

LATIN SERIES • VOLUME 12

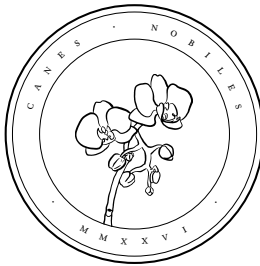
BRUTUS

CICERO

Brutus · De Optimo Genere Oratorum

A History of Roman Eloquence, and On the Best Kind of Orator

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation
preserving the original word order

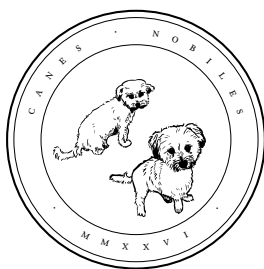


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Volume 12 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows Wilkins' Oxford text of 1903

Set from the Perseus Digital Library's canonical Latin corpus, with corrections

Translated and composed with AI, edited by Christopher Hench

Artwork by Esther Steves

Wilkins secludes with square brackets and this volume does not print what he secludes. A dagger stands where he obelizes a word as corrupt, and the three asterisks of a lacuna are glossed as one. The formulae the edition sets in small capitals with V for vowel u are set here in the volume's own orthography, as is the display capital of the first word. Ennius and Lucilius are set as verse, unquoted, where the edition displays them. The chapters are his, folded where one of his opens inside a section; their titles are the press's own.

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CICERO

Brutus

A History of Roman Eloquence

Coming home from Cilicia, Cicero learns at Rhodes that Hortensius is dead, and grieves more than anyone expected. He has lost a friend, a colleague in the college of augurs, and the rival whose competition was worth more than having no rival at all. Yet Hortensius died at the right moment, before he had to watch the republic he could no longer help. We may grieve our own loss, Cicero says, but his death itself should be met with good will rather than pity.

Cum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum venissem et eo mihi 1
when from Cilicia departing to-Rhodes I-had-come and there to-me
 de Q. Hortensi morte esset adlatum, opinione omnium
about Q. Hortensius' death had been-brought than-the-expectation of-all
 maiorem animo cepi dolorem. Nam et amico amisso cum
greater in-mind I-took grief for both a-friend having-been-lost both
 consuetudine iucunda tum multorum officiorum coniunctione
of-intimacy pleasant and of-many of-services of-the-bond
 me privatum videbam et interitu talis auguris dignitatem
myself deprived I-saw and by-the-death of-such an-augur the-dignity
 nostri conlegi deminutam dolebam; qua in cogitatione et
of-our of-college diminished I-grieved which in reflection both
 cooptatum me ab eo in conlegium recordabar, in quo
co-opted me by him into the-college I-recalled in which
 iuratus iudicium dignitatis meae fecerat, et inauguratum
having-sworn a-judgment of-worth my he-had-made and inaugurated
 ab eodem, ex quo augurum institutis in parentis
by the-same-(man) from which of-the-augurs by-the-institutions in of-a-parent
 eum loco colere debebam.
him place to-honor I-ought

Augebat etiam molestiam quod magna sapientium civium 2
was-increasing also the-vexation that in-a-great of-wise of-citizens
 bonorumque penuria vir egregius coniunctissimusque mecum
and-of-good scarcity a-man outstanding and-most-closely-joined with-me

consiliorum omnium societate alienissimo rei publicae
of-counsels of-all by-the-sharing at-a-most-unfriendly to-the-thing public
 tempore exstinctus et auctoritatis et prudentiae suae triste
time extinguished both of-authority and of-prudence his-own a-sad
 nobis desiderium reliquerat, dolebamque quod non, ut plerique
to-us longing had-left and-I-grieved that not as most
 putabant, adversarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum
were-thinking an-adversary or a-disparager of-the-praises my
 sed socium potius et consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram.
but a-partner rather and a-sharer of-glorious of-labor I-had-lost

- 3 Etenim si in leviorum artium studio memoriae proditum
and-indeed if in of-lighter of-arts in-the-pursuit to-memory handed-down
 est poetas nobilis poetarum aequalium morte doluisse,
it-is that-poets noble of-poets contemporary at-the-death to-have-grieved
 quo tandem animo eius interitum ferre debui, cum quo
with-what then feeling his death to-bear I-ought with whom
 certare erat gloriosius quam omnino adversarium non habere?
to-compete was more-glorious than at-all an-adversary not to-have
 cum praesertim non modo numquam sit aut illius a me
since especially not only never was either his by me
 cursus impeditus aut ab illo meus, sed contra semper alter
course hindered or by him mine but on-the-contrary always the-one
 ab altero adiutus et communicando et monendo et favendo.
by the-other helped both by-sharing and by-advising and by-favoring

- 4 Sed quoniam perpetua quadam felicitate usus ille excessit
but since a-continuous a-certain good-fortune having-enjoyed he departed
 e vita suo magis quam suorum civium tempore et tum
from life at-his-own rather than of-his-own of-citizens time and then
 occidit cum lugere facilius rem publicam posset, si viveret,
he-fell when to-mourn more-easily the-thing public he-could if he-were-living
 quam iuvare, vixitque tam diu quam licuit in civitate
than to-help and-he-lived as long as it-was-permitted in the-state

bene beateque vivere: nostro incommodo detrimentoque, si est
well and-happily to-live at-our-own loss and-detriment if it-is
 ita necesse, doleamus, illius vero mortis opportunitatem
so necessary let-us-grieve of-that-man indeed of-the-death the-timeliness
 benevolentia potius quam misericordia prosequamur, ut,
with-good-will rather than with-pity let-us-attend so-that
 quotienscumque de clarissimo et beatissimo viro
as-often-as about a-most-distinguished and a-most-fortunate man
 cogitemus, illum potius quam nosmet ipsos diligere videamur.
we-think him rather than us-ourselves very to-love we-may-seem

II · A VOICE THE FORUM LOST

If Hortensius were alive he would grieve, as Cicero does, that the forum has been stripped of a learned voice. Cicero is distressed that the republic no longer has any use for the weapons of counsel, talent, and authority he had learned to wield. If speech could ever have taken arms out of angry hands, it was when the advocacy of peace was shut out; and just as his own oratory was ripening, arms were taken up that even those who had learned to use them gloriously could not turn to any good.

Nam si id dolemus, quod eo iam frui nobis non 5
for if this we-grieve that him now to-enjoy to-us not
 licet, nostrum est id malum quod modice feramus,
it-is-permitted our-own is that misfortune which with-moderation we-should-bear
 ne id non ad amicitiam sed ad domesticam utilitatem
lest it not to friendship but to domestic advantage
 referre videamur; sin tamquam illi ipsi acerbitalis aliquid
to-refer we-may-seem but-if as-though to-him himself of-bitterness something
 acciderit angimur, summam eius felicitatem non satis
had-happened we-are-distressed the-supreme his good-fortune not sufficiently
 grato animo interpretamur.
grateful with-a-mind we-interpret

- 6 Etenim si viveret Q. Hortensius, cetera fortasse
for-indeed if he-were-living Q. Hortensius other-things perhaps
 desideraret una cum reliquis bonis et fortibus civibus,
he-would-miss together with the-remaining good and brave citizens
 hunc autem aut praeter ceteros aut cum paucis sustineret
this however either beyond the-rest or with a-few he-would-bear
 dolorem, cum forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi
grief when the-forum of-the-people Roman which had-been as-it-were
 theatrum illius ingeni, voce erudita et Romanis Graecisque
the-theater of-that talent of-a-voice learned and of-Roman and-of-Greek
 auribus digna spoliatum atque orbatum videret.
ears worthy despoiled and bereft he-saw
- 7 Equidem angor animo non consili, non ingeni, non
for-my-part I-am-distressed in-mind not of-counsel not of-talent not
 auctoritatis armis egere rem publicam, quae didiceram
of-authority the-weapons to-lack the-thing public which I-had-learned
 tractare quibusque me assuefeceram quaeque erant propria
to-handle and-to-which myself I-had-accustomed and-which were proper
 cum praestantis in re publica viri tum bene moratae
both of-an-outstanding in the-thing public man and well mannered
 et bene constitutae civitatis. Quod si fuit in re
and well constituted of-a-state but if there-was in the-thing
 publica tempus ullum, cum extorquere arma posset e
public a-time any when to-wrest arms it-could from
 manibus iratorum civium boni civis auctoritas et oratio,
the-hands of-angry citizens of-a-good citizen the-authority and speech
 tum profecto fuit cum patrocinium pacis exclusum est aut
then surely it-was when the-advocacy of-peace shut-out was either
 errore hominum aut timore.
by-the-error of-men or by-fear

Ita nobismet ipsis accidit ut, quamquam essent multo 8
so to-us-ourselves very it-happened that although there-were by-much
 magis alia lugenda, tamen hoc doleremus quod,
more other-things to-be-lamented yet this we-grieved that
 quo tempore aetas nostra perfuncta rebus amplissimis
at-what time age our having-discharged affairs the-most-distinguished
 tamquam in portum confugere deberet non inertiae neque
as-it-were into a-harbor to-take-refuge it-ought not of-idleness nor
 desidia, sed oti moderati atque honesti, cumque ipsa
of-sloth but of-leisure moderate and honorable and-when itself
 oratio iam nostra canesceret haberetque suam quandam
speech now our was-growing-gray and-had its-own a-certain
 maturitatem et quasi senectutem, tum arma sunt ea
ripeness and as-it-were an-old-age then arms were those
 sumpta, quibus illi ipsi, qui didicerant eis uti gloriose,
taken-up which those very who had-learned them to-use gloriously
 quem ad modum salutariter uterentur, non reperiabant.
in-what to manner beneficially they-might-use not they-were-finding

III • BRUTUS AND ATTICUS CALL

Brutus and Atticus find Cicero at leisure in his portico, and the sight of them lifts the anxiety he had been carrying. They agree to say nothing of politics. Cicero thanks Atticus for the little chronicle whose ordered dates restored him, and Brutus for a letter from Asia that both advised and consoled. Reading the chronicle, he says, reminded him that he owes Atticus a gift in return — and he pleads that his old harvest is burned and his stores are shut away.

Itaque ei mihi videntur fortunate beateque vixisse cum 9
and-so those to-me seem fortunately and-happily to-have-lived both
 in ceteris civitatibus tum maxime in nostra, quibus cum
in other states and most-of-all in ours to-whom both

auctoritate rerumque gestarum gloria tum etiam sapientiae
with-authority and-of-things done with-the-glory and also of-wisdom
 laude perfrui licuit. Quorum memoria et recordatio
with-the-praise to-enjoy it-was-permitted of-whom the-memory and the-recollection
 in maximis nostris gravissimisque curis iucunda sane fuit,
amid the-greatest our and-the-heaviest cares pleasant indeed was
 cum in eam nuper ex sermone quodam incidissemus.
when upon it lately from a-conversation a-certain we-had-fallen

- 10 Nam cum inambularem in xysto et essem otiosus domi, M. ad
for when I-was-strolling in the-portico and I-was at-leisure at-home M. to
 me Brutus, ut consueverat, cum T. Pomponio venit, homines
me Brutus as he-had-been-accustomed with T. Pomponius came men
 cum inter se coniuncti tum mihi ita cari itaque iucundi, ut
both among themselves joined and to-me so dear and-so pleasant that
 eorum aspectu omnis quae me angebat de re publica cura
of-them by-the-sight all which me was-distressing about the-thing public care
 consederit. Quos postquam salutavi: Quid vos, inquam, Brute et
subsided whom after I-greeted what you I-say Brutus and
 Attice? numquid tandem novi? Nihil sane, inquit Brutus, quod
Atticus is-there-anything then new nothing indeed says Brutus which
 quidem aut tu audire velis aut ego pro certo dicere audeam.
indeed either you to-bear would-wish or I for certain to-say would-dare

- 11 Tum Atticus: Eo, inquit, ad te animo venimus, ut de
then Atticus with-this he-says to you mind we-have-come that about
 re publica esset silentium et aliquid audiremus potius
the-thing public there-should-be silence and something we-should-bear rather
 ex te quam te adficeremus ulla molestia. Vos vero, inquam,
from you than you we-should-afflict with-any annoyance you indeed I-say
 Attice, et praesentem me cura levatis et absenti magna
Atticus both present me of-care you-relieve and to-the-absent great
 solacia dedistis. Nam vestris primum litteris recreatus me ad
comforts you-have-given for by-your first letters revived myself to

pristina studia revocavi. Tum ille: Legi, inquit, perlibenter
former pursuits I-recalled then he I-have-read he-says most-gladly
 epistulam quam ad te Brutus misit ex Asia, qua mihi
the-letter which to you Brutus sent from Asia in-which to-me
 visus est et monere te prudenter et consolari amicissime.
seemed he-was both to-advise you wisely and to-console most-affectionately

Recte, inquam, est visus; nam me istis scito litteris 12
rightly I-say he seemed for that-I by-those know letters
 ex diuturna perturbatione totius valetudinis tamquam
from a-long disturbance of-the-whole health as-it-were
 ad aspiciendam lucem esse revocatum. Atque ut post
to beholding the-light to-have-been recalled and as after
 Cannensem illam calamitatem primum Marcelli ad Nolam
of-Cannae that disaster first of-Marcellus at Nola
 proelio populus se Romanus erexit posteaque prosperae
by-the-battle the-people itself Roman raised and-afterward prosperous
 res deinceps multae consecutae sunt, sic post rerum
things successively many followed have so after of-affairs
 nostrarum et communium gravissimos casus nihil ante
our and common the-heaviest disasters nothing before
 epistulam Bruti mihi accidit quod vellem aut quod aliqua
the-letter of-Brutus to-me happened which I-could-wish or which in-some
 ex parte sollicitudines adlevaret meas.

from part anxieties might-lighten my
 Tum Brutus: Volui id quidem efficere certe et capio 13
then Brutus I-wished that indeed to-accomplish certainly and I-take
 magnum fructum, si quidem quod volui tanta in
great fruit since indeed what I-wished in-so-great in
 re consecutus sum. Sed scire cupio, quae te Attici
a-matter attained I-have but to-know I-desire what you of-Atticus
 litterae delectaverint. Istae vero, inquam, Brute, non modo
letters have-delighted those indeed I-say Brutus not only

delectationem mihi sed etiam, ut spero, salutem attulerunt.

delight to-me but also as I-hope health have-brought

Salutem? inquit ille. Quodnam tandem genus istuc tam

health he-says he what-sort then kind that so

praeclarum litterarum fuit? An mihi potuit, inquam, esse aut

splendid of-writing was or to-me could I-say to-be either

gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam

more-welcome any greeting or for this time more-fitting than

illius libri quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit?

of-that book by-which me he having-addressed as-if lying-down roused

14 Tum ille: Nempe eum dicis, inquit, quo iste omnem

then he surely that you-mean he-says in-which that-man all

rerum memoriam breviter et, ut mihi quidem visum est,

of-things the-record briefly and as to-me indeed seemed it

perdiligenter complexus est? Istum ipsum, inquam, Brute,

most-carefully embraced he-has that very I-say Brutus

dico librum mihi saluti fuisse. Tum Atticus: Optatissimum

I-mean book to-me for-safety to-have-been then Atticus most-desired

mihi quidem est quod dicis; sed quid tandem habuit liber

to-me indeed is what you-say but what then had book

iste quod tibi aut novum aut tanto usui posset esse?

that which to-you either new or of-so-great use could to-be

15 Ille vero et nova, inquam, mihi quidem multa et eam

that indeed both new I-say to-me indeed many and that

utilitatem quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus

usefulness which I-was-seeking that having-been-unrolled the-sequences

temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem. Quae cum

of-times one in view all I-might-see which when

studiose tractare coepissem, ipsa mihi tractatio litterarum

eagerly to-handle I-had-begun itself to-me the-handling of-letters

salutaris fuit admonuitque, Pomponi, ut a te ipso

healing was and-it-reminded Pomponius that from you yourself

sumerem aliquid ad me reficiendum teque remunerandum

I-should-take something for me restoring and-you repaying

si non pari, at grato tamen munere: quamquam illud

if not with-an-equal yet welcome still gift although that

Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere

Hesiodic is-praised by the-learned which by-the-same measure to-return

iubet quae acceperis aut etiam cumulatione, si possis.

bids what you-have-received or even with-a-fuller if you-can

Ego autem voluntatem tibi profecto emetiar, sed rem

I however good-will to-you surely I-shall-measure-out but the-thing

ipsam nondum posse videor; idque ut ignoscas, a te

itself not-yet to-be-able I-seem and-that that you-pardon from you

peto. Nec enim ex novis, ut agricolae solent, fructibus est,

I-ask nor for from new as farmers are-wont crops there-is

unde tibi reddam quod accepi — sic omnis fetus repressus

whence to-you I-may-return what I-received so all produce checked

est exustusque siti flos veteris ubertatis exaruit —

has-been and-burned-up by-drought the-flower of-the-old abundance has-dried-up

nec ex conditis, qui iacent in tenebris et ad quos omnis

nor from the-stored which lie in darkness and to which all

nobis aditus, qui paene solis patuit, obstructus est.

to-us approach which almost alone lay-open blocked has-been

Seremus igitur aliquid tamquam in inculto et derelicto solo;

we-shall-sow therefore something as-if in an-untilled and abandoned soil

quod ita diligenter colemus, ut impendiis etiam augere

which so carefully we-shall-tend that with-outlays even to-increase

possimus largitatem tui muneris: modo idem noster

we-may-be-able the-bounty of-your gift only-if the-same our

animus efficere possit quod ager, qui cum multis annos

mind to-accomplish may-be-able what a-field which when many years

quievit, uberiores efferre fruges solet. Tum ille:

has-rested richer to-bring-forth crops is-wont then he

16

Atticus wants a book, and Brutus takes over the claim on his behalf; Atticus in turn claims what Cicero owes Brutus, the conversation begun at Tusculum on when orators first appeared and what they were like. It had started from Brutus' defense of Deiotarus, and Cicero admits he bewails the desolation of the courts and fears for Brutus' career. Brutus answers that he grieves for the state, but that the study of speaking is its own reward whatever becomes of its fruits.

- 17 Ego vero et exspectabo ea quae polliceris, nec
I indeed both shall-await those-things which you-promise and-not
 exigam nisi tuo commodo et erunt mihi pergrata,
shall-exact(-them) except at-your convenience and they-will-be to-me most-welcome
 si solveris. Mihi quoque, inquit Brutus, exspectanda sunt
if you-pay to-me also says Brutus to-be-awaited are
 ea quae Attico polliceris, etsi fortasse ego a te
those-things which to-Atticus you-promise although perhaps I from you
 huius voluntarius procurator petam, quod ipse, cui
of-this a-volunteer agent shall-claim because he-himself to-whom
 debes, incommodo se tuo exacturum negat.
you-owe at-a-disadvantage himself your to-be-about-to-exact denies
- 18 At vero, inquam, tibi ego, Brute, non solvam, nisi prius
but indeed I-say to-you I Brutus not I-shall-pay unless first
 a te cavero amplius eo nomine neminem, cuius
from you I-take-security further on-that account no-one whose
 petitio sit, petiturum. Non me hercule, inquit, tibi
the-claim may-be to-be-about-to-claim not me by-Hercules he-says to-you
 repromittere istuc quidem ausim. Nam hunc, qui negat,
to-guarantee that indeed would-I-dare for this-man who denies
 video flagitorem non illum quidem tibi molestum, sed
I-see a-dunner not him indeed to-you troublesome but
 adsiduum tamen et acrem fore. Tum Pomponius:
persistent still and keen to-be-about-to-be then Pomponius

Ego vero, inquit, Brutum nihil mentiri puto. Videor
I indeed he-says Brutus in-nothing to-lie think I-seem
 enim iam te ausurus esse appellare, quoniam longo
for now you about-to-venture to-be to-dun since after-a-long
 intervallo modo primum animadverti paulo te hilariorem.
interval just-now for-the-first-time I-noticed a-little you more-cheerful
 Itaque quoniam hic quod mihi deberetur se exacturum 19
and-so since this-man what to-me was-owed himself about-to-exact
 professus est, quod huic debes ego a te peto.
having-professed he-has what to-this-man you-owe I from you ask
 Quidnam id? inquam. Ut scribas, inquit, aliquid; iam pridem
what-then that I-say that you-write he-says something now long-ago
 enim conticuerunt tuae litterae. Nam ut illos de re
for have-fallen-silent your writings for since those about the-thing
 publica libros edidisti, nihil a te sane postea accepimus:
public books you-published nothing from you at-all afterward we-have-received
 eisque nosmet ipsi ad rerum nostrarum memoriam
and-by-them we-ourselves ourselves to of-affairs our the-record
 comprehendendam impulsi atque incensi sumus. Sed illa,
for-embracing driven and kindled we-were but those-things
 cum poteris; atque ut possis, rogo;
when you-shall-be-able and that you-may-be-able I-ask
 nunc vero, inquit, si es animo vacuo, expone nobis quod 20
now indeed he-says if you-are in-mind free set-forth to-us what
 quaerimus. Quidnam est id? inquam. Quod mihi nuper in
we-ask what-then is that I-say what to-me lately at
 Tusculano incohavisti de oratoribus, quando esse coepissent,
the-Tusculan-villa you-began about orators when to-be they-had-begun
 qui etiam et quales fuissent. Quem ego sermonem cum
who also and of-what-sort they-had-been which I conversation when
 ad Brutum tuum vel nostrum potius detulissem, magno
to Brutus your or ours rather I-had-reported with-great

opere hic audire se velle dixit. Itaque hunc elegimus
earnestness this-man to-bear himself to-wish said and-so this we-chose
 diem, cum te sciremus esse vacuum. Qua re, si tibi est
day when you we-knew to-be free for-which reason if to-you it-is
 commodum, ede illa quae coeperas et Bruto et mihi.
convenient set-forth those-things which you-had-begun both to-Brutus and to-me

- 21 Ego vero, inquam, si potuero, faciam vobis satis. Poteris,
I indeed I-say if I-shall-be-able I-shall-do for-you enough you-will-be-able
 inquit: relaxa modo paulum animum aut sane, si potes,
he-says relax only a-little (your)-mind or indeed if you-can
 libera.
set-it-free

Nempe igitur hinc tum, Pomponi, ductus est sermo,
surely therefore from-here then Pomponius drawn was the-conversation
 quod erat a me mentio facta causam Deiotari fidelissimi
because there-was by me mention made the-case of-Deiotarus most-faithful
 atque optimi regis ornatissime et copiosissime a Bruto
and best of-a-king most-eloquently and most-fully by Brutus
 me audisse defensam. scio, inquit, ab isto initio tractum
me to-have-heard defended I-know he-says from that beginning drawn
 esse sermonem teque Bruti dolentem vicem quasi
to-have-been the-conversation and-that-you of-Brutus grieving the-part as-it-were
 deflevisse iudiciorum vastitatem et fori. Feci, inquam,
to-have-bewailed of-the-courts the-desolation and of-the-forum I-did I-say
 istuc quidem et saepe facio.
that indeed and often I-do

- 22 Nam mihi, Brute, in te intuenti crebro in mentem venit
for to-me Brutus on you as-I-gaze often into mind it-comes
 vereri, ecquodnam curriculum aliquando sit habitura tua
to-fear what-at-all a-career one-day is about-to-have your
 et natura admirabilis et exquisita doctrina et singularis
both nature admirable and refined learning and singular

industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses et
industry since for in the-greatest cases engaged you-had-been and
 cum tibi aetas nostra iam cederet fascisque summitteret,
when to-you generation our already was-yielding and-its-rods was-lowering
 subito in civitate cum alia ceciderunt tum etiam ea
suddenly in the-state as-much other-things fell so also that
 ipsa, de qua disputare ordimur, eloquentia obmutuit.

very about which to-discourse we-begin eloquence fell-dumb

Tum ille: Ceterarum rerum causa, inquit, istuc et doleo 23

then he for-other things' sake he-says that both I-grieve
 et dolendum puto; dicendi autem me non tam fructus
and to-be-grieved-for I-think of-speaking however me not so-much the-fruit
 et gloria quam studium ipsum exercitatioque delectat: quod
and glory as the-pursuit itself and-the-exercise delights which
 mihi nulla res eripiet te praesertim tam studioso
from-me no thing shall-take-away you especially so devoted
 mei. Dicere enim bene nemo potest nisi qui prudenter
of-me to-speak for well no-one can except who wisely
 intellegit; qua re qui eloquentiae verae dat operam, dat
understands for-which reason who of-eloquence true gives effort gives-it
 prudentiae, qua ne maximis quidem in bellis aequo
to-wisdom which not-even the-greatest indeed in wars with-an-even
 animo carere quisquam potest.

mind to-lack anyone can

Praeclare, inquam, Brute, dicis eoque magis ista dicendi 24

excellently I-say Brutus you-speak and-by-that more that of-speaking
 laude delector quod cetera, quae sunt quondam habita in
praise I-am-delighted because the-other-things which are once held in
 civitate pulcherrima, nemo est tam humilis qui se non aut
the-state most-beautiful no-one is so lowly who himself not either
 posse adipisci aut adeptum putet; eloquentem neminem video
to-be-able to-attain or having-attained thinks eloquent no-one I-see

factum esse victoria. Sed quo facilius sermo explicetur,
made to-have-been by-victory but that more-easily the-conversation may-unfold
 sedentes, si videtur, agamus. Cum idem placuisset illis,
sitting if it-seems-good let-us-conduct-it when the-same had-pleased them
 tum in pratulo propter Platonis statuam consedimus.
then in the-little-meadow near of-Plato the-statue we-sat-down

V · THE HARDEST OF THE ARTS

Cicero will not praise eloquence here, but will say that of all pursuits it is the most difficult, since it draws five arts together and each is great alone. Greece is his witness: every other art there is older, and was perfected long before speech. Athens first raised up the orator and first wrote speech down, yet no writing before Pericles and Thucydides has ornament. Then came Themistocles, Pericles, and the turbulent Cleon.

- 25 Hic ego: Laudare igitur eloquentiam et quanta vis
here I to-praise therefore eloquence and how-great the-power
 sit eius expromere quantamque eis qui sint eam
may-be of-it to-set-forth and-how-great to-those who may-be it
 consecuti dignitatem adferat, neque propositum nobis est
having-attained a-dignity it-brings neither proposed to-us is
 hoc loco neque necessarium. Hoc vero sine ulla dubitatione
in-this place nor necessary this indeed without any doubt
 confirmaverim, sive illa arte pariatum aliqua sive exercitatione
I-would-affirm whether it by-art is-produced some or by-practice
 quadam sive natura, rem unam esse omnium difficillimam.
a-certain or by-nature a-thing one to-be of-all the-most-difficult
 Quibus enim ex quinque rebus constare dicitur, earum una
which for out-of five things to-consist it-is-said of-them one
 quaeque est ars ipsa magna per sese. Qua re quinque
each is an-art itself great through itself for-which reason of-five

artium concursus maximarum quantam vim quantamque
of-arts the-concurrence of-the-greatest how-great a-power and-how-great
 difficultatem habeat existimari potest.

a-difficulty it-may-have to-be-estimated it-can

Testis est Graecia, quae cum eloquentiae studio sit 26

a-witness is Greece which although of-eloquence with-the-pursuit is
 incensa iamdiuque excellat in ea praestetque ceteris, tamen
fired and-long-since excels in it and-surpasses the-rest yet

omnis artis vetustiores habet et multo ante non inventas
all arts older it-has and by-much earlier not discovered

solum sed etiam perfectas, quam haec est elaborata dicendi
only but also perfected than this is elaborated of-speaking

vis atque copia. In quam cum intueor, maxime mihi
power and abundance upon which when I-gaze most to-me

occurrunt, Attice, et quasi lucent Athenae tuae, qua
come-to-mind Atticus and as-it-were shine Athens your which

in urbe primum se orator extulit primumque etiam
in city first itself the-orator raised-up and-first also

monumentis et litteris oratio est coepta mandari.

to-monuments and to-writings speech was begun to-be-committed

Tamen ante Periclem, cuius scripta quaedam feruntur, et 27

yet before Pericles whose writings certain are-reported and
 Thucydidem, qui non nascentibus Athenis sed iam adultis

Thucydides who not being-born Athens but already grown-up
 fuerunt, littera nulla est quae quidem ornatum aliquem

were writing none there-is which indeed ornament any

habeat et oratoris esse videatur. Quamquam opinio est
may-have and of-an-orator to-be may-seem although the-opinion is

et eum, qui multis annis ante hos fuerit, Pisistratum
also that-him who by-many years before these lived Pisistratus

et paulo seniore[m] etiam Solonem posteaque Clisthenem

and a-little older even Solon and-afterward Clisthenes

multum ut temporibus illis valuisse dicendo.

much as for-the-times those to-have-availed by-speaking

28 Post hanc aetatem aliquot annis, ut ex Atticis monumentis

after this age some years as from the-Attic records

potest perspic[i], Themistocles fuit, quem constat cum

it-can to-be-perceived Themistocles was whom it-is-agreed both

prudencia tum etiam eloquentia praestitisse; post Pericles,

in-prudence and also in-eloquence to-have-excelled afterward Pericles

qui cum floreret omni genere virtutis, hac tamen fuit

who although he-flourished in-every kind of-excellence by-this still was

laude clarissimus. Cleonem etiam temporibus illis turbulentum

praise most-renowned Cleon also in-times those turbulent

illum quidem civem, sed tamen eloquentem constat fuisse.

that indeed a-citizen but still eloquent it-is-agreed to-have-been

VI · TEACHERS, AND SOCRATES

Once men saw what a carefully made speech could do, teachers of speaking appeared at once — Gorgias, Thrasy-machus, Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippas — promising with some arrogance to make the weaker case the stronger. Socrates set himself against them, and out of his conversations came the philosophy that argues about good and evil; Cicero puts that subject off. Then came Isocrates, whose house was a school for all Greece, and who first saw that prose too must keep a measure.

29 Huic aetati sup-pares Alcibiades Critias Theramenes; quibus

to-this age nearly-equal Alcibiades Critias Theramenes in-which

temporibus quod dicendi genus vigerit ex Thucydidi

times what of-speaking kind flourished from of-Thucydides

scriptis, qui ipse tum fuit, intellegi maxime potest.

the-writings who himself then lived to-be-understood best it-can

Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum

lofty they-were in-words frequent in-thoughts by-the-compression of-matter

breves et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri.

brief and on-account-of that very cause sometimes rather-obscur

Sed ut intellectum est quantam vim haberet accurata et 30

but when understood it-was how-great a-power it-had a-careful and

facta quodam modo oratio, tum etiam magistri dicendi multi

made in-a-certain way speech then also teachers of-speaking many

subito exstiterunt. Tum Leontinus Gorgias, Thrasymachus

suddenly arose then the-Leontine Gorgias Thrasymachus

Calchedonius, Protagoras Abderites, Prodicus Cius, Hippias

of-Calchedon Protagoras of-Abdera Prodicus of-Ceus Hippias

Elius in honore magno fuit; alique multi temporibus

of-Elis in honor great was and-others many in-times

eisdem docere se profitebantur, arrogantibus sane verbis,

the-same to-teach themselves were-professing with-arrogant indeed words

quem ad modum causa inferior — ita enim loquebantur —

in-what to manner a-cause the-weaker so for they-were-speaking

dicendo fieri superior posset.

by-speaking to-be-made the-stronger it-could

His opposuit sese Socrates, qui subtilitate quadam disputandi 31

to-these opposed himself Socrates who by-a-subtlety a-certain of-arguing

refellere eorum instituta solebat. Huius ex uberrimis

to-refute of-them the-teachings was-wont of-this-man from the-most-fertile

sermonibus exstiterunt doctissimi viri; primumque tum

conversations arose the-most-learned men and-first then

philosophia non illa de natura, quae fuerat antiquior, sed haec,

philosophy not that about nature which had-been older but this

in qua de bonis rebus et malis deque hominum vita et

in which about good things and bad and-about of-men life and

moribus disputatur, inventa dicitur. Quod quoniam genus ab

character is-discussed discovered is-said which since a-kind from

hoc quod proposuimus abhorret, philosophos aliud in tempus

this which we-have-proposed is-remote the-philosophers another into time

reiciamus; ad oratores, a quibus digressi sumus, revertamur.

let-us-put-off to the-orators from whom departed we-have let-us-return

32 Exstitit igitur iam senibus illis quos paulo ante diximus

arose therefore already (being)-old those whom a-little before we-mentioned

Isocrates, cuius domus cunctae Graeciae quasi ludus quidam

Isocrates whose house to-all of-Greece as-it-were a-school a-certain

patuit atque officina dicendi; magnus orator et perfectus

lay-open and a-workshop of-speaking a-great orator and a-finished

magister, quamquam forensi luce caruit intraque parietes

teacher although of-the-forum the-light he-lacked and-within walls

aluit eam gloriam quam nemo meo quidem iudicio est

be-nourished that glory which no-one in-my indeed judgment has

postea consecutus. Is et ipse scripsit multa praeclare

afterward attained he both himself wrote many-things excellently

et docuit alios; et cum cetera melius quam superiores

and taught others and both other-things better than (his)-predecessors

tum primus intellexit etiam in soluta oratione, dum versum

and first he-understood also in unbound speech while verse

effugeret, modum tamen et numerum quandam oportere

you-avoid a-measure still and a-rhythm a-certain to-be-proper

servari.

to-be-preserved

33 Ante hunc enim verborum quasi structura et quaedam

before this-man for of-words as-it-were the-structure and a-certain

ad numerum conclusio nulla erat aut, si quando erat,

to rhythm rounding none there-was or if at-any-time there-was

non apparebat eam dedita opera esse quaesitam —

not it-was-apparent it deliberate by-effort to-have-been sought

quae forsitan laus sit, verum tamen natura magis tum

which perhaps a-merit may-be but still by-nature more then

casuque, non umquam aut ratione aliqua aut ulla
and-by-chance not ever or by-a-method any or by-any
 observatione fiebat.
observance was-happening

VII · LYSIAS AND DEMOSTHENES

Nature herself rounds off a thought, and the ear judges what is full and what is empty. Lysias, no pleader, was so subtle a writer that one might almost call him a finished orator; the orator who lacks nothing is Demosthenes. Hyperides, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, and Demades followed. Then Demetrius of Phalerum, schooled in Theophrastus' shady walks, not in arms, delighted the Athenians more than he fired them.

Ipsa enim natura circumscriptione quadam verborum 34
itself for nature by-a-rounding a-certain of-words
 comprehendit concluditque sententiam, quae cum aptis
embraces and-closes a-thought which when with-fitting
 constricta verbis est, cadit etiam plerumque numerose. Nam et
bound words is falls also generally rhythmically for both
 aures ipsae quid plenum, quid inane sit iudicant et spiritu
the-ears themselves what full what empty may-be judge and by-the-breath
 quasi necessitate aliqua verborum comprehensio terminatur;
as-if by-a-necessity a-certain of-words the-period is-ended
 in quo non modo defici sed etiam laborare turpe est.
in which not only to-fail but even to-labor shameful is
 Tum fuit Lysias ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, 35
then was Lysias himself indeed in cases forensic not engaged
 sed egregie subtilis scriptor atque elegans, quem iam prope
but remarkably subtle a-writer and elegant whom now almost
 audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. Nam plane quidem
you-would-dare an-orator finished to-call for plainly indeed

perfectum et quoi nihil admodum desit Demosthenem

finished and to-whom nothing at-all may-be-lacking Demosthenes

facile dixeris. Nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis causis quas

easily you-would-call nothing acutely to-be-devised could in those cases which

scripsit, nihil, ut ita dicam, subdole, nihil versute, quod ille

he-wrote nothing as so I-may-say craftily nothing cunningly which he

non viderit; nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate,

not saw nothing subtly to-be-said nothing compactly nothing clearly

quo fieri possit aliquid limatius; nihil contra

by-which to-be-made it-could anything more-polished nothing on-the-other-hand

grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum

grand nothing spirited nothing ornate either of-words

gravitate vel sententiarum, quo quicquam esset elatius.

by-the-weight or of-thoughts by-which anything might-be loftier

36 Huic Hyperides proximus et Aeschines fuit et Lycurgus et

to-this-man Hyperides next and Aeschines was and Lycurgus and

Dinarchus et is, cuius nulla exstant scripta, Demades alique

Dinarchus and he of-whom none survive writings Demades and-others

plures. Haec enim aetas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea

several this for age poured-out this abundance and as opinion my

fert, sucus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc aetatem

carries the-sap that and blood uncorrupted right-down to this age

oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus nitor.

of-orators was in which a-natural was-present not painted brightness

37 Phalereus enim successit eis senibus adulescens eruditissimus

the-Phalerean for succeeded to-those old-men a-young-man the-most-learned

ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus

that indeed of-these of-all but not so with-arms trained

quam palaestra. Itaque delectabat magis Atheniensis

as in-the-wrestling-school and-so he-was-delighting more the-Athenians

quam inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem,

than he-was-firing he-had-gone-forth for into sun and dust

non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e Theophrasti
 not as from a-military tent but as from of-Theophrastus
 doctissimi hominis umbraculis.
 of-the-most-learned of-a-man the-shady-walks

VIII • SPEECH CAME LATE

Demetrius of Phalerum first bent oratory toward softness. Even in the city where eloquence was born, it came late into the light: nothing is recorded of any eloquent man before Solon and Pisistratus, though Homer's Ulysses and Nestor show it was honored in the Trojan age. Themistocles came next; Cicero likens his fate to Coriolanus', and Atticus laughs that rhetoricians may invent in histories, as Clitarchus invented Themistocles' bowl of bull's blood.

Hic primus inflexit orationem et eam mollem teneramque 38
 this-man first bent speech and it soft and-tender
 reddidit et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit quam gravis;
 made and pleasant such-as he-was to-seem he-preferred than weighty
 sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua
 but with-a-sweetness that by-which he-might-suffuse minds not by-which
 perfringeret, tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suae,
 he-might-break-through only so-that the-memory of-the-elegance his-own
 non, quem ad modum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis, cum
 not in-what to manner about Pericles wrote Eupolis with
 delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum a
 delight stings also he-might-leave in the-minds of-those by
 quibus esset auditus.
 whom he-had-been heard

Videsne igitur vel in ea ipsa urbe, in qua et nata et 39
 do-you-see therefore even in that very city in which both born and
 alta sit eloquentia, quam ea sero prodierit in lucem?
 nurtured was eloquence how it late came-forth into light

Si quidem ante Solonis aetatem et Pisistrati de nullo
since indeed before of-Solon the-age and of-Pisistratus about no-one
 ut diserto memoriae proditum est. At hi quidem, ut
as eloquent to-memory handed-down it-is but these indeed as
 populi Romani aetas est, senes, ut Atheniensium saecula
of-the-people Roman the-age is old-men as of-the-Athenians the-generations
 numerantur, adulescentes debent videri. Nam etsi Servio
are-counted young ought to-seem for although under-Servius
 Tullio regnante viguerunt, tamen multo diutius Athenae
Tullius reigning they-flourished yet by-much longer Athens
 iam erant quam est Roma ad hodiernum diem. Nec
already had-been than is Rome to today's day nor
 tamen dubito quin habuerit vim magnam semper oratio.
yet do-I-doubt that it-has-had power great always speech
 40 Neque enim iam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in
nor for already in-Trojan times so-much of-praise in
 dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus et Nestori, quorum
speaking to-Ulysses would-have-assigned Homer and to-Nestor of-whom
 alterum vim habere voluit, alterum suavitatem, nisi iam
the-one force to-have he-wished the-other sweetness unless already
 tum esset honos eloquentiae; neque ipse poeta hic tam
then there-was honor for-eloquence nor himself the-poet this so
 ornatus in dicendo ac plane orator fuisset. Cuius
ornate in speaking and plainly an-orator would-have-been of-whom
 etsi incerta sunt tempora, tamen annis multis fuit ante
although uncertain are the-times yet by-years many he-lived before
 Romulum; si quidem non infra superiorem Lycurgum
Romulus since indeed not later-than the-earlier Lycurgus
 fuit, a quo est disciplina Lacedaemoniorum astricta legibus.
he-was by whom is the-discipline of-the-Spartans bound by-laws

Sed studium eius generis maiorque vis agnoscitur in 41
but the-pursuit of-that kind and-a-greater force is-recognized in
 Pisistrato. Denique hunc proximo saeculo Themistocles
Pisistratus finally this-man in-the-next generation Themistocles
 insecutus est, ut apud nos, perantiquus, ut apud Atheniensis,
followed has as among us very-ancient as among the-Athenians
 non ita sane vetus. Fuit enim regnante iam Graecia, nostra
not so indeed old be-lived for reigning already Greece our
 autem civitate non ita pridem dominatu regio liberata.
however state not so long-ago from-domination royal freed
 Nam bellum Volscorum illud gravissimum, cui Coriolanus
for the-war of-the-Volsicians that most-serious in-which Coriolanus
 exsul interfuit, eodem fere tempore quo Persarum bellum
an-exile took-part at-the-same nearly time as of-the-Persians the-war
 fuit, similisque fortuna clarorum virorum;
was and-alike the-fortune of-famous of-men
 si quidem uterque cum civis egregius fuisset, populi 42
since indeed each although a-citizen distinguished be-had-been of-a-people
 ingrati pulsus iniuria se ad hostis contulit conatumque
ungrateful driven-out by-the-injustice himself to the-enemy betook and-the-attempt
 iracundiae suae morte sedavit. Nam etsi aliter apud te est,
of-the-anger his-own by-death be-quieted for although otherwise with you it-is
 Attice, de Coriolano, concede tamen ut huic generi mortis
Atticus about Coriolanus grant still that to-this kind of-death
 potius adsentiar. At ille ridens: tuo vero, inquit, arbitrato;
rather I-may-assent but he laughing at-your indeed he-says pleasure
 quoniam quidem concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis,
since indeed granted it-is to-rhetoricians to-invent in histories
 ut aliquid dicere possint argutius. Ut enim tu nunc de
that something to-say they-may-be-able more-cleverly as for you now about
 Coriolano, sic Clitarchus, sic Stratocles de Themistocle finxit.
Coriolanus so Clitarchus so Stratocles about Themistocles invented

- 43 Nam quem Thucydides, qui et Atheniensis erat et summo
for whom Thucydides who both an-Athenian was and in-the-highest
 loco natus summusque vir et paulo aetate posterior,
station born and-a-most-eminent man and a-little in-age later
 tantum morbo mortuum scripsit et in Attica clam humatum,
only by-disease dead wrote and in Attica secretly buried
 addidit fuisse suspicionem veneno sibi conscivisse
added to-have-been a-suspicion by-poison for-himself to-have-brought-on
 mortem: hunc isti aiunt, cum taurum immolavisset,
death this-man those say when a-bull he-had-sacrificed
 exceperit sanguinem patera et eo poto mortuum
to-have-caught the-blood in-a-bowl and it having-been-drunk dead
 concidisse. Hanc enim mortem rhetorice et tragice ornare
to-have-fallen this for death rhetorically and tragically to-adorn
 potuerunt, illa mors vulgaris nullam praebebat materiem
they-were-able that death common no gave material
 ad ornatum. Qua re quoniam tibi ita quadrat, omnia
for ornament for-which reason since to-you so it-squares all-things
 fuisse in Themistocle paria et Coriolano, pateram quoque
to-have-been in Themistocles equal and in-Coriolanus the-bowl also
 a me sumas licet, praebebo etiam hostiam, ut
from me you-may-take it-is-allowed I-shall-supply even a-victim so-that
 Coriolanus sit plane alter Themistocles.
Coriolanus may-be plainly a-second Themistocles

Pericles, taught by the natural philosopher Anaxagoras, was the first to bring learning to the platform, and Athens both delighted in his sweetness and feared his force. The art itself, Aristotle says, was written down in Sicily by Corax and Tisias when the tyrants fell and men had to reclaim their property in court. Gorgias wrote praises and censures, Protagoras the commonplaces, Antiphon a defense Thucydides thought unmatched.

Sit sane, inquam, ut libet, de isto; et ego 44

let-it-be by-all-means I-say as it-pleases about that and I

cautius posthac historiam attingam te audiente, quem

more-cautiously hereafter history shall-touch you listening whom

rerum Romanarum auctorem laudare possum religiosissimum.

of-affairs Roman an-authority to-praise I-can most-scrupulous

Sed tum fere Pericles Xanthippi filius, de quo ante dixi,

but then about Pericles of-Xanthippus the-son about whom before I-spoke

primus adhibuit doctrinam; quae quamquam tum nulla

first applied learning which although then none

erat dicendi, tamen ab Anaxagora physico eruditus

there-was of-speaking still by Anaxagoras the-natural-philosopher trained

exercitationem mentis a reconditis abstrusisque rebus ad

the-exercise of-(bis)-mind from abstruse and-hidden matters to

causas forensis popularisque facile traduxerat. Huius suavitatem

cases forensic and-popular easily he-had-transferred by-his sweetness

maxime hilaratae Athenae sunt, huius ubertatem et copiam

most gladdened Athens was his richness and abundance

admiratae eiusdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt.

having-admired of-the-same the-force of-speaking and-the-terror they-feared

Haec igitur aetas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum 45

this therefore age first at-Athens an-orator nearly finished

tulit. Nec enim in constituentibus rem publicam

produced nor for among those-establishing the-thing public

nec in bella gerentibus nec in impeditis ac regum
nor among wars those-waging nor among the-hampered and of-kings
 dominatione devinctis nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis
by-the-domination bound to-be-born the-desire of-speaking is-wont of-peace
 est comes otique socia et iam bene constitutae
it-is the-companion and-of-leisure the-ally and already well established
 civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia.
of-a-state as-it-were a-nursling a-certain eloquence

46 Itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis
and-so says Aristotle when having-been-removed in Sicily the-tyrants
 res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur,
matters private after-a-long interval in-lawsuits were-being-reclaimed
 tum primum, quod esset acuta illa gens et controversia
then first because it-was keen that race and for-controversy
 † natura, artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam
by-nature the-art and the-precepts the-Sicilians Corax and Tisias
 conscripsisse — nam antea neminem solitum via nec
to-have-composed for before no-one accustomed by-method nor
 arte, sed accurate tamen et descripte plerosque dicere—;
by-art but carefully still and orderly most to-speak
 scriptasque fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum inlustrum
and-written to-have-been and prepared by Protagoras of-matters notable
 disputationes, qui nunc communes appellantur loci;
the-discussions which now common are-called places

47 quod idem fecisse Gorgiam, quem singularum rerum
which the-same to-have-done Gorgias who of-single things
 laudes vituperationesque conscripsisse, quod iudicaret hoc
the-praises and-the-censures to-have-composed because he-judged this
 oratoris esse maxime proprium, rem augere posse
of-an-orator to-be most proper a-matter to-magnify to-be-able
 laudando vituperandoque rursus affligere; huic Antiphontem
by-praising and-by-blaming again to-cast-down to-this-man Antiphon

Rhamnusium similia quaedam habuisse conscripta; quo
of-Rhamnus similar certain-things to-have-had written than-whom
 neminem umquam melius ullam oravisse capitis causam,
no-one ever better any to-have-pleaded of-life a-case
 cum se ipse defenderet, locuples auctor scripsit Thucydides;
when himself he was-defending a-weighty authority wrote Thucydides

X • OUT OF THE PIRAEUS

Lysias professed to teach the art and then set it aside to write speeches for others; Isocrates denied there was an art at all, wrote for others, and — hauled into court for it — turned to composing handbooks instead. Eloquence belonged to Athens and to no other Greek city: no Argive, Corinthian, or Theban orator is remembered, and no Spartan at all. Once it sailed from the Piraeus it lost its Attic health abroad.

nam Lysiam primo profiteri solitum artem esse dicendi;
for Lysias at-first to-profess accustomed an-art to-be of-speaking
 deinde, quod Theodorus esset in arte subtilior, in orationibus
then because Theodorus was in the-art more-subtle in speeches
 autem ieunior, orationes eum scribere aliis coepisse, artem
however thinner speeches he to-write for-others to-have-begun the-art
 removisse; similiter Isocratem primo artem dicendi esse
to-have-put-aside similarly Isocrates at-first an-art of-speaking to-be
 negavisse, scribere autem aliis solitum orationes, quibus in
to-have-denied to-write however for-others accustomed speeches which in
 iudiciis uterentur; sed cum ex eo, quia quasi committeret
courts they-might-use but when out-of that because as-it-were he-was-committing
 contra legem ‘quo quis iudicio circumveniretur,’ saepe
against the-law by-which anyone in-a-trial might-be-entrapped often

48

ipse in iudicium vocaretur, orationes aliis destitisse
himself into court was-being-summoned speeches for-others to-have-ceased
 scribere totumque se ad artes componendas transtulisse.

to-write and-wholly himself to arts composing to-have-transferred

- 49 Et Graeciae quidem oratorum partus atque fontis vides,
and of-Greece indeed of-orators the-births and the-springs you-see
 ad nostrorum annalium rationem veteres, ad ipsorum sane
by of-our annals the-reckoning ancient by of-themselves indeed
 recentes. Nam ante quam delectata est Atheniensium civitas
recent for before than delighted was of-the-Athenians the-state
 hac laude dicendi, multa iam memorabilia et in domesticis
by-this praise of-speaking many-things already memorable both in domestic
 et in bellicis rebus effecerat. Hoc autem studium non
and in warlike affairs it-had-accomplished this however pursuit not
 erat commune Graeciae, sed proprium Athenarum.

was common to-Greece but proper to-Athens

- 50 Quis enim aut Argivum oratorem aut Corinthium aut
who for either an-Argive orator or a-Corinthian or
 Thebanum scit fuisse temporibus illis? nisi quid de
a-Theban knows to-have-been in-times those unless something about
 Epaminonda docto homine suspicari libet. Lacedaemonium
Epaminondas a-learned man to-suspect one-pleases a-Spartan
 vero usque ad hoc tempus audiui fuisse neminem.

indeed right-up to this time I-have-heard to-have-been none

Menelaum ipsum dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, sed
Menelaus himself sweet him indeed reports Homer but
 pauca dicentem. Brevitas autem laus est interdum in aliqua
few-things saying brevity however a-merit is sometimes in some
 parte dicendi, in universa eloquentia laudem non habet.
part of-speaking in the-whole eloquence praise not it-has

At vero extra Graeciam magna dicendi studia fuerunt 51
but indeed outside Greece great of-speaking pursuits there-were
 maximique huic laudi habiti honores inlustre oratorum nomen
and-the-greatest to-this merit paid honors illustrious of-orators the-name
 reddiderunt. Nam ut semel e Piraeo eloquentia evecta
made for as once from the-Piraeus eloquence carried-out
 est, omnis peragravit insulas atque ita peregrinata tota
was all it-traversed the-islands and so it-traveled through-all
 Asia est, ut se externis oblineret moribus omnemque illam
Asia it-has that itself with-foreign it-smeared manners and-all that
 salubritatem Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitatem perderet ac
soundness of-Attic diction and as-it-were health it-lost and
 loqui paene dediceret. Hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi
to-speak almost it-unlearned hence the-Asiatic orators not to-be-despised
 quidem nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et
indeed neither in-speed nor in-abundance but too-little compressed and
 nimis redundantes; Rhodii saniores et Atticorum similiores.
too redundant the-Rhodians sounder and to-the-Attic more-alike

XI • TURNING TO ROME

Enough of the Greeks. At Rome one can only guess from the records. Brutus, the founder of Brutus' own line, must have been quick of mind to read the oracle as he did and to bind the freed state by laws; the state could not have been persuaded without speech. Valerius the dictator quieted a mutiny by speaking, and Appius Claudius called the senate back from peace with Pyrrhus.

Sed de Graecis hactenus; etenim haec ipsa forsitan 52
but about the-Greeks thus-far and-indeed these-things themselves perhaps
 fuerint non necessaria.
may-have-been not necessary

Tum Brutus: Ista vero, inquit, quam necessaria fuerint
then Brutus those-things indeed he-says how necessary they-may-have-been
 non facile dixerim; iucunda certe mihi fuerunt neque solum
not easily could-I-say pleasant certainly to-me they-were nor only
 non longa, sed etiam breviora quam vellem. Optime, inquam,
not long but even shorter than I-could-wish excellent I-say
 sed veniamus ad nostros, de quibus difficile est plus
but let-us-come to our-own about whom difficult it-is more
 intellegere quam quantum ex monumentis suspicari licet.
to-understand than as-much-as from the-records to-conjecture is-allowed

- 53 Quis enim putet aut celeritatem ingeni L. Bruto illi
who for would-think either quickness of-mind L. to-Brutus that
 nobilitatis vestrae principi defuisse? qui de matre
of-the-nobility of-yours to-the-founder to-have-been-lacking who about a-mother
 savianda ex oraculo Apollinis tam acute arguteque coniecerit;
to-be-kissed from the-oracle of-Apollo so keenly and-cleverly guessed
 qui summam prudentiam simulatione stultitiae texerit; qui
who the-highest wisdom by-the-pretense of-folly covered who
 potentissimum regem clarissimi regis filium expulerit
the-most-powerful king of-a-most-famous of-a-king the-son drove-out
 civitatemque perpetuo dominatu liberatam magistratibus
and-the-state from-perpetual from-domination freed by-magistrates
 annuis legibus iudiciisque devinxerit; qui conlegae suo
yearly by-laws and-by-courts bound who from-his-colleague his-own
 imperium abrogaverit, ut e civitate regalis nominis
the-command took-away so-that from the-state of-royal of-the-name
 memoriam tolleret: quod certe effici non
the-memory he-might-remove which certainly to-be-brought-about not
 potuisset, nisi esset oratione persuasum.
could-have-been unless it-had-been by-speech persuaded

Videmus item paucis annis post reges exactos, cum plebes 54

we-see likewise a-few years after the-kings driven-out when the-plebs
prope ripam Anionis ad tertium miliarium consedisset eumque

near the-bank of-the-Anio at the-third milestone had-encamped and-that

montem, qui Sacer appellatus est, occupavisset, M. Valerium

hill which Sacred called was had-seized M. Valerius

dictatorem dicendo sedavisse discordias eique ob eam

the-dictator by-speaking to-have-quieted the-discords and-to-him on-account-of that

rem honores amplissimos habitos et eum primum ob

matter honors the-greatest paid and him first on-account-of

eam ipsam causam Maximum esse appellatum. Ne L.

that very cause the-Greatest to-have-been called not-even L.

Valerium quidem Potitum arbitror non aliquid potuisse

Valerius indeed Potitus I-think not something to-have-been-able

dicendo, qui post decemviralem invidiam plebem in patres

by-speaking who after the-decemviral hatred the-plebs against the-fathers

incitatum legibus et contionibus suis mitigaverit.

roused by-laws and by-speeches his-own softened

Possumus Appium Claudium suspicari disertum, quia 55

we-can Appius Claudius to-suspect eloquent because

senatum iamiam inclinatum a Pyrrhi pace revocaverit;

the-senate already-now inclined from of-Pyrrhus the-peace he-called-back

possumus C. Fabricium, quia sit ad Pyrrhum de captivis

we-can C. Fabricius because he-was to Pyrrhus about the-captives

recuperandis missus orator; Ti. Coruncanium, quod ex

to-be-recovered sent an-orator Ti. Coruncanius because from

pontificum commentariis longe plurimum ingenio valuisse

of-the-pontiffs the-records by-far the-most in-talent to-have-availed

videatur; M'. Curium, quod is tribunus plebis interrege

he-seems M'. Curius because he a-tribune of-the-plebs the-interrex

Appio Caeco diserto homine comitia contra leges habente,

Appius the-Blind an-eloquent man the-assembly against the-laws holding

cum de plebe consulem non accipiebat, patres ante
when from the-plebs a-consul not he-was-accepting the-fathers beforehand
 auctores fieri coegerit: quod fuit permagnum nondum
sponsors to-become compelled which was very-great not-yet
 lege Maenia lata.

the-law Maenian having-been-passed

- 56 Licet aliquid etiam de M. Popili ingenio suspicari, qui
it-is-allowed something also about M. of-Popilius the-talent to-suspect who
 cum consul esset eodemque tempore sacrificium publicum
when consul he-was and-at-the-same time a-sacrifice public
 cum laena faceret, quod erat flamen Carmentalis, plebei
with the-cloak he-was-making because he-was the-priest of-Carmentis of-the-plebs
 contra patres concitatione et seditione nuntiata, ut
against the-fathers an-uprising and a-riot having-been-announced as
 erat laena amictus ita venit in contionem seditionemque
he-was in-the-cloak wrapped so he-came into the-assembly and-the-riot
 cum auctoritate tum oratione sedavit. Sed eos oratores
as-much by-(bis)-authority as by-(bis)-speech he-quieted but those orators
 habitos esse aut omnino tum ullum eloquentiae praeium
beld to-have-been or at-all then any of-eloquence reward
 fuisse nihil sane mihi legisse videor: tantum modo
to-have-been nothing at-all to-me to-have-read I-seem so-much only
 coniectura ducor ad suspicandum.
by-conjecture I-am-led to suspecting

Flaminius, Fabius Maximus, and Metellus were counted orators in their day, but the first Roman recorded as eloquent is M. Cornelius Cethegus, on the word of Ennius, who heard him and wrote of him after his death, calling him the marrow of Persuasion. Nothing older than Cato is worth reading except Appius' speech on Pyrrhus and the funeral eulogies, which have filled Roman history with false triumphs and lineages.

Dicitur etiam C. Flaminius, is qui tribunus plebis legem 57
he-is-said also C. Flaminius he who a-tribune of-the-plebs a-law
 de agro Gallico et Piceno viri-*man-by-man* tim dividundo tulerit,
about the-land Gallic and Picene to-be-divided carried
 qui consul apud Trasumennum sit interfectus, ad populum
who a-consul at Trasimene was killed with the-people
 valuisse dicendo. Q. etiam Maximus Verrucosus orator
to-have-availed by-speaking Q. also Maximus Verrucosus an-orator
 habitus est temporibus illis et Q. Metellus, is qui bello
held was in-times those and Q. Metellus he who in-the-war
 Punico secundo cum L. Veturio Philone consul fuit.
Punic second with L. Veturius Philo consul was
 Quem vero exstet et de quo sit memoriae proditum
whom indeed it-is-on-record and about whom it-is to-memory handed-down
 eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum, primus est
eloquent to-have-been and so to-have-been held the-first is
 M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor et
M. Cornelius Cethegus of-whose eloquence is a-voucher and
 idoneus quidem mea sententia Q. Ennius, praesertim cum
a-fit-one indeed in-my judgment Q. Ennius especially since
 et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo: ex quo
both himself him heard and he-writes about the-dead from which
 nulla suspicio est amicitiae causa esse mentitum.
no suspicion there-is of-friendship for-the-sake to-be to-have-lied

58 Est igitur sic apud illum in nono ut opinor annali:

it-is therefore thus in that-man in the-ninth as I-think annal

additur orator Cornelius suaviloquenti

is-added an-orator Cornelius sweet-speaking

ore Cethegus Marcus Tuditano conlega

in-mouth Cethegus Marcus to-Tuditano the-colleague

Marci filius —

of-Marcus the-son

et oratorem appellat et suaviloquentiam tribuit, quae nunc

both an-orator he-calls-him and sweetness-of-speech he-assigns which now

quidem non tam est in plerisque (latrant enim iam quidam

indeed not so is in most they-bark for now certain

oratores, non loquuntur), sed est ea laus eloquentiae

orators not they-speak but is that the-praise of-eloquence

certe maxima —

certainly the-greatest

is dictust ollis popularibus olim,

he was-called by-those countrymen once

qui tum vivebant homines atque aevum agitabant,

who then were-living men and (their)-day were-passing

flos delibatus populi —

the-flower culled of-the-people

probe vero;

rightly indeed

ut enim hominis decus ingenium, sic ingeni ipsius lumen 59
as for of-a-man the-glory (is)-talent so of-talent itself the-light
 est eloquentia, qua virum excellentem praeclare tum illi
is eloquence in-which a-man excelling admirably then those
 homines florem populi esse dixerunt —
men the-flower of-the-people to-be said

Suadaeque medulla.

and-of-Suada the-marrow

Πειθὼ quam vocant Graeci, cuius effector est orator, hanc
peitbo whom they-call the-Greeks of-which the-maker is the-orator her
 Suadam appellavit Ennius, ut, quam deam in Pericli
Suada named Ennius so-that whom a-goddess on of-Pericles
 labris scripsit Eupolis sessitavisse, huius hic medullam
the-lips wrote Eupolis to-have-sat of-her this-man the-marrow
 nostrum oratorem fuisse dixerit.
our orator to-have-been he-might-say

At hic Cethegus consul cum P. Tuditano fuit bello 60
but this Cethegus a-consul with P. Tuditanus was in-the-war
 Punico secundo quaestorque his consulibus M. Cato
Punic second and-a-quaestor with-these consuls M. Cato
 modo plane annis cxi ante me consulem; et id
only quite years a-hundred-and-forty before me as-consul and that
 ipsum nisi unius esset Enni testimonio cognitum, hunc
itself unless of-one there-were of-Ennius by-the-testimony known this-man
 vetustas, ut alios fortasse multos, oblivione obruisset.
antiquity as others perhaps many by-oblivion would-have-buried
 Illius autem aetatis qui sermo fuerit ex Naevianis scriptis
of-that however age what the-speech was from the-Naevian writings
 intellegi potest. His enim consulibus, ut in veteribus
to-be-understood it-can with-these for consuls as in old

commentariis scriptum est, Naevius est mortuus; quamquam
records written it-is Naevius did die although

Varro noster diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis putat in
Varro our most-diligent investigator of-antiquity thinks in
 hoc erratum vitamque Naevi producit longius.

this an-error-to-have-been-made and-the-life of-Naevius he-extends further

Nam Plautus P. Claudio L. Porcio viginti annis post illos
for Plautus P. Claudius L. Porcius twenty years after those
 quos ante dixi consulibus mortuus est, Catone censore.

whom before I-mentioned consuls die did Cato being-censor

61 Hunc igitur Cethegum consecutus est aetate Cato, qui annis
this-man therefore Cethegus followed has in-age Cato who years

ix post eum fuit consul. Eum nos ut perveterem habemus,
nine after him was consul him we as very-old hold

qui L. Marcio M'. Manilio consulibus mortuus est, annis
who L. Marcius M'. Manilius consuls die did years

lxxxvi ipsis ante me consulem. Nec vero habeo quemquam
eighty-six exactly before me as-consul nor indeed I-have anyone

antiquiorem, cuius quidem scripta proferenda putem,

older of-whom indeed the-writings to-be-brought-forward I-should-think

nisi quem Appi Caeci oratio haec ipsa de Pyrrho et
unless whom of-Appius the-Blind the-speech this very about Pyrrhus and
 non nullae mortuorum laudationes forte delectant.

not none of-the-dead eulogies by-chance delight

62 Et hercules eae quidem exstant: ipsae enim familiae

and by-Hercules those indeed survive themselves for the-families

sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad
their-own as-it-were ornaments and memorials were-keeping both for

usum, si quis eiusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam
use if anyone of-the-same family had-died and for the-record

laudum domesticarum et ad inlustrandam nobilitatem suam.

of-praises domestic and for illuminating the-nobility their-own

Quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est
 although by-these eulogies the-history of-affairs our is
 facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis quae facta
 made more-faulty many-things for written are in them which done
 non sunt: falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam
 not were false triumphs more consulships lineages also
 falsa et ad plebem transitiones, cum homines humiliores
 false and to the-plebs transitions when men humbler
 in alienum eiusdem nominis infunderentur genus; ut si ego
 into an-alien of-the-same of-name were-poured-in family as if I
 me a M'. Tullio esse dicerem, qui patricius cum Servio
 myself from M'. Tullius to-be should-say who a-patrician with Servius
 Sulpicio consul anno x post exactos reges fuit.
 Sulpicius consul in-the-year ten after driven-out the-kings was

XIII · CATO, AND WHY NOBODY READS HIM

Cato left nearly as many speeches as the Attic Lysias, whom Timaeus tries to reclaim for Syracuse, and the two are alike: keen, elegant, witty, brief. More than a hundred and fifty of Cato's speeches survive, and every oratorical virtue can be found in them. Yet Lysias has his admirers and Cato has none: his words are older and rougher, and if you change what he could not change and add rhythm, no one would be set before him.

Catonis autem orationes non minus multae fere sunt quam 63
 of-Cato however the-speeches not less many nearly are than
 Attici Lysiae, cuius arbitror plurimas esse — est enim
 of-the-Attic of-Lysias of-whom I-think the-most to-be he-is for
 Atticus, quoniam certe Athenis est et natus et mortuus
 an-Attic since certainly at-Athens he-is both born and dead
 et functus omni civium munere, quamquam Timaeus
 and having-discharged every of-citizens duty although Timaeus

eum quasi Licinia et Mucia lege repetit Syracusas —

him as-it-were by-the-Licinian and Mucian law reclaims to-Syracuse

et quodam modo est non nulla in eis etiam inter

and in-a-certain way there-is not none in them even between

ipsos similitudo. Acuti sunt, elegantes faceti breves; sed

themselves a-likeness keen they-are elegant witty brief but

ille Graecus ab omni laude felicior.

that Greek in every merit more-fortunate

64 Habet enim certos sui studiosos, qui non tam habitus

he-has for certain of-himself admirers who not so the-habits

corporis opimos quam gracilitates consecretur, quos, valetudo

of-body plump as slendernesses pursue whom health

modo bona sit, tenuitas ipsa delectat — quamquam in Lysia

only good may-be thinness itself delights although in Lysias

sunt saepe etiam lacerti, sic uti fieri nihil possit valentius;

there-are often even muscles so that to-be-made nothing could stronger

verum est certe genere toto strigosior —, sed habet tamen suos

but he-is certainly in-kind whole leaner but he-has still his-own

laudatores, qui hac ipsa eius subtilitate admodum gaudeant.

praisers who in-this very of-him subtlety exceedingly take-delight

65 Catonem vero quis nostrorum oratorum, qui quidem nunc sunt,

Cato indeed who of-our of-orators who indeed now are

legit? aut quis novit omnino? At quem virum, di boni! mitto

reads or who knows at-all but what a-man gods good I-pass-over

civem aut senatorem aut imperatorem; oratorem enim hoc

the-citizen or the-senator or the-general the-orator for in-this

loco quaerimus: quis illo gravior in laudando? acerbior in

place we-seek who than-him weightier in praising sharper in

vituperando? in sentiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque

blaming in thoughts more-pointed in teaching and-expounding

subtilior? Refertae sunt orationes amplius centum quinquaginta,

more-subtle crammed are the-speeches more-than a-hundred fifty

quas quidem adhuc invenerim et legerim, et verbis et rebus
which indeed so-far I-have-found and I-have-read both with-words and with-things
 inlustribus. Licet ex his eligant ea quae notatione et
brilliant it-is-allowed from these let-them-choose those which by-notice and
 laude digna sint: omnes oratoriae virtutes in eis reperientur.
by-praise worthy may-be all oratorical excellences in them will-be-found
 Iam vero Origines eius quem florem aut quod lumen 66
now indeed the-Origins of-him what flower or what light
 eloquentiae non habent? Amatores huic desunt, sicuti
of-eloquence not have admirers to-this-work are-lacking just-as
 multis iam ante saeculis et Philisto Syracusio et ipsi
many now before ages both to-Philistus the-Syracusan and himself
 Thucydidi. Nam ut horum concisis sentiis, interdum
to-Thucydides for as of-these to-the-compressed thoughts sometimes
 etiam non satis apertis cum brevitate tum nimio acumine,
even not enough clear as-much by-brevity as by-excessive sharpness
 officit Theopompus elatione atque altitudine orationis
stands-in-the-way Theopompus by-the-elevation and by-the-loftiness of-speech
 suae (quod idem Lysiae Demosthenes) sic Catonis luminibus
his-own which the-same to-Lysias Demosthenes so of-Cato to-the-lights
 obstruxit haec posteriorum quasi exaggerata altius oratio.
blocked this of-later-men as-it-were piled higher speech
 Sed ea in nostris inscitia est, quod hi ipsi, qui in Graecis 67
but that in ours ignorance is that these very who in the-Greeks
 antiquitate delectantur eaque subtilitate, quam Atticam
by-antiquity are-delighted and-by-that subtlety which Attic
 appellant, hanc in Catone ne noverunt quidem. Hyperidae
they-call this in Cato not-even they-know indeed Hyperides
 volunt esse et Lysiae. Laudo.
they-wish to-be and Lysias I-praise-it

- 68 Sed cur nolunt Catones? Attico genere dicendi se
but why do-they-not-wish Catos in-the-Attic kind of-speaking themselves
 gaudere dicunt. Sapienter id quidem; atque utinam imitarentur,
to-delight they-say wisely that indeed and would-that they-imitated
 nec ossa solum sed etiam sanguinem! Gratum est tamen quod
not the-bones only but even the-blood welcome it-is still that
 volunt. — Cur igitur Lysias et Hyperides amatur, cum penitus
they-wish why therefore Lysias and Hyperides is-loved while utterly
 ignoretur Cato? Antiquior est huius sermo et quaedam
is-unknown Cato older is of-this-man the-speech and certain
 horridiora verba. Ita enim tum loquebantur. Id muta, quod tum
rougher words so for then they-were-speaking that change which then
 ille non potuit, et adde numeros et ut aptior sit oratio,
he not could and add rhythms and so-that fitter may-be the-speech
 ipsa verba compone et quasi coagmenta, quod ne Graeci
the-very words arrange and as-it-were cement which not-even the-Greeks
 quidem veteres factitaverunt: iam neminem antepones Catoni.
indeed old practiced now no-one you-will-set-before to-Cato

XIV · NOTHING IS INVENTED AND FINISHED AT ONCE

Cato is not yet polished, but nothing older is worth reading, and antiquity is held in greater honor in every art than in this one. Canachus' statues are too stiff for life, Calamis' softer though still hard, Myron's already beautiful, and Polyclitus' plainly perfect. Nothing is invented and finished at once: Livius produced the first play the year before Ennius was born; Accius' later date cannot stand, since it would make the first playwright younger than Plautus and Naevius.

- 69 Ornari orationem Graeci putant, si verborum immutationibus
to-be-adorned speech the-Greeks think if of-words by-substitutions
 utantur, quos appellant τρόπους, et sententiarum orationisque
they-use which they-call tropes and of-thoughts and-of-speech

formis, quae vocant σχήματα: non veri simile est quam
by-figures which they-call schemata not of-truth like it-is how-much
 sit in utroque genere et creber et distinctus Cato. Nec
he-is in each kind both frequent and distinguished Cato nor
 vero ignoro nondum esse satis politum hunc oratorem
indeed am-I-unaware not-yet to-be sufficiently polished this orator
 et quaerendum esse aliquid perfectius; quippe cum ita sit
and to-be-sought to-be something more-finished seeing-that since so he-is
 ad nostrorum temporum rationem vetus, ut nullius scriptum
by of-our of-times the-reckoning old that of-no-one a-writing
 exstet dignum quidem lectione quod sit antiquius. Sed
survives worthy indeed of-reading which may-be older but
 maiore honore in omnibus artibus quam in hac una arte
with-greater honor in all arts than in this one art
 dicendi versatur antiquitas.

of-speaking is-regarded antiquity

Quis enim eorum qui haec minora animadvertunt non
who for of-those who these smaller-things notice not
 intellegit Canachi signa rigidiora esse quam ut imitentur
understands of-Canachus the-statues too-stiff to-be than that they-imitate
 veritatem; Calamidis dura illa quidem, sed tamen molliora
the-truth of-Calamis hard those indeed but still softer
 quam Canachi; nondum Myronis satis ad veritatem adducta,
than of-Canachus not-yet of-Myron enough to truth brought
 iam tamen quae non dubites pulchra dicere; pulchriora
now still which not you-would-doubt beautiful to-call more-beautiful
 etiam Polycliti et iam plane perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri
even of-Polyclitus and now plainly finished as to-me indeed to-seem
 solent? Similis in pictura ratio est; in qua Zeuxim et
they-are-wont like in painting the-case is in which Zeuxis and
 Polygnotum et Timanthem et eorum, qui non sunt usi plus
Polygnotus and Timanthes and of-those who not have used more

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quam quattuor coloribus, formas et liniamenta laudamus; at in

than four colors the-shapes and the-outlines we-praise but in

Aetione Nicomacho Protogene Apelle iam perfecta sunt omnia.

Aetion Nicomachus Protogenes Apelles now finished are all-things

71 Et nescio an reliquis in rebus omnibus idem eveniat:

and I-know-not whether remaining in things all the-same happens

nihil est enim simul et inventum et perfectum; nec

nothing is for at-once both invented and finished nor

dubitari debet quin fuerint ante Homerum poetae, quod

to-be-doubted it-ought that there-were before Homer poets which

ex eis carminibus intellegi potest, quae apud illum et

from those songs to-be-understood it-can which in that-poet both

in Phaeacum et in procorum epulis canuntur. Quid,

at of-the-Phaeacians and at of-the-suitors the-banquets are-sung what

nostri veteres versus ubi sunt?

our old verses where are-they

quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant,

which once the-Fauns and-seers were-singing

cum neque Musarum scopulos ***

when neither of-the-Muses the-crag (lacuna)

nec doctis dictis studiosus quisquam erat ante hunc

nor in-learned in-sayings devoted anyone was before this-man

ait ipse de se nec mentitur in gloriando: sic enim

says he-himself about himself nor does-he-lie in boasting so for

sese res habet. Nam et Odyssea Latina est sic tamquam

itself the-matter has for both the-Odyssey Latin is thus as-though

opus aliquod Daedali et Livianae fabulae non satis

a-work some of-Daedalus and the-Livian plays not sufficiently

dignae quae iterum legantur.

worthy which a-second-time be-read

Atqui hic Livius primus fabulam C. Claudio Caeci filio et 72
and-yet this Livius first a-play C. Claudius of-the-Blind the-son and
 M. Tuditano consulibus docuit anno ipso ante quam natus
M. Tuditanus consuls produced in-the-year itself before than born
 est Ennius, post Romam conditam autem quartodecimo et
was Ennius after Rome founded however in-the-fourteenth and
 quingentensimo, ut hic ait, quem nos sequimur. Est enim
five-hundredth as he says whom we follow there-is for
 inter scriptores de numero annorum controversia. Accius
among writers about the-number of-years a-dispute Accius
 autem a Q. Maximo quintum consule captum Tarento
however by Q. Maximus a-fifth-time consul captured at-Tarentum
 scripsit Livium annis xxx post quam eum fabulam docuisse
wrote Livius years thirty after than him a-play to-have-produced
 et Atticus scribit et nos in antiquis commentariis invenimus,
both Atticus writes and we in old records have-found
 docuisse autem fabulam annis post xi C. Cornelio 73
to-have-produced however a-play years later eleven C. Cornelius
 Q. Minucio consulibus ludis Iuventatis, quos Salinator
Q. Minucius consuls at-the-games of-Youth which Salinator
 Senensi proelio voverat. In quo tantus error Acci fuit,
in-the-Sena battle had-vowed in which so-great an-error of-Accius was
 ut his consulibus xl annos natus Ennius fuerit: quoi
that with-these consuls forty years old Ennius was to-whom
 si aequalis fuerit Livius, minor fuit aliquanto is, qui
if a-contemporary was Livius younger he-was considerably he who
 primus fabulam dedit, quam ei, qui multas docuerant ante
first a-play gave than those who many had-produced before
 hos consules, et Plautus et Naevius.
these consuls both Plautus and Naevius

Cicero tells Brutus to blame Atticus for the chronology, since it was Atticus who fired him to trace the ages of famous men, and Brutus answers that the dating suits the plan. Cicero wishes the old banquet songs Cato records had survived, in which guests sang the praises of famous men. Ennius is the more finished poet, but his contempt for Naevius is pretended: he left the First Punic War alone, and took much from him besides.

74 Haec si minus apta videntur huic sermoni, Brute, Attico
these-things if less fitting seem to-this conversation Brutus to-Atticus
 adsigna, qui me inflammavit studio inlustrium hominum
assign who me inflamed with-the-desire of-illustrious of-men
 aetates et tempora persequendi. Ego vero, inquit Brutus,
the-ages and the-times of-pursuing I indeed says Brutus
 et delector ista quasi notatione temporum et ad id
both am-delighted by-that as-it-were marking of-times and for that
 quod instituisti, oratorum genera distinguere aetatibus, istam
which you-have-set-out of-orators the-kinds to-distinguish by-ages that
 diligentiam esse accommodatam puto.
carefulness to-be suited I-think

75 Recte, inquam, Brute, intellegis. Atque utinam exstarent
rightly I-say Brutus you-understand and would-that survived
 illa carmina, quae multis saeculis ante suam aetatem in
those songs which many ages before his-own age at
 epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum
banquets to-have-been sung by individual guests about of-famous
 virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato!
of-men the-praises in the-Origins written left Cato
 Tamen illius, quem in vatibus et Faunis adnumerat
still of-that-man whom among the-seers and Fauns he-reckons
 Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat.
Ennius the-war Punic as-it-were of-Myron a-work delights

Sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior; qui si illum, 76
let-him-be Ennius by-all-means as he-is certainly more-finished who if him
 ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum
as he-pretends he-despised not all wars pursuing first
 illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. Sed ipse dicit
that Punic fiercest war would-be-have-left but himself he-says
 cur id faciat. 'Scripsere,' inquit, 'alii rem vorsibus' —
why that he-does have-written he-says others the-matter in-verses
 et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiam si minus quam tu
and brilliantly indeed they-wrote even if less than you
 polite. Nec vero tibi aliter videri debet, qui a Naevio
politely nor indeed to-you otherwise to-seem it-ought who from Naevius
 vel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, vel, si negas, surripuisti.
either you-took many-things if you-admit-it or if you-deny-it you-stole-them

XVI · THE ELDER GENERATION

Older than Cato were Flaminius, Varro, Fabius Maximus, Metellus, Lentulus, and Crassus; Scipio Africanus was not tongue-tied, and his son would have been thought eloquent had his health held. Sextus Aelius knew the civil law best and could speak as well. Sulpicius Gallus studied Greek letters more than any noble, as speech grew richer; the elder Tiberius Gracchus and Nasica were eloquent too.

Cum hoc Catone grandiores natu fuerunt C. Flaminius C. 77
with this Cato greater in-birth were C. Flaminius C.
 Varro Q. Maximus Q. Metellus P. Lentulus P. Crassus, qui cum
Varro Q. Maximus Q. Metellus P. Lentulus P. Crassus who with
 superiore Africano consul fuit. Ipsum Scipionem accepimus non
the-elder Africanus consul was himself Scipio we-have-heard not
 infantem fuisse. Filius quidem eius, is qui hunc minorem
speechless to-have-been the-son indeed of-him he who this younger

Scipionem a Paullo adoptavit, si corpore valuisset,
Scipio from Paullus adopted if in-body he-had-been-strong
 in primis habitus esset disertus; indicant cum
among the-first held he-would-have-been eloquent show-it as-much
 oratiunculae tum historia quaedam Graeca scripta dulcissime.
the-little-speeches as a-history certain Greek written most-sweetly

- 78 Numeroque eodem fuit Sex. Aelius, iuris quidem civilis
and-in-number the-same was Sex. Aelius of-law indeed civil
 omnium peritissimus, sed etiam ad dicendum paratus. De
of-all the-most-skilled but also for speaking prepared of
 minoribus autem C. Sulpicius Gallus, qui maxime omnium
the-younger however C. Sulpicius Gallus who most of-all
 nobilium Graecis litteris studuit; isque et oratorum in
of-the-nobles in-Greek letters studied and-he both of-orators in
 numero est habitus et fuit reliquis rebus ornatus atque
the-number was held and was in-the-remaining respects polished and
 elegans. Iam enim erat unctior quaedam splendidiorque
elegant already for there-was a-richer certain and-more-brilliant
 consuetudo loquendi. Nam hoc praetore ludos Apollini
practice of-speaking for with-this-man praetor the-games for-Apollo
 faciente cum Thyesten fabulam docuisset, Q. Marcio Cn.
giving when Thyestes the-play he-had-produced Q. Marcius Cn.
 Servilio consulibus mortem obiit Ennius.

Servilius consuls death met Ennius

- 79 Erat isdem temporibus Ti. Gracchus P. F., qui bis
there-was in-the-same times Ti. Gracchus P. son who twice
 consul et censor fuit, cuius est oratio Graeca apud
consul and censor was of-whom there-is a-speech Greek before
 Rhodios; quem civem cum gravem tum etiam eloquentem
the-Rhodians whom a-citizen as-much weighty as also eloquent
 constat fuisse. P. etiam Scipionem Nasicam, qui est
it-is-agreed to-have-been P. also Scipio Nasicus who was

Corculum appellatus, qui item bis consul et censor fuit,
Corculum called who likewise twice consul and censor was
 habitum eloquentem aiunt, illius qui sacra acceperit
held eloquent they-say of-that-man who the-sacred-things received
 filium; dicunt etiam L. Lentulum, qui cum C. Figulo
the-son they-say also L. Lentulus who with C. Figulus
 consul fuit. Q. Nobiliorem M. F. iam patrio instituto
consul was Q. Nobilior M. son already by-ancestral practice
 deditum studio litterarum — qui etiam Q. Ennius, qui
devoted to-the-pursuit of-letters who also Q. Ennius who
 cum patre eius in Aetolia militaverat, civitate donavit,
with the-father of-him in Aetolia had-served with-citizenship presented
 cum triumvir coloniam deduxisset — et T. Annium Luscum
when a-triumvir a-colony he-had-led-out and T. Annius Luscus
 huius Q. Fulvi conlegam non indisertum dicunt fuisse;
of-this Q. Fulvius the-colleague not un-eloquent they-say to-have-been

XVII • GALBA EXCELS, AND LAELIUS YIELDS

Among the younger men of Cato's lifetime Galba was the best speaker, the first Latin to use the orator's proper resources — digression for ornament, appeals to pity, commonplaces. His written speeches, oddly, read thinner than Laelius' or Scipio's. When the tax-farmers' case was twice adjourned, Laelius told them Galba could plead it more fiercely and stood aside; Galba shut himself up with his lettered slaves and came out as if he had already pleaded.

atque etiam L. Paullus Africani pater personam principis civis 80
and also L. Paullus of-Africanus the-father the-part of-a-leading citizen
 facile dicendo tuebatur. Et vero etiam tum Catone vivo, qui
easily by-speaking maintained and indeed even then Cato being-alive who
 annos quinque et octoginta natus excessit e vita, cum quidem
years five and eighty old departed from life when indeed

eo ipso anno contra Ser. Galbam ad populum summa
in-that very year against Ser. Galba before the-people with-the-utmost
 contentione dixisset, quam etiam orationem scriptam reliquit —
effort he-had-spoken which also speech written he-left

- 81 sed vivo Catone minores natu multi uno tempore oratores
but being-alive Cato younger in-birth many at-one time orators
 floruerunt. Nam et A. Albinus, is qui Graece scripsit historiam,
flourished for both A. Albinus he who in-Greek wrote a-history
 qui consul cum L. Lucullo fuit, et litteratus et disertus fuit;
who consul with L. Lucullus was both lettered and eloquent was
 et tenuit cum hoc locum quendam etiam Ser. Fulvius et
and held with this-man a-place a-certain also Ser. Fulvius and
 una Ser. Fabius Pictor et iuris et litterarum et antiquitatis
together Ser. Fabius Pictor both of-law and of-letters and of-antiquity
 bene peritus; Quintusque Fabius Labeo fuit ornatus isdem
well skilled and-Quintus Fabius Labeo was adorned with-the-same
 fere laudibus. Nam Q. Metellus, is cuius quattuor filii
nearly praises for Q. Metellus he whose four sons
 consulares fuerunt, in primis est habitus eloquens, qui pro L.
of-consular-rank were among the-first was held eloquent who for L.
 Cotta dixit accusante Africano; cuius et aliae sunt orationes
Cotta spoke accusing Africanus of-whom both other there-are speeches
 et contra Ti. Gracchum exposita est in C. Fanni annalibus.
and against Ti. Gracchus set-out it-is in of-C. Fannius the-annals
- 82 Tum ipse L. Cotta est veterator habitus; — sed C. Laelius
then himself L. Cotta was an-old-hand held but C. Laelius
 et P. Africanus in primis eloquentes, quorum exstant
and P. Africanus among the-first eloquent of-whom survive
 orationes, ex quibus existimari de ingeniis oratorum potest.
the-speeches from which to-be-judged about the-talents of-orators it-can
 Sed inter hos aetate paulum his antecedens sine controversia
but among these in-age a-little these preceding without dispute

Ser. Galba eloquentia praestitit; et nimirum is princeps
Ser. Galba in-eloquence excelled and doubtless he first
 ex Latinis illa oratorum propria et quasi legitima opera
among the-Latins those of-orators proper and as-it-were lawful works
 tractavit, ut egrederetur a proposito ornandi causa, ut
handled so-that he-might-depart from the-subject of-adorning for-the-sake so-that
 delectaret animos, ut permoveret, ut augeter
he-might-delight minds so-that he-might-move-deeply so-that he-might-magnify
 rem, ut miserationibus, ut communibus locis uteretur.
a-matter so-that with-appeals-to-pity so-that with-common places he-might-use
 Sed nescio quo modo huius, quem constat eloquentia
but I-know-not by-what way of-this-man whom it-is-agreed in-eloquence
 praestitisse, exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis
to-have-excelled thinner the-speeches are and smelling more
 antiquitatem quam aut Laeli aut Scipionis aut etiam
of-antiquity than either of-Laelius or of-Scipio or even
 ipsius Catonis, itaque exaruerunt, vix iam ut appareant.
of-himself of-Cato and-so they-have-dried-up scarcely now that they-appear
 De ipsius Laeli et Scipionis ingenio quamquam ea 83
about of-himself of-Laelius and of-Scipio the-talent although such
 est fama, ut plurimum tribuatur ambobus, dicendi tamen
is the-report that very-much is-assigned to-both of-speaking still
 laus est in Laelio inlustrior. At oratio Laeli de collegiis
the-praise is in Laelius more-brilliant but the-speech of-Laelius about the-colleges
 non melior quam de multis quam voles Scipionis; non
not better than about many whichever you-wish of-Scipio not
 quo illa Laeli quicquam sit dulcius aut quo de religione
because that of-Laelius in-anything is sweeter or because about religion
 dici possit augustius, sed multo tamen vetustior et
to-be-said it-could more-solemnly but by-much still more-old-fashioned and
 horridior ille quam Scipio; et, cum sint in dicendo
rougher he than Scipio and although there-are in speaking

variae voluntates, delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur
various inclinations to-be-delighted to-me more by-antiquity he-seems

et libenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Laelius.
and gladly words also to-use a-little more old-fashioned Laelius

84 Sed est mos hominum, ut nolint eundem pluribus

but there-is a-habit of-men that they-are-unwilling the-same-man in-several

rebus excellere. Nam ut ex bellica laude aspirare ad Africanum
things to-excel for as from military praise to-aspire to Africanus

nemo potest, in qua ipsa egregium Viriathi bello reperimus
no-one can in which itself outstanding of-Viriatibus in-the-war we-find

fuisse Laelium: sic ingeni litterarum eloquentiae sapientiae
to-have-been Laelius so of-talent of-letters of-eloquence of-wisdom

denique etsi utrique primas, priores tamen libenter
in-short although to-each-of-the-two the-first the-higher still gladly

deferunt Laelio. Nec mihi ceterorum iudicio solum videtur,
they-grant to-Laelius nor to-me of-the-rest by-the-judgment only it-seems

sed etiam ipsorum inter ipsos concessu ita tributum fuisse.

but even of-themselves between themselves by-concession so assigned to-have-been

85 Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, sic in

there-was altogether then a-custom as in the-remaining matters better so in

hoc ipso humanior, ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo.

this very more-humane that ready they-were in his-own to-each assigning

Memoria teneo Smyrnae me ex P. Rutilio Rufo audivisse,
by-memory I-hold at-Smyrna that-I from P. Rutilius Rufus had-beard

cum diceret adulescentulo se accidisse, ut ex senatus

when he-was-saying as-a-young-man to-him to-have-happened that from of-the-senate

consulto P. Scipio et D. Brutus, ut opinor, consules de re

a-decree P. Scipio and D. Brutus as I-think the-consuls about a-matter

atroci magnaue quaerent. Nam cum in silva Sila facta

atrocious and-great were-inquiring for when in the-forest Sila done

caedes esset notique homines interfecti insimulareturque

a-murder had-been and-well-known men killed and-there-was-accused

familia, partim etiam liberi societatis eius, quae picarias
the-household partly also the-freedmen of-the-company that which the-pitch-works
 de P. Cornelio L. Mummio censoribus redemisset, decrevisse
from P. Cornelius L. Mummius being-censors had-contracted to-have-decreed
 senatum, ut de ea re cognoscerent et statuerent consules.

the-senate that about that matter should-inquire and should-decide the-consuls

Causam pro publicanis accurate, ut semper solitus

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the-case for the-tax-farmers carefully as always accustomed

esset, eleganterque dixisse Laelium. Cum consules re

he-was and-elegantly to-have-pleaded Laelius when the-consuls the-case

audita amplius de consili sententia pronuntiavissent,

having-been-heard a-further-hearing by of-the-council the-opinion had-announced

paucis interpositis diebus iterum Laelium multo diligentius

a-few having-intervened days a-second-time Laelius much more-carefully

meliusque dixisse iterumque eodem modo a consulibus

and-better to-have-pleaded and-again in-the-same way by the-consuls

rem esse prolatam. Tum Laelium, cum eum socii

the-matter to-have-been postponed then Laelius when him the-allies

domum reduxissent egissentque gratias et ne defatigaretur

home had-escorted and-had-given thanks and that-not he-should-be-worn-out

oravissent, locutum esse ita: se quae fecisset honoris eorum

had-begged having-spoken to-have so that-be what he-had-done of-honor of-them

causa studiose accurateque fecisse, sed se arbitrari causam

for-the-sake zealously and-carefully to-have-done but that-be judged the-case

illam a Ser. Galba, quod is in dicendo atrocior acriorque esset,

that by Ser. Galba because he in speaking fiercer and-keener was

gravius et vehementius posse defendi. Itaque auctoritate

more-weightily and more-vehemently to-be-able to-be-defended and-so by-the-authority

C. Laeli publicanos causam detulisse ad Galbam; illum

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of-C. Laelius the-tax-farmers the-case to-have-transferred to Galba him

autem, quod ei viro succedendum esset, verecunde et

however because to-that man to-be-succeeded it-was modestly and

dubitanter recepisce. Unum quasi comprehendinatus medium
hesitantly to-have-accepted one as-it-were of-adjournment intervening
 diem fuisse, quem totum Galbam in consideranda causa
day to-have-been which whole Galba in considering the-case
 componendaque posuisse; et cum cognitionis dies esset
and-arranging-it to-have-spent and when of-the-hearing the-day was
 et ipse Rutilius rogatu sociorum domum ad Galbam
and himself Rutilius at-the-request of-the-allies home to Galba
 mane venisset, ut eum admoneret et ad dicendi tempus
early had-come so-that him he-might-remind and to of-speaking the-time
 adduceret, usque illum, quoad ei nuntiatum esset
might-bring right-up him until to-him announced it-had-been
 consules descendisse, omnibus exclusis commentatum
the-consuls to-have-come-down all having-been-shut-out to-have-been-preparing
 in quadam testudine cum servis litteratis fuisse, quorum
in a-certain vaulted-room with slaves lettered to-have-been of-whom
 alii aliud dictare eodem tempore solitus esset. Interim
to-one one-thing to-dictate at-the-same time accustomed be-was meanwhile
 cum esset ei nuntiatum tempus esse, exisse in
when it-had-been to-him announced the-time to-be to-have-gone-out into
 aedis eo colore et eis oculis, ut egisse causam,
the-hall with-that color and with-those eyes that to-have-pleaded a-case
 non commentatum putares.
not to-have-prepared you-would-think

Rutilius added that Galba's secretaries came out badly mauled, and that Galba won the tax-farmers' acquittal that day. Laelius had elegance and Galba force, seen when the aged Cato spoke against him over the Lusitanians, though weeping over his children saved him. Brutus asks why none of it shows in the written speeches; Cicero answers that the fire leaves a speaker at the pen. Lepidus Porcina first gave Latin speech a Greek smoothness.

Addebat etiam idque ad rem pertinere putabat, scriptores 88
he-was-adding also and-that to the-matter to-pertain he-thought the-copyists
 illos male mulcatos exisse cum Galba; ex quo significabat
those badly mauled to-have-come-out with Galba from which he-was-indicating
 illum non in agendo solum, sed etiam in meditando
him not in pleading only but also in preparing
 vehementem atque incensum fuisse. Quid multa? magna
violent and fired to-have-been why many-words with-great
 exspectatione, plurimis audientibus, coram ipso Laelio
expectation very-many listening in-the-presence himself Laelius
 sic illam causam tanta vi tantaque gravitate dixisse
so that case with-such force and-with-such weight to-have-pleaded
 Galbam ut nulla fere pars orationis silentio praeteriretur.
Galba that no almost part of-the-speech in-silence was-passed-over
 Itaque multis querelis multaque miseratione adhibita socios
and-so with-many complaints and-with-much appeal-to-pity employed the-allies
 omnibus approbantibus illa die quaestione liberatos esse.
with-all approving on-that day from-the-inquiry freed to-have-been
 Ex hac Rutili narratione suspicari licet, cum duae summae 89
from this of-Rutilius account to-conjecture it-is-allowed since two the-highest
 sint in oratore laudes, una subtiliter disputandi ad docendum,
are in an-orator merits one subtly of-arguing for teaching
 altera graviter agendi ad animos audientium permovendos,
the-other weightily of-pleading for the-minds of-the-bearers to-be-moved

multoque plus proficiat is qui inflammet iudicem quam ille
and-by-much more accomplishes he who inflames the-juror than he
 qui doceat, elegantiam in Laelio, vim in Galba fuisse. Quae
who instructs elegance in Laelius force in Galba to-have-been which
 quidem vis tum maxime cognita est, cum Lusitanis a Ser.
indeed force then most known was when the-Lusitanians by Ser.
 Galba praetore contra interpositam, ut existimabatur, fidem
Galba as-praetor against pledged as it-was-thought faith
 interfectis L. Libone tribuno plebis populum incitante
having-been-killed L. Libo a-tribune of-the-plebs the-people rousing
 et rogationem in Galbam privilegi similem ferente,
and a-bill against Galba of-a-privilegium like bringing
 summa senectute, ut ante dixi, M. Cato legem suadens in
in-extreme old-age as before I-said M. Cato the-law urging against
 Galbam multa dixit; quam orationem in Origines suas
Galba many-things said which speech into the-Origins his-own
 rettulit, paucis ante quam mortuus est diebus an mensibus.
he-entered a-few before than die did days or months

- 90 Tum igitur nihil recusans Galba pro sese et populi Romani
then therefore nothing refusing Galba for himself and of-the-people Roman
 fidem implorans cum suos pueros tum C. Galli etiam
the-good-faith imploring as-much his-own boys as of-C. Gallus even
 filium flens commendabat, cuius orbitas et fletus mire
the-son weeping he-was-commending whose orphanhood and weeping wonderfully
 miserabilis fuit propter recentem memoriam clarissimi
pitiable was because-of the-recent memory of-(his)-most-famous
 patris; isque se tum eripuit flamma, propter pueros
father and-he himself then snatched from-the-flame because-of the-boys
 misericordia populi commota, sicut idem scriptum
the-pity of-the-people having-been-stirred just-as the-same written

reliquit Cato. Atque etiam ipsum Libonem non infantem

left Cato and also himself Libo not speechless

video fuisse, ut ex orationibus eius intellegi potest.

I-see to-have-been as from the-speeches of-him to-be-understood it-can

Cum haec dixissem et paulum interquievissem: Quid

when these-things I-had-said and a-little I-had-paused what

igitur, inquit, est causae, Brutus, si tanta virtus in oratore

therefore he-says is of-the-cause Brutus if so-great excellence in the-orator

Galba fuit, cur ea nulla in orationibus eius appareat? quod

Galba was why it none in the-speeches of-him appears which

mirari non possum in eis qui nihil omnino scripti

to-wonder-at not I-can in those who nothing at-all written

reliquerunt. Nec enim est eadem, inquam, Brute, causa

left nor for is the-same I-say Brutus the-cause

non scribendi et non tam bene scribendi quam dixerint.

not of-writing and not so well of-writing as they-spoke

Nam videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse,

for we-see some orators from-idleness nothing to-have-written

ne domesticus etiam labor accederet ad forensem —

lest a-domestic also labor should-be-added to the-forensic

pleraeque enim scribuntur orationes habitae iam, non ut

most for are-written speeches delivered already not so-that

habeantur—; alios non laborare, ut meliores fiant —

they-may-be-delivered others not to-toil so-that better they-may-become

nulla enim res tantum ad dicendum proficit quantum

no for thing so-much for speaking avails as-much-as

scriptio—: memoriam autem in posterum ingeni sui non

writing a-memorial however for the-future of-talent their-own not

desiderant, cum se putant satis magnam adeptos

they-desire since themselves they-think sufficiently great to-have-obtained

esse dicendi gloriam eamque etiam maiorem visum iri,

to-be of-speaking a-glory and-that even greater to-be-seen to-be-about

si in existimantium arbitrium sua scripta non venerint;
if into of-critics the-judgment their-own writings not have-come
 alios, quod melius putent dicere se posse quam
others because better they-think to-speak themselves to-be-able than
 scribere, quod peringeniosis hominibus neque satis doctis
to-write which to-very-gifted men and-not sufficiently learned
 plerumque contingit, ut ipsi Galbae.

generally happens as himself to-Galba

- 93 Quem fortasse vis non ingeni solum sed etiam animi et
whom perhaps a-force not of-talent only but also of-spirit and
 naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat efficiebatque
a-natural certain indignation as-be-spoke was-firing and-was-making
 ut et incitata et gravis et vehemens esset oratio; dein
that both excited and weighty and vehement was the-speech then
 cum otiosus stilum prenderat motusque omnis animi
when at-leisure the-pen he-had-taken-up and-the-stirrings all of-mind
 tamquam ventus hominem defecerat, flaccescebat oratio. Quod
as-if a-wind the-man had-left flagged the-speech which
 eis qui limatius dicendi consecantur genus accidere non
to-those who a-more-polished of-speaking pursue kind to-happen not
 solet, propterea quod prudentia numquam deficit oratorem,
is-wont for-this-reason that skill never fails an-orator
 qua ille utens eodem modo possit et dicere et scribere;
by-which he using in-the-same way can both to-speak and to-write
 ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis
the-fire of-spirit not always is-present and-it when has-settled all
 illa vis et quasi flamma oratoris exstinguitur.

that force and as-it-were flame of-the-orator is-quenched

- 94 Hanc igitur ob causam videtur Laeli mens spirare
this therefore on-account-of cause it-seems of-Laelius the-mind to-breathe
 etiam in scriptis, Galbae autem vis occidisse.
even in the-writings of-Galba however the-force to-have-died

Fuerunt etiam in oratorum numero mediocrium L. et
there-were also among of-orators the-number of-the-middling L. and
 Sp. Mummii fratres, quorum exstant amborum orationes;
Sp. Mummius the-brothers of-whom survive of-both the-speeches
 simplex quidem Lucius et antiquus, Spurius autem nihilo
plain indeed Lucius and old-fashioned Spurius however in-no-way
 ille quidem ornatior, sed tamen astrictior; fuit enim doctus
he indeed more-ornate but still more-compact he-was for learned
 ex disciplina Stoicorum. Multae sunt Sp. Albini orationes.
from the-school of-the-Stoics many there-are of-Sp. Albinus speeches
 Sunt etiam L. et C. Aureliorum Orestarum, quos aliquo
there-are also of-L. and C. the-Aurelii Orestae whom some
 video in numero oratorum fuisse. P. etiam
I-see in number of-orators to-have-been P. also
 Popilius cum civis egregius tum non indisertus fuit; Gaius 95
Popilius as-much a-citizen distinguished as not un-eloquent was Gaius
 vero filius eius disertus, Gaiusque Tuditanus cum omni vita
indeed the-son of-him eloquent and-Gaius Tuditanus as-much in-all life
 atque victu excultus atque expolitus, tum eius elegans est
and manner-of-living refined and polished as of-him elegant is
 habitum etiam orationis genus. Eodemque in genere est habitus
held also of-speech the-style and-the-same in kind was held
 is qui iniuria accepta fregit Ti. Gracchum patientia,
he who an-injury having-been-received broke Ti. Gracchus by-(his)-endurance
 civis in rebus optimis constantissimus M. Octavius. At vero M.
a-citizen in matters the-best most-steadfast M. Octavius but indeed M.
 Aemilius Lepidus, qui est Porcina dictus, isdem temporibus
Aemilius Lepidus who was Porcina called in-the-same times
 fere quibus Galba, sed paulo minor natu et summus orator est
nearly as Galba but a-little younger in-birth both a-supreme orator was
 habitus et fuit, ut apparet ex orationibus, scriptor sane bonus.
held and was as appears from the-speeches a-writer quite good

- 96 Hoc in oratore Latino primum mihi videtur et levitas
this in an-orator Latin first to-me it-seems both the-smoothness
 apparuisse illa Graecorum et verborum comprehensio et iam
to-have-appeared that of-the-Greeks and of-words the-rounding and already
 artifex, ut ita dicam, stilus. Hunc studiose duo adolescentes
artful as so I-may-say the-pen this-man eagerly two young-men
 ingeniosissimi et prope aequales C. Carbo et Ti. Gracchus
most-gifted and nearly of-an-age C. Carbo and Ti. Gracchus
 audire soliti sunt; de quibus iam dicendi locus erit
to-hear accustomed were about whom soon of-speaking the-place will-be
 cum de senioribus pauca dixerō. Q. enim Pompeius
when about the-elder a-few-things I-shall-have-said Q. for Pompeius
 non contemptus orator temporibus illis fuit, qui summos
not a-despised orator in-times those was who the-highest
 honores homo per se cognitus sine ulla commendatione
honors a-man through himself known without any recommendation
 maiorum est adeptus.
of-ancestors did obtain

XIX • FANNIUS AND THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

Cassius, the two Caepiones, Sextus Pompeius, and the elder P. Crassus, who tied himself by marriage to Galba and learned law at home from the Scaevolae, all had their standing. Fannius left one good speech against Gaius Gracchus. Atticus reports the boyhood rumor that Persius or some nobles wrote it. Cicero never believed it: the sound and the pen are the same throughout, and Fannius was no mute.

- 97 Tum L. Cassius multum potuit non eloquentia, sed dicendo
then L. Cassius much availed not by-eloquence but by-speaking
 tamen; homo non liberalitate, ut alii, sed ipsa tristitia
still a-man not by-generosity as others but by-that-very sternness

et severitate popularis, cuius quidem legi tabellariae
and severity a-favorite-of-the-people of-whose indeed law ballot-related
 M. Antius Briso tribunus plebis diu restitit, M. Lepido
M. Antius Briso a-tribune of-the-plebs long resisted M. Lepidus
 consule adiuvante; eaque res P. Africano vituperationi fuit,
the-consul assisting and-that thing to-P. Africanus for-blame was
 quod eius auctoritate de sententia deductus Briso putabatur.
because by-his authority from (his)-opinion drawn-off Briso was-thought
 Tum duo Caepiones multum clientes consilio et lingua,
then the-two Caepiones much (their)-clients by-counsel and by-tongue
 plus auctoritate tamen et gratia sublevabant. Sex. Pompei
more by-authority still and by-favor were-helping of-Sex. Pompeius
 sunt scripta nec nimis extenuata, quamquam veterum
there-are writings and-not too thin although of-the-old
 est similis, et plena prudentiae. P. Crassum
he-is like and full of-good-sense P. Crassus
 valde probatum oratorem isdem fere temporibus accepimus, 98
highly approved an-orator in-the-same nearly times we-have-heard
 qui et ingenio valuit et studio et habuit quasdam etiam
who both in-talent was-strong and in-zeal and had certain even
 domesticas disciplinas. Nam et cum summo illo oratore,
domestic disciplines for both with the-supreme that orator
 Ser. Galba, cuius Gaius filio filiam suam conlocaverat,
Ser. Galba of-whose Gaius to-the-son his-daughter his-own he-had-given
 adfinitate sese devinxerat et cum esset P. Muci filius
by-marriage-tie himself he-had-bound and since he-was P. of-Mucius the-son
 fratremque haberet P. Scaevolam, domi ius civile cognoverat.
and-a-brother he-had P. Scaevola at-home the-law civil he-had-learned
 In eo industriam constat summam fuisse maximamque
in him industry it-is-agreed the-greatest to-have-been and-the-greatest
 gratiam, cum et consuleretur plurimum et diceret.
influence since both he-was-consulted very-much and he-spoke

- 99 Horum aetatibus adiuncti duo C. Fannii C. et M. filii
of-these to-the-ages attached two C. Fannii of-C. and of-M. the-sons
 fuerunt; quorum Gai filius, qui consul cum Domitio fuit,
were of-whom of-Gaius the-son who consul with Domitius was
 unam orationem de sociis et nomine Latino contra C.
one speech about the-allies and the-name Latin against C.
 Gracchum reliquit sane et bonam et nobilem. Tum Atticus:
Gracchus left quite both good and noble then Atticus
 Quid ergo? estne ista Fanni? nam varia opinio pueris nobis
what then is-it that of-Fannius for varied the-opinion when-boys we-were
 erat. Alii a C. Persio litterato homine scriptam esse aiebant,
was some by C. Persius a-lettered man written to-be were-saying
 illo quem significat valde doctum esse Lucilius; alii multos
by-him whom he-indicates very learned to-be Lucilius others that-many
 nobilis, quod quisque potuisset, in illam orationem contulisse.
nobles what each could into that speech contributed
- 100 Tum ego: Audiui equidem ista, inquam, de maioribus
then I I-heard for-my-part those-things I-say from the-elder
 natu, sed numquam sum adductus ut crederem; eamque
in-birth but never was-I brought to believe-it and-that
 suspicionem propter hanc causam credo fuisse, quod
suspicion because-of this cause I-think to-have-been that
 Fannius in mediocribus oratoribus habitus esset, oratio
Fannius among the-middling orators held was the-speech
 autem vel optima esset illo quidem tempore orationum
however even the-best was in-that indeed time of-speeches
 omnium. Sed nec eiusmodi est ut a pluribus confusa
of-all but neither of-that-kind is-it that by several jumbled
 videatur — unus enim sonus est totius orationis et idem
it-seems one for sound is of-the-whole speech and the-same
 stilus—, nec de Persio reticuisset Gracchus, cum ei
pen nor about Persius would-have-kept-silent Gracchus when to-him

Fannius de Menelao Maratheno et de ceteris obiecisset;

Fannius about Menelaus of-Marathus and about the-rest had-objected

praesertim cum Fannius numquam sit habitus elinguis. Nam

especially since Fannius never was held tongue-tied for

et causas defensitavit et tribunatus eius arbitrio et

both cases he-defended-repeatedly and the-tribunate of-him by-the-judgment and

auctoritate P. Africani gestus non obscurus fuit. Alter

by-the-authority of-P. Africanus conducted not obscure was the-other

autem C. Fannius M. filius, C. Laeli gener, et

however C. Fannius of-M. the-son of-C. Laelius the-son-in-law both

moribus et ipso genere dicendi durior.

in-character and in-the-very kind of-speaking harder

Is soceri instituto, quem, quia cooptatus in

he of-(his)-father-in-law by-the-teaching whom because co-opted into

augurum conlegium non erat, non admodum diligebat,

of-augurs the-college not he-was not much he-loved

praesertim cum ille Q. Scaevolam sibi minorem natu

especially since he Q. Scaevola for-himself younger in-birth

generum praetulisset — cui tamen Laelius se excusans

as-a-son-in-law had-preferred to-whom still Laelius himself excusing

non genero minori dixit se illud, sed maiori filiae

not to-a-son-in-law younger he-said that-he it but to-the-elder daughter

detulisse—, is tamen instituto Laeli Panaetium audiverat.

to-have-given he still by-the-teaching of-Laelius Panaetius had-beard

Eius omnis in dicendo facultas historia ipsius non

of-him all in speaking the-capacity by-the-history of-himself not

ineleganter scripta perspici potest, quae neque nimis est

inelegantly written to-be-seen it-can which neither too is

infans neque perfecte diserta.

speechless nor perfectly eloquent

Mucius the augur pleaded only his own cases; Caelius Antipater wrote history and taught Crassus. Had Tiberius Gracchus and Carbo served the republic as well as they spoke, no one would have surpassed them: one was killed by the state, the other escaped his judges by his own hand. Tiberius, schooled by Cornelia and Greek masters, had little time; Carbo, Gellius said, was sonorous, fluent, and witty.

- 102 Mucius autem augur, quod pro se opus erat, ipse dicebat,
Mucius however the-augur what for himself needful was himself used-to-speak
 ut de pecuniis repetundis contra T. Albucium. Is oratorum
as about monies to-be-recovered against T. Albucius he of-orators
 in numero non fuit, iuris civilis intelligentia atque omni
in the-number not was of-law civil by-the-understanding and by-every
 prudentiae genere praestitit. L. Caelius Antipater scriptor,
of-good-sense kind he-excelled L. Caelius Antipater a-writer
 quem ad modum videtis, fuit ut temporibus illis luculentus,
in-what to manner you-see was as for-times those brilliant
 iuris valde peritus, multorum etiam ut L. Crassi magister.
of-law very skilled of-many also as of-L. Crassus the-teacher
- 103 Utinam in Ti. Graccho Gaioque Carbone talis mens ad rem
would-that in Ti. Gracchus and-Gaius Carbo such a-mind for the-thing
 publicam bene gerendam fuisset, quale ingenium ad bene
public well administering had-been as-the talent for well
 dicendum fuit: profecto nemo his viris gloria praestitisset.
speaking was surely no-one these men in-glory would-have-surpassed
 Sed eorum alter propter turbulentissimum tribunatum, ad
but of-them the-one because-of a-most-turbulent tribunate to
 quem ex invidia foederis Numantini bonis iratus accesserat,
which from resentment of-the-treaty Numantine at-the-good angry he-had-come
 ab ipsa re publica est interfectus; alter propter perpetuam
by the-very thing public was killed the-other because-of continual

in populari ratione levitatem morte voluntaria se a
in popular policy fickleness by-a-death voluntary himself from
 severitate iudicum vindicavit. Sed fuit uterque summus orator.
the-severity of-the-judges rescued but was each a-supreme orator
 Atque hoc memoria patrum teste dicimus; nam et 104
and this by-the-memory of-(our)-fathers as-witness we-say for both
 Carbonis et Gracchi habemus orationes nondum satis
of-Carbo and of-Gracchus we-have speeches not-yet sufficiently
 splendoris verbis, sed acutas prudentiaeque plenissimas. Fuit
splendid in-words but keen and-of-good-sense most-full was
 Gracchus diligentia Corneliae matris a puero doctus et
Gracchus by-the-care of-Cornelia (his)-mother from a-boy taught and
 Graecis litteris eruditus. Nam semper habuit exquisitos e
in-Greek letters trained for always he-had choice from
 Graecia magistros, in eis iam adulescens Diophanem
Greece teachers among them already a-young-man Diophanes
 Mytilenaeum Graeciae temporibus illis disertissimum. Sed
of-Mytilene of-Greece in-times those the-most-eloquent but
 ei breve tempus ingeni augendi et declarandi fuit;
to-him a-short time of-talent of-increasing and of-displaying was
 Carbo, quod vita suppediavit, est in multis iudiciis causisque 105
Carbo to-whom life supplied is in many trials and-cases
 cognitus. Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, in quibus
known this-man who had-heard prudent men among whom
 familiaris noster L. Gellius, qui se illi contubernalem
a-friend our L. Gellius who himself to-him a-tent-companion
 in consulatu fuisse narrabat, canorum oratorem et
in the-consulship to-have-been used-to-relate a-sonorous orator and
 volubilem et satis acrem atque eundem et vehementem
fluent and sufficiently keen and the-same both vehement
 et valde dulcem et perfacetum fuisse dicebat; addebat
and very sweet and most-witty to-have-been he-used-to-say he-added

industriū etiam et diligentem et in exercitationibus
industrious also and careful and in exercises
 commentationibusque multum operae solitum esse ponere.
and-preparations much of-effort accustomed to-be to-put

XXI • WHEN THE STANDING COURTS BEGAN

Carbo was reckoned the best advocate of his day, and while he held the forum the number of trials grew: the standing courts were set up in his youth, and Piso carried the first extortion law and left faded speeches and meager annals. Cassius carried the ballot law. Decimus Brutus spoke without awkwardness and was lettered in Greek as well as Latin; Scipio was vehement and keen. Lentulus, Furius Philus, Scaevola, Manilius, and a rank of middling orators follow.

106 Hic optimus illis temporibus est patronus habitus
this-man the-best in-those times was an-advocate held
 eoque forum tenente plura fieri iudicia coeperunt. Nam
and-with-him the-forum holding more to-be-held trials began for
 et quaestiones perpetuae hoc adulescente constitutae
both courts standing with-this-man a-young-man established
 sunt quae antea nullae fuerunt; L. enim Piso tribunus
were which before none were L. for Piso a-tribune
 plebis legem primus de pecuniis repetundis Censorino
of-the-plebs a-law first about monies to-be-recovered Censorinus
 et Manilio consulibus tulit — ipse etiam Piso et causas
and Manilius consuls carried himself also Piso both cases
 egit et multarum legum aut auctor aut dissuasor fuit,
pleaded and of-many laws either a-proposer or an-opposer was
 isque et orationes reliquit, quae iam evanuerunt, et annalis
and-he both speeches left which now have-faded and annals
 sane exiliter scriptos; et iudicia populi, quibus aderat
quite meagerly written and the-trials of-the-people at-which he-appeared

Carbo, iam magis patronum desiderabant, tabella data;

Carbo now more an-advocate required the-ballot having-been-given

quam legem L. Cassius Lepido et Mancino consulibus tulit.

which law L. Cassius Lepidus and Mancinus consuls carried

Vester etiam D. Brutus M. filius, ut ex familiari eius L. Accio 107

your also D. Brutus of-M. the-son as from a-friend of-him L. Accius

poeta sum audire solitus, et dicere non inculte solebat et

the-poet I-am to-hear accustomed both to-speak not inelegantly was-wont and

erat cum litteris Latinis tum etiam Graecis ut temporibus illis

was as-much in-letters Latin so also in-Greek as for-times those

eruditus. Quae tribuebat idem Accius etiam Q. Maximo L.

learned which was-assigning the-same Accius also to-Q. Maximus of-L.

Paulli nepoti; et vero ante Maximum illum Scipionem, quo

Paullus the-grandson and indeed before Maximus that Scipio by-whom

duce privato Ti. Gracchus occisus esset, cum omnibus

as-leader a-private-citizen Ti. Gracchus killed had-been as-much in-all

in rebus vehementem tum acrem aiebat in dicendo fuisse.

in things vehement so keen he-used-to-say in speaking to-have-been

Tum etiam P. Lentulus ille princeps ad rem publicam 108

then also P. Lentulus that leading-man for the-thing public

dumtaxat quod opus esset satis habuisse eloquentiae dicitur;

at-least what needful was enough to-have-had of-eloquence is-said

isdemque temporibus L. Furius Philus perbene Latine

and-in-the-same times L. Furius Philus very-well in-Latin

loqui putabatur litteratiusque quam ceteri; P. Scaevola valde

to-speak was-thought and-more-learnedly than the-rest P. Scaevola very

prudenter et acute; paulo etiam copiosius nec multo

prudently and keenly a-little even more-fully and-not much

minus prudenter M'. Manilius. Appi Claudii volubilis, sed

less prudently M'. Manilius of-Appius Claudius fluent but

paulo fervidior oratio. Erat in aliquo numero etiam M.

a-little too-hot the-speech there-was in some account also M.

Fulvius Flaccus et C. Cato, Africani sororis filius, mediocres

Fulvius Flaccus and C. Cato of-Africanus of-the-sister the-son middling

oratores; etsi Flacci scripta sunt, sed ut studiosi

orators although of-Flaccus writings there-are but as of-a-devotee

litterarum. Flacci autem aemulus P. Decius fuit, non infans

of-letters of-Flaccus however a-rival P. Decius was not tongue-tied

ille quidem, sed ut vita sic oratione etiam turbulentus.

he indeed but as in-life so in-speech also turbulent

XXII · SCAURUS TESTIFIES RATHER THAN PLEADS

Drusus, Pennus, Curio, Scaurus, Rutilius, and Gaius Gracchus follow. Neither Scaurus nor Rutilius had the highest praise, though both pleaded often; industry is creditable, but what they lacked was specifically oratorical talent. It is not enough to see what should be said unless one can say it fluently, and even that is not enough without voice, look, and gesture. Scaurus had such natural weight that he seemed to give evidence rather than plead.

109 M. Drusus C. F., qui in tribunatu C. Gracchum conlegam

M. Drusus of-C. son who in the-tribunate C. Gracchus a-colleague

iterum tribunum fregit, vir et oratione gravis et

a-second-time tribune broke a-man both in-speech weighty and

auctoritate, eique proxime adiunctus C. Drusus frater

in-authority and-to-him most-closely joined C. Drusus the-brother

fuit. Tuus etiam gentilis, Brute, M. Pennus facete agitavit

was your also clansman Brutus M. Pennus wittily harried

in tribunatu C. Gracchum, paulum aetate antecedens. Fuit

in the-tribunate C. Gracchus a-little in-age preceding-him he-was

enim M. Lepido et L. Oreste consulibus quaestor Gracchus,

for M. Lepidus and L. Orestes consuls a-quaestor Gracchus

tribunus Pennus, illius Marci filius, qui cum Q. Aelio

a-tribune Pennus of-that Marcus the-son who with Q. Aelius

consul fuit; sed is omnia summa sperans aedilicius est
consul was but he all-things the-highest hoping of-aedilician-rank did
 mortuus. Nam de T. Flaminio, quem ipse vidi, nihil
die for about T. Flaminius whom myself I-saw nothing
 accepi nisi Latine diligenter locutum.

I-have-heard except in-Latin carefully to-have-spoken

His adiuncti sunt C. Curio M. Scaurus P. Rutilius C. Gracchus. 110

to-these joined were C. Curio M. Scaurus P. Rutilius C. Gracchus

De Scauro et Rutilio breviter licet dicere, quorum neuter

about Scaurus and Rutilius briefly it-is-allowed to-speak of-whom neither

summi oratoris habuit laudem, et est uterque in multis causis

of-a-supreme orator had the-praise and was each in many cases

versatus. Erat in quibusdam laudandis viris, etiam si maximi

engaged there-was in certain to-be-praised men even if of-the-greatest

ingeni non essent, probabilis tamen industria; quamquam

talent not they-were commendable still industry although

his quidem non omnino ingenium, sed oratorium ingenium

to-these indeed not altogether talent but oratorical talent

defuit. Neque enim refert videre quid dicendum sit, nisi

was-lacking nor for it-matters to-see what to-be-said may-be unless

id queas solute et suaviter dicere; ne id quidem satis est,

it you-can fluently and pleasantly to-say not-even that indeed enough is

nisi id quod dicitur fit voce voltu motuque conditus.

unless that which is-said is-made by-voice by-expression and-by-gesture more-seasoned

Quid dicam opus esse doctrina? sine qua etiam si quid 111

what shall-I-say need to-be of-training without which even if something

bene dicitur adiuvante natura, tamen id, quia fortuito fit,

well is-said aiding nature still it because by-chance happens

semper paratum esse non potest. In Scauri oratione, sapientis

always ready to-be not it-can in of-Scaurus the-speech of-a-wise

hominis et recti, gravitas summa et naturalis quaedam

man and upright weight the-highest and natural a-certain

inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium

was-present authority not that a-case but that testimony

dicere putares, cum pro reo diceret.

to-give you-would-think when for a-defendant he-spoke

112 Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocina mediocriter aptum videbatur,

this of-speaking kind for advocacies moderately suited seemed

ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cuius erat ille princeps, vel

for a-senatorial indeed opinion of-which was he the-leader even

maxime; significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed quod

most-of-all it-signified for not prudence only but what

maxime rem continebat, fidem. Habebat hoc a natura ipsa,

most the-matter held good-faith he-had this from nature itself

quod a doctrina non facile posset; quamquam huius quoque

which from training not easily he-could although of-this also

ipsius rei, quem ad modum scis, praecepta sunt. Huius

of-the-very thing in-what to manner you-know the-precepts there-are of-him

et orationes sunt et tres ad L. Fufidium libri scripti de

both speeches there-are and three to L. Fufidius books written about

vita ipsius acta sane utiles, quos nemo legit; at Cyri vitam

the-life of-himself lived quite useful which no-one reads but of-Cyrus the-life

et disciplinam legunt, praeclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam

and the-training they-read splendid that indeed but neither so

nostris rebus aptam nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam.

to-our affairs suited nor still to-Scaurus' praises to-be-preferred

XXIII • RUTILIUS THE STOIC

Rutilius spoke in a grim, severe manner; he and Scaurus each prosecuted the other after standing together for the consulship. His speeches are meager, though he was learned, a bearer of Panaetius, and nearly perfect among the Stoics — whose style is keen and full of art but too thin for popular assent. When he was tried, wholly innocent, he refused both Crassus and Antonius and spoke for himself.

Ipsē etiam Fufidius in aliquo patronorum numero fuit.

113

himself also Fufidius in some of-advocates the-number was

Rutilius autem in quodam tristi et severo genere dicendi

Rutilius however in a-certain grim and severe kind of-speaking

versatus est. Erat uterque natura vehemens et acer; itaque

engaged was was each by-nature vehement and keen and-so

cum una consulatum petivissent, non ille solum, qui

when together the-consulship they-had-sought not he only who

repulsam tulerat, accusavit ambitus designatum competitorem,

a-defeat had-borne accused of-bribery the-elected rival

sed Scaurus etiam absolutus Rutilium in iudicium vocavit.

but Scaurus also acquitted Rutilius into court called

Multaque opera multaque industria Rutilius fuit, quae erat

and-of-much effort and-of-much industry Rutilius was which was

propterea gratior, quod idem magnum munus de

for-this-reason the-more-welcome because the-same great a-duty about

iure respondendi sustinebat.

the-law of-answering he-sustained

Sunt eius orationes ieiunae; multa praeclara de iure;

114

there-are of-him speeches meager many-things excellent about the-law

doctus vir et Graecis litteris eruditus, Panaeti auditor,

a-learned man and in-Greek letters trained of-Panaetius a-bearer

prope perfectus in Stoicis; quorum peracutum et artis

nearly perfect among the-Stoics of-whom the-very-keen and of-art

plenum orationis genus scis tamen esse exile nec satis

full of-speech kind you-know still to-be thin and-not sufficiently

populari adsensioni accommodatum. Itaque illa, quae propria

to-popular assent suited and-so that which proper

est huius disciplinae, philosophorum de se ipsorum

is of-this school of-the-philosophers about themselves their-own

opinio firma in hoc viro et stabilis inventa est.

opinion firm in this man and steady found was

- 115 Qui cum innocentissimus in iudicium vocatus esset, quo
who when most-innocent into court summoned had-been by-which
 iudicio convulsam penitus scimus esse rem publicam,
verdict shaken utterly we-know to-have-been the-thing public
 cum essent eo tempore eloquentissimi viri L. Crassus
although there-were at-that time the-most-eloquent men L. Crassus
 et M. Antonius consulares, eorum adhibere neutrum voluit.
and M. Antonius of-consular-rank of-them to-employ neither he-wished
 Dixit ipse pro sese et pauca C. Cotta, quod sororis
he-spoke himself for himself and a-few-words C. Cotta because of-(his)-sister
 erat filius — et is quidem tamen ut orator, quamquam erat
he-was the-son and he indeed still as an-orator although he-was
 admodum adulescens—, et Q. Mucius enucleate ille quidem et
very young and Q. Mucius clearly he indeed and
 polite, ut solebat, nequaquam autem ea vi atque copia
politely as he-was-wont by-no-means however with-that force and abundance
 quam genus illud iudici et magnitudo causae postulabat.
which the-kind that of-trial and the-greatness of-the-case demanded

XXIV • WHY STOICS DO NOT PLEAD

Cicero counts Rutilius among the Stoic orators and Scaurus among the old-fashioned, and asks that both be praised, as quiet actors are praised beside quick ones. Tubero, austere in life and hard in speech, could not match his ancestors' honors. Brutus observes that Stoics, the most skillful arguers, prove poor speakers, Cato excepted. The Peripatetics would shape an orator better, but their practice alone cannot perfect one: it is as loose for the forum as the Stoic is tight.

- 116 Habemus igitur in Stoicis oratoribus Rutilium, Scaurum
we-have therefore among the-Stoic orators Rutilius Scaurus
 in antiquis; utrumque tamen laudemus, quoniam per
among the-old-fashioned each still let-us-praise since through

illos ne haec quidem in civitate genera hac oratoria laude
them not-even these indeed in the-state kinds this oratorical merit
 caruerunt. Volo enim ut in scaena sic etiam in foro non
lacked I-wish for as on the-stage so also in the-forum not
 eos modo laudari, qui celeri motu et difficili utantur,
those only to-be-praised who with-quick movement and difficult use
 sed eos etiam quos statarios appellant, quorum sit illa
but those also whom stationary they-call whose may-be that
 simplex in agendo veritas, non molesta.

simple in acting truthfulness not troublesome

Et quoniam Stoicorum est facta mentio, Q. Aelius Tubero fuit 117

and since of-the-Stoics is made mention Q. Aelius Tubero was
 illo tempore, L. Paulli nepos; nullo in oratorum numero,
at-that time of-L. Paullus the-grandson in-no in of-orators number
 sed vita severus et congruens cum ea disciplina quam colebat,
but in-life austere and consistent with that school which he-cultivated
 paulo etiam durior; qui quidem in tribunatu iudicaverit contra
a-little even harder who indeed in the-tribunate judged against

P. Africani avunculi sui testimonium vacationem augures
of-P. Africanus of-his-uncle his-own the-testimony an-exemption that-the-augurs
 quo minus iudiciis operam darent non habere; sed ut
so-that not to-trials attention they-should-give not to-have but as
 vita sic oratione durus incultus horridus; itaque honoribus
in-life so in-speech hard uncouth rough and-so to-the-honors
 maiorum respondere non potuit. Fuit autem constans civis et
of-(his)-ancestors to-answer not be-could he-was however a-steadfast citizen and
 fortis et in primis Graccho molestus, quod indicat Gracchi
brave and among the-first to-Gracchus troublesome which indicates of-Gracchus
 in eum oratio. Sunt etiam in Gracchum Tuberonis; is fuit
against him the-speech there-are also against Gracchus of-Tubero's he was
 mediocris in dicendo, doctissimus in disputando. Tum Brutus:
middling in speaking most-learned in disputing then Brutus

- 118 Quam hoc idem in nostris contingere intellego quod in
how this same in ours to-happen I-understand which in
 Graecis, ut omnes fere Stoici prudentissimi in disserendo sint
the-Greeks that all nearly Stoics most-skillful in arguing are
 et id arte faciant sintque architecti paene verborum, idem
and that with-art they-do and-are architects almost of-words the-same
 traducti a disputando ad dicendum inopes reperiuntur.
transferred from disputing to speaking poor are-found
 Unum excipio Catonem, in quo perfectissimo Stoico summam
one I-except Cato in whom a-most-perfect Stoic the-highest
 eloquentiam non desiderem, quam exiguam in Fannio, ne
eloquence not I-would-miss which scanty in Fannius not-even
 in Rutilio quidem magnam, in Tuberone nullam video fuisse.
in Rutilius indeed great in Tubero none I-see to-have-been
- 119 Et ego: Non, inquam, Brute, sine causa, propterea quod
and I not I-say Brutus without cause for-this-reason that
 istorum in dialecticis omnis cura consumitur, vagum illud
of-those in dialectic all care is-spent roving that
 orationis et fusum et multiplex non adhibetur genus.
of-speech and diffuse and manifold not is-employed kind
 Tuus autem avunculus, quem ad modum scis, habet a
your however uncle in-what to manner you-know has from
 Stoicis id quod ab illis petendum fuit; sed dicere didicit
the-Stoics that which from them to-be-sought was but to-speak he-learned
 a dicendi magistris eorumque more se exercuit. Quod
from of-speaking the-teachers and-in-their manner himself be-trained but
 si omnia a philosophis essent petenda, Peripateticorum
if all-things from the-philosophers were to-be-sought of-the-Peripatetics
 institutis commodius fingeretur oratio.
by-the-teachings more-suitably would-be-formed speech

Quo magis tuum, Brute, iudicium probo, qui eorum 120
by-which the-more your Brutus judgment I-approve who of-those
 philosophorum sectam secutus es, quorum in doctrina
philosophers the-school having-followed you-have of-whom in the-doctrine
 atque praeceptis disserendi ratio coniungitur cum suavitate
and the-precepts of-arguing the-method is-joined with the-sweetness
 dicendi et copia; quamquam ea ipsa Peripateticorum
of-speaking and the-abundance although that very of-the-Peripatetics
 Academicorumque consuetudo in ratione dicendi talis est
and-of-the-Academics practice in the-method of-speaking such is
 ut nec perficere oratorem possit ipsa per sese nec sine
that neither to-perfect an-orator it-can itself through itself nor without
 ea orator esse perfectus. Nam ut Stoicorum astrictior est
it an-orator to-be perfect for as of-the-Stoics more-compressed is
 oratio aliquantoque contractior quam aures populi requirunt,
the-speech and-somewhat more-contracted than the-ears of-the-people require
 sic illorum liberior et latior quam patitur consuetudo
so of-those freer and broader than allows the-practice
 iudiciorum et fori. Quis enim uberior in dicendo Platone?
of-the-courts and of-the-forum who for richer in speaking than-Plato

XXV • PLATO, AND THE VOLUMES

The philosophers say that Jupiter, if he spoke Greek, would speak as Plato does, and nobody is more sinewy than Aristotle or sweeter than Theophrastus. Curio was a distinguished orator whose speech for Fulvius on the charge of incest Cicero's generation thought the best there was; it can scarcely be found now in the crowd of new volumes. Brutus knows who made that crowd, and Cicero admits he gave the young a grander style and perhaps did harm, since the old speeches went unread.

- 121 Iovem sic aiunt philosophi, si Graece loquatur, loqui.
Jupiter so they-say the-philosophers if in-Greek he-should-speak to-speak
 Quis Aristotele nervosior, Theophrasto dulcior? Lectitavisse
who than-Aristotle more-sinewy than-Theophrastus sweeter to-have-read-often
 Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur —
Plato eagerly to-have-beard also Demosthenes is-said
 idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum; dicit
and-that appears from the-kind and the-grandeur of-(his)-words says
 etiam in quadam epistula hoc ipse de sese—, sed et
also in a-certain letter this himself about himself but both
 huius oratio in philosophiam tralata pugnacior, ut ita
of-this-man the-speech into philosophy transferred more-combative as so
 dicam, videatur et illorum in iudicia pacatior.
I-may-say would-seem and of-those into the-courts more-peaceable
- 122 Nunc reliquorum oratorum aetates, si placet, et gradus
now of-the-remaining of-orators the-ages if it-pleases and the-ranks
 persequamur. Nobis vero, inquit Atticus, et vehementer
let-us-follow-out to-us indeed says Atticus and heartily
 quidem, ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam. Curio fuit
indeed so-that for Brutus also I-may-answer Curio was
 igitur eiusdem aetatis fere sane inlustris orator, cuius de
therefore of-the-same age nearly quite distinguished an-orator of-whom about
 ingenio ex orationibus eius existimari potest: sunt enim
the-talent from the-speeches of-him to-be-judged it-can there-are for
 et aliae et pro Ser. Fulvio de incestu nobilis oratio.
both others and for Ser. Fulvius about incest the-famous speech
 Nobis quidem pueris haec omnium optima putabatur, quae
to-us indeed as-boys this of-all the-best was-thought which
 vix iam comparet in hac turba novorum voluminum.
scarcely now appears in this crowd of-new volumes

Praclare, inquit Brutus, teneo qui istam turbam voluminum 123
excellently says Brutus I-know who that crowd of-volumes
 effecerit. Et ego: Intellego, Brute, quem dicas; certe enim
has-made and I I-understand Brutus whom you-mean certainly for
 et boni aliquid adtulimus iuventuti, magnificentius quam
both of-good something we-have-brought to-the-young more-magnificent than
 fuerat genus dicendi et ornatus; et nocuimus fortasse, quod
had-been a-kind of-speaking and more-ornate and we-have-harmed perhaps because
 veteres orationes post nostras, non a me quidem — meis
the-old speeches after ours not by me indeed to-mine
 enim illas antepono—, sed a plerisque legi sunt desitae.
for those I-prefer but by most to-be-read have ceased
 Me numera, inquit, in plerisque; quamquam video mihi
me count he-says among most although I-see for-me
 multa legenda iam te auctore, quae antea contemnebam.
many-things to-be-read now you being-my-guide which before I-was-despising

XXVI · GAIUS GRACCHUS

That praised speech of Curio's is in fact boyish in many passages, tolerable only to ears not yet trained. Now comes a man of outstanding talent, burning zeal, and learning from boyhood: Gaius Gracchus. No one was fuller or richer. Brutus says he reads him almost alone of the older men, and Cicero urges him to. Rome and Latin letters lost by his untimely death: his work was splendidly begun and not finished.

Atqui haec, inquam, de incestu laudata oratio puerilis est 124
and-yet this I-say about incest praised speech boyish is
 locis multis: de amore, de tormentis, de rumore loci
in-passages many about love about tortures about rumor passages
 sane inanes, verum tamen nondum tritis nostrorum hominum
quite empty but still not-yet worn of-our of-men

auribus nec erudita civitate tolerabiles. Scripsit etiam alia
the-ears and-not cultivated state tolerable he-wrote also other-things
 non nulla et multa dixit et illustria et in numero
not none and many-things he-spoke both brilliant and in the-number
 patronorum fuit, ut eum mirer, cum et vita suppeditavisset
of-advocates he-was so-that at-him I-wonder although both life had-lasted
 et splendor ei non defuisset, consulem non fuisse.
and distinction to-him not had-been-lacking a-consul not to-have-been

125 Sed ecce in manibus vir et praestantissimo ingenio et
but behold in (our)-hands a-man both of-most-outstanding talent and
 flagranti studio et doctus a puero C. Gracchus. Noli
of-burning zeal and taught from a-boy C. Gracchus do-not
 enim putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorum aut uberiorum
for think anyone Brutus fuller or richer
 ad dicendum fuisse. Et ille: Sic prorsus, inquit, existimo
for speaking to-have-been and he so exactly he-says I-judge
 atque istum de superioribus paene solum lego. Immo plane,
and that-man of the-earlier almost alone I-read nay plainly
 inquam, Brute, legas censeo. Damnum enim illius
I-say Brutus you-should-read I-advice loss for by-his
 immaturo interitu res Romanae Latinaeque litterae fecerunt.
untimely death affairs Roman and-Latin letters suffered

126 Utinam non tam fratri pietatem quam patriae
would-that not so to-(his)-brother loyalty as to-(his)-country
 praestare voluisset! Quam ille facile tali ingenio, diutius
to-show he-had-wished how he easily with-such talent longer
 si vixisset, vel paternam esset vel avitam gloriam
if he-had-lived either (his)-father's would-have or grandfather's glory
 consecutus! Eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset
attained in-eloquence indeed I-know-not whether he-would-have-had
 parem neminem. Grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere
an-equal no-one grand he-is in-words wise in-thoughts in-kind

toto gravis. Manus extrema non accessit operibus eius;
 whole weighty the-hand final not came to-the-works of-him
 praeclare incohata multa, perfecta non plane. Legendus,
 splendidly begun many-things finished not fully to-be-read
 inquam, est hic orator, Brute, si quisquam alius, iuventuti;
 I-say is this orator Brutus if anyone else by-the-young
 non enim solum acuere sed etiam alere ingenium potest.
 not for only to-sharpen but also to-nourish talent he-can

XXVII • A CROWDED GENERATION

Galba's son fell in mid-career under the Mamilian bill; Scipio and Bestia, Licinius Nerva, Fimbria, Sextius Calvinus, and the Marcus Brutus who disgraced his family by making a trade of prosecution, all belong here. So do Caesulenus, the sharpest accuser Cicero heard, and Albucius, a Greek in everything. Catulus was educated as thoroughly as this age allows, and wrote a memoir in a soft Xenophontic style.

Huic successit aetati C. Galba, Servi illius eloquentissimi 127
 to-this succeeded age C. Galba of-Servius that most-eloquent
 viri filius, P. Crassi eloquentis et iuris periti gener.
 of-the-man the-son of-P. Crassus eloquent and of-law skilled the-son-in-law
 Laudabant hunc patres nostri, favebant etiam propter
 they-were-praising him fathers our they-were-favoring also because-of
 patris memoriam, sed cecidit in cursu. Nam rogatione
 of-(bis)-father the-memory but he-fell in mid-course for by-the-bill
 Mamilia, Iugurthinae coniurationis invidia, cum pro sese ipse
 Mamilian of-the-Iugurthine of-the-conspiracy by-the-odium when for himself he
 dixisset, oppressus est. Exstat eius peroratio, qui epilogus
 had-spoken crushed he-was there-survives of-him the-peroration which an-epilogue
 dicitur; qui tanto in honore pueris nobis erat ut eum etiam
 is-called which in-so-great in honor as-boys to-us was that it even

edisceremus. Hic, qui in conlegio sacerdotum esset, primus
we-learned-by-heart he who in the-college of-priests was the-first
 post Romam conditam iudicio publico est condemnatus.

after Rome founded by-a-trial public was condemned

128 P. Scipio, qui est in consulatu mortuus, non multum

P. Scipio who did in (his)-consulship die not much

ille quidem nec saepe dicebat, sed et Latine loquendo

he indeed nor often used-to-speak but both in-Latin speaking

cuivis erat par et omnis sale facetiisque superabat. Eius

to-anyone he-was equal and all in-wit and-in-humor he-surpassed his

conlega L. Bestia a bonis initiis orsus tribunatus —

colleague L. Bestia from good beginnings having-begun of-(his)-tribunate

nam P. Popilium vi C. Gracchi expulsum sua

for P. Popilius by-the-violence of-C. Gracchus expelled by-his-own

rogatione restituit—, vir et acer et non indisertus, tristis

bill he-restored a-man both keen and not un-eloquent a-grim

exitus habuit consulatus. Nam invidiosa lege C. Galbam

end had of-(his)-consulship for by-the-hated law C. Galba

sacerdotem et quattuor consularis L. Bestiam C. Catonem

a-priest and four of-consular-rank L. Bestia C. Cato

Sp. Albinum civemque praestantissimum L. Opimium,

Sp. Albinus and-a-citizen most-outstanding L. Opimius

Gracchi interfectorem, a populo absolutum, cum is contra

of-Gracchus the-killer by the-people acquitted although he against

populi studium stetisset, Gracchani iudices sustulerunt.

of-the-people the-inclination had-stood Gracchan jurors destroyed

129 Huius dissimilis in tribunatu reliquaue omni vita

of-this-man unlike in the-tribunate and-in-the-remaining whole life

civis improbus C. Licinius Nerva non indisertus fuit. C.

a-citizen wicked C. Licinius Nerva not un-eloquent was C.

Fimbria temporibus isdem fere, sed longius aetate provectus,

Fimbria in-times the-same nearly but further in-age advanced

habitus est sane, ut ita dicam, lutulentus asper maledicus;

held he-was quite as so I-may-say muddy rough foul-mouthed

genere toto paulo fervidior atque commotior, diligentia tamen

in-kind whole a-little too-hot and too-excitable by-carefulness still

et virtute animi atque vita bonus auctor in senatu;

and by-the-virtue of-(his)-spirit and by-(his)-life a-good adviser in the-senate

idem tolerabilis patronus nec rudis in iure civili et cum

the-same a-tolerable advocate and-not unskilled in law civil and as-much

virtute tum etiam ipso orationis genere liber; cuius

by-(his)-virtue so also by-the-very of-speech kind free of-whom

orationes pueri legebamus, quas iam reperire vix possumus.

the-speeches as-boys we-were-reading which now to-find scarcely we-can

Atque et acri ingenio et sermone eleganti, valetudine

and both of-keen talent and of-speech elegant in-health

incommoda C. Sextius Calvinus fuit; qui etsi, cum

poor C. Sextius Calvinus was who although when

remiserant dolores pedum, non deerat in causis, tamen

had-slackened the-pains of-(his)-feet not he-was-lacking in cases still

id non saepe faciebat. Itaque consilio eius, cum volebant,

that not often he-used-to-do and-so of-the-counsel of-him when they-wished

homines utebantur, patrocínio, cum licebat. Isdem

men they-used of-(his)-advocacy when it-was-permitted in-the-same

temporibus M. Brutus, magnum fuit, Brute, dedecus

times M. Brutus a-great was Brutus disgrace

generi vestro, qui, cum tanto nomine esset patremque

to-the-family of-yours who although with-so-great a-name he-was and-a-father

optimum virum habuisset et iuris peritissimum, accusationem

the-best a-man had-had and of-law most-skilled prosecution

factitaverit, ut Athenis Lycurgus. Is magistratus non petivit,

he-practiced as at-Athens Lycurgus he offices not sought

sed fuit accusator vehemens et molestus, ut facile

but was a-prosecutor violent and troublesome so-that easily

130

cerneres naturale quoddam stirpis bonum degeneravisse
you-would-discern a-natural certain of-the-stock good to-have-degenerated
 vitio depravatae voluntatis.

by-the-fault of-a-perverted will

- 131 Atque eodem tempore accusator de plebe L. Caesulenus
and at-the-same time a-prosecutor from the-plebs L. Caesulenus
 fuit, quem ego audiui iam senem, cum ab L. Sabellio
was whom I heard already an-old-man when from L. Sabellius
 multam lege Aquilia petivisset. Non fecissem hominis
a-fine by-the-law Aquilian he-had-claimed not I-would-have-made of-a-man
 paene infimi mentionem, nisi iudicarem qui suspiciosius
almost of-the-lowest mention unless I-judged that-who more-insinuatingly
 aut criminosius diceret audivisse me neminem. Doctus etiam
or more-damagingly spoke to-have-heard I no-one learned also
 Graecis T. Albucius vel potius plane Graecus. Loquor ut
in-Greek T. Albucius or rather plainly a-Greek I-speak as
 opinor; sed licet ex orationibus iudicare. Fuit autem
I-think but it-is-allowed from the-speeches to-judge he-was however
 Athenis adulescens, perfectus Epicurius evaserat, minime
at-Athens as-a-young-man a-finished Epicurean he-had-turned-out by-no-means
 aptum ad dicendum genus.

suited for speaking a-school

- 132 Iam Q. Catulus non antiquo illo more, sed hoc nostro, nisi
now Q. Catulus not in-the-old that manner but in-this ours unless
 quid fieri potest perfectius, eruditus. Multae litterae,
something to-be-done can more-perfect educated much learning
 summa non vitae solum atque naturae sed orationis etiam
the-highest not of-life only and of-nature but of-speech also
 comitas, incorrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas; quae
courtesy an-uncorrupted certain of-Latin of-speech purity which
 perspicui cum ex orationibus eius potest tum facillime ex
to-be-seen as-much from the-speeches of-him it-can so most-easily from

eo libro quem de consulatu et de rebus gestis suis
that book which about (his)-consulship and about the-things done his-own
 conscriptum molli et Xenophontio genere sermonis misit ad
composed in-a-soft and Xenophontic kind of-speech he-sent to
 A. Furium poetam, familiarem suum; qui liber nihilo notior

A. Furius the-poet a-friend his-own which book in-no-way better-known
 est quam illi tres, de quibus ante dixi, Scauri libri.

is than those three about which before I-spoke of-Scaurus the-books

Tum Brutus: Mihi quidem, inquit, nec iste notus est nec 133

then Brutus to-me indeed he-says neither that known is nor
 illi; — sed haec mea culpa est, numquam enim in manus
those but this my fault is never for into (my)-hands

inciderunt — nunc autem et a te sumam et conquiram ista

have-they-fallen now however both from you I-shall-take and I-shall-hunt-out those

posthac curiosius. Fuit igitur in Catulo sermo Latinus; quae

hereafter more-carefully there-was therefore in Catulus speech Latin which

laus dicendi non mediocris ab oratoribus plerisque neglecta

merit of-speaking not slight by orators most neglected

est. Nam de sono vocis et suavitate appellandarum

has-been for about the-sound of-(his)-voice and the-sweetness of-the-pronounced

litterarum, quoniam filium cognovisti, noli expectare quid

letters since the-son you-have-known do-not expect what

dicam. Quamquam filius quidem non fuit in oratorum numero,

I-may-say although the-son indeed not was in of-orators the-number

sed non deerat ei tamen in sententia dicenda cum

but not was-lacking to-him still in an-opinion to-be-given as-much

prudencia tum elegans quoddam et eruditum orationis genus.

good-sense so an-elegant certain and cultivated of-speech kind

Nec habitus est tamen pater ipse Catulus princeps in 134

nor held was still the-father himself Catulus a-leader in

numero patronorum, sed erat talis ut, cum quosdam audires

the-number of-advocates but he-was such that when certain you-heard

qui tum erant praestantes, videretur esse inferior, cum autem
 who then were outstanding he-seemed to-be inferior when however
 ipsum audires sine comparatione, non modo contentus
 him-himself you-heard without comparison not only content
 esses, sed melius non quaereret.
 you-would-be but better not you-would-seek

XXVIII · THE MIDDLE RANKS

Metellus Numidicus and Silanus spoke as much as their consular rank required. Aurelius Scaurus spoke seldom but with polish; Albinus too spoke well, and Caepio, keen and brave, was ruined by the people's ill will. The Memmii were bitter prosecutors who seldom defended, Thorius carried the law that relieved the public land of rent, and Cotta kept a slightly rustic sound. Cicero admits he lists such men on purpose: all who held the orator's place, so the difficulty of perfection can be judged.

- 135 Q. Metellus Numidicus et eius conlega M. Silanus dicebant
 Q. Metellus Numidicus and his colleague M. Silanus used-to-speak
 de re publica quod esset illis viris et consulari
 about the-thing public what was for-those men and for-consular
 dignitati satis. M. Aurelius Scaurus non saepe dicebat sed
 dignity enough M. Aurelius Scaurus not often used-to-speak but
 polite; Latine vero in primis est eleganter locutus. Quae
 politely in-Latin indeed among the-first he-did elegantly speak which
 laus eadem in A. Albino bene loquendi fuit; nam flamen
 merit the-same in A. Albinus of-well speaking was for the-flamen
 Albinus etiam in numero est habitus disertorum. Q. etiam
 Albinus also in the-number was held of-the-eloquent Q. also

Caepio, vir acer et fortis, cui fortuna belli crimini,
Caepio a-man keen and brave to-whom the-fortune of-war for-a-charge
 invidia populi calamitati fuit.

the-hatred of-the-people for-a-ruin was

Tum etiam C. L. Memmii fuerunt oratores mediocres, 136
then also C. and-L. the-Memmii were orators middling

accusatores acres atque acerbi; itaque in iudicium capitis
prosecutors keen and bitter and-so into a-trial of-life

multos vocaverunt, pro reis non saepe dixerunt. Sp. Thorius
many they-summoned for defendants not often they-spoke Sp. Thorius

satis valuit in populari genere dicendi, is qui agrum publicum
enough availed in the-popular kind of-speaking he who the-land public

vitiosa et inutili lege vectigali levavit. M. Marcellus Aesernini
by-a-faulty and useless law of-rent relieved M. Marcellus of-Aeserninus

pater non ille quidem in patronis, sed et in promptis
the-father not he indeed among the-advocates but both among the-ready

tamen et non inexercitatis ad dicendum fuit, ut filius eius
still and not unpracticed for speaking was as the-son of-him

P. Lentulus. L. etiam Cotta praetorius in mediocrium 137
P. Lentulus L. also Cotta of-praetorian-rank in of-middling

oratorum numero, dicendi non ita multum laude processerat,
of-orators the-number of-speaking not so much in-praise had-advanced

sed de industria cum verbis tum etiam ipso sono
but of set-purpose as-much with-words so also with-the-very sound

quasi subrustico persequebatur atque imitabatur antiquitatem.
as-it-were rather-rustic he-was-pursuing and was-imitating antiquity

Atque ego et in hoc ipso Cotta et in aliis pluribus
and I both in this very Cotta and in others several

intellego me non ita disertos homines et rettulisse in
understand myself not so eloquent men both to-have-entered into

oratorum numerum et relaturum. Est enim propositum
of-orators the-number and about-to-enter it-is for (my)-purpose

conligere eos qui hoc munere in civitate functi sint, ut
to-collect those who this office in the-state discharged have so-that
 tenerent oratorum locum; quorum quidem quae fuerit
they-might-hold of-orators the-place of-whom indeed what was
 ascensio et quam in omnibus rebus difficilis optimi perfectio
the-ascent and how in all things difficult of-the-best the-perfecting
 atque absolutio ex eo quod dicam existimari potest.
and the-completion from that which I-shall-say to-be-judged it-can

XXIX • ANTONIUS

At last Antonius and Crassus, whom Cicero judges the greatest of all and the first to match the Greeks. Everything came to Antonius' mind and took the place where it would tell most, as a general posts his troops; he always looked unprepared, and the jurors were the unprepared ones. He chose words for weight, not charm, shaped his thoughts more finely still, and had no peer in delivery: even a hoarse voice he turned to good.

138 Quam multi enim iam oratores commemorati sunt et
how many for already orators mentioned have-been and
 quam diu in eorum enumeratione versamur, cum tamen
how long in of-them the-enumeration we-are-engaged when still
 spisse atque vix, ut dudum ad Demosthenem et Hyperidem,
slowly and barely as a-while-ago to Demosthenes and Hyperides
 sic nunc ad Antonium Crassumque pervenimus! Nam ego sic
so now to Antonius and-Crassus we-have-arrived for I so
 existimo, hos oratores fuisse maximos et in his primum
judge these orators to-have-been the-greatest and in these for-the-first-time
 cum Graecorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam aequatam.
with of-the-Greeks the-glory of-Latin of-speaking the-abundance to-have-been-matched

Omnia veniebant Antonio in mentem; eaque suo quaeque 139

all-things were-coming to-Antonius into mind and-they in-its-own each

loco, ubi plurimum proficere et valere possent, ut ab

place where most to-avail and to-be-strong they-could as by

imperatore equites pedites levis armatura, sic ab

a-general the-cavalry the-infantry the-light-armed troops so by

illo in maxime opportunis orationis partibus conlocabantur.

him in the-most opportune of-the-speech parts were-stationed

Erat memoria summa, nulla meditationis suspicio; imparatus

there-was a-memory the-highest no of-preparation suspicion unprepared

semper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur, sed ita erat paratus

always to-approach for speaking he-seemed but so he-was prepared

ut iudices illo dicente non numquam viderentur non satis

that the-jurors him speaking not never seemed not sufficiently

parati ad cavendum fuisse.

prepared for guarding-themselves to-have-been

Verba ipsa non illa quidem elegantissimo sermone — itaque 140

the-words themselves not those indeed of-a-most-elegant speech and-so

diligenter loquendi laude caruit neque tamen est admodum

of-carefully speaking the-praise he-lacked nor still did-he at-all

inquinare locutus—, sed illa, quae propria laus oratoris est in

foully speak but those which the-proper praise of-an-orator is in

verbis—, nam ipsum Latine loqui est illud quidem, ut paulo

words for the-very in-Latin to-speak is that indeed as a-little

ante dixi, in magna laude ponendum, sed non tam sua

before I-said in great praise to-be-set but not so by-its-own

sponte quam quod est a plerisque neglectum: non enim

accord as because it-has-been by most neglected not for

tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire, neque

so splendid it-is to-know Latin as shameful not-to-know-it nor

tam id mihi oratoris boni quam civis Romani proprium

so that to-me of-an-orator good as of-a-citizen Roman proper

videtur; — sed tamen Antonius in verbis et eligendis,
it-seems but still Antonius in words both in-choosing-them
 neque id ipsum tam leporis causa quam ponderis, et
and-not that itself so of-charm for-the-sake as of-weight and
 conlocandis et comprehensione devinciendis nihil non ad
in-placing-them and by-a-period in-binding-them nothing not to
 rationem et tamquam ad artem dirigebat; verum multo magis
reason and as-it-were to art was-directing but much more
 hoc idem in sententiarum ornamentis et conformationibus.
this same in of-thoughts the-ornaments and the-shapings

- 141 Quo genere quia praestat omnibus Demosthenes, idcirco
in-which kind because he-surpasses all Demosthenes for-that-reason
 a doctis oratorum est princeps iudicatus. σχήματα enim
by the-learned of-orators was the-chief judged schemata for
 quae vocant Graeci, ea maxime ornant oratorem eaque non
which they-call the-Greeks those most adorn an-orator and-they not
 tam in verbis pingendis habent pondus quam in inluminandis
so in words in-painting have weight as in lighting-up
 sentiis. Sed cum haec magna in Antonio tum actio
thoughts but as-much these great in Antonius so the-delivery
 singularis; quae si partienda est in gestum atque vocem,
singular which if to-be-divided is into gesture and voice
 gestus erat non verba exprimens, sed cum sentiis
the-gesture was not the-words expressing but with the-thoughts
 congruens: manus umeri latera suppositio pedis status
agreeing the-hands the-shoulders the-sides the-stamping of-the-foot the-stance
 incessus omnisque motus; vox permanens, verum subrauca
the-walk and-every movement the-voice lasting but somewhat-boarse
 natura. Sed hoc vitium huic uni in bonum convertibat.
by-nature but this fault for-him alone into a-good was-turning

Habebat enim flebile quiddam aptumque cum ad 142
he-had for something-plaintive a-certain and-fitting as-much for
 fidem faciendam tum ad misericordiam commovendam: ut
belief producing so for pity stirring so-that
 verum videretur in hoc illud, quod Demosthenem ferunt
true it-seemed in this that which Demosthenes they-report
 ei, qui quaesivisset quid primum esset in dicendo, actionem;
to-him who had-asked what the-first was in speaking the-delivery
 quid secundum, idem et idem tertium respondisse. Nulla
what the-second the-same and the-same the-third to-have-answered no
 res magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit format flectit
thing more penetrates into minds and-them shapes forms bends
 talisque oratores videri facit, qualis ipsi se videri volunt.
and-such orators to-seem makes as they themselves to-seem wish

XXX • CRASSUS, AND THE CASE OF CURIUS

Some ranked Crassus above Antonius, and all agreed that with either as advocate nobody would miss any other. Crassus had the highest weight, an orator's wit, and a careful Latin elegance, and nobody was fuller at interpreting and defining, as the case of Manius Curius showed, where he overwhelmed Scaevola with arguments and examples. Crassus was the most learned in law of the eloquent, Scaevola the most eloquent of the jurists; each sought a mean and had part of the other's merit and all his own.

Huic alii parem esse dicebant, alii anteponebant L. 143
to-this-man some equal to-be used-to-say others used-to-set-before L.
 Crassum. Illud quidem certe omnes ita iudicabant, neminem
Crassus that indeed certainly all so used-to-judge no-one
 esse qui horum altero utro patrono cuiusquam
to-be who of-these with-the-one or-the-other as-advocate of-anyone

ingenium requireret. Equidem quamquam Antonio tantum
the-talent would-miss for-my-part although to-Antonius so-much
 tribuo quantum supra dixi, tamen Crasso nihil statuo
I-assign as-much-as above I-said still than-Crassus nothing I-judge
 fieri potuisse perfectius. Erat summa gravitas, erat
to-be-done to-have-been-able more-perfect there-was the-highest weight there-was
 cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius,
with weight joined of-wit and of-refinement an-oratorical
 non scurrilis lepos, Latine loquendi accurata et sine
not a-buffoon's charm of-Latin of-speaking a-careful and without
 molestia diligens elegantia, in disserendo mira explicatio;
offensiveness painstaking elegance in arguing a-wonderful clearness
 cum de iure civili, cum de aequo et bono disputaretur,
whether about the-law civil whether about the-fair and good it-was-disputed
 argumentorum et similitudinum copia.

of-arguments and of-comparisons an-abundance

144 Nam ut Antonius coniectura movenda aut sedanda suspicione
for as Antonius in-conjecture in-stirring or in-allaying suspicion
 aut excitanda incredibilem vim habebat: sic in interpretando,
or in-rousing-it an-incredible power had so in interpreting
 in definiendo, in explicanda aequitate nihil erat Crasso
in defining in unfolding equity nothing was than-Crassus
 copiosius; idque cum saepe alias tum apud centumviros
more-copious and-that as-much often at-other-times so before the-centumvirs
 in M'. Curi causa cognitum est.

in of-M'. Curius the-case known was

145 Ita enim multa tum contra scriptum pro aequo et bono dixit,
so for many-things then against the-letter for the-fair and good he-said
 ut hominem acutissimum Q. Scaevolam et in iure, in quo
that a-man most-acute Q. Scaevola and in law in which
 illa causa vertebatur, paratissimum obrueret argumentorum
that case was-turning most-prepared he-overwhelmed of-arguments

exemplorumque copia; atque ita tum ab his patronis
and-of-examples by-the-abundance and so then by these advocates
 aequalibus et iam consularibus causa illa dicta est, cum uterque
of-an-age and already of-consular-rank the-case that pleaded was since each
 ex contraria parte ius civile defenderet, ut eloquentium iuris
from the-opposite side the-law civil was-defending that of-the-eloquent of-law
 peritissimus Crassus, iuris peritorum eloquentissimus Scaevola
the-most-skilled Crassus of-the-law of-the-skilled the-most-eloquent Scaevola
 putaretur. Qui quidem cum peracutus esset ad excogitandum
was-thought who indeed as-much very-acute he-was for devising
 quid in iure aut in aequo verum aut esset aut non esset, tum
what in law or in equity true either was or not was so
 verbis erat ad rem cum summa brevitate mirabiliter aptus.
in-words he-was to the-point with the-utmost brevity wonderfully fitted

Qua re sit nobis orator in hoc interpretandi
for-which reason let-there-be for-us an-orator in this of-interpreting
 explanandi edisserendi genere mirabilis, sic ut simile nihil
of-explaining of-expounding kind wonderful so that like nothing
 viderim; in augendo, in ornando, in refellendo magis
I-have-seen in amplifying in adorning in refuting more
 existimator metuendus quam admirandus orator. Verum ad
a-critic to-be-feared than to-be-admired an-orator but to
 Crassum revertamur. Tum Brutus:

Crassus let-us-return then Brutus

Etsi satis, inquit, mihi videbar habere cognitum Scaevolam
although enough he-says to-me I-seemed to-have known Scaevola
 ex eis rebus quas audiebam saepe ex C. Rutilio, quo
from those things which I-was-bearing often from C. Rutilius whom
 utebar propter familiaritatem Scaevolae nostri, tamen ista
I-used because-of the-friendship of-Scaevola our still that
 mihi eius dicendi tanta laus nota non erat; itaque cepi
to-me of-him of-speaking so-great praise known not was and-so I-took

voluptatem tam ornatum virum tamque excellens ingenium
pleasure so adorned a-man and-so outstanding a-talent
 fuisse in nostra re publica.

to-have-been in our thing public

- 148 Hic ego: Noli, inquam, Brute, existimare his duobus
here I do-not I-say Brutus suppose than-these two
 quicquam fuisse in nostra civitate praestantius. Nam
anything to-have-been in our state more-outstanding for
 ut paulo ante dixi consultorum alterum disertissimum,
as a-little before I-said of-the-jurists the-one the-most-eloquent
 disertorum alterum consultissimum fuisse, sic in reliquis
of-the-eloquent the-other the-most-learned-in-law to-have-been so in the-remaining
 rebus ita dissimiles erant inter sese, statuere ut tamen
respects so unlike they-were between themselves to-declare that still
 non posses, utrius te malles similiorum. Crassus
not you-could of-which-of-the-two you you-would-rather more-like Crassus
 erat elegantium parcissimus, Scaevola parcorum elegantissimus;
was of-the-elegant the-most-sparing Scaevola of-the-sparing the-most-elegant
 Crassus in summa comitate habebat etiam severitatis satis,
Crassus in the-utmost courtesy had also of-severity enough
 Scaevolae multa in severitate non deerat tamen comitas.

to-Scaevola much in severity not was-lacking still courtesy

- 149 Licet omnia hoc modo; sed vereor ne fingi videantur
it-is-allowed all-things in-this way but I-fear lest to-be-invented may-seem
 haec, ut dicantur a me quodam modo; res se
these-things so-that they-may-be-said by me in-a-certain way the-matter itself
 tamen sic habet. Cum omnis virtus sit, ut vestra, Brute,
still so has since every excellence may-be as your Brutus
 vetus Academia dixit, mediocritas, uterque horum medium
old Academy said a-mean each of-these something-middle

quiddam volebat sequi; sed ita cadebat ut alter ex alterius
a-certain wished to-follow but so it-fell-out that the-one from of-the-other
 laude partem, uterque autem suam totam haberet.
the-merit a-part each however his-own whole had

XXXI • SERVIUS SULPICIUS CHOSE THE SECOND ART

Brutus sees a likeness between Crassus and Scaevola on one side and Cicero and Servius Sulpicius on the other. Servius, Cicero answers, went to Rhodes and came back preferring to be first in a second art rather than second in the first. He ranks him above Scaevola: others had practice in the civil law, Servius alone had the art, and dialectic gave it him. Taught by Balbus and Gallus, he surpassed both, and took from eloquence only what he needed.

Tum Brutus: Cum ex tua oratione mihi videor, inquit, bene 150
then Brutus as-much from your speech to-me I-seem he-says well
 Crassum et Scaevolam cognovisse, tum de te et de Ser.
Crassus and Scaevola to-have-known so about you and about Ser.
 Sulpicio cogitans esse quandam vobis cum illis similitudinem
Sulpicius thinking to-be a-certain for-you with them likeness
 iudico. Quonam, inquam, istuc modo? Quia mihi et
I-judge in-what I-say that way because to-me both
 tu videris, inquit, tantum iuris civilis scire voluisse
you seem he-says so-much of-law civil to-know to-have-wished
 quantum satis esset oratori, et Servius eloquentiae tantum
as-much-as enough was for-an-orator and Servius of-eloquence so-much
 assumpsisse ut ius civile facile posset tueri; aetatesque
to-have-taken-on that the-law civil easily he-could to-defend and-the-ages
 vestrae, ut illorum, nihil aut non fere multum differunt.
your as of-those nothing or not nearly much differ

- 151 Et ego: De me, inquam, dicere nihil est necesse; de
and I about myself I-say to-say nothing is necessary about
 Servio autem et tu probe dicis et ego dicam quod sentio.
Servius however both you rightly speak and I shall-say what I-feel
 Non enim facile quem dixerim plus studii quam illum
not for easily anyone could-I-name more of-zeal than him
 et ad dicendum et ad omnis bonarum rerum disciplinas
both for speaking and for all of-good of-subjects the-studies
 adhibuisse. Nam et in isdem exercitationibus ineunte
to-have-applied for both in the-same exercises at-the-beginning
 aetate fuimus et postea una Rhodum ille etiam profectus
age we-were and afterward together to-Rhodes he also set-out
 est, quo melior esset et doctior; et inde ut
did so-that better he-might-be and more-learned and from-there when
 rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse
he-returned it-seems to-me in a-second art first to-be to-have-preferred
 quam in prima secundus. Atque haud scio an par
than in the-first second and not I-know whether equal
 principibus esse potuisset; sed fortasse maluit, id quod
to-the-leading-men to-be he-could-have-been but perhaps he-preferred that which
 est adeptus, longe omnium non eiusdem modo aetatis sed
he-has attained by-far of-all not of-the-same only age but
 eorum etiam qui fuissent in iure civili esse princeps.
of-those also who had-been in law civil to-be the-chief
- 152 Hic Brutus: Ain tu? inquit. Etiamne Q. Scaevolae Servium
here Brutus do-you-say you he-says even to-Q. Scaevola Servius
 nostrum anteponis? Sic enim, inquam, Brute, existimo, iuris
our do-you-prefer so for I-say Brutus I-judge of-law
 civilis magnum usum et apud Scaevolam et apud multos
civil a-great practice both with Scaevola and with many
 fuisse, artem in hoc uno; quod numquam effecisset
to-have-been the-art in this one which never would-have-produced

ipsius iuris scientia, nisi eam praeterea didicisset artem
itself of-the-law the-knowledge unless it besides he-had-learned the-art
 quae doceret rem universam tribuere in partis, latentem
which might-teach a-subject whole to-divide into parts what-is-hidden
 explicare definiendo, obscuram explanare interpretando,
to-unfold by-defining what-is-obscure to-explain by-interpreting
 ambigua primum videre, deinde distinguere, postremo habere
ambiguities first to-see then to-distinguish lastly to-have
 regulam qua vera et falsa iudicarentur et quae quibus
a-rule by-which true and false may-be-judged and what from-what
 propositis essent quaeque non essent consequentia.
premises are and-what not are consequent

Hic enim adtulit hanc artem omnium artium maximam 153
he for brought this art of-all of-arts the-greatest
 quasi lucem ad ea quae confuse ab aliis aut
as-it-were a-light to those-things which confusedly by others either
 respondebantur aut agebantur. Dialecticam mihi videris dicere,
were-answered or were-conducted dialectic to-me you-seem to-mean
 inquit. Recte, inquam, intellegis; sed adiunxit etiam et
he-says rightly I-say you-understand but he-added also both
 litterarum scientiam et loquendi elegantiam, quae ex scriptis
of-letters the-knowledge and of-speaking the-elegance which from the-writings
 eius, quorum similia nulla sunt, facillime perspicui potest.
of-him whose like none are most-easily to-be-seen it-can

Cumque discendi causa duobus peritissimis operam dedisset, 154
and-since of-learning for-the-sake to-two most-skilled attention he-had-given
 L. Lucilio Balbo C. Aquilio Gallo, Galli hominis acuti et
L. Lucilius Balbus C. Aquilius Gallus of-Gallus of-a-man keen and
 exercitati promptam et paratam in agendo et in respondendo
practiced the-ready and prepared in acting and in answering
 celeritatem subtilitate diligentiaque superavit; Balbi docti
quickness by-subtlety and-by-care he-surpassed of-Balbus a-learned

et eruditi hominis in utraque re consideratam tarditatem
and cultivated of-a-man in each thing considered slowness
 vicit expediendis conficiendisque rebus. Sic et habet
he-conquered in-dispatching and-in-completing matters so both he-has
 quod uterque eorum habuit, et explevit quod utrique defuit.
what each of-them had and he-supplied what to-each was-lacking
 155 Itaque ut Crassus mihi videtur sapientius fecisse quam
and-so as Crassus to-me seems more-wisely to-have-acted than
 Scaevola — hic enim causas studiose recipiebat, in quibus a
Scaevola he for cases eagerly used-to-accept in which by
 Crasso superabatur; ille se consuli nolebat, ne qua in
Crassus he-was-surpassed the-other himself to-be-consulted was-unwilling lest in-any in
 re inferior esset quam Scaevola—, sic Servius sapientissime,
matter inferior he-might-be than Scaevola so Servius most-wisely
 cum duae civiles artes ac forenses plurimum et laudis
since the-two civil arts and forensic the-most both of-praise
 haberent et gratiae, perfecit ut altera praestaret omnibus,
had and of-favor brought-it-about that in-the-one he-might-excel all
 ex altera tantum assumeret quantum esset et ad tuendum
from the-other so-much he-might-take as-much-as was both for defending
 ius civile et ad obtinendam consularem dignitatem satis.
the-law civil and for obtaining consular dignity enough

XXXII • CRASSUS AT THE BAR

Brutus, who heard Servius at Samos on pontifical law, confirms the judgment. He is glad equal standing has bred no envy between Cicero and Servius, and grieves that Rome has lacked both voices so long, until Atticus stops the political turn. Crassus came prepared and was heard from the first word: no pacing, a vehement speech, no equal in an exchange. Young, he won admiration accusing Carbo, and defended the Vestal Licinia.

Tum Brutus: Ita prorsus, inquit, et antea putabam — audiui 156

then Brutus so exactly he-says both before I-was-thinking I-heard
 enim nuper eum studiose et frequenter Sami, cum ex
for lately him eagerly and often at-Samos when from
 eo ius nostrum pontificium, qua ex parte cum iure
him the-law our pontifical in-what from part with the-law
 civili coniunctum esset, vellem cognoscere — et nunc meum
civil joined was I-wished to-learn and now my
 iudicium multo magis confirmo testimonio et iudicio tuo;
judgment much more I-confirm by-the-testimony and by-the-judgment your
 simul illud gaudeo, quod et aequalitas vestra et pares
at-the-same-time this I-rejoice that both the-equal-standing your and the-equal
 honorum gradus et artium studiorumque quasi finitima
of-honors the-steps and of-arts and-of-pursuits as-it-were bordering
 vicinitas tantum abest ab obtrectatione et invidia, quae solet
nearness so-far is-removed from disparagement and envy which is-wont
 lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modo non exulcerare vestram
to-tear most that it not only not to-inflame your
 gratiam sed etiam conciliare videatur. Quali enim te erga illum
goodwill but even to-win(-it) seems with-what for you toward him
 perspicio, tali illum in te voluntate iudicioque cognovi.

I-perceive with-such him toward you in-goodwill and-in-judgment I-have-known

Itaque doleo et illius consilio et tua voce 157

and-so I-grieve both of-that-man of-the-counsel and of-your of-the-voice
 populum Romanum carere tam diu; quod cum per
the-people Roman to-be-deprived so long which as-much through
 se dolendum est tum multo magis consideranti ad
itself to-be-grieved-for is so much more to-one-considering to
 quos ista non tralata sint, sed nescio quo pacto
whom those-things not transferred have-been but I-know-not by-what means
 devenerint. Hic Atticus: Dixeram, inquit, a principio, de
have-come-down here Atticus I-had-said he-says from the-beginning about

re publica ut sileremus; itaque faciamus. Nam si isto
the-thing public that we-should-be-silent and-so let-us-do for if in-that
 modo volumus singulas res desiderare, non modo querendi
way we-wish single things to-miss not only of-complaining
 sed ne lugendi quidem finem reperiemus.
but not-even of-mourning indeed an-end shall-we-find

- 158 Pergamus ergo, inquam, ad reliqua et institutum ordinem
let-us-proceed therefore I-say to the-remaining and the-appointed order
 persequamur. Paratus igitur veniebat Crassus, exspectabatur,
let-us-pursue prepared therefore used-to-come Crassus he-was-awaited
 audiebatur; a principio statim, quod erat apud eum
he-was-listened-to from the-beginning at-once which it-was in him
 semper accuratum, expectatione dignus videbatur. Non multa
always careful of-the-expectation worthy he-seemed not much
 iactatio corporis, non inclinatio vocis, nulla inambulatio,
tossing of-the-body not bending of-the-voice no walking-about
 non crebra suppositio pedis; vehemens et interdum irata et
not frequent stamping of-the-foot vehement and at-times angry and
 plena iusti doloris oratio, multae et cum gravitate facetiae;
full of-just resentment the-speech many and with weight witticisms
 quodque difficile est, idem et perornatus et perbrevis; iam
and-what difficult is the-same both fully-adorned and very-brief now
 in altercando invenit parem neminem.
in wrangling he-found an-equal no-one

- 159 Versatus est in omni fere genere causarum; mature in
engaged he-was in every nearly kind of-cases early into
 locum principum oratorum venit. Accusavit C. Carbonem
the-place of-the-leading of-orators he-came he-accused C. Carbo
 eloquentissimum hominem admodum adulescens; summam
a-most-eloquent man quite a-young-man the-highest

ingeni non laudem modo sed etiam admirationem est
of-talent not praise only but even admiration did
 consecutus.

obtain

Defendit postea Liciniam virginem, cum annos xxvii
he-defended afterward Licinia a-(Vestal)-virgin when years twenty-seven
 natus esset. In ea ipsa causa fuit eloquentissimus orationisque
old he-was in that very case he-was most-eloquent and-of-speech
 eius scriptas quasdam partis reliquit. Voluit adulescens in
of-him written certain parts he-left he-wished as-a-young-man in
 colonia Narbonensi causae popularis aliquid adtingere eamque
the-colony Narbonese of-a-cause popular something to-touch and-that
 coloniam, ut fecit, ipse deducere; exstat in eam legem
colony as he-did himself to-lead-out there-survives on that law
 senior, ut ita dicam, quam aetas illa ferebat oratio. Multae
older as so I-may-say than the-age that bore a-speech many
 deinde causae; sed ita tacitus tribunatus ut, nisi in eo
then cases but so silent a-tribunate that unless in that
 magistratu cenavisset apud praeconem Granium idque nobis bis
magistracy he-had-dined at the-auctioneer Granius and-that to-us twice
 narravisset Lucilius, tribunum plebis nesciremus fuisse.
had-related Lucilius a-tribune of-the-plebs we-should-not-know him-to-have-been

160

XXXIII • DATING THE RIPENESS OF LATIN

Scaevola was tribune a year after Crassus, who urged the Servilian law while Scaevola sat on the rostra. Crassus was thirty-four then, and just as much older than Cicero; the date fixes the first ripeness of Latin speech, to which little could be added. His few written speeches are compact in their periods, and the one on Caepio's law was Cicero's teacher from boyhood. Herennius, Claudius, and Titius close the age.

161 Ita prorsus, inquit Brutus; sed ne de Scaevolae quidem
so exactly says Brutus but not-even about of-Scaevola indeed
 tribunatu quicquam audivisse videor et eum conlegam
the-tribunate anything to-have-beard I-seem and him a-colleague
 Crassi credo fuisse. Omnibus quidem aliis, inquam,
of-Crassus I-believe to-have-been in-all indeed the-other I-say
 in magistratibus, sed tribunus anno post fuit eoque
in magistracies but a-tribune a-year later he-was and-with-him
 in Rostris sedente suasit Serviliam legem Crassus; nam
on the-Rostris sitting he-urged the-Servilian law Crassus for
 censuram sine Scaevola gessit: eum enim magistratum
the-censorship without Scaevola he-held that for magistracy
 nemo umquam Scaevolarum petivit. Sed haec Crassi cum
no-one ever of-the-Scaevolae sought but this of-Crassus when
 edita oratio est, quam te saepe legisse certo scio,
published the-speech was which you often to-have-read for-certain I-know
 quattuor et triginta tum habebat annos totidemque annis
four and thirty then he-had years and-as-many in-years
 mihi aetate praestabat. His enim consulibus eam legem
than-me in-age he-was-older with-these for as-consuls that law
 suasit quibus nati sumus, cum ipse esset Q. Caepione
he-urged in-which born we-were since he-himself was Q. Caepio
 consule natus et C. Laelio, triennio ipso minor quam
as-consul born and C. Laelius by-three-years exactly younger than
 Antonius. Quod idcirco posui ut dicendi Latine
Antonius which for-that-reason I-have-set-down so-that of-speaking in-Latin
 prima maturitas in qua aetate exstisset posset notari et
the-first ripeness in what age had-arisen might to-be-noted and
 intellexeretur iam ad summum paene esse perductam,
it-might-be-understood already to the-summit almost to-have-been brought

ut eo nihil ferme quisquam addere posset, nisi qui a
so-that to-it nothing hardly anyone to-add could except one-who from
 philosophia, a iure civili, ab historia fuisset instructor.
philosophy from law civil from history had-been better-equipped
 Erit, inquit Brutus, aut iam est iste quem exspectas? 162
there-will-be says Brutus or already is that-man whom you-await
 Nescio, inquam. Sed est etiam L. Crassi in consulatu
I-know-not I-say but there-is also of-L. Crassus in (his)-consulship
 pro Q. Caepione† defensione iuncta† non brevis ut laudatio,
for Q. Caepio with-a-defense joined not short as a-eulogy
 ut oratio autem brevis; postrema censoris oratio, qua anno
as a-speech however short the-last of-the-censor speech which in-the-year
 duodequingagesimo usus est. In his omnibus inest quidam
forty-eightb used he-has in these all there-is a-certain
 sine ullo fuco veritatis color; quin etiam comprehensio et
without any paint of-truth color nay even the-period and
 ambitus ille verborum, si sic περίοδος appellari placet, erat
the-circuit that of-words if thus a-periodos to-be-called it-pleases was
 apud illum contractus et brevis, et in membra quaedam,
with him compact and short and into members certain
 quae κῶλα Graeci vocant, dispertiebat orationem libentius.
which kola the-Greeks call he-was-dividing (his)-speech more-readily
 Hoc loco Brutus: Quando quidem tu istos oratores, inquit, tanto 163
at-this point Brutus since indeed you those orators he-says so
 opere laudas, vellem aliquid Antonio praeter illum de ratione
greatly you-praise I-could-wish something to-Antonius besides that about the-method
 dicendi sane exilem libellum, plura Crasso libuisset scribere:
of-speaking quite thin little-book more to-Crassus it-had-pleased to-write
 cum enim omnibus memoriam sui tum etiam disciplinam
as-much for to-all the-memory of-themselves so also the-training

dicendi nobis reliquissent. Nam Scaevolae dicendi elegantiam

of-speaking to-us they-would-have-left for of-Scaevola of-speaking the-elegance
satis ex eis orationibus, quas reliquit, habemus cognitam.

enough from those speeches which he-left we-have known

164 Et ego: Mihi quidem a pueritia quasi magistra fuit,

and I to-me indeed from boyhood as-it-were a-teacher was

inquam, illa in legem Caepionis oratio; in qua et auctoritas

I-say that on the-law of-Caepio speech in which both the-authority

ornatur senatus, quo pro ordine illa dicuntur, et invidia

is-adorned of-the-senate which for order those-things are-said and resentment

concitatur in iudicum et in accusatorum factionem,

is-stirred against of-the-jurors and against of-the-prosecutors the-faction

contra quorum potentiam populariter tum dicendum fuit.

against whose power in-a-popular-way then to-be-spoken it-was

Multa in illa oratione graviter, multa leniter, multa

many-things in that speech weightily many-things gently many-things

aspere, multa facete dicta sunt; plura etiam dicta quam

harshly many-things wittily said are more even said than

scripta, quod ex quibusdam capitibus expositis nec

written which from certain headings set-down and-not

explicatis intellegi potest. Ipsa illa censoria contra Cn.

developed to-be-understood it-can the-very that censorial against Cn.

Domitium conlegam non est oratio, sed quasi capita

Domitius the-colleague not is a-speech but as-it-were the-heads

rerum et orationis commentarium paulo plenius. Nulla

of-the-matters and of-the-speech a-notebook a-little fuller no

est enim altercatio clamoribus umquam habita maioribus.

there-is for altercation with-shouts ever held greater

165 Et vero fuit in hoc etiam popularis dictio excellens;

and indeed there-was in this-man also popular utterance outstanding

Antoni genus dicendi multo aptius iudiciis quam contionibus.

of-Antonius the-kind of-speaking much fitter for-trials than for-assemblies

Hoc loco ipsum Domitium non relinquo. Nam etsi non
at-this point himself Domitius not I-leave-out for although not
 fuit in oratorum numero, tamen pono satis in eo fuisse
he-was in of-orators the-number still I-set enough in him to-have-been
 orationis atque ingeni, quo et magistratus personam et
of-speech and of-talent by-which both of-a-magistrate the-part and
 consularem dignitatem tueretur; quod idem de C. Caelio
consular dignity he-might-uphold which the-same about C. Caelius
 dixerim, industriam in eo summam fuisse summasque
I-would-say industry in him the-highest to-have-been and-the-highest
 virtutes, eloquentiae tantum, quod esset in rebus privatis
virtues of-eloquence so-much as was in matters private
 amicis eius, in re publica ipsius dignitati satis.
for-the-friends of-him in the-thing public of-himself for-the-dignity enough
 Eodem tempore M. Herennius in mediocribus oratoribus 166
at-the-same time M. Herennius among the-middling orators
 Latine et diligenter loquentibus numeratus est; qui tamen
in-Latin and carefully speaking numbered was who still
 summa nobilitate hominem, cognatione sodalitate conlegio,
of-the-highest in-nobility a-man in-kinship in-fellowship in-college
 summa etiam eloquentia, L. Philippum in consulatus
of-the-highest also in-eloquence L. Philippus in of-the-consulship
 petitione superavit. Eodem tempore C. Claudius, etsi
the-canvass defeated at-the-same time C. Claudius although
 propter summam nobilitatem et singularem potentiam
because-of the-highest nobility and singular power
 magnus erat, tamen etiam eloquentiae quandam mediocritatem
great he-was still also of-eloquence a-certain moderate-share
 adferebat. Eiusdem fere temporis fuit eques Romanus
he-was-bringing of-the-same nearly time was a-knight Roman

- 167 C. Titius, qui meo iudicio eo pervenisse videtur quo
C. Titius who in-my judgment thither to-have-arrived seems whither
 potuit fere Latinus orator sine Graecis litteris et sine
could nearly a-Latin orator without Greek letters and without
 multo usu pervenire. Huius orationes tantum argutiarum,
much practice to-arrive of-this-man the-speeches so-much of-cleverness
 tantum exemplorum, tantum urbanitatis habent, ut paene
so-much of-examples so-much of-urbanity have that almost
 Attico stilo scriptae esse videantur. Easdem argutias in
in-Attic style written to-be they-seem the-same cleverness into
 tragoedias satis ille quidem acute, sed parum tragice
tragedies enough he indeed keenly but too-little tragically
 transtulit. Quem studebat imitari L. Afranius poeta, homo
transferred whom was-striving to-imitate L. Afranius the-poet a-man
 perargutus, in fabulis quidem etiam, ut scitis, disertus.
very-clever in plays indeed even as you-know eloquent

XXXIV • ORATORS AMONG THE ALLIES

Rubrius Varro, Gratidius, and others fill out the list; among the allies and Latins there were Vettius of the Marsi, the two Valerii of Sora, Rusticelius of Bologna, and Betucius Barrus of Asculum, the most eloquent man outside Rome. Papirius of Fregellae spoke in the senate for his people. Brutus asks what these provincials lack, and Cicero answers: a color of the city that he cannot define but can hear.

- 168 Fuit etiam Q. Rubrius Varro, qui a senatu hostis cum C.
there-was also Q. Rubrius Varro who by the-senate an-enemy with C.
 Mario iudicatus est, acer et vehemens accusator, in eo genere
Marius judged was a-keen and vehement prosecutor in that kind
 sane probabilis. Doctus autem Graecis litteris propinquus noster,
quite creditable learned however in-Greek letters a-kinsman our

factus ad dicendum, M. Gratidius M. Antoni perfamiliaris,
made for speaking M. Gratidius of-M. Antonius a-close-friend
 cuius praefectus cum esset in Cilicia est interfectus; is qui
of-whom a-prefect when he-was in Cilicia was killed he who
 accusavit C. Fimbriam, M. Mari Gratidiani pater.

accused C. Fimbria of-M. Marius Gratidianus the-father

Atque etiam apud socios et Latinos oratores habiti sunt Q. 169

and also among the-allies and the-Latins orators held were Q.

Vettius Vettianus e Marsis, quem ipse cognovi, prudens vir et

Vettius Vettianus from the-Marsi whom myself I-knew a-prudent man and

in dicendo brevis; Q. D. Valerii Sorani, vicini et familiares

in speaking brief Q. and-D. Valerii of-Sora neighbors and friends

mei, non tam in dicendo admirabiles quam docti et Graecis

mine not so in speaking admirable as learned both in-Greek

litteris et Latinis; C. Rusticelius Bononiensis, is quidem et

letters and in-Latin C. Rusticelius of-Bologna he indeed both

exercitatus et natura volubilis; omnium autem eloquentissimus

practiced and by-nature fluent of-all however the-most-eloquent

extra hanc urbem T. Betucius Barrus Asculanus, cuius sunt

outside this city T. Betucius Barrus of-Asculum of-whom there-are

aliquot orationes Asculi habitae; una Romae contra Caepionem

several speeches at-Asculum delivered one at-Rome against Caepio

nobilis sane, quoi orationi Caepionis ore respondit Aelius,

famous quite to-which speech of-Caepio by-the-mouth answered Aelius

qui scriptitavit orationes multis, orator ipse numquam fuit.

who wrote-repeatedly speeches for-many an-orator himself never was

Apud maiores autem nostros video disertissimum habitum 170

among the-forefathers however our I-see the-most-eloquent held

ex Latio L. Papirium Fregellanum Ti. Gracchi P. F. fere

from Latium L. Papirius of-Fregellae of-Ti. Gracchus of-P. son nearly

aetate; eius etiam oratio est pro Fregellanis colonisque

of-the-age of-him also a-speech there-is for the-Fregellans and-the-colonists

Latinis habita in senatu. Tum Brutus: Quid tu igitur, inquit,
Latin delivered in the-senate then Brutus what you therefore he-says
 tribuis istis externis quasi oratoribus? Quid censes,
do-you-assign to-those foreign as-it-were orators what do-you-think
 inquam, nisi idem quod urbanis? praeter unum, quod non
I-say except the-same as to-the-city-bred except one-thing that not
 est eorum urbanitate quadam quasi colorata oratio. Et Brutus:
is of-them by-urbanity a-certain as-it-were colored the-speech and Brutus
 171 Qui est, inquit, iste tandem urbanitatis color? Nescio,
what is he-says that then of-urbanity a-color I-know-not
 inquam; tantum esse quendam scio. Id tu, Brute, iam
I-say only to-be a-certain-one I-know that you Brutus soon
 intelleges, cum in Galliam veneris; audies tum quidem
will-understand when into Gaul you-come you-will-hear then indeed
 etiam verba quaedam non trita Romae, sed haec mutari
even words certain not worn at-Rome but these to-be-changed
 dediscique possunt; illud est maius, quod in vocibus
and-unlearned can that is greater which in the-voices
 nostrorum oratorum retinnit quiddam et resonat urbanus.
of-our of-orators rings-out something and resounds more-urbanely
 Nec hoc in oratoribus modo apparet sed etiam in ceteris.
nor this in orators only appears but also in the-rest

XXXV · THE SOUND OF THE CITY

Cicero remembers Tincia of Placentia losing a contest of raillery to Granius, beaten by a homebred flavor of speech. It is like Theophrastus at Athens, who was vexed to be recognized as a stranger by an old woman although he spoke better than anyone. Philippus came next after Crassus and Antonius, but at a long interval. Gellius lived so long that he was measured against orators of several generations.

Ego memini T. Tincam Placentinum hominem facetissimum 172

I remember T. Tinka of-Placentia a-man most-witty
 cum familiari nostro Q. Granio praecone dicacitate certare.
with a-friend our Q. Granius the-auctioneer in-raillery to-contend
 Eon', inquit Brutus, de quo multa Lucilius? Isto ipso;
him says Brutus about whom many-things Lucilius that very-one
 sed Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granius
but Tinka not less many-things laughably saying Granius
 obruebat nescio quo sapore vernaculo; ut ego iam
used-to-overwhelm I-know-not what flavor homebred so-that I now
 non mirer illud Theophrasto accidisse, quod dicitur, cum
not wonder that to-Theophrastus to-have-happened which is-told when
 percontaretur ex anicula quadam quanti aliquid
he-was-inquiring from a-little-old-woman a-certain for-how-much something
 venderet et respondisset illa atque addidisset 'hospes,
she-was-selling and had-answered she and had-added stranger
 non pote minoris,' tulisse eum moleste se non
not it-is-possible for-less to-have-taken that-he with-annoyance himself not
 effugere hospitis speciem, cum aetatem ageret Athenis
to-escape of-a-stranger the-look although (his)-life he-was-passing at-Athens
 optimeque loqueretur omnium. Sic, ut opinor, in nostris
and-most-excellently he-spoke of-all so as I-think in ours
 est quidam urbanorum, sicut illic Atticorum sonus. Sed
there-is a-certain of-the-city-bred just-as there of-the-Attic sound but
 domum redeamus, id est ad nostros revertamur.

home let-us-return that is to our-own let-us-return
 Duobus igitur summis, Crasso et Antonio, L. Philippus 173

to-the-two therefore highest Crassus and Antonius L. Philippus
 proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo tamen proximus.
next used-to-come but by-a-long interval still next
 Itaque eum, etsi nemo intercedebat qui se illi anteferebat,
and-so him although no-one came-between who himself to-him would-set-before

neque secundum tamen neque tertium dixerim. Nec enim in
nor second still nor third would-I-call nor for in
 quadrigis eum secundum numeraverim aut tertium, qui vix
a-four-horse-race him second would-I-count or third who scarcely
 e carceribus exierit, cum palmam iam primus acceperit,
from the-starting-gates has-come-out when the-palm already the-first has-received
 nec in oratoribus, qui tantum absit a primo, vix ut
nor among orators one-who so-far is-distant from the-first scarcely that
 in eodem curriculo esse videatur. Sed tamen erant ea in
in the-same course to-be he-seems but still there-were those in
 Philippo, quae qui sine comparatione illorum spectaret, satis
Philippus which one-who without comparison of-those should-look-at quite
 magna diceret: summa libertas in oratione, multae facetiae;
great would-call the-utmost freedom in speech many witticisms
 satis creber in rependiis, solutus in explicandis sententiis;
quite fertile in finding fluent in unfolding thoughts
 erat etiam in primis, ut temporibus illis, Graecis doctrinis
he-was also among the-first as for-times those in-Greek learning
 institutus, in altercando cum aliquo aculeo et maledicto facetus.

trained in wrangling with some sting and abuse witty
 174 Horum aetati prope coniunctus L. Gellius non tam
to-their age nearly joined L. Gellius not so
 vendibilis orator, quamvis nescires quid ei deesset;
salable an-orator however-much you-would-not-know what to-him was-lacking
 nec enim erat indoctus nec tardus ad excogitandum nec
nor for was-he unlearned nor slow at devising nor
 Romanarum rerum immemor et verbis solutus satis; sed
of-Roman of-affairs forgetful and in-words fluent enough but
 in magnos oratores inciderat eius aetas; multam tamen
into great orators had-fallen his age much still

operam amicis et utilem prae-buit, atque ita diu vixit
service to-(his)-friends and useful he-supplied and so long he-lived
 ut multarum aetatum oratoribus implicaretur.

that of-many generations with-the-orators he-was-entangled

Multum etiam in causis versabatur isdem fere temporibus 175
much also in cases used-to-engage in-the-same nearly times

D. Brutus, is qui consul cum Mamerco fuit, homo et
D. Brutus he who consul with Mamercus was a-man both
 Graecis doctus litteris et Latinis. Dicebat etiam L.
in-Greek learned letters and in-Latin used-to-speak also L.

Scipio non imperite Gnaeusque Pompeius Sex. F. aliquem
Scipio not unskillfully and-Gnaeus Pompeius of-Sex. son some
 numerum obtinebat. Nam Sex. frater eius praestantissimum

standing used-to-hold for Sex. the-brother of-him a-most-outstanding
 ingenium contulerat ad summam iuris civilis et ad perfectam
talent had-brought to the-highest of-law civil and to a-perfect

geometriae et rerum Stoicarum scientiam. †Item in iure et
of-geometry and of-things Stoic knowledge likewise in law both

ante hos M. Brutus et paulo post eum C. Billienus homo
before these M. Brutus and a-little after him C. Billienus a-man

per se magnus prope simili ratione summus evaserat;
through himself great nearly like method the-highest had-turned-out

qui consul factus esset, nisi in Marianos consulatus
who consul made would-have-been unless into the-Marian consulships

et in eas petitionis angustias incidisset.
and into those of-canvassing the-straits he-had-fallen

Octavius' eloquence was unknown until his consulship. In liveliness and wit Gaius Julius surpassed everyone before and around him: never vehement, but nobody was better seasoned with urbanity, charm, and sweetness. Cethegus had enough speech for public business and knew the state thoroughly. Lucretius Vispillo, Annius, and Titus Juventius worked the private courts, Juventius slow and almost cold but shrewd at catching an opponent.

- 176 Cn. autem Octavi eloquentia, quae fuerat ante consulatum
Cn. however of-Octavius the-eloquence which had-been before the-consulship
 ignorata, in consulatu multis contionibus est vehementer
unknown in the-consulship in-many public-speeches was strongly
 probata. Sed ab eis, qui tantum in dicentium numero, non in
approved but from those who only in of-speakers the-number not in
 oratorum fuerunt, iam ad oratores revertamur. Censeo, inquit
of-orators were now to the-orators let-us-return I-agree says
 Atticus; eloquentis enim videbare, non sedulos velle conquirere.
Atticus the-eloquent for you-seemed not the-diligent to-wish to-hunt-up
- 177 Festivitate igitur et facetiis, inquam, C. Iulius L. F.
in-liveliness therefore and in-wit I-say C. Iulius of-L. son
 et superioribus et aequalibus suis omnibus praestitit
both the-elders and the-contemporaries his all he-surpassed
 oratorque fuit minime ille quidem vehemens, sed nemo
and-an-orator he-was by-no-means he indeed vehement but no-one
 umquam urbanitate, nemo lepore, nemo suavitate conditor.
ever in-urbanity no-one in-charm no-one in-sweetness better-seasoned
 Sunt eius aliquot orationes, ex quibus sicut ex eiusdem
there-are of-him several speeches from which just-as from of-the-same
 tragoediis lenitas eius non sine nervis perspicitur.
the-tragedies the-smoothness of-him not without sinew to-be-seen it-can

Eius aequalis P. Cethegus, cui de re publica satis 178

of-him a-contemporary P. Cethegus to-whom about the-thing public enough

suppeditabat oratio — totam enim tenebat eam penitusque

was-supplying speech the-whole for he-held it and-thoroughly

cognoverat; itaque in senatu consularium auctoritatem

he-had-known-it and-so in the-senate of-the-consulars the-authority

adsequabatur—; sed in causis publicis nihil, in privatis satis

he-attained but in cases public nothing in private enough

veterator videbatur. Erat in privatis causis Q. Lucretius

an-old-hand he-seemed there-was in private cases Q. Lucretius

Vispillo et acutus et iuris peritus; nam Ofella contionibus

Vispillo both keen and of-law skilled for Ofella for-public-speeches

aptior quam iudiciis. Prudens etiam T. Annius Velina

fitter than for-trials prudent also T. Annius of-the-Velina-tribe

et in eius generis causis orator sane tolerabilis. In eodem

and in of-that kind cases an-orator quite tolerable in the-same

genere causarum multum erat T. Iuventius nimis ille quidem

kind of-cases much was T. Iuventius too he indeed

lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus, sed et callidus et

slow in speaking and almost frigid but both shrewd and

in capiendo adversario versutus et praeterea nec indoctus

in catching an-opponent crafty and besides not unlearned

et magna cum iuris civilis intellegentia.

and great with of-law civil understanding

Cuius auditor P. Orbius meus fere aequalis in dicendo 179

of-whom a-bearer P. Orbius my nearly contemporary in speaking

non nimis exercitatus, in iure autem civili non inferior

not very practiced in law however civil not inferior

quam magister fuit. Nam T. Aufidius, qui vixit ad summam

than the-teacher was for T. Aufidius who lived to the-utmost

senectutem, volebat esse similis horum eratque et bonus vir

old-age wished to-be like these and-be-was both a-good man

et innocens, sed dicebat parum; nec sane plus frater eius
and blameless but he-spoke too-little nor indeed more the-brother of-him
 M. Vergilius, qui tribunus plebis L. Sullae imperatori diem
M. Vergilius who a-tribune of-the-plebs L. Sulla the-commander a-day
 dixit. Eius conlega P. Magius in dicendo paulo tamen copiosior.
named his colleague P. Magius in speaking a-little still more-copious

XXXVII · SHYSTERS, AND A RICH CROP

Of the plain ranters Cicero names Sertorius and Gargonius. He admits he is listing men never counted orators, and passing over older ones of whom no record survives. He wants it seen that in a state offering the greatest rewards for eloquence, all wanted to speak, not many dared, and few could. Cotta and Sulpicius led the richest crop of orators Rome produced, in his judgment and everyone's — which makes Atticus ask whether the crowd and the experts ever agree.

180 Sed omnium oratorum sive rabularum, qui et plane indocti
but of-all of-orators or of-shysters who both plainly unlearned
 et inurbani aut rustici etiam fuerunt, quos quidem ego
and unpolished or rustic even were whom indeed I
 cognoverim, solutissimum in dicendo et acutissimum iudico
have-known the-most-fluent in speaking and the-keenest I-judge
 nostri ordinis Q. Sertorium, equestris C. Gargonium.
of-our order Q. Sertorius of-the-equestrian C. Gargonius
 Fuit etiam facilis et expeditus ad dicendum et vitae
there-was also easy and ready for speaking and of-life
 splendore multo et ingenio sane probabili T. Iunius L. F.
in-splendor much and in-talent quite creditable T. Iunius of-L. son
 tribunicius, quo accusante P. Sextius praetor designatus
of-tribunician-rank by-whose accusing P. Sextius a-praetor elect

damnatus est ambitus; is processisset honoribus longius,
condemned was of-bribery he would-have-advanced in-honors further
 nisi semper infirma atque etiam aegra valetudine fuisset.

unless always weak and even sick in-health he-had-been

Atque ego praeclare intellego me in eorum commemoratione 181

and I plainly understand myself in of-those the-mention

versari qui nec habiti sint oratores neque fuerint,

to-be-engaged who neither held are orators nor were

praeteririque a me aliquot ex veteribus commemoratione

and-that-are-passed-over by me several from the-old of-mention

aut laude dignos. Sed hoc quidem ignoratione; quid enim est

or of-praise worthy but this indeed through-ignorance what for is

superioris aetatis quod scribi possit de eis, de quibus

of-an-earlier age which to-be-written can about those about whom

nulla monumenta loquuntur nec aliorum nec ipsorum? de

no records speak neither of-others nor of-themselves about

his autem, quos ipsi vidimus, neminem fere praetermittemus.

these however whom ourselves we-have-seen no-one nearly shall-we-pass-over

Volo enim sciri in tanta et tam vetere re publica 182

I-wish for it-to-be-known in so-great and so old a-thing public

maximis praemiis eloquentiae propositis omnis cupisse

with-the-greatest rewards of-eloquence set-out that-all desired

dicere, non plurimos ausos esse, potuisse paucos. Ego

to-speak not very-many dared to-be to-have-been-able few I

tamen ita de uno quoque dicam ut intellegi possit

still so about one each shall-speak that to-be-understood it-may

quem existimem clamatorem, quem oratorem fuisse.

that-one I-judge a-bawler that-one an-orator to-have-been

Isdem fere temporibus aetate inferiores paulo quam Iulius,

in-the-same nearly times in-age lower a-little than Iulius

sed aequales propemodum fuerunt C. Cotta P. Sulpicius

but contemporaries nearly were C. Cotta P. Sulpicius

Q. Varius Cn. Pomponius C. Curio L. Fufius M. Drusus

Q. Varius Cn. Pomponius C. Curio L. Fufius M. Drusus

P. Antistius; nec ulla aetate uberior oratorum fetus fuit.

P. Antistius nor in-any age richer of-orators a-crop was

183 Ex his Cotta et Sulpicius cum meo iudicio tum omnium

from these Cotta and Sulpicius as-much in-my judgment so of-all

facile primas tulerunt. Hic Atticus: Quo modo istuc dicis,

easily the-first carried here Atticus in-what way that you-say

inquit, cum tuo iudicio tum omnium? Semperne in oratore

he-says as-much in-your judgment so of-all always in an-orator

probando aut improbando vulgi iudicium cum intellegentium

approving or disapproving of-the-crowd the-judgment with of-the-understanding

iudicio congruit? An alii probantur a multitudine, alii

the-judgment does-it-agree or some are-approved by the-multitude others

autem ab eis qui intellegunt? Recte requiris, inquam, Attice;

however by those who understand rightly you-ask I-say Atticus

sed audies ex me fortasse quod non omnes probent.

but you-will-hear from me perhaps what not all may-approve

184 An tu, inquit, id laboras, si huic modo Bruto

or you he-says that do-you-care-about if to-this only Brutus

probaturus es? Plane, inquam, Attice, disputationem

about-to-win-approval you-are plainly I-say Atticus a-discussion

hanc de oratore probando aut improbando multo malim

this about an-orator approving or disapproving much I-would-rather

tibi et Bruto placere, eloquentiam autem meam populo

to-you and to-Brutus to-please (my)-eloquence however my to-the-people

probari velim. Etenim necesse est, qui ita dicat, ut a

to-be-approved I-would-wish and-indeed necessary it-is that-who so speaks that by

multitudine probetur, eundem doctis probari. Nam quid

the-multitude he-is-approved the-same by-the-learned to-be-approved for what

in dicendo rectum sit aut pravum ego iudicabo, si modo

in speaking right may-be or crooked I shall-judge if only

is sum qui id possim aut sciam iudicare; qualis vero sit
such I-am who that I-can or know to-judge of-what-sort indeed may-be
 orator ex eo quod is dicendo efficiet poterit intellegi.
an-orator from that which he by-speaking will-accomplish it-will-be-able to-be-understood

XXXVIII · THE CROWD JUDGES RIGHTLY

Three things must be done by speaking: teach, delight, and move. Whether they are done is settled by the crowd's assent, and on a good or a bad orator the learned and the people have never disagreed. Ask any man in the street who is the best speaker, and he will name Antonius or Crassus. It is the mark of the greatest orator to seem the greatest to the people.

Tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego sentio, quae sint
three there-are for as indeed I feel which must-be
 efficienda dicendo: ut doceatur is apud quem dicitur, ut
brought-about by-speaking that may-be-taught he before whom it-will-be-spoken that
 delectetur, ut moveatur vehementius. Quibus virtutibus
he-may-be-delighted that he-may-be-moved more-strongly by-what excellences
 oratoris horum quidque efficiatur aut quibus vitiis orator
of-an-orator of-these each may-be-effected or by-what faults an-orator
 aut non adsequatur haec aut etiam in his labatur et
either not may-attain these or even in these may-slip and
 cadat, artifex aliquis iudicabit. Efficiatur autem ab oratore
may-fall a-craftsman someone will-judge is-it-effected however by the-orator
 necne, ut ei qui audiunt ita afficiantur ut orator velit,
or-not that those who hear so are-affected as the-orator wishes
 vulgi adsensu et populari adprobatione iudicari solet.
by-the-crowd's assent and by-popular approval to-be-judged is-wont

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Itaque numquam de bono oratore aut non bono doctis
and-so never about a-good orator or not good for-learned
 hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit.
men with the-people a-disagreement has-been

186 An censes, dum illi viguerunt quos ante dixi, non eosdem
or do-you-think while those flourished whom before I-mentioned not the-same
 gradus oratorum vulgi iudicio et doctorum fuisse?
ranks of-orators of-the-crowd by-the-judgment and of-the-learned to-have-been
 De populo si quem ita rogavisses: Quis est in hac civitate
from the-people if anyone so you-had-asked who is in this state
 eloquentissimus? in Antonio et Crasso aut dubitaret aut
the-most-eloquent about Antonius and Crassus either he-would-hesitate or
 hunc alius, illum alius diceret. Nemone Philippum tam
this one-man that another would-say would-no-one Philippus so
 suavem oratorem, tam gravem, tam facetum his anteferet,
pleasant an-orator so weighty so witty to-these would-prefer
 quem nosmet ipsi, qui haec arte aliqua volumus expendere,
whom we-ourselves ourselves who these-things by-art some wish to-weigh
 proximum illis fuisse diximus? Nemo profecto; id enim
next to-those to-have-been we-have-said no-one surely that for
 ipsum est summi oratoris summum oratorem populo videri.

187 Qua re tibicen Antigenidas dixerit discipulo sane
for-which reason the-flute-player Antigenidas may-have-said to-a-pupil quite
 frigenti ad populum: Mihi cane et Musis; ego huic Bruto
falling-flat before the-people for-me play and for-the-Muses I to-this Brutus
 dicenti, ut solet, apud multitudinem, Mihi cane et populo,
speaking as he-is-wont before the-multitude for-me play and for-the-people
 mi Brute, dixerim, ut qui audient quid efficiatur,
my Brutus would-say so-that those-who will-hear what is-effected
 ego etiam cur id efficiatur intellegam. Credit eis
I even why that is-effected may-understand he-believes those-things

quae dicuntur qui audit oratorem, vera putat, adsentitur

which are-said who hears an-orator true he-thinks-them he-assents

probat, fidem facit oratio: tu artifex quid quaeris amplius?

he-approves belief makes the-speech you the-craftsman what do-you-seek further

Delectatur audiens multitudo et ducitur oratione et quasi

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is-delighted hearing the-multitude and is-led by-the-speech and as-it-were

voluptate quadam perfunditur: quid habes quod disputes?

with-a-pleasure a-certain is-suffused what have-you that you-may-dispute

Gaudet dolet, ridet plorat, favet odit, contemnit invidet, ad

it-rejoices it-grieves it-laughs it-weeps it-favors it-hates it-despises it-envies to

miserisordiam inducitur, ad pudendum, ad pigendum; irascitur

pity it-is-led to being-ashamed to being-sorry it-is-angered

mitigatur, sperat timet; haec perinde accidunt, ut eorum

it-is-softened it-hopes it-fears these-things accordingly happen as of-those

qui adsunt mentes verbis et sentiis et actione tractantur;

who are-present the-minds by-words and by-thoughts and by-delivery are-handled

quid est quod exspectetur docti alicuius sententia? Quod

what is-there which may-be-awaited of-a-learned of-someone the-opinion what

enim probat multitudo, hoc idem doctis probandum est.

for approves the-multitude this same by-the-learned to-be-approved is

Denique hoc specimen est popularis iudici, in quo numquam

finally this a-proof is of-popular judgment in which never

fuit populo cum doctis intelligentibusque dissensio.

was for-the-people with the-learned and-the-understanding a-disagreement

When anyone was judged to excel by popular verdict, the learned agreed. Brutus notes that Hortensius, dividing a case with Cicero, always left him the summing-up. Demosthenes could not have said what Antimachus said, that Plato alone was worth a hundred thousand hearers: a recondite poem needs the approval of a few, a speech needs the assent of the crowd. Left by all but Plato, Demosthenes could not have spoken.

- 189 Cum multi essent oratores in vario genere dicendi, quis
 although many there-were orators in a-varied kind of-speaking who
 umquam ex his excellere iudicatus est vulgi iudicio qui
 ever from these to-excel judged was by-the-crowd's judgment who
 non idem a doctis probaretur? Quando autem dubium
 not the-same by the-learned was-approved when however doubtful
 fuisset apud patres nostros eligendi cui patroni
 would-it-have-been among fathers our of-choosing to-whom of-an-advocate
 daretur optio quin aut Antonium optaret aut Crassum?
 was-given the-option but-that either Antonius he-would-choose or Crassus
 Aderant multi alii; tamen utrum de his potius
 there-were-at-hand many others still which-of-the-two about these rather
 dubitasset aliquis, quin alterum nemo. Quid, adolescentibus
 would-have-doubted someone but-that the-one no-one what as-young-men
 nobis cum esset Cotta et Hortensius, num quis, cui
 us when there-were Cotta and Hortensius surely anyone to-whom
 quidem eligendi potestas esset, quemquam his anteponebat?
 indeed of-choosing the-power was anyone to-these preferred
- 190 Tum Brutus: Quid tu, inquit, quaeris alios? de te ipso
 then Brutus why you he-says do-you-ask others about you yourself
 nonne quid optarent rei, quid ipse Hortensius
 did-we-not what they-would-wish the-defendants what himself Hortensius
 iudicaret videbamus? qui cum partiretur tecum causas, — saepe
 would-judge see who when he-was-dividing with-you the-cases often

enim interfui — perorandi locum, ubi plurimum pollet oratio,
for I-was-present of-summering-up the-place where most avails speech
 semper tibi relinquebat. Faciebat ille quidem, inquam, et mihi
always to-you used-to-leave he-was-doing he indeed I-say and to-me
 benevolentia, credo, ductus tribuebat omnia. Sed ego quae de
by-goodwill I-believe led he-was-granting all-things but I what about
 me populi sit opinio nescio; de reliquis hoc adfirmo,
me of-the-people may-be the-opinion I-know-not about the-rest this I-affirm
 qui vulgi opinione disertissimi habiti sint, eosdem
that-who by-the-crowd's opinion the-most-eloquent held were the-same
 intellegentium quoque iudicio fuisse probatissimos.
of-the-understanding also by-the-judgment to-have-been the-most-approved
 Nec enim posset idem Demosthenes dicere quod
nor for could the-same Demosthenes say what
 dixisse Antimachum clarum poetam ferunt: qui cum
to-have-said Antimachus a-famous poet they-report who when
 convocatis auditoribus legeret eis magnum illud
having-been-called-together (his)-hearers was-reading to-them great that
 quod novistis volumen suum et eum legentem omnes praeter
which you-know volume his-own and him reading all except
 Platonem reliquissent, Legam, inquit, nihilo minus: Plato
Plato had-left I-shall-read he-says none the-less Plato
 enim mihi unus instar est centum milium. Et recte;
for for-me one the-equivalent is of-a-hundred thousand and rightly
 poema enim reconditum paucorum adprobationem, oratio
a-poem for recondite of-a-few the-approval a-speech
 popularis adsensum vulgi debet movere. At si eundem
popular the-assent of-the-crowd ought to-move but if the-same
 hunc Platonem unum auditorem haberet Demosthenes, cum
this Plato one a-hearer he-had Demosthenes when
 esset relictus a ceteris, verbum facere non posset.
he-had-been left by the-rest a-word to-make not he-could

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- 192 Quid tu, Brute, posses, si te ut Curionem quondam contio
what you Brutus could-you-do if you as Curio once an-assembly
 reliquisset? Ego vero, inquit ille, ut me tibi indicem, in
had-left I indeed says he so-that myself to-you I-may-disclose in
 eis etiam causis, in quibus omnis res nobis cum iudicibus
those even cases in which the-whole matter for-us with the-jurors
 est, non cum populo, tamen si a corona relictus sim,
is not with the-people still if by the-ring-of-listeners left I-were
 non queam dicere. Ita se, inquam, res habet. Ut, si
not I-should-be-able to-speak so itself I-say the-matter has as if
 tibiae inflatae non referant sonum, abiciendas eas sibi
flutes blown not return a-sound to-be-thrown-away them for-himself
 tibicen putet, sic oratori populi aures tamquam tibiae
the-flute-player thinks so for-the-orator of-the-people the-ears just-as flutes
 sunt; eae si inflatum non recipiunt — aut si auditor omnino
are those if the-blowing not they-receive or if the-bearer altogether
 tamquam equus non facit, agitandi finis faciendus est.
just-as a-horse not responds of-driving an-end to-be-made is

XL • SCAEVOLA AND CRASSUS BEFORE THE CENTUMVIRI

The crowd sometimes approves a bad orator, but only for want of comparison. Nobody hearing Scaevola for Coponius could have wanted anything more polished: he argued from the letter of the will, the old formulas, and the danger of letting interpretation overturn what plain men write. Crassus opened with the boy who found a rowlock and wanted to build a ship, and turned the whole court from severity to laughter.

- 193 Hoc tamen interest, quod vulgus interdum non
this still there-is-a-difference that the-crowd sometimes not
 probandum oratorem probat, sed probat sine comparatione;
to-be-approved an-orator approves but it-approves without comparison

cum a mediocri aut etiam a malo delectatur, eo
when by a-middling or even by a-bad-one it-is-delighted with-it
 est contentus; esse melius non sentit, illud quod est,
it-is content to-be better not it-perceives that which is
 quaecumque est, probat. Tenet enim auris vel mediocris
of-whatever-sort it-is it-approves it-holds for the-ears even a-middling
 orator, sit modo aliquid in eo; nec res ulla plus apud
orator let-there-be only something in him nor thing any more with
 animos hominum quam ordo et ornatus orationis valet.
the-minds of-men than the-order and the-adornment of-speech avails
 Qua re quis ex populo, cum Q. Scaevolam pro M. 194
for-which reason who from the-people when Q. Scaevola for M.
 Coponio dicentem audiret in ea causa, de qua ante dixi,
Coponius speaking heard in that case about which before I-spoke
 quicquam politius aut elegantius aut omnino melius aut
anything more-polished or more-elegant or altogether better either
 exspectaret aut posse fieri putaret?
would-expect or to-be-able to-be-done would-think
 Cum is hoc probare vellet, M'. Curium, cum ita heres 195
when he this to-prove wished M'. Curius since so an-heir
 institutus esset, 'si pupillus ante mortuus esset quam in
instituted he-had-been if the-ward before dead had-been than into
 suam tutelam venisset,' pupillo non nato heredem
his-own guardianship he-had-come the-ward not having-been-born an-heir
 esse non posse: quid ille non dixit de testamentorum
to-be not to-be-able what he not said about of-wills
 iure? de antiquis formulis? quem ad modum scribi
the-law about the-old formulas in-what to manner to-be-written
 oportuisset, si etiam filio non nato heres institueretur?
it-had-been-fitting if also a-son not having-been-born an-heir were-instituted

- 196 Quam captiosum esse populo, quod scriptum esset
how captious to-be for-the-people that written was
 neglegi et opinione quaeri voluntates et interpretatione
to-be-disregarded and by-supposition to-be-sought intentions and by-the-interpretation
 disertorum scripta simplicium hominum pervertere?
of-the-eloquent the-writings of-simple of-men to-overtum
- 197 Quam ille multa de auctoritate patris sui, qui semper
how he many-things about the-authority of-the-father his-own who always
 ius illud esse defenderat? quam omnino multa de
the-law that to-be had-maintained how altogether many-things about
 conservando iure civili? Quae quidem omnia cum perite
preserving the-law civil which indeed all-things since skillfully
 et scienter item breviter et presse et satis ornate et
and knowingly likewise briefly and compactly and sufficiently ornately and
 pereleganter diceret, quis esset in populo qui aut
very-elegantly he-was-saying who would-there-be in the-people who either
 exspectaret aut fieri posse quicquam melius putaret? At
would-expect or to-be-done to-be-able anything better would-think but
 vero, ut contra Crassus ab adolescente delicato, qui
indeed as on-the-other-side Crassus from a-young-man dainty who
 in litore ambulans scalum reperisset ob eamque
on the-shore walking a-rowlock had-found on-account-of and-that
 rem aedificare navem concupivisset, exorsus est, similiter
thing to-build a-ship had-conceived-a-desire began did in-like-manner
 Scaevolam ex uno scalmo captionis centumvirale iudicium
that-Scaevola from one rowlock of-a-quibble a-centumviral trial
 hereditatis effecisse: hoc ille initio, consecutis multis
of-an-inheritance to-have-made this he at-the-outset following many
 eiusdem generis sententiis, delectavit animosque omnium
of-the-same kind sallies delighted and-the-minds of-all
 qui aderant in hilaritatem a severitate traduxit; quod
who were-present into merriment from severity he-brought-over which

est unum ex tribus quae dixi ab oratore effici debere.

is one from the-three which I-said by an-orator to-be-effected ought

Deinde hoc voluisse eum, qui testamentum fecisset, hoc

then this to-have-wished that-he who the-will had-made this

sensisse, quoquo modo filius non esset, qui in suam

to-have-meant in-whatever way a-son not there-was who into his-own

tutelam veniret, sive non natus sive ante mortuus, Curius

guardianship might-come whether not born or before dead Curius

heres ut esset; ita scribere plerosque et id valere et

an-beir that he-might-be so to-write most and that to-hold-good and

valuisse semper. Haec et multa eius modi dicens

to-have-held-good always these-things and many-things of-that kind saying

fidem faciebat; quod est ex tribus oratoris officiis alterum.

belief he-was-making which is from the-three of-an-orator of-duties the-second

XLI • WHAT THE EXPERT HEARS

Crassus then defended the fair and the good and the meaning of wills, showing the power Scaevola would claim over every testator, so weightily that no one seemed to have spoken against him. A juror from the crowd would despise his earlier admiration; an expert would sense a richer kind. Both would name the same winner, but only the expert knows how the effect is produced and which kind is best.

Deinde aequum bonum testamentorum sententias voluntatesque 198

then the-fair the-good of-wills the-meanings and-the-intentions

tutatus est: quanta esset in verbis captio cum in

defended he-has how-great there-was in words a-trap as-much in

ceteris rebus tum in testamentis, si neglegerentur voluntates;

the-rest matters so in wills if were-disregarded intentions

quantam sibi potentiam Scaevola adsumeret, si nemo

how-great for-himself power Scaevola would-assume if no-one

auderet testamentum facere postea nisi de illius sententia.

dared a-will to-make thereafter except by of-that-man the-opinion

Haec cum graviter tum ab exemplis copiose, tum varie,

these-things as-much weightily so from examples copiously so variously

tum etiam ridicule et facete explicans eam admirationem

so even amusingly and wittily unfolding such admiration

adsensionemque commovit, dixisse ut contra nemo

and-assent be-stirred to-have-spoken that against(-him) no-one

videretur; — hoc erat oratoris officium partitione tertium,

seemed this was of-an-orator the-duty in-the-division the-third

genere maximum. Hic ille de populo iudex, qui separatim

in-kind the-greatest here that from the-people juror who separately

alterum admiratus esset, idem audito altero iudicium

the-one having-admired he-had the-same having-been-heard the-other judgment

suum contemneret; at vero intellegens et doctus audiens

his-own would-despise but indeed an-understanding and learned-man bearing

Scaevolam sentiret esse quoddam uberius dicendi genus

Scaevola would-feel to-be a-certain richer of-speaking kind

et ornatus. Ab utroque autem causa perorata si

and more-ornate by each however the-case having-been-pleaded if

quaereretur, uter praestaret orator, numquam profecto

it-were-asked which-of-the-two excelled as-an-orator never surely

sapientis iudicium a iudicio vulgi discreparet.

of-the-wise the-judgment from the-judgment of-the-crowd would-differ

199 Qui praestat igitur intellegens imperito? Magna re

in-what excels therefore the-understanding-man the-untrained in-a-great matter

et difficili; si quidem magnum est scire, quibus rebus

and difficult since indeed great it-is to-know by-what means

efficiatur amittaturve dicendo illud quidquid est quod aut

is-effected or-is-lost by-speaking that whatever it-is which either

effici dicendo oportet aut amitti non oportet. Praestat

to-be-effected by-speaking ought or to-be-lost not ought he-excels

etiam illo doctus auditor indocto, quod saepe, cum oratores
also in-this a-learned hearer the-unlearned because often when orators
 duo aut plures populi iudicio probantur, quod dicendi
two or more by-the-people's judgment are-approved which of-speaking
 genus optimum sit intellegit. Nam illud quod populo
kind the-best may-be he-understands for that which by-the-people
 non probatur ne intellegenti quidem auditori probari
not is-approved not-even by-an-understanding indeed hearer to-be-approved
 potest. Ut enim ex nervorum sono in fidibus quam
can as for from of-the-strings the-sound in a-lyre how
 scienter ei pulsi sint intellegi solet: sic ex animorum
skillfully they struck have-been to-be-understood is-wont so from of-minds
 motu cernitur quid tractandis his perficiat orator.
the-movement is-discerned what in-handling these accomplishes the-orator

XLII · COTTA AND SULPICIUS

An expert judges an orator in passing, by the jurors' faces: a yawn, a word to a neighbor, a message to the presiding officer, and he knows nobody is playing on those minds. Of the two kinds of good orator, the spare and the ample, the ampler is better. Cotta, whose lungs were weak, argued keenly and purely; Sulpicius was grand and almost tragic, with a splendid voice and graceful movement.

Itaque intellegens dicendi existimator, non adsidens et 200
and-so an-understanding of-speaking judge not sitting-by and
 adtente audiens, sed uno aspectu et praeteriens de oratore
attentively listening but with-one glance and passing about an-orator
 saepe iudicat. Videt oscitantem iudicem, loquentem cum
often judges he-sees a-yawning juror talking with
 altero, non numquam etiam circulantem, mittentem ad horas,
another not never even strolling-about sending to the-hours

quaesitorem ut dimittat rogantem: intellegit oratorem in
the-presiding-officer that he-dismiss asking he-understands an-orator in
 ea causa non adesse, qui possit animis iudicum admovere
that case not to-be-present who can to-the-minds of-the-jurors to-apply
 orationem tamquam fidibus manum. Idem si praeteriens
speech just-as to-the-strings the-hand the-same if passing
 aspexerit erectos intuentis iudices, ut aut doceri de
he-has-seen erect gazing the-jurors so-that either to-be-informed about
 re idque etiam vultu probare videantur, aut ut
the-matter and-that even by-(their)-look to-approve they-seem or as
 avem cantu aliquo sic illos viderit oratione quasi suspensos
a-bird by-song some so those he-has-seen by-speech as-if held-in-suspense
 teneri aut, id quod maxime opus est, misericordia odio
to-be-held or that which most needful is by-pity by-hatred
 motu animi aliquo perturbatos esse vehementius:
by-a-movement of-mind some disturbed to-have-been more-strongly
 ea si praeteriens, ut dixi, aspexerit, si nihil audiverit,
these-things if passing as I-said he-has-seen if nothing he-has-heard
 tamen oratorem versari in illo iudicio et opus oratorium
still an-orator to-be-engaged in that trial and a-work oratorical
 fieri aut perfectum iam esse profecto intelleget.
to-be-done or finished already to-be surely he-will-understand

201 Cum haec disseruissem, uterque adsensus est; et ego
when these-things I-had-discussed each assented has and I
 tamquam de integro ordiens: Quando igitur, inquam, a
as-if from anew beginning since therefore I-say from
 Cotta et Sulpicio haec omnis fluxit oratio, cum hos maxime
Cotta and Sulpicius this whole flowed speech when these most
 iudicio illorum hominum et illius aetatis dixissem
by-the-judgment of-those men and of-that age I-had-said
 probatos, revertar ad eos ipsos; tum reliquos, ut institui,
approved I-shall-return to those same then the-rest as I-began

deinceps persequar. Quoniam ergo oratorum bonorum —

in-turn I-shall-follow since therefore of-orators of-good

hos enim quaerimus — duo genera sunt, unum attenuate

these for we-seek two kinds there-are one thinly

pressequ, alterum sublate ampleque dicentium; etsi id

and-compactly the-other loftily and-fully of-those-speaking although that

melius est quod splendidius et magnificentius, tamen in

better is which more-brilliant and more-magnificent still in

bonis omnia quae summa sunt iure laudantur.

the-good all-things which the-highest are rightly are-praised

Sed cavenda est presso illi oratori inopia et ieiunitas, 202

but to-be-avoided is by-the-compact that orator poverty and meagerness

amplo autem inflatum et corruptum orationis genus.

by-the-full however an-inflated and corrupt of-speech kind

Inveniebat igitur acute Cotta, dicebat pure ac solute;

he-was-devising therefore keenly Cotta he-was-speaking purely and fluently

et ut ad infirmitatem laterum persciter contentionem

and as to the-weakness of-(his)-lungs very-knowingly straining

omnem remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi

all he-had-relaxed so to of-(his)-strength the-feebleness of-speaking

accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in eius oratione nisi sincerum,

he-was-fitting the-kind nothing was in his speech except pure

nihil nisi siccum atque sanum; illudque maximum, quod cum

nothing except dry and sound and-that the-greatest that although

contentione orationis flectere animos iudicum vix posset nec

by-the-straining of-speech to-bend the-minds of-the-jurors scarcely he-could nor

omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat ut

at-all in-that kind he-spoke by-handling still he-was-driving that

idem facerent a se commoti quod a Sulpicio concitati.

the-same they-did by himself moved as by Sulpicius roused

- 203 Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem
he-was for Sulpicius even most of-all whom indeed
 ego audiverim, grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator.
I have-heard a-grand and as so I-may-say tragic orator
 Vox cum magna tum suavis et splendida; gestus et
a-voice as-much great so sweet and splendid the-gesture and
 motus corporis ita venustus ut tamen ad forum, non
the-movement of-(his)-body so graceful that still for the-forum not
 ad scaenam institutus videretur; incitata et volubilis nec ea
for the-stage trained he-seemed rapid and fluent nor that
 redundans tamen nec circumfluens oratio. Crassum hic
overflowing still nor overrunning the-speech Crassus this-man
 volebat imitari; Cotta malebat Antonium; sed ab hoc
wished to-imitate Cotta preferred Antonius but from this-man
 vis aberat Antoni, Crassi ab illo lepos.
the-force was-absent of-Antonius of-Crassus from that-one the-charm

XLIII • SIX ADVOCATES, AND NO DIVIDED SPEECHES

Brutus remarks that two supreme orators each lacked what the other had, and Cicero draws the lesson that a teacher should see which way a pupil's nature carries him — spurs for one, reins for another. Sulpicius left no speech of his own; the ones current under his name are thought to be Cannutius'. Six men held the great cases, and each pleaded whole. Dividing one defense among several, as is now done, is the most faulty practice there is.

- 204 O magnam, inquit, artem! Brutus: si quidem istis, cum
O a-great he-says art Brutus if indeed to-those although
 summi essent oratores, duae res maximae altera alteri
the-highest they-were orators two things the-greatest the-one to-the-other
 defuit. Atque in his oratoribus illud animadvertendum
was-lacking and in these orators this to-be-noticed

est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sint dissimiles.

is to-be-able to-be the-highest who among themselves are unlike

Nihil enim tam dissimile quam Cotta Sulpicio, et uterque

nothing for so unlike as Cotta to-Sulpicius and each

aequalibus suis plurimum praestitit. Qua re hoc doctoris

contemporaries his very-much surpassed for-which reason this of-a-teacher

intellegentis est videre, quo ferat natura sua quemque, et

understanding is to-see whither carries nature his-own each-man and

ea duce utentem sic instituere, ut Isocratem in acerrimo

it as-guide using so to-train as Isocrates in the-most-fiercy

ingenio Theopompi et lenissimo Ephori dixisse traditum

talent of-Theopompus and the-gentlest of-Ephorus to-have-said handed-down

est, alteri se calcaria adhibere alteri frenos.

it-is to-the-one himself spurs to-apply to-the-other reins

Sulpici orationes quae feruntur, eas post mortem eius

of-Sulpicius the-speeches which are-current them after the-death of-him

scripsisse P. Cannutius putatur aequalis meus, homo

to-have-written P. Cannutius is-thought a-contemporary mine a-man

extra nostrum ordinem meo iudicio disertissimus. Ipsi

outside our order in-my judgment the-most-eloquent of-himself

Sulpici nulla oratio est, saepeque ex eo audiui, cum se

of-Sulpicius no speech there-is and-often from him I-heard when himself

scribere neque consuesse neque posse diceret. Cottae

to-write neither to-have-been-accustomed nor to-be-able he-said of-Cotta

pro se lege Varia quae inscribitur, eam L. Aelius

for himself under-the-law Varian which is-entitled it L. Aelius

scripsit Cottae rogatu. Fuit is omnino vir egregius et

wrote of-Cotta at-the-request he-was he altogether a-man distinguished and

eques Romanus cum primis honestus idemque eruditissimus

a-knight Roman among the-first honorable and-the-same most-learned

et Graecis litteris et Latinis, antiquitatisque nostrae et

both in-Greek letters and in-Latin and-of-antiquity our and

in inventis rebus et in actis scriptorumque veterum
in discovered matters and in things-done and-of-writers old
 litterate peritus. Quam scientiam Varro noster acceptam
in-a-lettered-way skilled which knowledge Varro our received
 ab illo auctamque per sese, vir ingenio praestans
from him and-increased through himself a-man in-talent outstanding
 omnique doctrina, pluribus et inlustrioribus litteris explicavit.
and-in-every learning in-more and in-more-illustrious writings unfolded
 206 Sed idem Aelius Stoicus esse voluit, orator autem nec
but the-same Aelius a-Stoic to-be wished an-orator however neither
 studuit umquam nec fuit. Scribebat tamen orationes,
did-he-study ever nor was-he he-used-to-write still speeches
 quas alii dicerent; ut Q. Metello †F., ut Q. Caepioni,
which others might-deliver as for-Q. Metellus the-son as for-Q. Caepio
 ut Q. Pompeio Rufo, quamquam is etiam ipse scripsit
as for-Q. Pompeius Rufus although he also himself wrote
 eas, quibus pro se est usus, sed non sine Aelio.
those which for himself he-has used but not without Aelius
 207 His enim scriptis etiam ipse interfui, cum essem apud
at-these for writings even myself I-was-present when I-was with
 Aelium adulescens eumque audire perstudiose solem.
Aelius a-young-man and-him to-bear very-eagerly I-was-accustomed
 Cottam autem miror summum ipsum oratorem minimeque
that-Cotta however I-wonder the-highest himself an-orator and-by-no-means
 ineptum Aelianas levis oratiunculas voluisse existimari suas.
foolish the-Aelian slight little-speeches to-have-wished to-be-thought his-own
 His duobus eiusdem aetatis adnumerabatur nemo tertius,
to-these two of-the-same age was-reckoned no-one a-third
 sed mihi placebat Pomponius maxime, vel dicam, minime
but to-me was-pleasing Pomponius most or I-shall-say by-no-means
 displicebat. Locus erat omnino in maximis causis praeter
was-displeasing a-place there-was altogether in the-greatest cases besides

eos de quibus supra dixi nemini, propterea quod Antonius,
those about whom above I-spoke for-no-one for-this-reason that Antonius
 qui maxime expetebatur, facilis in causis recipiendis erat;
who most was-sought-after easy in cases accepting was
 fastidiosior Crassus, sed tamen recipiebat. Horum qui neutrum
more-fastidious Crassus but still he-used-to-accept of-these who neither
 habebat, confugiebat ad Philippum fere aut ad Caesarem;
had he-would-flee to Philippus generally or to Caesar
 †Cotta† Sulpicius expetebantur. Ita ab his sex patronis
Cotta Sulpicius were-sought-after so by these six advocates
 causae inlustres agebantur; neque tam multa quam nostra
cases illustrious were-conducted nor so many as in-our
 aetate iudicia fiebant, neque hoc quod nunc fit, ut causae
age trials were-held nor this which now is-done that cases
 singulae defenderentur a pluribus, quo nihil est vitiosius.
single were-defended by several than-which nothing is more-faulty
 Respondemus eis quos non audivimus: in quo primum saepe
we-answer those whom not we-have-heard in which first often
 aliter est dictum aliter ad nos relatum; deinde magni
otherwise it-was said otherwise to us reported then of-great
 interest coram videre me, quem ad modum adversarius de
it-matters in-person to-see me in-what to manner an-adversary about
 quaque re adseveret, maxime autem, quem ad modum
each matter asserts most however in-what to manner
 quaque res audiatur. Sed nil vitiosius quam, cum unum
each matter is-heard but nothing more-faulty than when one
 corpus debeat esse defensionis, nasci de integro causam,
body ought to-be of-the-defense to-be-born from anew the-case
 cum sit ab altero perorata.
when it-has-been by another summed-up

208

Every case has one natural beginning and one summing-up. Curio was thought third of his generation for his words alone. Cicero cites Cornelia's letters and the talk of Laelia and her daughters to show how much depends on what one hears at home. Curio knew no poet, orator, law, or history; slow in invention and laughable in delivery, he stood on the splendor of his words alone.

- 209 **Omnium enim causarum unum est naturale principium, una**
of-all for cases one there-is natural beginning one
peroratio; reliquae partes quasi membra suo quaeque
peroration the-remaining parts as-it-were limbs in-their-own each
loco locata suam et vim et dignitatem tenent. Cum autem
place placed their-own both force and dignity keep since however
difficile sit in longa oratione non aliquando aliquid ita dicere ut
difficult it-is in a-long speech not at-some-time something so to-say that
sibi ipse non conveniat, quanto difficilius cavere, ne quid
with-oneself oneself not one-agrees how-much more-difficult to-beware lest anything
dicas quod non conveniat eius orationi qui ante te dixerit? Sed
you-say which not agrees with-his speech who before you has-spoken but
quia et labor multo maior est totam causam quam partem
because both the-labor much greater is a-whole case than a-part
dicere et quia plures ineuntur gratiae si uno tempore dicas
to-plead and because more are-earned favors if at-one time you-speak
pro pluribus, idcirco hanc consuetudinem libenter adscivimus.
for several for-that-reason this practice gladly we-have-adopted
- 210 **Erant tamen quibus videretur illius aetatis tertius Curio,**
there-were still to-whom seemed of-that age the-third Curio
quia splendidioribus fortasse verbis utebatur et quia Latine
because with-more-brilliant perhaps words he-used and because in-Latin
non pessime loquebatur, usu, credo, aliquo domestico. Nam
not worst he-was-speaking by-practice I-believe some domestic for

litterarum admodum nihil sciebat; sed magni interest quos

of-letters at-all nothing he-knew but of-great it-matters whom

quisque audiat cotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur a puero,

each-man hears daily at-home with-whom he-talks from a-boy

quem ad modum patres, paedagogi, matres etiam loquantur.

in-what to manner fathers tutors mothers also may-speak

Legimus epistulas Corneliae matris Gracchorum: apparet

we-have-read the-letters of-Cornelia the-mother of-the-Gracchi it-appears

filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone

the-sons not so in the-lap reared as in the-speech

matris. Auditus est nobis Laeliae C. F. saepe

of-the-mother heard was by-us of-Laelia of-C. daughter often

sermo: ergo illam patris elegantia tinctam vidimus et

the-talk therefore her of-(her)-father by-the-elegance tinged we-saw and

filias eius Mucias ambas, quarum sermo mihi fuit notus,

the-daughters of-her the-Mucia both of-whose speech to-me was known

et neptes Licinias, quas nos quidem ambas, hanc

and the-granddaughters the-Liciniae whom we indeed both this-one

vero Scipionis etiam tu, Brute, credo, aliquando audisti

indeed of-Scipio even you Brutus I-believe at-some-time you-have-heard

loquentem. Ego vero ac libenter quidem, inquit Brutus; et

speaking I indeed and gladly indeed says Brutus and

eo libentius, quod L. Crassi erat filia.

by-so-much the-more-gladly because of-L. Crassus she-was the-daughter

Quid Crassum, inquam, illum censes, istius Liciniae filium, 212

what Crassus I-say that do-you-think of-that Licinia the-son

Crassi testamento qui fuit adoptatus? Summo iste quidem

of-the-Crassus by-the-will who was adopted of-the-highest he indeed

dicitur ingenio fuisse, inquit; et vero hic Scipio, conlega

is-said talent to-have-been he-says and indeed this Scipio the-colleague

meus, mihi sane bene et loqui videtur et dicere. Recte,

my to-me quite well both to-speak seems and to-plead rightly

inquam, iudicas, Brute. Etenim istius genus est ex
I-say you-judge Brutus and-indeed of-that-man the-family is from
 ipsius sapientiae stirpe generatum. Nam et de duobus
of-itself of-wisdom the-stock begotten for both about the-two
 avis iam diximus, Scipione et Crasso, et de
grandfathers already we-have-spoken Scipio and Crassus and about
 tribus proavis, Q. Metello, cuius quattuor illi filii, P.
the-three great-grandfathers Q. Metellus of-whom four those sons P.
 Scipione, qui ex dominatu Ti. Gracchi privatus in
Scipio who from the-domination of-Ti. Gracchus a-private-citizen into
 libertatem rem publicam vindicavit, Q. Scaevola augure,
freedom the-thing public claimed Q. Scaevola the-augur
 qui peritissimus iuris idemque percomis est habitus. Iam
who most-skilled in-law and-the-same most-courteous was held now
 duorum abavorum quam est inlustre nomen,
of-the-two great-great-grandfathers how is illustrious the-name

213 P. Scipionis, qui bis consul fuit, qui est Corculum dictus,
of-P. Scipio who twice consul was who was Corculum called
 alterius omnium sapientissimi, C. Laeli. — O generosam,
of-the-other of-all the-wisest C. Laelius O a-noble
 inquit, stirpem et tamquam in unam arborem plura genera, sic
he-says stock and just-as into one tree several kinds so
 in istam domum multorum insitam sapientiam! — similiter
into that house of-many engrafted wisdom in-like-manner
 igitur suspicor, ut conferamus parva magnis, Curionis, etsi
therefore I-suspect that we-may-compare small great of-Curio although
 pupillus relictus est, patrio fuisse instituto puro sermone
a-ward left he-was by-ancestral to-have-been practice in-pure speech
 adsuefactam domum; et eo magis hoc iudico quod neminem
accustomed the-house and by-that more this I-judge because no-one

ex his quidem, qui aliquo in numero fuerunt, cognovi in
from these indeed who some in number were I-have-known in
 omni genere honestarum artium tam indoctum, tam rudem.
every kind of-honorable of-arts so unlearned so raw
 Nullum ille poetam noverat, nullum legerat oratorem, nullam 214
no he poet had-known none had-read orator no
 memoriam antiquitatis conlegerat; non publicum ius, non
record of-antiquity had-gathered not public law not
 privatum et civile cognoverat. Quamquam hoc quidem fuit
private and civil had-learned although this indeed was
 etiam in aliis et magnis quidem oratoribus, quos parum his
even in others and great indeed orators whom too-little these
 instructos artibus vidimus, ut Sulpicium, ut Antonium. Sed
equipped with-arts we-have-seen as Sulpicius as Antonius but
 ei tamen unum illud habebant dicendi opus elaboratum;
they still one that had of-speaking work elaborated
 idque cum constaret ex quinque notissimis partibus, nemo
and-that although it-consisted of five most-familiar parts no-one
 in aliqua parte earum omnino nihil poterat: in quacumque
in some part of-them altogether nothing could in whichever
 enim una plane clauderet, orator esse non posset; sed
for one plainly if-be-limbed an-orator to-be not he-could but
 tamen alius in alia excellebat magis.
still one in another excelled more
 Reperiebat quid dici opus esset et quo modo praeparari 215
he-was-finding what to-be-said needful was and in-what way to-be-prepared
 et quo loco locari, memoriaque ea comprehendebat
and in-what place to-be-placed and-by-memory these he-was-embracing
 Antonius, excellebat autem actione; erant ei quaedam
Antonius he-was-excelling however in-delivery there-were to-him certain
 ex his paria cum Crasso, quaedam etiam superiora; at
from these equal with Crassus certain even superior but

Crassi magis nitebat oratio. Nec vero Sulpicio neque Cottae
of-Crassus more shone the-speech nor indeed to-Sulpicius nor to-Cotta
 dicere possumus neque cuiquam bono oratori rem ullam
to-say we-can nor to-any good orator a-thing any
 ex illis quinque partibus plane atque omnino defuisse.
from those five parts plainly and altogether to-have-been-lacking

216 Itaque in Curione hoc verissime iudicari potest, nulla re
and-so in Curio this most-truly to-be-judged it-can by-no thing
 una magis oratorem commendari quam verborum splendore
one more an-orator to-be-commended than of-words by-the-splendor
 et copia. Nam cum tardus in cogitando tum in
and by-the-abundance for as-much slow in thinking so in
 struendo dissipatus fuit. Reliqua duo sunt, agere et
arranging scattered he-was the-remaining two there-are to-act and
 meminisse: in utroque cachinnos inridentium commovebat.
to-remember in each the-guffaws of-those-mocking he-used-to-stir
 Motus erat is, quem et C. Iulius in perpetuum notavit,
the-movement was that which both C. Iulius for ever branded
 cum ex eo in utramque partem toto corpore
when from him into each-of-the-two direction with-(his)-whole body
 vacillante quaesivit quis loqueretur e luntre, et Cn.
swaying he-asked who was-speaking from a-skiff and Cn.
 Sicinius homo impurus, sed admodum ridiculus, — neque
Sicinius a-man foul but quite funny nor
 aliud in eo oratoris simile quicquam.
anything in him of-an-orator like at-all

Curio's memory was so bad that having announced three points he would add a fourth or hunt for the third, and he once forgot his whole case in mid-trial and blamed poison. Worse, he forgot in writing what he had put down shortly before, and set a dialogue after the senate had risen while attacking things Caesar did years later. Brutus is astonished that Curio never noticed it even on rereading.

Is cum tribunus plebis Curionem et Octavium consules 217
he when a-tribune of-the-plebs Curio and Octavius the-consuls
 produxisset Curioque multa dixisset sedente Cn. Octavio
had-brought-forward and-Curio many-things had-said sitting Cn. Octavius
 conlega, qui devinctus erat fasciis et multis medicamentis
the-colleague who bound was with-bandages and with-many salves
 propter dolorem artuum delibutus, 'numquam,' inquit,
because-of the-pain of-(bis)-joints smeared never he-says
 'Octavi, conlegae tuo gratiam referes: qui nisi se
Octavius to-the-colleague your thanks will-you-return who unless himself
 suo more iactavisset, hodie te istic muscae comedissent.'
in-his-own manner had-tossed-about today you there the-flies would-have-eaten-up
 Memoria autem ita fuit nulla, ut aliquotiens, tria cum
a-memory however so was none that several-times three when
 proposuisset, aut quartum adderet aut tertium quaereret; qui
he-had-proposed either a-fourth he-added or the-third he-sought who
 in iudicio privato vel maximo, cum ego pro Titinia Cottae
in a-trial private even the-greatest when I for Titinia of-Cotta
 peroravissem, ille contra me pro Ser. Naevio diceret, subito
had-summed-up he against me for Ser. Naevius was-speaking suddenly
 totam causam oblitus est idque veneficiis et cantionibus
the-whole case forgotten he-has and-that by-poisonings and by-spells
 Titiniae factum esse dicebat.
of-Titinia done to-have-been he-was-saying

218 Magna haec immemoris ingeni signa; sed nihil turpius
great these of-a-forgetful of-mind signs but nothing more-shameful
 quam quod etiam in scriptis obliuiscatur quid paulo ante
than that even in (his)-writings he-was-forgetting what a-little before
 posuisset, ut in eo libro, ubi se exeuntem e senatu
he-had-set-down as in that book where himself going-out from the-senate
 et cum Pansa nostro et cum Curione filio conloquentem
and with Pansa our and with Curio the-son conversing
 facit omnisque ille sermo ductus est e percontatione
he-makes and-the-whole that conversation drawn is from an-inquiry
 fili quid in senatu esset actum. In quo multis verbis
of-the-son what in the-senate had-been done in which with-many words
 cum inveheretur in Caesarem Curio disputatioque esset
when he-was-inveighing against Caesar Curio and-a-discussion was
 inter eos, ut est consuetudo dialogorum, cum sermo esset
between them as is the-custom of-dialogues although the-talk was
 institutus senatu misso, quem senatum Caesar consul
set the-senate having-been-dismissed which senate Caesar as-consul
 habuisset, reprendit eas res quas idem Caesar anno post
had-held he-censures those things which the-same Caesar a-year after
 et deinceps reliquis annis administravisset in Gallia.
and thereafter in-the-remaining years had-administered in Gaul

219 Tum Brutus admirans: Tantamne fuisse oblivionem, inquit,
then Brutus wondering so-great to-have-been the-forgetfulness he-says
 in scripto praesertim, ut ne legens quidem umquam
in a-writing especially that not-even reading indeed ever
 senserit quantum flagiti commisisset? Quid autem, inquam,
he-noticed how-much of-disgrace he-had-committed what however I-say
 Brute, stultius quam, si ea vituperare volebat quae
Brutus more-foolish than if those-things to-censure he-wished which
 vituperavit, non eo tempore instituere sermonem, cum
he-censured not at-that time to-set the-conversation when

illarum rerum iam tempora praeterissent? Sed ita totus errat
of-those things already the-times had-passed but so wholly he-errs
 ut in eodem sermone dicat in senatum se Caesare consule
that in the-same conversation he-says into the-senate himself Caesar being-consul
 non accedere et id dicat ipso consule exiens e senatu.
not to-go and that he-says the-very consul going-out from the-senate
 Iam, qui hac parte animi, quae custos est ceterarum
now who in-this part of-mind which the-guardian is of-the-remaining
 ingeni partium, tam debilis esset ut ne in scripto quidem
of-talent of-the-parts so feeble was that not-even in a-writing indeed
 meminisset quid paulo ante posuisset, huic minime
he-remembered what a-little before he-had-set-down for-this-man by-no-means
 mirum est ex tempore dicenti solitam effluere mentem.
a-wonder it-is on the-spur speaking accustomed to-slip-away the-mind

XLVI · THE SEDITIONOUS SPEAKERS

Curio still had verbal splendor enough to look like an orator. Carbo's son and Varius follow, then Drusus, Lucullus, and Cato the father — men Cicero would rather station in the garrisons of the state than in the line of battle. Among the seditious, Saturninus caught men by his look and bearing more than his speech, and Glaucia, keen and crafty as he was, was the most wicked man ever born.

Itaque cum ei nec officium deesset et flagraret studio 220
and-so although to-him not service was-lacking and he-burned with-the-desire
 dicendi, perpaucae ad eum causae deferebantur. Orator autem
of-speaking very-few to him cases were-brought an-orator however
 vivis eius aetatis aequalibus proximus optimis numerabatur
being-alive of-his age contemporaries next to-the-best he-was-counted
 propter verborum bonitatem, ut ante dixi, et expeditam ac
because-of of-words the-goodness as before I-said and the-ready and

profluentem quodam modo celeritatem. Itaque eius orationes
flowing in-a-certain way quickness and-so his speeches
 aspiciendas tamen censeo. Sunt illae quidem languidiores,
to-be-looked-at still I-advice they-are those indeed rather-languid
 verum tamen possunt augere et quasi alere id bonum
but still they-can to-increase and as-it-were to-nourish that good
 quod in illo mediocriter fuisse concedimus: quod habet
which in him moderately to-have-been we-grant which has
 tantam vim ut solum sine aliis in Curione speciem
so-great force that alone without the-others in Curio the-appearance
 oratoris alicuius effecerit. Sed ad instituta redeamus.
of-an-orator of-some produced but to (my)-plan let-us-return

- 221 In eodem igitur numero eiusdem aetatis C. Carbo fuit illius
in the-same therefore number of-the-same age C. Carbo was of-that
 eloquentissimi viri filius. Non satis acutus orator, sed
most-eloquent of-the-man the-son not sufficiently keen an-orator but
 tamen orator numeratus est. Erat in verbis gravitas et
still an-orator counted he-was there-was in (his)-words weight and
 facile dicebat et auctoritatem naturalem quandam habebat
easily he-spoke and an-authority natural a-certain had
 oratio. Acutior Q. Varius rebus inveniendis nec minus
(his)-speech keener Q. Varius in-things devising nor less
 verbis expeditus; fortis vero actor et vehemens et verbis
in-words ready a-bold indeed pleader and vehement and in-words
 nec inops nec abiectus et quem plane oratorem dicere
neither poor nor mean and whom plainly an-orator to-call
 auderes, Cn. Pomponius lateribus pugnans, incitans
you-would-dare Cn. Pomponius with-(his)-lungs fighting rousing
 animos, acer acerbis criminosus.
minds keen bitter accusatory

Multum ab his aberat L. Fufius, tamen ex accusatione 222
much from these was-distant L. Fufius still from the-prosecution
 M'. Aquili diligentiae fructum ceperat. Nam M. Drusum
of-M'. Aquilius of-diligence the-fruit he-had-taken for M. Drusus
 tuum magnum avunculum, gravem oratorem ita dumtaxat
your great uncle a-weighty orator so only
 cum de re publica diceret, L. autem Lucullum etiam
when about the-thing public he-spoke L. however Lucullus even
 acutum, patremque tuum, Brute, iuris quoque et publici et
a-keen-one and-the-father your Brutus of-law also both public and
 privati sane peritum, M. Lucullum, M. Octavium Cn. F., qui
private quite skilled M. Lucullus M. Octavius of-Cn. son who
 tantum auctoritate dicendoque valuit ut legem Semproniam
so-much in-authority and-in-speaking availed that the-law Sempronian
 frumentariam populi frequentis suffragiis abrogaverit, Cn.
the-corn-law of-the-people crowded by-the-votes he-repealed Cn.
 Octavium M. F., M. Catonem patrem, Q. etiam Catulum filium
Octavius of-M. son M. Cato the-father Q. also Catulus the-son
 abducamus ex acie, id est a iudiciis, et in praesidiis
let-us-lead-away from the-line-of-battle that is from the-courts and in the-garrisons
 rei publicae, cui facile satis facere possint, collocemus.
of-the-thing public which easily enough to-do they-may-be-able let-us-station
 Eodem Q. Caepionem referrem, nisi nimis equestri ordini 223
to-the-same Q. Caepio I-would-refer unless too to-the-equestrian to-the-order
 deditus a senatu dissidisset. Cn. Carbonem M. Marium
devoted from the-senate he-had-dissented Cn. Carbo M. Marius
 et ex eodem genere compluris minime dignos elegantis
and from the-same kind several by-no-means worthy of-a-refined
 conventus auribus aptissimos cognovi turbulentis contionibus.
of-a-gathering for-the-ears most-suited I-have-known for-turbulent public-meetings

Quo in genere, ut in his perturbem aetatum ordinem, nuper
in-which in kind so-that in these I-may-disturb of-the-ages the-order lately

L. Quinctius fuit; aptior etiam Palicanus auribus imperitorum.

L. Quinctius was fitter even Palicanus for-the-ears of-the-ignorant

224 Et quoniam huius generis facta mentio est, seditiosorum
and since of-this of-kind made mention has-been of-the-seditious

omnium post Gracchos L. Appuleius Saturninus eloquentissimus
of-all after the-Gracchi L. Appuleius Saturninus the-most-eloquent

visus est; magis specie tamen et motu atque ipso
seemed has more by-appearance still and by-movement and by-(his)-very

amictu capiebat homines quam aut dicendi copia aut
dress he-caught men than either of-speaking by-abundance or

mediocritate prudentiae. Longe autem post natos homines
by-a-fair-share of-good-sense by-far however since were-born men

improbissimus C. Servilius Glaucia, sed peracutus et callidus
the-most-wicked C. Servilius Glaucia but very-keen and crafty

cum primisque ridiculus. Is ex summis et fortunae et
with the-first and-amusing he from the-lowest both of-fortune and

vitae sordibus in praetura consul factus esset, si
of-life dregs in (his)-praetorsbip consul made would-have-been if

rationem eius haberi licere iudicatum esset. Nam
account of-him to-be-taken to-be-allowed judged it-had-been for

et plebem tenebat et equestrem ordinem beneficio legis
both the-plebs he-held and the-equestrian order by-the-benefit of-a-law

devinxerat. Is praetor eodem die quo Saturninus tribunus
he-had-bound he as-praetor on-the-same day on-which Saturninus a-tribune

plebis Mario et Flacco consulibus publice est interfectus;
of-the-plebs Marius and Flaccus being-consuls publicly was killed

homo simillimus Atheniensis Hyperboli, cuius improbitatem
a-man most-like to-the-Athenian Hyperbolus whose wickedness

veteres Atticorum comoediae notaverunt.

the-old of-the-Attic comedies branded

Quos Sex. Titius consecutus est homo loquax sane et satis 225

whom Sex. Titius followed has a-man talkative quite and sufficiently
 acutus, sed tam solutus et mollis in gestu ut saltatio quaedam
keen but so loose and soft in gesture that a-dance a-certain
 nasceretur cui saltationi Titius nomen esset. Ita cavendum
arose to-which dance Titius the-name was so to-be-guarded
 est ne quid in agendo dicendove facias, cuius imitatio
it-is lest anything in acting or-speaking you-do of-which the-imitation
 rideatur. Sed ad paulo superiorem aetatem repecti sumus;

may-be-laughed-at but to a-little earlier an-age carried-back we-have-been
 nunc ad eam de qua aliquantum sumus locuti revertamur.
now to that about which somewhat we-have spoken let-us-return

Coniunctus igitur Sulpici aetati P. Antistius fuit, rabula 226

joined therefore of-Sulpicius to-the-age P. Antistius was a-shyster
 sane probabilis, qui multos cum tacuisset annos neque
quite creditable who many although he-had-been-silent years and-not
 contemni solum sed inrideri etiam solitus esset,

to-be-despised only but to-be-laughed-at even accustomed he-had-been

in tribunatu primum contra C. Iuli illam consulatus

in (bis)-tribunate first against of-C. Iulius that of-the-consulship

petitionem extraordinariam veram causam agens est probatus;

canvass irregular a-true case pleading was approved

et eo magis quod eandem causam cum ageret eius

and by-that more because the-same case although was-pleading his

conlega ille ipse Sulpicius, hic plura et acutiora dicebat.

colleague that very Sulpicius this-man more-things and keener was-saying

Itaque post tribunatum primo multae ad eum causae, deinde

and-so after (bis)-tribunate at-first many to him cases then

omnes maximae quaecumque erant deferebantur.

all the-greatest whatever they-were were-brought

Antistius saw a case keenly and arranged it carefully, though his delivery limped; he led the courts in Sulla's absence, while Sulpicius was dead and Cotta and Curio were away. Sisenna was learned and wrote history that beats its predecessors but shows how far the genre still had to go in Latin. Then Hortensius, quite young, was admired the moment he was seen; he belongs to no single generation, for he pleaded while Crassus was alive and was at his height beside Antonius and the aged Philippus.

227 Rem videbat acute, componebat diligenter, memoria valebat;
the-matter he-saw keenly he-arranged carefully in-memory he-was-strong
 verbis non ille quidem ornatis utebatur sed tamen non abiectis;
words not he indeed ornate used but still not mean
 expedita autem erat et perfacile currens oratio; et erat
ready however was and very-easily running (his)-speech and there-was
 eius quidam tamquam habitus non inurbanus; actio paulum
of-him a-certain as-it-were bearing not unpolished the-delivery a-little
 cum vitio vocis tum etiam ineptiis claudicabat. Hic
as-much by-a-fault of-voice so also by-awkwardnesses limped he
 temporibus floruit eis quibus inter profectionem reditumque
in-times flourished those in-which between the-departure and-the-return
 L. Sullae sine iure fuit et sine ulla dignitate res publica;
of-L. Sulla without law was and without any dignity the-thing public
 hoc etiam magis probabatur, quod erat ab oratoribus
by-this even more he-was-approved because there-was of orators
 quaedam in foro solitudo. Sulpicius occiderat, Cotta aberat et
a-certain in the-forum solitude Sulpicius had-fallen Cotta was-away and
 Curio, vivebat e reliquis patronis eius aetatis nemo praeter
Curio was-living from the-remaining advocates of-that age no-one except
 Carbonem et Pomponium, quorum utrumque facile superabat.
Carbo and Pomponius of-whom each easily he-surpassed

Inferioris autem aetatis erat proximus L. Sisenna, doctus 228
of-a-lower however age was next L. Sisenna a-learned
 vir et studiis optimis deditus, bene Latine loquens, gnarus
man and to-pursuits the-best devoted well in-Latin speaking knowing
 rei publicae, non sine facetiis sed neque laboris multi
of-the-thing public not without wit but neither of-labor much
 nec satis versatus in causis; interiectusque inter duas
nor sufficiently versed in cases and-interposed between the-two
 aetates Hortensi et Sulpici nec maiorem consequi poterat
ages of-Hortensius and of-Sulpicius neither the-greater to-equal was-be-able
 et minori necesse erat cedere. Huius omnis facultas ex
and to-the-lesser necessary it-was to-yield of-this-man the-whole capacity from
 historia ipsius perspicui potest, quae cum facile omnis vincat
the-history of-himself to-be-seen it-can which as-much easily all it-surpasses
 superiores, tum indicat tamen quantum absit a summo
the-earlier so it-shows still how-much it-is-distant from the-biggest
 quamque genus hoc scriptionis nondum sit satis Latinis
and-how kind this of-writing not-yet is sufficiently in-Latin
 litteris inlustratum. Nam Q. Hortensi admodum adulescentis
letters illuminated for of-Q. Hortensius quite of-a-young-man
 ingenium ut Phidiae signum simul aspectum et probatum est.
the-talent as of-Phidias a-statue at-once looked-at and approved was
 Is L. Crasso Q. Scaevola consulibus primum in foro dixit et 229
he L. Crassus Q. Scaevola being-consuls first in the-forum spoke and
 apud hos ipsos quidem consules, et cum eorum qui adfuerunt,
before these very indeed consuls and as-much of-those who were-present
 tum ipsorum consulum qui omnis intellegentia anteibant,
so of-the-very consuls who all in-understanding surpassed
 iudicio discessit probatus. Undeviginti annos natus erat
by-the-judgment he-came-away approved nineteen years old he-was
 eo tempore, est autem L. Paullo C. Marcello consulibus
at-that time he-is however L. Paullus C. Marcellus being-consuls

mortuus: ex quo videmus eum in patronorum numero annos
dead from which we-see him in of-advocates the-number years
 quattuor et quadraginta fuisse. Hoc de oratore paulo
four and forty to-have-been about-this about the-orator a-little
 post plura dicemus; hoc autem loco volumus aetatem eius in
later more we-shall-say in-this however place we-wished the-age of-him into
 disparem oratorum aetatem includere. Quamquam id quidem
an-unequal of-orators an-age to-include although that indeed
 omnibus usu venire necesse fuit, quibus paulo longior
to-all by-experience to-come necessary was to-whom a-little longer
 vita contigit, ut et cum multo maioribus natu quam essent
life fell that both with much greater in-birth than were
 ipsi et cum aliquanto minoribus compararentur. Ut Accius
themselves and with somewhat younger they-were-compared as Accius
 isdem aedilibus ait se et Pacuvium docuisse fabulam,
with-the-same aediles says himself and Pacuvius to-have-produced a-play
 cum ille octoginta, ipse triginta annos natus esset: sic
although he eighty himself thirty years old was so
 230 Hortensius non cum suis aequalibus solum sed et mea
Hortensius not with his-own contemporaries only but both with-my
 cum aetate et cum tua, Brute, et cum aliquanto superiore
with age and with yours Brutus and with a-somewhat earlier
 coniungitur, si quidem et Crasso vivo dicere solebat
is-joined since indeed both Crassus being-alive to-speak he-was-wont
 et magis iam etiam vigeat cum Antonio et Philippo
and more now even he-flourished with Antonius and Philippus
 iam sene pro Cn. Pompei bonis dicente in illa causa,
already an-old-man for Cn. Pompeius' goods speaking in that case
 adulescens cum esset, princeps fuit et in eorum, quos
a-young-man although he-was the-chief he-was and into of-those whom
 in Sulpici aetate posui, numerum facile pervenerat et suos
in of-Sulpicius the-age I-placed the-number easily he-had-come and his-own

inter aequalis M. Pisonem M. Crassum Cn. Lentulum P.
among contemporaries M. Piso M. Crassus Cn. Lentulus P.
 Lentulum Suram longe praestitit et me adulescentem nactus
Lentulus Sura by-far he-surpassed and me a-young-man having-found
 octo annis minorem quam erat ipse multos annos in
eight years younger than was he-himself many years in
 studio eiusdem laudis exercuit et tecum simul, sicut ego pro
the-pursuit of-the-same praise he-trained and with-you together just-as I for
 multis, sic ille pro Appio Claudio dixit paulo ante mortem.
many so he for Appius Claudius spoke a-little before (his)-death

XLVIII · REACHING THE PRESENT

So the roll has reached Brutus himself, with many orators set between his beginning and Cicero's. Cicero will name only the dead, lest Brutus press him for a verdict on each of the living; Brutus says the real reason is fear that the talk will leak and those passed over will resent it. Cicero answers that he had not meant to come down so far, but the order of ages carried him. He would leave himself to others, but Brutus insists on hearing how his speaking advanced.

Vides igitur ut ad te oratorem, Brute, pervenerimus tam multis 231
you-see therefore how to you the-orator Brutus we-have-arrived so many
 inter nostrum tuumque initium dicendi interpositis oratoribus;
between our and-your beginning of-speaking interposed orators
 ex quibus, quoniam in hoc sermone nostro statui
from whom since in this conversation our I-have-determined
 neminem eorum qui viverent nominare, ne vos curiosius
no-one of-those who were-living to-name lest you too-inquisitively
 eliceretis ex me quid de quoque iudicarem, eos qui iam sunt
might-draw-out from me what about each I-judged those who now are
 mortui nominabo. Tum Brutus: Non est, inquit, ista causa
dead I-shall-name then Brutus not is he-says that the-reason

quam dicis, quam ob rem de eis qui vivunt nihil
which you-give which on-account-of reason about those who live nothing
 velis dicere. Quenam igitur, inquam, est? Vereri te, inquit,
you-wish to-say what-then therefore I-say is-it to-fear you he-says
 arbitror ne per nos hic sermo tuus emanet et ei tibi
I-think lest through us this conversation your leak-out and those with-you
 suscenseant quos praeterieris. Quid? vos, inquam, tacere non
be-angry whom you-have-passed-over what you I-say to-be-silent not
 poteritis? Nos quidem, inquit, facillime; sed tamen te arbitror
will-you-be-able we indeed he-says most-easily but still you I-think
 malle ipsum tacere quam taciturnitatem nostram experiri.
to-prefer yourself to-be-silent than the-silence our to-test

232 Tum ego: Vere tibi, inquam, Brute, dicam. Non me
then I truly to-you I-say Brutus I-shall-speak not myself
 existimavi in hoc sermone usque ad hanc aetatem esse
I-thought in this conversation right-up to this age to-be
 venturum; sed ita traxit ordo aetatum orationem ut iam
about-to-come but so has-drawn the-order of-the-ages the-speech that now
 ad minores etiam pervenerim. Interpone igitur, inquit, si quos
to the-younger even I-have-arrived interpose therefore he-says if any
 videtur; deinde redeamus ad te et ad Hortensium. Immo
it-seems-good then let-us-return to you and to Hortensius nay
 vero, inquam, ad Hortensium; de me alii dicent, si qui
indeed I-say to Hortensius about me others will-speak if any
 volent. Minime vero, inquit. Nam etsi me facile omni tuo
wish by-no-means indeed he-says for although me easily by-all your
 sermone tenuisti, tamen is mihi longior videtur, quod propero
conversation you-have-held still it to-me longer seems because I-hasten
 audire de te; nec vero tam de virtutibus dicendi tuis, quae
to-hear about you nor indeed so about the-excellences of-speaking your which

cum omnibus tum certe mihi notissimae sunt, quam quod
as-much to-all so certainly to-me best-known are as because
 gradus tuos et quasi processus dicendi studeo cognoscere.
the-steps your and as-it-were the-advances of-speaking I-am-eager to-learn

XLIX · CRASSUS, FIMBRIA, AND THE LENTULI

Marcus Crassus, moderately taught and narrower by nature, held a place among the leading advocates by labor, care, and obliging people. Fimbria raved so loudly that one wondered the people let a madman rank among the eloquent. Gnaeus Lentulus made a far greater impression by delivery than his capacity warranted, and Publius Lentulus covered slowness of thought with dignity of form. Piso was learned, sharp, and often peevish.

Geretur, inquam, tibi mos, quoniam me non ingeni 233
it-shall-be-done I-say for-you the-wish since me not of-talent
 praedicatorem esse vis sed laboris mei. Verum interponam,
a-proclaimer to-be you-wish but of-labor my but I-shall-interpose
 ut placet, alios et a M. Crasso, qui fuit aequalis
as it-pleases others and from M. Crassus who was a-contemporary
 Hortensi, exordiar.
of-Hortensius I-shall-begin

Is igitur mediocriter a doctrina instructus, angustius etiam a
he therefore moderately by learning equipped more-narrowly even by
 natura, labore et industria et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas
nature by-labor and by-industry and because he-applied to winning
 causas curam etiam et gratiam, in principibus patronis
cases care also and favor among the-leading advocates
 aliquot annos fuit. In huius oratione sermo Latinus erat,
several years he-was in his speech the-speech Latin was
 verba non abiecta, res compositae diligenter, nullus
the-words not mean the-matter arranged carefully no

flos tamen neque lumen ullum, animi magna, vocis parva
flower still nor light any of-spirit great of-voice small
 contentio, omnia fere ut similiter atque uno modo
the-effort all-things nearly so-that alike and in-one way
 dicerentur. Nam huius aequalis et inimicus C. Fimbria
were-said for of-this-man a-contemporary and an-enemy C. Fimbria
 non ita diu iactare se potuit; qui omnia magna voce
not so long to-toss himself was-able who all-things with-a-great voice
 dicens verborum sane bonorum cursu quodam incitato
saying of-words quite good by-a-flow a-certain rapid
 ita furebat tamen, ut mirarere tam alias res agere
so he-raved still that you-would-wonder so other things to-do
 populum, ut esset insano inter desertos locos.
the-people that there-was for-a-madman among the-eloquent places

234

Cn. autem Lentulus multo maiorem opinionem dicendi
Cn. however Lentulus a-much greater impression of-speaking
 actione faciebat quam quanta in eo facultas erat; qui cum
by-delivery was-making than how-great in him the-capacity was who although
 esset nec peracutus, quamquam et ex facie et ex
he-was neither very-keen although both from (bis)-face and from
 vultu videbatur, nec abundans verbis, etsi fallebat in eo
(bis)-look he-seemed nor abounding in-words although he-deceived in that
 ipso: sic intervallis, exclamationibus, voce suavi et canora,
very so by-pauses by-exclamations by-a-voice sweet and ringing
 †admirando† inridebat, calebat in agendo, ut ea quae
by-wonder he-mocked he-warmed in acting that those-things which
 deerant non desiderarentur. Ita, tamquam Curio copia
were-lacking not were-missed so just-as Curio by-an-abundance
 non nulla verborum, nullo alio bono, tenuit oratorum locum:
not none of-words by-no other good he-held of-orators the-place

sic Lentulus ceterarum virtutum dicendi mediocritatem actione 235
so Lentulus of-(his)-other of-excellences of-speaking the-mediocrity by-delivery
 occultavit, in qua excellens fuit. Nec multo secus P. Lentulus,
concealed in which outstanding he-was nor much otherwise P. Lentulus
 cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formae
of-whom both of-devising and of-speaking the-slowness was-covering of-(his)-form
 dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis,
the-dignity of-(his)-body the-movement full both of-art and of-grace
 vocis et suavitas et magnitudo. Sic in hoc nihil
of-(his)-voice both the-sweetness and the-volume so in this-man nothing
 praeter actionem fuit, cetera etiam minora quam in superiore.
except the-delivery was the-rest even smaller than in the-earlier-man
 M. Piso quidquid habuit, habuit ex disciplina maximeque 236
M. Piso whatever he-had he-had from training and-most
 ex omnibus, qui ante fuerunt, Graecis doctrinis eruditus
from all who before were in-Greek learning trained
 fuit. Habuit a natura genus quoddam acuminis, quod etiam
he-was he-had from nature a-kind a-certain of-sharpness which even
 arte limaverat, quod erat in reprehendendis verbis versutum
by-art he-had-filed which was in criticizing words adroit
 et sollers, sed saepe stomachosum, non numquam frigidum,
and clever but often peevish not never frigid
 interdum etiam facetum. Is laborem forensem diutius non
at-times even witty he the-labor forensic longer not
 tulit, quod et corpore erat infirmo et hominum ineptias ac
bore because both in-body he-was weak and of-men the-follies and
 stultitias, quae devorandae nobis sunt, non ferebat iracundiusque
the-stupidities which to-be-swallowed by-us are not he-bore and-too-angrily
 respuebat sive morose, ut putabatur, sive ingenuo
he-spat-them-out whether morosely as was-thought or from-a-gentlemanly
 liberoque fastidio. Is cum satis floruisset adulescens, minor
and-free disdain he when enough he-had-flourished as-a-young-man less

haberi est coeptus postea. Deinde ex virginum iudicio
to-be-regarded was begun afterward then from of-the-(Vestal)-Virgins the-trial
 magnam laudem est adeptus et ex eo tempore quasi revocatus
great praise did obtain and from that time as-if recalled
 in cursum tenuit locum tam diu quam ferre potuit laborem;
into the-course he-held the-place so long as to-bear he-could the-labor
 postea quantum detraxit ex studio tantum amisit ex gloria.
afterward how-much he-withdrew from (his)-zeal so-much he-lost from (his)-glory

237

P. Murena mediocri ingenio, sed magno studio rerum veterum,
P. Murena of-middling talent but of-great zeal of-things old
 litterarum et studiosus et non imperitus, multae industriae
of-letters both a-devotee and not unskilled of-much industry
 et magni laboris fuit. C. Censorinus Graecis litteris satis
and of-great labor was C. Censorinus in-Greek letters sufficiently
 doctus, quod proposuerat explicans expedite, non invenustus
learned what he-had-proposed unfolding readily not ungraceful
 actor, sed iners et inimicus fori. L. Turius parvo ingenio
a-pleader but sluggish and an-enemy of-the-forum L. Turius of-small talent
 sed multo labore, quoquo modo poterat, saepe dicebat;
but with-much labor in-whatever way he-could often used-to-speak
 itaque ei paucae centuriae ad consulatum defuerunt.
and-so to-him a-few centuries for the-consulship were-lacking

L · MACER, PISO, AND POMPEY

Macer had no authority but was almost the most diligent of advocates; his invention and arrangement were wonderfully precise, though it looked more like an old hand's care than an orator's. Piso was full of conversation and seemed keener than he was. Pompey was born for everything highest and would have had more glory as a speaker if greater glory had not drawn him to war.

C. Macer auctoritate semper eguit, sed fuit patronus 238

C. Macer in-authority always was-lacking but was an-advocate
 propemodum diligentissimus. Huius si vita, si mores,
almost the-most-diligent of-this-man if the-life if the-character
 si vultus denique non omnem commendationem ingeni
if the-face in-short not every recommendation of-(his)-talent
 everteret, maius nomen in patronis fuisset. Non
overturned a-greater name among the-advocates it-would-have-been not
 erat abundans, non inops tamen; non valde nitens, non
it-was abundant not poor still not very shining not
 plane horrida oratio; vox gestus et omnis actio sine
plainly rough the-speech the-voice the-gesture and the-whole delivery without
 lepore; at in inveniendis componendisq; rebus mira
charm but in devising and-arranging matters a-wonderful
 accuratio, ut non facile in ullo diligentiore maioremq;
precision so-that not easily in anyone a-more-diligent and-greater
 cognoverim, sed eam ut citius veteratoriam quam oratoriam
I-have-known but it so-that sooner an-old-hand's than an-orator's
 diceres. Hic etsi etiam in publicis causis probabatur,
you-would-call be although even in public cases was-approved
 tamen in privatis inlustriorem obtinebat locum.
still in private a-more-distinguished he-held place

C. deinde Piso statarius et sermonis plenus orator, minime 239

C. then Piso stationary and of-conversation full an-orator by-no-means
 ille quidem tardus in excogitando, verum tamen vultu et
he indeed slow in devising but still by-(his)-look and
 simulatione multo etiam acutior quam erat videbatur. Nam
by-pretense much even keener than he-was he-seemed for
 eius aequalem M'. Glabrionem bene institutum avi
his contemporary M'. Glabrio well trained of-(his)-grandfather
 Scaevolae diligentia socors ipsius natura neglegensque tardaverat.
Scaevola by-the-care an-idle of-himself nature and-careless had-slowed

Etiam L. Torquatus elegans in dicendo, in existimando
also L. Torquatus elegant in speaking in judging
 admodum prudens, toto genere perurbanus. Meus autem
quite prudent in-(his)-whole kind very-urbane my however
 aequalis Cn. Pompeius vir ad omnia summa natus maiorem
contemporary Cn. Pompeius a-man for all the-highest born a-greater
 dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum maioris gloriae cupiditas
of-speaking glory would-have-had unless him of-greater glory the-desire
 ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplus,
to warlike praises had-drawn-away he-was in-speech sufficiently ample
 rem prudenter videbat; actio vero eius habebat et in
the-matter prudently he-saw the-delivery indeed of-him had both in
 voce magnum splendorem et in motu summam dignitatem.
voice great splendor and in movement the-highest dignity

240 Noster item aequalis D. Silanus vitricus tuus studi ille
our likewise contemporary D. Silanus the-stepfather your of-zeal he
 quidem habuit non multum sed acuminis et orationis
indeed had not much but of-sharpness and of-speech
 satis. Q. Pompeius A. F., qui Bithynicus dictus est,
enough Q. Pompeius of-A. son who Bithynicus called was
 biennio quam nos fortasse maior, summo studio discendi
by-two-years than we perhaps older with-the-utmost zeal of-learning
 multaue doctrina, incredibili labore atque industria; quod
and-with-much learning with-incredible labor and industry which
 scire possum: fuit enim mecum et cum M. Pisone
to-know I-can he-was for with-me and as-much M. Piso
 cum amicitia tum studiis exercitationibusque coniunctus.
as-much by-friendship as by-studies and-exercises joined

Huius actio non satis commendabat orationem; in hac
of-this-man the-delivery not enough commended the-speech in this
 enim satis erat copiae, in illa autem leporis parum.
for enough there-was of-abundance in that however of-charm too-little

Autronius had a shrill loud voice and nothing else; Staienus had a hot, impudent, furious manner that pleased many and would have carried him to office if he had not been caught in a crime. Arrius rose from the lowest station to honors and money by serving other men's convenience, and reached some standing without learning or talent — then failed to bear the severity of that judicial year, as an untrained boxer cannot bear the sun.

Erat eius aequalis P. Autronius voce peracuta atque 241
there-was his contemporary P. Autronius with-a-voice very-shrill and
 magna nec alia re ulla probabilis, et L. Octavius Reatinus,
great nor by-other thing any commendable and L. Octavius of-Reate
 qui cum multas iam causas diceret, adulescens est
who although many already cases he-was-pleading a-young-man did
 mortuus — is tamen ad dicendum veniebat magis audacter
die he still to speaking used-to-come more boldly
 quam parate—; et C. Staienus, qui se ipse adoptaverat
than preparedly and C. Staienus who himself be-himself had-adopted
 et de Staieno Aelium fecerat, fervido quodam et petulanti
and from a-Staienus an-Aelius had-made with-a-hot a-certain and impudent
 et furioso genere dicendi; quod quia multis gratum erat
and furious kind of-speaking which because to-many pleasing was
 et probabatur, ascendisset ad honores, nisi in facinore
and was-approved he-would-have-risen to honors unless in a-crime
 manifesto deprehensus poenas legibus et iudicio dedisset.
manifest caught the-penalties to-the-laws and to-a-court he-had-paid
 Eodem tempore C. L. Caepasii fratres fuerunt, qui 242
at-the-same time C. and-L. the-Caepasii brothers were who
 multa opera, ignoti homines et repentini, quaestores
by-much effort unknown men and upstart quaestors
 celeriter facti sunt, oppidano quodam et incondito genere
quickly made were with-a-provincial a-certain and unpolished kind

dicendi. Addamus huc etiam, ne quem vocalem praeterisse
of-speaking let-us-add here also lest anyone vocal to-have-passed-over
videamur, C. Cosconium Calidianum, qui nullo acumine eam
we-seem C. Cosconius Calidianus who with-no sharpness that
tamen verborum copiam, si quam habebat, praebebat populo
still of-words abundance if any he-had used-to-offer to-the-people
cum multa concursatione magnoque clamore. Quod idem
with much rushing-about and-with-great shouting which the-same
faciebat Q. Arrius, qui fuit M. Crassi quasi secundarum.
used-to-do Q. Arrius who was of-M. Crassus as-it-were of-the-second-parts
Is omnibus exemplo debet esse quantum in hac urbe polleat
he to-all an-example ought to-be how-much in this city avails
multorum oboedire tempori multorumque vel honori vel
of-many to-obey the-convenience and-of-many either the-honor or
periculo servire.
the-danger to-serve

243 His enim rebus infimo loco natus et honores et
by-these for things in-the-lowest station born both honors and
pecuniam et gratiam consecutus etiam in patronorum —
money and favor having-obtained even among of-advocates
sine doctrina, sine ingenio — aliquem numerum pervenerat.
without learning without talent some number he-had-reached
Sed ut pugiles inexercitati, etiam si pugnos et plagas
but as boxers untrained even if fists and blows
Olympiorum cupidi ferre possunt, solem tamen saepe ferre
of-the-Olympics desirous to-bear they-can the-sun still often to-bear
non possunt, sic ille cum omni iam fortuna prospere
not they-can so he when every already fortune prosperously
functus labores etiam magnos excepisset, illius iudicialis
having-discharged labors even great he-had-undertaken of-that judicial
anni severitatem quasi solem non tulit.
of-the-year the-severity as-if the-sun not he-bore

Atticus complains that Cicero is drawing from the dregs. Cicero answers that he follows the order of time, not partiality, and that this is precisely the point: of all who ever dared to speak before a crowd, very few are worth remembering and not many even had a name. Torquatus had more capacity than inclination. Pontidius boiled over so far that he quarreled with the judge he should have been soothing.

Tum Atticus: Tu quidem de faece, inquit, hauris idque 244
 then Atticus you indeed from the-dregs he-says are-drawing and-that
 iam dudum, sed tacebam; hoc vero non putabam, te usque
 now for-a-while but I-was-silent this indeed not I-was-thinking you right-up
 ad Staienos et Autronios esse venturum. Non puto, inquam,
 to the-Staeni and the-Autronii to-be about-to-come not I-think I-say
 existimare te ambitione me labi, quippe de mortuis; sed
 to-suppose you from-partiality me to-slip since about the-dead but
 ordinem sequens in memoriam notam et aequalem necessario
 the-order following into a-memory known and contemporary necessarily
 incurro. Volo autem hoc perspicere, omnibus conquisitis,
 I-run I-wish however this to-be-seen all having-been-hunted-up
 qui in multitudine dicere ausi sint, memoria quidem
 who before a-multitude to-speak have-dared have of-memory indeed
 dignos perpaucos, verum qui omnino nomen habuerint, non
 worthy very-few but who at-all a-name have-had not
 ita multos fuisse. Sed ad sermonem institutum revertamur.
 so many to-have-been but to the-conversation begun let-us-return

T. Torquatus T. F. et doctus vir ex Rhodia disciplina 245
 T. Torquatus of-T. son both a-learned man from the-Rhodian school
 Molonis et a natura ad dicendum satis solutus atque
 of-Molon and by nature for speaking sufficiently fluent and
 expeditus, cui si vita suppeditavisset, sublato ambitu
 ready to-whom if life had-lasting having-been-removed bribery

consul factus esset, plus facultatis habuit ad dicendum
consul made he-would-have-been more of-capacity he-had for speaking
 quam voluntatis. Itaque studio huic non satis fecit, officio
than of-inclination and-so to-the-pursuit to-this not enough he-did to-duty
 vero nec in suorum necessariorum causis nec in sententia
indeed neither in of-his-own of-connections the-cases nor in an-opinion
 senatoria defuit.

senatorial was-he-lacking

246 Etiam M. Pontidius municeps noster multas privatas causas
also M. Pontidius a-townsmen our many private cases
 actitavit, celeriter sane verba volvens nec hebes in causis
pleaded-repeatedly quickly quite words rolling nor dull in cases
 vel dicam plus etiam quam non hebes, sed effervescens
or I-shall-say more even than not dull but boiling-over
 in dicendo stomacho saepe iracundiaque vehementius; ut
in speaking with-temper often and-with-anger too-vehemently so-that
 non cum adversario solum sed etiam, quod mirabile esset,
not with an-opponent only but even what wonderful was
 cum iudice ipso, cuius delenitor esse debet orator, iurgio
with the-judge himself of-whom a-soother to-be ought an-orator in-a-quarrel
 saepe contenderet. M. Messalla minor natu quam nos,
often he-contended M. Messalla younger in-birth than we
 nullo modo inops, sed non nimis ornatus genere verborum;
in-no way poor but not too ornate in-the-kind of-(bis)-words
 prudens, acutus, minime incautus patronus, in causis
prudent keen by-no-means incautious an-advocate in cases
 cognoscendis componendisque diligens, magni laboris, multae
learning and-arranging diligent of-great labor of-much
 operae multarumque causarum.
effort and-of-many cases

The Metelli, Lentulus Marcellinus, and Memmius close the list; Memmius withdrew as much from his capacity as he spared himself labor. Brutus asks to hear about the living and names Caesar and Marcellus. Marcellus, whom he knows well, learned the art, dropped every other pursuit for it, and trains himself daily with the keenest practice. Brutus lately saw him at Mytilene, a man indeed, and now equipped with every resource by Cratippus.

Duo etiam Metelli, Celer et Nepos, non nihil in causis versati 247

two also Metelli Celer and Nepos not nothing in cases engaged

nec sine ingenio nec indocti, hoc erant populare dicendi

nor without talent nor unlearned this were the-popular of-speaking

genus adsecuti. Cn. autem Lentulus Marcellinus nec umquam

kind having-attained Cn. however Lentulus Marcellinus not ever

indisertus et in consulatu pereloquens visus est, non tardus

un-eloquent and in (bis)-consulship very-eloquent seemed has not slow

sententiis, non inops verbis, voce canora, facetus satis. C.

in-thoughts not poor in-words with-a-voice ringing witty enough C.

Memmius L. F. perfectus litteris, sed Graecis, fastidiosus

Memmius of-L. son finished in-letters but Greek disdainful

sane Latinarum, argutus orator verbisque dulcis sed fugiens

quite of-Latin a-pointed orator and-in-words sweet but avoiding

non modo dicendi verum etiam cogitandi laborem, tantum

not only of-speaking but even of-thinking the-labor so-much

sibi de facultate detraxit quantum imminuit industriae.

from-himself from (his)-capacity he-withdrew as-much-as he-lessened of-industry

Hoc loco Brutus: Quam vellem, inquit, de his etiam 248

at-this point Brutus how I-could-wish he-says about these also

oratoribus qui hodie sunt tibi dicere liberet; et, si de aliis

orators who today are to-you to-speak it-pleased and if about others

minus, de duobus tamen quos a te scio laudari solere,

less about the-two still whom by you I-know to-be-praised to-be-wont

Caesare et Marcello, audirem non minus libenter quam
Caesar and Marcellus I-would-hear not less gladly than
 audiui de eis qui fuerunt. Cur tandem? inquam; an
I-have-heard about those who have-been why then I-say or
 exspectas quid ego iudicem de istis, qui tibi sunt aequè noti
do-you-await what I may-judge about those who to-you are equally known
 ac mihi? Mihi me hercule, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus,
and to-me to-me me by-Hercules says Marcellus enough is known
 249 Caesar autem parum; illum enim saepe audiui, hic, cum
Caesar however too-little him for often I-have-heard this-man when
 ego iudicare iam aliquid possem, afruit. Quid igitur de illo
I to-judge already something could was-away what therefore about him
 iudicas, inquam, quem saepe audivisti? Quid censes, inquit,
do-you-judge I-say whom often you-have-heard what do-you-think he-says
 nisi id, quod habiturus es similem tui? Ne ego, inquam, si
except that which about-to-have you-are like to-you truly I I-say if
 ita est, velim tibi eum placere quam maxime. Atqui et ita
so it-is I-could-wish to-you him to-please as most and both so
 est, inquit, et vehementer placet; nec vero sine causa. Nam et
it-is he-says and strongly he-pleases nor indeed without cause for both
 didicit et omissis ceteris studiis unum id egit
he-has-learned and having-been-set-aside other pursuits one that he-has-pursued
 seseque cotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit.
and-himself with-daily practices most-keenly he-has-trained

250 Itaque et lectis utitur verbis et frequentibus sententiis
and-so both chosen he-uses words and frequent thoughts
 et splendore vocis et dignitate motus fit
and with-the-splendor of-(his)-voice and with-the-dignity of-(his)-movement becomes
 speciosum et inlustre quod dicit, omniaque sic suppetunt, ut
brilliant and lustrous what he-says and-all-things so are-at-hand that
 ei nullam deesse virtutem oratoris putem; maximeque
to-him no to-be-lacking excellence of-an-orator I-think and-most

laudandus est, qui hoc tempore ipso, quod liceat in
to-be-praised he-is who in-this time itself which is-permitted in
 hoc communi nostro et quasi fatali malo, consoletur
this common our and as-it-were fatal evil consoles
 se cum conscientia optimae mentis tum etiam
himself as-much with-the-consciousness of-a-most-excellent mind so also
 usurpatione et renovatione doctrinae. Vidi enim Mytilenis
with-the-employment and with-the-renewing of-learning I-saw for at-Mytilene
 nuper virum atque, ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum
lately a-man and as I-said I-saw plainly a-man and-so as-much
 eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim, tum vero nunc
him before to-you like in speaking I-had-seen so indeed now
 a doctissimo viro tibi, ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo
by a-most-learned man and-to-you as I-understood most-friendly Cratippus
 instructum omni copia multo videbam similiorem.
equipped with-every abundance much I-was-seeing more-like

LIV • CAESAR'S ELEGANT LATIN

Atticus teases Cicero for being consistent in saying nothing about the living, then judges Caesar to speak the most elegant Latin of nearly all orators, learned not by household habit alone but by wide and recondite reading. Caesar's treatise names Cicero almost the inventor of copious speech, and Brutus sets that above many men's triumphs. Cicero would rather have one speech of Crassus than two triumphs over hill forts: anyone can carry a hod, and few can carve.

Hic ego: Etsi, inquam, de optimi viri nobisque 251
here I although I-say about of-a-most-excellent of-a-man and-to-us
 amicissimi laudibus libenter audio, tamen incurro in memoriam
most-friendly the-praises gladly I-hear still I-run into the-memory
 communium miseriarum, quarum oblivionem quaerens hunc
of-(our)-common of-miseries of-which forgetfulness seeking this

ipsum sermonem produxi longius. Sed de Caesare cupio
very conversation I-have-drawn-out further but about Caesar I-desire
 audire quid tandem Atticus iudicet. Et ille: Praeclare, inquit,
to-hear what then Atticus judges and he splendidly he-says
 tibi constas, ut de eis qui nunc sint nihil velis ipse
with-yourself you-are-consistent that about those who now are nothing you-wish yourself
 dicere; et hercule si sic ageres, ut de eis egisti qui
to-say and by-Hercules if so you-were-proceeding that about those you-proceeded who
 iam mortui sunt, neminem ut praetermitteres: ne tu in multos
now dead are no-one that you-would-pass-over surely you into many
 Autronios et Staienos incurreres. Qua re sive hanc turbam
Autronii and Staieni would-run for-which reason whether this crowd
 effugere voluisti sive veritus es ne quis se aut praeteritum
to-escape you-wished or you-feared did lest anyone himself either passed-over
 aut non satis laudatum queri posset, de Caesare tamen
or not sufficiently praised to-complain might-be-able about Caesar still
 potuisti dicere, praesertim cum et tuum de illius ingenio
you-could to-speak especially since both your about of-him the-talent
 notissimum iudicium esset nec illius de tuo obscurum.
best-known judgment was nor of-him about yours obscure

252 Sed tamen, Brute, inquit Atticus, de Caesare et ipse ita iudico
but still Brutus says Atticus about Caesar both myself so I-judge
 et de hoc huius generis acerrimo existimatore saepissime
and from this of-this kind a-most-keen judge most-often
 audio, illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime;
I-hear him of-all nearly of-orators in-Latin to-speak most-elegantly
 nec id solum domestica consuetudine, ut dudum de
nor that only by-domestic habit as a-while-ago about
 Laeliorum et Muciorum familiis audiebamus, sed quamquam
of-the-Laelii and of-the-Mucii the-families we-were-hearing but although
 id quoque credo fuisse, tamen, ut esset perfecta illa
that also I-believe to-have-been still that there-might-be perfect that

bene loquendi laus, multis litteris et eis quidem reconditis et
of-well of-speaking praise by-much learning and that indeed recondite and
 exquisitis summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus:
choice and-by-the-utmost zeal and diligence he-has attained
 qui etiam in maximis occupationibus ad te ipsum, inquit in me 253
who even in the-greatest occupations to you yourself he-says at me
 intuens, de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit
gazing about the-method in-Latin of-speaking most-carefully has-written
 primoque in libro dixerit verborum dilectum originem esse
and-in-the-first in book has-said of-words the-choosing the-source to-be
 eloquentiae tribueritque, mi Brute, huic nostro, qui me de illo
of-eloquence and-has-assigned my Brutus to-this our-friend who me about him
 maluit quam se dicere, laudem singularem; nam scripsit his
preferred than himself to-speak praise singular for he-wrote in-these
 verbis, cum hunc nomine esset adfatus: ac si, ut cogitata
words when this-man by-name he-had addressed and if so-that thought-out
 praeclare eloqui possent, non nulli studio et usu
splendidly to-utter they-might-be-able not none by-zeal and by-practice
 elaboraverunt, cuius te paene principem copiae atque
have-labored of-which you almost the-chief of-the-abundance and
 inventorem bene de nomine ac dignitate populi Romani
the-inventor well about the-name and the-dignity of-the-people Roman
 meritum esse existimare debemus; hunc facilem et cotidianum
deserving to-be to-think we-ought this-man easy and everyday
 novisse sermonem num pro relicto est habendum?
to-have-known speech surely-not for abandoned is to-be-held
 Tum Brutus: Amice hercule, inquit, et magnifice te 254
then Brutus in-a-friendly by-Hercules he-says and magnificently you
 laudatum puto, quem non solum principem atque inventorem
praised I-think whom not only the-chief and the-inventor
 copiae dixerit, quae erat magna laus, sed etiam bene
of-abundance he-called which was great praise but even well

meritum de populi Romani nomine et dignitate. Quo
deserving about of-the-people Roman the-name and the-dignity by-which
 enim uno vincebamur a victa Graecia, id aut ereptum
for one we-were-being-surpassed by conquered Greece that either snatched
 illis est aut certe nobis cum illis communicatum.

from-them has-been or at-least for-us with them shared

255 Hanc autem, inquit, gloriam testimoniumque Caesaris tuae
this however he-says glory and-the-testimony of-Caesar to-your
 quidem supplicationi non, sed triumphis multorum antepono.
indeed thanksgiving not but to-the-triumphs of-many I-prefer
 Et recte quidem, inquam, Brute; modo sit hoc Caesaris
and rightly indeed I-say Brutus only let-there-be this of-Caesar's
 iudici, non benevolentiae testimonium. Plus enim certe
judgment not of-goodwill a-testimony more for certainly
 adtulit huic populo dignitatis, quisquis est ille, si modo
he-has-brought to-this people of-dignity whoever is he if only
 est aliquis, qui non inlustravit modo sed etiam genuit in
there-is anyone who not illuminated only but even begot in
 hac urbe dicendi copiam, quam illi, qui Ligurum castella
this city of-speaking the-abundance than those who of-the-Ligurians the-forts
 expugnauerunt: ex quibus multi sunt, ut scitis, triumphi.

stormed from which many there-are as you-know triumphs

256 Verum quidem si audire volumus, omissis illis divinis
the-truth indeed if to-bear we-wish having-been-set-aside those divine
 consiliis, quibus saepe constituta est imperatorum sapientia
counsels by-which often established has-been of-commanders the-wisdom
 salus civitatis aut belli aut domi, multo magnus orator
the-safety of-the-state either in-war or at-home by-much a-great orator
 praestat minutis imperatoribus. 'At prodest plus imperator.'

surpasses petty commanders but is-of-more-use more a-commander

Quis negat? Sed tamen — non metuo ne mihi acclametis;
who denies-it but still not I-fear lest at-me you-cry-out

est autem quod sentias dicendi libere locus — malim
there-is however what you-may-feel of-speaking freely a-place I-would-prefer
 mihi L. Crassi unam pro M'. Curio dictionem quam
for-me of-L. Crassus one for M'. Curius pleading than
 castellanos triumphos duo. 'At plus interfuit rei publicae
of-fort triumphs two but more it-mattered of-the-thing public
 castellum capi Ligurum quam bene defendi causam
a-fort to-be-taken of-the-Ligurians than well to-be-defended a-case
 M'. Curi.' Credo; sed Atheniensium quoque plus interfuit
of-M'. Curius I-believe but of-the-Athenians also more it-mattered
 firma tecta in domiciliis habere quam Minervae signum
firm roofs in dwellings to-have than of-Minerva a-statue
 ex ebore pulcherrimum; tamen ego me Phidiam esse
of ivory most-beautiful still I myself Phidias to-be
 malle quam vel optimum fabrum tignarium. Qua re
would-prefer than even the-best a-craftsman carpenter for-which reason
 non quantum quisque prosit, sed quanti quisque sit
not how-much each-man may-benefit but of-what-worth each-man may-be
 ponderandum est; praesertim cum pauci pingere egregie possint
to-be-weighed it-is especially since few to-paint excellently can
 aut fingere, operarii autem aut baiuli deesse non possint.
or to-model workmen however or porters to-be-lacking not can

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LV • THE FOUNDATION IS CORRECT LATIN

The ground and foundation of an orator is correct Latin speech, which used to come from good habit rather than from method. Outsiders have flowed into Athens and Rome and spoiled it, so usage must be assayed by reason. Flaminius, Catulus, and Cotta each show what habit alone does; Sisenna, trying to correct usage with unusual words, gave the court the joke about sputatilica. Caesar corrects faulty usage by pure usage and adds ornament like well-painted panels in good light.

258 Sed perge, Pomponi, de Caesare et redde quae restant.
but go-on Pomponius about Caesar and render what remains
 Solum quidem, inquit ille, et quasi fundamentum oratoris
the-ground indeed he-says he and as-it-were the-foundation of-an-orator
 vides, locutionem emendatam et Latinam, cuius penes
you-see speech faultless and Latin of-which in-the-hands-of
 quos laus adhuc fuit, non fuit rationis aut scientiae,
whom the-praise hitherto has-been not it-was of-method or of-knowledge
 sed quasi bonae consuetudinis. Mitto C. Laelium P.
but as-it-were of-good habit I-pass-over C. Laelius P.
 Scipionem: aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae
Scipio of-the-age of-that that was the-praise just-as of-innocence
 sic Latine loquendi — nec omnium tamen, nam illorum
so of-Latin of-speaking nor of-all still for of-those
 aequalis Caecilium et Pacuvium male locutos videmus —
contemporaries Caecilius and Pacuvius badly having-spoken we-see
 sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant
but all then nearly who neither outside the-city this had-lived
 neque eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, recte
nor them any barbarism domestic had-darkened rightly
 loquebantur. Sed hanc certe rem deteriorem vetustas
were-speaking but this certainly thing worse the-lapse-of-time
 fecit et Romae et in Graecia. Confluxerunt enim et
has-made both at-Rome and in Greece have-flowed-together for both
 Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinate loquentes
to-Athens and into this city many foully speaking
 ex diversis locis. Quo magis expurgandus est sermo et
from different places by-which the-more to-be-purged is speech and
 adhibenda tamquam obrussa ratio, quae mutari non potest,
to-be-applied as-it-were an-assay reason which to-be-changed not can
 nec utendum pravissima consuetudinis regula.
nor to-be-used by-a-most-crooked of-habit rule

T. Flamininum, qui cum Q. Metello consul fuit, pueri vidimus: 259

T. Flamininus who with Q. Metellus consul was as-boys we-saw
 existimabatur bene Latine, sed litteras nesciebat. Catulus erat
he-was-thought well in-Latin but letters he-did-not-know Catulus was
 ille quidem minime indoctus, ut a te paulo est ante dictum,
he indeed by-no-means unlearned as by you a-little was before said
 sed tamen suavitas vocis et lenis appellatio litterarum
but still the-sweetness of-(his)-voice and the-smooth pronouncing of-letters
 bene loquendi famam confecerat. Cotta, qui se valde
of-well of-speaking the-reputation had-made-up Cotta who himself much
 dilatandis litteris a similitudine Graecae locutionis abstraxerat
in-broadening letters from the-likeness of-Greek pronunciation had-drawn-away
 sonabatque contrarium Catulo, subagreste quiddam planeque
and-was-sounding the-opposite to-Catulus somewhat-rustic something and-plainly
 subrusticum, alia quidem quasi inculta et silvestri via ad
countrified by-another indeed as-it-were untilled and woodland road to
 eandem laudem pervenerat. Sisenna autem quasi emendator
the-same praise had-come Sisenna however as-it-were a-corrector
 sermonis usitati cum esse vellet, ne a C. Rusio quidem
of-speech customary although to-be he-wished not by C. Rusius indeed
 accusatore deterri potuit quo minus inusitatis verbis
the-prosecutor to-be-deterred was-be-able so-that less with-unusual words
 uteretur. Quidnam istuc est? inquit Brutus; aut quis est iste
he-might-use what-then that is says Brutus or who is that-man

C. Rusius? Et ille: Fuit accusator, inquit, vetus, quo 260

C. Rusius and he he-was a-prosecutor he-says of-old by-whom
 accusante C. Hirtilius Sisenna defendens dixit quaedam
accusing C. Hirtilius Sisenna defending said certain
 eius sputatilia esse crimina. Tum C. Rusius: Circumvenior,
of-him spit-worthy to-be charges then C. Rusius I-am-surrounded
 inquit, iudices, nisi subvenitis. Sisenna quid dicat nescio;
he-says jurors unless you-come-to-help Sisenna what he-says I-know-not

metuo insidias. Sputatilia, quid est hoc? sputa quid sit
I-fear an-ambush spit-worthy what is this spit what it-may-be
 scio, tilica nescio. Maximi risus; sed ille tamen familiaris
I-know worthy I-know-not the-greatest laughter but he still a-friend
 meus recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui.
my rightly to-speak thought to-be unusually to-speak

- 261 Caesar autem rationem adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et
Caesar however method applying usage faulty and
 corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat. Itaque
corrupt by-pure and uncorrupted usage corrects and-so
 cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum — quae, etiam
when to this elegance of-words Latin which even
 si orator non sis et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen
if an-orator not you-are and you-are a-freeborn citizen Roman still
 necessaria est — adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, tum
necessary is he-joins those oratorical ornaments of-speaking then
 videtur tamquam tabulas bene pictas conlocare in bono lumine.
he-seems as-it-were panels well painted to-place in good light
 Hanc cum habeat praecipuam laudem, in communibus non
this since he-has as-a-special merit in the-common not
 video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quandam minimeque
I-see to-whom he-ought to-yield a-brilliant a-certain and-by-no-means
 veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce motu forma
old-hand's method of-speaking he-bolds in-voice in-movement in-form
 etiam magnificam et generosam quodam modo.
even magnificent and noble in-a-certain way

Brutus praises Caesar's speeches and has read the commentaries on his own campaigns. Cicero says they deserve it: bare, straight, and graceful, with every ornament stripped off like a dress. Wanting to give historians material, Caesar pleased fools who will curl them with irons and frightened sensible men off the subject. Sicinius reached the ranks of the advocates on the meager but methodical school of Hermagoras; Visellius Varro was too rapid to sell to a crowd.

Tum Brutus: Orationes quidem eius mihi vehementer 262

then Brutus the-speeches indeed of-him to-me strongly

probantur. Compluris autem legi atque etiam commentarios,

are-approved several however I-have-read and even the-commentaries

quos idem scripsit rerum suarum. Valde quidem, inquam,

which the-same wrote of-affairs his-own very indeed I-say

probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu

to-be-approved bare for they-are straight and graceful with-every ornament

orationis tamquam veste detracta. Sed dum voluit alios

of-speech as-it-were the-dress stripped-off but while he-wished others

habere parata, unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam,

to-have ready whence they-might-take who might-wish to-write history

ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui illa volent calamistris

to-the-foolish a-favor perhaps he-did who those will-wish with-curling-irons

inurere: sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit; nihil

to-crimp the-sane indeed men from writing he-deterred nothing

est enim in historia pura et inlustri brevitae dulcius.

is for in history than-pure and lustrous brevity sweeter

Sed ad eos, si placet, qui vita excesserunt, revertamur.

but to those if it-pleases who from-life have-departed let-us-return

C. Sicinius igitur Q. Pompei illius, qui censor fuit, ex 263

C. Sicinius therefore of-Q Pompeius of-that-man who censor was from

filia nepos, quaestorius mortuus est; probabilis orator,

a-daughter the-grandson of-quaestorian-rank die did a-creditable orator

iam vero etiam probatus, ex hac inopi ad ornandum,
now indeed even an-approved-one from this poor for adorning
 sed ad inveniendum expedita Hermagorae disciplina. Ea
but for devising ready of-Hermagoras the-school it
 dat rationes certas et praecepta dicendi, quae si minorem
gives methods fixed and precepts of-speaking which if a-smaller
 habent apparatus — sunt enim exilia—, tamen habent
have equipment they-are for thin still they-have
 ordinem et quasdam errare in dicendo non patientis vias.
order and certain to-stray in speaking not allowing paths
 Has ille tenens et paratus ad causas veniens, verborum
these he holding and prepared to cases coming of-words
 non egens, ipsa illa comparatione disciplinae dicendi
not lacking by-the-very that training and-discipline of-speaking
 iam in patronorum numerum pervenerat.
already into of-advocates the-number had-come

264 Erat etiam vir doctus in primis C. Visellius Varro,
there-was also a-man learned among the-first C. Visellius Varro
 consobrinus meus, qui fuit cum Sicinio aetate coniunctus.
a-cousin my who was with Sicinius in-age joined
 Is, cum post curulem aedilitatem iudex quaestionis esset,
he when after the-curule aedileship a-judge of-an-inquiry he-was
 est mortuus; in quo fateor vulgi iudicium a iudicio
did die in whom I-confess of-the-crowd the-judgment from the-judgment
 meo dissensisse. Nam populo non erat satis vendibilis:
my to-have-differed for to-the-people not he-was sufficiently salable
 praeceps quaedam et cum idcirco obscura quia peracuta,
headlong a-certain and as-much for-that-reason obscure because very-keen
 tum rapida et celeritate caecata oratio; sed neque verbis
so rapid and by-speed blinded (bis)-speech but neither in-words
 aptiorem cito alium dixerim neque sententiis crebriorem.
a-more-apt quickly another would-I-name nor in-thoughts a-denser

Praeterea perfectus in litteris iurisque civilis iam a
besides finished in letters and-of-law civil already from
 patre Aculeone traditam tenuit disciplinam.

(his)-father Aculeo handed-down he-held the-training

Reliqui sunt, qui mortui sint, L. Torquatus, quem tu non tam 265

the-rest there-are who dead are L. Torquatus whom you not so
 cito rhetorem dixisses, etsi non deerat oratio, quam,

quickly a-rhetorician would-have-called although not was-lacking speech than

ut Graeci dicunt, πολιτικόν. Erant in eo plurimae litterae

as the-Greeks say politikon there-were in him very-much learning

nec eae vulgares, sed interiores quaedam et reconditae, divina

nor that common but deeper certain and recondite a-divine

memoria, summa verborum et gravitas et elegantia; atque haec

memory the-highest of-words both weight and elegance and these

omnia vitae decorabat gravitas et integritas. Me quidem

all of-(his)-life adorned dignity and integrity me indeed

admodum delectabat etiam Triari in illa aetate plena litteratae

exceedingly used-to-delight also of-Triarius in that age full of-lettered

senectutis oratio. Quanta severitas in vultu! quantum pondus

old-age the-speech how-great sternness in (his)-look how-much weight

in verbis! quam nihil non consideratum exibat ex ore!

in (his)-words how nothing not considered came-out from (his)-mouth

LVII • THOSE KILLED IN THE WAR

Brutus, moved at the names of Torquatus and Triarius, grieves that Cicero's authority for peace did not prevail, and is told that recollection is bitter and expectation more bitter still. Of those who fell in the war: Bibulus, who wrote carefully though he was no orator, and Appius Claudius, learned and practiced. Of the two consular Lentuli, Publius owed everything to training and nothing to nature, and Lucius would not bear the labor of thinking.

266 Tum Brutus Torquati et Triari mentione commotus —
then Brutus of-Torquatus and of-Triarius by-the-mention stirred
 utrumque enim eorum admodum dilexerat—: Ne ego, inquit,
each-of-the-two for of-them exceedingly he-had-loved truly I he-says
 ut omittam cetera quae sunt innumerabilia, de istis duobus
that I-may-omit the-rest which are countless about those two
 cum cogito, doleo nihil tuam perpetuam auctoritatem de
when I-think I-grieve nothing your unbroken authority for
 pace valuisse! Nam nec istos excellentis viros nec multos
peace to-have-availed for neither those excellent men nor many
 alios praestantis civis res publica perdidisset. Sileamus,
others outstanding citizens the-thing public would-have-lost let-us-be-silent
 inquam, Brute, de istis, ne augeamus dolorem. Nam et
I-say Brutus about those lest we-increase the-pain for both
 praeteritorum recordatio est acerba et acerbior expectatio
of-things-past the-recollection is bitter and more-bitter the-expectation
 reliquorum. Itaque omittamus lugere et tantum quid quisque
of-what-remains and-so let-us-cease to-mourn and only what each
 dicendo potuerit, quoniam id quaerimus, praedicemus.

by-speaking was-able since that we-seek let-us-declare
 267 Sunt etiam ex eis, qui eodem bello occiderunt, M. Bibulus,
there-are also from those who in-the-same war fell M. Bibulus
 qui et scriptitavit accurate, cum praesertim non esset orator,
who both wrote-repeatedly carefully although especially not he-was an-orator
 et egit multa constanter; Appius Claudius socer
and conducted many-things steadfastly Appius Claudius the-father-in-law
 tuus, conlega et familiaris meus: hic iam et satis
your a-colleague and a-friend my this-man now both sufficiently
 studiosus et valde cum doctus tum etiam exercitatus orator
studious and very as-much learned so also practiced an-orator
 et cum auguralis tum omnis publici iuris antiquitatisque
and as-much of-augural so of-all public law and-of-antiquity

nostrae bene peritus fuit. L. Domitius nulla ille quidem

our well skilled was L. Domitius by-no he indeed

arte, sed Latine tamen et multa cum libertate dicebat.

art but in-Latin still and much with freedom used-to-speak

Duo praeterea Lentuli consulares, quorum Publius ille

two besides Lentuli of-consular-rank of-whom Publius that

nostrarum iniuriarum ultor, auctor salutis, quicquid

of-our of-wrongs the-avenger the-author of-(our)-safety whatever

habuit, quantumcumque fuit, illud totum habuit e disciplina;

he-had however-much it-was that wholly he-had from training

instrumenta naturae deerant; sed tantus animi splendor et

the-instruments of-nature were-lacking but so-great of-spirit splendor and

tanta magnitudo ut sibi omnia, quae clarorum virorum

so-great greatness that for-himself all-things which of-famous of-men

essent, non dubitaret asciscere eaque omni dignitate

might-be not he-hesitated to-claim and-them with-every dignity

obtineret. L. autem Lentulus satis erat fortis orator,

he-maintained L. however Lentulus sufficiently was a-bold orator

si modo orator, sed cogitandi non ferebat laborem; vox

if only an-orator but of-thinking not he-bore the-labor a-voice

canora, verba non horrida sane, ut plena esset animi

ringing words not rough quite so-that full it-might-be of-spirit

et terroris oratio; quaereres in iudiciis fortasse melius,

and of-terror (his)-speech you-would-see in the-courts perhaps better

in re publica quod erat esse iudicares satis.

in the-thing public what he-was to-be you-would-judge enough

268

Postumius knew the public law well. Atticus says Cicero is collecting everyone who ever dared to speak standing, and has passed over Servilius; Cicero answers that he knows many who never spoke in public could have spoken better, but his list shows how few dared to speak and how few earned praise. He adds two knights: Cominius of Spoletum, well-ordered and keen, and Accius of Pisaurum, whom the precepts of Hermagoras had furnished with ready arguments.

269 Ne T. quidem Postumius contemnendus in dicendo; de
not T. indeed Postumius to-be-despised in speaking about
re publica vero non minus vehemens orator quam
the-thing public indeed not less vehement an-orator than
bellator fuit, effrenatus et acer nimis, sed bene iuris publici
a-warrior he-was unbridled and keen too-much but well of-law public
leges atque instituta cognoverat.

the-statutes and institutions he-had-learned

Hoc loco Atticus: Putarem te, inquit, ambitiosum esse,
at-this point Atticus I-should-think you he-says currying-favor to-be
si, ut dixisti, ei quos iam diu conligis viverent. Omnis
if as you-said those whom now long you-are-collecting were-alive all
enim commemoras, qui ausi aliquando sunt stantes loqui,
for you-mention who dared at-some-time have standing to-speak
ut mihi imprudens M. Servilium praeterisse videre.

so-that to-me unaware M. Servilius to-have-passed-over you-seem

270 Non, inquam, ego istuc ignoro, Pomponi, multos fuisse
not I-say I that am-unaware-of Pomponius that-many to-have-been
qui verbum numquam in publico fecissent, cum melius
who a-word never in public had-made although better
aliquanto possent quam isti oratores quos conligo dicere; sed
somewhat they-could than those orators whom I-collect to-speak but
his commemorandis etiam illud adsequor, ut intellegatis
by-these mentioning even this I-achieve that you-may-understand

primum ex omni numero quam non multi ausi sint dicere,
first from the-whole number how not many dared have to-speak
 deinde ex eis ipsis quam pauci fuerint laude digni.
then from those themselves how few were of-praise worthy
 Itaque ne hos quidem equites Romanos, amicos nostros, qui 271
and-so not these indeed knights Roman friends our who
 nuper mortui sunt, omittam P. Cominium Spoletinum, quo
lately dead are shall-I-omit P. Cominius of-Spoletum by-whom
 accusante defendi C. Cornelium, in quo et compositum dicendi
accusing I-defended C. Cornelius in whom both a-well-ordered of-speaking
 genus et acre et expeditum fuit; T. Accium Pisauremsem,
kind and keen and ready was T. Accius of-Pisaurum
 cuius accusationi respondi pro A. Cluentio, qui et accurate
to-whose accusation I-replied for A. Cluentius who both carefully
 dicebat et satis copiose, eratque praeterea doctus Hermagorae
spoke and sufficiently copiously and-he-was besides taught of-Hermagoras
 praeceptis, quibus etsi ornamenta non satis opima dicendi,
the-precepts by-which although ornaments not sufficiently rich of-speaking
 tamen, ut hastae velutibus amentatae, sic apta quaedam et
still as the-spears to-the-skirmishers thonged so fitted certain and
 parata singulis causarum generibus argumenta traduntur.
ready to-the-several of-cases kinds arguments are-handed-down

LIX · PISO AND CAELIUS

Nobody worked harder than Cicero's son-in-law Piso, who never had an hour free of pleading, preparation, writing, or thought, and whose gesture was so graceful that art seemed added to it. Caelius, while he took Cicero's advice, stood against the ruined citizens as firmly as any tribune; then he fell away, imitating the men he had ruined. Calidius was nearly unique: soft, translucent speech clothing recondite thoughts, words set like a mosaic, rhythm concealed.

272 Studio autem neminem nec industria maiore cognovi,
in-zeal however no-one nor in-industry greater I-have-known
 quamquam ne ingenio quidem qui praestiterit facile dixerim
although not in-talent indeed who he-surpassed easily could-I-say
 C. Pisoni genero meo. Nullum tempus illi umquam
than-C. Piso the-son-in-law my no time to-him ever
 vacabat aut a forensi dictione aut a commentatione
was-free either from forensic speaking or from preparation
 domestica aut a scribendo aut a cogitando. Itaque tantos
domestic or from writing or from thinking and-so so-great
 processus efficiebat ut evolare, non excurrere videretur;
advances he-was-making that to-fly not to-run he-seemed
 eratque verborum et dilectus elegans et apta et quasi
and-there-was of-words both a-choosing elegant and a-fitting and as-it-were
 rotunda constructio; cumque argumenta excogitabantur ab
rounded construction and-since arguments were-being-devised by
 eo multa et firma ad probandum tum concinnae acutaeque
him many and firm for proving so neat and-keen
 sententiae; gestusque natura ita venustus ut ars etiam, quae
thoughts and-a-gesture by-nature so graceful that art even which
 non erat, et e disciplina motus quidam videretur accedere.
not was and from training a-movement a-certain seemed to-be-added
 Vereor ne amore videar plura quam fuerint in illo dicere;
I-fear lest from-love I-seem more than they-were in him to-say
 quod non ita est; alia enim de illo maiora dici
which not so is other-things for about him greater to-be-said
 possunt. Nam nec continentia nec pietate nec ullo genere
can for neither in-self-restraint nor in-devotion nor in-any kind
 virtutis quemquam eiusdem aetatis cum illo conferendum puto.
of-virtue anyone of-the-same age with him to-be-compared I-think

Nec vero M. Caelium praetereundum arbitror, quaecumque eius 273
nor indeed M. Caelius to-be-passed-over I-think whatever of-him
 in exitu vel fortuna vel mens fuit; qui quamdiu auctoritati
in (his)-end either the-fortune or the-mind was who as-long-as to-the-authority
 meae paruit, talis tribunus plebis fuit ut nemo contra
my he-obeyed such a-tribune of-the-plebs was that no-one against
 civium perditorum popularem turbulentamque dementia a
of-citizens of-ruined the-popular and-turbulent madness for
 senatu et a bonorum causa steterit constantius. Antiquam
the-senate and for of-the-good the-cause stood more-steadfastly an-old-fashioned
 eius actionem multum tamen et splendida et grandis et
of-him manner-of-pleading much still and splendid and grand and
 eadem in primis faceta et perurbana commendabat oratio.
the-same among the-first witty and very-urbane commended (his)-speech
 Graves eius contiones aliquot fuerunt, acres accusationes tres
weighty of-him public-speeches several were keen prosecutions three
 eaeque omnes ex rei publicae contentione susceptae;
and-those all from of-the-thing public the-struggle undertaken
 defensiones, etsi illa erant in eo meliora quae dixi, non
the-defenses although those were in him better which I-said not
 contemnendae tamen saneque tolerabiles. Hic cum summa
to-be-despised still and-quite tolerable he with the-fullest
 voluntate bonorum aedilis curulis factus esset, nescio quo
goodwill of-the-good an-aedile curule made had-been I-know-not by-what
 modo discessu meo discessit a sese ceciditque, postea
way at-the-departure my he-departed from himself and-fell after
 quam eos imitari coepit quos ipse perverterat. Sed de
than those to-imitate he-began whom he-himself had-overthrown but about
 M. Calidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus e 274
M. Calidius let-us-say something who not was an-orator one from
 multis, potius inter multos prope singularis fuit: ita reconditas
many rather among many nearly singular he-was so recondite

exquisitasque sententias mollis et perlucens vestiebat oratio.

and-choice thoughts a-soft and translucent was-clothing speech

Nihil tam tenerum quam illius comprehensio verborum, nihil

nothing so tender as of-that-man the-joining of-words nothing

tam flexibile, nihil quod magis ipsius arbitrio fingeretur,

so pliant nothing which more of-himself at-the-will might-be-shaped

ut nullius oratoris aequè in potestate fuerit: quae primum

so-that of-no orator equally in the-power it-was which first

ita pura erat ut nihil liquidius, ita libere fluebat ut nusquam

so pure was that nothing more-liquid so freely it-flowed that nowhere

adhaeresceret; nullum nisi loco positum et tamquam in

it-stuck no except in-place set and as-it-were in

vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum

a-mosaic inlay as says Lucilius fitted word

videres; nec vero ullum aut durum aut insolens aut humile

you-would-see nor indeed any either harsh or unusual or low

aut longius ductum; ac non propria verba rerum sed pleraque

or too-far fetched and not proper words of-things but most

translata, sic tamen ut ea non inruisse in alienum locum

transferred so still that they not to-have-rushed into an-alien place

sed immigrasse in suum diceres; nec vero haec soluta

but to-have-moved into their-own you-would-say nor indeed these loose

nec diffuentia sed astricta numeris, non aperte nec eodem

nor flowing-apart but bound by-rhythms not openly nor in-the-same

modo semper sed varie dissimulanterque conclusis.

way always but variously and-with-concealment closed

Calidius had the figures of speech and of thought the Greeks call schemata, an orderly arrangement, and a wholly calm and sound manner. He taught and delighted; he could not move. Prosecuting Gallius for an attempt to poison him, he spoke of proofs held in his hand so languidly that Cicero, replying, used his very calm as evidence that the charge was invented. Brutus calls that a fault, not soundness, and Cicero turns to two young men who died early, Curio and Calvus.

Erant autem et verborum et sententiarum illa lumina 275

there-were however both of-words and of-thoughts those lights

quae vocant Graeci σχήματα, quibus tamquam insignibus

which they-call the-Greeks schemata by-which as-it-were by-insignia

in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio. Qua de re

in adornment was-marked-out all (his)-speech what about the-matter

agitur autem illud quod multis locis in iuris consultorum

is-at-issue however that which in-many places in of-law of-the-experts

includitur formulis, id ubi esset videbat.

is-enclosed in-the-formulas that where it-was be-used-to-see

Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, actio liberalis totumque 276

there-was-added an-order of-matters full of-art a-delivery gentlemanly and-the-whole

dicendi placidum et sanum genus. Quod si est optimum

of-speaking calm and sound kind which if is best

suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc quaerendum

pleasantly to-speak nothing there-is which better than-this to-be-sought

putes. Sed cum a nobis paulo ante dictum sit tria

you-should-think but since by us a-little before said it-has-been three

videri esse quae orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut

to-seem to-be which an-orator to-accomplish ought that he-teach that

delectaret, ut moveret: duo summe tenuit, ut et rem

he-delight that he-move two supremely he-held that both the-matter

illustraret disserendo et animos eorum qui audirent devinciret

he-lit-up by-arguing and the-minds of-those who heard he-bound

voluptate; aberat tertia illa laus, qua permoveret atque
by-pleasure was-absent the-third that merit by-which he-might-move-deeply and
 incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus; nec erat
rouse minds which most to-avail we-said nor was-there
 ulla vis atque contentio: sive consilio, quod eos, quorum
any force and straining whether by-design because those whose
 altior oratio actioque esset ardentior, furere atque bacchari
loftier speech and-delivery was more-burning to-rave and to-revel
 arbitraretur, sive quod natura non esset ita factus sive quod
he-judged whether because by-nature not he-was so made whether because
 non consuesset sive quod non nosset. Hoc unum
not he-had-been-accustomed whether because not he-knew-how this one
 illi, si nihil utilitatis habebat, auit; si opus erat, defuit.
to-him if nothing of-usefulness it-had was-absent if need there-was was-lacking

277

Quin etiam memini, cum in accusatione sua Q. Gallio
may even I-remember when in the-prosecution his-own to-Q Gallius
 crimini dedisset sibi eum venenum paravisse idque a
as-a-charge he-had-laid for-himself him poison to-have-prepared and-that by
 se esse deprensum seseque chirographa testificationes
himself to-have-been detected and-that-be handwritings depositions
 indicia quaestiones manifestam rem deferre diceret deque
informations examinations a-manifest matter to-produce he-said and-about
 eo crimine accurate et exquisite disputavisset, me in
that charge carefully and elaborately he-had-argued that-I in
 respondendo, cum essem argumentatus, quantum res
replying although I-had argued as-much-as the-case
 ferebat, hoc ipsum etiam posuisse pro argumento, quod
bore this very even to-have-set as an-argument that
 ille, cum pestem capitis sui, cum indicia mortis
he although the-ruin of-life his-own although the-proofs of-(his)-death

se comperisse manifesto et manu tenere diceret, tam
 himself to-have-discovered manifestly and in-(his)-hand to-hold he-said so
 solute egisset, tam leniter, tam oscitanter. 'Tu istuc,
 loosely bad-pleaded so gently so yawningly you that
 M. Calidi, nisi fingeres, sic ageres? praesertim cum 278
 M. Calidius unless you-were-inventing so would-you-plead especially since
 ista eloquentia alienorum hominum pericula defendere
 with-that eloquence of-other of-men the-dangers to-defend
 acerrime soleas, tuum neglegeres? Ubi dolor? ubi ardor
 most-keenly you-are-wont your-own you-would-neglect where the-grief where the-fire
 animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingeniis elicere voces et
 of-spirit which even from of-infants the-natures to-draw-out cries and
 querelas solet? Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis, non
 complaints is-wont no disturbance of-mind none of-body not
 frons percussa, non femur; pedis, quod minimum est,
 the-brow struck not the-thigh of-the-foot which the-least is
 nulla supposio. Itaque tantum afuit ut inflammares
 no stamping and-so so-much it-was-lacking that you-inflamed
 nostros animos, somnum isto loco vix tenebamus.' Sic nos
 our minds sleep at-that point scarcely we-restrained so we
 summi oratoris vel sanitate vel vitio pro argumento
 of-the-highest of-an-orator either the-soundness or the-fault as an-argument
 ad diluendum crimen usi sumus.

for dispelling the-charge used we-have
 Tum Brutus: Atque dubitamus, inquit, utrum ista sanitas 279
 then Brutus and do-we-doubt he-says whether that soundness
 fuerit an vitium? Quis enim non fateatur, cum ex omnibus
 was or a-fault who for not would-admit since from all
 oratoris laudibus longe ista sit maxima, inflammare animos
 of-an-orator the-merits by-far that is the-greatest to-inflame the-minds
 audientium et quocumque res postulet modo flectere,
 of-the-bearers and in-whatever the-case demands way to-bend-them

qui hac virtute caruerit, id ei quod maximum fuerit
who this excellence has-lacked that to-him which the-greatest was
 defuisse? Sit sane ita, inquam; sed redeamus ad
to-have-been-lacking let-it-be by-all-means so I-say but let-us-return to
 eum qui iam unus restat, Hortensium, tum de nobismet
him who now alone remains Hortensius then about ourselves
 ipsis, quoniam id etiam, Brute, postulas, pauca
our-own-selves since that also Brutus you-ask a-few-things
 dicemus. Quamquam facienda mentio est, ut quidem mihi
we-shall-say and-yet to-be-made mention is as indeed to-me
 videtur, duorum adolescentium, qui si diutius vixissent
it-seems of-two young-men who if longer they-had-lived
 magnam essent eloquentiae laudem consecuti.
great they-would-have of-eloquence praise attained

280

C. Curionem te, inquit Brutus, et C. Licinium Calvum
C. Curio you says Brutus and C. Licinius Calvus
 arbitror dicere. Recte, inquam, arbitraris; quorum quidem
I-think to-mean rightly I-say you-think of-whom indeed
 alter ita facile soluteque verbisolvebat satis interdum
the-one so easily and-fluently words used-to-roll sufficiently at-times
 acutas, crebras quidem certe sententias, ut nihil posset
keen frequent indeed certainly thoughts that nothing could
 ornatus esse, nihil expeditius. Atque hic parum a
more-ornate to-be nothing more-ready and this-man too-little by
 magistris institutus naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum;
teachers trained a-nature had admirable for speaking
 industriam non sum expertus, studium certe fuit. Qui
industry not I-have experienced zeal certainly there-was who
 si me audire voluisset, ut coeperat, honores quam opes
if me to-hear had-wished as he-had-begun honors than power

consequi maluisset. Quidnam est, inquit, istuc? et
to-pursue he-would-have-preferred what-then is he-says that and
 quem ad modum distinguis? Hoc modo, inquam.
in-what to manner do-you-distinguish in-this way I-say

LXI • HONOR AND THE NAME OF HONOR

An honor is the reward of merit, conferred by the judgment and zeal of fellow citizens; a command got by opportunity carries the name and not the thing. Curio might have climbed by the steps of office as his father had, and so might the younger Crassus, whom a tide of glory unwonted in the young swallowed up. Cicero returns to Calvus, whose anxious self-watching thinned his speech, and Brutus reports that Calvus wished to be called Attic.

Cum honos sit praemium virtutis iudicio studioque 281
since an-honor is the-reward of-merit by-the-judgment and-by-the-zeal
 civium delatum ad aliquem, qui eum sententiis, qui suffragiis
of-citizens conferred on someone who it by-opinions who by-votes
 adeptus est, is mihi et honestus et honoratus videtur.
having-obtained has he to-me both honorable and honored seems
 Qui autem occasione aliqua etiam invitis suis civibus
who however by-an-opportunity some even unwilling his-own fellow-citizens
 nactus est imperium, ut ille cupiebat, hunc nomen honoris
having-got has command as he desired this-man the-name of-honor
 adeptum, non honorem puto. Quae si ille audire voluisset,
having-obtained not the-honor I-think which if he to-hear had-wisbed
 maxima cum gratia et gloria ad summam amplitudinem
greatest with favor and glory to the-highest eminence
 pervenisset, ascendens gradibus magistratuum, ut pater
he-would-have-come mounting by-the-steps of-the-magistracies as the-father
 eius fecerat, ut reliqui clariores viri. Quae quidem etiam
of-him had-done as the-rest more-distinguished men which indeed also

cum P. Crasso M. F., cum initio aetatis ad amicitiam
with P. Crassus of-M. son when at-the-beginning of-(his)-age to friendship
 se meam contulisset, saepe egisse me arbitror, cum
himself mine he-had-brought often to-have-urged I think when
 eum vehementer hortarer ut eam laudis viam rectissimam
him strongly I-was-exhorting that that of-praise road the-straightest
 esse duceret quam maiores eius ei tritam reliquissent.

to-be he-should-hold which the-ancestors of-him for-him worn had-left
 282 Erat enim cum institutus optime tum etiam perfecte
he-was for as-much trained the-best so also perfectly
 planeque eruditus, ineratque et ingenium satis acre
and-plainly educated and-there-was-in-him both a-talent sufficiently keen
 et orationis non inelegans copia; praetereaque sine
and of-speech not inelegant an-abundance and-besides without
 adrogantia gravis esse videbatur et sine segnitia verecundus.
arrogance weighty to-be he-seemed and without sluggishness modest

Sed hunc quoque absorbit aestus quidam insolitae
but this-man also swallowed a-tide a-certain unwonted
 adolescentibus gloriae; qui quia navarat miles operam
for-the-young of-glory who because he-had-worked as-a-soldier service
 imperatori, imperatorem se statim esse cupiebat, cui
for-(his)-general a-general himself at-once to-be desired to-which
 muneri mos maiorum aetatem certam, sortem incertam
office the-custom of-(our)-ancestors an-age fixed a-lot uncertain
 reliquit. Ita gravissimo suo casu, dum Cyri et Alexandri
has-left so by-a-most-grievous his-own fall while of-Cyrus and of-Alexander
 similis esse voluit, qui suum cursum transcurrerant, et L.
like to-be he-wished who their-own course had-run-through both of-L.
 Crassi et multorum Crassorum inventus est dissimillimus.
Crassus and of-many of-the-Crassi was-found he most-unlike

Sed ad Calvum — is enim nobis erat propositus — revertamur; 283

but to Calvus he for for-us was set-before let-us-return
 qui orator fuit cum litteris eruditior quam Curio tum etiam
 who an-orator was as-much in-letters more-learned than Curio so also
 accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius adferebat genus;
 a-more-careful a-certain of-speaking and more-choice he-was-bringing kind
 quod quamquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium
 which although knowingly and-elegantly he-handled too-much
 tamen inquirens in se atque ipse sese observans
 still searching into himself and he-himself himself watching
 metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem
 and-fearing lest a-fault he-should-gather even true blood
 deperdebat. Itaque eius oratio nimia religione attenuata
 he-was-losing and-so his speech by-excessive scrupulousness thinned
 doctis et attente audientibus erat inlustris, a multitudine
 to-the-learned and attentively to-those-listening was lustrous by the-multitude
 autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur.
 however and by the-forum for-which born eloquence is was-swallowed-up
 Tum Brutus: Atticum se, inquit, Calvus noster dici 284
 then Brutus Attic himself says Calvus our to-be-called
 oratorem volebat: inde erat ista exilitas quam ille de industria
 an-orator wished from-there was that thinness which he of purpose
 consequabatur. Dicebat, inquam, ita; sed et ipse errabat et
 was-pursuing he-used-to-say I-say so but both himself he-was-erring and
 alios etiam errare cogebat. Nam si quis eos qui nec inepte
 others also to-err he-was-forcing for if anyone those who neither foolishly
 dicunt nec odiose nec putide Attice putat dicere, is recte nisi
 speak nor offensively nor affectedly Attically thinks to-speak he rightly except
 Atticum probat neminem. Insulsiatatem enim et insolentiam
 an-Attic approves no-one insipidity for and extravagance
 tamquam insaniam quandam orationis odit, sanitatem autem
 as-it-were a-madness a-certain of-speech he-bates soundness however

et integritatem quasi religionem et verecundiam oratoris
and wholesomeness as-it-were a-scruple and modesty of-an-orator
 probat. Haec omnium debet oratorum eadem esse sententia.
he-approves this of-all ought of-orators the-same to-be the-opinion

LXII • WHICH ATTICS?

Meagerness may be counted an Attic quality so far as it goes, but the imitator should know the grades of the Attics, for Demosthenes, Lysias, Hyperides, and Aeschines are utterly unlike one another. Charisius and Demochares were both Attic and unlike each other. Thucydides wrote history, not lawsuits, and his manner is a wine too old to drink. Demosthenes drew crowds from all Greece; these Attics are left by the ring of listeners and by their own supporters.

285 Sin autem ieiunitatem et siccitatem et inopiam, dum modo
but-if however meagerness and dryness and poverty provided only
 sit polita, dum urbana, dum elegans, in Attico genere ponit,
it-be polished provided urbane provided elegant in the-Attic kind he-places
 hoc recte dumtaxat; sed quia sunt in Atticis alia aliis
this rightly so-far-as-it-goes but because there-are among the-Attics some than-others
 meliora, videat ne ignoret et gradus et dissimilitudines et
better let-him-see lest he-be-unaware both the-grades and the-differences and
 vim et varietatem Atticorum. 'Atticos,' inquit, 'volo imitari.'
the-force and the-variety of-the-Attics the-Attics he-says I-wish to-imitate
 Quos? nec enim est unum genus. Nam quid est tam dissimile
which-ones nor for is-there one kind for what is so unlike
 quam Demosthenes et Lysias? quam idem et Hyperides?
as Demosthenes and Lysias as the-same and Hyperides
 quam horum omnium Aeschines? Quem igitur imitaris?
as of-these all Aeschines whom therefore do-you-imitate
 Si aliquem: ceteri ergo Attice non dicebant? si omnis: qui
if someone the-rest therefore Attically not were-speaking if all how

potes, cum sint ipsi dissimillimi inter se? In quo
can-you since they-are themselves most-unlike among themselves in which
 illud etiam quaero, Phalereus ille Demetrius Atticene dixerit.

this also I-ask the-Phalerean that Demetrius Attically-did he-speak
 Mihi quidem ex illius orationibus redolere ipsae Athenae
to-me indeed from of-that-man the-speeches to-smell the-very Athens

videntur. At est floridior, ut ita dicam, quam Hyperides,
they-seem but he-is more-flowery as so I-may-say than Hyperides
 quam Lysias: natura quaedam aut voluntas ita dicendi fuit.

than Lysias a-nature a-certain or a-preference so of-speaking there-was

Et quidem duo fuerunt per idem tempus dissimiles 286
and indeed two there-were through the-same time unlike

inter se, sed Attici tamen; quorum Charisius multarum
between themselves but Attics still of-whom Charisius of-many
 orationum, quas scribebat aliis, cum cupere videretur
speeches which he-was-writing for-others although to-desire he-seemed

imitari Lysiam; Demochares autem, qui fuit Demostheni
to-imitate Lysias Demochares however who was to-Demosthenes

sororis filius, et orationes scripsit aliquot et earum rerum
of-a-sister the-son both speeches wrote several and of-those things

historiam quae erant Athenis ipsius aetate gestae non
a-history which were at-Athens of-himself in-the-age done not
 tam historico quam oratorio genere perscripsit. Atque
so in-a-historical as in-an-oratorical kind wrote-out and

Charisi vult Hegesias esse similis, isque se ita putat
of-Charisius wishes Hegesias to-be like and-he himself so thinks

Atticum, ut veros illos prae se paene agrestis putet.
Attic that the-true those beside himself almost rustics he-thinks

At quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsa, quam 287
but what is so broken so minced so in that-very which

tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile? 'Atticorum similes
still he-attains neatness childish of-the-Attics like

esse volumus.' Optime; suntne igitur hi Attici oratores? 'Quis
to-be we-wish very-well are-they therefore these Attic orators who
negare potest? Hos imitatur.' Quo modo, qui sunt et inter
to-deny can these we-imitate in-what way who are both between
se dissimiles et aliorum? 'Thucydidem,' inquit, 'imitatur.'
themselves unlike and of-others Thucydides he-says we-imitate
Optime, si historiam scribere, non si causas dicere cogitatis.
very-well if history to-write not if cases to-plead you-intend
Thucydides enim rerum gestarum pronuntiator sincerus et
Thucydides for of-things done a-narrator sincere and
grandis etiam fuit; hoc forense concertatorium iudiciale
grand even was this forensic contentious judicial
non tractavit genus. Orationes autem quas interposuit —
not be-handled kind the-speeches however which he-inserted
multae enim sunt — eas ego laudare soleo; imitari neque
many for there-are them I to-praise am-wont to-imitate neither
possim si velim, nec velim fortasse si possim. Ut si
could-I if I-wished nor would-I-wish perhaps if I-could as if
quis Falerno vino delectetur, sed eo nec ita novo ut
anyone in-Falernian wine delights but in-that neither so new that
proximis consulibus natum velit, nec rursus ita vetere ut
in-the-latest consuls born he-wants nor again so old that
Opimium aut Anicium consulem quaerat — 'atqui hae notae
Opimius or Anicius as-consul he-seeks and-yet these vintages
sunt optimae,' credo; sed nimia vetustas nec habet eam
are the-best I-believe but excessive age neither has that
quam quaerimus suavitatem nec est iam sane tolerabilis —
which we-seek sweetness nor is-it now quite tolerable
288 num igitur qui hoc sentiat, si is potare velit, de dolio
surely therefore who this feels if he to-drink wishes from the-cask
sibi hauriendum putet? Minime; sed quandam
for-himself to-be-drawn should-be-think by-no-means but a-certain

sequatur aetatem. Sic ego istis censuerim et novam istam
let-him-follow age so I to-those would-advise both new that
 quasi de musto ac lacu fervidam orationem fugiendam
as-it-were from must and vat foaming speech to-be-avoided
 nec illam praeclaram Thucydidi nimis veterem tamquam
and-not that famous of-Thucydides too old as-it-were
 Anicianam notam persequendam. Ipse enim Thucydides si
the-Anician vintage to-be-pursued himself for Thucydides if
 posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior.
later he-had-been much riper he-would-have-been and gentler
 ‘Demosthenem igitur imitemur.’ O di boni; quid, quaeso, nos
Demosthenes therefore let-us-imitate O gods good what pray we
 aliud agimus aut quid aliud optamus? At non adsequimur.
else are-doing or what else do-we-wish but not we-attain-it
 Isti enim videlicet Attici nostri quod volunt adsequuntur.
those for evidently Attics our what they-wish attain
 Ne illud quidem intellegunt, non modo ita memoriae proditum 289
not that indeed do-they-understand not only so to-memory handed-down
 esse sed ita necesse fuisse, cum Demosthenes dicturus
to-be but so necessary to-have-been when Demosthenes about-to-speak
 esset, ut concursus audiendi causa ex tota Graecia fierent.
was that gatherings of-hearing for-the-sake from all Greece were-made
 At cum isti Attici dicunt, non modo a corona, quod
but when those Attics speak not only by the-ring-of-listeners which
 est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur.
is itself pitiable but even by (their)-supporters they-are-left
 Qua re si anguste et exiliter dicere est Atticorum, sint
for-which reason if narrowly and thinly to-speak is of-the-Attics let-them-be
 sane Attici; sed in comitium veniant, ad stantem iudicem
by-all-means Attics but into the-comitium let-them-come to a-standing judge
 dicant: subsellia grandiore et plenior vocem desiderant.
let-them-speak the-benches a-grander and fuller voice require

290 Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum auditum sit eum
I-wish this to-an-orator may-fall-out that when heard it-has-been him
 esse dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, compleatur
to-be about-to-speak a-place on the-benches may-be-taken may-be-filled
 tribunal, gratiosi scribae sint in dando et cedendo loco,
the-tribunal obliging the-clerks may-be in giving and yielding a-place
 corona multiplex, iudex erectus; cum surgat is qui dicturus
the-ring manifold the-judge alert when rises he who about-to-speak
 sit, significetur a corona silentium, deinde crebrae
is a-sign-may-be-made by the-ring silence then frequent
 assensiones, multae admirationes; risus cum velit, cum
assents many expressions-of-admiration laughter when he-wishes when
 velit fletus: ut qui haec procul videat, etiam si
he-wishes weeping so-that one-who these-things from-afar sees even if
 quid agatur nesciat, at placere tamen et in scaena esse
what is-being-done he-knows-not yet to-please still and on the-stage to-be
 Roscium intellegat. Haec cui contingat, eum scito
Roscius he-understands these-things to-whom fall-out him know
 Attice dicere, ut de Pericle audimus, ut de Hyperide,
Attically to-speak as about Pericles we-hear as about Hyperides
 ut de Aeschine, de ipso quidem Demosthene maxime.
as about Aeschines about him indeed Demosthenes most

LXIII · ATTIC SPEAKING IS BEING HEARD

If what they praise is the keen, solid, dried-out kind of speech, without the weightier ornament, they praise rightly: so great and various an art has room even for that fineness, and though not all who speak Attically speak well, all who speak well speak Attically. Atticus then breaks in. The irony ascribed to Socrates is witty in a dialogue but blameworthy in a history, and Cicero has praised men so warmly that the inexperienced would be misled.

Sin autem acutum prudens et idem sincerum et solidum et 291

but-if however a-keen prudent and the-same sincere and solid and

exsiccatum genus orationis probant nec illo graviore ornatu

dried-out kind of-speech they-approve and-not that weightier ornament

oratorio utuntur et hoc proprium esse Atticorum volunt,

oratorical they-use and this proper to-be of-the-Attics they-wish

recte laudant. Est enim in arte tanta tamque varia etiam

rightly they-praise there-is for in an-art so-great and-so varied even

huic minutae subtilitati locus. Ita fiet ut non omnes,

for-this minute subtlety a-place so it-will-happen that not all

qui Attice, idem bene, sed ut omnes, qui bene, idem

who Attically the-same well but that all who well the-same

etiam Attice dicant. Sed redeamus rursus ad Hortensium.

also Attically speak but let-us-return again to Hortensius

Sane quidem, inquit Brutus; quamquam ista mihi tua 292

by-all-means indeed says Brutus although that to-me your

fuit periucunda a proposita oratione digressio. Tum Atticus:

was most-pleasant from the-proposed speech digression then Atticus

Aliquotiens sum, inquit, conatus, sed interpellare nolui.

several-times I-have he-says tried but to-interrupt I-was-unwilling

Nunc quoniam iam ad perorandum spectare videtur sermo

now since already to summing-up to-look seems conversation

tuus, dicam, opinor, quod sentio. Tu vero, inquam, Tite. Tum

your I-shall-say I-think what I-feel you indeed I-say Titus then

ille: Ego, inquit, ironiam illam quam in Socrate dicunt fuisse,

he I he-says the-irony that which in Socrates they-say to-have-been

qua ille in Platonis et Xenophontis et Aeschini libris utitur,

which he in of-Plato and of-Xenophon and of-Aeschines the-books uses

facetam et elegantem puto. Est enim et minime inepti

witty and elegant I-think it-is for both by-no-means foolish

hominis et eiusdem etiam faceti, cum de sapientia disceptetur,

of-a-man and of-the-same also witty when about wisdom it-is-disputed

hanc sibi ipsum detrahare, eis tribuere inludentem, qui
this from-himself himself to-take-away to-them to-assign mocking-them who
 eam sibi adrogant, ut apud Platonem Socrates in caelum
it for-themselves claim as in Plato Socrates to the-sky
 effert laudibus Protagoram Hippia Prodicum Gorgiam
raises with-praises Protagoras Hippias Prodicus Gorgias
 ceteros, se autem omnium rerum inscium fingit et rudem.
the-rest himself however of-all things ignorant he-feigns and raw
 Decet hoc nescio quo modo illum, nec Epicuro, qui id
it-becomes this I-know-not by-what way him nor with-Epicurus who that
 reprehendit, assentior. Sed in historia, qua tu es usus in
censures do-I-agree but in history which you have used in
 omni sermone, cum qualis quisque orator fuisset exponeres,
every conversation when of-what-sort each orator had-been you-set-forth
 vide quaeso, inquit, ne tam reprehendenda sit ironia quam
see pray he-says lest as-much to-be-censured is irony as
 in testimonio. Quorsus, inquam, istuc? non enim intellego.
in testimony to-what-point I-say that not for I-understand
 Quia primum, inquit, ita laudavisti quosdam oratores
because first he-says so you-praised certain orators
 ut imperitos posses in errorem inducere. Equidem in
that the-inexperienced you-could into error to-lead for-my-part in
 quibusdam risum vix tenebam, cum Attico Lysiae
some laughter scarcely I-restrained when with-the-Attic Lysias
 Catonem nostrum comparabas, magnum me hercule
Cato our you-were-comparing a-great me by-Hercules
 hominem vel potius summum et singularem virum — nemo
man or rather a-supreme and singular man no-one
 dicet secus—; sed oratorem? sed etiam Lysiae similem?
will-say otherwise but an-orator but even to-Lysias like
 quo nihil potest esse pictius. Bella ironia, si iocaremur;
than-whom nothing can to-be more-finished a-pretty irony if we-were-jesting

sin adseveramus, vide ne religio nobis tam adhibenda sit
but-if we-are-in-earnest see lest scruple by-us as-much to-be-employed is
 quam si testimonium diceremus.
as if testimony we-were-giving

LXIV · ATTICUS CHARGES IRONY

Atticus approves Cato as citizen, senator, commander, and man, and his speeches for their age, but not the comparison with Philistus and Thucydides. Galba may hold the first place of his time but not the orator's, Lepidus and Laelius are overpraised, and Carbo and the Gracchi were only the best of their day. Cicero answers that the books must be unrolled: Cato's outlines lack only pigments not yet invented, and he named so many to show how few come out worthy of the name.

Ego enim Catonem tuum ut civem, ut senatorem, ut 294
I for Cato your as a-citizen as a-senator as
 imperatorem, ut virum denique cum prudentia et diligentia
a-commander as a-man in-short as-much in-prudence and in-diligence
 tum omni virtute excellentem probō; orationes autem eius
so in-every excellence outstanding I-approve the-speeches however of-him
 ut illis temporibus valde laudo — significant enim formam
as for-those times greatly I-praise they-show for a-shape
 quandam ingeni, sed admodum impolitam et plane rudem—,
a-certain of-talent but quite unpolished and plainly raw
 Origines vero cum omnibus oratoris laudibus refertas dices
the-Origins indeed when with-all of-an-orator the-merits crammed you-called
 et Catonem cum Philisto et Thucydide comparares, Brutone
and Cato with Philistus and Thucydides you-compared to-Brutus
 te id censebas an mihi probaturum? Quos enim ne e
you that did-you-think or to-me about-to-approve whom for not from
 Graecis quidem quisquam imitari potest, his tu comparas
the-Greeks indeed anyone to-imitate can with-these you compare

hominem Tusculanum nondum suspicantem quale esset
a-man of-Tusculum not-yet suspecting of-what-sort it-might-be
 copiose et ornate dicere.

copiously and ornately to-speak

295 Galbam laudas. Si ut illius aetatis principem, adsentior — sic

Galba you-praise if as of-that age the-leader I-agree so

enim accepimus—; sin ut oratorem, cedo quaeso orationes —

for we-have-beard but-if as an-orator give pray the-speeches

sunt enim — et dic hunc, quem tu plus quam te

there-are for and say this-man whom you more than yourself

amas, Brutum velle te illo modo dicere. Probas Lepidi

love Brutus to-wish you in-that way to-speak you-approve of-Lepidus

orationes, Paulum hic tibi adsentior, modo ita laudes

the-speeches a-little here to-you I-agree only so you-praise-them

ut antiquas; quod item de Africano, de Laelio, cuius tu

as old-fashioned which likewise about Africanus about Laelius of-whose you

oratione negas fieri quicquam posse dulcius, addis etiam

by-the-speech you-deny to-be-made anything to-be-able sweeter you-add even

nescio quid augustius. Nomine nos capis summi viri

I-know-not what more-solemn by-the-name us you-take of-a-supreme of-a-man

vitaeque elegantissimae verissimis laudibus. Remove haec: ne

and-of-a-life most-refined by-the-truest praises remove these lest

ista dulcis oratio ita sit abiecta ut eam aspicere nemo velit.

that sweet speech so may-be abject that it to-look-at no-one wishes

296 Carbonem in summis oratoribus habitum scio; sed cum

Carbo among the-highest orators held I-know but as-much

in ceteris rebus tum in dicendo semper, quo iam nihil est

in the-rest matters so in speaking always than-which now nothing is

melius, id laudari, quaecumque est, solet. Dico idem de

better that to-be-praised of-whatever-sort it-is is-wont I-say the-same about

Gracchis, etsi de eis ea sunt a te dicta, quibus ego

the-Gracchi although about them those-things are by you said with-which I

adsentior. Omitto ceteros; venio ad eos in quibus iam perfectam

agree I-omit the-rest I-come to those in whom already perfect

putas esse eloquentiam, quos ego audiui sine controversia

you-think to-be eloquence whom I heard without dispute

magnos oratores, Crassum et Antonium. De horum laudibus

great orators Crassus and Antonius about their praises

tibi prorsus adsentior, sed tamen non isto modo: ut Polycliti

with-you wholly I-agree but still not in-that way as of-Polycritus

Doryphorum sibi Lysippus aiebat, sic tu suasionem

the-Doryphorus for-himself Lysippus used-to-say so you the-urging

legis Serviliae tibi magistram fuisse; haec germana ironia

of-the-law Servilian for-you a-teacher to-have-been this genuine irony

est. Cur ita sentiam non dicam, ne me tibi adsentari putes.

is why so I-feel not I-shall-say lest me to-you to-flatter you-think

Omitto igitur quae de his ipsis, quae de Cotta, quae 297

I-omit therefore what about these themselves what about Cotta what

de Sulpicio, quae modo de Caelio dixeris. Hi enim

about Sulpicius what just-now about Caelius you-said these for

fuerunt certe oratores; quanti autem et quales tu videris.

were certainly orators how-great however and of-what-sort you shall-see

Nam illud minus curo quod conguessisti operarios

for that less I-care-about that you-have-beaped-together the-laborers

omnis; ut mihi videantur mori voluisse non nulli, ut

all so-that to-me they-seem to-die to-have-wished not none so-that

a te in oratorum numerum referrentur. Haec cum

by you into of-orators the-number they-might-be-entered these-things when

ille dixisset: Longi sermonis initium pepulisti, inquam,

he had-said of-a-long of-a-conversation the-beginning you-have-struck I-say

Attice, remque commovisti nova disputatione dignam,

Atticus and-a-matter you-have-stirred of-a-new discussion worthy

quam in aliud tempus differamus.

which into another time let-us-defer

- 298 Volvendi enim sunt libri cum aliorum tum in
to-be-unrolled for are the-books as-much of-others so among
 primis Catonis. Intelleges nihil illius liniamentis nisi
the-first of-Cato you-will-understand nothing to-his outlines except
 eorum pigmentorum, quae inventa nondum erant, florem
of-those of-pigments which discovered not-yet were the-bloom
 et colorem defuisse. Nam de Crassi oratione sic
and the-color to-have-been-lacking for about of-Crassus the-speech so
 existimo, ipsum fortasse melius potuisse scribere, alium,
I-judge himself perhaps better to-have-been-able to-write another
 ut arbitrator, neminem. Nam in hoc εἰρῶνα me duxeris
as I-think no-one for in this an-ironist me you-will-have-taken
 esse, quod eam orationem mihi magistram fuisse dixerim.
to-be because that speech to-me a-teacher to-have-been I-said
 Nam etsi tute melius existimare videris de ea, si
for although you-yourself better to-judge seem about that if
 quam nunc habemus, facultate, tamen adolescentes quid in
any now we-have capacity still as-young-men what in
 Latinis potius imitemur non habebamus.

Latin rather we-might-imitate not we-had

- 299 Quod autem plures a nobis nominati sunt, eo pertinuit,
that however more by us named have-been to-that it-tended
 ut paulo ante dixi, quod intellegi volui, in eo,
so-that a-little before I-said because to-be-understood I-wished in that
 cuius omnes cupidissimi essent, quam pauci digni nomine
of-which all most-desirous were how few worthy of-the-name
 evaderent. Quare εἰρῶνα me, ne si Africanus quidem fuit,
came-out wherefore an-ironist me not if Africanus indeed was
 ut ait in historia sua C. Fannius, existimari velim.
as says in the-history his-own C. Fannius to-be-thought would-I-wish

Ut voles, inquit Atticus. Ego enim non alienum a te
 as you-will says Atticus I for not alien from you
 putabam, quod et in Africano fuisset et in Socrate.
 thought what both in Africanus had-been and in Socrates

LXV · HORTENSIVS' MEMORY

Brutus asks for the old speeches, and Cicero promises them at Cumae or Tusculum, since they are neighbors in both places. Hortensius began pleading while quite young and was quickly taken into greater cases, matched in glory with Crassus, Antonius, Philippus, and Julius. His memory was the greatest Cicero ever knew: he gave back unwritten what he had thought out, in the very words. No day passed without pleading or practice, and he brought in the division and the summing-up.

Tum Brutus: De isto postea; sed tu, inquit me intuens, 300
 then Brutus about that later but you he-says me gazing-at
 orationes nobis veteres explicabis? Vero, inquam, Brute; sed
 the-speeches for-us old will-you-explain truly I-say Brutus but
 in Cumano aut in Tusculano aliquando, si modo licebit,
 at the-Cuman or at the-Tusculan some-time if only it-shall-be-allowed
 quoniam utroque in loco vicini sumus. Sed iam ad id
 since in-each in place neighbors we-are but now to that
 unde digressi sumus revertamur.
 from-which we-digressed have let-us-return

Hortensius igitur cum admodum adulescens orsus esset 301
 Hortensius therefore since quite a-young-man having-begun he-had-been
 in foro dicere, celeriter ad maiores causas adhiberi
 in the-forum to-speak quickly to greater cases to-be-employed
 coeptus est: et quamquam inciderat in Cottae et Sulpici
 begun he-was and although he-had-fallen into of-Cotta and of-Sulpicius
 aetatem, qui annis decem maiores erant, eccellente tum
 the-age who by-years ten older were excelling then

Crasso et Antonio, dein Philippo, post Iulio, cum his
with-Crassus and Antonius then Philippus after Iulius with these
 ipsis dicendi gloria comparabatur. Primum memoria tanta
very of-speaking in-the-glory he-was-compared first a-memory so-great
 quantam in nullo cognovisse me arbitror, ut quae secum
as-great-as in no-one to-have-known I I-think that what with-himself
 commentatus esset, ea sine scripto verbis eisdem redderet
thought-out he-had those without writing in-words the-same he-rendered
 quibus cogitavisset. Hoc adiumento ille tanto sic utebatur
in-which he-had-thought this aid he so-great so used
 ut sua et commentata et scripta et nullo referente
that his-own both thought-out and written and with-no-one prompting
 omnia omnium adversariorum dicta meminisset.
all-things of-all of-(his)-opponents the-sayings he-remembered

302 Ardebat autem cupiditate sic ut in nullo umquam flagrantius
he-burned however with-eagerness so that in no-one ever more-blazing
 studium viderim. Nullum enim patiebatur esse diem quin
zeal I-have-seen no for he-allowed to-be day but-that
 aut in foro diceret aut meditaretur extra forum. Saepissime
either in the-forum he-spoke or he-practiced outside the-forum most-often
 autem eodem die utrumque faciebat. Attuleratque minime
however on-the-same day each-of-the-two he-did and-he-had-brought by-no-means
 vulgare genus dicendi; duas quidem res quas nemo alius:
common a-kind of-speaking two indeed things which no-one else
 partitiones quibus de rebus dicturus esset et conlectiones,
the-divisions what about things about-to-speak he-was and the-summings-up
 memor et quae essent dicta contra quaeque ipse dixisset.
mindful both what had-been said against and-what himself he-had-said

Hortensius was elegant in words, apt in arrangement, and copious; he divided a case accurately and left out nothing. His voice was ringing and sweet, and his gesture had more art in it than an orator needs. While he flourished, Crassus died, Cotta was driven out, the courts stopped for the war, and Cicero came to the forum. He heard the speakers daily, learned law from Scaevola, and gave himself to Philo, head of the Academy, exiled at Rome.

Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, 303

he-was in of-words the-splendor elegant in-arrangement apt

facultate copiosus; eaque erat cum summo

in-capacity copious and-these-things he-had as-much with-the-highest

ingenio tum exercitationibus maximis consecutus. Rem

talent so by-exercises the-greatest attained the-matter

complectebatur memoriter, dividebat acute, nec praetermittebat

he-embraced by-memory he-divided keenly nor did-he-pass-over

fere quicquam quod esset in causa aut ad confirmandum

almost anything which was in the-case either for confirming

aut ad refellendum. Vox canora et suavis, motus et

or for refuting a-voice ringing and sweet the-movement and

gestus etiam plus artis habebat quam erat oratori satis.

the-gesture even more of-art had than was for-an-orator enough

Hoc igitur florescente Crassus est mortuus, Cotta pulsus,

with-this therefore flourishing Crassus did die Cotta driven-out

iudicia intermissa bello, nos in forum venimus.

the-courts interrupted by-the-war we into the-forum came

Erat Hortensius in bello primo anno miles, altero 304

was Hortensius in the-war in-the-first year a-soldier in-the-second

tribunus militum, Sulpicius legatus; aberat etiam M.

a-tribune of-the-soldiers Sulpicius a-legate was-away also M.

Antonius; exercebatur una lege iudicium Varia, ceteris

Antonius was-being-conducted by-one law a-court the-Varian the-rest

propter bellum intermissis; cui frequens aderam,
because-of the-war having-been-interrupted at-which frequent I-was-present
 quamquam pro se ipsi dicebant oratores non illi
although for themselves they-themselves were-speaking orators not those
 quidem principes, L. Memmius et Q. Pompeius, sed oratores
indeed leading L. Memmius and Q. Pompeius but orators
 tamen teste diserto utique Philippo, cuius in testimonio
still with-a-witness eloquent at-any-rate Philippus whose in the-testimony
 contentio et vim accusatoris habebat et copiam.

the-vehemence both the-force of-a-prosecutor had and the-abundance

305 Reliqui qui tum principes numerabantur in magistratibus
the-rest who then leading were-counted in magistracies
 erant cottidieque fere a nobis in contionibus audiebantur.
were and-daily nearly by us in public-meetings were-heard
 Erat enim tribunus plebis tum C. Curio, quamquam is
there-was for a-tribune of-the-plebs then C. Curio although he
 quidem silebat, ut erat semel a contione universa relictus;
indeed was-silent as he-had-been once by an-assembly whole abandoned
 Q. Metellus Celer non ille quidem orator, sed tamen non
Q. Metellus Celer not he indeed an-orator but still not
 infans; disertum autem Q. Varius C. Carbo Cn. Pomponius,
tongue-tied eloquent however Q. Varius C. Carbo Cn. Pomponius
 et hi quidem habitabant in rostris; C. etiam Iulius aedilis
and these indeed used-to-dwell on the-rostra C. also Iulius an-aedile
 curulis cottidie fere accuratas contiones habebat. Sed me
curule daily nearly careful public-speeches used-to-hold but me
 cupidissimum audiendi primus dolor percussit, Cotta cum
most-eager of-hearing the-first grief struck Cotta when
 est expulsus. Reliquos frequenter audiens acerrimo studio
was driven-out the-rest frequently hearing with-the-keenest zeal
 tenebar cottidieque et scribens et legens et commentans
I-was-held and-daily both writing and reading and practicing

oratoriis tantum exercitationibus contentus non eram. Iam
with-oratorical only exercises content not I-was now
 consequente anno Q. Varius sua lege damnatus excesserat;
in-the-following year Q. Varius by-his-own law condemned had-departed
 ego autem in iuris civilis studio multum operae dabam Q. 306
I however in of-law civil the-study much of-effort was-giving to-Q
 Scaevolae Q. F., qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum
Scaevola of-Q son who although to-no-one himself for teaching
 dabat, tamen consulentibus respondendo studiosos audiendi
gave still to-those-consulting by-answering the-eager of-hearing
 docebat. Atque huic anno proximus Sulla consule et Pompeio
he-taught and to-this year the-next Sulla as-consul and Pompeius
 fuit. Tum P. Sulpici in tribunatu cottidie contionantis
was then of-P. Sulpicius in the-tribunate daily speaking-in-public
 totum genus dicendi penitus cognovimus; eodemque
the-whole kind of-speaking thoroughly we-came-to-know and-at-the-same
 tempore, cum princeps Academiae Philo cum Atheniensium
time when the-head of-the-Academy Philo with of-the-Athenians
 optimatibus Mithridatico bello domo profugisset Romamque
the-nobles in-the-Mithridatic war from-home had-fled and-to-Rome
 venisset, totum ei me tradidi admirabili quodam ad
had-come wholly to-him myself I-gave-up by-an-admirable a-certain toward
 philosophiam studio concitatus, in quo hoc etiam commorabar
philosophy zeal roused in which this even I-lingered
 attentius — etsi rerum ipsarum varietas et magnitudo
more-attentively although of-the-things themselves the-variety and the-greatness
 summa me delectatione retinebat — quod tamen sublata
with-the-highest me delight held because still removed
 iam esse in perpetuum ratio iudiciorum videbatur.
already to-be for ever the-system of-the-courts seemed

After Sulpicius fell and three orators were killed, the city went three years without arms, and Hortensius held first place. Cicero studied with Diodotus the Stoic, declaimed daily, mostly in Greek, and heard Molon at Rome. When the courts were restored he made his name defending Roscius. His full-strain delivery alarmed friends and doctors, so to change his manner he spent six months at Athens with Antiochus, then toured Asia.

- 307 Occiderat Sulpicius illo anno tresque proximo trium aetatum
had-fallen Sulpicius in-that year and-three in-the-next of-three of-ages
 oratores erant crudelissime interfecti, Q. Catulus M. Antonius
orators had-been most-cruelly killed Q. Catulus M. Antonius
 C. Iulius. Haec etsi videntur esse a proposita oratione
C. Iulius these-things although they-seem to-be from the-proposed speech
 diversa, tamen idcirco a me proferuntur ut nostrum
apart still for-this-reason by me are-brought-forward so-that our
 cursum perspicere, quoniam voluisti, Brute, possis — nam
course to-perceive since you-wished Brutus you-may-be-able for
 Attico haec nota sunt — et videre quem ad modum
to-Atticus these-things known are and to-see in-what to manner
 simus in spatio Q. Hortensium ipsius vestigiis persecuti.
we-are in the-course Q. Hortensius of-himself the-footsteps having-followed
- 308 Triennium fere fuit urbs sine armis, sed oratorum aut
three-years nearly was the-city without arms but of-orators either
 interitu aut discessu aut fuga — nam aberant etiam
by-the-death or by-the-departure or by-the-flight for they-were-away also
 adulescentes M. Crassus et Lentuli duo — primas in
the-young-men M. Crassus and the-Lentuli two the-first-place in
 causis agebat Hortensius, magis magisque cottidie probabatur
cases was-taking Hortensius more and-more daily was-approved
 Antistius, Piso saepe dicebat, minus saepe Pomponius, raro
Antistius Piso often spoke less often Pomponius rarely

Carbo, semel aut iterum Philippus. At vero ego hoc
Carbo once or twice Philippus but indeed I in-this
 tempore omni noctes et dies in omnium doctrinarum
time whole nights and days in of-all of-studies
 meditatione versabar.

the-practice was-engaged

Eram cum Stoico Diodoto, qui cum habitavisset apud me 309
I-was with the-Stoic Diodotus who since he-had-lived at me
 mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meae mortuus. A quo cum
and-with-me had-lived lately did at-home mine die by whom as-much
 in aliis rebus tum studiosissime in dialectica exercebar, quae
in other things so most-eagerly in dialectic I-was-trained which
 quasi contracta et astricta eloquentia putanda est; sine qua
as-it-were compressed and tightened eloquence to-be-thought is without which
 etiam tu, Brute, iudicavisti te illam iustam eloquentiam, quam
even you Brutus have-judged yourself that true eloquence which
 dialecticam esse dilatatam putant, consequi non posse. Huic
dialectic to-be broadened-out they-think to-attain not to-be-able to-this
 ego doctore et eius artibus variis atque multis ita eram tamen
I teacher and his to-arts various and many so I-was still
 deditus ut ab exercitationibus oratoriis nullus dies vacuus esset.

devoted that from exercises oratorical no day empty was
 Commentabar declamitans — sic enim nunc loquuntur — 310

I-used-to-practice declaiming so for now they-speak
 saepe cum M. Pisone et cum Q. Pompeio aut cum aliquo
often with M. Piso and with Q. Pompeius or with someone
 cottidie, idque faciebam multum etiam Latine, sed Graece
daily and-that I-used-to-do much also in-Latin but in-Greek
 saepius, vel quod Graeca oratio plura ornamenta suppeditans
more-often either because Greek speech more ornaments supplying
 consuetudinem similiter Latine dicendi adferebat, vel quod
a-habit likewise in-Latin of-speaking brought or because

a Graecis summis doctoribus, nisi Graece dicerem, neque
by Greek the-highest teachers unless in-Greek I-spoke neither
 corrigi possem neque doceri.

to-be-corrected could-I nor to-be-taught

- 311 Tumultus interim in recuperanda re publica et crudelis
tumults meanwhile in recovering the-thing public and the-cruel
 interitus oratorum trium Scaevolae Carbonis Antisti, reditus
deaths of-orators three of-Scaevola of-Carbo of-Antistius the-return
 Cottae Curionis Crassi Lentulorum Pompei, leges et iudicia
of-Cotta of-Curio of-Crassus of-the-Lentuli of-Pompeius laws and courts
 constituta, recuperata res publica; ex numero autem
established recovered the-thing public from the-number however
 oratorum Pomponius Censorinus Murena sublati. Tum
of-orators Pomponius Censorinus Murena taken-away then
 primum nos ad causas et privatas et publicas adire
for-the-first-time we to cases both private and public to-come
 coepimus, non ut in foro disceremus, quod plerique
began not so-that in the-forum we-might-learn which most
 fecerunt, sed ut, quantum nos efficere potuissemus, docti
have-done but so-that as-much-as we to-accomplish had-been-able learned
 in forum veniremus.

into the-forum we-might-come

- 312 Eodem tempore Moloni dedimus operam; dictatore enim
at-the-same time to-Molon we-gave attention as-dictator for
 Sulla legatus ad senatum de Rhodiorum praemiis venerat.
Sulla an-envoy to the-senate about of-the-Rhodians the-rewards he-had-come
 Itaque prima causa publica pro Sex. Roscio dicta tantum
and-so the-first case public for Sex. Roscius pleaded so-much
 commendationis habuit ut non ulla esset quae non digna
of-recommendation had that not any there-was which not worthy

nostro patrocínio videretur. Deinceps inde multae, quas nos
of-our of-advocacy seemed thereafter from-then many which we
 diligenter elaboratas et tamquam elucubratas adferebamus.

carefully worked-out and as-it-were lamp-wrought used-to-bring

Nunc quoniam totum me non naevo aliquo aut crepundiis, 313

now since wholly me not by-a-mole some or by-baby-trinkets

sed corpore omni videris velle cognoscere, complectar non

but by-the-body whole you-seem to-wish to-know I-shall-include not

nulla etiam quae fortasse videantur minus necessaria. Erat

none even which perhaps may-seem less necessary there-was

eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis,

at-that time in us the-utmost slenderness and weakness of-body

procerum et tenue collum: qui habitus et quae figura non

a-long and thin neck which condition and which figure not

procul abesse putatur a vitae periculo, si accedit labor et

far to-be-distant is-thought from of-life the-danger if is-added toil and

laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos quibus eram

of-the-lungs great straining and-by-that more this those to-whom I-was

carus, commovebat, quod omnia sine remissione, sine varietate,

dear used-to-disturb because all-things without relaxation without variety

vi summa vocis et totius corporis contentione dicebam.

with-force the-utmost of-voice and of-the-whole of-the-body with-straining I-used-to-speak

Itaque cum me et amici et medici hortarentur ut causas 314

and-so when me both friends and doctors urged that cases

agere desisterem, quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundum

to-plead I-should-cease any-you-please rather danger for-me to-be-undergone

quam a sperata dicendi gloria discedendum putavi.

than from the-hoped-for of-speaking glory to-be-departed-from I-thought

Sed cum censerem remissione et moderatione vocis et

but when I-judged by-relaxation and by-moderation of-voice and

commutato genere dicendi me et periculum vitare posse

by-a-changed kind of-speaking myself both the-danger to-avoid to-be-able

et temperatius dicere, ut consuetudinem dicendi mutarem,
and more-temperately to-speak so-that the-habit of-speaking I-might-change
 ea causa mihi in Asiam proficiscendi fuit. Itaque cum
that the-cause for-me into Asia of-setting-out was and-so when
 essem biennium versatus in causis et iam in foro
I-had-been for-two-years engaged in cases and already in the-forum
 celebratum meum nomen esset, Roma sum profectus.

famous my name was from-Rome I set-out

- 315 Cum venissem Athenas, sex mensis cum Antiocho veteris
when I-had-come to-Athens six months with Antiochus of-the-old
 Academiae nobilissimo et prudentissimo philosopho fui
of-the-Academy the-most-noble and most-prudent philosopher I-was
 studiumque philosophiae numquam intermissum a primaque
and-the-pursuit of-philosophy never interrupted from and-earliest
 adulescentia cultum et semper auctum hoc rursus summo
youth cultivated and always increased this again with-a-supreme
 auctore et doctore renovavi. Eodem tamen tempore Athenis
authority and teacher I-renewed at-the-same still time at-Athens
 apud Demetrium Syrum veterem et non ignobilem dicendi
with Demetrius the-Syrian an-old and not obscure of-speaking
 magistrum studiose exerceri solebam. Post a me Asia tota
teacher eagerly to-be-exercised I-was-wont afterward by me Asia whole
 peragrata est †cum summis quidem oratoribus, quibuscum
traversed was with the-highest indeed orators with-whom
 exercebar ipsis libentibus; quorum erat princeps Menippus
I-was-training themselves willing of-whom was the-chief Menippus
 Stratonicensis meo iudicio tota Asia illis temporibus
of-Stratonicea in-my judgment in-all Asia in-those times
 disertissimus; et, si nihil habere molestiarum nec ineptiarum
the-most-eloquent and if nothing to-have of-tiresomeness nor of-affectations
 Atticorum est, hic orator in illis numerari recte potest.
of-the-Attics is this-man an-orator among those to-be-counted rightly can

Molon took the redundance out, and Cicero came home two years later almost changed: his voice unstrained, his style cooled, his body strong. Cotta and Hortensius were the two he wanted to match. After his consulship Hortensius slackened and faded year by year, while Cicero kept writing and became praetor, first in the returns, and then consul by his constancy and an uncommon style.

Adsiduissime autem mecum fuit Dionysius Magnes; erat

316

most-constantly however with-me was Dionysius of-Magnesia there-was

etiam Aeschylus Cnidius, Adramyttenus Xenocles. Hi

also Aeschylus of-Cnidos of-Adramyttium Xenocles these

tum in Asia rhetorum principes numerabantur. Quibus

then in Asia of-rhetoricians the-chief were-counted with-whom

non contentus Rhodum veni meque ad eundem, quem

not content to-Rhodes I-came and-myself to the-same whom

Romae audiveram Molonem applicavi cum actorem in

at-Rome I-had-beard Molon I-attached as-much a-pleader in

veris causis scriptoremque praestantem tum in notandis

real cases and-a-writer outstanding so in marking

animadvertendisque vitiis et in instituendo docendoque

and-noticing faults and in training and-teaching

prudentissimum. Is dedit operam, si modo id consequi

most-skilled he gave effort if only that to-achieve

potuit, ut nimis redundantis nos et supra fluentis iuvenili

he-could that too overflowing us and beyond flowing with-a-youthful

quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret et quasi

a-certain of-speaking impunity and license he-might-check and as-it-were

extra ripas diffluentis coecreret. Ita recepi me biennio

outside the-banks flowing-apart he-might-confine so I-took myself two-years

post non modo exercitator sed prope mutatus. Nam et

later not only more-practiced but nearly changed for both

contentio nimia vocis resederat et quasi defererat oratio
the-straining excessive of-voice had-subsided and as-it-were had-cooled (my)-speech
 lateribusque vires et corpori mediocris habitus accesserat.

and-to-my-lungs strength and to-(my)-body a-moderate condition had-come

- 317 Duo tum excellabant oratores qui me imitandi cupiditate
two then excelled orators who me of-imitating with-the-desire
 incitarent, Cotta et Hortensius; quorum alter remissus
might-rouse Cotta and Hortensius of-whom the-one relaxed
 et lenis et propriis verbis comprehendens solute et facile
and gentle and in-proper words grasping fluently and easily
 sententiam, alter ornatus, acer et non talis qualem tu
(his)-thought the-other ornate keen and not such as you
 eum, Brute, iam deflorescentem cognovisti, sed verborum et
him Brutus already fading knew but of-words and
 actionis genere commotior. Itaque cum Hortensio mihi magis
of-delivery in-the-kind more-stirring and-so with Hortensius for-me more
 arbitrabar rem esse, quod et dicendi ardore eram propior et
I-used-to-think business to-be because both of-speaking in-the-fire I-was nearer and
 aetate coniunctior. Etenim videram in isdem causis, ut pro M.
in-age more-joined and-indeed I-had-seen in the-same cases as for M.
 Canuleio, pro Cn. Dolabella consulari, cum Cotta princeps
Canuleius for Cn. Dolabella of-consular-rank although Cotta as-chief
 adhibitus esset, priores tamen agere partis Hortensium.
employed had-been the-leading still to-act parts Hortensius
 Acrem enim oratorem, et incensum et agentem et canorum
a-keen for orator and fired and active and ringing
 concursus hominum forique strepitus desiderat.

a-gathering of-men and-of-the-forum the-din requires

- 318 Unum igitur annum, cum redissemus ex Asia, causas nobilis
one therefore year when we-had-retained from Asia cases notable
 egimus, cum quaesturam nos, consulatum Cotta, aedilitatem
we-pleaded when the-quaestorship we the-consulship Cotta the-aedilesip

peteret Hortensius. Interim me quaestorem Siciliensis excepit
sought Hortensius meanwhile me as-quaestor the-Sicilian took-up
 annus, Cotta ex consulatu est profectus in Galliam,
year Cotta from (his)-consulship did set-out into Gaul
 princeps et erat et habebatur Hortensius. Cum autem anno
the-chief both was and was-held Hortensius when however a-year
 post ex Sicilia me recepissem, iam videbatur illud in
later from Sicily myself I-had-brought-back already seemed that in
 me, quicquid esset, esse perfectum et habere maturitatem
me whatever it-was to-be finished and to-have a-ripeness
 quandam suam. Nimis multa videor de me, ipse
a-certain its-own too many-things I-seem about myself I-myself
 praesertim; sed omni huic sermoni propositum est non ut
especially but for-all this conversation the-purpose is not that
 ingenium et eloquentiam meam perspicias, unde longe
the-talent and the-eloquence my you-may-perceive from-which far
 absum, sed ut laborem et industriam.

I-am but that the-labor and the-industry

Cum igitur essem in plurimis causis et in principibus 319
when therefore I-had-been in very-many cases and among the-leading
 patronis quinquennium fere versatus, tum in patrocinio
advocates for-five-years nearly engaged then in the-advocacy
 Siciliensi maximum in certamen veni designatus aedilis cum
Sicilian the-greatest into a-contest I-came elected an-aedile with
 designato consule Hortensio. Sed quoniam omnis hic sermo
the-elected consul Hortensius but since all this conversation
 noster non solum enumerationem oratorum verum etiam
our not only an-enumeration of-orators but even
 praecepta quaedam desiderat, quid tamquam notandum et
precepts certain requires what as-it-were to-be-noted and
 animadvertendum sit in Hortensio breviter licet dicere.
to-be-observed may-be in Hortensius briefly it-is-allowed to-say

320 Nam is post consulatum — credo quod videret ex consularibus
for he after (his)-consulship I-believe because he-saw from the-consulars
 neminem esse secum comparandum, neglegeret autem
no-one to-be with-himself to-be-compared and-he-disregarded however
 eos qui consules non fuissent — summum illud suum
those who consuls not had-been that-supreme that his-own
 studium remisit quo a puero fuerat incensus, atque
zeal he-relaxed by-which from a-boy he-had-been fired and
 in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse
in of-all of-things an-abundance he-wished more-happily as he-himself
 putabat, remissius certe vivere. Primus et secundus annus
thought more-relaxedly certainly to-live the-first and the-second year
 et tertius tantum quasi de picturae veteris colore
and the-third so-much as-it-were from of-a-painting old the-color
 detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, sed
had-taken-away as-much-as not anyone one from the-people but
 existimator doctus et intellegens posset cognoscere. Longius
a-critic learned and understanding could to-perceive further
 autem procedens ut in ceteris eloquentiae partibus, tum
however going-on as in the-other of-eloquence parts so
 maxime in celeritate et continuatione verborum adhaerescens,
most in speed and in-the-continuity of-words sticking-fast
 sui dissimilior videbatur fieri cottidie.
to-himself more-unlike he-seemed to-become daily

321 Nos autem non desistebamus cum omni genere
we however not were-ceasing as-much with-every kind
 exercitationis tum maxime stilo nostrum illud quod erat
of-exercise so most with-the-pen our that which was
 augere, quantumcunque erat. Atque ut multa omittam
to-increase however-much it-was and so-that many-things I-may-omit
 in hoc spatio et in his post aedilitatem annis, et praetor
in this interval and in these after the-aedilesip years both praetor

primus et incredibili populari voluntate consul sum factus.

first and with-an-incredible popular goodwill consul I-was made

Nam cum propter adsiduitatem in causis et industriam

for as-much because-of the-constancy in cases and the-industry

tum propter exquisitius et minime vulgare orationis genus

so because-of the-more-choice and by-no-means common of-speech kind

animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate convertereram.

the-minds of-men to me of-speaking by-the-novelty I-had-turned

LXIX · WHAT THE OTHERS HAD NOT STUDIED

Of the rest, not one had studied letters more carefully than ordinary men, or philosophy, or the civil law, or the record of Rome's past; none could turn a joke to loosen the jurors, widen a particular question into a general one, digress to give pleasure, or drive the mind of a juror wherever the case required. When Cicero became consul, Hortensius roused himself again rather than be overtopped.

Nihil de me dicam: dicam de ceteris, quorum nemo erat 322

nothing about myself shall-I-say I-shall-speak about the-rest of-whom no-one was

qui videretur exquisitius quam vulgus hominum studuisse

who seemed more-choicely than the-crowd of-men to-have-studied

litteris, quibus fons perfectae eloquentiae continetur, nemo qui

letters in-which the-spring of-perfect eloquence is-contained no-one who

philosophiam complexus esset matrem omnium bene factorum

philosophy having-embraced he-had the-mother of-all well of-deeds

beneque dictorum, nemo qui ius civile didicisset rem ad privatas

and-well of-sayings no-one who law civil had-learned a-thing for private

causas et ad oratoris prudentiam maxime necessariam, nemo

cases and for of-an-orator the-good-sense most necessary no-one

qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, si quando

who the-record of-things Roman held from which if at-any-time

opus esset, ab inferis locupletissimos testis excitaret, nemo
need there-were from the-dead the-most-weighty witnesses he-might-summon no-one
 qui breviter arguteque inluso adversario laxaret iudicium
who briefly and-wittily having-been-mocked the-opponent might-loosen of-the-jurors
 animos atque a severitate paulisper ad hilaritatem risumque
the-minds and from severity for-a-little to merriment and-laughter
 traduceret, nemo qui dilatare posset atque a propria ac
might-lead-over no-one who to-widen could and from the-particular and
 definita disputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem
limited discussion of-a-person and of-a-time to a-general
 quaestionem universi generis orationem traducere, nemo qui
question of-the-whole of-kind the-speech to-carry-over no-one who
 delectandi gratia digredi parumper a causa, nemo qui ad
of-delighting for-the-sake to-digress for-a-while from the-case no-one who to
 iracundiam magno opere iudicem, nemo qui ad fletum posset
anger with-great effort the-juror no-one who to weeping could
 adducere, nemo qui animum eius, quod unum est oratoris
to-bring no-one who the-mind of-him which one is of-an-orator
 maxime proprium, quocumque res postularet, impellere.
most proper in-whatever-direction the-case demanded to-drive

323 Itaque cum iam paene evanisset Hortensius et ego anno
and-so when now almost had-faded Hortensius and I in-the-year
 meo, sexto autem post illum consulem consul factus essem,
my-own the-sixth however after him as-consul consul made had-been
 revocare se ad industriam coepit, ne cum pares honore
to-recall himself to industry he-began lest since equal in-honor
 essemus, aliqua re superior esse viderer. Sic duodecim
we-were in-some thing superior to-be I-might-seem so twelve
 post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis, cum
after my consulship years in the-greatest cases although
 ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferebat, coniunctissime
I for-myself him for-himself me he preferred most-closely

versati sumus, consulatusque meus, qui illum primo leviter
engaged we-were and-the-consulship my which him at-first lightly
 perstrinxerat, idem nos rerum mearum gestarum, quas ille
had-grazed the-same us of-things my done which he
 admirabatur, laude coniunxerat.
admired by-the-praise had-joined

LXX · TWO KINDS OF ASIATIC STYLE

Under the Pompeian law, with three hours a side, they came daily to cases almost identical, and Brutus was present at many of them. Why did Hortensius flourish more as a young man? Two causes: his style was Asiatic, which suits youth — of its two kinds, one epigrammatic and neat, the other winged and rapid, he had both, and raised shouts with them while the old men frowned — and later he let his practice go.

Maxime vero perspecta est utriusque nostrum exercitatio paulo 324
most indeed seen was of-each of-us the-practice a-little
 ante quam perterritum armis hoc studium, Brute, nostrum
before than terrified by-arms this pursuit Brutus our
 conticuit subito et obmutuit: cum lege Pompeia ternis
fell-silent suddenly and grew-dumb when by-the-law Pompeian three-each
 horis ad dicendum datis ad causas simillimas inter se vel
hours for speaking given to cases most-alike among themselves or
 potius easdem novi veniebamur cotidie. Quibus quidem causis
rather the-same new we-were-coming daily in-which indeed cases
 tu etiam, Brute, praesto fuisti complurisque et nobiscum et
you also Brutus present were and-several both with-us and
 solus egisti, ut qui non satis diu vixerit Hortensius
alone you-pleaded so-that although not sufficiently long lived Hortensius
 tamen hunc cursum confecerit: annis ante sedecim causas agere
still this course he-completed by-years before sixteen cases to-plead

coepit quam tu es natus; idem quarto et sexagesimo
he-began than you were born the-same in-the-fourth and sixtieth
 anno, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, una tecum socerum
year very-few before (his)-death days together with-you the-father-in-law
 tuum defendit Appium. Dicendi autem genus quod fuerit in
your defended Appius of-speaking however the-kind which was in
 utroque, orationes utriusque etiam posteris nostris indicabunt.
each the-speeches of-each even to-posterity our will-show

325 Sed si quaerimus cur adulescens magis floruerit dicendo
but if we-ask why as-a-young-man more he-flourished in-speaking
 quam senior Hortensius, causas reperiemus verissimas duas.
than as-an-elder Hortensius the-causes we-shall-find truest two
 Primam, quod genus erat orationis Asiaticum adolescentiae
the-first because the-kind was of-(his)-speech Asiatic to-youth
 magis concessum quam senectuti. Genera autem Asiaticae
more granted than to-old-age the-kinds however of-Asiatic
 dictionis duo sunt: unum sententiosum et argutum,
of-diction two are one epigrammatic and pointed
 sentiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et
with-thoughts not so weighty and severe as neat and
 venustis, qualis in historia Timaeus, in dicendo autem pueris
graceful such-as in history Timaeus in speaking however when-boys
 nobis Hierocles Alabandeus, magis etiam Menecles frater
we-were Hierocles of-Alabanda more even Menecles the-brother
 eius fuit, quorum utriusque orationes sunt in primis
of-him was of-whom of-each the-speeches are among the-first
 ut Asiatico in genere laudabiles. Aliud autem genus est
as in-the-Asiatic in kind praiseworthy another however kind is
 non tam sentiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque
not so with-thoughts crowded as in-words winged and
 incitatum, quale est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum
rapid such-as is now Asia whole nor by-the-stream only

orationis, sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum,
of-speech but even by-the-embellished and witty kind of-words
 in quo fuit Aeschylus Cnidius et meus aequalis Milesius
in which was Aeschylus of-Cnidos and my contemporary the-Milesian
 Aeschines. In his erat admirabilis orationis cursus, ornata
Aeschines in these there-was an-admirable of-speech flow ornate
 sententiarum concinnitas non erat.

of-thoughts the-neatness not there-was

Haec autem, ut dixi, genera dicendi aptiora sunt
these however as I-said kinds of-speaking fitter are
 adulescentibus, in senibus gravitatem non habent. Itaque

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for-the-young in old-men weight not they-have and-so

Hortensius utroque genere florens clamores faciebat
Hortensius in-each kind flourishing shouts used-to-raise
 adulescens. Habebat enim et Meneclium illud studium

as-a-young-man he-had for both the-Meneclian that pursuit

crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum et erat oratio cum

of-frequent and-graceful thoughts and was (his)-speech as-much

incitata et vibrans tum etiam accurata et polita. Non

rapid and quivering so also careful and polished not

probabantur haec senibus — saepe videbam cum inridentem

were-approved these by-old-men often I-used-to-see as-much mocking

tum etiam irascentem et stomachantem Philippum—, sed

so also angry and fuming Philippus but

mirabantur adulescentes, multitudo movebatur.

used-to-wonder the-young the-multitude was-moved

Et certe, quod et ingeni quaedam forma elucebat et exercitatio

327

and certainly because both of-talent a-certain form shone-out and practice

perfecta verborum astricta comprehensione, summam hominum

finished of-words by-the-tight period the-highest of-men

admirationem excitabat. Sed cum iam honores et illa senior

admiration used-to-rouse but when now the-honors and that more-elderly

auctoritas gravior quiddam requireret, remanebat idem
authority something-weightier a-certain required he-remained the-same
 nec decebat idem; quodque exercitationem studiumque
and-not became-him the-same and-because practice and-zeal
 dimiserat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa
he-had-let-go which in him had-been keenest the-neatness that
 crebritasque sententiarum pristina manebat, sed ea vestitu
and-the-frequency of-thoughts former remained but it with-the-dress
 illo orationis quo consuerat ornata non erat. Hoc tibi
that of-speech in-which he-had-been-accustomed adorned not was this to-you
 ille, Brute, minus fortasse placuit quam placuisset, si illum
he Brutus less perhaps pleased than he-would-have-pleased if him
 flagrantem studio et florentem facultate audire potuisses.
blazing with-zeal and flourishing in-power to-hear you-had-been-able

LXXI • THE TWO CAREERS END TOGETHER

Brutus says he sees the truth of Cicero's account, and that he always thought Hortensius a great orator, approving him most when he spoke for Messalla in Cicero's absence. Hortensius flourished from the consulship of Crassus and Scaevola down to that of Paullus and Marcellus; Cicero ran the same course from Sulla's dictatorship to nearly the same consuls. Hortensius' voice was put out by his own fate, Cicero's by the state's — and he was fortunate not to see happening what he had foreseen.

328 Tum Brutus: Ego vero, inquit, et ista quae dicis video
then Brutus I indeed he-says both those-things which you-say I-see
 qualia sint et Hortensium magnum oratorem semper
of-what-sort they-may-be and Hortensius a-great orator always
 putavi maximeque probavi pro Messalla dicentem, cum tu
I-have-thought and-most I-approved for Messalla speaking when you

afuisti. Sic ferunt, inquam, idque declarat totidem quot dixit,
were-away so they-report I-say and-that shows in-as-many as he-spoke
 ut aiunt, scripta verbis oratio. Ergo ille a Crasso consule et
as they-say written words the-speech therefore he from Crassus as-consul and
 Scaevola usque ad Paullum et Marcellum consules floruit, nos in
Scaevola right-up to Paullus and Marcellus as-consuls flourished we in
 eodem cursu fuimus a Sulla dictatore ad eosdem fere consules.
the-same course have-been from Sulla as-dictator to the-same nearly consuls
 Sic Q. Hortensi vox extincta fato suo est, nostra publico.
so of-Q Hortensius the-voice extinguished by-fate his-own was ours by-the-public
 Melius, quaeso, ominare, inquit Brutus. Sit sane ut vis, 329
better pray forebode says Brutus let-it-be by-all-means as you-wish
 inquam, et id non tam mea causa quam tua; sed fortunatus
I-say and that not so my for-the-sake as yours but fortunate
 illius exitus, qui ea non vidit cum fierent quae
of-that-man the-end who those-things not saw when they-were-happening which
 providit futura. Saepe enim inter nos impendentis casus
he-foresaw about-to-be often for between us the-impending disasters
 deflevimus, cum belli civilis causas in privatorum cupiditatibus
we-bewailed when of-war civil the-causes in of-private-men the-desires
 inclusas, pacis spem a publico consilio esse exclusam
enclosed of-peace the-hope from public counsel to-be shut-out
 videremus. Sed illum videtur felicitas ipsius qua semper est
we-saw but him seems the-good-fortune of-himself which always he-has
 usus ab eis miseriis quae consecutae sunt morte vindicavisse.
enjoyed from those miseries which having-followed have by-death to-have-rescued

Left guardians of an orphaned eloquence, they must keep her at home under a liberal guard and turn away shameless suitors. Cicero grieves to have met this night of the republic, but Brutus' letter sustains him. He grieves more for Brutus, whose youth the state's ruin has crossed, and charges him to keep to his studies and out of the crowd: scarcely two orators in an age deserve praise.

330 Nos autem, Brute, quoniam post Hortensi clarissimi oratoris
we however Brutus since after of-Hortensius of-a-most-famous of-an-orator
 mortem orbae eloquentiae quasi tutores relictī sumus,
the-death of-orphaned of-eloquence as-it-were guardians left we-are
 domi teneamus eam saeptam liberali custodia et hos ignotos
at-home let-us-keep her fenced by-a-liberal guard and these unknown
 atque impudentis procos repudiemus tueamurque ut adultam
and shameless suitors let-us-reject and-let-us-protect-her as a-grown-up
 virginem caste et ab amatorum impetu quantum possumus
maiden chastely and from of-lovers the-assault as-much-as we-can
 prohibeamus. Equidem etsi doleo me in vitam paulo serius
let-us-keep-her for-my-part although I-grieve myself into life a-little later
 tamquam in viam ingressum, prius quam confectum iter
as-if into a-road having-entered before than finished the-journey
 sit, in hanc rei publicae noctem incidisse, tamen ea
may-be into this of-the-thing of-public night to-have-fallen still by-that
 consolatione sustentor quam tu mihi, Brute, adhibuisti tuis
consolation I-am-sustained which you to-me Brutus applied by-your
 suavissimis litteris, quibus me forti animo esse oportere
most-charming letters in-which me of-a-brave spirit to-be to-be-fitting
 censebas, quod ea gessissem quae de me etiam me
you-judged because those-things I-had-done which about me even me
 tacente ipsa loquerentur viverentque mortuo; quae, si recte
being-silent themselves would-speak and-would-live (me)-dead which if rightly

esset, salute rei publicae, sin secus, interitu ipso
it-were by-the-safety of-the-thing public but-if otherwise by-(its)-destruction itself
 testimonium meorum de re publica consiliorum darent.
a-testimony of-my about the-thing public of-counsels would-give
 Sed in te intuens, Brute, doleo, cuius in adulescentiam per 331
but at you gazing Brutus I-grieve of-whom into the-youth through
 medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehentem transversa
the-midst-of praises as-it-were by-a-four-horse-chariot riding crosswise
 incurrit misera fortuna rei publicae. Hic me dolor
has-run the-wretched fortune of-the-thing public this me grief
 tangit, haec cura sollicitat et hunc mecum socium eiusdem
touches this care disturbs and this-man with-me a-partner of-the-same
 et amoris et iudici. Tibi favemus, te tua frui virtute
both of-love and of-judgment you we-favor you your to-enjoy virtue
 cupimus, tibi optamus eam rem publicam in qua duorum
we-desire for-you we-wish that thing public in which of-two
 generum amplissimorum renovare memoriam atque augere
families of-the-most-eminent to-renew the-memory and to-increase-it
 possis. Tuum enim forum, tuum erat illud curriculum,
you-may-be-able yours for the-forum yours was that course
 tu illuc veneras unus, qui non linguam modo acuisses
you thither had-come alone who not the-tongue only had-sharpened
 exercitatione dicendi sed et ipsam eloquentiam locupletavisses
by-the-exercise of-speaking but even the-very eloquence had-enriched
 graviorum artium instrumento et isdem artibus decus
of-weightier of-arts with-the-equipment and by-the-same arts the-glory
 omne virtutis cum summa eloquentiae laude iunxisses.
whole of-virtue with the-highest of-eloquence praise had-joined
 Ex te duplex nos afficit sollicitudo, quod et ipse re publica 332
from you a-double us affects anxiety because both yourself the-thing public
 careas et illa te. Tu tamen, etsi cursum ingeni tui, Brute,
you-lack and it you you still although the-course of-talent your Brutus

premit haec importuna clades civitatis, contine te in tuis
presses this untimely ruin of-the-state hold yourself in your
 perennibus studiis et effice id quod iam prope modum vel
unbroken studies and accomplish that which now nearly measure or
 plane potius effeceras, ut te eripias ex ea quam ego
plainly rather you-had-accomplished that yourself you-rescue from that which I
 congressi in hunc sermonem turba patronorum. Nec enim decet
have-heaped into this conversation crowd of-advocates nor for becomes
 te ornatum uberrimis artibus, quas cum domo haurire non
you adorned with-the-richest arts which since from-home to-draw not
 posses arcessivisti ex urbe ea quae domus est semper habita
you-could you-sent-for from the-city that which the-home is always held
 doctrinae, numerari in vulgo patronorum. Nam quid te exercuit
of-learning to-be-counted in the-crowd of-advocates for what you trained
 Pammenes vir longe eloquentissimus Graeciae? quid illa vetus
Pammenes a-man by-far the-most-eloquent of-Greece what that old
 Academia atque eius heres Aristus hospes et familiaris meus,
Academy and of-it the-herir Aristus a-guest and a-friend mine
 si quidem similes maioris partis oratorum futuri sumus?
if indeed like of-the-greater part of-orators about-to-be we-are
 333 Nonne cernimus vix singulis aetatibus binos oratores laudabilis
do-we-not see scarcely in-single ages two orators praiseworthy
 constituisse? Galba fuit inter tot aequalis unus excellens,
to-have-stood Galba was among so-many contemporaries one outstanding
 cui, quem ad modum accepimus, et Cato cedebat senior
to-whom in-what to manner we-have-heard both Cato yielded the-elder
 et qui temporibus illis aetate inferiores fuerunt, Lepidus
and those-who in-times those in-age lower were Lepidus
 postea, deinde Carbo; nam Gracchi in contionibus multo
afterward then Carbo for the-Gracchi in public-meetings with-a-much
 faciliore et liberiore genere dicendi, quorum tamen ipsorum
easier and freer kind of-speaking of-whom still of-themselves

ad aetatem laus eloquentiae perfecta nondum fuit; Antonius

to the-age the-praise of-eloquence perfect not-yet was Antonius

Crassus, post Cotta Sulpicius Hortensius. Nihil dico amplius,

Crassus after Cotta Sulpicius Hortensius nothing I-say further

tantum dico: si mihi accidisset ut numerarer in multis

so-much I-say if to-me it-had-happened that I-were-counted among many

*** si operosa est concursatio magis opportunorum ***

(lacuna) if laborious is the-rushing-about more of-the-well-timed (lacuna)

CICERO

De Optimo Genere Oratorum

On the Best Kind of Orator

Poetry falls into kinds — tragic, comic, epic, lyric, dithyrambic — and each has its own fixed sound. Oratory does not. To sort speakers into the grand, the slender, and the middling is to describe men, not the thing; what is asked of the thing is what is best. There is one kind of perfect orator, who teaches, delights, and moves: teaching is a duty, delighting a compliment, moving a necessity.

Oratorum genera esse dicuntur tamquam poetarum; id 1
of-orators kinds to-be are-said just-as of-poets that
 secus est, nam alterum est multiplex. Poematis enim tragici
otherwise is for the-one is manifold of-poetry for tragic
 comici epici melici etiam ac dithyrambici, quo magis est
comic epic lyric also and dithyrambic by-which the-more is
 tractatum, suum cuiusque est, diversum a reliquis. Itaque
handled its-own of-each is different from the-rest and-so
 et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est et in comoedia
both in tragedy the-comic faulty is and in comedy
 turpe tragicum; et in ceteris suus est cuique certus sonus
shameful the-tragic and in the-rest its-own is to-each a-fixed sound
 et quaedam intelligentibus nota vox.
and a-certain to-the-understanding known voice

Oratorum autem si quis ita numerat plura genera, ut alios 2
of-orators however if anyone so counts several kinds that some
 grandis aut gravis aut copiosos, alios tenuis aut subtilis aut
grand or weighty or copious others slender or subtle or
 brevis, alios eis interiectos et tamquam medios putet,
brief others between-them set and as-it-were middle he-thinks
 de hominibus dicit aliquid, de re parum. In re
about men he-says something about the-thing too-little in the-thing
 enim quid optimum sit quaeritur, in homine dicitur quod
for what best may-be is-asked in a-man is-said what

est. Itaque licet dicere et Ennium summum epicum
is and-so it-is-allowed to-call even Ennius the-highest epic
 poetam, si cui ita videtur, et Pacuvium tragicum et
poet if to-anyone so it-seems and Pacuvius tragic and
 Caecilium fortasse comicum.

Caecilius perhaps comic

- 3 Oratorem genere non divido; perfectum enim quaero. Unum
the-orator by-kind not I-divide the-perfect for I-seek one
 est autem genus perfecti, a quo qui absunt, non genere
is however the-kind of-the-perfect from which those-who are-distant not in-kind
 differunt, ut Terentius ab Accio, sed in eodem genere non
differ as Terence from Accius but in the-same kind not
 sunt pares. Optimus est enim orator, qui dicendo animos
are equal the-best is for an-orator who by-speaking the-minds
 audientium et docet et delectat et permovet. Docere
of-the-hearers both teaches and delights and moves-deeply to-teach
 debitum est, delectare honorarium, permovere necessarium.
a-duty is to-delight a-compliment to-move-deeply a-necessity

- 4 Haec ut alius melius quam alius, concedendum est; verum
these-things that one better than another to-be-granted is but
 id fit non genere sed gradu. Optimum quidem unum
that happens not by-kind but by-degree the-best indeed one
 est et proximum quod ei simillimum. Ex quo perspicuum
is and the-next what to-it most-like from which clear
 est, quod optimo dissimillimum sit, id esse deterrimum.
it-is what to-the-best most-unlike may-be that to-be the-worst
 Nam quoniam eloquentia constat ex verbis et ex sententiis,
for since eloquence consists of words and of thoughts
 perficiendum est, ut pure et emendate loquentes, quod est
to-be-accomplished it-is that purely and faultlessly speaking which is
 Latine, verborum praeterea et propriorum et translatorum
in-Latin of-words besides both proper and transferred

elegantiam persequamur: in propriis ut lautissima eligamus, in
the-elegance we-pursue in the-proper that the-choicest we-select in
 translatis ut similitudinem secuti verecunde utamur alienis.
the-transferred that the-likeness having-followed modestly we-use another's
 Sententiarum autem totidem genera sunt quot dixi esse 5
of-thoughts however just-as-many kinds there-are as I-said to-be
 laudum. Sunt enim docendi acutae, delectandi quasi
of-merits there-are for of-teaching keen of-delighting as-it-were
 argutae, commovendi graves. Sed et verborum est structura
pointed of-moving weighty but both of-words there-is a-structure
 quaedam duas res efficiens, numerum et levitatem, et
a-certain two things producing rhythm and smoothness and
 sententiae suam compositionem habent, et ad probandam
the-thoughts their-own arrangement have and for proving
 rem accommodatum ordinem. Sed earum omnium rerum
the-matter a-fitted order but of-these all of-things
 memoria est quasi fundamentum, lumen actio.
the-memory is as-it-were the-foundation the-light the-delivery

II · ATTIC MEANS FREE OF FAULT

Whoever has all these in the highest degree is the most perfect orator; the rest are still called orators, as bad painters are still called painters, differing in capacity and not in kind. What is faulty is anything absurd, foreign, blunt, or insipid in the thought, and anything foul, mean, harsh, or far-fetched in the words. The Attics avoided these, but soundness alone is not enough. Let us imitate Lysias above all, who looks thin only because he wrote small private cases.

Ea igitur omnia in quo summa erunt, erit perfectissimus 6
these therefore all in whom the-highest shall-be will-be the-most-perfect
 orator; in quo media, mediocris; in quo minima, deterrimus.
orator in whom middling a-middling-one in whom the-least the-worst

Et appellabuntur omnes oratores, ut pictores appellantur
and will-be-called all orators as painters are-called
 etiam mali, nec generibus inter sese, sed facultatibus
even bad-ones nor in-kinds among themselves but in-capacities
 different. Itaque nemo est orator qui Demostheni se
will-they-differ and-so no-one is an-orator who to-Demosthenes himself
 similem nolit esse; at Menander Homeri noluit; genus
like would-not-wish to-be but Menander of-Homer wished-not the-kind
 enim erat aliud. Id non est in oratoribus aut, etiam si est
for was different that not is in orators or even if it-is
 ut alius gravitatem sequens subtilitatem fugiat, contra
that one weight following subtlety avoids on-the-contrary
 alius acutiorem se quam ornatiorem velit, etiam si est
another keener himself than more-ornate wishes even if he-is
 in genere tolerabili, certe non est in optimo, si quidem,
in a-kind tolerable certainly not he-is in the-best since indeed
 quod omnis laudes habet, id est optimum.
what all merits has that is best

- 7 Haec autem dixi brevius quidem quam res petebat,
these-things however I-have-said more-briefly indeed than the-subject demanded
 sed ad id quod agimus non fuit dicendum pluribus; unum
but for that which we-are-doing not it-was to-be-said at-more-length one
 enim cum sit genus, id quale sit quaerimus. Est autem
for since is-there kind that of-what-sort may-be we-ask it-is however
 tale quale floruit Athenis; ex quo Atticorum oratorum ipsa
such as flourished at-Athens from which of-the-Attic of-orators the-very
 vis ignota est, nota gloria. Nam alterum multi viderunt, vitiosi
force unknown is known the-glory for the-one many have-seen of-faulty
 nihil apud eos esse, alterum pauci, laudabilia esse multa. Est
nothing in them to-be the-other few praiseworthy to-be many there-is
 enim vitiosum in sententia, si quid absurdum aut alienum
for faulty in a-thought if anything absurd or foreign

aut non acutum aut subinsulsum est; in verbis si inquinatum,

or not keen or rather-insipid is in words if foul

si abiectum, si non aptum, si durum, si longe petitum.

if mean if not apt if harsh if far fetched

Haec vitaverunt fere omnes qui aut Attici numerantur 8

these they-have-avoided nearly all who either Attics are-counted

aut dicunt Attice. Sed qui eatenus valuerunt, sani et sicci

or speak Attically but who so-far have-availed sound and dry

dumtaxat habeantur, sed ita ut palaestritae; spatari in

only let-them-be-held but so as gymnasts to-walk in

xysto ut liceat, non ab Olympiis coronam petant. Qui

the-portico that it-be-allowed not from the-Olympics a-crown let-them-seek who

cum careant omni vitio, non sunt contenti quasi bona

although they-lack every fault not are content as-it-were with-good

valetudine, sed viris lacertos sanguinem quaerunt, quandam

health but strength muscles blood they-seek a-certain

etiam suavitatem coloris. Eos imitemur, si possumus; si

even sweetness of-color them let-us-imitate if we-can if

minus, illos potius qui incorrupta sanitate sunt, quod est

less those rather who with-uncorrupted soundness are which is

proprium Atticorum, quam eos quorum vitiosa abundantia

proper of-the-Attics than those whose faulty the-abundance

est, qualis Asia multos tulit. Quod cum faciemus —

is such-as Asia many has-borne which when we-shall-do

si modo id ipsum adsequemur; est enim permagnum — 9

if only that very we-shall-attain it-is for very-great

imitemur, si potuerimus, Lysiam et eius quidem tenuitatem

let-us-imitate if we-shall-be-able Lysias and of-him indeed the-slenderness

potissimum; est enim multis locis grandior, sed quia et

by-preference he-is for in-many places grander but because both

privatas ille plerasque et eas ipsas aliis et parvarum

private he most and those themselves for-others and of-small

rerum causulas scripsit, videtur esse ieiunior, cum se ipse
of-matters little-cases wrote he-seems to-be thinner since himself he
 consulto ad minutarum causarum genera limaverit. Quod qui
deliberately to of-petty of-cases the-kinds has-filed which one-who
 ita faciet, ut, si cupiat uberior esse, non possit, habeatur
so will-do that if he-desires richer to-be not he-can let-him-be-held
 sane orator, sed de minoribus; magno autem oratori
by-all-means an-orator but about the-lesser to-a-great however orator
 etiam illo modo saepe dicendum est in tali genere causarum.
even in-that way often to-be-spoken it-is in such a-kind of-cases

III · DEMOSTHENES CAN DO BOTH

Demosthenes can speak quietly; Lysias perhaps cannot speak loftily, and to measure eloquence by one's own capacity is to mistake the thing. Those who claim that only the subtle speak Attically should stop: amplitude and ornament with the same soundness are Attic too, and since Demosthenes is first among the Athenians, to imitate him is to speak both Attically and well. Cicero has therefore translated Aeschines against Demosthenes, not as an interpreter but as an orator, weighing words rather than counting them.

- 10 Ita fit ut Demosthenes certe possit summis dicere,
so it-happens that Demosthenes certainly can quietly to-speak
 elate Lysias fortasse non possit. Sed si eodem modo putant
loftily Lysias perhaps not can but if in-the-same way they-think
 exercitu in foro et in omnibus templis, quae circum
an-army in the-forum and in all the-temples which around
 forum sunt, conlocato dici pro Milone decuisse,
the-forum are having-been-stationed to-be-spoken for Milo to-have-been-fitting

ut si de re privata ad unum iudicem diceremus, vim
as if about a-matter private to one judge we-were-speaking the-force
 eloquentiae sua facultate, non rei natura metiuntur.

of-eloquence by-their-own capacity not of-the-thing by-the-nature they-measure

Qua re quoniam non nullorum sermo iam increbuit, 11

for-which reason since not of-none the-talk now has-grown-common

partim se ipsos Attice dicere, partim neminem nostrum

partly them themselves Attically to-speak partly no-one of-us

dicere, alteros neglegamus; satis enim eis res ipsa

to-speak the-one-group let-us-disregard enough for to-them the-thing itself

respondet, cum aut non adhibeantur ad causas aut adhibiti

answers since either not they-are-employed for cases or employed

derideantur; nam si riderentur, esset id ipsum

they-are-laughed-at for if they-were-being-laughed-at would-be that very

Atticorum. Sed qui dici a nobis Attico more volunt,

of-the-Attics but who to-be-spoken by us in-the-Attic manner wish

ipsi autem se non oratores esse profitentur, si teretes

themselves however themselves not orators to-be profess if refined

auris habent intellegensque iudicium, tamquam ad picturam

ears they-have and-an-understanding judgment just-as for a-painting

probandam adhibentur etiam inscii faciendi cum aliqua

to-be-judged they-are-employed even unskilled in-making with some

sollertia iudicandi;

skill in-judging

sin autem intellegentiam ponunt in audiendi fastidio neque 12

but-if however understanding they-place in of-hearing fastidiousness and-not

eos quicquam excelsum magnificumque delectat, dicant

them anything lofty and-magnificent delights let-them-say

se quiddam subtile et politum velle, grande ornatumque

themselves something subtle and polished to-wish the-grand and-ornate

contemnere; id vero desinant dicere, qui subtiliter dicant,

to-despise that indeed let-them-cease to-say those-who subtly speak

eos solos Attice dicere, id est quasi sicce et integre. Et
that-they alone Attically to-speak that is as-it-were dryly and soundly both
 ample et ornate et copiose cum eadem integritate Atticorum
amply and ornately and copiously with the-same soundness of-the-Attics
 est. Quid? dubium est utrum orationem nostram tolerabilem
it-is what doubt is-there whether speech our tolerable
 tantum an etiam admirabilem esse cupiamus? Non enim iam
only or even admirable to-be we-desire not for now
 quaerimus quid sit Attice, sed quid sit optime dicere.
we-ask what may-be Attically but what may-be best to-speak

- 13 Ex quo intellegitur, quoniam Graecorum oratorum
from which it-is-understood since of-the-Greeks of-orators
 praestantissimi sint ei qui fuerint Athenis, eorum autem
the-most-outstanding are those who have-been at-Athens of-them however
 princeps facile Demosthenes, hunc si qui imitetur, eum
the-chief easily Demosthenes him if anyone imitates that-he
 et Attice dicturum et optime, ut, quoniam Attici nobis
both Attically about-to-speak and best so-that since the-Attics for-us
 propositi sunt ad imitandum, bene dicere id sit Attice dicere.
set-before are for imitating well to-speak that may-be Attically to-speak
 Sed cum in eo magnus error esset, quale esset id
but since in that great an-error there-was of-what-sort was that
 dicendi genus, putavi mihi suscipiendum laborem utilem
of-speaking kind I-thought by-me to-be-undertaken a-labor useful
 studiosis, mihi quidem ipsi non necessarium.
to-the-studious to-me indeed myself not necessary

- 14 Converti enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum
I-translated for from the-Attic of-two of-the-most-eloquent
 nobilissimas orationes inter seque contrarias, Aeschini
the-most-famous speeches between and-themselves opposed of-Aeschines
 et Demostheni; nec converti ut interpretes, sed ut orator,
and of-Demosthenes nor did-I-translate as an-interpreter but as an-orator

sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris,
with-the-thoughts the-same and of-them with-the-forms as-it-were with-the-figures
 verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. In quibus non
with-words to our usage fitted in which not
 verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne
a-word for a-word necessary I-held to-render but the-kind whole
 verborum vimque servavi. Non enim ea me adnumerare
of-the-words and-the-force I-kept not for them myself to-count-out
 lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere.

for-the-reader I-thought to-be-fitting but as-it-were to-weigh-out

Hic labor meus hoc adsequetur, ut nostri homines quid ab
this labor my this will-attain that our men what from
 illis exigant, qui se Atticos volunt, et ad quam eos
those they-should-demand who themselves Attics wish and to what them
 quasi formulam dicendi revocent intellegant. ‘Sed exorietur
as-it-were a-standard of-speaking they-should-recall may-understand but there-will-arise
 Thucydides; eius enim quidam eloquentiam admirantur.’ Id
Thucydides of-him for certain the-eloquence admire that
 quidem recte; sed nihil ad eum oratorem quem quaerimus.

indeed rightly but nothing to that orator whom we-seek

Aliud est enim explicare res gestas narrando, aliud
another-thing it-is for to-unfold things done by-narrating another
 argumentando criminari crimenve dissolvere; aliud narrantem
by-arguing to-accuse or-a-charge to-dissolve another narrating
 tenere auditorem, aliud concitare. ‘At loquitur pulchre.’

to-bold a-bearer another to-rouse but he-speaks beautifully

15

Whoever promises to plead in the forum in Thucydides' manner shows he has no notion of civil business. Isocrates was called the greatest orator by every learned man, and Plato had him praised in the Phaedrus; but he fought with foils and not with steel, and Cicero leaves him out. The pair brought into the arena is Aeschines against Demosthenes, than whom nothing more divine can be imagined.

- 16 Num melius quam Plato? Necesse est tamen oratori quem
surely-not better than Plato necessary it-is still for-the-orator whom
 quaerimus controversias explicare forensis dicendi genere
we-seek controversies to-unfold forensic of-speaking with-a-kind
 apto ad docendum, ad delectandum, ad permovendum. Qua
fitted for teaching for delighting for moving-deeply for-which
 re si quis erit qui se Thucydideo genere causas
reason if anyone there-will-be who himself in-the-Thucydidean kind cases
 in foro dicturum esse profiteatur, is abhorrebit etiam a
in the-forum about-to-plead to-be professes he will-shrink even from
 suspicione eius quod versatur in re civili et forensi; sin
a-suspicion of-that which is-engaged in a-matter civil and forensic but-if
 Thucydidem laudabit, ascribat suae nostram sententiam.
Thucydides he-shall-praise let-him-add to-his-own our opinion
- 17 Quin ipsum Isocratem, quem divinus auctor Plato suum fere
may himself Isocrates whom the-divine author Plato his-own nearly
 aequalem admirabiliter in Phaedro laudari fecit ab Socrate
contemporary admirably in the-Phaedrus to-be-praised made by Socrates
 quemque omnes docti summum oratorem esse dixerunt,
and-whom all the-learned the-highest orator to-be have-called
 tamen hunc in numerum non repono. Non enim in acie
still this-man into the-number not I-place not for in the-battle-line
 versatur nec ferro, sed quasi rudibus eius eludit oratio. A
is-be-engaged nor with-steel but as-it-were with-foils of-him plays the-speech by

me autem, ut cum maximis minima conferam, gladiatorum
me however that with the-greatest the-least I-may-compare of-gladiators
 par nobilissimum inducitur, Aeschines, tamquam Aeserninus,
a-pair most-famous is-brought-in Aeschines as-it-were Aeserninus
 ut ait Lucilius, non spurcus homo, sed acer et doctus
as says Lucilius not a-foul man but keen and skilled

cum Pacideiano hic componitur, — optimus longe
with Pacideianus this-one is-matched the-best by-far
 post homines natos—. *since men were-born*

Nihil enim illo oratore arbitror cogitari posse divinius.
nothing for than-that orator I-think to-be-conceived to-be-able more-divine

V · THE CASE OF THE CROWN

Two objections are made: that the Greeks did it better, and that one might as well read the Greek — though nobody objects to Latin plays taken from Greek. The case: two Athenian laws, Demosthenes' repair of the walls at his own cost, Ctesiphon's decree of a golden crown in the theater, and Aeschines' prosecution. Cicero promises to render both speeches with all their authors' excellences, following the words only so far as Latin usage allows.

Huic labori nostro duo genera reprehensionum opponuntur. 18
to-this labor our two kinds of-objections are-opposed
 Unum hoc: 'Verum melius Graeci.' A quo quaeratur
one this but better the-Greeks from whom let-it-be-asked
 ecquid possint ipsi melius Latine? Alterum: 'Quid istas
whether-at-all they-can themselves better in-Latin the-other why those
 potius legam quam Graecas?' Idem Andriam et Synephebos
rather should-I-read than the-Greek the-same the-Andria and the-Synephebi

nec minus Andromacham aut Antiopam aut Epigonos
and-not less the-Andromache or the-Antiope or the-Epigoni
 Latinos recipiunt. Quod igitur est eorum in orationibus e
Latin they-accept what therefore is-there of-them in speeches from
 Graeco conversis fastidium, nullum cum sit in versibus?
Greek translated a-disdain none although there-is in verses
 19 Sed adgrediamur iam quod suscepimus, si prius
but let-us-approach now what we-have-undertaken if first
 exposuerimus quae causa in iudicium deducta sit. Cum
we-shall-have-set-out what case into court brought was since
 esset lex Athenis, ne quis populi scitum faceret,
there-was a-law at-Athens that-not anyone of-the-people a-decree should-make
 ut quisquam corona donaretur in magistratu prius
that anyone with-a-crown should-be-presented in office before
 quam rationes rettulisset; et altera lex, eos, qui a populo
than the-accounts he-had-rendered and a-second law those who by the-people
 donarentur, in contione donari debere; qui a senatu,
were-presented in an-assembly to-be-presented ought those-who by the-senate
 in senatu, Demosthenes curator muris reficiendis fuit
in the-senate Demosthenes a-commissioner for-the-walls to-be-repaired was
 eosque refecit pecunia sua; de hoc igitur Ctesiphon
and-them he-repaired with-money his-own about this therefore Ctesiphon
 scitum fecit nullis ab illo rationibus relatis, ut corona
a-decree made with-no by him accounts rendered that with-a-crown
 aurea donaretur eaque donatio fieret in theatro
golden he-should-be-presented and-that presentation should-be-made in the-theater
 populo convocato, qui locus non est contionis legitimae,
the-people having-been-summoned which place not is of-an-assembly lawful
 atque ita praedicaretur, eum donari virtutis ergo
and so it-should-be-proclaimed him to-be-presented of-merit for-the-sake
 benevolentiaeque quam is erga populum Atheniensem haberet.
and-of-the-goodwill which he toward the-people Athenian beld

Hunc igitur Ctesiphontem in iudicium adduxit Aeschines, 20
this-man therefore Ctesiphon into court brought Aeschines
 quod contra leges scripsisset, ut et rationibus non relatis
because against the-laws he-had-written that both the-accounts not rendered
 corona donaretur et ut in theatro, et quod
with-a-crown he-should-be-presented and that in the-theater and because
 de virtute eius et benevolentia falsa scripsisset, cum
about the-merit of-him and the-goodwill false he-had-written since
 Demosthenes nec vir bonus esset nec bene meritus
Demosthenes neither a-man good was nor well deserving
 de civitate. Causa ipsa abhorret illa quidem a formula
of the-state the-case itself shrinks that indeed from the-formula
 consuetudinis nostrae, sed est magna. Habet enim et legum
of-the-practice our but is great it-has for both of-the-laws
 interpretationem satis acutam in utramque partem et
an-interpretation sufficiently keen on each side and
 meritorum in rem publicam contentionem sane gravem.
of-services toward the-thing public a-comparison quite weighty
 Itaque causa fuit Aeschini, cum ipse a Demosthene esset 21
and-so a-reason there-was for-Aeschines since himself by Demosthenes had-been
 capitis accusatus, quod legationem ementitus esset,
on-a-capital-charge accused because the-embassy he-had-misreported had
 ut ulciscendi inimici causa nomine Ctesiphontis iudicium
that of-avenging an-enemy for-the-sake in-the-name of-Ctesiphon a-trial
 fieret de factis famaue Demosthenis. Non enim
should-be-held about the-deeds and-the-reputation of-Demosthenes not for
 tam multa dixit de rationibus non relatis, quam de
so many-things he-said about the-accounts not rendered as about
 eo quod civis improbus ut optimus laudatus esset.
that that a-citizen wicked as the-best praised had-been

22 Hanc multam Aeschines a Ctesiphonte petivit quadriennio
this fine Aeschines from Ctesiphon claimed four-years
 ante Philippi Macedonis mortem; sed iudicium factum
before of-Philip of-Macedon the-death but the-trial made
 est aliquot annis post Alexandro iam Asiam tenente; ad
was some years later Alexander already Asia holding to
 quod iudicium concursus dicitur e tota Graecia factus
which trial a-gathering is-said from all Greece made
 esse. Quid enim tam aut visendum aut audiendum fuit
to-have-been what for so either to-be-seen or to-be-heard was
 quam summorum oratorum in gravissima causa accurata et
as of-the-highest of-orators in a-most-serious case a-careful and
 inimicitiis incensa contentio?
by-enmity fired contest

23 Quorum ego orationes si, ut spero, ita expressero
of-which I the-speeches if as I-hope so I-shall-have-rendered
 virtutibus utens illorum omnibus, id est sentiis et earum
the-excellences using of-those all that is with-thoughts and of-them
 figuris et rerum ordine, verba persequens eatenus, ut
with-the-figures and of-things with-the-order the-words following so-far that
 ea non abhorreant a more nostro — quae si e Graecis
they not be-at-odds with the-usage our which if from the-Greek
 omnia conversa non erunt, tamen ut generis eiusdem sint,
all-things translated not shall-be still that of-the-kind the-same they-may-be
 elaboravimus—, erit regula, ad quam eorum dirigantur
we-have-labored there-will-be a-standard to which of-those may-be-directed
 orationes qui Attice volent dicere. Sed de nobis satis.
the-speeches who Attically will-wish to-speak but about ourselves enough
 Aliquando enim Aeschinem ipsum Latine dicentem audiamus.
at-last for Aeschines himself in-Latin speaking let-us-hear