discussion in Introd.ch.4.

μανικώτερον this word is often used in the discussion whether to read μανικός or μελαγχολικός in Plato, conv.173d: see Neumann,TAPA XCVI.1965,283 ff.;Moore,Mnem. XXII.1969,225 ff. and De Vries,ibid.230 ff.

46.2 ἀγορανομίαν μετιὼν the course of events here makes it clear beyond doubt, that Favonius was aedile in 53; but Broughton MRR II.240.2 argues for 52 on two grounds, which will be refuted presently:

(a) the association with the games of Curio, which took place in 52; on this see n. on sect.7 below

(b) according to Broughton "Dio places Favonius' aedileship during the tribunate of Pompeius Rufus, which is dated 52". It is perfectly true, that Pompeius Rufus was tribune in 52: indeed, Dio himself (XL.49.1) is aware of the fact. Thus when he reports activities of Pompeius Rufus in the second half of 53, calling him a tribune (XL.45.2), this can be taken only as laxity of expression for tribune designate (cf.Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 210, Miltner, RE XXI.2252). Pompeius Rufus threw Favonius in jail (Dio XL.45.4) probably at the end of the year, when their respective magistracies were overlapping (Meyer,op.cit.220 n.).

συμπαρὼν δ' ὁ Κάτων προσέσχε ταῖς δέλτοις μὴ γεγραμμέναις cf. Taylor, Voting Assemb. 79: "It is possible that, as the Tabula Hebana (20) provides, the names of all candidates were posted in a readable form on a large tablet. The candidate(?) was expected to write in the names himself, and Cato succeeded in throwing out the votes and having the assembly dissolved when he discovered many written in the same hand". Very probably Cato acted as a custos for Favonius (ibid.80). It is interesting, that Cato and Favonius were associated in a protest against foul play at elections already in 61 (Cic.Att.I.14.5).

46.3-8 Scenic performances took place both at the ludi

Romani in September and at the ludi plebei in November: the events described here could have taken place at any of them, so that there is no way of telling whether Favonius was a curule or a plebeian aedile. In the opinion of Seidel, Fasti aedilicii 71, Cato would not allow himself to act the way he acted at the ludi Romani, so that he presumes that the games were the ludi plebei and hence Favonius a plebeian aedile.

46.4 On prizes for theatrical performances see Friedländer in Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung III.541 f.

46.5 διάχυσιν 'merriment': cf.the spurious cons.Apoll.114F.

46.7 Κουρίων ὁ Φαωνίου συνάρχων this 'correction' of the paradosis Δουρίων by Amyot is most unfortunate: on the one hand Curio was not an aedile in 53, and on the other hand he is known to have given games in 52 in memory of his father (Cic.fam.II.3;Plin.n.h.XXXVI. 116.ff.). To argue, as does Broughton MRR II.240.2, on the date of Favonius' aedileship, from the date of the games of Curio, is not only futile, but unmethodical. A more attractive emendation, to read ΔΟΥΡΚΩΝ and not

ΚΟΥΡΙΩΝ for ΔΟΥΡΙΩΝ, was proposed by Willems,Sen.Rép.Rom.I.491, having in mind M.Aufidius Lurco. He, too, is listed (with a query) in MRR as an aedile - for 52!) - a classic example of the circular argument. Seidel, op.cit.87.7 rejects Willems' conjecture on the grounds that the lapse between tribunate (in 61) and aedileship is too big and that it is unlikely that two aediles gave games in different theatres at the same time. Neither of these objections is decisive: the interval in the cursus would not be unparalleled (and anyway the one year would not make a big difference) and the fact of games at two theatres at the same time remains whatever the emendation of the name: thus Willems' conjecture remains probable, though far from certain.

47.1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ Ὑψαίου καὶ Μίλωνος ὑπατείαν μετερχομένων for Metellus Scipio see 7.1n.; P.Plautius Hypsaeus (Münzer RE XXI.16 ff.no.23); and T. Annius Milo, the famous gang-leader and slayer of Clodius (Klebs RE I.2271 ff.no.67). On their election-campaigns for the consulate of 52 see Asc.30C;Schol.Gron.322 St.;Liv.per. 107;Dio XL.53.1; also Cic.fam.II.6;Val.Max.IX.5.2; App. b.c.II.16.59.

συμπολιτευομένοις apparently a unique use in this

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metaphorical sense.

δωροδοκίαις καὶ δεκασμοῖς for the use of bribery in these elections cf.Caes.28.4;Asc.30C;Dio XL.46.3;53.1.

ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς δι' ὅπλων καὶ φόνων εἰς ἀμφλιον πόλεμον ἀθουμένων τόλμῃ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ for the violence of the election-campaign cf.Caes.28.5;Asc.30C;Dio XL.46.3;48.1; also sect. 2 below.

Πομπηίδην τινες ᾤξιουν ἐπιστῆναι ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις after the murder of Clodius and the events connected with it. These events are also omitted from the Lives of Pompey and Caesar and narrated only briefly in Cic.35.

ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Κάτων,οὐ τοῖς νόμοις ἐκ Πομπηίου φάμενος,ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων Πομπηίου δεῖν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν

after his failure to bring over Pompey to the senatorial party against Caesar (cf.43.8-9n.) this is Cato's last attempt to revert to his old policy of opposing both dynasts. The present pronouncement sound like a genuine statement of Cato's conservative legitimist credo.

47.2-4 ἔγνω τὰ πράγματα κτλ. this is the final turning-point in Cato's politics: after first opposing both Caesar and Pompey he tried to win the support of the latter against the former (43.8-9n.); after the failure of this attempt and a last gesture to persuade Pompey (see

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preceding n.) Cato is now ready to support one dynast, considered less dangerous, against anarchy, and later his rival: his backing of Pompey's sole consulship is the beginning of the road that is to take him to Utica.

47.2 ὡς δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἀναρχίας οὔσης cf.Caes.28.5; Pomp.54.5;Asc.31C;App.b.c.II.20.72;Dio XL.46.3;48.1.

ὀσυμέραι an Atticism according to Moeris p.261 Bek.; not infrequent in Plutarch.

καὶ τῷ μετριωτάτῳ τῶν παρανομημάτων χρησάμενος ἰάματι cf.Caes.28.6 καὶ τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο χρῆναι τοῦ πρωτάτου τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀνασχέσθαι προσφέροντος and App.b.c.II.20.72; for the metaphor,20.1n.

47.3 For Bibulus' sententia cf. Pomp.54.6;Asc.35-36C; Dio XL.50.4;according to the last-mentioned writer Bibulus was the first man asked in this session. Asc.36C gives the date of Pompey's election to the consulate as 24th of the intercalary month.

47.4 For Cato's sententia cf. Pomp.54.7;Caes.28.7;App.b.c. II.23.84.

πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀναρχίας κρείττονα cf.Pomp.54.7 πᾶσαν μὲν ἀρχὴν μᾶλλον αἱρούμενος ἀναρχίας.

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48.1 ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος ὁ Πομπήιος add to the sources mentioned in 47.3n. also Cic.Phil.I.18;Att.VII.1.4;VIII. 3.3;Liv.per.107;Tac.ann.III.28.1;Suet.Caes.26.1;Plin.n.h. XV.3;XXXIII.14;XXXIV.139;Val.Max.VI.2.11;VIII.15.8;Vell. II.47.3.

48.1-4 ἐξελθὼν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐλθεῖν κτλ. this passage is closely paralleled in Pomp.54.9 ff.: for a discussion see Introd.ch.5. There is no other evidence for this meeting and our report may well derive from Munatius Rufus, the probable go-between between the parties. Pompey's suburban villa is also mentioned in Asc.50-52C; Pompey was forced to stay ad urbem because of his proconsular imperium.

48.5 ἐπὶ τοὺς δεκαδάρχους ᾗδη τὸν ὄμμον ἐπιτίμια καινὰ καὶ δίκας μεγάλας τοῦ Πομπηίου νομοθετοῦντος On the lex Pompeia de ambitu see Rotondi LPPR 410 f. Both this law and the lex Pompeia de vi were brought forward by Pompey two days after his election to the consulate. The lex de ambitu dealt with procedural points such as the choice of jurors and the time for pleading allocated to the parties. According to App.b.c.II.23.87 the law was to have retro-active force commencing with the first consulate of Pompey; Clark,Cic.Mil.p.XII., rejects the evidence of Appian,

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apparently unaware of the support it receives from our text. Drumann-Groebe II.294 conjecture that the starting date might have been Pompey's second, and not first, consulship.

48.5-6 ἀμελεῖν ... πολαζομένους Cato's objection to the retroactive clause is the more remarkable, as this seems to be the most outspoken opposition to retroactivity we happen to possess from the Republic: on the question of retroactivity in general see Siber, Analogie, Amtsrecht und Rückwirkung 45 ff. and Schulz, Principles of Roman Law 230 f. At the same time the tribune M.Caelius attacked the lex Pompeia de vi on the ground that it was a privilegium (Asc.36C).

48.6 προημαρτημένα 'the crimes committed before'. There is no entry for this verb, attested mainly for the koine, in Wyttenbach's Lexicon.

48.7 ἔπειτα πολλῶν κρινομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν there is plenty of evidence (in addition to the places referred to later in this n. see also Cic.Brut.324;fam.VII.2.4;Caes.b.c.III. 1.4;Dio XL.52.1;54.1) for the number of trials under Pompey's laws, which made later Cicero (Brut.243) refer

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to this year as 'ille iudicialis annus'. Among those brought to trial were Hypsaeus (Pomp.55.10;Val.Max.IX.5.3;Dio XL. 53.1;App.b.c.II.24.90), Scaurus (App.b.c.II.24.91;Quint. IV.1.69), Memmius (App.b.c.II.24.90),M.Saufeius and Sex. Clodius (Asc.55-56C) and (?) Sestius (App.b.c.II.24.90 with Münzer RE IIA.1888 and 2040).

ἐνίων δὲ καὶ φίλων τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἰκείων

this must refer to the case of Metellus Scipio, now Pompey's father-in-law, from whose prosecution Memmius desisted under Pompey's influence: see Pomp.55.7;Val.Max.IX.5.3; Dio XL.51.3;53.2;App.b.c.II.24.93 f.

48.8 For the trial of T.Munatius Plancus Bursa (Münzer RE XVI.551 ff.no.32) cf. Pomp.55.8-9;Cic.fam.VII.2.2-3;Phil. VI.10;XIII.27;Dio XL.55;Val.Max.VI.2.5. It took place soon after Plancus left office as tribune in Dec.52 (Schmidt, Briefwechsel 71). He was condemned and went to exile in Ravenna, where he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War. Pompey contravened his own law in sending to the court a testimony on behalf of the defendant; this, together with such acts as his retention of Spain in contravention of his lex de provinciis, earned him the well-known judgment of Tacitus (ann.III.28.1) suarum legum auctor idem ac subversor and similarly Pomp.82(comp.2)3 οὐδ' οἷς αὐτὸς

ἐτίθει νόμους ἦθος ἔσχεν ἐμμένειν , τὸ δύνασθαι μέγα τοῖς φίλοις ἐνδεικνύμενος .

ἔτυχε γὰρ δικαζόντων thus also Val.Max.VI.2.5 iudex. For the right under Pompey's law to reject jurors after the hearing of the case see Mommsen,Strafrecht 216.

48.9-10 This passage might well be an addition of Plutarch's, who derives from the specific case of Plancus a generalizing statement, another example of the use of 'chronographic' facts for 'eidologic' characterization (cf.6.5n. and 9.4n.).

49.1 ὁδοὺς ... δύναμιν for these activities see e.g. Holmes,Rom.Rep.II.245 f.

ὑπάτους for the form (also Mar.3.2;Ages.3.6) see Schmid, Atticismus IV.582.

49.2 ἔβρησεν ὁ Κάτων ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλειν on Cato's abortive candidature for the consulship of 51 see also the detailed story in Dio XL.58; cf.Sen.Helv.13.5;ben.V. 17.2;Caes.b.c.I.4.1;Liv.per.108.

49.3 οἱ δ' ἀντιπαραγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ 'those competing for office with him': this sense of the word seems to be

peculiar to Plutarch; see also Mar.29.1 (transitive) and Caes.7.2 (absolute).

χαρίεντες is employed by Plutarch in a political sense also 27.8 above;Brut.24.4;Pomp.4.8; and, in Greek affairs, Cleom.11.2 and esp.Dio.28.1.

ἀμφότεροι the other, here unnamed, successful candidate for the consulate was M.Claudius Marcellus (see 18.5n.); according to Dio XL.58.3 he was elected on account of his ability as an orator.

Σουλπίκιος Ser.Sulpicius Rufus, the famous jurist, (Münzer RE IVA.851.ff.no.95) was praetor in 65 and failed in the consular elections for 62; in consequence he prosecuted Murena together with Cato (see 21.3n.). Though he must have contemplated the consulship of 58 (Cic.Att. II.5.2) he had to withdraw and wait another seven years before he succeeded in obtaining the office - a good example of the meaning of the triumvirate's rule for the aristocracy. On the marriage-relations between the two consuls of 51 see Münzer RAA 405.1.

49.4 "τί γὰρ" ἔφη "θαυμαστόν,εἰ ὅτις νομίζει τῶν ἀγαθῶν μέγιστον , ἑτέρῳ μὴ παρῆσει;" the implied criticism is, of course, that for a Stoic the obtaining of a magistracy is far from being the greatest of good things.

49.5-6 Cato's behaviour was of course the exact opposite of what was expected from a candidate; for what the people expected - and regularly got - see e.g.Cic.Planc.9 ff. For a similar explanation to the present one for the cause of Cato's defeat see Dio XL.58.3.

49.5 πείσας . . . περιιόντας this s.c., not attested elsewhere, was perhaps intended to straighten out the rules laid down by the lex Fabia de numero sectatorum: cf.8.4n.

ἄπορον καὶ ἄτιμον for the expression cf.Agis 5.7.

50.1 Φέροντος . . . ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλάς among the very numerous passages attesting the shame involved in the repulsa see e.g.Hor.epist.I.1.43 (turpis repulsa); c.III.2.17 (virtus repulsae nescia sordidae), Cic.off.I.71 (videntur offensionum et repulsarum quasi quondam ignominiam timere et infamiam), Val.Max.VII.5.1 (repulsa notatus) etc. One who did not believe the sincerity of Cato's feelings and attributed to him a dolor repulsae was Caesar (b.c.I.4.1); for the suggestion that this formed a theme of the Anticato cf.Introd.ch.3.

ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σφαιρίσαι cf.Sen.ep.104.33 eodem quo repulsus est die comitio pila lusit; ibid.71.11. On the

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different ball-games and their performance in the Campus Martius (cf.41.6) see Marquardt, Privatleben 841 ff., Leon,Ball-playing at Rome, CB XXIII.65 ff.; Balsdon, Life and Leisure 163 ff.

μετ' ἄριστον δὲ πάλιν ὅσπερ εἰθίστο καταβὰς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων περιπατῆσαι μετὰ τῶν συνήθων cf.nn.on 6.6 and 44.1.

50.2 οὐκ ἐποιήσατο σκυθρὸν οὐδ' ὑπῆλθεν ὁμιλίᾳ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ δῆμον the μὴ φιλάνθρωπον means here 'rudeness', 'unsociability': cf.Martin,AJP LXXXII.1961.167

50.3 For Cato's refusal to stand again for the consulship and his reasons cf.Dio XL.58.4. For the sentiment cf.also Cicero on Laelius' repulsa in 120 (TD V.54): si, cum sapiens et bonus vir, qualis ille fuit, suffragiis praeteritur, non populus a (bono) consule potius quam ille a populo repulsam fert.

51.1-2 On Caesar's massacre of the Usipetes and Tencteri during a truce see Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul^2 95 ff., and recently, Lee, G and R XVI.1969,100 ff. This incident occurred in the autumn of 55, so that its place here makes one suspect Plutarch of a grave chronological

error; but he may have grouped it with the debate on the appointment of a successor to Caesar on literary considerations alone without taking into account the chronological gap. The story of Cato's proposal for the extradition of Caesar to the Germans is also told in Caes.22.4 and Crass. 37(comp.4)2;App.Celt.18.2; in Suet.Caes.24.3 it is attributed to 'nonnulli'. Plutarch names Tanusius Geminus as the source of the story in the Caesar: cf.Introd.ch.3.

51.3 ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ ἐπιστολὴν γράψας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον * ὡς δ' ἀνεγνώσθη βλασφημίας πολλὰς ἔχουσα καὶ κατηγορίας τοῦ Κάτωνος on Caesar's letter cf.Dio XXXIX. 23.4; see also 45.2n. and Introd.ch.3.

51.4-5 For the recurring motif of Cato seeing through Caesar's schemes see 31.7n.

51.4 οὐ Βρεττανῶν οὐδὲ Κελτῶν καῖδας this periphrastic expression, attested for Herodotus (I.27 etc.) as well as for tragedy (Aesch.Pers.402;Eur.Hec.930) seems to have been fashionable with Atticists (see Schmid,Atticismus I. 23n.;131;282;II.139;III.144;IV.211).

51.5-6 The transition from Cato's defeat in the consular elections for 51 and the misplaced debate in the senate about Caesar's treatment of the Usipetes and Tencteri to the short and highly selective account of the events preceding the outbreak of the Civil War is harsh and forced: the probable explanation is a deficiency in Plutarch's sources on Cato's actions in this period.

51.6-7 ἐλέχθη μόνον ὅτι καλῶς ἔχει διάδοχον Καίσαρι δοθῆναι . τῶν δὲ φίλων αἰτούντων καὶ Πομπήιον ἐξ ἴσου τὰ ὅπλα κατατίθεσθαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ἐπαρχίας , ὃ μηδὲ Καίσαρα

On Sept.29th,51, it was agreed that no discussions on Caesar's provinces should be held before March 1st,50. Accordingly on that date the consul C.Marcellus proposed to decide on successors to Caesar (App.b.c.II.27.103 Κλώδιος δ' εἰσηγεῖτο πέμπειν Καίσαρι διάδοχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη).

Curio, the tribune now in Caesar's service, countered with a proposal of his own, to the effect that both dynasts give up their armies and provinces. At last, at the beginning of December, the senate decided with 370 votes against 22 for Curio's proposal (see Pomp.58.6 ff.;Caes. 30.1 f.;Ant.5.4 ff.;App.b.c.II.30.119;Hirtius,b.G.VIII. 52.4 f.). For detailed descriptions of these events see Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 262 ff.;Holmes,Rom.Rep.II.248 ff.;

323 ff.

51.7 νῦν . . . τὴν πόλιν Drumann-Groebe V.190 correctly conjecture from this outburst that Cato must have been one of the minority voting against Curio's proposal.

ἐξαπατῶν καὶ φενακίζων according to Moeris p.211 Bekker the first of these verbs is koine and the second Attic usage; both are quite frequent in Plutarch.

φοβουμένην τὸν δῆμον for this argument cf. also 22.6.

52.1 Ὡς δ' Ἀρίμινον κατέλημπτο κτλ. for Caesar's occupation of Ariminum, probably on Jan.11th,49, (see e.g.Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 292 ff.) cf.Caes.32;Pomp.60.1; Caes.b.c.I.8.1;Dio XLI.4.1;App.b.c.II.35.137 f.;Flor.II. 13.19;Eutr.VI.19.2;Oros.VI.15.3.

ὡς μόνον μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαισθόμενον,πρῶτον δὲ φανερῶς προεισόντα τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην cf.31.7n.

52.2-3 The scene of this exchange of words was the session of the senate that took place when the news of Caesar's crossing the Rubicon arrived at Rome, probably on Jan. 14th or 15th (cf.Pomp.60.5-8;Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 295;

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297.2).

52.3 Πομπήϊον δ' εἰπόντος, μαντικώτερα μὲν εἰρῆσθαι Κάτωνι, φιλικώτερα δ' αὐτῷ πεπρᾶχθαι cf. for almost identical versions of this saying Pomp.60.8 and apophth.reg.imp.204D. συνεβούλευεν ὁ Κάτων ἐνὶ Πομπηίῳ τὰ πράγματα τὴν σύγκλητον ἐγχειρίσαι· τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν the same episode is retold also in praec.ger.reip.810C: καὶ Κάτων διενεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐν οἷς ἐβράδυνε τὴν πόλιν μετὰ Καίσαρος, ἐπεὶ κατέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐκέλευσε Πομπηίῳ παραδοῦναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν.

In Pomp.61.1 Cato's proposal is given more expresely, namely to make Pompey στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. The statement of Vell.II.49.2 that a resolution to this effect did pass at this stage of the war is manifestly wrong: Pompey was given the supreme command only at the end of the year (Holmes, Rom.Rep.III.432 ff.).

52.4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Πομπήϊος . . . ἐξέλιπε τὴν Ῥώμην Pompey departed from the City to Capua on Jan.17th (Pomp. 61.6; Caes.33.6; Cic.Att.VII.10; Caes.b.c.I.14.3; App.b.c.II. 37.148; Dio XLI.6.1); on the number and morale of Pompey's troops see Holmes, Rom.Rep.III.357 f.; Gelzer, Pompejus 212 f.

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ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἔκεσθαι καὶ συμφεύγειν ἐγνωκὼς we do not know when exactly Cato left Rome; on Jan.26th he was already in Capua (Cic.Att.VII.15.2).

τὸν μὲν νεώτερον υἱόν Miltner RE XXII.107 f.no.8. Cato had two children by Atilia (24.6 above) and three by Marcia (Lucan.II.331); obviously Porcia, married c.60 (see 25.4n.) was a daughter of Atilia, as must have been the older son (on whom see below) if he was old enough to accompany his father in the Civil War. On the other hand the remaining three children, viz. the younger son and the (two) daughters committed to the care of Marcia must have been her children. This younger son, not mentioned elsewhere, may have born the praenomen Lucius, as Drumann-Groebe V.213.1 suggest.

εἰς Βρεττίους...πρὸς Μουνάτιον there are no known connections of the Porcii Catones - or, the Munatii, - with Bruttium; but Cato had estates in the adjacent Lucania (20.2 above). This is the last we hear of Munatius, though it seems a fairly certain conjecture that he was one of the legati who recruited troops for Cato in Bruttium and Lucania while he governed Sicily (Caes.b.c.I.30.4): this should earn him at least a queried entry among the legates of the year in MRR.

τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον Miltner RE XXII.166 f.no.13. His

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praenomen was Marcus (Brut.49.9 whence Lon.X.20); on his further fortunes see below, passim.

52.5 ἀνέλαβε πάλιν τὴν Μαρκίαν for Cato's divorce of Marcia and her marriage to Hortensius see ch.25 above.

ὁ γὰρ Ὁρτήσιος θνήσκων in June 50: see evidence in von der Mühll RE VIII.2478.

ἐκείνην ἀπέλιπε κληρονόμον Hortensius thought of disinheriting his son by his first marriage, but apparently changed his mind (Val.Max.V.9.2 cf.Cic.Att.VII.3.9); for a third heir of Hortensius, a son by Marcia, see Geiger, QR XX.1970, 132 ff.

52.6-7 These biting accusations appeared in Caesar's Anticato combining two of its known topics, Cato's avariciousness (cf.11.7 above) and his family affairs (54.1-2 below): see discussion in Introd.ch.3.

52.8 The quotation is from Eur.Her.174 f. Euripides was by far the most popular dramatic author with Plutarch (see Ziegler, Plutarchos 280); he devoted a special essay to him, now lost (Lamprias Catalogue no.224). Of some interest is Plutarch's reservation εἰ δ' ἄλλῃ πῃ μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον, ἐπισκεπτέον :

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it is absent from the main treatment of the Marcia-affair (ch.25) but is not altogether surprising considering Plutarch's strong views on marriage (cf.e.g.7.3n.).

52.9 αὐτὸς ἐδίωκε Πομπήϊον to Capua: see n. on sect.4 above.

53.1 Cf. Lucan.II.372 ff.

ille nec horrificam sancto dimovit ab ore
caesariem duroque admisit gaudia voltu
(ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
intonsos rigidam in frontem descendere canos
passus erat maestamque genis increscere barbam:...)

53.2 Τότε δὲ κλῆρον λαχὼν Σικελίαν, διέβη μὲν εἰς Συρακούσας cf.Pomp.61.2. Cato should have succeeded T.Furfanius Postumus as governor of Sicily. Since he did not care to set out for Sicily himself, the senate decided to dispatch a certain Postumius, and upon his refusal to go (οὐκ) without Cato, C.Fannius was sent out with imperium (Cic.Att.VII. 15.2, written on Jan.26th in Capua). Since Cato's delay was caused by his eagerness to be present while negotiations were going on (ibid.: ait in senatu se adesse velle cum de condicionibus agatur) we may assume that he left for

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Sicily soon after it became known that Caesar finally rejected the terms brought to him by Roscius and L.Caesar, i.e. Febr.3rd (ibid.19). Cicero's opinion was different: Cato enim ipse iam servire quam pugnare mavult (ibid.15.2); Cato's reluctance might well have been due to Pompey's unpreparedness (cf.n. on sect.4 below).

Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα on C.Asinius Pollio see Kornemann, Die hist.Schriftstellerei des A.P.,Jb.f.kl.Phil.Suppl.XXII. 1896;Groebe RE II.1589 ff.no.25; André,La vie et l'oeuvre d'A.P; PIR^2 A.1241. Here, as elsewhere in Plutarch, the MSS are divided between the forms in -ν- and -νν- ; for this later form (caused by the short i) see Schulze, Gesch.Lat.Eigenn.129. Only this passage and App.b.c.II. 40.162 mention Pollio's role in Sicily, while according to Caesar himself (b.c.I.30.2;31.1), Cicero (Att.X.4.8-9; 7.3;16.3) and Dio Cassius (XLI.41.1) Curio was in charge of the conquest of the island. It seems certain that Plutarch and Appian derive their account ultimately from Pollio's own History (cf.Introd.ch.3), where he was given to emphasize his own role, which must have been that of a legatus sent on in advance; for details see André,REL XXV.1947,124 ff.

53.3 **καὶ Πομπήϊον ἀποδοὺς ἐκλελοιπότα παντελῶς Ἰταλίαν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύειν** Pompey embarked at Brindisi on March 17th (Cic.Att.VII.15a), so that the news arrived in Sicily some five weeks before Cato left the island (see n. on sect.4 below).

τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπερμάχεται a poetic verb, employed by several Atticists (Schmid, Atticismus I.57;349;III.223); the form **ὑπερμάχομαι** apparently only here and Soph. OT 265; for **ὑπερμαχέω τῆς ἐλευθερίας** cf.61.5 below and Crass.15.4.

53.4 **Ἀσίνιον ... Συρακοσίους** similarly App.b.c.II.40.162; but cf. the very different speech attributed to Cato by Caesar,b.c.I.30.5: ... queritur in contione sese proiectum ac proditum a Cn.Pompeio, qui omnibus rebus imparatissimus non necessarium bellum suscepisset et ab se reliquisque in senatu interrogatus omnia sibi esse ad bellum apta ac parata confirmavisset.

ἐξέπλευσεν Cato left Syracuse on Apr.23rd (Cic. Att.X.16.3) and sailed to Pompey by way of Corcyra (App. b.c.II.40.162).

53.5 For Cato's constant desire for a peaceful settlement of the Civil War, and his belief that the deferment of a

decision on the battle-field was the appropriate tactics to achieve it cf.Cic.Att.VII.15.2;Cic.38.1;54.1l below with Caes.41.1;58.7 below.

53.6 **ἄλλα δὲ τοῦτων ἀδελφὰ Πομπήϊον ἔπεισε καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ψηφίσασθαι,μήτε πόλιν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίων διαρπάζειν,μήτ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἄνευ παρατάξεως ἀναιρεῖν** cf.Pomp.65.1, with almost identical wording of the resolution (cf.Introd.ch.5). The purpose of the resolution must have been to allay the fears of the Caesarean camp and the uncommitted that trials and proscriptions would follow a Pompeian victory (cf.Caes. b.c.III.83;Cic.Att.XI.6.2,6). The massacre of prisoners-of-war by Otacilius (Caes.b.c.III.28.4) in the early spring of 48 (ibid.25.1 hiems praecipitaverat) was either prior to this resolution (and if so must have had a part in prompting it) and then the resolution is chronologically out of place here (see 54.1n.), or in blatant contravention of it. Of special interest is Cato's care for the provincials, for which cf.19.4n.

καὶ δόξαν...ἀσπασάμενους Cato's aim must have been to demonstrate the true clementia (**ἐπιείκεια**) and humanitas (**ἥμερον**) of the Pompeian side as against Caesar's clementia. The above-quoted passages hardly support Plutarch's assertion that they succeeded in their goal

and must pass for a mere embellishment of our author.

54.1 **Ἐκπεμφθεὶς δ' εἰς Ἀσίαν** Cato's mission to Asia is nowhere else attested though it would be reasonable to refer to this time Valerius Maximus' reference (IV.3.2) to Cato's abstinentia in, among other places, maritima pars Asiae, and perhaps also the Cyclades. At the time of Cicero's arrival in Pompey's camp (he left Italy on June 7th,fam.XIV.7) Cato was there (Cic.38.1). Conant 169.2 thinks that by then Cato must have already been back from the Asian mission, but[ac] this would leave scarcely two months in all for the journey we may sustain the more orthodox view that Cato set out for Asia only after Cicero's arrival, i.e. in mid-summer.

Σερβιλίαν ἐπηγάγετο τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸ Λευκόλλου παιδίον ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονός on Servilia, Cato's niece and not sister, and her son M.Lucullus, see 24.4,5nn.

54.2 On these attacks, contained in Caesar's Anticato, see discussion in Introd.ch.3. Sexual immorality was one of the standard themes in Roman invective (see Cic.Cael.6) and accusations concerning incestuous relationships with sisters must have been fairly widespread (see e.g. Cicero on Clodius fam.I.9.15;Pis.28;Mil.73 etc.).

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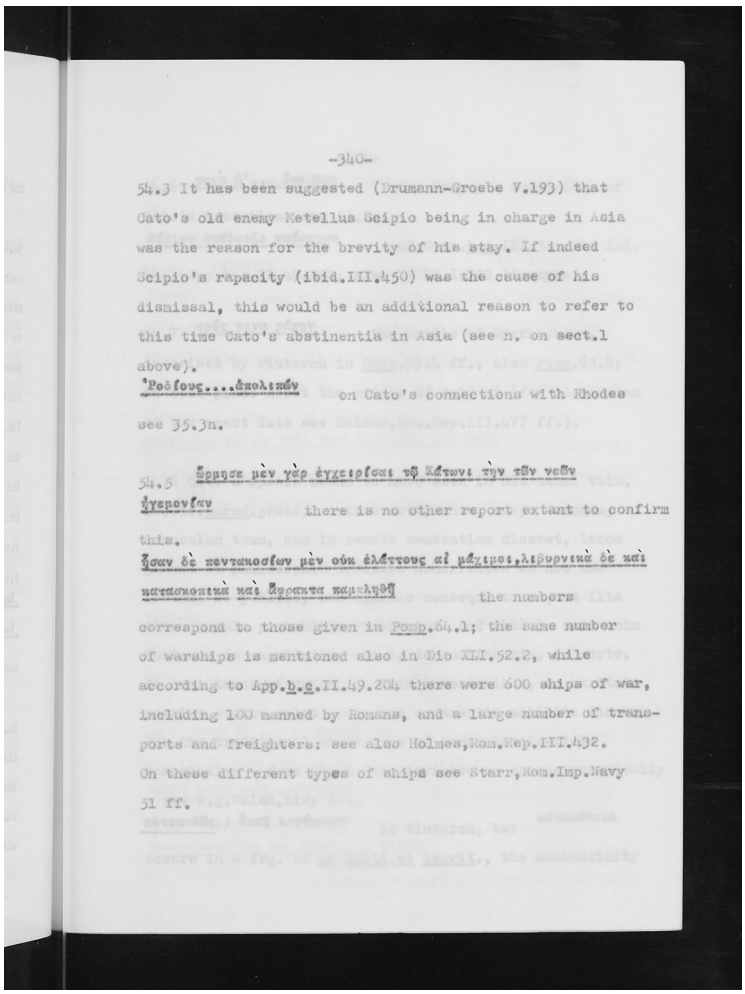
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54.3 It has been suggested (Drumann-Groebe V.193) that Cato's old enemy Metellus Scipio being in charge in Asia was the reason for the brevity of his stay. If indeed Scipio's rapacity (ibid.III.450) was the cause of his dismissal, this would be an additional reason to refer to this time Cato's abstinentia in Asia (see n. on sect.1 above).

'Ροδίους....ἀπολιπών on Cato's connections with Rhodes see 35.3n.

54.5 ὥρμησε μὲν γὰρ ἐγχειρῆσαι τῷ Κάτωνι τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἡγεμονίαν there is no other report extant to confirm this.

ἦσαν δὲ πεντακοσίων μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους αἱ μάχιμοι,λιβυρνικὰ δὲ καὶ κατασκοπικὰ καὶ ἄφρακτα πολλαπλῆ the numbers correspond to those given in Pomp.64.1; the same number of warships is mentioned also in Dio XLI.52.2, while according to App.b.c.II.49.204 there were 600 ships of war, including 100 manned by Romans, and a large number of transports and freighters: see also Holmes,Rom.Rep.III.432. On these different types of ships see Starr,Rom.Imp.Navy 51 ff.



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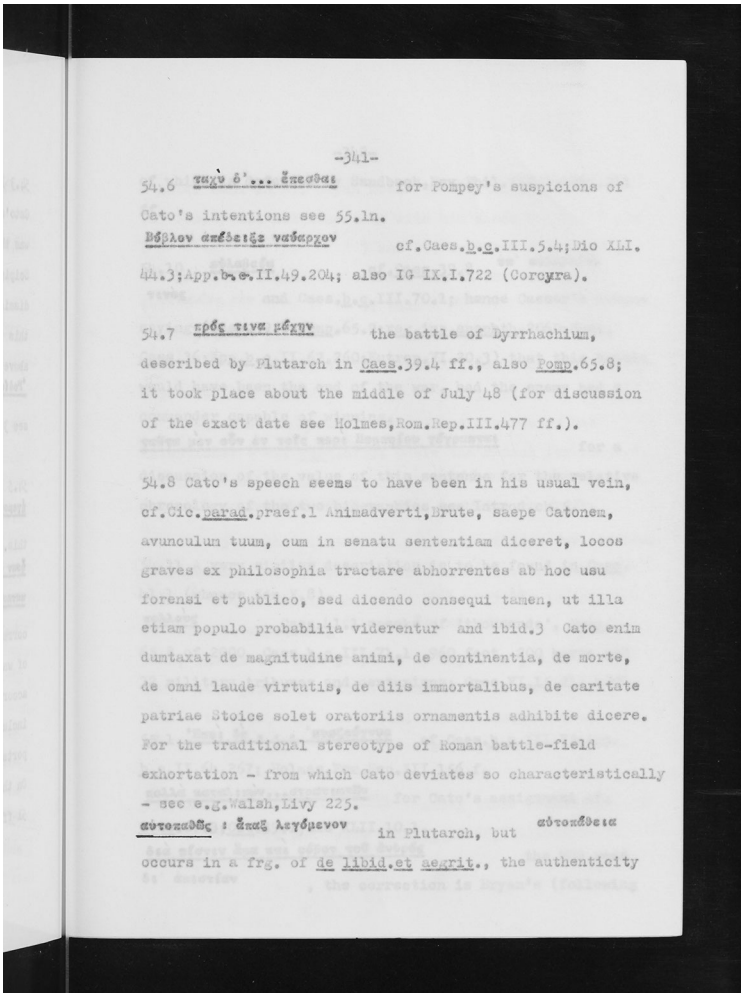
54.6 ταχὺ δ'... ἔπεσθαι for Pompey's suspicions of Cato's intentions see 55.1n.

Βύβλον ἀπέδειξε ναύαρχον cf.Caes.b.c.III.5.4;Dio XLI. 44.3;App.b.c.II.49.204; also IG IX.I.722 (Corcyra).

54.7 πρὸς τινα μάχην the battle of Dyrrhachium, described by Plutarch in Caes.39.4 ff., also Pomp.65.8; it took place about the middle of July 48 (for discussion of the exact date see Holmes,Rom.Rep.III.477 ff.).

54.8 Cato's speech seems to have been in his usual vein, cf.Cic.parad.praef.1 Animadverti,Brute, saepe Catonem, avunculum tuum, cum in senatu sententiam diceret, locos graves ex philosophia tractare abhorrentes ab hoc usu forensi et publico, sed dicendo consequi tamen, ut illa etiam populo probabilia viderentur and ibid.3 Cato enim duntaxat de magnitudine animi, de continentia, de morte, de omni laude virtutis, de diis immortalibus, de caritate patriae Stoice solet oratoriis ornamentis adhibite dicere. For the traditional stereotype of Roman battle-field exhortation - from which Cato deviates so characteristically - see e.g.Walsh,Livy 225.

αὐτοπαθῶς : ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Plutarch, but αὐτοπάθεια occurs in a frg. of de libid.et aegrit., the authenticity



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of which is defended by Sandbach,Rev.Phil.XLIII.1969,211 ff.

54.10 εὐλαβείᾳ cf.Caes.39.8 ὑπ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς and Caes.b.c.III.70.1; hence Caesar's famous saying (Caes.39.8;Pomp.65.9;reg.imp.apophth.206D;Suet. Caes.36;App.b.c.II.62.260;Eutrop.VI.20.3) that this battle would have been the end of the war, had the enemy had a commander capable of winning.

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πομπήϊου γέγραπται for a discussion of the value of this sentence for the relative chronology of the two biographies see Introd.ch.5.

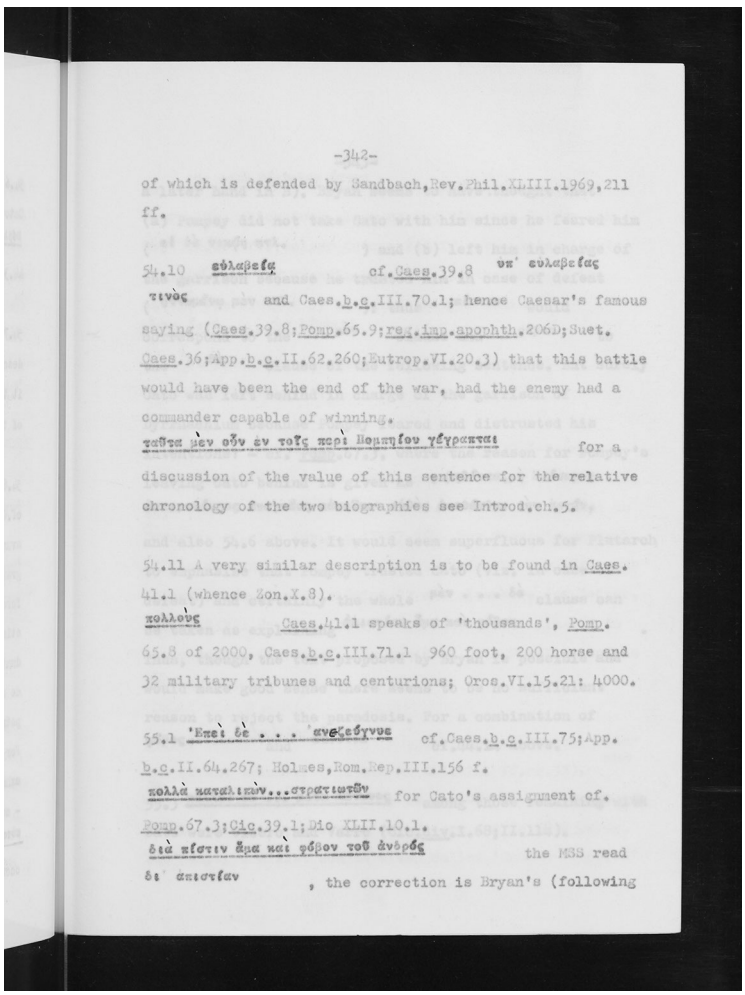
54.11 A very similar description is to be found in Caes. 41.1 (whence Zon.X.8).

πολλούς Caes.41.1 speaks of 'thousands', Pomp. 65.8 of 2000, Caes.b.c.III.71.1 960 foot, 200 horse and 32 military tribunes and centurions; Oros.VI.15.21: 4000.

55.1 'Επεὶ δὲ . . . ἀνεζεύγνυε cf.Caes.b.c.III.75;App. b.c.II.64.267; Holmes,Rom.Rep.III.156 f.

πολλὰ καταλιπὼν...στρατιωτῶν for Cato's assignment of. Pomp.67.3;Cic.39.1;Dio XLII.10.1.

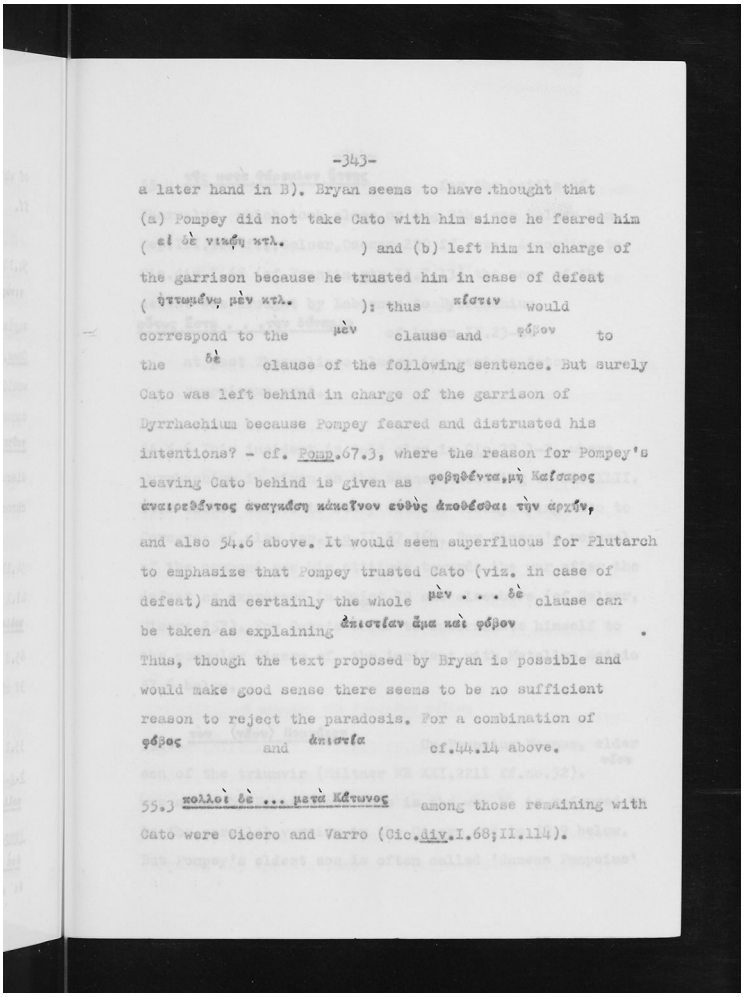
διὰ πίστιν ἅμα καὶ φόβον τοῦ ἀνδρός the MSS read δι' ἀπιστίαν, the correction is Bryan's (following



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a later hand in B). Bryan seems to have thought that (a) Pompey did not take Cato with him since he feared him (εἰ δὲ νικᾷη κτλ.) and (b) left him in charge of the garrison because he trusted him in case of defeat (ἡττωμένῳ μὲν κτλ.); thus πίστιν would correspond to the μὲν clause and φόβον to the δὲ clause of the following sentence. But surely Cato was left behind in charge of the garrison of Dyrrhachium because Pompey feared and distrusted his intentions? - cf. Pomp.67.3, where the reason for Pompey's leaving Cato behind is given as φοβηθέντα,μὴ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἀναγκάσῃ κἀκεῖνον εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, and also 54.6 above. It would seem superfluous for Plutarch to emphasize that Pompey trusted Cato (viz. in case of defeat) and certainly the whole μὲν . . . δὲ clause can be taken as explaining ἀπιστίαν ἅμα καὶ φόβον. Thus, though the text proposed by Bryan is possible and would make good sense there seems to be no sufficient reason to reject the paradosis. For a combination of φόβος and ἀπιστία cf.44.14 above.

55.3 πολλοὶ δὲ ... μετὰ Κάτωνος among those remaining with Cato were Cicero and Varro (Cic.div.I.68;II.114).



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55.4 τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἥττης for the battle of Pharsalus, which took place on Aug.9th, see Holmes,Rom. Rep.III.166 ff.;Gelzer,Caesar 220 ff.;etc. According to Cic.div.I.68 (cf.Frontin.str.II.7.13) the news of the defeat was brought by Labienus to Dyrrhachium.

οὕτως ἔστη . . .τὴν δύναμιν cf.Lucan.IX.23-4:

at post Thessalicas clades iam pectore toto
Pompeianus erat.

55.5-6 This incident is told also in Cic.39.1-2, where Dyrrhachium is given as the scene. According to Dio XLII. 10.2 Cicero sailed to Italy without accompanying Cato to Corcyra: cf.also App.b.c.II.87.364. For Cicero's refusal of the command see his attitude towards the war after the defeat as expressed in Deiot.29 and elsewhere (cf.Gelzer, Cicero 257). For Cato's offer to subordinate himself to the consular Cicero cf. the incident with Metellus Scipio 57.6 below.

55.6 τὸν ⟨νέον⟩ Πομπήϊον Cn.Pompeius Magnus, elder son of the triumvir (Miltner RE XXI.2211 ff.no.32). νέον was added by Bryan since this is the way he is referred to in the parallel version in the Cicero and in 59.9 below. But Pompey's eldest son is often called 'Gnaeus Pompeius'

or simply 'Pompeius' by all writers, Latin and Greek, on this period, while the younger brother is regularly given the distinctive praenomen Sextus (cf.56.2 below); still νέον , or perhaps Γναῖον , might have easily dropped out as result of homoeoteleuton.

56 The events related in this chapter form the theme of the 9th book of Lucan's Pharsalia: on the figure of Cato in Lucan see Introd.ch.1.

56.1-2 Τενεαιρόθεν...παραλέων Dio XLII.13.2-4 tells us that from Corcyra Cato first set out to the Peloponnese and seized Patrae where he was joined by Petreius and Faustus Sulla, but on the approach of Pufius Calenus they went on to Cyrene; in Pomp.76.2 we are told that Pompey learned of Cato's sailing to Africa while in Attalia in Pamphylia.

56.2 Σέξτῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τῶν Πομπηΐου παίδων Sextus Pompeius Magnus (Miltner RE XXI.2213 ff.no.33; Hadas, Sextus Pompey, Diss.Columbia 1930).

ἀγγέλλοντι τὴν ἐκ Αἰγύπτου τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν this must have occurred in, or off the coast of, Cyrene, notwithstanding the speculations of Drumann-Groebe III.514.4;

IV.562;564 to the effect that they met between Cyprus and Crete: for the meeting cf. Dio XLII.13.3. Pompey was killed on Sept.28th (evidence in Gelzer,Pompejus 258) and we may assume that the meeting here took place not very long afterwards.

56.4 ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀποκλείσαντες Λαβιηνόν T.Labienus, Caesar's legate in Gallia and one of the chief Pompeians in the Civil War (Münzer RE XII.260 ff.no.6; Syme JRS XXVIII.1938,113 ff.). The shutting of the gates of Cyrene to Labienus is not attested elsewhere; it seems (cf.Lucan.IX.549 ff.) that Labienus waited here for Cato and set out with him on his way through the desert.

56.5 Σκιπίωνα τὸν Πομπηΐου πενθερὸν Metellus Scipio was Pompey's father-in-law since 52, when Pompey married Cornelia, Scipio's daughter and now widow of P.Crassus, the triumvir's son (see e.g.Gelzer,Pompejus 189).

Ἰόβα τοῦ βασιλέως Iuba I., king of Numidia (Lenschau RE IX.2381 ff.no.1).

Ὀύᾶρον Ἄττιον P.Attius Varus (Klebs RE II.2256 f.no.32; on the inversion cf.16.6n.); for his activities as Pompeian governor of Africa see Broughton MRR II.260.

56.6-8 For Cato's march through the desert cf., besides Lucan's account (IX.300-949), Strabo XVII.836;Vell.II. 54.3;Sen.ep.104.33;Dio XL.13.4;vir.ill.80.3.

56.6 χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ the decision to take the land-route may have been caused by the fear to sail through the Syrtes in winter.

τοὺς καλουμένους Ψύλλους on the Psylloi see Treidler RE XXIII.1464.ff., who interprets the passage as referring to 'those called Psylloi', who are not identical with the well-known tribe described by Herodotus (IV.173), but a "Gemeinschaft von Menschen, die der Heilkunde mächtig und um diese Kunst willen offenbar berühmt waren."

56.7 ἡμέρας . . . ἑκατὸν but 30 days according to Strabo XVII.836; the romantic exaggeration of Lucan (IX.940 f.) makes the crossing of the desert last two months. Plutarch's account seems less in harmony with the general tradition of the difficulties of the march; Ziegler seeks the remedy in assuming a lacuna and emending the text to ⟨εἴκοσι⟩ ἑκατὸν .

μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ ὀκτὼ μηνῶν χρησάμενος cf.Sen.ep.104.33 pedes duxit exercitum; Strabo XVII.836 δέκα δὲ καὶ πεζὸς ;

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see also Lucan.IX.344;588;cf. also his travelling on foot 5.5-6 and 9.4 above.

ἐδείπνει δὲ καθήμενος cf.67.1 below and App.b.c.II. 98.407; on the habit of reclining see Marquardt, Privatleben 300; Fowler,Social Life 278.

56.8 ἦσαν δὲ μυρίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες similarly Strabo XVII. 836;Liv.per.112 and Vell.II.54.3 speak of legions.

57.1 For a similar account of the struggle for the command cf. Dio XLII.57.1 τοῦ τε Οὐάρου τῷ Σκιπίωνι τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος,ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις ἦρχε,καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ τὰ πρῶτα δι' αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντος φέρεσθαι.

Scipio's subservient behaviour towards Iuba is described also in the hostile account of b.Afr.57.4-6.

57.2-3 μέσον ἔθημε . . . μέσον λαμβάνων τὸν Σκιπίωνα for the significance of the central place with the Numidians cf.Sall.Iug.11.3;65.2;Verg.Aen.I.697 f.; elsewhere in Plutarch see praec.ger.reip.817C;Cic.2.2;quaest.conv.I. 619B (Persians). On Cato's behaviour towards kings see 35.4n.

57.3 καίπερ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα ever since Scipio married Aemilia, Cato's bride (see ch.7 above).

βιβλίον ἐπιδεδωκότα βλασφημίας ἔχον τοῦ Κάτωνος On Metellus Scipio's invective against Cato see Pietrowicz, RosXVIII.1912,129 ff. and discussion in Introd.ch.3.

57.4 Φιλόστρατον Apparently identical with the court-philosopher of Cleopatra, described as a sophist who made his way into the Academy; he was pardoned by Octavian after he entered Alexandria (Ant.80.3-5;Philostr. VS I.5). He is the subject of an epigram by Crinagoras (Anth.Pal.VII.645; for its interpretation and some plausible conjectures about the philosopher see Cichorius, Röm.St. 314 ff.). These sparse details have earned him two entries in the RE: v.Fritz RE XX.123 f.no.7//Solmsen ibid.124 f. no.8. Drumann-Groebe V.204 suggest that he might have been the philosopher whom Cato took with him from the Cyprian mission (Plin.n.h.VII.113); but the honour paid to Philostratus by Cato better accords with his being a resident of Sicily - a member of a branch of the Academy there, according to Cichorius - than a permanent companion of Cato; also his evident absence from the African campaign does not suggest that he had been a constant companion of Cato since the Cyprian expedition. For a different conjecture

concerning the identity of the philosopher Cato took with him from the Cyprian mission see 65.11n.

57.6 For Cato's yielding the command to Metellus Scipio, his superior in rank, cf.Dio XLII.57.1-3;App.b.c.II.87. 367;Liv.per.113;Vell.II.54.3;vir.ill.80.3; for the principle involved cf. the incident with Cicero 55.5 above.

καὶ θάρσος εἶχον οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ τοὔνομα for the belief in the fatal power of the Scipionic name in Africa cf.Cic.har.resp.6;Flor.I.31.12. We are told (Caes.52.4-5; Dio XLII.57.5-58.1;Suet.Caes.59) that Caesar took with him a despicable member of the family of the Scipiones, surnamed Salvitto, though it is not entirely clear whether he did this in order to elude the power of the name or to ridicule the superstitious belief in it.

58.1-2 For the plans to destroy Utica and the appointment of Cato as its governor cf. Dio XLII.57.4;Liv.per.113; App.b.c.II.95.397. According to b.Afr.87.3 (cf. also 88.5 and Caes.b.c.II.36.1) the Uticans sympathised with Caesar propter beneficium legis Iuliae. The suggestion that this was the gift of the status of a municipium Latini iuris (Teutsch, Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika 56) must be rejected (Vittinghoff, Gnomon XL.1968,590 f.). On Cato's coinage,

struck almost certainly during his governorship of Utica, see Grueber, CRRBM II.574 f. Utica was at the time the seat of the Roman governor of the province (Teutsch,op.cit.56).

58.1 ᾠᾠδὸν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ κατασκάψαι for the expression cf.Alc.16.6;Alex.72.4;Marc.14.3;Pelop.29.7 and several Atticists (Schmid,Atticismus I.306;III.172); it appears as early as Herodotus (VI.21.1).

ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ this cannot be the senatus oppidi (b.Afr.87.4;cf.Dio XLIII.10.2;Teutsch,Städtewesen 58 f.) as that would be hardly the appropriate place to discuss the fate of the Uticans. Probably the reference is to Scipio's consilium: the consilium of the princeps is often so called (see Crook,Consilium Principis 105).

58.4 καὶ γὰρ σῖτον εἰσῆγαγεν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλῆθει for the magazines at Utica cf.also App.b.c.II.95.397.

καὶ κατασκάψας τὰ τείχη,πύργους ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ τάφρους ὀχυρὰς καὶ χαράκωματα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως βαλλόμενος cf.b.Afr.88.5 Uticam mirificis operibus munierat turribusque auxerat and ibid.87.3.

58.5 Ἰτυκαίων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὑβρίσαντας ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν ἔταξεν οἰκεῖν,τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας αὐτῷ cf.b.Afr.87.3 plebem inermem

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oppido eiecerat et ante portam Belicam castris fossaque parvula dumtaxat muniverat ibique custodiis circumdatis habitare coegerat.

58.6 ὅπλα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα καὶ σῖτον ἐξέπεμψε τοῖς ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου,καὶ ὅλως εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πόλιν ταμιεῖον

for Cato's assistance to Scipio see b.Afr.36.1 M.Cato, qui Uticae praerat, dilectus cotidie libertinorum Afrorum, servorum denique et cuiusquemodi generis hominum qui modo per aetatem arma ferre poterant, habere atque sub manum Scipioni in castra submittere non intermittit.

58.7 ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος συνεβούλευε...τῷ χρόνῳ χρῆσθαι cf.53.5n.

ἀμηχάνῳ...μαραίνοντι for the expression cf.Caes.40.2;3.1; C.Gr.11.5.

58.9 ἐπλήτας...πρὸς αὐτόν for plans to invade Italy cf.Dio XLII.56.4.

58.12 For the realization that in case of Caesar's defeat the harmony between Cato and the other Pompeians would be ended cf.54.6 above.

58.13 καὶ περὶ ἑσπέραν βαθεῖαν ἥκέ τις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τρίτατος ἀγγέλλων the battle took place on Apr.6th 46 (Ovid.Fasti IV.377 ff.;fasti Praen. in CIL I^2 p.235), thus the messenger arriving on the third day (cf.App.b.c. II.98.406 τρίτῃ μάλιστα ἡμέρᾳ) reached Utica on the evening of the 8th; the distance between Thapsus and Utica is about 135 miles.

μάχης μεγάλης πρὸς Θάψῳ γενομένης κτλ.

for detailed descriptions of the battle see Kromayer-Veith III.II.826 ff.;Holmes,Rom.Rep.III.266 ff.

59.1 οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ πολέμῳ Plutarch might have had in mind such scenes as Xenophon's account (Hell.II.2.3) of the news of Aegospotamoi reaching Athens.

59.2 τὸ περιθαμβὲς : ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Plutarch.

59.3 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ the morning of the 9th: see 58.13n.

τοὺς τριακοσίους,οἷς ἐχρῆτο βουλῇ, Ῥωμαίους μὲν ὄντας,ἐν δὲ Ἀδρύτῳ πραγματευομένους ἀπ' ἐμπορίας καὶ δανεισμῶν

these 300 wealthy Roman businessmen, who raised money for Metellus Scipio (b.Afr.88.1) were a part of the conventus of the Roman citizens in Utica (cf.ibid.68.4). Despite the assertion of App.b.c.II.95.397 they did not assume the name

of a senate (Teutsch,Städtewesen 57 f.). πραγματευόμενοι is the accepted translation for 'negotiatores': see exx. in L-S-J s.v.I.2.

εἰς ἱερὸν Διός this temple is not mentioned elsewhere; for the archaeological evidence see Lézine, Carthage. Utique 135.

ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ παῖδας αὐτῶν these must have included some of those who managed to arrive during the night after they had escaped from the battle (cf. b.Afr.88.1 Complures interim ex fuga Uticam perveniunt. quos omnes Cato convocatos...) On the custom in this period of the magistrates in the provinces to invite all present Roman senators to their council see Mommsen RStR I.316.

59.4 βιβλίον ἔχων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνεγίνωσκεν Cato would presumably read silently to himself (cf.19.1n.); for the holding of the roll in both hands see Birt, Buchwesen 304.

ἦν δ' ἀναγραφὴ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὀργάνων,ὅπλων,σίτου,τόξων, πλοίων ἀναγραφή = breviarium, like the breviarium totius imperii (Suet.Aug.101.4) left by Augustus on his death, containing quantum militum sub signis ubique essent, quantum pecuniae in aerario et fiscis et vectigaliorum residuis (cf.Tac.Ann.I.11.6 opes publicae continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et

necessitates et largitiones).

59.9-11 For Cato's speech cf.b.Afr.88.1 Cato...hortatus ut...oppidumque defenderent.

59.6 On Caesar's eventual treatment of the Three hundred after the surrender of Utica see b.Afr.90.1;97.2.

59.8 οὐδ' Ἀδρουμήτου some of the 300 may have had considerable interests in Hadrumetum, a town that was fined by Caesar after Thapsus for its support of the Pompeian cause (b.Afr.97.2)

σφαλμάτων 'disasters': cf.Marc.4.1;Fab.Max.29 (comp.2)2.

59.9 Ἰβηρίας τε πρὸς Πομπήιον ἀφεστώσης τὸν νέον

Gnaeus Pompey, along with his younger brother Sextus, held Spain at this time; for details see e.g.Holmes,Rom.Rep. III.295 ff.;Hadas,Sextus Pompey 42 ff.

αὐτῆς τε τῆς Ῥώμης ... πρὸς πᾶσαν μεταβολήν this may include some wishful thinking on Cato's part, but is certainly based to some extent on the serious troubles in Rome during Caesar's absence in the East.

59.10 οὐδὲ τὸν κίνδυνον . . . τελευτῶν for exx. of similarly complicated comparisons in Plutarch see Ziegler RhM LXXXI.1932,68 f.

ἔχειν διδάσκαλον τὸν πολέμιον cf.cap.inim.ut.90A τί παιδὸς διδάσκαλον ἔμπροσθεν λαβόντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὠφεληθῆναι καὶ μαθεῖν τι τῶν λανθανόντων;

60.1 μόνον ὄντα τοῦτον ἀήττητον ἡγεμόνα καὶ πάσης πρείττονα τύχης this is the first occurrence of a recurring theme (cf. 64.8 and 71.1 below); of all the attributes of the Stoic Sage probably the most characteristic and important for Cato at this stage is Invincibility (see e.g.SVF III.567; 570=Cic.TD III.15 and esp.SVF I.449 ὁ σοφὸς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀήττητος ἐστι). It is Cato's being a perfect Stoic that makes him overcome disaster and remain victorious in defeat, and this is the picture of Cato in the eyes of posterity; cf.Hor.c.II.1.23-4

et cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

Also relevant is Manil.IV.87, whether the text is invictum devicta morte Catonem, as some of the MSS have it, or invicta devictum mente Catonen with Bentley's emendation (followed by Housman) mente for morte (see also Housman's n.ad.loc.). See also Anth.Lat.397

Invictum victis in partibus, omnia Caesar
Vincere qui potuit, te, Cato, non potuit.

60.3 εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὡς χρὴ ἐψηφίσασθαι δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν according to b.Afr.88.1 the proposal came from Cato himself (Cato...hortatus ut servitia manu mitterent). The freeing of slaves in cases of emergency was not an unknown practice with the Romans, the most famous case being that of the 8000 volones who served in the Second Punic War after the State had purchased them from their masters.

οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν ὁ Κάτων · οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νόμιμον οὐδὲ δίκαιον Cato's objection was directed against what he regarded as an unlawful proposal of the council, disposing of slaves who were not in its possession; but see Treggiari, Roman Freedmen 18 f. for evidence that "manumissions were often performed over the heads of the legal owners". The strictly legalistic attitude is well in line with Cato's usual stand in public matters.

60.5 Ἴσβα μὲν ἐν ὄρει παρυμένου μετ' ὀλίγων since Iuba was killed in a suicidal duel with Petreius in his villa in the neighbourhood of Zama a few days later (b.Afr. 94;cf.91) we may assume that he was now hiding in the

inland mountains not too far from Zama.

Σκιπίωνος δὲ κρὺς ἄκρᾳ τινὶ ναυλοχοῦντος οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἱππους Scipio was killed some days later at Hippo Regius (b.Afr. 96); the place mentioned here might have been either Cape Bon or Ras et Tafra, or, less probably, one of the small promontories between Utica and Hippo Regius.

61.2 Cf.Dio XLIII.10.2, according to whom the Uticans now refused to resist Caesar and the senators (and knights) planned flight, and b.Afr.88.2 ...partem adsentire, partem animum mentemque perterritam atque in fugam destinatam habere...

οὐ πολὺν οἱ Κάτωνος λόγοι χρόνον ἐμμείναντες ἐξερρύησαν cf.Them.12.2 ἐξερρύησαν οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

61.3 καθάπερ ... ἐγχεόμενα for the physical theory involved cf.quaest.conv.VI.690CD;prim.frig.949C-F;951C.

61.4 Σκιπίων Metellus Scipio; the names of those strong enough to resist Caesar are given in ascending order.

61.5 ὑπερμαχοῦντες τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας see 53.3n.

61.6 γνόντες σαυτούς i.e. in accordance with the Delphic praecept of γνῶθι σαυτόν , know your place and the conduct becoming for you. The Delphic maxim is very often referred to by Plutarch, the Delphic priest; see Dem.3.2;cap.inim.ut.89A.(cons.Ap.116CD;sept.sap.conv.164B; de-e- 385D;pyth.or.408B;garrul;511B;adv.Col.1118C, and esp. the lengthy discussion in tranq.an.471 ff. For modern treatments see Wilkins, The Delphic Maxims 49 ff.; Defradas, Propaganda Delphique 268 ff.;cf.also 64.5 below.

61.7 οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τοῖς συναλγοῦσιν ἐπεβούλευον cf.Dio XLIII.10.2 οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν τε ἱππέων παρόντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληφθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν (scil.the Uticans).

62.2 Τῶν δ' ἱππέων...τῇ Ἱππῳ on the horsemen's flight from Thapsus to Utica see Strabo XVII.831;b.Afr.87.1; Holmes,Rom.Rep.III.270;533 f.

ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ἐδυναστεύθησαν their number was 1000 or 1500, according to the different MSS in b.Afr.95.1.

62.3 οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ . . . τοὺς δὲ presumably each of the three emissaries was to put foward the views of one of the three parties.

τοὺς δὲ καὶ δόξαν εἶχεν εἰς Ἱππῶνα παριέναι according

to b.Afr.87.4-5 the unarmed multitude, favourable to Caesar and previously ejected by Cato from the city (cf.58.5 above) drove away the horsemen with stones and sticks when they tried to avenge themselves upon these Caesarean partisans for their defeat; the embassy to Cato may have been sent after this incident, which would justify the fear of some of the horsemen from the townspeople; see also 64.1n.

62.4 Μᾶρκον Ῥοῦβριον Münzer, RE IA.1170 no.13, conjectures that he may have been the son of the Rubrius mentioned in 9.1 above and perhaps identical with Rubrius Ruga (ibid.1173 no.23), a conspirator and a former Pompeian (App.b.c.II.113.474;cf.Nic.Dam.24).

62.5 εἰς ἔτη πάμπολλα σῖτον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἔχουσαν cf.58.6 καὶ ὅλως εἶχε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν πόλιν ταμιεῖον. εἰς ἔτη Ziegler in his first edition, like Sintenis, printed εἰς ἔτη τε ; τε stands in Q, εἰς ἔτη in all the other MSS; Ziegler's preference in his second edition for the reading of ^{A} pc is unjustified as τε is certainly needed.

63.2 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι the senators who were with Cato.

63.4 Ἰτυκαίους δέ,Φοίνιξιν ἀνθρώποις εὐμεταβόλοις Fickleness seems not to be one of the accepted national characteristics of the Phoenicians; on the contrary Plutarch describes them elsewhere (praec.ger.reip.799D) as πικρόν,σκυθρωπόν,ὑπῆκοον τοῖς ἄρχουσι,βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ἀγεννέστατον ἐν φόβοις,ἀγριώτατον ἐν ὀργαῖς,ἐπίφονον τοῖς γνωσθεῖσι, πρὸς παιδιὰν καὶ χάριν ἀνῳδύντων καὶ σκληρόν.

cf.also Timol.20.7 τοὺς πανίστους καὶ φονικωτάτους Καρχηδονίους. Fickleness is different from and should not be confused with the infamous Punica fides (for which see exx.in Otto, Sprichw.291).

63.6 ἔντεχνα ... καὶ βάρβαρα for the combination cf.comm. not.1075A.

πρᾴως Martin, GRBS III.1960,67: "that is, without anger or excitement but rather with calmness and self-control."

63.8 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὑπερηφανώτερος there is no other evidence for this. On his health in general see 5.8n.

63.11 τότε καὶ δακρῦσαι τὸν Κάτωνά φασιν for Cato crying cf.54.11 above; for a collection of Roman generals weeping in Plutarch's Lives see Wolman, Plutarchean Views in the Roman Lives 88 f.

64.1 The incident between the horsemen and the mob before the city-wall (b.Afr.87.4-5) seems to be put at this point by the author of the b.Afr. (see ibid.sect.6) and all the moderns following him; but the narrative of the b.Afr. is highly condensed in relation to Plutarch's story. It is reasonable to assume that the skirmish took place at an earlier stage, presumably at their first appearance before the city: see 62.3n.

ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας one of the gates of the city was called the porta Bellica (b.Afr.87.3)).

τὴν ἄκραν no remains of the citadel have as yet been found: see Lézine,op.cit.129.

64.3 οὐδὲν ἄρα κίβδηλον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν ⟨ἐν⟩εμέμικτο τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ again one of the characteristics of the Stoic Sage are revealed in Cato: cf.SVF III.548 ff. (exx. of 'sapiens neque fallitur neque fallit) and esp.647 (=Diog. La.VII.118 ἀκιβδήλους τοὺς σπουδαίους...καὶ ἀπλάστους). For the Uticans' admiration of Cato's singularis integritas

see b.Afr.88.5.

64.4 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄβουλος ... καίπερ οὐ φάσκοντος this is the first appearance (cf.67.3;68.1 etc.) of the motif of the general foreknowledge of Cato's resolution to commit suicide; one suspects that this is a dramatic device of our author (or his source) rather than established fact.

64.5 χάριν ἔχειν ... τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν cf.61.6 above μοχθηροὶ γνόντες ἑαυτούς and n.

οὐδὲ τὸ Κάτωνος φρόνημα χωρεῖσιν Wyttenbach: "non sunt capaces ingenii Catonis"; a unique use of the verb.

64.6-9 Cf.App.b.c.II.98.406 τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις ὑπισχνουμένοις πρὸ ἁπάντων ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δεῖσεσθαι ἐπιμελῶς ἀπεκρίνατο οὐ δεῖσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλαττῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶς.

64.7 κεκραυγάσεσθαι γὰρ εἶναι δέησιν,καὶ ἀδικουμένων παραίτησιν this amounts to an outspoken rejection of the policy of clementia as practised by Caesar; for an even stronger wording cf.66.2 below.

64.8 αὐτὸς δ' οὐ μόνον ἀζήτητος γεγονέναι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον cf.60.1n.

65.1 πυθόμενος ... παρ' ὁδὸν εἶναι Caesar set out from Thapsus to Utica with the greater part of his troops already on the 7th, having sent M.Messala ahead with the cavalry (b.Afr.86.3).

65.3 τὰ τε πλοῖα...ἐπεμελεῖτο cf.b.Afr.88.2;App.b.c.II.98. 406.

65.4 Μᾶρκος Ὀκτάβιος Münzer RE XVII.1823 ff.no.33; Broughton MRR II.302. He was a Pompeian admiral in the Civil War and now probably a legatus pro praetore in Africa. Since the identification with the admiral of Antonius at Actium is to be rejected this is the last we hear of him: he might have found his end shortly after Thapsus like other Pompeian commanders in Africa.
πέμπων ἤδεσαν τὸν Κάτωνα περὶ ἀρχῆς διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν Münzer RE XVII.1825 might be right in interpreting this as a proposal for "Abgrenzung der beiderseitigen Kommandogewalt".

65.6 This version is both more favourable to Cato and less credible than the one given in b.Afr.87.6-8 (equites) Uticam se in oppidum coniecerunt atque ibi multos Uticenses interfecerunt domosque eorum expugnaverunt ac diripuerunt.

quibus cum Cato persuadere nulla ratione quiret, ut secum oppidum defenderent et caede rapinisque desisterent, et quid sibi vellent sciret, sedandae eorum importunitatis gratia singulis C divisit. idem Sulla Faustus fecit etc.

65.10 Στατύλλιος according to 73.7 below and Brut. 51.5-6 he died at Philippi fighting on the side of Brutus; hence the identification with the Epicurean, whose name in the MSS of Brut.12.3 is corrupted into στάλλιον, is certain (see Münzer RE IIIA.2185 no.2; this has been doubted recently by Babut,Plutarque et le Stoicisme 188 f., on insufficient grounds). Plutarch tells us there that he was not invited to join the conspiracy since he professed the view that τῷ σοφῷ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι διὰ φιλίους καὶ ἀνοήτους κινδυνεύειν καὶ ταράττεσθαι μὴ καθῆκειν .

(Incidentally, Statilius is coupled in this story with Cato's intimate friend Favonius, who held the view that χεῖρον εἶναι μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ; he, too, was to die at Philippi). This episode provides us with a clue as to Statilius' social rank; Eutropius (VI.25) tells us expressly what would otherwise be an obvious assumption, namely that the conspirators were all senators and Roman knights; of the score or so of them still identifiable (see list in Groebe, RE X.255) none is known

to be of less than senatorial rank. Thus we are on reasonably safe ground in assuming that Statilius was a Roman knight at least. This puts him on a rather different level than the Greeks Demetrius and Apollonides (see next n.), though there might have been some significance (in the source?) in the fact, that Cato was accompanied during his last days by a Stoic, a Peripatetic and an Epicurean. The question of the identification of our Statilius with Statilius Flaccus, author of some fifteen epigrams contained in the garland of Philippus, (see Gow and Page, The Garland of Philip II.451), must remain open. It would be quite possible chronologically, if we are to accept Reitzenstein's argument (RhM LXXXIX.1930,67 ff.), that the author of Catalepton I. must have been acquainted with Anth.Pal.XII.25-27. Another possibility is to take him to be a Statilius Taurus, just before the rise of the family to fame under Octavian: this would make him a Lucanian (see Nagl RE IIIA 2195 ff.) - a region where Cato must have had influence and friends (see nn.on 20.2 and 52.4 above). The Statilius mentioned in Cic.Att.XII.13.2;14.1 is too obscure to fit into any pattern.

ἀπάθειαν for this Stoic term see 1.3n.

65.11 μισοκαίσαρ this word is also applied by Plutarch to the fellow-Epicurean and tyrannicide Cassius; on Epicureans against Caesar see Momigliano JRS XXXI.1941. 153 ff.

Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τῷ Στωϊκῷ (v.Arnim RE II.121 no.30). The attempts to identify him with any known Apollonides have proved abortive: Apollonides of Smyrna, a Stoic philosopher (ibid.no.31) was according to the Index Stoicorum col.52 a pupil of Diogenes the Babylonian (though v.Arnim RE V.774, followed by Pohlenz, Die Stoa II.91 thinks rather of Antipater of Tarsus), and thus at least two generations older than our Apollonides; the other candidate for identification is a poet of the garland of Philippus (Reitzenstein RE II.119 f.no.26; he, too, might have been of Smyrna, if we are to accept the rather doubtful emendation of the name in Anth.Pal.XVI.235): but he wrote Anth.Pal. IX.287 certainly after Tiberius' return from Rhodes and probably in 14 A.D. (Cichorius,Röm.St.335) and IX.791 perhaps even later (ibid.336). Herrmann, l'ant.class.XX. 1951.101 f.) the last to attempt this identification is apparently unaware of these chronological difficulties.

Δημητρίῳ τῷ Περιπατητικῷ he may be identical with the Peripatetic Demetrius of Byzantium (Martini RE IV.2841

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f.no.87)the author of a work περὶ ποιημάτων (Diog.La.V.83), part of which is preserved on papyrus. He seems also to have written on Socrates (ibid.II.20-21), a fact that may be of some interest for a witness of Cato's suicide (cf.68.2n.). If the philosopher whom Cato took with him from the Cyprian mission (Plin.n.h.VII.113) is to be found among his known companions, Demetrius would be a more obvious choice than Philostratus (cf.57.4n.). Cato visited Byzantium as part of his task under Clodius' legislation (see 36.2 above) and thus a Byzantine philosopher in his suite could well have been brought with him from the Cyprian expedition. Another piece of evidence may relate to Demetrius' further fortunes: in the summer of 45 a certain Demetrius was at Rome, mentioned by Cicero in three closely connected letters to Tiro (fam.XVI.22.2; 17.2;19). The beginning of the first of these passages is crucial: Demetrius iste numquam omnio Phalareus fuit, sed nunc plane Billienus est. The allusion is to a celebrated case of the time when a slave Billienus owned by a Demetrius murdered Domitius. Tyrrell and Purser suggest tentatively the identity of this Demetrius with Pompey's well-known freedman (see 13.3n.) and are followed in this by Shackleton Bailey, Proc.Camb.Phil.Soc.1958-9,12. Shack-

leton Bailey translates the passage thus: "Demetrius was not a wit at the best of times, but now he is an absolute assassin." This identification with Pompey's freedman has nothing to support it save his prominence. Perhaps a more plausible explanation was offered by Schiche, Zu Ciceros Briefen 15 f.: he tries to identify the Demetrius of Cicero's letters to Tiro with our Peripatetic; thus the meaning of 'numquam omnio Phalareus fuit' would be 'he was never a perfect Peripatetic' (for Demetrius of Phalerum as a disciple of Theophrastus in Cicero cf.off.I.3;fin.V.54; leg.III.14). The same letter fam.XVI.22 attests that Cicero was interested in information on Cato at this time (perhaps for his laudatio Porciae: see 2.1-5n.), and the other two letters show that, though Cicero regarded Demetrius as a bore, he was careful not to offend him: he might have been a useful bore. If this interpretation is accepted we can assume that after Cato's death Demetrius returned to Rome; he may have supplied information on Cato to Cicero and perhaps himself composed a work on him, in which he stressed the parallels with Socrates, and which is the ultimate source of all our descriptions of Cato's suicide (cf.Introd.ch.3). (It is noteworthy that already 150 years ago Heeren, De fontibus...Plutarchi 169 f., proposed Apollonides and Demetrius as the sources of this

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section of our Life).

ἀμηχανίᾳ ... προσβλέψας for the rare construction of προσβλέπω with the dative cf.Cam.22.5.

65.12 τὴν τε νῆστα of Apr.9th-10th,46.
τῆς ἐπιοῦσης ἡμέρας Apr.10th.

66.1 Δεύκιος Καῖσαρ,εἰωθὼς μὲν ὢν Καίσαρος ἐκείνου Münzer RE X.471; in Africa - Broughton MRR II.297. His offer to negotiate now should be seen in the light of his role as go-between in 49 (see Shackleton Bailey JRS L.1960, 80 ff.). The connections he might have had in the Caesarean camp did not save him from being put to death, though perhaps without Caesar's consent. For the rather distant relationship (L.Caesar's father and the dictator were third cousins) see the stemma by Münzer RE X.183-4.

συνυποδέσθαι L-S-J ad loc.: 'help in devising'; a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Plutarch.

γόνασι προσπεσεῖν Καίσαρος in the event L.Caesar...se ad genua proiecit (b.Afr.89.4); for this behaviour cf. also Cic.fam.IV.4.3 C.Marcellus se ad Caesaris pedes abiecisset and Lig.13 strati ad pedes.

66.2 Cato's refusal to be saved by Caesar is also recorded by Sen.contr.X.3.5. Clearly Cato is expressing here a doctrine according to which different kinds of behaviour are appropriate for different persons: though efforts should be made to obtain Caesar's pardon for the Uticans, such a course of action would be unthinkable for Cato. Similarly he does not deem it right to send away his son even though he persuades the others to leave (65.9); on the other hand to pursue a political life under Caesar would not be becoming for Cato (sect.4-5 below). Though Cato himself made up his mind to commit suicide, he did not think it appropriate for Statilius (65.10-11). Curiously one incident belonging to the same category has not been included by Plutarch in our Life: in Cic.38.1 we are told that when Cato met Cicero in the Pompeian camp at the beginning of the Civil War he said to him αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν,ἐκεῖνον δὲ χρησιμώτερον ὄντα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις,εἰ μένων ἴσως ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβαῖνον ἡρμόζετο,κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης πολέμιον γεγονέναι Καίσαρι καὶ τοσοῦτο μεθέξοντα κινδύνου δεῦρ' ἥκειν.

Cato's views seem to be in accordance with Panaetius' doctrine about the three personae to be found in Cicero's account of the decorum (off.I.107 ff.); and indeed Cicero

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cites Cato's suicide to illustrate Panaetius' teaching (ibid.112): Atque haec differentia naturarum tantam habet vim, ut non numquam mortem sibi ipse consciscere alius debeat, alius in eadem causa non debeat. Num enim alia in causa M.Cato fuit, alia ceteri, qui se in Africa Caesari tradiderunt? Atqui ceteris forsitan vitio datum esset, si se interemissent, propterea quod lenior eorum vita et mores fuerant faciliores: Catoni cum incredibilem tribuisset natura gravitatem, eamque ipse perpetua constantia roborasset semperque in proposito susceptoque consilio permansisset, moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus fuit.

66.3 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ συνέστησε cf.b.Afr.88.3 liberis suis L.Caesari...commendatis...

66.4-5 πολιτείας ἀπεῖπεν...τὸ δ' ἅλλως αἰσχρὸν εἶναι a perfect example of the mingling of the Roman statesman and the Stoic in Cato: according to the philosophical doctrine everyone should do or refrain from doing what is appropriate for him in accordance with his nature (see n. on sect.2 above); but it is Roman political doctrine and the traditions of the nobilitas that make it contrary to the nature of a Cato to take part in political life under a

tyrant. For retiring from politics as censure of the regime (e.g.Cicero, L.Piso under Tiberius, Thrasea Paetus) see Wirszubski, Libertas 141.

66.6 τὸ βαλανεῖον the now extant remains of baths in Utica, public and private, are from the Imperial period: see Lézine, op.cit.141 ff.

67.1 ἐδείπνει καθήμενος cf.App.b.c.II.98.407 and 56.7 above.

τῶν Ἰτυκαίων οἱ ἄρχοντες mentioned also in App.b.c. II.98.407; Utica obtained for her support of the Roman cause in the Third Punic War the status of a civitas libera et immunis (see e.g.Abbott and Johnson 39); thus the city had now presumably the same magistrates that are mentioned by App.Lib.113.538 for the year 147 (cf. also Gsell II.291).

67.2 καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ πότος ἔσχε μοῦσαν πολλὴν καὶ χάριν as was Cato's habit; cf.6.2-4 above.

τὰ παράδοξα καλούμενα τῶν Στωϊκῶν,τὸ μόνον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐλεύθερον,δοῦλους δὲ τοὺς φαύλους ἅπαντας.

Besides many short references there are three detailed treatments of this paradox extant: the fifth Stoic paradox

of Cicero ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος ; Philo's early work Quod omnis probus liber (περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι) and Epict.diss. IV.1. The two parts of the thesis, viz. "that only the wise man is free" and "that the fool is a slave" form one paradox according to Cicero, but are taken definitely as two different paradoxes by Philo. It is noteworthy that Cicero sent the parad.Stoic. to Brutus in early May 46, before he heard the news of Cato's suicide (cf. Gelzer, Cicero 272). For Plutarch's attitude to the Stoic paradoxes see Babut, Plutarque et le Stoicisme 100 f.

67.3 ἀντιβάντος τοῦ Περιπατητικοῦ Cicero's pro Murena provides us with a striking example of the sort of the objections and ridicule the Stoic paradoxes were liable to encounter from the opponents of the Porch.

τραχύτητα φωνῆς cf. 5.3n.

ὥστε μη ἕνα λαθεῖν ὅτι τῷ βίῳ πέρας ἔγνωκεν ἐπιθεὶς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι τῶν παρόντων see 64.4n.

67.4 ἀναλαμβάνων ... βάρβαρον for Cato's concern for the departing cf.princ.iner.781D καὶ Κάτων ἐν Ἰτύκῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης ἐκήρυττε πέμπειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἐμβιβάσας,εὔπλοιαν εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

and App.b.c.II.98.408 συνελεσχήνευε τοῖς παροῦσι περὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευκότων καὶ ἡρώτα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος,εἰ κατὰ πρύμνην ἔσοιτο αὐτοῖς,καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος,εἰ φθάσουσι πόρρω γενέσθαι,πρὶν ἐς ἔω Καίσαρα ἐπελθεῖν.

68.1 τόν τε παῖδα καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον εἰδὼς προσαγαγόμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς τὸν υἱὸν ἡσπάσατο φιλοφρονέστερον cf.App.b.c.II.98.408 and Flor.II.13.71 filium comitesque ab amplexu dimisit.

πάλιν ὑποφίαν παρέσχε τοῦ μέλλοντος cf.64.4n.

68.2 τῶν Πλάτωνος διαλόγων τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς Cato's reading of the Phaedo on the eve of his suicide is attested also by App.b.c.II.98.409; Dio XLIII.11.2;Flor.II.13.71; vir.ill.80.4.The reasons for the choice of this dialogue must have been both its theme (Flor.:(Platonis liber) qui immortalitatem animae docet; vir.ill.: (Platonis liber) qui de bono mortis est) and the grand example derived from Socrates' last day (Dio παραμυθιόν τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν may imply both). The association between suicide and the reading of the Phaedo was already made by Callimachus (epigr.23 Pf.=Page and Gow, Hellenist.Epigr.Call.53):

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Εἶπας "Ἥλιε χαῖρε" Κλεόμβροτος ὡμβρακιώτης
ἦλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς Ἀΐδην
ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἰδὼν θανάτου κακόν, ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνος
ἓν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενος.

This epigram was well-known and often quoted throughout antiquity (see the testimonia in Pfeiffer and Page and Gow); in Cato's own time it is referred to by Cicero (Scaur.4; cf.TD I.84). The Phaedo was also one of the two books, together with Demosthenes' de falsa legatione, which Dio of Prusa took with him during his 'exile' (Philostr.VS 1.7).

If the identification of Butas, Cato's freedman-secretary, with the author of Roman Αἰτία is to be accepted (see 70.3n.) he must have taken Callimachus as his model and this might have a bearing on the spread of the story of Cato's reading the Phaedo before his suicide. For the association between the figures of Cato and Socrates see also discussion in Introd.ch.3. For the titles On the Soul and Phaedo see the discussions on the double titles of the Platonic dialogues in Alline, Histoire du texte de Platon 55 f. and Nachmanson, Der gr.Buchtitel 11; Plutarch himself refers to this dialogue as περὶ ψυχῆς also in non posse suav.1130F and an.procr.Tim.1013D; cf. also the spurious cons.Ap.120DE; the title Phaedo occurs only in

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the spurious de fato 572B.

68.3 σιωπῶντος δ' ἐκείνου πάλιν ἦν πρὸς τῷ βιβλίῳ A but τὸ βιβλίδιον read πρός ; for this use of πρός with the accus. (L-S-J s.v. C.III.3.c) in Plutarch see Nic.5.2;Brut.36.3;Ant.37.6.

68.5 ἑνὸς δὲ καὶ πρῶ τὸ στόμα κατάξας ἥμαξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα a unique example of Cato losing his temper in most un-Stoic manner.

ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Weissenberger, op.cit.24 proposes to print αὐτοῦ (as in Cic.51(comp.2)).

68.6 παρανοίας 'sword to a madman' seems to have had proverbial force: see Otto, Sprichwörter 154; add Plato, Rep.I.331C

68.8 καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα βραχὺν χρόνον ἐπισχόντα καὶ τὴν περαλῆν ἄκας κατάξαντα πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἀποθανεῖν ἔνεστι App.b.c.II.98.409 presents in addition to these two modes of suicide also the alternatives of δι' ἐσθῆτος ἑαυτὸν ἀποπνῖξαι and ἐς τράχηλον κυβιστῆσαι ; on the absence of the possibility

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of hanging from our text see Hirzel, Der Selbstmord 93 f., on the disgrace associated with this form of suicide.

69.1 τὸ μειράκιον (cf.also 66.4) according to Miltner RE XII.166 he was rather more than less than twenty years of age at this time. For Plutarch's use of this term see Amend, Über die Bedeutung von ΜΕΙΡΑΚΙΟΝ und ΑΝΤΙΗΛΙΞ.

69.2 ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ βίῳ for Cato's age see 73.1n. Is this a reference to recall Socrates' insistence on his age in court (Plato,Apol.17c;37d;39b) ?

69.4 καίτοι βεβουλευμαι μὲν οὐθὲν ἔγωγε περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ thus contradicting the already accepted belief (see 64.4n.) that he had for some time made up his mind to die.

69.5 βουλεύσομαι δὲ τρόπον τινὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν, βουλευόμενος μετὰ τῶν λόγων οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς φιλ[οσοφ]εῖτε χρῆσθαι for what Cato's attitude in such a discussion would be see the Stoic teaching in Cic.off.I.112 (quoted in 66.2n.) for which Cato is brought in as model; for an excellent modern discussion see Hirzel, Der Selbstmord 73 ff. On the other hand nothing is known about the Peripatetics' attitude to

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suicide and Hirzel,op.cit.78, tries to derive it solely from Demetrius' behaviour towards Cato. But his contention, that the objections came mainly from Demetrius and not Apollonides, seems not to be borne out by the facts.

ἔπειτε καὶ κελεύσετε τὸν υἱόν, ἃ μὴ δύναται τὸν πατέρα πείθειν, μὴ βιάζεσθαι here again, as before (65.11) towards Statilius, Cato invokes the reasoning power of the two professional philosophers; and here, as there, he does so with more than a touch of irony.

70.1 διὰ παιδίου μικροῦ a fact not recorded elsewhere and suspect of being introduced by Plutarch for the dramatic effect produced by the antithesis of letting a small - ergo innocent - boy carry the instrument of death.

70.2 τὸ δὲ βιβλίον αὖθις ἀνεγνωσκε, καὶ λέγεται δὶς ὅλον διεξελθεῖν the claim that Cato read through the book twice is not recorded in any of the parallel accounts, does hardly stand to reason, is unlikely considering the length of the book, and last but not least it is difficult to see how this information could have been obtained by the ultimate source; on the other hand one cannot see what purpose would be served by introducing this detail into the story.

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70.3 Κλεάνθην τὸν ἰατρὸν otherwise unknown (but 'a doctor' or 'doctors' are mentioned in the parallel accounts of Cato's death); Münzer RE XI.558 no.1 conjectures that Cato may have named him after the Stoic who succeeded Zeno of Citium as head of the School. On freedman-doctors in Roman households see Treggiari, Roman Freedmen 129 ff.

Βούταν, ᾧ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις ἐχρῆτο the identification with the Butas, who wrote elegiac Αἴτια on Roman customs (Rom.21.8;Arnob.V.18), first apparently made by Rohde, Gr.Rom.(1st.ed.1876) 103, and accepted, inter al. by Knaack RE III.1080 no.2; Schmid-Stählin II.I.324, rests on the identity of names alone (but for the possible relevance of this identification if correct see 68.2n.). On freedmen as political agents see Treggiari, op.cit.177 ff.

70.4 φράσοι according to Hein, de optativo 112, there are only two instances of ὅπως +opt.fut. in Plutarch, namely this place and Phoc.20.1 ἔσοιτο ; since the construction is very rare in classical, and entirely absent from later writers. Hein proposes to emend to φράζοι and γένοιτο respectively.

ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν ἔπληξε for examples of the figura etymologica in Plutarch see Weissenberger, op.cit. 25; add to these πόνους ἐπόνει 64.4 above and

νόσον νοσέω Nic.17.3;Crass.33.8.

ὡς ζωτικῶς ἐχόντος αὐτοῦ cf.64.4n. L-S-J translate ad loc. 'to be fond of life'; Wyttenbach n. ad praec.san.tu.130B 'vitalem esse'; the expression seems to be unique.

70.5 Κράσσον Münzer RE XIII.348 no.75 identifies him with P.Licinius Crassus Iunianus, a Pompeian who struck coins in Africa; but the identification with Licinius Crassus Damasippus (Münzer RE XIII.294 f.no.65), who was with Iuba in Africa in 49 (Caes.b.c.II.43) and was killed shortly after the surrender of Utica together with Metellus Scipio at Hippo Regius (b.Afr.96) seems at least as probable.

70.6 ᾠδὴ δ' ὄρνιθες ᾖδον probably cocks' crows rather than birds singing (thus correctly Didot). According to Dio XLIII.11.3 Cato committed suicide at midnight; Flor.II. 13.71 circa primam vigiliam.

70.7 περὶ τοὺς λιμένας for the literary evidence on the port of Utica see Gsell II.144.

70.8-10 For a comparison of the main sources of Cato's death see the synopsis pp. 64a-b with the discussion. Despite the minor differences their concurrence testifies

to their dependance on a common ultimate source. A large number of other sources mention Cato's suicide without offering significant details or describe it with poetic licence (Anth.Lat.398,399). Unfortunately Cicero, whose contemporary correspondence contains a number of references to Cato's suicide, never enters into its manner and does not supply relevant particulars.

70.8 ἀβάκιόν τι τῶν γεωμετρικῶν παρακείμενον on the use of the abacus see de Ste.Croix, Studies in the History of Accounting 60.

71.1 μετὰ φωνῆς τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ μόνον ἐλεύθερον καὶ μόνον ἀήττητον καλοῦντων Even the Caesarean author of b.Afr.88.5 concedes the favourable attitude of the Uticans towards Cato, quamquam oderant partium gratia. For the titles of σωτῆρ and εὐεργέτης see Charlesworth, Harv.Th.R.XXVIII.1935,8 ff.;Nock, Papers...P.C.Grant, μόνον ἐλεύθερον 127 ff.;Raubitschek JRS XLIV.1954,65 ff. must be an addition, derived from the discussion in 67.2 above. For the phrase μόνον ἀήττητον cf.60.1n.

71.2 ἀγγελλομένου προσίεναι Καίσαρος On the morning of Apr.11th (the main indications of the dates are:

58.13 - evening 8th
59.3 - morning 9th
65.12 - night 9th-10th
66.6 - evening 10th
70.3 - midnight 10th-11th
70.6 - dawn 11th

Gsell VIII.139 ff arrives at the date of Apr.13th: though closely following Plutarch's narrative he interposes two changes of date in cch.60-65 where none are indicated). Caesar set out from Thapsus late on the 7th (see b.Afr. 86.3 and 65.1n.); the distance between the two towns is about 135 miles, so that even Caesar's famous speed would not be sufficient to reach Utica on the 11th, even if we allow for his considerable effort to speed up his pace (cf.72.1; on Caesar's marching speed see Fröhlich, Das Kriegswesen Caesars 206 ff.). On the other hand the cavalry of Caesar, sent ahead under M.Messala (b.Afr.86.3), would presumably arrive on the fifth day (cf. Fröhlich, op.cit. 209), i.e. on the 11th. Thus it should be assumed that Caesar's cavalry, not Caesar himself, was now approaching the town. In this light should be interpreted b.Afr.88.7 ...Caesari imperatori obviam proficiscitur. Messala, ut erat imperatum, Uticam pervenit etc. On the possible significance of Messala accepting the capitulation of

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Utica see Introd.ch.3.

71.3 κοσμήσαντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα λαμπρῶς καὶ πομπὴν ἐπιφανῆ παρασχόντες καὶ θάψαντες παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν the public burial is recorded also by b.Afr.88.5;App.b.c.II.99.414;Dio XLIII.11.6;on public burials in Rome see Marquardt, Privatleben 350. The epigram attributed to Varro Atacinus, Anth.Lat.414

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato nullo,
Pompeius parvo. credimus esse deos?

cannot of course be accepted as evidence on Cato's tomb.

νῦν there is no evidence that Plutarch ever visited Africa, so that one cannot be too cautious in accepting this as eye-witness evidence.

ἀνδριὰς . . . ἔστηται nothing else is known about this statue. The only known sculpture that can be attributed with certainty to Cato is a bronze bust found in 1943/4 in Morocco: see Thouvenot CRAI 1945,592 ff.; Gross RE XXII.211 ff.; Picard,Festschr.Schweitzer 334 ff.; but see also de Agostino, Boll.d'Arte XXX.1936-7,374 ff. for an Italian marble probably depicting Cato.

οὕτως ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὸ σῴζειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν this may be derived, ultimately, from the inscription on the base of the statue, praising Cato as conservator of city and inhabitants.

72.1 προσῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπειγόμενος cf.Caes.54.1 Κάτωνα δὲ λαβεῖν ζῶντα φιλοτιμούμενος,ἔσπευδε πρὸς Ἰτύκην.

72.2 ὁ Κάτων κτλ. almost exactly the same words in reg.imp.apophth.206E;Caes.54.2 (whence Zon.X.10); Val.Max.V.1.10 (Caesar...se illius gloriae invidere et illum suae invidisse dixit); drawing on the same tradition are also Dio XLIII.12.1 and App.b.c.II.99.414; cf.also ps.-Quint. decl.379 Caesar Catoni voluit ignoscere.

72.3 εἰκάζεται δὲ τὰ χρηστότερα περὶ Καίσαρος this is also the opinion of Dio XLIII.13.3.

73.1 According to this Cato must have been born between Apr. 13th,95 and Apr.12th,94; this is in harmony with all the other express data in the Life (he was four years old when the Allies agitated for the citizenship in 95 - see 2.1-5n.; in his fourteenth year during Sulla's proscriptions, i.e. before June 1st,81 - 3.5n.) as well as with the evidence of Liv.per.114 (Cato...expiravit anno aetatis XLVIII;cf.Renders,l'ant.cl.VIII.1939,114).Cato's birthdate can be fixed more accurately within the year if the deductions on the age of candidates presented in 39.3n. are accepted: according to these Cato must have finished

his thirtieth year at the time of the quaestorian elections in 65, but was not yet 39 at what would have been the normal time for the praetorian elections in 56; this would put Cato's birthday into the late summer or early autumn of 95.

73.2 ὁ δ' υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρὰ Καίσαρος μὲν οὐδὲν ἠδικήθη cf.b.Afr.89.5;App.b.c.II.100.416;Dio XLIII.12.1;Liv.per.114 on pardoning young Cato and Val.Max.V.1.10 Catonis...patrimonium...liberis ipsius incolumem servavit.

73.3 ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκίᾳ Cato the son was probably with his brother-in-law Brutus in the summer of 43 (Cic.ad Brut.13.3;22.1); his sojourn in Cappadocia could well have taken place between this time and the battle of Philippi. Cicero (fam.XV.4.15) makes Cappadocia, together with Cyprus, Cato's 'maximae clientelae'; what the exact nature and origins of this clientship was is not clear, but it must have been this relationship that brought Cato's son to Cappadocia. Brutus himself was during most of this time in the western part of Asia Minor.

τινὶ . . . Μαραθάτῃ τῶν βασιλικῶν otherwise unknown; for the royal family of Cappadocia see Reinach, Trois Royaumes de l'Asie Mineure, 56 ff.

73.4 These three catalectic trochaic tetrameters must remain a puzzle as far as their authorship and provenance are concerned. It can be assumed only that indeed they were written when, or soon after, Cato was in Cappadocia; but it is even impossible to know whether these lines formed part of a longer work or whether they were single lines to start with; for the multifarious literary activities in the East at the time one may remember Artabazes, who is reported some years previously as writing, inter al., tragedies (Crass.33.2).Little can be said of the verses themselves: the metre is regular, though the completely uniform dissolutions after the diaeresis may be of some significance.

ὁδὸ φίλοι ψυχὴ μία for this proverbial phrase (thus expressly defined in Aristot.EN 1168b7) see Bur.Or.1045; Cic.am.81;92; Otto,Sprichwörter 25 f.; for the similar theme of animae dimidium meae see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor.c.I.3.8. For ψυχή as a term of endearment see L-S-J s.v.I.2.

Ψυχὴ otherwise a proper name of the heroine of the story of Amor and Psyche in Apuleius and the maid in Petronius; cf. also IBM 7404 etc.

73.5 δόσκλειαν apparently a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Plutarch.

ἀγωνιζόμενος...παρασχών from the same source the similar description in Brut.49.9 (whence Zon.X.20): see Introd. ch.3; cf.also App.b.c.IV.135.571 and Vell.II.71.2.

73.6 For Porcia, Cato's eldest daughter from his first wife Atilia see 25.4n.; for her marriage to Brutus in June 45 see Miltner RE XXII.217; her death in June 43 (see Brut. 53.6-7;Cic.ad Brut.25.7;17) was later superseded by a tradition that made her commit suicide after Brutus' death at Philippi. For this tradition, used by Plutarch here and in Brut.53.5 (where Nicolaus of Damascus and Valerius Maximus are quoted as authorities) see Val.Max.IV.6.5; Mart.I.42;App.b.c.IV.136;574;Dio XLVII.49.3;Polyaen.VIII. 32;Jerome,adv.Iov.I.46; for its refutation see Mommsen, Hermes XV.1880,101 f.; Miltner RE XXII.217 f. On Porcia's representation in the literature cf. also the discussion in Introd.ch.3.

ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Βροῦτου γέγραπται namely in ch.13 (Porcia's knowledge of the conspiracy) and 53 (her death). On the cross-reference and the relative chronology of the two Lives see Introd.ch.5.

73.7 Στατύλλιος...ἀνελεῖν cf.65.10-11;66.6-7 above.

ὕστερον ... χρησιμώτατον cf.Brut.12.3.

ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀπέθανεν for the detailed story of his death see Brut.51.5-6.

I : SERVILIA AND CAEPIO

The exact identity of two close relations of Cato, for both of whom our Life provides the most important evidence, presents some difficulties which call for detailed investigation.

First, Servilia. She is mentioned three times in the Cato minor :

(a) in 24.4-5 we are told that Lucullus divorced her because of her adulterous conduct although she had given birth to a child (undated)

(b) in 29.6 her being married to Lucullus (in 63) is mentioned

(c) in 54.1 Servilia, now (in 49) single, together with her son Lucullus accompany Cato to the East: this gave Caesar opportunity for attacking Cato, presumably in the Anticato and insinuating incestuous relations (cf.Introd.ch.3).

The story of Servilia's divorce is also repeated in the Life of Lucullus (38.1) : on all these four occasions Plutarch expressly refers to her as Cato's sister.

Our remaining evidence concerning Servilia consists of two passages of Cicero:

(a) Att.I.18.3 (Jan.20th,60) : nam M.Luculli uxorem

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Memmius suis sacris initiavit. Menelaus aegre id passus divortium fecit. quanquam ille pastor Idaeus Menelaum solum contempserat, hic noster Paris tam Menelaum quam Agamemnonem liberum non putavit.

In the light of Plutarch's evidence the adulterous wife of L.Lucullus-Agamemnon must have been Servilia: the details added to our knowledge are the name of Servilia's lover - or, at any rate one of them - C.Memmius - , and the date of the affair.

But it is the second passage of Cicero that compells us to reconsider, and eventually revise, our views as to Servilia's relationship to Cato.

In the third book of de finibus (the dramatic date is 52, the scene the Tusculan villa of young Lucullus, L. Lucullus' orphan) Cicero is addressing Cato:

Et quidem, Cato, hanc totam copiam iam Lucullo nostro notam esse oportebit; nam his libris eum malo quam reliquo ornatu villae delectari. Est enim mihi magnae curae (quamquam hoc quidem proprium tuum munus est), ut ita eruditur, ut et patri et Caepioni nostro et tibi tam propinquo respondeat. Laboro autem non sine causa; nam et avi eius memoria moveor (nec enim ignoras, quanti fecerim Caepionem, qui, ut opinio mea fert, in principibus iam esset, si viveret) et Lucullus mihi versatur ante oculos, vir cum

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omnibus excellens, tum mecum et amicitia et omni voluntate sententiaque coniunctus. Praeclare, inquit, facis, cum et eorum memoriam tenes, quorum uterque testamento liberos suos commendavit, et puerum diligis. (sect.8-9).

On the evidence of Plutarch that Servilia, young Lucullus' mother, was the sister of Cato and Caepio (who was universally identified with the Caepio of our passage), the text was held to be erroneous and the older editors and commentators proposed to emend avi to avunculi, while Madvig in his masterly edition preferred to attribute the error to Cicero's inadvertance. This was followed by Münzer, RAA 335, who also added the linguistic consideration that avunculus was at Cicero's time a word only recently accepted in literary usage. Nevertheless he drew attention to the gravity of what he believed was Cicero's carelessness, the de finibus being dedicated to Brutus, himself a Caepio by adoption, and a close relative of all concerned (see below).

Cichorius[1] objected to this method of changing the text and proposed instead to accept it as it stands -

1) Festgabe Bezold 59 ff. All references in this Appendix to Cichorius are to this article, which is basic for the problems under discussion.

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though then we must abandon the notion that Servilia was Cato's sister. Cichorius raised four points against the acceptance of this relationship:

(a) If Servilia was Cato's uterine sister from their mother's first marriage she must have been born in the first years of the century at the latest: this would put her marriage to Lucullus to a time when she was in her thirties and would make her son some twenty years younger than Brutus, her sister's son.

(b) Her morals, the cause of her divorce from Lucullus, would ill suit her age: Caesar's attack in particular would be ridiculous if she were a lady of about fifty at the time of the Eastern journey with Cato.

(c) If Servilia were Cato's sister her father would have been Q.Servilius Caepio pr.91 (Münzer RE IIA.1786 f.no.50); it would be an absurd proposition that a patrician nobilis would commend in his will his children to the son of a knight from Arpinum, sixteen years old at the time of the death of the praetorian.

(d) Cichorius introduces as his main argument the absence of this Servilia from the list of Livia's children in Cato min. l.l.

Among these (a) is hardly a decisive point: a previous marriage can always be taken into account as an alternative

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assumption.

The same may be said of (b): Servilia's affair with Memmius would have taken place when she was in her late thirties - hardly an unprecedented possibility; the evidence of Caesar's attacks should be treated with the utmost caution, owing to our ignorance of their exact nature.

Cichorius' insistence on his 'main argument' (d) is also inconclusive: his reliance on the 'sehr gut unterrichtete Quelle Plutarch(s)' is inconsistent with the error he ascribes to it concerning Livia's relationship with Livius Drusus; nevertheless the absence of a second Servilia from the list of Livia's children is a valid, if inconclusive, argument.

Yet Cichorius' strongest argument, and one which by itself is decisive, is (c). Caepio, Livia's first husband, would under no circumstances commend in his will his children to the boy Cicero: either Cicero's statement in the de finibus is wrong - a most unlikely possibility - or else Servilia was not Cato's sister[2].

2) Two well-known cases of literary history may offer parallels, however remote, for the mistake of projecting the status of later famous men to their youth: the Culex cannot be a poem of young Vergil because it is addressed

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What caused Plutarch's repeated and consistent error is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. A likely explanation would be that Plutarch's source did not contain an explicit statement on the exact relationship between Cato and Servilia, and their being brother and sister was Plutarch's inference - perhaps influenced by the existence of the other Servilia, Cato's half-sister and Brutus' mother, a lady of no better fame.

Having rejected Plutarch's evidence the true identity of Servilia and her relationship to Cato must now depend on the identification of her father, the Caepio mentioned in the de fin. passage.

This, in its turn, is a question that cannot be treated separately from that of the identity of the Servilii Caepiones in the last generation of the Republic. Here our evidence is both fragmentary and confused: an attempt to sort it out cannot be made without surveying it in its entirety. This, incidentally, will link up the problem of Servilia's identity with that of the career of Caepio, Cato's half-brother.

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to the boy Octavius (Fraenkel,JRS XLII.1952,7 ff.);the Dialogus could not have been written by Tacitus in the reign of Titus and Domitian, because Fabius Iustus was then a mere lad (Syme,Tacitus II.671).

The following Servilii Caepiones are attested for the final years of the Republic:

(1) Cato's half-brother. The bulk of the information about him comes from our Life. He is first mentioned in the enumeration of Livia's children (1.1); in the anecdote about Cato and Poppaedius Silo we are told (2.3) that Caepio showed a less headstrong spirit than his brother; in 3.8-10 we hear about the great love of the two brothers and are told that they never parted company up to Cato's reaching the age of twenty. In 72, when Caepio was a military tribune under Gellius in the war against Spartacus, Cato volunteered in order to serve with his brother (8.1); the last we hear of Caepio is his death in 67 "on his way to Asia in Aenus" (11.1-3);here we are also told that he left a small daughter, who inherited from him together with Cato (11.6).

Caepio, as the name shows, was Cato's uterine half-brother: their mother Livia's first[3] marriage was to Q. Servilius Caepio pr.91, whose sister Servilia in her turn married the brother of Livia, M.Livius Drusus, the famous tribune of 91. This, of course, makes Caepio the elder of the two brothers: but Cichorius, while accepting the order of Livia's marriages as proved by Münzer, uses some involved

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3)as has been convincingly demonstrated by Münzer RAA 295 ff.

arguments to show that Caepio was the younger brother, himself born a Porcius Cato and adopted by a Servilius. There is no need to refute Cichorius' fantasies, and Münzer's arguments too, though correct, were superfluous, since we possess express evidence, unnoticed by them, that Caepio was the elder of the two brothers: he is explicitly so described in a further passage of Plutarch containing information about the brotherly love of Cato and Caepio, (frat.am.487C).

(2) Servilia's father We have seen that Servilia was not Cato's sister and her father not Livia's first husband. Cichorius counts five clues in the crucial passage Cic.fin. III.8-9 as to the identity of Servilia's father:

(a) he was dead by 52 although he could have been alive under natural circumstances

(b) if he were alive he would have been one of the principes: Cichorius takes this to mean that he must have been born in the decade 110-100 like Caesar, Pompey and Cicero; he also assumes that Caepio died a praetorian.

(c) at his death he left at least two children (liberos)

(d) he was on close terms with Cicero, since he commended in his will his children to him and to Cato

(e) Young Lucullus is his grandson, thus the wife of L.Lucullus must have been a Servilia - a fact attested by

Plutarch.

Among these (a) (d) and (e) seem unobjectionable; in (b) Cichorius is overstressing his point: Cicero might easily overestimate Caepio's prospects, out of politeness towards Cato (this,on the dramatic level of the dialogue) and Brutus (on the level of reality: Brutus, himself a Servilius Caepio by adoption (see below) is the addressee of the de finibus).

On the other hand strong exception must be taken to (c) - especially so since Cichorius draws the most far-fetched conclusions from it. First, 'uterque ...liberos suos commendavit' does not necessarily mean that both men (Caepio and Lucullus) had more than one child. Now it is quite possible that L.Lucullus had indeed more than one: his son's praenomen seems to have been Marcus (Val.Max.IV. 7.4)[4] and thus he might have been a second son[5]: though this hypothesis is not necessary, our passage might be interpreted as supporting it.

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4)see Drumann-Groebe IV.188.8; the Aphrodisius, freedmen of a L.Lucullus (CIL VI.III.21230) may pertain to this elder brother, presumably the issue of Lucullus' first marriage to Clodia.

5)there is also a possibility that a second child of Lucullus was Licinia, daughter of a L.Licinius Lucullus (IG.III.I. 865).

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Even without assuming that Lucullus had two children or more our passage still does not of necessity mean that Caepio had more than one child: its meaning may be one child for each man - in an infrequent Latin usage, but nevertheless attested for Cicero [6].

(3) Q.Servilius Caepio Brutus Servilia, Cato's uterine sister (Münzer RE IIA.1817 ff.no.101) was married twice: her only child from her first marriage to M.Iunius Brutus, tr.pl.83 (Münzer RE X.972 f.no.52) was the future tyrannicide of the same name. His career is too well-known to warrant a reappraisal, but the twin points of his adoption and his subsequent name are both contraversial and of relevance to our subject.

In his first appearance in our extant sources - his involvement in the so-called Vettius-affair in 59 - Cicero refers to him as 'Caepio hic Brutus' [7].

6)see Kühner-Stegmann I.87.;Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr II.16.

7)Att.II.24.2; the MSS read Cn., but this must be either an interpolation or a corruption for Q.(see below). Shackleton Bailey would accept it as a mistake 'if the adoption was only recent'. This would mean assuming that Cicero knew that Brutus was recently adopted by a Servilius Caepio, but was not certain who exactly he was. Another, equally

The demonstrative hic is variously interpreted: Cichorius thought that it indicates that Brutus was at the time the object of talk in Rome in connection with his name, or, in other words, that his adoption was recent.

Shackleton Bailey raises the possibility that hic was to distinguish him from another Caepio, namely the rejected bridegroom of Iulia (see below): he draws attention to the parallel Att.VI.1.17 Scipio hic Metellus.

Though Brutus continued to use his inherited name after the adoption - it is the name under which he is immortalized in history and literature - his adoptive name appears in official contexts as well as in some literary texts.

Thus Cicero (Phil.X.25 f.;cf.fam.VII.21) refers to him in his official capacity as a magistrate as Q.Caepio Brutus; in the Amphiaraon of Oropus (IG VII.383) he is honoured as

Κοΐντον Κ[αι]πίωνα Κοΐν[του] υἱὸν Βροῦτον

while in an inscription from Delos (Inscr.Délos,1622) he is simply called Caepio: but it is possible that on a neighbouring stone, now lost, his full name is given, as Raubitschek suggests (see n.10 below). Among literary

absurd, explanation would be that Cicero was not familiar with the praenomen of a patrician nobilis.

sources some passages in later Greek historians employ various forms of Caepio Brutus (App.III.13.39;b.c.II.111.464;Dio XLI.63.6); and, more disturbingly, such a usually dependable authority as Asconius once writes M.Caepionen [8].

The nomen gentilicium Servilius is nowhere attested for Brutus in our literary tradition; this, together with a statement of the treatise de praenominibus 2 (printed in Kempf's ed. of Valerius Maximus p.589) quin etiam quaedam cognomina in nomina versa sunt, ut Caepio: namque hoc in Bruto nominis locum obtinuit, has caused the most far-fetched conclusions as to Brutus' nomenclature [9]; but a

8)p.340=30K-S=338t. None of these editors accepts the paradosis: Kiessling and Schoell print it with a dagger, Clark accepts Manutius' emendation Q.Caepionen, Stangl has M. Catonem. But Ed.Meyer, Caesars Monarchie 224, has shown that the passage does refer to Brutus and thus it will be best to accept the paradosis and with it a certain inaccuracy in that otherwise so careful writer. It is possible that a similar use of M.Servilius is attested, if the tessera nummularia from the year 46 no.71(60) pertains to Brutus (see Herzog RE XVII.1445).

9)Mommsen,Röm.Forsch.I.51, was the first among the moderns to accept Caepio as a nomen; he is followsd by Schulze, Gesch.Lat.Eigenn.309; Münzer,RAA 337, even wanted to see

lucky find of the base of Brutus' statue in Athens seems now to establish that he was called, after all, Q.Servilius Caepio Brutus [10]. The only remaining form to explain is the inscription from Oropus with the filiation between cognomen and adoption-cognomen. A parallel to this practice is M.Piso M.f.Frugi [11]; both men preferred not to use their new nomen whenever possible: but neither this nor the place of the filiation between the cognomina is sufficient to surmise that the official status of a nomen gentilicum was given to a cognomen.

What remains is the statement in the de praenominibus: the author of this slight treatise, an epitome from a book of unknown authorship, one can only flatter in stating that on ground of insufficient evidence he arrived at the same faulty conclusions as Mommsen, Münzer and Syme.

(4) Brutus' adoptive father is nowhere mentioned in literature. His name was Q.Servilius Caepio and he adopted

in this a precedent of 'Imperator Caesar Augustus'; a similar view is held by Syme, Historia VII.1958,176.

10)see Raubitschek, Atti 3° Congr.Intern.Epigr.Gr.e L., Rome 1957 (publ.1959) 15 ff.

11)cf.Syme, loc.cit.; the cases are parallel, though for a different reason from that suggested by Syme.

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Brutus by 59 (see above). However Münzer's ingenuity (RAA 342 ff.) almost certainly discovered a further fact of some importance about him.

An inscription from Delos (Homolle, BCH III.1879,159; Hatzfeld, ibid.XXXIII.1909,467 ff. Inscr.Delos 1622) reads:

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες Κοΐντον Ὁρτήσιον Κοΐντου υἱὸν, τὸν θεῖον Κατπίωνος, διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ Κατπίωνος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας, Ἀπόλλωνι.

The main points of the text, viz. the identity of the two men and the date of the inscription, pose no difficulty: the date is 43, the men Q.Hortensius Q.f., son of the orator and proconsul of Macedonia at the time, and Brutus; the problem to solve is the relationship between the two men, indicated in the inscription by the word θεῖος.

Münzer has shown by way of elimination that very probably Brutus' stepfather was married to Hortensia, the orator's daughter: thus θεῖος would here mean the adoptive mother's brother[12].

12)In spite of his brilliant analysis two reservations must be made against Münzer:

(a) he rests his case on the assumption that θεῖος means 'uncle' - i.e. brother of the father or the mother

or husband of a sister of one of the parents. This is not necessarily so - e.g. in Ar.nub.126 (cf.46 f.) it means great-uncle; and an inexact use of θεῖος in our inscription is not to be ruled out; in this connection it should be remembered that there is an attested marriage relation between the two men: Hortensius' father and Brutus' uncle and father-in-law Cato were successively married to the same woman, Marcia. It is not utterly impossible that this complicated relationship is referred to in our inscription; nevertheless it seems that Münzer was more probably than not right here.

(b) A far more serious shortcoming of Münzer's analysis is that he uses his earlier hypothesis that Brutus' adoptive father was Caepio, Cato's half brother, as if a proved fact. But since this is almost certainly not correct (see below) there exist, beside Münzer's, other possible solutions for the relationship between the younger Hortensius and Brutus:

1. Q.Hortensius might have been married to a sister of Brutus' natural father; Münzer rejected this possibility on the ground of the assumed disparity in age between her and Caepio; but since the identity of Brutus' adoptive father must, for the time being, remain unknown, this

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(5) The prospective husband of Iulia Iulia, the only child of Iulius Caesar, was engaged to another man before marrying Pompey in 59 in an alliance which was to cement the so-called 'First Triumvirate'. Dio (XXXVIII.9.1) merely records the fact, Appian (b.c.II.14.50) and Plutarch (Pomp. 47.10) tell us that the rejected suitor's name was Caepio, Plutarch elsewhere (Caes.14.7) and Suetonius (Caes.21) give nomen and cognomen: Servilius Caepio. Plutarch, in both Lives, also records that he was to receive instead Pompey's daughter, who was already betrothed to Faustus Sulla, son

consideration is not cogent; yet it should be remembered against this solution that such an aunt of Brutus is not attested.

2.Exactly the same considerations can be maintained concerning an assumed sister of Brutus' adoptive-father, who would have been married to Hortensius.

3.A third solution, rejected by Münzer because of its containing too many unknown factors, is the possibility that two unknown sisters were married to Q.Hortensius and Brutus' adoptive-father respectively.

Though all these solutions are theoretically possible, none of them has the attractiveness of Münzer's own answer, which does not assume the existence of any unattested person.

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of the dictator. Since in the event she married Sulla it seems that this match too did not take place (Drumann-Groebe IV.592;Miltner RE XXI.2263). A last piece of information is Suetonius' statement that Servilius Caepio took part in Caesar's actions against his colleague Bibulus.

(6) The Caepio of Cic.Q.fr.I.3.7. A Caepio is mentioned in this letter of 58 as a creditor of Q.Cicero:...et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, et Caepioni tantumdem solutum est.

(7) Pompey's legate Two lists of Pompey's legates in the war against the pirates are contained in App.Mithr.95.434-6 and Flor.I.41.9-10. The end of the list of Florus contains a number of names absent from Appian, among them a Caepio, prefect of the 'Asiatic sea'. Broughton MRR II.149 (following Groebe,Klio X.1910,374 ff.;cf.Miltner RE XXI. 2263) rejects the statement as it is without parallel in Appian and derives from confusion "either with Cato's half-brother. . . or else with Servilius, Pompey's admiral in the Euxine in 65". On the other hand Ormerod,Liv.Ann. Arch.Anthr.X.1923,46 ff., suggested that Caepio may have acted as a subordinate, which would also be the case with Porcius Cato and the young Pompeys, who also appear in the list of Florus, but not of Appian.

(8) Pompey's admiral. Plut.Pomp.34.8 mentions as

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Pompey's legate of the navy in the Black Sea in 65 a Servilius, who is not obviously to be identified with any of the known Servilii (Münzer RE IIA.1761 no.5 suggests that he was not necessarily a patrician Servilius, but perhaps identical with P.Servilius Isauricus cos.67).

It is obvious that eight, or even six, Servilii Caepiones in the decade 67-58 are far too many and that some of our separate data must pertain to the same persons. In order to arrive at the most probable solution all theoretical possibilities of identifications should be examined.

The following identifications are self-evidently impossible:

(1) = (3))
(1) = (5)) ((1) died in 67, (3) in 42; (5) was alive in
(1) = (6)) 59, (6) in 58 and (8) in 65.)
(1) = (8))

(2) = (3) ((2) dead by 52, (3) in 42).

(3) = (4) (one cannot be one's own adoptive-father).

(3) = (7)) (Brutus was too young to be a legate either in
(3) = (8)) 67 or in 65).

The following identifications are also impossible:

(1) = (4) Cato's half-brother Caepio died leaving his little

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daughter and Cato as his heirs; no adoptive son is mentioned. He died at the age of about thirty, leaving a little daughter; Brutus would be eighteen at the time; a reason for the adoption could hardly be found. Moreover, it seems not improbable that the adoption took place in, or shortly before, 59 - some eight years after Caepio's death. Nevertheless Münzer, RAF 337 ff., attempted this identification, inventing a 'fictitious adoption' by the family, fighting against extinction after Caepio's death. Such a fictitious adoption, as already Cichorius has pointed out, is unthinkable in Roman law and must be rejected out of hand. (7) only if (7) ≠ (8); and if Cato's brother was of

(3) = (5) This abortive identification was also proposed by Münzer and rejected by Cichorius. Cichorius has maintained that [illegible] quaestor in 67 he would have been born in

(a) our rich tradition about Caesar and Brutus knows nothing of this planned relationship; for Plutarch clearly the bridegroom of Iulia was a person different from Brutus. Cichorius also noted that such an attempted relationship would have been a most attractive subject for rhetorical literature.

(b) Brutus' relations with Caesar: Brutus was involved in 59 in the Vettius affair, while Iulia's bridegroom was a supporter of Caesar's politics.

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(c) Brutus' relations with Pompey: Brutus regarded Pompey as his father's murderer and was not on speaking terms with him until the Civil War (Plut.Brut.4.1-3;Pomp.64.5): thus Brutus could not have been the suitor of Pompey's daughter. A further point raised by Cichorius, that Brutus was never called Servilius, has been in the meantime invalidated by new evidence (see above).

The following identifications are only conditionally acceptable:

(1) = (2) only if Cato's brother married before 75 (see 3.9n.)

(1) = (7) only if (7) ≠ (8); and if Cato's brother was of quaestorian standing, like the other legates of Pompey (since he would presumably hold the quaestorship suo anno, in order to be quaestor in 67 he would have been born in 98 - the approximate date of his birth).

(2) = (4) if we accept that Cicero would not mention this fact in the passage of the de finibus.

(2) = (5) if we accept the possibility that this man was in 59 both closely connected with Lucullus and the Catonian factio and with Caesar and Pompey.

(3) = (6) only if Cicero in Q.fr.I.3.7, refers to Brutus contrary to his normal usage by his adoptive cognomen Caepio.

(4) = (5) if Brutus' adoptive father married Hortensia in

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or after 59 or else if he never married her (see n.12 above).

(4) = (6) if Brutus' adoption was not by will

(5) = (6) if his not marrying Pompeia is explained otherwise than by his death.

Identifications which on our evidence are unconditionally possible are:

(2) = (6), (2) = (7), (2) = (8), (4) = (7), (4) = (8), (5) = (7), (5) = (8), (6) = (7), (6) = (8), (7) = (8).

These identifications may be summed up in the following table:

\+ indicates an unconditionally possible identification,

\- an impossible one

in conditionally possible identifications the conditions are briefly stated.

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	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
2	if married before 75	if not mentioned in Fin.	-	-	-	+	+
3	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
4	-	-	-	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
5	-	if connected with Cato Caesar etc.	-	if married Hortensia +59 or not at all	if didn't die in 59	+	+
6	-	+	if Brutus 'Caepio' in Cic.	if adoption not by will	+	+	+
7	if (7)≠(8) and if quaestorian	+	-	+	+	+	+
8	-	+	-	+	+	+	+

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Two facts emerge immediately:

(a) There are at least three persons involved

(b) Brutus cannot be equated with any of the other Caepiones, unless we are to accept an unparalleled usage in Cic.Q.fr.I.3.7.

The most acceptable solution will be one involving a minimum of difficulties (i.e. conditional identifications) and one as economical as possible: thus it is reassuring to find that the most economical[13] solution is also the one which seems the most credible on our present evidence. This solution would assume the existence of three persons: (1) = (2), (3), and (4) = (5) = (6) = (7) = (8).

There remains little to be said about (1) = (2); we only have to assume that Caepio, Cato's half-brother, was

13) another solution that would involve only three persons would be (1) = (7),(3),(2) = (4) = (5) = (6) = (8); it would have no obvious advantage over the solution proposed above and would include the highly dubious identifications (2) = (4) and (2) = (5). Also possible would be (1) = (2) = (7),(3),(4) = (5) = (6) = (8); but this would disrupt the very obvious identification (7) = (8) (though it would explain what Caepio was doing in Aenus on his way to Asia in 67).

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married before 75; his daughter, the θυγάτριον mentioned in 11.6 was Servilia, born in the early seventies and married in the mid-sixties to Lucullus. This, then, would also solve the problem of the identity of Servilia, whom we must now take to be Cato's niece rather than sister.

There is nothing to add to our knowledge about Brutus' early career; it is the third Servilius Caepio who emerges from the shadow and assumes shape, proportion and content.

His name is Q.Servilius Caepio. Though his exact place in the family-tree it is impossible to ascertain, the most likely possibility would be that he is a son - probably from a marriage prior to that to Livia - of Q.Servilius Caepio pr.91. If so he would be a paternal half-brother of Servilia, Brutus' mother, and Caepio, Cato's half-brother; this, incidentally, would leave for Cato's half-brother the praenomen Gnaeus, the only other praenomen attested for the patrician Servilii Caepiones. His being a son of Caepio pr.91 would also explain why his career was retarded under the Sullan regime; but he might have reached the quaestorship in about 69 and attached himself around this time to Pompey, under whom he served as a legate both in the war against the pirates and in the Mithridatic War. Returning with the Imperator from the East, his reward, like that of other Pompeians, was to be delayed by a year

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or two. In 59 he attacked Bibulus and was to marry Iulia, Caesar's only daughter: this alliance, the marriage of the daughter of one of the triumvirs to the lieutenant of another, can only be interpreted in terms of cementing the new political alliance; but it also shows the high position Servilius Caepio must have held in the Pompeian camp. As it appears the triumvirs later thought it better to be related directly by Pompey's marriage to Iulia; Caepio was to be compensated with the Imperator's own daughter. What happened next it is impossible to tell: most probably Pompey, always of two minds, again changed his decision and married his daughter to Faustus Sulla. Q.Servilius Caepio retaliated by renewing his long-neglected family-ties and a complete political volte-face: he adopted his nephew Brutus[14] and married Hortensia, the orator's

14) the relative chronology of Brutus' adoption and the abandoned engagements of Servilius Caepio is not altogether clear: Pompey's marriage to Iulia, concluded before May 1st (Cic.Att.II.17.1) is the terminus ante quem for the frustrated hopes of Servilius Caepio; the Vettius affair, not earlier than July (on the date see Taylor, Historia I.1950,45 ff.;Meier,ibid.X.1961,68 ff.) is the terminus ante quem for Brutus' adoption; thus the more

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daughter, who might have been now divorced or a widow. His disappearance from our sources is best explained by assuming that he died in, or shortly after, 58, when he is mentioned as a creditor of Q.Cicero. This outline would make his career as versatile and as indicative of his times as that of his father.

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likely possibility is that the cancellation of Caepio's engagements preceded the adoption; this is certainly so if we accept the interpretation of Cic.Att.II.24.2 'Caepio hic Brutus' as referring to a very recent adoption.

Brutus' adoption should be seen in the light of his being adopted not only by an uncle who was presumably childless and in his forties, but also probably very wealthy, if he was a lieutenant of Pompey in a war from which he returned with immense booty. Brutus' adoptive father's being childless and past his prime, and perhaps of ill health, would explain the somewhat unusual steps of marrying and adopting at about the same time.

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II : CANIDIUS OR CANINIUS?

In the account of the Cyprian mission (cch.34-39) a fairly prominent place is given to Canidius, described as one of Cato's friends. The only other text concerned with the Cyprian expedition that mentions him is Brut.3.2-3, clearly drawing on the same source-material as the Cato minor. But in the Brutus, where the name appears twice, the great majority of our MSS read κανφνιον , while only one family (Z), and perhaps a later hand in the early MS L, have κανιδιον .

Canidius is a very rare gentilicium - a fact perhaps somewhat obscured by scholars' acquaintance with Horace's witch - the only other known bearer of the name in Republican times being P.Canidius Crassus cos.suff.40 (Münzer RE III.1475 f.no.2). He served with Lepidus in Gaul and then became a partisan of Antony, whom he accompanied to the East after earning a suffect consulship. He served his master until the bitter end and was executed by Octavian. The main source for his career is the Life of Antony, where he is mentioned ten times.

Yet there exists a highly instructive addition to these Canidii in Plutarch: in Pomp.49.10 we hear about a tribune Canidius who proposed a law that Ptolemy Auletes

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should be restored to Egypt by Pompey, accompanied by two lictors, but no army. Now though apparently all the MSS here have κανιδιος it is generally accepted that the reference is to the tribune L.Caninius C.f. Gallus (Münzer RE III.1477 no.3; for his filiation see AE 1928.43;cf.also IG IV.1410) - albeit this identification has not induced any of the modern editors to abandon the paradosis.

Not much has come down to us about the career of L. Caninius Gallus. His first appearance - and his only attested involvment in politics - is connected with his agitation to transfer to Pompey the Egyptian settlement: hence his universal identification with the tribune in Pomp.49.10.

To return to Cato's emissary to Cyprus: since the MSS in the Brutus are divided between κανιδιον and κανφνιον (the majority having the latter), and since in the Pompey all the codices read κανιδιος when the reference is certainly to a Caninius, the MS-tradition in the Cato minor should be regarded as anything but conclusive, and we should not on it alone reach a decision concerning the identity of Cato's friend.

If we are to accept the paradosis in the Cato minor the two alternatives open to us are (a) to assume Canidius to be an otherwise unattested person with a rare

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gentilicium (in itself a quite reasonable possibility) or (b) to identify him with the suffect consul of 40[1].

On the other hand if we choose to emend the text in the Cato - and retain the reading of the majority of the MSS in the Brutus - the identification with L.Caninius Gallus presents itself at once. In what follows an outline of his career, based upon this identification, will be attempted. It will be shown, it is hoped, that there is more to this identification than a chance resemblance of names and that it will help to throw some light on a hitherto shadowy personality of the Late Republic.

We are told (35.2;cf.Brut.3.2) that Cato sent Caninius from Rhodes to Cyprus, to propose the king terms for a peaceful abdication. The next fact (36.2;cf.Brut.3.2) is that after the suicide of the king Cato out of distrust

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1)This identification was rejected already by Münzer, as well as the one with the CRAS(sus), who at some time struck coins in Cyprus, as it was then believed (Babelon, Monnaies de la Rép.Rom.I.308 ff.;cf.Grueber BMCRR 532); but it seems now much more probable that these coins were struck by M.Licinius Crassus in Crete in the mid-thirties (Grant,From Imperium to Auctoritas 55 ff.; followed by Sydenham,Rom.Rep.Coinage 200n.).

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for Caninius, who was in charge of the royal wealth, sent out his nephew Brutus to supervise him. An important event between these two references is the interview of Cato with Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt and brother of the king of Cyprus, who had fled his country and was on his way to Rome (35.4-7). Though the flight of Ptolemy Auletes is very well attested in a variety of sources, Plutarch alone informs us that he visited Rhodes on his way. If we are to accept this information - and there is no reason for the contrary - it would be only natural to assume that the king's route led through Cyprus. Now Dio (XXXIX.12.2) tells us that one of the reasons of the popular uprising against Ptolemy Auletes was his passive behaviour towards the annexation of Cyprus by the Romans. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that the Cyprus affair must have been regarded as of primary interest in Egypt, especially so if we are to believe that the annexation of Cyprus was legally based on the testament of Ptolemy Alexander[2] :

2)see Badian RhM CX.1967,178 with further literature. We possess an interesting piece of evidence in adnot.Luc. III.164-Sall.hist.I.frg.10 M.:Quod Cato hic rogatione Clodii missus est Cyprum, ut cerneret hereditatem regis Ptolomaei, qui defunctus vita populum Romanum heredem

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in that case there can be no overestimating the relevance of what happened in Cyprus to the events in Alexandria. It is difficult to imagine that in this situation Ptolemy Auletes would by-pass Cyprus and deprive himself of first-hand information. Again, if the king disembarked in Cyprus on his way to Alexandria, we are on fairly safe ground in assuming that he contacted the Roman representative there, L.Caninius Gallus. What would happen at such an encounter is purely matter for the imagination: but later events will perhaps provide a clue. It is a fact, though, that Cato's suspicions against Caninius arose after his own interview with the king of Egypt.

The probable date of Caninius' arrival in Cyprus is mid-summer 58[3]. It is not stated when he left, but he

fecerat. meminit huius Sallustius in principio libri primi historiae, and similarly the commenta Bernensia: Cypri rex Ptolomaeus populum Romanum fecit heredem. Cato iussu senatus abiit exsequendam hereditatem. This rather confused statement may ultimately be based on the fact that the legal justification of Clodius' Act was the will of Ptolemy Alexander.

3)Cf.Oost CP L.1955,111.37; on the other hand Ptolemy Auletes left Alexandria after Aug.11th,and very probably after

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must have been back in Rome in time to stand for the tribunician elections for 56, i.e. in mid-summer 57. It is the early weeks of Caninius' tribunate that provide us with the main facts of his political activity. Ever since September 57 the question of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes has been on the agenda in Rome, but with the new tribunes entering office[4] agitation against the assignment of the task to Lentulus Spinther and in favour of Pompey gave a new turn to events. We first hear of Caninius in this context on Jan.13th when an altercatio between him and the consul Lentulus Marcellinus prevented the senate from reaching a decision on the various proposals for the restoration of the king[5]. What the contents of this altercatio were we learn to some extent from the events of the next day: at the beginning of the debate on the 14th[6] the

Sept.7th (Samuel,Ptolemaic Chronology 155 f.) thus leaving ample time for their meeting even if a wide margin of error is taken into consideration.

4)For C.Cato's agitation from the very beginning of his tribunate see Fenestella frg.21.

5)Cic.fam.I.2.1. For a valuable analysis of the various proposals and the debate in the senate see Sternkopf, Hermes XXXVIII.1903.28 ff.

6)thus correctly Sternkopf,op.cit.37.

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senate passed a decree that the Egyptian question should not be brought before the People, but this was reduced to a senatus auctoritas by the intercession of the tribunes C.Cato and Caninius (Cic.fam.I.2.4). Again no decision was reached on the various proposals and the session ended in a procedural debate. Apparently some kind of compromise was achieved in the meantime with the two tribunes, since on the next day they promised not to promulgate any law on the issue before the elections in the summer (ibid.4.1).

In the event the only resolution passed in the senate was that cum multitudine eum (scil.regem Alexandrinum) reduci periculosum rei publicae videri (Cic.Q.fr.II.2.3). No decision was taken as to Lentulus and Pompey and the dies comitiales filling the entire second half of January did not allow for further senatorial business. Still, Cicero feared that Caninius might bring the matter eventually before the People (ibid.:suspicor per vim rogationem Caninium perlaturum), though for the time being this was not realized.

But in the first half of February the controversy on the Egyptian settlement was renewed and entered a new phase when the main activity passed from the senate to the People: C.Cato proposed a law de imperio Lentulo abrogando and Clodius agitated violently on behalf of Crassus (ibid.

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3.1-2), who had not until now been mentioned in the context of the allotment of the Egyptian command, and perhaps was not even interested in it. It is reasonable to assign to this time the report of Plutarch (Pomp.49.9) that Caninius (MSS Canidius) brought a rogatio before the People, appointing Pompey to the task of the restoration of the king, with the proviso that he should be accompanied by two lictors, but no army[7]. The exact development of the affair is not altogether clear, but in the end a motion was passed in the senate, reduced to an auctoritas (by the veto of Caninius, one would venture to guess) ut ne quis omnio regem reduceret (Cic.fam.I.7.4;cf.Dio XXXIX.55.1). Thus the Egyptian question in Rome died quietly; but it is perhaps significant that Cicero could later refer to this time as suspiciosissimum tempus Caninianum (fam.I.7.3;cf.also Q.fr. II.4.5).

Though there was some lively agitation on Pompey's behalf during the discussion of the Egyptian question it is difficult to assess to what extent he was interested in

7)essentially the same is told by Dio XXXIX.16.2, though without the tribune's name and setting the proposal in the senate, which seems less probable than the version of Plutarch; cf.Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 131;Gelzer,Pompejus 159.

getting the command. He was, as usual, reticent about his own wishes, and it should be seriously doubted whether it is adviseable to attribute to him such sinister plans as are sometimes suggested[8]. But even if he was interested in obtaining the command, his efforts cannot be otherwise described than as half-hearted.

On the other hand there can be no doubts as to what Ptolemy's preferences were[9]: these were announced publicly, when the tribune A.Plautius read a letter in the senate in which the king asked to be restored to his realm by Pompey (Dio XXXIX.16.2).

According to Timagenes (Pomp.49.13)Ptolemy was not actually driven out from Egypt, but left on the instigation of Theophanes in order to secure a command for Pompey. Though the malice and anti-Roman bias of Timagenes are notorious, it should not be forgotten that his is an eye-witness account: it should be accepted at least insofar as it points to the obvious wish of Ptolemy Auletes to be

8)e.g. by Mommsen,Röm.Gesch.III.[8]317;Meyer,Caesars Monarchie 128 ff.;Gelzer,Pompejus 158, is more cautious.

9)Cic.fam.I.5b.2 Nunc id speramus, idque molimur ut rex, cum intellegat sese, quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, adsequi non posse etc.

restored by Pompey.

From all this it should be clear that there is more reason to believe that Caninius acted as an agent of the king of Egypt, than as a henchman of Pompey. This association seems to be the outcome of their first encounter in Cyprus and could perhaps also explain Cato's suspicions towards his emissary and his advice to the king not to go to Rome; at any rate it throws some light on the recorded political activity of L.Caninius Gallus.

The next we hear of him is that he was defended in a trial by Cicero in the late summer or the early autumn of 55 (Cic.fam.VII.1.4). Perhaps his accusator was a M. Colonius[10]. The details of the trial are lost, but upon the above evidence we may perhaps conjecture that it was a prelude to the prosecutions of Gabinius and Rabirius Postumus, who were also defended by Cicero.

All our later references to Caninius Gallus appear in Cicero's correspondence, and are of a purely social nature. Thus we know that Cicero spent a few days with Caninius in Athens in the summer of 51 (fam.II.8.3); in 46 we find

10)Val.Max.IV.2.6. If this identification is to be accepted he was married to a daughter of C.Antonius, whom he had previously prosecuted.

Caninius on friendly terms both with Cicero and Varro (ibid.IX.2.1;3.1;6.1). On Oct.25th,44 Cicero makes a for us completely enigmatic reference to Caninius (Att.XV.13.3), and shortly afterwards he records his death (ibid.XVI.14.4). It is worthwhile to quote this last reference. Cicero writes: Caninium perdidi, hominem, quod ad me pertinet, non ingratum. Shackleton Bailey ad loc. deduces that "non ingratum suggests that Caninius was in a good position to show his gratitude, hence that he was on the winning side in the Civil War". This may, or may not, be so (it is certainly not in conflict with the above conclusion that Caninius was not a Pompeian in the fifties); but the sentence is certainly a general evaluation, or short obituary notice of the deceased. What it does suggest is that he was ungrateful towards somebody, though not to Cicero. It is tempting to think that this could be connected with Caninius' behaviour towards Cato on the Cyprian mission.

One last point: L.Caninius Gallus was a tribunus plebis in 56, and thus a quaestor by 58 at the latest. Now it seems to be fairly certain that Cato, setting out to Cyprus with the title pro quaestore pro praetore, had a quaestor on his staff (Vell.II.45.4;Badian JRS LV.1965.111). Could this quaestor be Caninius? Probably Plutarch's description of him as 'one of Cato's friends' should not

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be taken as a technical term. But there is another connection to be considered: L.Caninius L.f. Gallus cos.37 (Münzer RE III.1477 no.4) is most probably the son of our Caninius; their respective ages can more easily be harmonized in assuming that a long interval elapsed between Caninius' quaestorship and his tribunate in 56 than in assuming that he was a quaestor in 58. In the former case he might have been a quaestor in the 60's; if he served in the 60's in the East, he might have gathered there the experience that brought him a legateship under Cato in Cyprus.

To sum up: though our textual tradition does not offer a cogent choice between the names Canidius and Caninius for Cato's friend in Cyprus, the identification with L.Caninius Gallus seems to offer by far the most coherent interpretation of the available evidence.

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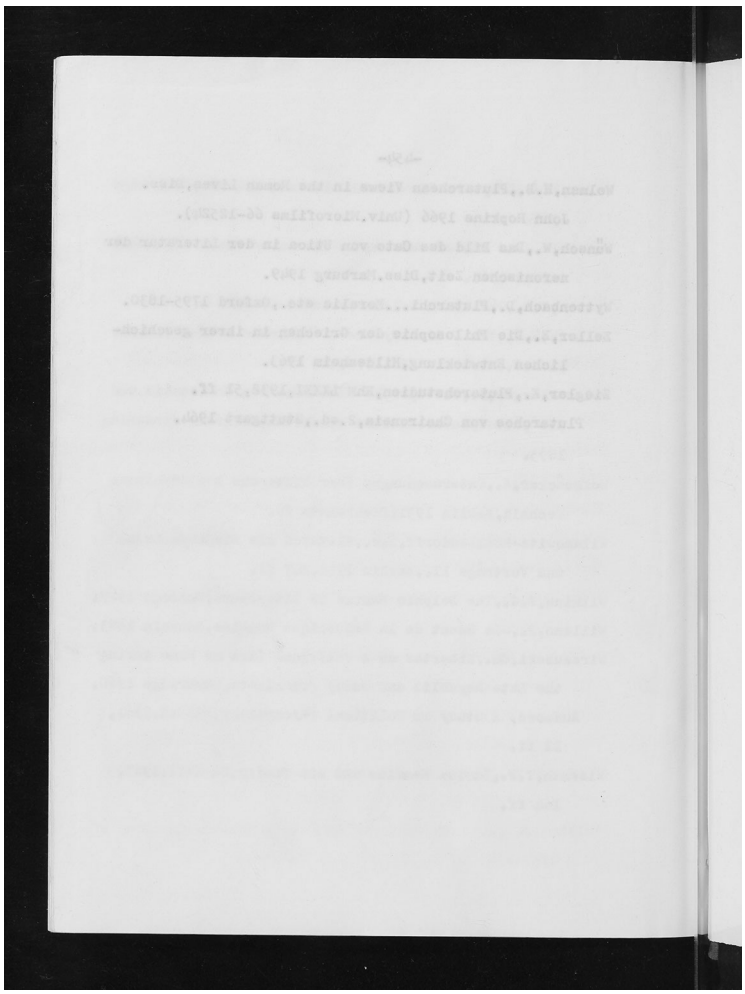
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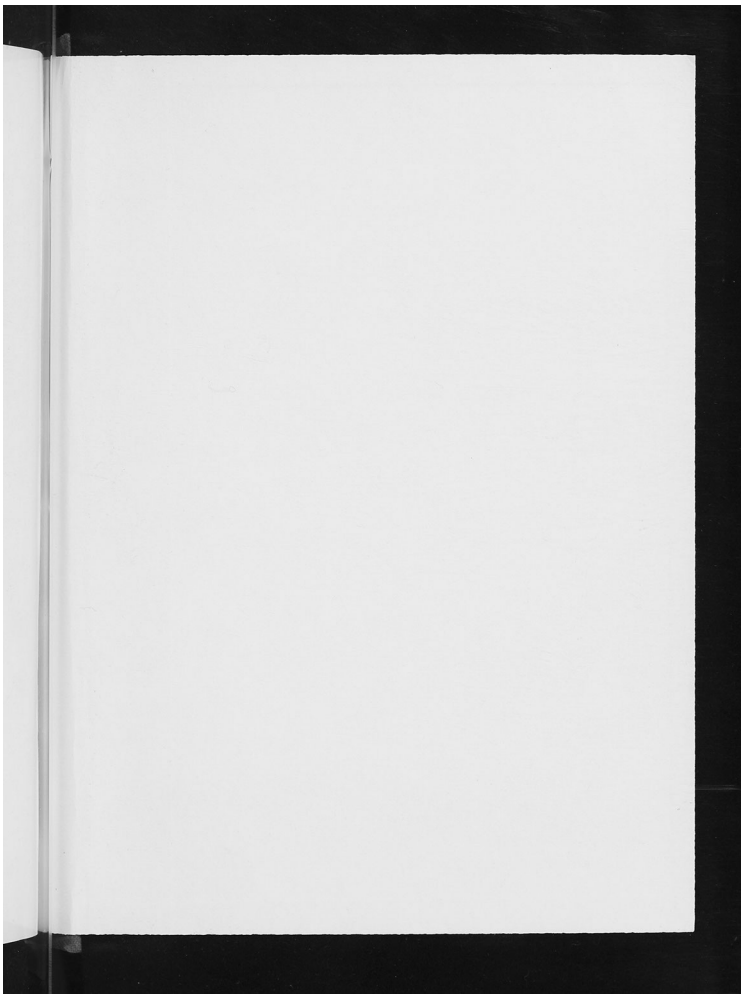
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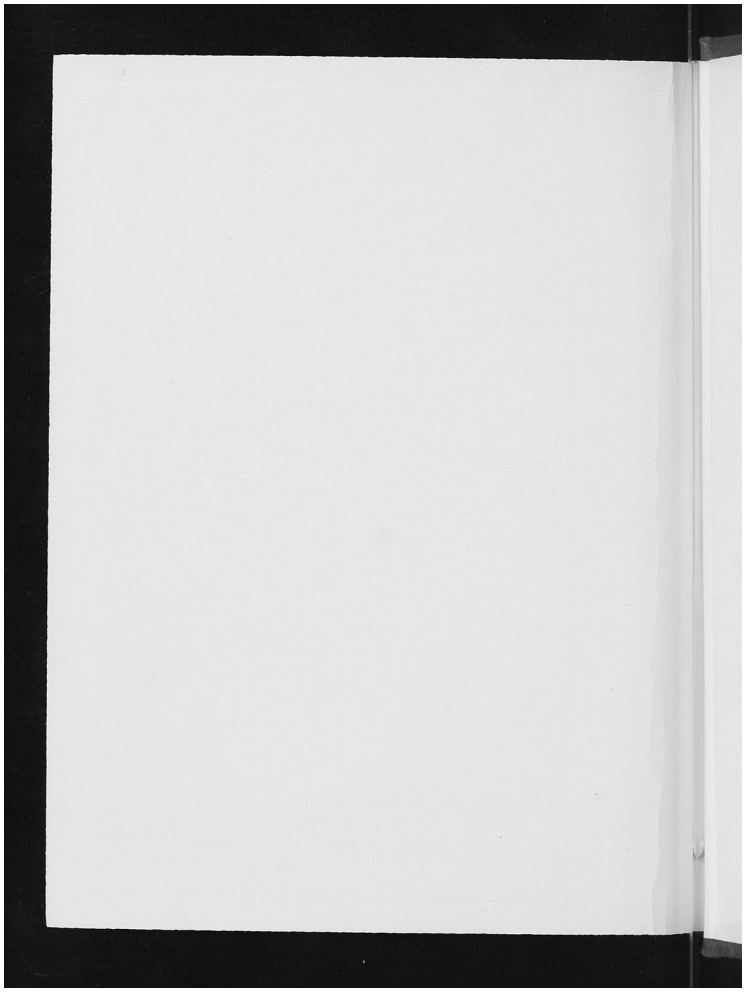
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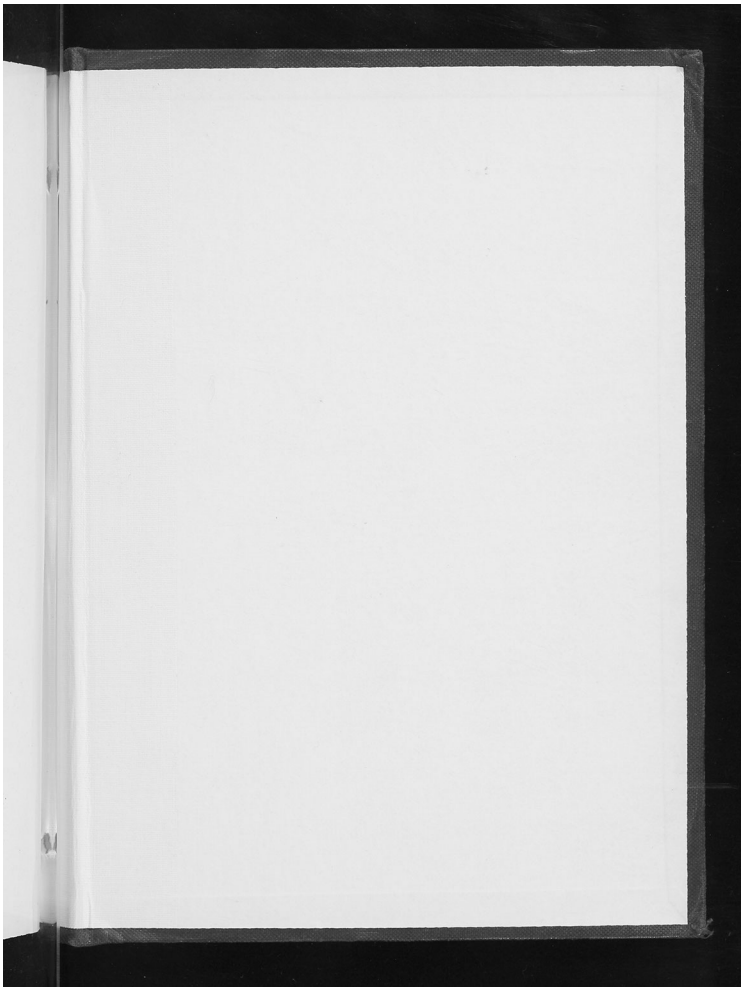
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