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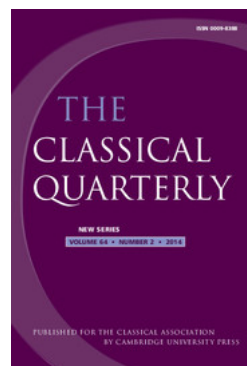
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## Notes and Emendations to Seneca's Letters.

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## NOTES AND EMENDATIONS TO SENECA'S LETTERS.<sup>1</sup>

v. 2. 'Don't parade philosophy: avoid asperum cultum et intonsum caput . . . . et quidquid aliud ambitionem peruersa uia sequitur.' So the MSS. Hense adopts Gertz's ingenious conjecture *ambitio nempe*. I have before me a list containing some thirty examples of the use of *nempe* by Seneca. It is very definitely a dialogue particle and is used (1) to introduce the answer to a question, where it is implied that the answer is obvious ('*Why, to be sure*'), (2) to introduce a clause which shews that a statement just urged by the interlocutor though true in itself in no way weakens the original speaker's point '*Yes, but*' or '*After all said and done,*' and (3) to introduce a premiss the truth of which the interlocutor must grant '*I take it,*' '*You know.*' For examples I may refer to *Ira* 3.26.1 quare fers aegri rabiem . . . puerorum proteruas manus? *nempe* quia etc.; *Ep.* 4.9 'at uictor te duci iubebit?' eo *nempe* quo duceris (*sc.* to death); *Ep.* 124.6 *nempe* uos (the Stoics) . . . dicitis. There is absolutely no parallel in Seneca to the parenthetical use which Gertz assumes here, and for which I should expect rather the concessive *sine dubio* (which indeed is opposed to *nempe* in *Heluia* 9.7).

But this is not the only objection to the emendation. Even if *nempe* could stand here, the sentence would be meaningless. Seneca's point is that all these mannerisms of the philosophers were really signs of pride, not humility. Socrates saw Antisthenes with a gown as ostentatiously ragged as that of any raw undergraduate and said 'ὀρῶ σου διὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος τὴν φιλοδοξίαν.' To this 'love of show' *ambitio* clearly refers: this meaning of the word is of course common in silver Latin and especially so in Seneca. To talk of ostentation aiming at bad dress and an unkempt head, and setting about achieving this aim the wrong way seems to me to be talking nonsense, and the MSS. carefully avoid doing so (*si sic omnia!*). What they say is 'and the various other devices that have for their aim—little as one would at first sight guess it—the making of a display.' For the force of *ambitio* here assumed ('display,' instead of 'love of display') I would cp. *Ira* 3.34 'cibos, potiones, horumque causa in *ambitionem* munditias.' *Sequi* as e.g. in *Ep.* 65. 6 'Quid est "propositum"? quod inuitauit artificem, quod ille *secutus* fecit'—viz., as he goes on to explain, money or glory.

<sup>1</sup> These notes are at present confined to the letters which I propose to include in the selection which I am preparing for Messrs. Macmillan. I should like to call the attention of scholars to two passages which

seem to me to be in sore want of medicine, though I find myself unable to do anything for them. I mean *Ep.* 12. 6 (*est alter qui annos adulescentiae excludit*) and 15. 8.

vii. 3. 'Quid me existimas dicere? auarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior, immo uero crudelior' etc. Hense's comma after *luxuriosior* is very distracting. The passage is certainly not easy to punctuate. For the meaning cp. *Ep.* 54.3 'hilarem me putas haec tibi scribere? tam ridicule facio si hoc fine quasi bona uale tudine delector quam' etc., 57.7 'nunc me putas de Stoicis dicere . . . ego uero non facio;'; 77.14 'exempla nunc uirorum me tibi iudicas relaturum? puerorum referam.' A mark of interrogation must certainly stand after *luxuriosior*, and on the whole I think *auarior*—*luxuriosior* should be put in inverted commas: it represents the speech implied by *dicere*.

§ 5. The *meridianum spectaculum* is as bloodthirsty an affair, Seneca finds, as the real gladiatorial show. 'Yes, but the men who fight are robbers and murderers.' 'Granted,' says Seneca, 'they deserve their fate, what have *you* done to deserve being condemned to look on such a sight?' The words that follow are printed thus by Hense:

'occide, uerbera, ure! quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? quare parum audacter occidit? quare parum libenter moritur?' plagis agitur in uulnera: 'mutuos ictus nudis et obuiis pectoribus excipiant.' intermissum est spectaculum: 'interim iugulentur homines ne nihil agatur.'

He takes the sentences *plagis*—*uulnera*, *intermissum*—*spectaculum* as remarks by Seneca, the first one serving as a kind of stage direction. But no such direction is at all needed, as we have been told in § 4 'ferro et igne res geritur,' 'the whole business needs the swords and torches (of soldiers) to keep the combatants in the ring.' Moreover, if Seneca wishes us to understand that the spectator's desires are carried out at just this moment, why does the spectator continue with the 'mutuos ictus—pectoribus excipiant' clause, which, by the way, seems very abrupt.

I believe we can improve matters by simply inserting *et* after *moritur*. Palaeographically this is not difficult, as p L, the MSS. with which we have here to deal, show a marked tendency to misread the punctuation mark as a pair of letters. Thus it is confused with *-ur* on p. 91.22 *adtemptatur* 94.26 *circumsonatur*, 96.2 *efficitur*, 101.6 *teneatur*, 104.16 *cadentur*, in all which cases p is the offender and the *-ur* is intruded before a full stop. L offends much less often; see however p. 1.19, 67.6, 167.9. And similarly often with *us* (two exx. on p. 92, lines 10 and 12). One would certainly expect it to be confused with *et*,<sup>1</sup> but I have not so far come across an example, though *ur*, and *or* are so confused (cp. p on p. 115. 19, 227. 19, 253. 3, 277. 16, where *et* is wrongly omitted or inserted after *ur* or *or*). Anyhow the change is a slight one.

The whole passage will then be spoken by the spectator. 'Kill him, flog him, burn him. What? Does the wretch object to dying *and want the lash before he can bear the thought of a wound*? Why, they ought to stand face to face and hack

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hermes on *De Ira* p. 131 'alia manus siglum 7 addidit, quod et interpunctionis signum esse et significare potest.'

at each other. I know 'tis the luncheon interval, and we can't have the real thing; still rather than waste the time let's have some throats cut.'

§ 8. recede in te ipse.

So the good MSS.; Hense adopts *ipsum* of 5. But cp. 25. 6, *in te ipse secede* and 40. 13 *te ipse non audias*.

xii. 3. Seneca visits his country house and finds much that reminds him he is getting old—the house he built falling into decay, the trees he planted losing sap. He comes across an old man who claims to be Felicio, the bailiff's son, *cui solebas sigillaria adferre . . . deliciolum tuum*. Then follow these words: 'perfecte' inquam 'iste delirat. pupulus etiam delicum meum factus est? prorsus potest fieri: dentes illi cum maxime cadunt.'

I believe we should read *perfecto* at the outset, but that is a detail and read, e.g. by Ruhkopf, though Hense does not even mention it. The difficulty comes in the words *pupulus etiam et sqq.* Unfortunately *dentes—cadunt* which ought to make everything clear is a somewhat ambiguous phrase. The old man is losing his teeth. So was Seneca, who in *Ep.* 83. 4 speaks of a little seven-year-old boy who claims that both of them have 'eandem crism,' 'climacteric,' and the reason he assigns is that 'utrique dentes cadunt.' The phrase regularly refers to the shedding of the milk-teeth (so in all the exx. in L. S.): could it be used of the second teeth, except by way of a joke as in *Ep.* 83. 1. c.? I think not, and if I am right, then we must reject the translation 'It's quite possible he is my old playmate: his teeth are going like mine,' and take the clause *prorsus—cadunt* as referring to *pupulus*:—'He really might well be a child: he's shedding his teeth.' I believe *etiam* ought to be read *et iam*: 'he thinks that he's a boy again, and, not content with that, must be my old playmate.'

In case anyone should doubt the genuineness of *pupulus*, found again practically only in Catullus it may be well to mention that Seneca's style is full of colloquial words, such as this doubtless was, and that in particular, one may quote the words *allocutio*, *capsula*, *lancino*, *pertundo*, *sacculus*, *ueternus*, and *unguentatus* as Catullan and recurring either nowhere else or at any rate rarely elsewhere than in Seneca.

§ 7. Heraclitus said 'unus dies par omni (just below, *omnibus*) est.' This saying was differently interpreted, but the view that concerns us here, and was evidently Seneca's, is that one day was equal to another *similitudine* inasmuch as *longissimi temporis spatium* can give you nothing that you could not get in the twenty-four hours' day, viz. *lucem et noctem*. Then the MSS. proceed: 'et in alternas mundi uices plura facit ista, non alias contractior alias productior. itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis tamquam cogat agmen' etc.

*Alternas mundi uices* means of course the alternations of night and day: so *uices* often in Seneca's prose, and in *Thyestes* 813 *mundi uices*.<sup>1</sup> Gronov saw that

<sup>1</sup> For the use of *in*, which means 'to go and swell the total of,' cp. *Vit. Beat.* 22. 3 'quaedam *in summam* rei parua sunt.'

the contrast suggested by *non* must be *alia* (cp. *Ep.* 47. 21 'mutatur *non* in melius sed in *aliud*'), which he accordingly supplied. Buecheler and Hense follow in supplying *alia*, but assume that more words than this have fallen out—thereby of course greatly endangering the palaeographical security of the emendation. Nor is their assumption at all necessary. *Alia* ends a clause: with *alias*, we enter on another, which serves as a bridge from Heraclitus' maxim to that of 'Treat each day as if it were your last.' Unfortunately the new clause has no subject in our MSS., owing to its having been omitted by haplography before the *itaque* of the next sentence. Read then 'alias contractior, alias productior <*uita*>: itaque' etc.

xv. 9. Seneca has proved to Lucilius that the exercise of his body need not take up a large part of his time. Then, about to close his letter, he wishes to quote (according to the regular rule observed in Books I–III of the letters) a passage which has struck him in his day's reading. He has all kinds of names for these quotations: generally he regards them as a daily payment due to Lucilius, in 6. 7 one is a *diurna mercedula*. Here he begins:

Detraxi tibi non pusillum negotii; una mercedula et unum graecum ad haec beneficia accedet.

Although Hense shews no suspicion of the passage beyond citing the conjecture *munus* for *unum*, it appears to me as it stands obviously corrupt. That *una* is really equivalent to the indefinite article is bad enough: the phrase *unum Graecum* is impossible. It could only mean 'one Greek kindness,' and *munus Graecum* is not much better: *munus Graecorum* would improve matters, but it is quite contrary to Seneca's custom in these quotations to emphasize the fact that they are from the Greek: the only point he ever makes in reference to their *origin* is that they are drawn from Epicurean, not Stoic, sources. Here the question of source is duly put later on, and all Seneca is at present thinking of is, that he has by his advice about exercise really paid the debt which he regards each daily letter as owing to Lucilius: cp. especially 9. 20 where after giving an apophthegm he says: 'Epicurus too made a similar remark (uocem), quam tu boni consule, *etiamsi hunc diem iam expunxi*' and 19. 10 where after citing Maecenas he goes on 'poteram tecum hac Maecenatis sententia parem facere rationem.' In our passage *una* calls loudly for a corresponding *alter*, and I believe Seneca wrote *alterum ad haec beneficia accedet*: the letters of *alterum* got transposed (transposition is not uncommon in these MSS., p writes *altare* for *altera* p. 203, 5) and (*g*)*raecum* of the MSS. represents the word. A slight emendation now becomes necessary after *mercedula*, so that the whole passage should read 'detraxi—negotii: una mercedula est. Nunc alterum ad haec beneficia accedet: ecce insigne praeceptum,' etc. The *g* of *graecum* probably represents the last letter of *nunc*: confusion of the two letters is extremely common in p L.

xv. 11. 'Don't be ambitious: reflect how much better off you are already than many people: finem constitue quem transire ne uelis quidem, si possis: away with delusive blessings

sperantibus meliora quam adsecutis. si quid in illis esset solidi, aliquando et implerent: nunc haurientium sitim concitant. mittantur speciosi adparatus.'

So Hense, after Madvig: the MSS. read *im(m)itantur* for *mittantur*. There are it is true several exx. of *mitto* being written as *mito* in these MSS., but I cannot believe that we ought to accept Madvig's conjecture, for (1) I know of no example of such a use of *mittantur* in Seneca, who would almost certainly have written *tollantur*; (2) the clause *nunc—concant* is so brief as to be positively abrupt, although of course *implerent* has to some extent prepared the way for the metaphor; (3) the meaning 'plans,' which I imagine we must attribute to *adparatus* with Madvig's reading, is hardly, I think, to be found in Seneca. The regular meaning of the word in Seneca is something very near to that of *pompa*, a series of articles spread out so as to appeal to the eye, and such, I imagine, is about the force of Horace's *Persici adparatus*. Cp. esp. *Ep.* 94. 70, 'quis posuit in auro secretam dapem? quis . . . luxuriae suae pompam solus explicuit? . . . *adparatum* uitiorum suorum pro modo turbae spectantis expandit.'

I propose: 'nunc haurientium sitis concitant, inritant, ut speciosi adparatus.' The rewards of ambition are like the fine array at a banquet: so far from allaying the appetite, they whet it. *Inritare* is of course a *uox propria* in Seneca in connexion with *cupiditates*, *famem*, etc. For the combination with *concitare* cp. *Ep.* 85. 11, where the two words run parallel. The assonance would attract Seneca (in spite of the difference in quantity: cp. *Vit. Beat.* 3. 4 'aut inritant aut territant') and cause him to prefer asyndeton. It would of course be easy to supply *et* (especially if the MSS. shew signs of punctuation after *concitant*: see above on vii. 5), but, this kind of asyndeton is very common in Seneca: cp. 43. 3 'quaeritur, scitur,' 102. 26 'gemis, ploras,' 121. 8 'niti, quati se' (Hense is certainly wrong in bracketing *niti* there).

xxi. 10. Seneca is laying stress on the simplicity with which Epicurus lived. 'Cum adieris eius hortulos et inscriptum hortulis HOSPES, HIC BENE MANEBIS . . . . paratus erit istius domicilii custos,' etc.

This is another of the passages which Hense prints without implying that he is dissatisfied with it, although he has to devote nearly four lines to the emendations which others have proposed. *Adieris eius*, I may note, is itself Usener's improvement on Schweighaeuser's emendation of the *a(u)dierithis* of the MSS.: it seems likely to be right. The things that still disturb one are: (1) The substantival use of *inscriptum*, for which there is no other ex. in Seneca, perhaps none at all outside Gellius, (2) the dative *hortulis* after this verbal noun, (3) the awkwardness of the zeugma *adieris—inscriptum*, (4) the repetition of *hortulis* where there is really no emphasis.

All these difficulties vanish if we read *erit* (possibly *HOC erit, oc* falling out after -os) *inscriptum in postibus*: I do not see that any serious ones take their place. The only difficulty is the *p* of *postibus*. I believe this fell out, though such

a catastrophe does not often befall the letter. On p. 213, 7 p V have *neme* for *nempe* similarly. At 368, 21 indeed *posse* becomes *esse* in B without any obvious explanation: on p. 5, 1 A writes *miscent* for *pmiscent*.

xxxiii. 5. 'Don't imagine you can *summatim degustare ingenia maximorum uirorum* by means of an anthology of their apophthegms. Tota tibi inspicienda sunt, tota tractanda. Res geritur et per lineamenta sua ingenii opus nectitur, ex quo nihil subduci sine ruina potest.'

A difficult passage. *Lineamenta* of course generally means the outline framework of a drawing or building: here it seems to mean *parts* of a whole: he goes on to say 'I don't mean that you may not examine *singula membra*, but remember, she is not a beauty cuius crus laudatur aut brachium, *sed illa cuius VNIVERSA FACIES admirationem PARTIBVS SINGVLIS abstulit*.' The nearest parallel to such a use of the word that I can find is *Nat. Quaest.* 3. 29. 3 'legem barbae et canorum nondum, natus infans habet: totius enim corporis . . . in paruo occultoque *lineamenta* sunt,' where the corresponding passage of Cleanthes (Stob. *Ecl.* 1. 372, Ritter-Preller<sup>8</sup> § 500) runs ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐνός τινος τὰ μέρη πάντα φύεται ἐκ σπερμάτων ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις, κτλ.

A second difficulty is involved in the phrase *res geritur*. It is common enough in Seneca, but is always amplified into such phrases as *r. ferro g.*, *r. animo g.*, *r. intra eundem hominem g.*, and so forth. The only absolute use that I have found is in *Const.* 19. 4: 'the wise man is out of the battle, his victory is won: *uos rem geritis*, you are still fighting.' This sense will hardly do here. Various suggestions are quoted by Hense, but no one seems to have suggested an adjective for *res*. Palaeographically *magna* and *ardua* seem about equally balanced, but Seneca's usage and the rhythm are greatly in favour of the first. It is possible however that we should read *ingens* after *geritur*: cp. in any case *Ep.* 49. 9 'non uaco ad istas ineptias: *ingens negotium in manibus est*.'

A less necessary change, but to my mind one that is very desirable, is the substitution of *corpus* for *opus*. The words which follow the passage and were paraphrased above refer to bodily matters; and cp. 89. 1 'desideras . . . diuidi philosophiam et ingens *corpus* eius in membra disponi.'

xl. 2. Serapio speaks too rapidly. 'Solet magno cursu uerba conuellere, quae non effundit ima sed premit et urguet; plura enim ueniunt quam quibus uox una sufficiat.'

That *ima* is corrupt, all admit, but *una* of ζ, which is generally accepted, does not please me much better. The meaning is quite clear, the words come so thick and fast that Serapio can't get them out: they are blocked at the exit. The metaphor is of course that of a torrent, *effundere* meaning 'to carry off' the flood-waters: cp. e.g. Mart. 7. 36. 3 of tiles 'quae posset subitos *effundere* nimbos.' But what force are we to assign to *una*? Hardly 'altogether,' for the idea negatived is clearly the idea of something which Serapio ought to do, and no one can wish him

to pour out all he has to say in a single effort. The word then must mean 'along with,' and the question at once arises 'Along with what?' Now as a matter of fact Seneca's metaphor, like many metaphors, will not bear pressing. The words *are* the torrent, but he chooses to regard them as flotsam and jetsam in that torrent: *conuellere* shews this. Now the torrent flows on, whilst the trees it has uprooted get across stream and stick on rocks. Seneca then can certainly say that the river fails to carry off these trees *along with its flood-waters*, and it is just conceivable that he might write *una* instead of *una secum* or *una cum aquis suis*. But the moment we leave the metaphor and come to Serapio's delivery, we see that *una* can mean nothing: you cannot imagine a time when his words stopped but his speech went on! *Vna* then either gives an unsuitable meaning or exposes the weakness of the metaphor which Seneca is here developing: we may with confidence reject it. What is to take its place is not so easy to say, but as I and T are fairly commonly confused in these MSS., I propose to read *tamen* (*tañ* in the archetype).

§ 8. tantum festinet atque ingerat quantum aures pati possunt.

Seneca here gives rules for the right kind of delivery. If the text is correct, *tantum* is first adverbial or cognate, and then ordinary accusative. I have not noted anything like it in Seneca and believe we should change *ingerat* to *ingruat*. Cp. Quint. 11. 3. 56 (in similar context): 'Some people pretend to be out of breath, tamquam inuentionis copia urgeantur, maiorque uis eloquentiae *ingruat* quam quae emitti faucibus possit' (which compare with § 2 above).

§ 9. recte ergo facies si . . . ipse malueris, si necesse est, uel P. Vinicius dicere. 'Qui itaque?' Cum quaereretur quomodo P. Vinicius diceret, Asellius ait etc.

So I read with the MSS., except that I adopt the capitals and punctuation of modern times. Something is obviously wrong: the editors content themselves with writing *Vinicius* in the first sentence and changing *uel* to *uelut* or *ut*. I must point out that this still leaves some serious difficulties. First, within a space of five lines of Teubner text we have the phrases *ut P. Vinicius dicere*, *quomodo P. Vinicius diceret*, and *dicere quomodo Vinicius*: all which is strangely monotonous for Senecan prose. Secondly, the question 'qui itaque?' is hardly needed alongside the clause 'cum quaereretur': which of the two is the more Senecan may be seen by comparing *Ep.* 29. 6 where a similar *dictum* is introduced by the words 'de cuius secta cum quaereretur, Scaurus ait' etc. Thirdly, the interrogative adverb *qui* does not occur elsewhere in Seneca.

Starting from the certainly corrupt *qui itaque*, and bearing in mind that the interchange of *c* and *qu* is remarkably frequent in these MSS., and that there are not wanting exx. of that of *t* and *qu* (as one would a priori expect, *c* and *t* being so frequently confused), I proposed at first to read *citare*. As however Seneca does not use the word, I prefer to write *concitare*, which is almost the same palaeo-



graphically (*ēcitare*: *con* omitted e.g. p. 86, 12; 123, 6; 125, 26). Cp. p. 245, 17 where P corrupts *aetate* into (*p*)*aetaque*, and, for the word, § 12 below, where Fabianus is named as a model, who 'disputabat expedite magis quam *concitare*.

*Vinicius* now awaits its governing verb, and *malueris* its infinitive, for most certainly Seneca is not recommending Lucilius *dicere concitare*. Both desiderata are given and the threefold repetition of the name of *Vinicius* in connexion with the verb *dicere* disappears, if we read after *Vinicius* the words '*imitari quam*.' The whole passage then will run: 'et ipse malueris uel P. *Vinicius* <*imitari quam*> *dicere concitare*.' It may be thought that the resemblance between *-icius* and the *-i quam* is too slight to cause an error of the kind assumed, but the above mentioned confusion of *c* and *qu* should be borne in mind, and for *-um* = *-am* I may compare p. 203, 1, where nine words fell out in p through the identification of *illam* and *illum*.

§ 10. Seneca gives the witticisms of Asellius and Varius and then goes on:

'Quidni malis tu sic dicere quomodo *Vinicius*? Aliquis tam insulsus interuenit quam qui illi singula uerba uellent... ait: dic numquid dicas. Nam Q. Hateri cursum . . . longe abesse ab homine sano uolo.'

What does the *aliquis* clause mean? Hense shews no signs of dissatisfaction, but I can make nothing of it. *Interuenit*, whatever the mood, must be like *Nat. Quaest.* 5.18.1 'inter cetera hoc quoque *aliquis suspexerit*: 'Someone might,' 'Someone could.' But this does not suit the preceding clause, one of the *quidni* ones so common in Seneca (ten in the first forty letters). These clauses regularly suggest a course, and are followed by another clause confirming or justifying the suggestion. Here it is suggested 'Better imitate *Vinicius* (than *Serapio*):' it is strange encouragement to add 'Some one will very likely come and jeer at you.'

A mark of interrogation will improve matters. 'Is anyone likely to make fun of you?' might imply 'No one will do so,' and does confirm the previous advice. But a question like this could not imply a negative: Lucilius would surely reply 'Of course some one will: some one did to *Vinicius*, anyhow.' And the *nam* of the next sentence, in which Seneca dismisses the lightning pace of *Haterius* (which wanted the break on continually, as Augustus said), is absolutely without any force so far.

We must then use the knife—but for a very slight and very common operation. Read *alius* for *aliquis* and cp. *Tranq.* 9.5 'Forty thousand books were destroyed at Alexandria. "Pulcherrimum regiae opulentiae monumentum *alius* laudauerit, sicut T. Liuius, . . . : non fuit elegantiae illud"' etc. The only difference between that passage and this is that Seneca has suppressed a clause corresponding to the one there beginning *non fuit* etc., a clause in which he stated that his own view would be different. He implies this by the epithet *insulsus*, and before we can give *nam* its proper force we must supply something like: 'I say if we are to have an extreme, let it be that of *Vinicius*: *Haterius*' is frenzy.'

xlvii. 8. A description of the hardships endured by slaves waiting at a banquet.

'Alius, cui conuiuarum censura permissa est, perstat infelix et *exspectat* quos adulatio et intemperantia aut gulae aut linguae reuocet in crastinum.'

This is nonsense. If the slave has only to wait for those who are to come back next day, he is not so hard-worked after all. *Censura* implies that he has got to divide the guests, as the censors did the citizens, into classes: as the magistrates assigned people to the lists of those fit for service and those not fit, so this slave, after carefully watching their behaviour throughout the banquet, divides them into the two classes of those who deserve a second invitation and those who do not. *Spectat* then, not *exspectat* is the verb required: the same mistake occurs in p or L on p. 27.3; 39.22; 75.21; 93.21, whilst at 261.19 conversely P is wrong with *spectas* for *exspectas*. It seems unnecessary then to suppose that *ex* is a corruption of *ex eis*, especially as *et* immediately precedes.

§ 10. 'Treat your slave well: tam tu illum uidere ingenuum potes quam ille te seruum. Mariana clades multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum, fortuna depressit: alium ex illis pastorem, alium custodem casae fecit.'

Lipsius proposed *Variana*: I am surprised that Hense keeps to the MSS., with no further comment than that Buecheler defends their reading. The references to Buecheler in Hense are very tantalizing: no work of his is mentioned in which the remarks are published, and one is left to infer that the statements are due to private correspondence and conversation between the two scholars: cp. what is said on p. xl of the preface. One would be only too glad to know on what grounds the text could be defended: to me everything suggests the Varus disaster. *Clades* surely suits this second Cannae better than anything connected with the name of Marius: besides, *militiam* points clearly to a battle, and those who escaped from the Mario-Sullan battles would be proscribed rather than sold into slavery—the fate to which the context here clearly refers, and the fate which would certainly befall any of Varus' troops whose lives the Germans spared. Lastly, so definite a mention of military service as a preliminary to senatorial rank suits an episode of Augustus' reign far better than one of the Republican period: see Mommsen, St-R.<sup>3</sup> 1.545 note.

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*Sheffield.*