

LATIN SERIES • VOLUME 11

ON THE ORATOR

CICERO

De Oratore

On the Orator

Three Books on the Education of the Complete Orator

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

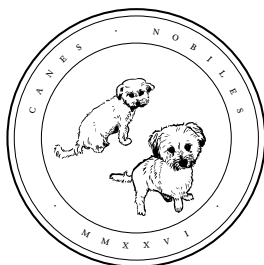


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Volume 11 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows Wilkins' Oxford text of 1902

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

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Artwork by Esther Steves

Wilkins secludes with square brackets and this volume does not print what he secludes; where he supplies a word between angle brackets it is printed. A dagger stands where he obelizes a word as corrupt, and the three asterisks of a lacuna are glossed as one. Cicero's quotations of the Twelve Tables and the praetor's formulae, which the edition sets in small capitals with V for vowel u, are set here in the volume's own orthography. An ellipsis closes a quotation Cicero breaks off. The chapters and their titles are the press's own: Wilkins prints no chapter numerals, only the section numbers that stand in the outer margin.

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BOOK I

I.1 • WHAT QUINTUS ASKED FOR

Cicero writes to his brother Quintus. He had hoped that the end of his public career would leave him free for the studies they both love, but the storms of the times destroyed that hope. He will write anyway, and begins by recalling a conversation he heard of years ago, in which the most eloquent men of Rome discussed the whole art of speaking. Quintus has long disagreed with him about whether eloquence rests on learning.

Cogitanti mihi saepe numero et memoria vetera repetenti 1
 reflecting to-me often times and by-memory old-(things) recalling
 perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent,
 very-fortunate to-have-been Quintus brother those-(men) to-seem are-wont
 qui in optima re publica, cum et honoribus et
 who in the-best the-thing public when both in-honors and
 rerum gestarum gloria florent, eum vitae cursum tenere
 of-things done in-glory they-flourished that of-life course to-bold
 potuerunt, ut vel in negotio sine periculo vel in otio
 they-were-able so-that either in business without danger or in leisure
 cum dignitate esse possent; ac fuit cum mihi
 with dignity to-be they-might-be-able and there-was-(a-time) when to-me
 quoque initium requiescendi atque animum ad utriusque
 also a-beginning of-resting and (my)-mind to of-both
 nostrum praeclara studia referendi fore iustum et prope
 of-us noble pursuits of-bringing-back would-be just and almost
 ab omnibus concessum arbitrari, si infinitus forensium
 by all granted I-thought if the-endless of-forensic
 rerum labor et ambitionis occupatio decursu honorum,
 affairs labor and of-canvassing the-business at-the-running-out of-offices
 etiam aetatis flexu constitisset.
 even of-age at-the-turning had-come-to-a-stop

2 Quam spem cogitationum et consiliorum meorum cum
which hope of-thoughts and of-plans my both
 graves communium temporum tum varii nostri casus
the-grievous of-the-common times and the-varied our misfortunes
 fefellerunt; nam qui locus quietis et tranquillitatis
disappointed for which place of-quiet and of-tranquility
 plenissimus fore videbatur, in eo maximae moles
most-full to-be-going-to-be seemed in that the-greatest masses
 molestiarum et turbulentissimae tempestates exstiterunt;
of-troubles and the-most-turbulent storms arose
 neque vero nobis cupientibus atque exoptantibus fructus
nor indeed to-us desiring and longing the-fruit
 oti datus est ad eas artis, quibus a pueris dediti
of-leisure given it-was for those arts to-which from boyhood devoted
 fuimus, celebrandas inter nosque recolendas.
we-have-been to-be-cultivated among and-ourselves to-be-recalled

3 Nam prima aetate incidimus in ipsam perturbationem
for in-(our)-first age we-fell upon the-very overturning
 disciplinae veteris, et consulatu devenimus in medium
of-the-discipline old and by-the-consulship we-came-down into the-midst
 rerum omnium certamen atque discrimen, et hoc tempus
of-things of-all the-struggle and the-crisis and this time
 omne post consulatum obiecimus eis fluctibus, qui
all after the-consulship we-exposed to-those waves which
 per nos a communi peste depulsi in nosmet ipsos
through us from the-common ruin driven-off upon ourselves the-very
 redundarent. Sed tamen in his vel asperitatibus rerum
might-flow-back but still in these either the-harshnesses of-affairs
 vel angustiiis temporis obsequar studiis nostris et
or the-narrownesses of-time I-shall-comply-with pursuits our and
 quantum mihi vel fraus inimicorum vel causae
however-much to-me either the-treachery of-(my)-enemies or the-cases

amicorum vel res publica tribuet oti, ad scribendum

of-friends or the-thing public shall-grant of-leisure to writing

potissimum conferam; tibi vero, frater, neque hortanti

chiefly I-shall-devote to-you indeed brother neither to-(you)-urging

deero neque roganti, nam neque auctoritate quisquam

I-shall-fail nor to-(you)-asking for neither in-authority anyone

apud me plus valere te potest neque voluntate.

with me more to-prevail than-you is-able nor in-goodwill

Ac mihi repetenda est veteris cuiusdam memoriae non sane 4

and by-me to-be-recovered is of-an-old certain memory not quite

satis explicata recordatio, sed, ut arbitror, apta ad id,

sufficiently unfolded a-recollection but as I-think fitted to that

quod requiris, ut cognoscas quae viri omnium eloquentissimi

which you-ask that you-may-learn what men of-all the-most-eloquent

clarissimique senserint de omni ratione dicendi.

and-the-most-illustrious have-thought about every method of-speaking

Vis enim, ut mihi saepe dixisti, quoniam, quae 5

you-wish for as to-me often you-have-said since the-(things)-which

pueris aut adolescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris

(as)-boys or young-men to-us from notebooks our

incohata ac rudia exciderunt, vix sunt hac aetate

begun and rough slipped-out scarcely are of-this age

digna et hoc usu, quem ex causis, quas diximus,

worthy and of-this experience which from the-cases which we-have-pleaded

tot tantisque consecuti sumus, aliquid eisdem de rebus

so-many and-so-great having-gained we-are something the-same about matters

politius a nobis perfectiusque proferri; solesque

more-polished by us and-more-finished to-be-brought-forward and-you-are-wont

non numquam hac de re a me in disputationibus

not never this about matter from me in discussions

nostris dissentire, quod ego eruditissimorum hominum

our to-differ because I of-the-most-learned men

artibus eloquentiam contineri statuam, tu autem illam
by-the-arts eloquence to-be-contained maintain you however it
 ab elegantia doctrinae segregandam putes et in quodam
from the-refinement of-learning to-be-separated think and in a-certain
 ingeni atque exercitationis genere ponendam.
of-talent and of-practice kind to-be-placed
 Ac mihi quidem saepe numero in summos homines ac
and to-me indeed often times upon the-highest men and
 summis ingeniis praeditos intuenti quaerendum esse visum
with-the-highest talents endowed gazing to-be-asked to-be seemed
 est quid esset cur plures in omnibus rebus quam in
it-was what it-might-be why more in all things than in
 dicendo admirabiles exstitissent; nam quocumque te animo et
speaking admirable had-arisen for whithersoever you in-mind and
 cogitatione converteris, permultos excellentis in quoque genere
in-thought shall-have-turned very-many excelling in every kind
 videbis non mediocrium artium, sed prope maximarum.
you-will-see not of-middling arts but almost of-the-greatest

1.2 · WHY SO FEW ARE ELOQUENT

Cicero counts the generals, statesmen, philosophers, mathematicians, and poets that Rome and Greece have produced, and finds excellent orators rarer than any of them. This is stranger than it looks, since the other arts are drawn from hidden springs while speech lies open in everyone's daily use. Nor is want of reward to blame: since the peace, no ambitious young Roman has failed to try, with Greek teachers to help him.

Quis enim est qui, si clarorum hominum scientiam rerum 6
who for is who if of-famous men the-knowledge of-things
 gestarum vel utilitate vel magnitudine metiri velit,
done either by-usefulness or by-greatness to-measure should-wish
 non anteponat oratori imperatorem?
not would-prefer to-the-orator the-general

Quis autem dubitet quin belli duces ex hac una civitate 7
who however would-doubt but-that of-war leaders from this one state
 praestantissimos paene innumerabilis, in dicendo autem
the-most-outstanding almost countless in speaking however
 excellentis vix paucos proferre possimus?
excelling scarcely a-few to-produce we-are-able

Iam vero consilio ac sapientia qui regere ac gubernare rem 8
now indeed by-counsel and by-wisdom who to-rule and to-steer the-thing
 publicam possint, multi nostra, plures patrum memoria
public are-able many in-our more of-(our)-fathers memory
 atque etiam maiorum exstiterunt, cum boni perdiu
and even of-(our)-forefathers have-arisen while good for-a-very-long-time
 nulli, vix autem singulis aetatibus singuli tolerabiles oratores
none scarcely however in-single generations single tolerable orators
 invenirentur. Ac ne qui forte cum aliis studiis, quae reconditis
were-found and lest anyone perhaps with other pursuits which abstruse
 in artibus atque in quadam varietate litterarum versentur,
in arts and in a-certain variety of-letters are-engaged
 magis hanc dicendi rationem, quam cum imperatoris laude
rather this of-speaking method than with of-a-general the-praise
 aut cum boni senatoris prudentia comparandam putet,
or with of-a-good senator the-practical-wisdom to-be-compared should-think
 convertat animum ad ea ipsa artium genera circumspiciatque,
let-him-turn (his)-mind to those very of-arts kinds and-let-him-look-round

qui in eis floruerint quamque multi sint; sic facillime,

who in them have-flourished and-how many they-are so most-easily

quanta oratorum sit et semper fuerit paucitas, iudicabit.

how-great of-orators is and always has-been the-fewness he-will-judge

9 Neque enim te fugit omnium laudatarum artium

nor for you it-escapes of-all praised arts

procreatricem quandam et quasi parentem eam, quam

the-mother a-certain and as-it-were the-parent that which

φιλοσοφίαν Graeci vocant, ab hominibus doctissimis

philosophy the-Greeks call by men the-most-learned

iudicari; in qua difficile est enumerare quot viri quanta

to-be-judged in which difficult it-is to-count how-many men of-how-great

scientia quantaque in suis studiis varietate et copia

knowledge and-of-how-great in their pursuits variety and fullness

fuerint, qui non una aliqua in re separatim elaborarint, sed

have-been who not one some in thing separately have-worked but

omnia, quaecumque possent, vel scientiae pervestigatione

all-(things) whatever they-could either of-knowledge by-the-investigation

vel disserendi ratione comprehenderint.

or of-reasoning by-the-method have-embraced

10 Quis ignorat, ei, qui mathematici vocantur, quanta in

who does-not-know those who mathematicians are-called how-great in

obscuritate rerum et quam recondita in arte et multiplici

the-obscurity of-things and how recondite in an-art and manifold

subtilique versentur? Quo tamen in genere ita multi

and-subtle they-are-engaged which still in kind so many

perfecti homines exstiterunt, ut nemo fere studuisse

finished men have-arisen that no-one almost to-have-studied

ei scientiae vehementius videatur, quin quod voluerit

that science more-strenuously may-seem but-that what he-wished

consecutus sit. Quis musicis, quis huic studio litterarum,

having-gained he-is who to-music who to-this study of-letters

quod profitentur ei, qui grammatici vocantur, penitus se
which profess those who grammarians are-called deeply himself
 dedit, quin omnem illarum artium paene infinitam vim
has-given but-that all of-those arts almost boundless force
 et materiem scientia et cognitione comprehenderit?
and material by-knowledge and by-understanding he-has-embraced

Vere mihi hoc videor esse dicturus, ex omnibus eis, qui 11
truly to-me this I-seem to-be going-to-say from all those who
 in harum artium liberalissimis studiis sint doctrinisque
in of-these arts the-most-liberal studies are and-in-the-learning
 versati, minimam copiam poetarum et oratorum egregiorum
versed the-smallest number of-poets and of-orators outstanding
 exstitisse: atque in hoc ipso numero, in quo perraro
to-have-arisen and in this very number in which very-rarely
 exoritur aliquis excellens, si diligenter et ex nostrorum
arises anyone excelling if carefully both from of-our-own
 et ex Graecorum copia comparare voles, multo tamen
and from of-the-Greeks the-store to-compare you-will-wish much still
 pauciores oratores quam poetae boni reperientur.
fewer orators than poets good will-be-found

Quod hoc etiam mirabilius debet videri, quia ceterarum 12
which this even more-wonderful ought to-seem because of-the-other
 artium studia fere reconditis atque abditis e fontibus
arts the-studies generally recondite and bidden from springs
 hauriuntur, dicendi autem omnis ratio in medio posita
are-drawn of-speaking however all the-method in the-open placed
 communi quodam in usu atque in hominum ore et
common a-certain in use and in of-men the-mouth and
 sermone versatur, ut in ceteris id maxime excellat,
speech is-engaged so-that in the-others that most may-excel
 quod longissime sit ab imperitorum intelligentia sensuque
which farthest is from of-the-unskilled the-understanding and-the-sense

disiunctum, in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum sit
removed in speaking however the-fault even the-greatest may-be
 a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine
from the-common kind of-speech and from the-usage
 communis sensus abhorrere.
of-common sense to-shrink

- 13 Ac ne illud quidem vere dici potest aut pluris ceteris
and not that even truly to-be-said it-is-possible either that-more to-the-others
 inservire aut maiore delectatione aut spe uberiore aut
to-devote-themselves or by-greater delight or by-hope richer or
 praemiis ad perdiscendum amplioribus commoveri. Atque
by-rewards for learning-thoroughly larger to-be-moved and
 ut omittam Graeciam, quae semper eloquentiae princeps
that I-may-pass-over Greece which always of-eloquence the-chief
 esse voluit, atque illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices
to-be has-wished and those of-all of-learnings the-inventress
 Athenas, in quibus summa dicendi vis et inventa est
Athens in which the-highest of-speaking force both found it-was
 et perfecta, in hac ipsa civitate profecto nulla umquam
and perfected in this very state assuredly none ever
 vehementius quam eloquentiae studia viguerunt.
more-strongly than of-eloquence the-studies have-flourished

- 14 Nam postea quam imperio omnium gentium constituto
for after that with-the-empire of-all nations established
 diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis
the-length of-peace leisure strengthened no-one almost of-praise
 cupidus adolescens non sibi ad dicendum studio omni
desirous a-young-man not by-him for speaking with-zeal all
 enitendum putavit; ac primo quidem totius rationis
to-be-striven thought and at-first indeed of-the-whole method
 ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam vim neque aliquod
ignorant who neither of-practice any force nor any

praeceptum artis esse arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum
precept of-art to-be supposed only-so-much as
 ingenio et cogitatione poterant, consequabantur; post
by-talent and by-thought they-could they-attained afterward
 autem auditis oratoribus Graecis cognitisque eorum
however when-had-been-heard the-orators Greek and-when-known their
 litteris adhibitisque doctoribus incredibili quodam nostri
writings and-when-employed teachers with-an-incredible a-certain our
 homines discendi studio flagrauerunt.
men of-learning with-zeal blazed

Excitabat eos magnitudo, varietas multitudoque in omni genere 15
was-rousing them the-greatness the-variety and-the-multitude in every kind
 causarum, ut ad eam doctrinam, quam suo quisque
of-cases so-that to that learning which by-his-own each
 studio consecutus esset, adiungeretur usus frequens, qui
zeal having-gained he-had-been might-be-joined practice frequent which
 omnium magistrorum praecepta superaret; erant autem huic
of-all of-teachers the-precepts might-surpass there-were however for-this
 studio maxima, quae nunc quoque sunt, exposita praemia
pursuit the-greatest which now also are set-forth rewards
 vel ad gratiam vel ad opes vel ad dignitatem; ingenia vero,
either for favor or for wealth or for rank talents indeed
 ut multis rebus possumus iudicare, nostrorum hominum
as by-many things we-are-able to-judge of-our men
 multum ceteris hominibus omnium gentium praestiterunt.
greatly the-other men of-all nations have-surpassed

The scarcity has one cause, the size of the thing. An orator must master the matter of countless subjects, choose and arrange his words, know the passions well enough to rouse or quiet them, and add to that wit, learning, quickness, the whole of the past, the civil law, delivery, and memory. Cicero will not set down a schoolroom manual but report a conversation among Rome's greatest speakers.

- 16 Quibus de causis quis non iure miretur ex omni
which for causes who not rightly would-wonder from all
 memoria aetatum, temporum, civitatum tam exiguum
the-record of-ages of-times of-states so small
 oratorum numerum inveniri?
of-orators a-number to-be-found
 Sed enim maius est hoc quiddam quam homines opinantur,
but indeed greater is this something than men suppose
 et pluribus ex artibus studiisque conlectum. Quid enim
and more from arts and-pursuits gathered what for
 quis aliud in maxima discentium multitudine, summa
anyone else in the-greatest of-learners multitude in-the-highest
 magistrorum copia, praestantissimis hominum ingeniis,
of-teachers store in-the-most-outstanding of-men talents
 infinita causarum varietate, amplissimis eloquentiae
in-the-boundless of-cases variety in-the-amplest of-eloquence
 propositis praemiis esse causae putet, nisi rei
set-forth rewards to-be of-cause would-think except of-the-thing
 quandam incredibilem magnitudinem ac difficultatem?
a-certain incredible greatness and difficulty
- 17 Est enim et scientia comprehendenda rerum plurimarum,
there-is for both knowledge to-be-mastered of-things very-many
 sine qua verborum volubilitas inanis atque inridenda
without which of-words the-fluency empty and to-be-laughed-at

est, et ipsa oratio conformanda non solum electione,
is and itself the-speech to-be-shaped not only by-the-choosing
 sed etiam constructione verborum, et omnes animorum
but also by-the-building of-words and all of-minds
 motus, quos hominum generi rerum natura tribuit,
the-movements which of-men to-the-race of-things nature has-given
 penitus pernoscendi, quod omnis vis ratioque dicendi
thoroughly to-be-known because all the-force and-the-method of-speaking
 in eorum, qui audiunt, mentibus aut sedandis aut excitandis
in of-those who hear the-minds either in-calming or in-rousing
 expromenda est; accedat eodem oportet lepos quidam
to-be-brought-out is let-there-be-added to-the-same it-behooves charm a-certain
 facitiaeque et eruditio libero digna celeritasque et
and-wit and culture of-a-free-man worthy and-quickness and
 brevis et respondendi et lacescendi subtili venustate
brevity both of-answering and of-attacking with-a-subtle grace
 atque urbanitate coniuncta; tenenda praeterea est omnis
and refinement joined to-be-held besides is all
 antiquitas exemplorumque vis, neque legum ac iuris
antiquity and-of-examples the-force nor of-laws and of-the-law
 civilis scientia neglegenda est.

civil the-knowledge to-be-neglected is

Nam quid ego de actione ipsa plura dicam? quae motu
for what I about delivery itself more should-say which by-the-movement
 corporis, quae gestu, quae vultu, quae vocis conformatione
of-the-body which by-gesture which by-the-face which of-the-voice by-the-shaping
 ac varietate moderanda est; quae sola per se ipsa quanta
and by-the-variety to-be-governed is which alone through itself it-itself how-great
 sit, histrionum levis ars et scaena declarat; in qua cum
is of-actors the-trivial art and the-stage declares in which although
 omnes in oris et vocis et motus moderatione
all in of-the-mouth and of-the-voice and of-the-movement the-governing

18

laborent, quis ignorat quam pauci sint fuerintque,
labor who does-not-know how few there-are and-have-been
 quos animo aequo spectare possimus? Quid dicam de
whom with-a-mind calm to-watch we-are-able what am-I-to-say about
 thesauro rerum omnium, memoria? Quae nisi custos inventis
the-treasury of-things of-all memory which unless a-guardian found
 cogitatisque rebus et verbis adhibeatur, intellegimus omnia,
and-thought for-things and for-words is-employed we-understand all-(things)
 etiam si praeclarissima fuerint in oratore, peritura.
even if the-most-brilliant they-have-been in the-orator (are)-going-to-perish

- 19 Quam ob rem mirari desinamus, quae causa sit
which on-account-of thing to-wonder let-us- cease what the-cause is
 eloquentium paucitatis, cum ex eis rebus universis eloquentia
of-the-eloquent of-the-fewness since from those things all eloquence
 constet, in quibus singulis elaborare permagnum est,
is-made-up in which one-by-one to-labor a-very-great-thing it-is
 hortemurque potius liberos nostros ceterosque, quorum gloria
and-let-us-urge rather children our and-the-others whose glory
 nobis et dignitas cara est, ut animo rei magnitudinem
to-us and rank dear is that in-mind of-the-thing the-greatness
 complectantur neque eis aut praeceptis aut magistris aut
they-may-embrace and-not by-those either precepts or teachers or
 exercitationibus, quibus utuntur omnes, sed aliis quibusdam
exercises which use all but by-other certain-(means)
 se id quod expetunt, consequi posse confidunt.
themselves that which they- seek to-attain to-be-able they-may-trust

- 20 Ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude
and in-my indeed opinion no-one will-be-able to-be with-every praise
 cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum
heaped-up an-orator unless he-shall-have of-all things great
 atque artium scientiam consecutus: etenim ex rerum
and of-arts the-knowledge gained for from of-things

cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio. Quae,
the-understanding should-flower and should-overflow it-behooves speech which
 nisi res est ab oratore percepta et cognita, inanem
unless the-matter is by the-orator grasped and known an-empty
 quandam habet elocutionem et paene puerilem.

a-certain it-has utterance and almost childish

Neque vero ego hoc tantum oneris imponam nostris 21

nor indeed I this so-great of-burden shall-lay-on on-our
 praesertim oratoribus in hac tanta occupatione urbis ac
especially orators in this so-great engagement of-the-city and
 vitae, nihil ut eis putem licere nescire, quamquam
of-life nothing that to-them I-should-think to-be-permitted not-to-know although
 vis oratoris professioque ipsa bene dicendi hoc suscipere
the-force of-the-orator and-the-profession itself well of-speaking this to-undertake
 ac polliceri videtur, ut omni de re, quaecumque sit
and to-promise seems that every about matter whatever may-be
 proposita, ornate ab eo copioseque dicatur.

proposed elegantly by him and-fully it-may-be-spoken

Sed quia non dubito quin hoc plerisque immensum 22

but because not I-doubt but-that this to-most immense
 infinitumque videatur, et quod Graecos homines non solum
and-boundless seems and because the-Greek men not only
 ingenio et doctrina, sed etiam otio studioque abundantis
in-talent and in-learning but also in-leisure and-in-zeal abounding
 partitionem iam quandam artium fecisse video neque
a-division now a-certain of-the-arts to-have-made I-see and-not
 in universo genere singulos elaborasse, sed seposuisse a
in the-whole kind individuals to-have-worked but to-have-set-apart from
 ceteris dictionibus eam partem dicendi, quae in forensibus
the-other kinds-of-speech that part of-speaking which in forensic
 disceptationibus iudiciorum aut deliberationum versaretur,
disputes of-trials or of-deliberations was-engaged

et id unum genus oratori reliquisse; non complectar
and that one kind to-the-orator to-have-left not I-shall-embrace
 in his libris amplius, quam quod huic generi re
in these books more than what to-this kind the-matter
 quaesita et multum disputata summorum hominum
when-inquired-into and much when-debated of-the-highest men
 prope consensu est tributum;
almost by-the-agreement has-been assigned

- 23 repetamque non ab incunabulis nostrae veteris puerilisque
and-I-shall-fetch not from the-cradle of-our old and-boyish
 doctrinae quendam ordinem praeceptorum, sed ea, quae
learning a-certain order of-precepts but those-(things) which
 quondam accepi in nostrorum hominum eloquentissimorum
once I-received in of-our men the-most-eloquent
 et omni dignitate principum disputatione esse versata;
and in-every rank the-first in-the-discussion to-have-been handled
 non quo illa contemnam, quae Graeci dicendi artifices et
not because those I-despise which the-Greeks of-speaking the-craftsmen and
 doctores reliquerunt, sed cum illa pateant in promptuque
the-teachers have-left but since those lie-open in and-at-hand
 sint omnibus, neque ea interpretatione mea aut ornatius
are to-all nor them by-the-exposition my either more-elegantly
 explicari aut planius exprimi possint, dabis hanc
to-be-unfolded or more-plainly to-be-expressed they-can you-will-give this
 veniam, mi frater, ut opinor, ut eorum, quibus summa
indulgence my brother as I-think that of-those to-whom the-highest
 dicendi laus a nostris hominibus concessa est, auctoritatem
of-speaking praise by our men granted has-been the-authority
 Graecis anteponam.
to-the-Greeks I-should-prefer

With Philippus as consul attacking the nobility and Drusus' tribunate breaking, Crassus withdraws to his Tusculan villa; Scaevola and Antonius come to him, and Cotta and Sulpicius come out with Crassus. A first day of politics gives way to a second of ease, and Scaevola proposes they imitate the Socrates of the Phaedrus under Crassus' plane tree. Crassus opens: nothing is finer than to hold men's minds by speaking, the power that first gathered them into cities.

Cum igitur vehementius inveheretur in causam 24

when therefore very-violently was-inveighing against the-cause

principum consul Philippus Drusique tribunatus pro

of-the-leading-men the-consul Philippus and-of-Drusus the-tribunate for

senatus auctoritate susceptus infringi iam debilitarique

of-the-senate the-authority undertaken to-be-broken now and-to-be-weakened

videretur, dici mihi memini ludorum Romanorum diebus

seemed to-be-said to-me I-remember of-the-games Roman on-the-days

L. Crassum quasi conligendi sui causa se in

Lucius Crassus as-it-were of-collecting himself for-the-sake himself to

Tusculanum contulisse; venisse eodem, socer

the-Tusculan-(villa) to-have-taken to-have-come to-the-same-place the-father-in-law

eius qui fuerat, Q. Mucius dicebatur et M. Antonius,

of-him who had-been Quintus Mucius was-said and Marcus Antonius

homo et consiliorum in re publica socius et summa

a-man both of-counsels in the-thing public a-partner and in-the-highest

cum Crasso familiaritate coniunctus.

with Crassus intimacy joined

Exierant autem cum ipso Crasso adolescentes et Drusi 25

had-gone-out however with himself Crassus young-men both of-Drusus

maxime familiares et in quibus magnam tum spem

especially the-friends and in whom great then hope

maiores natu dignitatis suae conlocarent, C. Cotta,

the-elder by-birth of-rank their-own were-placing Gaius Cotta

qui tribunatum plebis petebat, et P. Sulpicius, qui
who the-tribunate of-the-plebs was-seeking and Publius Sulpicius who
 deinceps eum magistratum petiturus putabatur.

next that magistracy going-to-seek was-thought

- 26 Hi primo die de temporibus deque universa re
these on-the-first day about the-times and-about the-whole thing
 publica, quam ob causam venerant, multum inter
public which on-account-of cause they-had-come much among
 se usque ad extremum tempus diei conlocuti sunt;
themselves right-up to the-last hour of-the-day talked they-have
 quo quidem sermone multa divinitus a tribus illis
by-which indeed conversation many-things divinely by the-three those
 consularibus Cotta deplorata et commemorata narrabat,
ex-consuls Cotta lamented and recalled he-was-relating
 ut nihil incidisset postea civitati mali, quod non
so-that nothing had-befallen afterward to-the-state of-evil which not
 impendere illi tanto ante vidissent.

to-be-hanging-over they so-long before had-seen

- 27 Eo autem omni sermone confecto, tantam in Crasso
this however whole conversation when-finished so-great in Crassus
 humanitatem fuisse, ut, cum lauti accubuissent, tolleretur
kindness to-have-been that when bathed they-had-reclined was-lifted
 omnis illa superioris tristitia sermonis eaque esset in
all that of-the-earlier gloom conversation and-that there-was in
 homine iucunditas et tantus in loquendo lepos, ut dies inter
the-man pleasantness and so-great in speaking charm that a-day among
 eos curiae fuisse videretur, convivium Tusculani;

them of-the-senate-house to-have-been seemed a-banquet of-the-Tusculan-(villa)

- 28 postero autem die, cum illi maiores natu satis quiescent
on-the-next however day when those elder by-birth enough had-rested
 et in ambulationem ventum esset, tum Scaevolam duobus
and to a-walk come it-had-been then Scaevola when-two

spatiis tribusve factis dixisse 'cur non imitamur, Crasse,

turns or-three had-been-made to-have-said why not do-we-imitate Crassus

Socratem illum, qui est in Phaedro Platonis? Nam me haec

Socrates that who is in the-Phaedrus of-Plato for me this

tua platanus admonuit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc

your plane-tree has-reminded which not less for shading this

locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa, cuius umbram

place with-spreading is spread with-branches than that whose shade

secutus est Socrates, quae mihi videtur non tam ipsa

followed has Socrates which to-me seems not so-much by-the-very

acula, quae describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse, et

little-stream which is-described as by-Plato's speech to-have-grown and

quod ille durissimis pedibus fecit, ut se abiceret in herba

what he with-the-hardest feet did that himself he-threw-down on the-grass

atque ita, quae philosophi divinitus ferunt esse

and so those-(things)-which the-philosophers divinely report to-have-been

dicta, loqueretur, id meis pedibus certe concedi est aequius.'

said he-spoke that to-my feet certainly to-be-granted is more-just

Tum Crassum 'immo vero commodius etiam'; pulvinosque 29

then Crassus nay indeed more-conveniently even and-cushions

poposcisse et omnis in eis sedibus, quae erant sub

to-have-called-for and all on those seats which were under

platano, consedisce dicebat.

the-plane-tree to-have-sat-down he-was-relating

Ibi, ut ex pristino sermone relaxarentur animi omnium,

there so-that from the-earlier conversation might-be-relaxed the-minds of-all

solebat Cotta narrare Crassum sermonem quendam de

was-wont Cotta to-relate Crassus a-conversation a-certain about

studio dicendi intulisse.

the-study of-speaking to-have-introduced

30 Qui cum ita esset exorsus: non sibi cohortandum
who when thus had begun not by-him to-be-exhorted
 Sulpicium et Cottam, sed magis utrumque conlaudandum
Sulpicius and Cotta but rather each to-be-praised
 videri, quod tantam iam essent facultatem adepti, ut non
to-seem because so-great already they-had a-capacity gained that not
 aequalibus suis solum anteponerentur, sed cum maioribus
to-equals their-own only they-were-preferred but with the-elder
 natu compararentur; 'neque vero mihi quicquam' inquit
by-birth they-were-compared nor indeed to-me anything he-said
 'praestabilius videtur, quam posse dicendo tenere hominum
more-excellent seems than to-be-able by-speaking to-hold of-men
 mentis, adlicere voluntates, impellere quo velit, unde
the-minds to-win the-wills to-drive whither he-wishes whence
 autem velit deducere: haec una res in omni libero populo
however he-wishes to-lead-away this one thing in every free people
 maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus praecipue
and-especially in peaceful and-tranquil states above-all
 semper floruit semperque dominata est.

always has-flourished and-always ruled it-has

31 Quid enim est aut tam admirabile, quam ex infinita
what for is either so admirable as from a-boundless
 multitudine hominum exsistere unum, qui id, quod omnibus
multitude of-men to-arise one who that which to-all
 natura sit datum, vel solus vel cum perpaucis facere
by-nature has-been given either alone or with very-few to-do
 possit? aut tam iucundum cognitu atque auditu, quam
is-able or so delightful in-the-knowing and in-the-hearing as
 sapientibus sententiis gravibusque verbis ornata oratio et
with-wise thoughts and-with-weighty words adorned a-speech and
 polita? aut tam potens tamque magnificum, quam populi
polished or so powerful and-so magnificent as of-the-people

motus, iudicum religiones, senatus gravitatem unius
the-movements of-judges the-scruples of-the-senate the-gravity by-one-man's
 oratione converti? Quid tam porro regium, tam liberale, tam
speech to-be-turned what so further kingly so liberal so
 munificum, quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare adflictos,
munificent as help to-bring to-suppliants to-raise the-afflicted
 dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate?
to-give safety to-free from-dangers to-keep men in the-state
 Quid autem tam necessarium, quam tenere semper arma, 32
what however so necessary as to-bold always arms
 quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare integer
by-which either covered yourself to-be you-may-be-able or to-challenge unburt
 vel te ulcisci lacessitus? Age vero, ne semper forum,
or yourself to-avenge when-attacked come indeed lest always the-forum
 subsellia, rostra curiamque meditare, quid esse potest
the-benches the-rostra and-the-senate-house you-should-ponder what to-be is-able
 in otio aut iucundius aut magis proprium humanitatis,
in leisure either more-delightful or more properly-belonging to-culture
 quam sermo facetus ac nulla in re rudis? Hoc enim
than talk witty and no in matter unpolished by-this for
 uno praestamus vel maxime feris, quod conloquimur inter
one we-excel even most the-beasts that we-converse among
 nos et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus.
ourselves and that to-express by-speaking (our)-thoughts we-are-able
 Quam ob rem quis hoc non iure miretur 33
which on-account-of thing who this not rightly would-wonder
 summeque in eo elaborandum esse arbitretur, ut, quo
and-most-highly in it to-be-labored to-be would-think that by-which
 uno homines maxime bestiis praestent, in hoc hominibus
one men most the-beasts surpass in this men
 ipsis antecellat? Ut vero iam ad illa summa veniamus,
themselves he-should-excel that indeed now to those highest-(matters) we-may-come

quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in
what force other was-able either scattered men one into
 locum congregare aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc
place to-gather or from a-wild and-rustic life to this
 humanum cultum civilemque deducere aut iam constitutis
human cultivation and-civil to-bring or now established
 civitatibus leges iudicia iura describere?

for-states laws courts rights to-mark-out

- 34 Ac ne plura, quae sunt paene innumerabilia, consector,
and lest more-(things) which are almost countless I-should-pursue
 comprehendam brevi: sic enim statuo, perfecti oratoris
let-me-sum-up in-brief thus for I-hold of-the-finished orator
 moderatione et sapientia non solum ipsius dignitatem,
by-the-guidance and by-the-wisdom not only of-himself the-standing
 sed et privatorum plurimorum et universae rei publicae
but also of-private-men very-many and of-the-whole thing public
 salutem maxime contineri. Quam ob rem pergite,
the-safety chiefly to-be-contained which on-account-of thing go-on
 ut facitis, adulescentes, atque in id studium, in quo
as you-are-doing young-men and to that pursuit in which
 estis, incumbite, ut et vobis honori et amicis utilitati
you-are lean so-that both to-you for-honor and to-friends for-service
 et rei publicae emolumento esse possitis.
and to-the-thing public for-profit to-be you-may-be-able

Scaevola grants Crassus everything but two claims. Cities were founded and preserved by wisdom and courage, not by fine speaking: Romulus, Numa, and Servius show no trace of eloquence, and the Gracchi, eloquent as they were, tore apart the state their plainspoken father had saved. Nor may the orator claim every subject, or the natural philosophers, the Academy, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics will all sue him for trespass.

Tum Scaevola comiter, ut solebat, 'cetera' inquit 'adsentior 35

then Scaevola courteously as he-was-wont in-the-rest he-said I-agree

Crasso, ne aut de C. Laeli soceri mei aut de

with-Crassus lest either from of-Gaius Laelius father-in-law my or from

huius generi aut arte aut gloria detraham; sed illa duo,

of-this son-in-law either the-art or the-glory I-should-detract but those two

Crasse, vereor ut tibi possim concedere: unum, quod

Crassus I-fear that-not to-you I-may-be-able to-concede one that

ab oratoribus civitates et initio constitutas et saepe

by orators states both at-the-beginning founded and often

conservatas esse dixisti, alterum, quod remoto foro,

preserved to-have-been you-said the-other that when-removed the-forum

contione, iudiciis, senatu statuisti oratorem in omni

the-public-meeting the-courts the-senate you-laid-down the-orator in every

genere sermonis et humanitatis esse perfectum.

kind of-conversation and of-culture to-be complete

Quis enim tibi hoc concesserit aut initio genus 36

who for to-you this would-grant either at-the-beginning the-race

hominum in montibus ac silvis dissipatum non prudentium

of-men in mountains and woods scattered not of-the-prudent

consiliiis compulsum potius quam disertorum oratione

by-the-counsels driven rather than of-the-eloquent by-the-speech

delenitum se oppidis moenibusque saepisse? aut vero

charmed itself with-towns and-with-walls to-have-enclosed or indeed

reliquas utilitates aut in constituendis aut in conservandis
the-remaining advantages either in founding or in preserving
 civitatibus non a sapientibus et fortibus viris, sed a
states not by wise and brave men but by
 disertis ornatèque dicentibus esse constitutas?
eloquent and-elegantly speaking to-have-been established

37 An vero tibi Romulus ille aut pastores et convenas
or indeed to-you Romulus that either shepherds and strangers
 congregasse aut Sabinorum conubia coniunxisse aut
to-have-gathered or of-the-Sabines the-marriages to-have-joined or
 finitimorum vim repressisse eloquentia videtur, non consilio
of-the-neighbors the-force to-have-checked by-eloquence seems not by-counsel
 et sapientia singulari? Quid? in Numa Pompilio, quid?
and by-wisdom singular what in Numa Pompilius what
 in Servio Tullio, quid? in ceteris regibus, quorum multa
in Servius Tullius what in the-other kings of-whom many
 sunt eximia ad constituendam rem publicam, num
are outstanding for establishing the-thing public surely-not
 eloquentiae vestigium apparet? Quid? exactis regibus,
of-eloquence a-trace appears what when-driven-out the-kings
 tametsi ipsam exactionem mente, non lingua perfectam
although the-very driving-out by-mind not by-tongue accomplished
 L. Bruti esse cernimus, sed deinceps omnia nonne
of-Lucius Brutus to-be we-discern but thereafter all-(things) surely
 plena consiliorum, inania verborum videmus?
full of-counsels empty of-words do-we-see

38 Ego vero si velim et nostrae civitatis exemplis uti
I indeed if I-should-wish both of-our state by-the-examples to-use
 et aliarum, plura proferre possim detrimenta publicis rebus
and of-others more to-produce I-could injuries to-public affairs
 quam adiumenta, per homines eloquentissimos importata;
than helps through men the-most-eloquent brought

sed ut reliqua praetermittam, omnium mihi videor, exceptis,
but that the-rest I-may-pass-over of-all to-me I-seem excepting
 Crasse, vobis duobus, eloquentissimos audisse Ti. et
Crassus you two the-most-eloquent to-have-heard Tiberius and
 C. Sempronios, quorum pater, homo prudens et gravis,
Gaius the-Sempronii of-whom the-father a-man prudent and weighty
 haudquaquam eloquens, et saepe alias et maxime
by-no-means eloquent both often at-other-times and especially
 censor salutis rei publicae fuit: atque is non accurata
as-censor for-the-safety of-the-thing public was and he not by-a-studied
 quadam orationis copia, sed nutu atque verbo libertinos
a-certain of-speech fullness but by-a-nod and by-a-word the-freedmen
 in urbanas tribus transtulit, quod nisi fecisset, rem
into the-city tribes transferred which unless he-had-done the-thing
 publicam, quam nunc vix tenemus, iam diu nullam
public which now scarcely we-hold already for-long none
 haberemus. At vero eius filii disertissimi et omnibus vel
we-should-have but indeed his sons eloquent and all either
 naturae vel doctrinae praesidiis ad dicendum parati, cum
of-nature or of-learning with-the-supports for speaking prepared when
 civitatem vel paterno consilio vel avitis armis
the-state either by-(their)-father's counsel or by-(their)-grandfather's arms
 florentissimam acceperant, ista praeclara gubernatrice, ut
most-flourishing they-had-received by-that glorious pilot as
 ais, civitatum eloquentia rem publicam dissipaverunt.
you-say of-states eloquence the-thing public they-shattered
 Quid? leges veteres moresque maiorum; quid? auspicia, 39
what the-laws ancient and-the-customs of-(our)-forefathers what the-auspices
 quibus ego et tu, Crasse, cum magna rei publicae
over-which I and you Crassus with great of-the-thing public
 salute praesumus; quid? religiones et caerimoniae; quid?
safety preside what the-observances and the-ceremonies what

haec iura civilia, quae iam pridem in nostra familia sine
these the-laws civil which now long-since in our family without
 ulla eloquentiae laude versantur, num aut inventa sunt
any of-eloquence praise dwell surely-not either found they-are
 aut cognita aut omnino ab oratorum genere tractata?
or learned or at-all by of-orators the-class handled

- 40 Equidem et Ser. Galbam memoria teneo divinum hominem
for-my-part both Servius Galba in-memory I-hold a-godlike man
 in dicendo et M. Aemilium Porcinam et C. ipsum
in speaking and Marcus Aemilius Porcina and Gaius himself
 Carbonem, quem tu adolescentulus perculisti, ignarum legum,
Carbo whom you as-a-young-man struck-down ignorant of-laws
 haesitantem in maiorum institutis, rudem in iure civili;
faltering in of-(our)-forefathers the-institutions unskilled in the-law civil
 et haec aetas vestra praeter te, Crasse qui tuo magis
and this generation your except you Crassus who by-your-own rather
 studio quam proprio munere aliquo disertorum ius a
zeal than by-a-proper duty any of-the-eloquent the-law from
 nobis civile didicisti, quod interdum pudeat, iuris ignara est.
us civil have-learned which at-times may-shame of-the-law ignorant is

- 41 Quod vero in extrema oratione quasi tuo iure sumpsisti,
that indeed in the-last-part-of the-speech as-if by-your-own right you-assumed
 oratorem in omnis sermonis disputatione copiosissime
the-orator in of-every conversation the-discussion most-fully
 versari posse, id, nisi hic in tuo regno essemus, non
to-be-engaged to-be-able that unless here in your kingdom we-were not
 tulissem multisque praeessem, qui aut interdicto tecum
I-should-have-borne and-over-many I-should-preside who either by-an-injunction with-you
 contenderent aut te ex iure manum consertum vocarent,
would-contend or you from the-law the-hand to-join would-summon
 quod in alienas possessiones tam temere inruisses.
because into another's possessions so rashly you-had-broken-in

Agerent enim tecum lege primum Pythagorei omnes 42
would-proceed for with-you at-law first the-Pythagoreans all
 atque Democritii ceterique in iure sua physici
and the-Democriteans and-the-rest at law their-own the-natural-philosophers
 vindicarent, quibuscum tibi iusto sacramento contendere
would-claim with-whom for-you with-a-lawful wager to-contend
 non liceret;urgerent praeterea philosophorum greges
not would-be-allowed would-press besides of-philosophers the-throngs
 iam ab illo fonte et capite Socrate nihil te de bonis rebus
now from that spring and head Socrates nothing you about good things
 in vita, nihil de malis, nihil de animi permotionibus,
in life nothing about bad nothing about of-the-mind the-emotions
 nihil de hominum moribus, nihil de ratione vitae
nothing about of-men the-characters nothing about the-method of-life
 didicisse, nihil omnino quaeis, nihil scire convincerent;
to-have-learned nothing at-all to-have-inquired nothing to-know would-prove
 et cum universi in te impetum fecissent, tum singulae
and when all-together upon you an-attack had-made then the-individual
 familiae litem tibi intenderent; instaret Academia, quae,
schools a-suit against-you would-bring would-press the-Academy which
 quicquid dixisses, id te ipsum negare cogeret;
whatever you-had-said that you yourself to-deny would-compel
 Stoici vero nostri disputationum suarum atque 43
the-Stoics indeed our of-discussions their-own and
 interrogationum laqueis te inretitum tenerent; Peripatetici
of-questionings in-the-nooses you entangled would-hold the-Peripatetics
 autem etiam haec ipsa, quae propria oratorum putas
however even these very-(things) which proper of-orators you-think
 esse adiumenta atque ornamenta dicendi, a se peti
to-be the-aids and the-ornaments of-speaking from themselves to-be-sought
 vincerent oportere, ac non solum meliora, sed etiam multo
would-prove to-be-proper and not only better but even much

plura Aristotelem Theophrastumque de istis rebus, quam
more Aristotle and-Theophrastus about those matters than
 omnis dicendi magistros scripsisse ostenderent.

all of-speaking the-masters to-have-written they-would-show

- 44 Missos facio mathematicos, grammaticos, musicos, quorum
dismissed I-make the-mathematicians the-grammarians the-musicians with-whose
 artibus vestra ista dicendi vis ne minima quidem societate
arts your that of-speaking force not by-the-least even fellowship
 coniungitur. Quam ob rem ista tanta tamque multa
is-joined which on-account-of thing those so-great and-so many
 profitenda, Crasse, non censeo; satis id est magnum, quod
to-be-professed Crassus not I-judge enough that is great which
 potes praestare, ut in iudiciis ea causa, quamcumque tu
you-can furnish that in the-courts that case whichever you
 dicis, melior et probabilior esse videatur, ut in contionibus
plead better and more-plausible to-be may-seem that in public-meetings
 et in sententiis dicendis ad persuadendum tua plurimum
and in opinions in-delivering for persuading your most
 valeat oratio, denique ut prudentibus diserte, stultis etiam
may-avail speech finally that to-the-prudent eloquently to-the-foolish even
 vere videre dicere. Hoc amplius si quid poteris,
truly you-may-seem to-speak this beyond if anything you-shall-be-able
 non id mihi videbitur orator, sed Crassus sua quadam
not that to-me will-seem the-orator but Crassus by-his-own a-certain
 propria, non communi oratorum facultate posse.
proper not common of-orators by-a-faculty to-be-able

Crassus answers that he heard this argued at Athens, where the philosophers with one voice pushed the orator out of government and down into the courts. He agreed neither with them nor with Plato, whose Gorgias mocks orators most eloquently of all. The quarrel is about a word. Whatever the subject, the ornament of the words belongs to the orator, and words with no matter beneath them are a lunatic's noise.

Tum ille 'non sum' inquit 'nescius, Scaevola, ista inter 45
 then he not I-am he-said unaware Scaevola those-(things) among
 Graecos dici et disceptari solere; audiavi enim summos
 the-Greeks to-be-said and to-be-debated to-be-wont I-heard for the-highest
 homines, cum quaestor ex Macedonia venissem Athenas,
 men when as-quaestor from Macedonia I-had-come to-Athens
 florente Academia, ut temporibus illis ferebatur, cum eam
 when-flourishing the-Academy as in-the-times those it-was-reported when it
 Charmadas et Clitomachus et Aeschines obtinebant; erat
 Charmadas and Clitomachus and Aeschines were-holding there-was
 etiam Metrodorus, qui cum illis una ipsum illum Carneadem
 also Metrodorus who with those together himself that Carneades
 diligentius audierat, hominem omnium in dicendo, ut ferebant,
 more-diligently had-heard a-man of-all in speaking as they-reported
 acerrimum et copiosissimum; vigeatque auditor Panaeti
 the-keenest and the-fullest and-was-thriving a-hearer of-Panaetius
 illius tui Mnesarchus et Peripatetici Critolai Diodorus;
 that of-yours Mnesarchus and of-the-Peripatetic Critolaus Diodorus
 multi erant praeterea clari in philosophia et nobiles, 46
 many there-were besides famous in philosophy and noble
 a quibus omnibus una paene voce repelli oratorem
 by whom all with-one almost voice to-be-driven-off the-orator
 a gubernaculis civitatum, excludi ab omni doctrina
 from the-helms of-states to-be-shut-out from all learning

rerumque maiorum scientia ac tantum in iudicia et
and-of-things greater the-knowledge and only into the-courts and
 contiunculas tamquam in aliquod pistrinum detrudi
the-petty-meetings as-if into some mill to-be-thrust-down
 et compingi videbam;
and to-be-shut-up I-saw

47 sed ego neque illis adsentiebar neque harum disputationum
but I neither with-them was-agreeing nor of-these of-discussions
 inventori et principi longe omnium in dicendo gravissimo
with-the-inventor and the-chief far of-all in speaking the-weightiest
 et eloquentissimo, Platoni, cuius tum Athenis cum
and the-most-eloquent with-Plato whose then at-Athens with
 Charmada diligentius legi Gorgiam; quo in libro in
Charmadas more-diligently I-read the-Gorgias which in book in
 hoc maxime admirabar Platonem, quod mihi oratoribus
this most I-was-admiring Plato because to-me the-orators
 inridendis ipse esse orator summus videbatur. Verbi
in-mocking he-himself to-be an-orator the-highest seemed of-a-word
 enim controversia iam diu torquet Graeculos homines
for the-dispute now long torments the-little-Greek men
 contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis.
of-strife more-desirous than of-truth

48 Nam si quis hunc statuit esse oratorem, qui tantummodo in
for if anyone this-man lays-down to-be the-orator who only in
 iure aut in iudiciis possit aut apud populum aut in senatu
the-law or in the-courts is-able or before the-people or in the-senate
 copiose loqui, tamen huic ipsi multa tribuat et concedat
fully to-speak still to-him himself much he-assign and grant
 necesse est; neque enim sine multa pertractatione omnium
necessary it-is nor for without much handling of-all
 rerum publicarum neque sine legum, morum, iuris scientia
things public nor without of-laws of-customs of-law the-knowledge

neque natura hominum incognita ac moribus in his
nor when-the-nature of-men is-unknown and the-characters in these
 ipsis rebus satis callide versari et perite potest; qui autem
very matters enough shrewdly to-be-engaged and skillfully he-is-able who however
 haec cognoverit, sine quibus ne illa quidem minima in
these-(things) has-learned without which not those even the-smallest in
 causis quisquam recte tueri potest, quid huic abesse
cases anyone rightly to-maintain is-able what to-him to-be-lacking
 poterit de maximarum rerum scientia? Sin oratoris nihil
will-be-able from of-the-greatest things the-knowledge but-if of-the-orator nothing
 vis esse nisi composite, ornate, copiose loqui, quaero,
you-wish to-be except in-orderly-fashion elegantly fully to-speak I-ask
 id ipsum qui possit adsequi sine ea scientia, quam ei
that very-(thing) how he-can attain without that knowledge which to-him
 non conceditis? Dicendi enim virtus, nisi ei, qui dicet,
not you-grant of-speaking for the-excellence unless to-him who will-speak
 ea, quae dicet, percepta sunt, exstare non potest.
those-(things) which he-will-say grasped are to-exist not is-able
 Quam ob rem, si ornate locutus est, sicut et 49
which on-account-of thing if elegantly spoken he-has as both
 fertur et mihi videtur, physicus ille Democritus,
is-reported and to-me seems the-natural-philosopher that Democritus
 materies illa fuit physici, de qua dixit, ornatus
the-material that was of-the-natural-philosopher about which he-spoke the-adornment
 vero ipse verborum oratoris putandus est; et, si Plato
indeed itself of-the-words of-the-orator to-be-thought is and if Plato
 de rebus ab civilibus controversiis remotissimis divinitus
about matters from civil disputes the-most-removed divinely
 est locutus, quod ego concedo; si item Aristoteles, si
has spoken which I concede if likewise Aristotle if
 Theophrastus, si Carneades in rebus eis, de quibus
Theophrastus if Carneades in matters those about which

disputaverunt, eloquentes et in dicendo suaves atque ornati
they-discussed eloquent and in speaking pleasant and adorned
 fuerunt, sint eae res, de quibus disputant, in aliis
were let-them-be those matters about which they-discuss in other
 quibusdam studiis, oratio quidem ipsa propria est huius
certain pursuits the-speech indeed itself proper is of-this
 unius rationis, de qua loquimur et quaerimus.

one method about which we-speak and we-inquire

- 50 Etenim videmus eisdem de rebus ieiune quosdam et
and-indeed we-see the-same about matters meagerly certain-men and
 exiliter, ut eum, quem acutissimum ferunt, Chrysippum,
thinly as him whom the-keenest they-report Chrysippus
 disputavisse neque ob eam rem philosophiae non satis
to-have-discussed nor on-account-of that thing to-philosophy not enough
 fecisse, quod non habuerit hanc dicendi ex arte aliena
to-have-done because not he-had this of-speaking from an-art alien
 facultatem. Quid ergo interest aut qui discernes eorum,
the-faculty what then is-the-difference or how will-you-distinguish of-those
 quos nominavi, in dicendo ubertatem et copiam ab eorum
whom I-have-named in speaking the-richness and the-fullness from of-those
 exilitate, qui hac dicendi varietate et elegantia non utuntur?
the-thinness who this of-speaking variety and elegance not use
 Unum erit profecto, quod ei, qui bene dicunt, adferunt
one there-will-be assuredly which those who well speak bring
 proprium, compositam orationem et ornatam et artificio
proper a-composed speech and adorned and by-craft
 quodam et expolitione distinctam; haec autem oratio, si
a-certain and by-polish marked-out this however speech if
 res non subest ab oratore percepta et cognita, aut
the-matter not underlies by the-orator grasped and known either
 nulla sit necesse est aut omnium inrisione ludatur.
none may-be necessary it-is or of-all by-the-derision it-may-be-mocked

Quid est enim tam furiosum, quam verborum vel optimorum 51
what is for so mad as of-words even of-the-best
 atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia
and of-the-most-adorned a-sound empty with-no underlying thought
 nec scientia? Quicquid erit igitur quacumque ex arte,
nor knowledge whatever will-be therefore whatever from art
 quocumque de genere, orator id, si tamquam clientis
whatever about kind the-orator that if as-if of-a-client
 causam didicerit, dicet melius et ornatus quam
the-case he-shall-have-learned will-say better and more-elegantly than
 ipse ille eius rei inventor atque artifex.
himself that of-that thing the-inventor and the-craftsman

I.7 • WHAT THE RHETORICIANS DO NOT TEACH

The masters called rhetoricians neither teach nor grasp much of the orator's own matter. The orator's greatest power is over his hearers' feelings, and nobody can rouse or calm them who has not looked deep into human nature. Crassus grants the philosophers the knowledge of things and keeps the handling of speech; Aristotle and Theophrastus entitled those books of theirs rhetorical. Yet a case often needs what forensic experience alone cannot supply.

Nam si quis erit qui hoc dicat, esse quasdam oratorum 52
for if anyone there-shall-be who this may-say to-be certain of-orators
 proprias sententias atque causas et certarum rerum forensibus
proper thoughts and cases and of-fixed matters by-forensic
 cancellis circumscriptam scientiam, fatebor equidem in
barriers circumscribed a-knowledge I-shall-admit for-my-part in
 his magis adsidue versari hanc nostram dictionem, sed
these more constantly to-be-engaged this our discourse but

tamen in his ipsis rebus permulta sunt, quae ipsi
still in these very matters very-many-(things) there-are which the-very
 magistri, qui rhetorici vocantur, nec tradunt nec tenent.
masters who rhetoricians are-called neither teach nor hold

- 53 Quis enim nescit maximam vim exsistere oratoris
who for does-not-know the-greatest force to-arise of-the-orator
 in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut
in of-men the-minds either to anger or to hatred or
 ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce eisdem permotionibus
to grief in-rousing or from these same emotions
 ad lenitatem misericordiamque revocandis? Quae nisi qui
to mildness and-to-pity in-recalling which unless anyone
 naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque
the-natures of-men and-the-force whole of-human-nature and-the-causes
 eas, quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus
those by-which minds either are-roused or are-turned-back deeply
 perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit.
shall-have-examined by-speaking what he-will-wish to-accomplish not he-will-be-able
 Atque totus hic locus philosophorum proprius videtur,
and the-whole this topic of-the-philosophers proper seems
 neque orator me auctore umquam repugnabit;
nor the-orator with-me as-authority ever will-resist

- 54 sed, cum illis cognitionem rerum concesserit, quod in
but when to-them the-knowledge of-things he-shall-have-granted because in
 ea solum illi voluerint elaborare, tractationem orationis, quae
it alone they have-wished to-labor the-handling of-speech which
 sine illa scientia est nulla, sibi adsumet; hoc enim est
without that knowledge is nothing for-himself he-will-take this for is
 proprium oratoris, quod saepe iam dixi, oratio gravis et
proper of-the-orator which often now I-have-said speech weighty and
 ornata et hominum sensibus ac mentibus accommodata.
adorned and of-men to-the-feelings and to-minds fitted

Quibus de rebus Aristotelem et Theophrastum scripsisse 55

which about matters Aristotle and Theophrastus to-have-written

fateor; sed vide ne hoc, Scaevola, totum sit a me: nam

I-admit but see lest this Scaevola wholly may-be for me for

ego, quae sunt oratori cum illis communia, non

I those-(things)-which are to-the-orator with them common not

mutuor ab illis, isti quae de his rebus disputant,

I-borrow from them those-men what about these matters they-discuss

oratorum esse concedunt, itaque ceteros libros artis suae

of-orators to-be concede and-so the-other books of-art their-own

nomine, hos rhetoricos et inscribunt et appellant.

by-the-name these rhetorical both they-entitle and they-call

Etenim cum illi in dicendo inciderint loci, quod 56

and-indeed when those in speaking shall-have-arisen topics which

persaepe evenit, ut de dis immortalibus, de pietate,

very-often happens so-that about the-gods immortal about piety

de concordia, de amicitia, de communi civium,

about concord about friendship about the-common of-citizens

de hominum, de gentium iure, de aequitate, de

about of-men about of-nations the-law about equity about

temperantia, de magnitudine animi, de omni virtutis

temperance about greatness of-mind about every of-virtue

genere sit dicendum, clamabunt, credo, omnia gymnasia

kind it-is to-be-spoken they-will-speak I-believe all the-gymnasia

atque omnes philosophorum scholae sua esse haec omnia

and all of-the-philosophers the-schools their-own to-be these all

propria, nihil omnino ad oratorem pertinere;

proper nothing at-all to the-orator to-belong

quibus ego, ut de his rebus in angulis consumendi 57

to-whom I that about these matters in corners of-spending

oti causa disserant, cum concessero, illud tamen

leisure for-the-sake they-may-discuss when I-shall-have-granted that still

oratori tribuam et dabo, ut eadem, de quibus
to-the-orator I-shall-assign and give that the-same-(things) about which
 illi tenui quodam exsanguique sermone disputant, hic
they with-a-thin a-certain and-bloodless discourse discuss he
 cum omni iucunditate et gravitate explicet. Haec ego
with all pleasantness and weight may-unfold these-(things) I
 cum ipsis philosophis Athenis disserebam; coge-
with the-very philosophers at-Athens was-discussing was-compelling for
 bat enim me M. Marcellus hic noster, qui profecto, nisi ludos
me Marcus Marcellus this our who assuredly unless the-games
 nunc faceret, huic nostro sermoni interesset; ac iam
now he-were-holding at-this our conversation would-be-present and already
 tum erat adulescentulus his studiis mirifice deditus.
then he-was a-young-man to-these studies wonderfully devoted

58 Iam vero de legibus constituendis, de bello, de pace,
now indeed about laws to-be-established about war about peace
 de sociis, de vectigalibus, de iure civium generatim in
about allies about revenues about the-law of-citizens by-classes into
 ordines aetatesque discriptorum dicant vel Graeci, si volunt,
ranks and-ages distributed let-them-say either the-Greeks if they-wish
 Lycurgum aut Solonem — quamquam illos quidem censemus
Lycurgus or Solon although those indeed we-judge
 in numero eloquentium reponendos — scisse melius quam
in the-number of-the-eloquent to-be-reckoned to-have-known better than
 Hyperidem aut Demosthenem, perfectos iam homines in
Hyperides or Demosthenes finished already men in
 dicendo et perpolitos, vel nostri decem viros, qui XII
speaking and polished or our-countrymen ten men who the-Twelve
 tabulas perscripserunt, quos necesse est fuisse prudentis,
Tables wrote-out whom necessary it-is to-have-been prudent

antepoſant in hoc genere et Ser. Galbae et ſocero
let-them-prefer in this kind both to-Servius Galba and to-the-father-in-law
 tuo C. Laelio, quos conſtat dicendi gloria praetiſſe.
your Gaius Laelius whom it-is-agreed of-speaking by-the-glory to-have-excelled
 Numquam enim negabo eſſe quasdam partis proprias eorum, 59
never for ſhall-I-deny to-be certain parts proper of-thoſe
 qui in his cognoscendis atque tractandis ſtudio ſuum
who in theſe in-learning and in-handling the-zeal their-own
 omne poſuerunt, ſed oratorem plenum atque perfectum
whole have-placed but the-orator full and finiſhed
 eſſe eum, qui de omnibus rebus poſſit copioſe varieque
to-be him who about all matters is-able fully and-variously
 dicere. Etenim ſaepe in eis cauſis, quas omnes proprias
to-speak and-indeed often in thoſe caſes which all proper
 eſſe oratorum conſentitur, eſt aliquid, quod non ex
to-be of-orators conſeſs there-is ſomething which not from
 uſu forenſi, quem ſolum oratoribus conceditis, ſed ex
experience forenſic which alone to-orators you-grant but from
 obſcuriore aliqua ſcientia ſit promendum atque ſumendum.
more-obſcure ſome knowledge it-is to-be-brought-out and to-be-taken
 Quaero enim num poſſit aut contra imperatorem aut pro 60
I-aſk for whether it-is-poſſible either againſt a-general or for
 imperatore dici ſine rei militaris uſu aut ſaepe
a-general to-be-spoken without of-the-thing military experience or often
 etiam ſine regionum terreſtrium aut maritimarum ſcientia;
even without of-regions of-the-land or of-the-sea the-knowledge
 num apud populum de legibus iubendis aut vetandis,
whether before the-people about laws to-be-ordered or to-be-forbidden
 num in ſenatu de omni rei publicae genere dici
whether in the-senate about every of-the-thing public kind to-be-spoken
 ſine ſumma rerum civilium cognitione et prudentia;
without the-higheſt of-things civil understanding and practical-wiſdom

num admoventur possit oratio ad sensus animorum
whether to-be-brought-to-bear can speech upon the-feelings of-minds
 atque motus vel inflammandos vel etiam extinguendos,
and the-movements either for-inflaming or even for-quenching
 quod unum in oratore dominatur, sine diligentissima
which one in the-orator is-supreme without a-most-careful
 pervestigatione earum omnium rationum, quae de naturis
investigation of-those all principles which about the-natures
 humani generis ac moribus a philosophis explicantur.
of-the-human race and the-characters by the-philosophers are-set-forth

1.8 · BORROWING THE MATTER, KEEPING THE WORDS

Physics and mathematics belong to those who profess them, but setting them out finely needs the orator. Philo the architect and Asclepiades the physician were eloquent as speakers, not as craftsmen. Socrates' saying that a man is eloquent in what he knows is plausible and untrue: knowledge without the art of shaping speech cannot speak well. The orator learns from Marius or Scaevola, then says it better; of philosophy's three parts he must hold life and character.

61 Atque haud scio an minus vobis hoc sim probaturus;
and hardly I-know whether less to-you this I-may-be going-to-prove
 equidem non dubitabo, quod sentio, dicere: physica ista
for-my-part not I-shall-hesitate what I-think to-say the-physics those
 ipsa et mathematica et quae paulo ante ceterarum
very and the-mathematics and those-(things)-which a-little before of-the-other
 artium propria posuisti, scientiae sunt eorum, qui illa
arts proper you-laid-down of-the-knowledge are of-those who those
 profitentur, inlustrari autem oratione si quis istas ipsas
profess to-be-illuminated however by-speech if anyone those very
 artis velit, ad oratoris ei confugiendum est facultatem.
arts should-wish to of-the-orator for-him to-be-fled it-is the-faculty

Neque enim si Philonem illum architectum, qui Atheniensibus 62
nor for if Philo that architect who for-the-Athenians
 armamentarium fecit, constat perdiserte populo rationem
the-arsenal made it-is-agreed most-eloquently to-the-people the-account
 operis sui reddidisse, existimandum est architecti potius
of-the-work his-own to-have-rendered to-be-thought it-is of-an-architect rather
 artificio disertum quam oratoris fuisse; nec, si huic M.
by-the-craft eloquent than of-an-orator to-have-been nor if to-this Marcus
 Antonio pro Hermodoro fuisset de navalium opere
Antonius for Hermodorus it-had-been about of-the-dockyards the-work
 dicendum, non, cum ab illo causam didicisset, ipse
to-be-spoken not when from him the-case he-had-learned he-himself
 ornate de alieno artificio copioseque dixisset; neque vero
elegantly about another's craft and-fully would-have-spoken nor indeed
 Asclepiades, is quo nos medico amicoque usi sumus tum
Asclepiades he whom we as-physician and-as-friend having-used we-are then
 eloquentia vincebat ceteros medicos, in eo ipso, quod
in-eloquence was-surpassing the-other physicians in that very-(thing) that
 ornate dicebat, medicinae facultate utebatur, non eloquentiae.
elegantly he-was-speaking of-medicine the-faculty he-was-using not of-eloquence
 Atque illud est probabilius, neque tamen verum, quod 63
and that is more-plausible nor still true which
 Socrates dicere solebat, omnis in eo, quod scirent, satis
Socrates to-say was-wont all in that which they-knew sufficiently
 esse eloquentis; illud verius, neque quemquam in eo
to-be eloquent that truer nor anyone in that
 disertum esse posse, quod nesciat, neque, si optime
eloquent to-be to-be-able which he-does-not-know nor if best
 sciat ignarusque sit faciundae ac poliendae orationis,
he-knows and-ignorant he-is of-making and of-polishing speech
 diserte id ipsum, de quo sciat, posse dicere.
eloquently that very-(thing) about which he-knows to-be-able to-say

64 Quam ob rem, si quis universam et propriam
which on-account-of thing if anyone the-whole and proper
 oratoris vim definire complectique vult, is orator erit mea
of-the-orator force to-define and-to-embrace wishes he an-orator will-be in-my
 sententia hoc tam gravi dignus nomine, qui, quaecumque
opinion of-this so weighty worthy name who whatever
 res inciderit, quae sit dictione explicanda, prudenter et
matter shall-have-arisen which is by-speech to-be-unfolded prudently and
 composite et ornate et memoriter dicet cum quadam
in-order and elegantly and from-memory will-speak with a-certain
 actionis etiam dignitate.

of-delivery even dignity

65 Sin cuiquam nimis infinitum videtur, quod ita posui
but-if to-anyone too boundless it-seems that thus I-laid-down
 “quacumque de re,” licet hinc quantum cuique
whatever about matter it-is-allowed from-this as-much to-each
 videbitur circumcidat atque amputet, tamen illud tenebo,
shall-seem let-him-cut-round and lop still that I-shall-hold
 si, quae ceteris in artibus atque studiis sita sunt,
if those-(things)-which the-other in arts and pursuits placed are
 orator ignoret tantumque ea teneat, quae sint in
the-orator does-not-know and-only those be-holds which are in
 disceptationibus atque usu forensi, tamen his de rebus
disputes and in-experience forensic still these about matters
 ipsis si sit ei dicendum, cum cognoverit ab eis,
themselves if there-is for-him to-be-spoken when he-shall-have-learned from those
 qui tenent, quae sint in quaque re, multo oratorem melius
who hold what are in each matter much the-orator better
 quam ipsos illos, quorum eae sint artes, esse dicturum.
than themselves those whose these are the-arts to-be going-to-speak

Ita si de re militari dicendum huic erit Sulpicio, 66
so if about the-thing military to-be-spoken to-this will-be Sulpicius
 quaeret a C. Mario adfini nostro et, cum acceperit,
he-will-ask from Gaius Marius kinsman our and when he-shall-have-received
 ita pronuntiabit, ut ipsi C. Mario paene hic melius
so he-will-deliver that to-himself Gaius Marius almost he better
 quam ipse illa scire videatur; sin de iure civili, tecum
than himself those to-know may-seem but-if about the-law civil with-you
 communicabit, te hominem prudentissimum et peritissimum
he-will-confer you a-man the-most-prudent and the-most-skilled
 in eis ipsis rebus, quas abs te didicerit, dicendi
in those very matters which from you he-shall-have-learned of-speaking
 arte superabit.

by-the-art he-will-surpass

Sin quae res inciderit, in qua de natura, de vitiis 67
but-if some matter shall-have-arisen in which about nature about the-vices
 hominum, de cupiditatibus, de modo, de continentia,
of-men about desires about moderation about self-control
 de dolore, de morte dicendum sit, forsitan, si ei sit
about pain about death to-be-spoken it-is perhaps if to-him it-may-be
 visum, — etsi haec quidem nosse debet orator—, cum
seemed although these indeed to-know ought the-orator with
 Sex. Pompeio, erudito homine in philosophia, communicarit;
Sextus Pompeius a-learned man in philosophy he-may-confer
 hoc profecto efficiet ut, quamcumque rem a quoquo
this assuredly he-will-effect that whatever matter from anyone
 cognoverit, de ea multo dicat ornatius quam ille
he-shall-have-learned about it much he-may-speak more-elegantly than he
 ipse, unde cognorit.
himself from-whom he-learned

68 Sed si me audiet, quoniam philosophia in tris partis est
but if me he-will-hear since philosophy into three parts is
 tributa, in naturae obscuritatem, in disserendi subtilitatem,
divided into of-nature the-obscurity into of-reasoning the-subtlety
 in vitam atque mores, duo illa relinquamus atque largiamur
into life and character two those let-us-leave and let-us-grant
 inertiae nostrae; tertium vero, quod semper oratoris
to-the-idleness our the-third indeed which always of-the-orator
 fuit, nisi tenebimus, nihil oratori, in quo magnus esse
has-been unless we-shall-hold nothing to-the-orator in which great to-be
 possit, relinquemus.

he-may-be-able we-shall-leave

69 Qua re hic locus de vita et moribus totus est oratori
for-which reason this topic about life and character wholly is by-the-orator
 perdiscendus; cetera si non didicerit, tamen poterit,
to-be-learned-thoroughly the-rest if not he-shall-have-learned still he-will-be-able
 si quando opus erit, ornare dicendo, si modo ad eum
if ever need there-shall-be to-adorn by-speaking if only to him
 erunt delata et ei tradita. Etenim si constat inter
they-shall-have-been brought and to-him banded for if it-is-agreed among
 doctos, hominem ignarum astrologiae ornatissimis atque
the-learned a-man ignorant of-astronomy in-the-most-elegant and
 optimis versibus Aratum de caelo stellisque dixisse; si de
in-the-best verses Aratus about the-sky and-the-stars to-have-spoken if about
 rebus rusticis hominem ab agro remotissimum Nicandrum
matters rustic a-man from the-field the-most-removed Nicander
 Colophonium poetica quadam facultate, non rustica, scripsisse
of-Colophon by-a-poetic a-certain faculty not by-a-rustic to-have-written
 praeclare, quid est cur non orator de rebus eis eloquentissime
excellently what is why not the-orator about matters those most-eloquently
 dicat, quas ad certam causam tempusque cognorit?
may-speak which for a-fixed case and-occasion he-shall-have-learned

The poet is the orator's neighbor, bound a little more by meter and freer with words. Crassus insists he is describing an ideal and not himself: no one belongs among orators who is not polished by every liberal art, since the training shows even where it is not used, as a ball-player's movement betrays the wrestling school. Scaevola laughingly concedes, and asks only that they grant the orator no more than the truth allows.

Est enim finitimus oratori poeta, numeris astrictior paulo, 70
 is for a-neighbor to-the-orator the-poet by-rhythms more-bound a-little
 verborum autem licentia liberior, multis vero ornandi
 of-words however in-the-license freer in-many indeed of-adorning
 generibus socius ac paene par; in hoc quidem certe
 kinds a-partner and almost an-equal in this indeed certainly
 prope idem, nullis ut terminis circumscribat aut definiat
 nearly the-same by-no that bounds he-may-circumscribe or he-may-define
 ius suum, quo minus ei liceat eadem illa facultate
 right his-own whereby the-less to-him it-is-allowed with-the-same that faculty
 et copia vagari qua velit.
 and fullness to-range where he-wishes

Nam quod illud, Scaevola, negasti te fuisse laturum, 71
 for that that Scaevola you-denied you to-have-been going-to-bear
 nisi in meo regno esses, quod in omni genere sermonis,
 unless in my kingdom you-were because in every kind of-conversation
 in omni parte humanitatis dixerim oratorem perfectum esse
 in every part of-culture I-said the-orator finished to-be
 debere: numquam me hercule hoc dicerem, si eum, quem
 ought never by Hercules this I-should-say if him whom
 fingo, me ipsum esse arbitrarer.
 I-fashion me myself to-be I-thought

- 72 Sed, ut solebat C. Lucilius saepe dicere, homo tibi
but as was-wont Gaius Lucilius often to-say a-man with-you
 subiratus, mihi propter eam ipsam causam minus quam
somewhat-angry with-me on-account-of that very cause less than
 volebat familiaris, sed tamen et doctus et perurbanus,
he-wished intimate but still both learned and very-polished
 sic sentio neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum,
so I-think no-one to-be in of-orators the-number to-be-held
 qui non sit omnibus eis artibus, quae sunt libero
who not is with-all those arts which are of-a-free-man
 dignae, perpolitus; quibus ipsis si in dicendo non utimur,
worthy polished by-which themselves if in speaking not we-use
 tamen apparet atque exstat, utrum simus earum rudes an
still it-appears and stands-out whether we-are of-them unskilled or
 didicerimus: ut qui pila ludunt, non utuntur in ipsa
we-have-learned as those-who at-ball play not use in the-very
 lusione artificio proprio palaestrae, sed indicat ipse motus,
playing the-skill proper of-the-wrestling-school but shows the-very movement
 didicerintne palaestram an nesciant, et qui
whether-they-have-learned the-wrestling-school or they-do-not-know and those-who
 aliquid fingunt, etsi tum pictura nihil utuntur, tamen,
something model although then painting in-no-way they-use still
 utrum sciant pingere an nesciant, non obscurum est;
whether they-know to-paint or they-do-not-know not obscure it-is
- 73 sic in orationibus hisce ipsis iudiciorum, contionum,
so in the-speeches these very of-the-courts of-the-public-meetings
 senatus, etiam si proprie ceterae non adhibeantur artes,
of-the-senate even if properly the-other not are-employed arts
 tamen facile declaratur, utrum is, qui dicat, tantum modo
still easily it-is-shown whether he who speaks only merely

in hoc declamatorio sit opere iactatus an ad dicendum
in this declamatory has-been work tossed or for speaking
 omnibus ingenuis artibus instructus accesserit.’

with-all liberal arts equipped he-has-approached

Tum ridens Scaevola ‘non luctabor tecum,’ inquit ‘Crasse, 74

then laughing Scaevola not I-shall-wrestle with-you he-said Crassus

amplius; id enim ipsum, quod contra me locutus

further that for very-(thing) which against me spoken

es, artificio quodam es consecutus, ut et mihi,

you-have by-a-craft a-certain you-have attained that both to-me

quae ego vellem non esse oratoris, concederes et

those-(things)-which I might-wish not to-be of-the-orator you-conceded and

ea ipsa nescio quo modo rursus detorqueres atque

those very-(things) I-know-not by-what way again you-twisted-back and

oratori propria traderes.

to-the-orator as-proper you-handed-over

Quae, cum ego praetor Rhodum venissem et cum summo 75

which when I as-praetor to-Rhodes had-come and with the-biggest

illo doctore istius disciplinae Apollonio ea, quae a

that teacher of-that discipline Apollonius those-(things) which from

Panaetio acceperam, contulissem, inrisit ille quidem, ut

Panaetius I-had-received I-had-compared laughed-at he indeed as

solebat, philosophiam atque contempsit multaque non

he-was-wont philosophy and despised-(it) and-many-things not

tam graviter dixit quam facete; tua autem fuit oratio eius

so weightily he-said as wittily your however was speech of-that

modi, non ut ullam artem doctrinamve contemneres, sed

kind not that any art or-learning you-would-despise but

ut omnis comites ac ministratrices oratoris esse diceres.

that all attendants and handmaids of-the-orator to-be you-would-say

- 76 Quas ego si quis sit unus complexus omnis, idemque si ad
which I if anyone be one having-embraced all and-the-same if to
 eas facultatem istam ornatissimae orationis adiunxerit, non
them the-faculty that of-the-most-adorned speech he-shall-have-added not
 possum dicere eum non egregium quendam hominem atque
I-can to-say him not an-extraordinary a-certain man and
 admirandum fore; sed is, si quis esset aut si etiam
to-be-admired to-be-going-to-be but he if anyone there-were or if even
 umquam fuisset aut vero si esse posset, tu esses unus
ever there-had-been or indeed if to-be he-could you would-be one
 profecto, qui et meo iudicio et omnium vix ullam ceteris
assuredly who both by-my judgment and of-all scarcely any to-the-other
 oratoribus — pace horum dixerim — laudem reliquisti.
orators by-the-leave of-these I-would-say praise you-have-left
- 77 Verum si tibi ipsi nihil deest, quod in forensibus rebus
but if to-you yourself nothing is-lacking which in forensic matters
 civilibusque versatur, quin scias, neque eam tamen
and-civil is-engaged that you-do-not-know nor that still
 scientiam, quam adiungis oratori, complexus es, videamus
knowledge which you-attach to-the-orator embraced you-have let-us-see
 ne plus ei tribuamus quam res et veritas ipsa concedat.
lest more to-him we-assign than the-fact and the-truth itself allows
- 78 Hic Crassus ‘memento’ inquit ‘me non de mea, sed de
here Crassus remember he-said me not about my-own but about
 oratoris facultate dixisse; quid enim nos aut didicimus aut
of-the-orator the-faculty to-have-spoken what for we either have-learned or
 scire potuimus, qui ante ad agendum quam ad cognoscendum
to-know have-been-able who before to acting than to learning
 venimus; quos in foro, quos in ambitione, quos in
came whom in the-forum whom in canvassing whom in

re publica, quos in amicorum negotiis res ipsa ante
the-thing public whom in of-friends the-business the-matter itself before
 confecit quam possemus aliquid de rebus tantis suspicari?
wore-out than we-could anything about matters so-great to-suspect
 Quod si tibi tantum in nobis videtur esse, quibus etiam 79
which if to-you so-much in us seems to-be to-whom even
 si ingenium, ut tu putas, non maxime defuit, doctrina
if talent as you think not chiefly was-lacking learning
 certe et otium et hercule etiam studium illud discendi
certainly and leisure and by-Hercules even zeal that of-learning
 acerrimum defuit, quid censes, si ad alicuius ingenium
the-keenest was-lacking what do-you-think if to someone's talent
 vel maius illa, quae ego non attigi, accesserint,
even greater those-(things) which I not have-touched shall-have-come
 qualem illum et quantum oratorem futurum?
of-what-sort him and how-great an-orator going-to-be

I.10 • WHAT ANTONIUS HEARD AT ATHENS

Antonius grants that wide learning enriches a speaker, but fears it draws him from the forum toward a smoother, gymnasium kind of speech. Detained at Athens on his way to Cilicia, he heard the Stoic Mnesarchus call ordinary orators hired tongues and eloquence a virtue only the wise man has, and heard Charmadas argue that the teachers of rhetoric hold nothing at all, their books full of preambles and epilogues.

Tum Antonius ‘probas mihi’ inquit ‘ista, Crasse, quae dicis, 80
then Antonius you-prove to-me he-said those Crassus which you-say
 nec dubito quin multo locupletior in dicendo futurus sit,
nor I-doubt but-that much richer in speaking going-to-be he-is
 si quis omnium rerum atque artium rationem naturamque
if anyone of-all things and of-arts the-method and-the-nature

81 *comprehenderit; sed primum id difficile est factu,*
shall-have-grasped but first that difficult is in-the-doing
praesertim in hac nostra vita nostrisque occupationibus; deinde
especially in this our life and-in-our occupations then
illud etiam verendum est ne abstrahamur ab hac exercitatione
that also to-be-feared is lest we-be-drawn-away from this practice
et consuetudine dicendi populari et forensi. Aliud enim mihi
and habit of-speaking popular and forensic another for to-me
quoddam orationis genus esse videtur eorum hominum, de
a-certain of-speech kind to-be seems of-those men about
quibus paulo ante dixisti, quamvis illi ornate et graviter aut
whom a-little before you-spoke however-much they elegantly and weightily either
de natura rerum aut de humanis rebus loquantur: nitidum
about the-nature of-things or about human matters may-speak polished
quoddam genus est verborum et laetum, et palaestrae
a-certain kind it-is of-words and luxuriant and of-the-wrestling-school
magis et olei, quam huius civilis turbac ac fori.
more and of-the-oil than of-this civil throng and of-the-forum

82 *Namque egomet, qui sero ac leviter Graecas litteras*
for I-myself who late and lightly Greek letters
attigissem, tamen cum pro consule in Ciliciam proficiscens
had-touched still when as proconsul into Cilicia setting-out
venissem Athenas, compluris tum ibi dies sum propter
I-had-come to-Athens several then there days I-was on-account-of
navigandi difficultatem commoratus; sed, cum cotidie mecum
of-sailing the-difficulty delayed but since daily with-me
haberem homines doctissimos, eos fere ipsos, qui abs te
I-had men the-most-learned those almost themselves who by you
modo sunt nominati, cum hoc nescio quo modo apud
just-now have-been named when this I-know-not by-what way among
eos increbuisset, me in causis maioribus sicuti te solere
them had-got-abroad me in cases greater just-as you to-be-wont

versari, pro se quisque ut poterat de officio et de
to-be-engaged for himself each as he-could about the-duty and about
 ratione oratoris disputabat.

the-method of-the-orator was-discoursing

Horum alii, sicuti iste ipse Mnesarchus, hos, quos nos oratores 83

of-these some just-as that very Mnesarchus these whom we orators
 vocaremus, nihil esse dicebat nisi quosdam operarios lingua

might-call nothing to-be was-saying except certain workmen with-a-tongue

celeri et exercitata; oratorem autem, nisi qui sapiens esset,

quick and practiced an-orator however unless one-who wise were

esse neminem, atque ipsam eloquentiam, quod ex bene dicendi

to-be no-one and the-very eloquence because from well of-speaking

scientia constaret, unam quandam esse virtutem, et qui

the-knowledge is-made-up one a-certain to-be a-virtue and who

unam virtutem haberet, omnis habere easque esse inter se

one virtue has all to-have and-them to-be among themselves

aequalis et paris; ita, qui esset eloquens, eum virtutes omnis

equal and matched so who is eloquent he virtues all

habere atque esse sapientem. Sed haec erat spinosa quaedam

to-have and to-be wise but this was thorny a-certain

et exilis oratio longeque a nostris sensibus abhorrebat.

and thin speech and-far from our feelings was-shrinking

Charmadas vero multo uberius eisdem de rebus loquebatur, 84

Charmadas indeed much more-richly the-same about matters was-speaking

non quo aperiret sententiam suam; hic enim mos erat

not because he-was-disclosing the-opinion his-own this for custom was

patrius Academiae adversari semper omnibus in disputando;

ancestral of-the-Academy to-oppose always all in disputing

sed cum maxime tamen hoc significabat, eos, qui rhetores

but then most still this he-was-signifying those who rhetoricians

nominarentur et qui dicendi praecepta traderent, nihil

are-named and who of-speaking precepts hand-down nothing

plane tenere neque posse quemquam facultatem adsequi

plainly to-hold nor to-be-able anyone the-faculty to-attain

dicendi, nisi qui philosophorum inventa didicisset.

of-speaking except one-who of-the-philosophers the-discoveries had-learned

85 Disputabant contra disertī homines Athenienses et in re

were-disputing against eloquent men Athenian and in the-thing

publica causisque versati, in quis erat etiam is, qui nuper

public and-in-cases versed among whom was also he who lately

Romae fuit, Menedemus, hospes meus; qui cum diceret

at-Rome was Menedemus a-guest-friend my who when he-said

esse quandam prudentiam, quae versaretur in perspiciendis

to-be a-certain practical-wisdom which was-engaged in discerning

rationibus constituendarum et regendarum rerum publicarum,

the-methods of-establishing and of-governing things public

excitabatur homo promptus atque omni abundans doctrina et

was-stirred-up the-man ready and in-every abounding learning and

quadam incredibili varietate rerum atque copia: omnis enim

with-a-certain incredible variety of-things and fullness all for

partis illius ipsius prudentiae petendas esse a philosophia

the-parts of-that very practical-wisdom to-be-sought to-be from philosophy

docebat neque ea, quae statuerentur in re publica

he-was-teaching nor those-(things) which are-laid-down in the-thing public

de dis immortalibus, de disciplina iuventutis, de iustitia,

about the-gods immortal about the-training of-youth about justice

de patientia, de temperantia, de modo rerum omnium,

about endurance about temperance about the-measure of-things of-all

ceteraque, sine quibus civitates aut esse aut bene moratae

and-the-rest without which states either to-be or well ordered

esse non possent, usquam in eorum inveniri libellis;

to-be not could anywhere in of-those to-be-found the-little-books

quod si tantam vim rerum maximarum arte sua 86
 which if so-great a-force of-things the-greatest by-the-art their-own
 rhetorici illi doctores complecterentur, quaerebat, cur de
 rhetorical those teachers were-embracing he-was-asking why about
 prooemiis et de epilogis et de huius modi nugis — sic
 preambles and about epilogues and about of-this kind trifles so
 enim appellabat — referti essent eorum libri, de civitatibus
 for he-was-calling-(them) crammed were of-them the-books about states
 instituendis, de scribendis legibus, de aequitate, de iustitia,
 to-be-established about to-be-written laws about equity about justice
 de fide, de frangendis cupiditatibus, de conformandis
 about good-faith about to-be-broken desires about to-be-shaped
 hominum moribus littera nulla in eorum libris inveniretur.
 of-men the-characters a-letter not-one in of-them the-books was-found

I.11 • CHARMADAS AGAINST THE ART

Antonius continues: Charmadas mocked the precepts themselves. An orator must seem to his hearers the sort of man he would wish to be, and must know by what means minds are moved, and both lie buried deep in philosophy, which the rhetoricians have not even touched with their lips. Menedemus answered with Demosthenes. Charmadas went further and denied there is any art of speaking: no writer of a handbook was ever eloquent.

Ipsa vero praecepta sic inludere solebat, ut ostenderet non 87
 the-very indeed precepts so to-mock he-was-wont that he-would-show not
 modo eos expertis esse illius prudentiae, quam sibi
 only them devoid to-be of-that practical-wisdom which for-themselves
 asciscerent, sed ne hanc quidem ipsam dicendi rationem
 they-claimed but not this even itself of-speaking method
 ac viam nosse: caput enim esse arbitrabatur oratoris,
 and way to-know the-chief-point for to-be he-was-judging of-the-orator

ut et ipse eis, apud quos ageret, talis, qualem
that both he-himself to-those before whom he-was-pleading such-a-man as-the-kind
 se esse optaret, videretur; id fieri vitae dignitate,
himself to-be he-would-wish might-seem that to-be-done of-life by-the-worth
 de qua nihil rhetorici isti doctores in praeceptis suis
about which nothing rhetorical those teachers in the-precepts their-own
 reliquissent; et uti ei qui audirent sic adficerentur animis,
had-left and that those who were-hearing so might-be-affected in-mind
 ut eos adfici vellet orator; quod item fieri nullo
as them to-be-affected wished the-orator which likewise to-be-done in-no
 modo posse, nisi cognosset is, qui diceret, quot
way to-be-able unless had-learned he who was-speaking by-how-many
 modis hominum mentes et quibus et quo genere
ways of-men the-minds and by-which and by-what kind
 orationis in quamque partem moverentur; haec autem
of-speech in each direction are-moved these-(things) however
 esse penitus in media philosophia retrusa atque abdita,
to-be deeply in the-middle of-philosophy buried and hidden
 quae isti rhetores ne primoribus quidem labris attigissent.
which those rhetoricians not with-the-outermost even the-lips had-touched

88 Ea Menedemus exemplis magis quam argumentis conabatur
these Menedemus by-examples more than by-arguments was-trying
 refellere; memoriter enim multa ex orationibus Demostheni
to-refute from-memory for many-things from the-speeches of-Demosthenes
 praeclare scripta pronuntians docebat illum in animis vel
splendidly written uttering he-was-showing him in the-minds either
 iudicum vel populi in omnem partem dicendo permovendis
of-judges or of-the-people in every direction by-speaking swaying
 non fuisse ignarum, quibus ea rebus consequeretur, quae
not to-have-been ignorant by-what those means he-attained which
 negaret ille sine philosophia quemquam nosse posse.
was-denying he without philosophy anyone to-know to-be-able

Huic respondebat non se negare Demosthenem 89
to-this-man he-was-replying not himself to-deny Demosthenes

summam prudentiam summamque vim habuisse dicendi, sed
the-highest practical-wisdom and-the-highest force to-have-had of-speaking but
 sive ille hoc ingenio potuisset sive, id quod constaret,
whether he by-this talent had-been-able or that which was-agreed
 Platonis studiosus audiendi fuisset, non quid ille potuisset,
of-Plato zealous of-hearing had-been not what he had-been-able
 sed quid isti docerent esse quaerendum.

but what those were-teaching to-be to-be-asked

Saepe etiam in eam partem ferebatur oratione, ut 90
often even into that direction he-was-carried in-speech that

omnino disputaret nullam artem esse dicendi; idque
altogether he-would-argue no art to-be of-speaking and-that

cum argumentis docuerat, quod ita nati essemus, ut et
both by-arguments he-had-shown because so born we-were that both

blandiri eis subtiliter, a quibus esset petendum, et
to-coax those subtly from whom it-must-be sought and

adversarios minaciter terrere possemus et rem gestam
adversaries threateningly to-frighten we-might-be-able and the-thing done

exponere et id, quod intenderemus, confirmare et, quod
to-set-out and that which we-were-aiming-at to-confirm and what

contra diceretur, refellere, ad extremum deprecari aliquid
against was-said to-refute at the-end to-beg-off something

et conqueri, quibus in rebus omnis oratorum versaretur
and to-complain which in matters all of-orators is-engaged

facultas; et quod consuetudo exercitatioque intellegendi
the-faculty and because habit and-practice of-understanding

prudentiam acueret atque eloquendi celeritatem incitaret;
practical-wisdom sharpens and of-expressing the-quickess urges-on

- 91 tum etiam exemplorum copia nitebatur. Nam primum
then even of-examples on-the-store he-was-relying for first
 quasi dedita opera neminem scriptorem artis ne mediocriter
as-if by-set purpose no-one a-writer of-the-art not moderately
 quidem disertum fuisse dicebat, cum repeteret usque a
even eloquent to-have-been he-was-saying when he-went-back right from
 Corace nescio quo et Tisia, quos artis illius inventores et
Corax I-know-not what and Tisias whom of-the-art that the-inventors and
 principes fuisse constaret; eloquentissimos autem homines,
the-chiefs to-have-been was-agreed the-most-eloquent however men
 qui ista nec didicissent nec omnino scire curassent,
who those neither had-learned nor at-all to-know had-cared
 innumerabilis quosdam nominabat; in quibus etiam, sive
countless certain he-was-naming among whom even whether
 ille inridens sive quod ita putaret atque ita audisset, me in illo
he mocking or because so he-thought and so he-had-heard me in that
 numero, qui illa non didicissem et tamen, ut ipse dicebat,
number who those not had-learned and still as himself was-saying
 possem aliquid in dicendo, proferebat; quorum ego
I-could something in speaking he-was-putting-forward of-which I
 alterum illi facile adsentiebar, nihil me didicisse, in altero
the-one to-him easily was-agreeing nothing me to-have-learned in the-other
 autem me inludi ab eo aut etiam ipsum errare arbitrabar.
however me to-be-mocked by him or even himself to-err I-was-thinking
- 92 Artem vero negabat esse ullam, nisi quae cognitis
an-art indeed he-was-denying to-be any except which by-known
 penitusque perspectis et in unum exitum spectantibus et
and-deeply by-examined and toward one outcome looking and
 numquam fallentibus rebus contineretur; haec autem omnia,
never deceiving by-things is-made-up these however all
 quae tractarentur ab oratoribus, dubia esse et incerta; quoniam
which are-handled by orators doubtful to-be and uncertain since

et dicerentur ab eis, qui omnia ea non plane tenerent,
both they-are-spoken by those who all them not plainly hold
et audirentur ab eis, quibus non scientia esset tradenda,
and they-are-heard by those to-whom not knowledge is to-be-handed
sed exigui temporis aut falsa aut certe obscura opinio.
but of-a-brief time either a-false or at-least an-obsure opinion
Quid multa? Sic mihi tum persuadere videbatur neque 93
what more so to-me then to-persuade he-seemed neither
artificium ullum esse dicendi neque quemquam posse,
a-craft any to-be of-speaking nor anyone to-be-able
nisi qui illa, quae a doctissimis hominibus in
except one-who those-(things) which by the-most-learned men in
philosophia dicerentur, cognosset, aut callide aut copiose
philosophy were-said had-learned either shrewdly or fully
dicere; in quibus Charmadas solebat ingenium tuum, Crasse,
to-speak in which Charmadas was-wont the-talent your Crassus
vehementer admirari: me sibi perfacilem in audiendo,
vehemently to-admire me to-himself very-easy in listening
te perpugnacem in disputando esse visum.
you very-pugnacious in disputing to-be to-have-seemed

I.12 · FLUENT MEN, AND NO ELOQUENT ONE

Persuaded by Charmadas, Antonius wrote in a little book that escaped him that he had met fluent men but no eloquent one. The fluent man speaks sharply and clearly to ordinary hearers; the eloquent man magnifies and adorns whatever he pleases and holds in mind every source of speech. He expects such a man to come, and thinks Crassus is already he. Sulpicius and Cotta press Crassus, who consents to be questioned.

- 94 Itaque ego hac eadem opinione adductus scripsi etiam illud
and-so I by-this same opinion led wrote even that
 quodam in libello, qui me imprudente et invito excidit
a-certain in little-book which with-me unaware and unwilling slipped-out
 et pervenit in manus hominum, disertos cognosse me non
and came into the-hands of-men fluent-men to-have-known me not
 nullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem, quod eum statuebam
none an-eloquent-man as-yet no-one because him I-was-reckoning
 disertum, qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud
fluent who could sufficiently sharply and clearly before
 mediocris homines ex communi quadam opinione hominum
ordinary men from a-common a-certain opinion of-men
 dicere, eloquentem vero, qui mirabilius et magnificentius
to-speak an-eloquent-man indeed who more-wonderfully and more-grandly
 augere posset atque ornare quae vellet, omnisque omnium
to-magnify could and to-adorn what he-wished and-all of-all
 rerum, quae ad dicendum pertinerent, fontis animo ac
things which for speaking belonged the-springs in-mind and
 memoria contineret. Id si est difficile nobis, quod ante,
in-memory held that if is hard for-us because before
 quam ad discendum ingressi sumus, obruimur ambitione
than to learning entered we-are we-are-overwhelmed by-canvassing
 et foro, sit tamen in re positum atque natura:
and by-the-forum let-it-be still in the-thing placed and in-nature
- 95 ego enim, quantum auguror coniectura quantaque ingenia
I for as-much-as I-forecast by-conjecture and-how-great talents
 in nostris hominibus esse video, non despero fore
in our men to-be I-see not I-despair to-be-going-to-be
 aliquem aliquando, qui et studio acriore quam nos sumus
someone some-day who both with-zeal keener than we are
 atque fuimus et otio ac facultate discendi maiore ac
and have-been and with-leisure and with-opportunity of-learning greater and

maturiore et labore atque industria superiore, cum se ad
earlier and with-toil and industry higher when himself to
 audiendum legendum scribendumque dederit, existat talis
bearing reading and-writing be-shall-have-given may-arise such
 orator, qualem quaerimus, qui iure non solum disertus, sed
an-orator as-the-kind we-seek who rightly not only fluent but
 etiam eloquens dici possit; qui tamen mea sententia aut
even eloquent to-be-called may-be-able who still in-my opinion either
 hic est iam Crassus aut, si quis pari fuerit ingenio
this is already Crassus or if anyone with-equal shall-have-been talent
 pluraque quam hic et audierit et lectitarit
and-more-things than be both shall-have-heard and shall-have-read-repeatedly
 et scripserit, paulum huic aliquid poterit addere.
and shall-have-written a-little to-this-man something will-be-able to-add
 Hoc loco Sulpicius 'insperanti' inquit 'mihi et Cottae, sed 96
at-this point Sulpicius not-hoping be-said to-me and to-Cotta but
 valde optanti utrique nostrum cecidit, ut in istum sermonem,
greatly wishing to-each of-us it-has-fallen that into that talk
 Crasse, delaberemini; nobis enim huc venientibus satis
Crassus you-should-slip-down to-us for hither coming enough
 iucundum fore videbatur, si, cum vos de rebus aliis
delightful to-be-going-to-be it-seemed if while you about matters other
 loqueremini, tamen nos aliquid ex sermone vestro memoria
were-talking still we something from talk your of-memory
 dignum excipere possemus; ut vero penitus in eam ipsam
worthy to-catch might-be-able that indeed deeply into that very
 totius huius vel studii vel artificii vel facultatis disputationem
of-the-whole of-this either study or craft or faculty the-discussion
 paene intimam veniretis, vix optandum nobis videbatur.
almost innermost you-should-come scarcely to-be-wished for-us it-seemed

97 Ego enim, qui ab ineunte aetate incensus essem studio
I for who from beginning age fired had-been with-zeal
 utriusque vestrum, Crassi vero etiam amore, cum ab eo
of-each of-you of-Crassus indeed even with-love although from him
 nusquam discederem, verbum ex eo numquam elicere
nowhere I-departed a-word from him never to-draw-out
 potui de vi ac ratione dicendi, cum et per me
I-was-able about the-force and method of-speaking although both through me
 ipsum egissem et per Drusum saepe temptassem; quo
myself I-had-acted and through Drusus often I-had-attempted which
 in genere tu, Antoni, — vere loquar — numquam mihi
in kind you Antonius truly let-me-speak never to-me
 percontanti aut quaerenti aliquid defuisti et persaepe me,
questioning or asking anything you-have-failed and very-often me
 quae soles in dicendo observare, docuisti.

those-(things)-which you-were-wont in speaking to-observe you-have-taught

98 Nunc, quoniam uterque vestrum patefecit earum ipsarum
now since each of-you has-opened-up of-those very
 rerum aditum, quas quaerimus, et quoniam princeps
things the-approach which we-seek and since first
 Crassus eius sermonis ordiendi fuit, date nobis hanc
Crassus of-that conversation of-beginning was give to-us this
 veniam, ut ea, quae sentitis de omni genere dicendi,
indulgence that those-(things) which you-think about every kind of-speaking
 subtiliter persequamini; quod quidem si erit a
minutely you-may-pursue which indeed if it-shall-have-been by
 vobis impetratum, magnam habebō, Crasse, huic palaestrae
you obtained great I-shall-have Crassus to-this exercise-ground
 et Tusculano tuo gratiam et longe Academiae illi ac
and to-the-Tusculan your gratitude and far to-the-Academy that and
 Lycio tuum hoc suburbanum gymnasium anteponam.
to-the-Lyceum your this suburban gymnasium I-shall-prefer

Tum ille ‘immo vero,’ inquit ‘Sulpici, rogemus Antonium, 99

then he nay indeed he-said Sulpicius let-us-ask Antonius
 qui et potest facere, quod requiris, et consuevit, ut te
who both is-able to-do what you-require and is-accustomed as you
 audio dicere: nam me quidem a genere hoc toto sermonis
I-bear to-say for me indeed from kind this whole of-conversation
 refugisse et tibi cupienti atque instanti saepissime negasse,
to-have-shrunk and to-you wishing and pressing very-often to-have-refused
 tute paulo ante dixisti; quod ego non superbia neque
you-yourself a-little before have-said which I not from-pride nor
 inhumanitate faciebam neque quod tuo studio rectissimo
from-discourtesy was-doing nor because to-your zeal most-right
 atque optimo non obsequi vellem, praesertim cum te unum ex
and best not to-comply I-wished especially since you one from
 omnibus ad dicendum maxime natum aptumque cognossem,
all for speaking most born and-fitted I-had-known
 sed me hercule istius disputationis insolentia atque
but by Hercules of-that discussion from-the-unfamiliarity and
 earum rerum, quae quasi in arte traduntur, inscitia.’

of-those things which as-it-were in an-art are-banded-down from-the-ignorance

Tum Cotta ‘quoniam quod difficillimum nobis videbatur, ut 100

then Cotta since what the-hardest to-us seemed that
 omnino de his rebus, Crasse, loquerere, adsecuti sumus,
at-all about these matters Crassus you-should-speak attained we-are
 de reliquo iam nostra culpa fuerit, si te, nisi omnia,
about the-rest now our fault it-will-have-been if you unless all-(things)
 quae percontati erimus, explicaris, dimiserimus.’

which asked we-shall-be you-shall-have-explained we-shall-have-let-go

‘De eis, credo, rebus,’ inquit Crassus ‘ut in cretionibus 101

about those I-suppose things said Crassus as in declarations-of-inheritance
 scribi solet: quibus sciam poteroque.’ Tum ille ‘nam
to-be-written it-is-wont which I-shall-know and-I-shall-be-able then he for

quod tu non poteris aut nescies, quis nostrum tam
what you not will-be-able or will-not-know who of-us so
 impudens est qui se scire aut posse postulet?’ ‘Iam vero
shameless is who himself to-know or to-be-able should-demand now indeed
 ista condicione, dum mihi liceat negare posse
on-that condition provided-that to-me it-may-be-allowed to-deny to-be-able
 quod non potero et fateri nescire quod nesciam,
what not I-shall-be-able and to-confess not-to-know what I-shall-not-know
 licet’ inquit Crassus ‘vestro arbitratu percontemini.’
it-is-permitted said Crassus at-your discretion you-may-inquire

I.13 • IS THERE AN ART OF SPEAKING?

Asked whether speaking is an art, Crassus jokes that he is not some idle Greek fielding questions from a crowd, the trick Gorgias began. Scaevola presses him and he answers: if an art must rest on things fully known and cut away from opinion, oratory is none, for all forensic speech is fitted to the common feeling of the crowd. If ordered observation counts as one, it may be called an art.

- 102 ‘Atqui’ inquit ‘hoc ex te, de quo modo Antonius exposuit,
and-yet he-said this from you about which just-now Antonius has-set-out
 quid sentias, quaerimus, existimesne artem aliquam esse
what you-think we-ask whether-you-judge an-art some to-be
 dicendi?’ ‘Quid? mihi vos nunc’ inquit Crassus ‘tamquam
of-speaking what to-me you now said Crassus as-if
 alicui Graeculo otioso et loquaci et fortasse docto atque
to-some little-Greek idle and talkative and perhaps learned and
 erudito quaestiunculam, de qua meo arbitratu loquar,
cultivated a-little-question about which at-my discretion I-may-speak
 ponitis? Quando enim me ista curasse aut cogitasse
do-you-set when for me those to-have-cared-about or to-have-pondered

arbitramini et non semper inrisisse potius eorum hominum

do-you-think and not always to-have-mocked rather of-those men

impudentiam, qui cum in schola adsedissent, ex magna

the-shamelessness who when in a-school they-had-sat-down from a-great

hominum frequentia dicere iuberent, si quis quid quaereret?

of-men crowd to-speak they-would-bid if anyone anything should-ask

Quod primum ferunt Leontinum fecisse Gorgiam,

which first they-report the-Leontine to-have-done Gorgias

qui permagnum quiddam suscipere ac profiteri videbatur,

who a-very-great something to-undertake and to-profess seemed

cum se ad omnia, de quibus quisque audire vellet,

when himself for all-(things) about which anyone to-hear might-wish

esse paratum denuntiaret; postea vero vulgo hoc facere

to-be prepared be-proclaimed afterward indeed commonly this to-do

coeperunt hodieque faciunt, ut nulla sit res neque tanta

they-began and-today they-do so-that no is thing neither so-great

neque tam improvisa neque tam nova, de qua se

nor so unforeseen nor so new about which themselves

non omnia, quae dici possint, profiteantur esse dicturos.

not all-(things) which to-be-said can they-profess to-be going-to-say

Quod si te, Cotta, arbitrarer aut te, Sulpici, de eis

which if you Cotta I-thought or you Sulpicius about those

rebus audire velle, adduxissem huc Graecum aliquem,

matters to-bear to-wish I-should-have-brought hither a-Greek someone

qui nos istius modi disputationibus delectaret; quod ne

who us of-that kind with-discussions might-delight which not

nunc quidem difficile factu est: est enim apud M.

now even hard in-the-doing is there-is for with Marcus

Pisonem adulescentem huic studio deditum, summo

Piso a-young-man to-this study devoted with-the-highest

homo ingenio nostrique cupidissimus, Peripateticus Staseas,

a-man talent and-of-us most-desirous the-Peripatetic Staseas

homo nobis sane familiaris et, ut inter homines peritos

a-man to-us quite friendly and as among men skilled

constare video, in illo suo genere omnium princeps.’

to-be-agreed I-see in that his-own kind of-all the-chief

105 ‘Quem tu mihi’ inquit Mucius ‘Staseam, quem Peripateticum

whom you to-me said Mucius Staseas whom a-Peripatetic

narras? Gerendus est tibi mos adolescentibus, Crasse,

do-you-tell-of to-be-shown is by-you compliance to-the-young-men Crassus

qui non Graeci cotidianam loquacitatem sine usu

who not of-a-Greek daily talkativeness without experience

neque ex scholis cantilenam requirunt, sed ex homine

nor from the-schools a-sing-song require but from a-man

omnium sapientissimo atque eloquentissimo atque ex eo,

of-all the-wisest and the-most-eloquent and from him

qui non in libellis, sed in maximis causis et in hoc

who not in little-books but in the-greatest cases and in this

domicilio imperi et gloriae sit consilio linguaque princeps,

dwelling-place of-empire and of-glory is in-counsel and-in-tongue the-chief

cuius vestigia persequi cupiunt, eius sententiam sciscitantur.

whose footsteps to-follow they-desire of-him the-opinion they-seek

106 Equidem te cum in dicendo semper putavi deum,

for-my-part you both in speaking always I-have-thought a-god

tum vero tibi numquam eloquentiae maiorem tribui

and-especially indeed to-you never of-eloquence greater have-I-assigned

laudem quam humanitatis; qua nunc te uti vel maxime

praise than of-humanity which now you to-use even most

decet neque defugere eam disputationem, ad quam te duo

befits nor to-shun that discussion to which you two

excellentes ingeniis adolescentes cupiunt accedere.’

outstanding in-talents young-men desire to-come

‘Ego vero’ inquit ‘istis obsequi studeo neque gravabor 107

I indeed he-said to-those to-comply I-am-eager nor shall-I-be-reluctant

breviter meo more, quid quaque de re sentiam, dicere.

briefly in-my way what each about matter I-think to-say

Ac primum illud — quoniam auctoritatem tuam neglegere,

and first that since the-authority your to-neglect

Scaevola, fas mihi non esse puto — respondeo, mihi

Scaevola right for-me not to-be I-think I-answer to-me

dicendi aut nullam artem aut pertenuem videri, sed

of-speaking either no art or a-very-slight to-seem but

omnem esse contentionem inter homines doctos in verbi

the-whole to-be the-contention among men learned in of-a-word

controversia positam.

the-dispute placed

Nam si ars ita definitur, ut paulo ante exposuit Antonius, 108

for if an-art so is-defined as a-little before set-out Antonius

ex rebus penitus perspectis planeque cognitis atque ab

from things deeply examined and-plainly known and from

opinionis arbitrio seiunctis scientiaque comprehensis, non

of-opinion the-caprice separated and-by-knowledge grasped not

mihi videtur ars oratoris esse ulla; sunt enim varia

to-me seems an-art of-the-orator to-be any there-are for various

et ad vulgarem popularemque sensum accommodata omnia

and to the-common and-popular sense fitted all

genera huius forensis nostrae dictionis.

the-kinds of-this forensic our discourse

Sin autem ea, quae observata sunt in usu ac 109

but-if however those-(things) which observed have-been in the-use and

tractatione dicendi, haec ab hominibus callidis ac peritis

handling of-speaking these by men shrewd and skilled

animadversa ac notata, verbis definita, generibus inlustrata,

noticed and marked by-words defined by-classes illustrated

partibus distributa sunt — id quod video potuisse
into-parts distributed are that which I-see to-have-been-able
 fieri—, non intellego, quam ob rem non, si minus
to-be-done not I-understand which on-account-of thing not if less
 illa subtili definitione, at hac vulgari opinione ars esse
by-that fine definition yet by-this common opinion an-art to-be
 videatur. Sed sive est ars sive artis quaedam similitudo,
it-may-seem but whether it-is an-art or of-an-art a-certain likeness
 non est ea quidem neglegenda; verum intellegendum est
not is that indeed to-be-neglected but to-be-understood it-is
 alia quaedam ad consequendam eloquentiam esse maiora.’
other certain for attaining eloquence to-be greater

I.14 • WHAT NATURE MUST SUPPLY

Pressed by Antonius, Crassus names nature first. Quickness of mind to invent, richness to set out and adorn, a firm memory: art can kindle these but never implant them, and the loosed tongue, the voice, the lungs, and the whole cast of face and body are born with the man. Some are so hampered they can never be orators; others seem shaped by a god. Yet he would deter no one: Coelius and Varius rose on what little they had.

- 110 Tum Antonius vehementer se adsentiri Crasso dixit, quod
then Antonius strongly himself to-agree with-Crassus said because
 neque ita amplecteretur artem, ut ei solerent, qui omnem
neither so he-embraced the-art as those were-wont who all
 vim dicendi in arte ponerent, neque rursus eam totam, sicut
the-force of-speaking in the-art placed nor again it wholly as
 plerique philosophi facerent, repudiaret. ‘Sed existimo’ inquit
most philosophers did he-rejected but I-judge he-said

‘gratum te his, Crasse, facturum, si ista exposueris quae
welcome you to-these Crassus going-to-do if those you-shall-have-set-out which
putas ad dicendum plus quam ipsam artem posse prodesse.’

you-think for speaking more than the-very art to-be-able to-profit

‘Dicam equidem, quoniam institui, petamque a vobis,’

111

I-shall-say for-my-part since I-have-begun and-I-shall-ask from you

inquit ‘ne has meas ineptias efferatis; quamquam

he-said that-not these my absurdities you-should-spread-abroad although

moderabor ipse, ne ut quidam magister atque artifex, sed

I-shall-restrain myself lest as some master and craftsman but

quasi unus ex togatorum numero atque ex forensi usu

as-if one from of-the-gowned the-number and from forensic experience

homo mediocris neque omnino rudis videar non ipse

a-man middling and-not altogether unskilled I-may-seem not myself

a me aliquid promississe, sed fortuito in sermonem

from myself something to-have-promised but by-chance into talk

vestrum incidisse.

your to-have-fallen

Equidem cum peterem magistratum, solebam in prensando

112

for-my-part when I-was-seeking office I-was-wont in canvassing

dimittere a me Scaevolam, cum ita ei dicerem, me

to-send-away from me Scaevola since so to-him I-said me

velle esse ineptum, id erat, petere blandius, quod, nisi

to-wish to-be absurd that was to-canvass more-flatteringly because unless

inepte fieret, bene non posset fieri; — hunc autem esse

absurdly it-were-done well not it-could to-be-done this-man however to-be

unum hominem ex omnibus, quo praesente ego ineptum

one man from all with-whom present I absurd

esse me minime vellem — quem quidem nunc mearum

to-be myself least I-should-wish whom indeed now of-my

ineptiarum testem et spectatorem fortuna constituit: nam

absurdities the-witness and the-spectator fortune has-set for

quid est ineptius quam de dicendo dicere, cum ipsum
what is more-absurd than about speaking to-speak since the-very
 dicere numquam sit non ineptum, nisi cum est necessarium?’
to-speak never is not absurd unless when it-is necessary

- 113 ‘Perge vero,’ inquit ‘Crasse,’ Mucius; ‘istam enim culpam,
go-on indeed he-said Crassus Mucius that for blame
 quam vereris, ego praestabo.’ ‘Sic igitur’ inquit ‘sentio,’
which you-fear I shall-answer-for so therefore he-said I-think
 Crassus ‘naturam primum atque ingenium ad dicendum
Crassus nature first and talent for speaking
 vim adferre maximam; neque vero istis, de quibus paulo
force to-bring the-greatest nor indeed to-those about whom a-little
 ante dixit Antonius, scriptoribus artis rationem dicendi
before spoke Antonius writers of-the-art the-method of-speaking
 et viam, sed naturam defuisse; nam et animi atque
and the-way but nature to-have-been-lacking for both of-mind and
 ingeni celeres quidam motus esse debent, qui et ad
of-talent quick certain movements to-be ought which both for
 excogitandum acuti et ad explicandum ornandumque sint
devising sharp and for unfolding and-adorning may-be
 uberes et ad memoriam firmi atque diuturni;
rich and for memory firm and lasting

- 114 et si quis est qui haec putet arte accipi posse, — quod
and if anyone there-is who these may-think by-art to-be-received to-be-able which
 falsum est; praeclare enim res se habeat, si haec accendi
false is splendidly for the-matter itself would-stand if these to-be-kindled
 aut commoveri arte possint; inseri quidem et donari
or to-be-stirred by-art they-can to-be-implanted indeed and to-be-given
 ab arte non possunt; omnia sunt enim illa dona naturae —
by art not they-can all are for those gifts of-nature
 quid de illis dicam, quae certe cum ipso homine
what about those am-I-to-say which certainly with the-very man

nascuntur, linguae solutio, vocis sonus, latera, vires,
are-born of-the-tongue the-looseness of-the-voice the-sound the-lungs the-strength
 conformatio quaedam et figura totius oris et corporis?
a-shape a-certain and the-figure of-the-whole face and of-the-body
 Neque enim haec ita dico, ut ars aliquos limare non 115
nor for these so I-say that an-art some to-polish not
 possit — neque enim ignoro, et quae bona sint, fieri
can nor for I-am-ignorant both what good are to-become
 meliora posse doctrina, et, quae non optima, aliquo modo
better to-be-able by-learning and what not the-best in-some way
 acui tamen et corrigi posse—, sed sunt quidam
to-be-sharpened still and to-be-corrected to-be-able but there-are some
 aut ita lingua haesitantes aut ita voce absoni aut ita
either so in-tongue faltering or so in-voice discordant or so
 vultu motuque corporis vasti atque agrestes, ut,
in-face and-in-the-movement of-the-body ungainly and boorish that
 etiam si ingeniis atque arte valeant, tamen in oratorum
even if in-talents and in-art they-are-strong still into of-orators
 numerum venire non possint; sunt autem quidam ita in
the-number to-come not they-can there-are however some so in
 eisdem rebus habiles, ita naturae muneribus ornati, ut non
the-same things apt so of-nature with-the-gifts adorned that not
 nati, sed ab aliquo deo ficti esse videantur.
born but by some god fashioned to-be they-seem
 Magnum quoddam est onus atque munus suscipere atque 116
great a-certain is burden and office to-undertake and
 profiteri se esse, omnibus silentibus, unum maximis de
to-profess oneself to-be with-all silent one the-greatest about
 rebus magno in conventu hominum audiendum; adest
matters a-great in assembly of-men to-be-beard is-present
 enim fere nemo, quin acutius atque acrius vitia in
for almost no-one but-that more-sharply and more-keenly the-faults in

dicente quam recta videat; ita quicquid est, in quo

the-speaker than the-right-things he-sees so whatever there-is in which

offenditur, id etiam illa, quae laudanda sunt, obruit.

offense-is-taken that even those-things which to-be-praised are buries

117 Neque haec in eam sententiam disputo, ut homines

nor these to that view I-argue that men

adulescentis, si quid naturale forte non habeant, omnino

young if anything natural by-chance not they-have altogether

a dicendi studio deterream: quis enim non videt C.

from of-speaking the-study I-should-deter who for not sees to-Gaius

Coelio, aequali meo, magno honori fuisse, homini

Coelius contemporary my for-a-great honor to-have-been to-a-man

novo, illam ipsam, quamcumque adsequi potuerat, in

new that very whatever to-attain he-had-been-able in

dicendo mediocritatem? Quis vestrum aequalem, Q.

speaking middling-quality who your contemporary Quintus

Varium, vastum hominem atque foedum, non intellegit

Varius an-ungainly man and repulsive not understands

illa ipsa facultate, quamcumque habuit, magnam esse in

by-that very faculty whatever he-had great to-be in

civitate gratiam consecutum?

the-state favor to-have-gained

Since the orator sought here is perfect, the crowded courts' tolerance of bad ones proves nothing; where an art gives only pleasure, judging is nearly fastidious. Crassus holds a speaker not frightened at his opening to be shameless, and confesses that he himself turns pale and trembles whenever he begins. Antonius names two causes for that fear: the best know a speech can fall short, and an orator's slip is put down to stupidity.

Sed quia de oratore quaerimus, fingendus est nobis

118

but because about the-orator we-ask to-be-fashioned is by-us

oratione nostra detractis omnibus vitiis orator atque

in-speech our when-stripped-away all faults an-orator and

omni laude cumulatus. Neque enim, si multitudo litium,

with-every praise heaped-up nor for if the-multitude of-lawsuits

si varietas causarum, si haec turba et barbaria forensis dat

if the-variety of-cases if this crowd and barbarism forensic gives

locum vel vitiosissimis oratoribus, idcirco nos hoc, quod

room even to-the-most-faulty orators therefore we this which

quaerimus, omittemus. Itaque in eis artibus, in quibus non

we-seek shall-give-up and-so in those arts in which not

utilitas quaeritur necessaria, sed animi libera quaedam

usefulness is-sought necessary but of-the-mind free a-certain

oblectatio, quam diligenter et quam prope fastidiose

delight how carefully and how nearly fastidiously

iudicamus! Nullae enim lites neque controversiae sunt,

we-judge no for lawsuits nor disputes there-are

quae cogant homines sicut in foro non bonos oratores,

which compel men just-as in the-forum not good orators

item in theatro actores malos perpeti.

likewise in the-theater actors bad to-endure

- 119 Est igitur oratori diligenter providendum, non uti eis
it-is therefore for-the-orator carefully to-be-provided not that to-those
 satis faciat, quibus necesse est, sed ut eis admirabilis
enough he-does to-whom necessary it-is but that to-those admirable
 esse videatur, quibus libere liceat iudicare; ac, si quaeritis,
to-be he-may-seem to-whom freely it-is-allowed to-judge and if you-ask
 plane quid sentiam enuntiabo apud homines familiarissimos,
plainly what I-think I-shall-declare among men the-most-intimate
 quod adhuc semper tacui et tacendum putavi:
what hitherto always I-have-kept-silent and to-be-kept-silent I-have-thought
 mihi etiam qui optime dicunt quique id facillime atque
to-me even those-who best speak and-who that most-easily and
 ornatissime facere possunt, tamen, nisi timide ad dicendum
most-elegantly to-do are-able still unless timidly to speaking
 accedunt et in ordianda oratione perturbantur, paene
they-approach and in beginning the-speech they-are-flustered almost
 impudentes videntur, — tametsi id accidere non potest;
shameless they-seem although that to-happen not is-possible
 120 ut enim quisque optime dicit, ita maxime dicendi difficultatem
as for each best speaks so most of-speaking the-difficulty
 variosque eventus orationis expectationemque hominum
and-the-various outcomes of-a-speech and-the-expectation of-men
 pertimescit; — qui vero nihil potest dignum re,
he-dreads who indeed nothing is-able worthy of-the-matter
 dignum nomine oratoris, dignum hominum auribus efficere
worthy of-the-name of-an-orator worthy of-men ears to-effect
 atque edere, is mihi, etiam si commovetur in dicendo, tamen
and to-produce he to-me even if he-is-agitated in speaking still
 impudens videtur; non enim pudendo, sed non faciendo
shameless seems not for by-feeling-shame but by-not doing
 id, quod non decet, impudentiae nomen effugere debemus;
that which not is-fitting of-shamelessness the-name to-escape we-ought

quem vero non pudet, — id quod in plerisque video — 121

whom indeed not it-shames that which in very-many I-see

hunc ego non reprehensione solum, sed etiam poena

this-man I not of-rebuke only but even of-punishment

dignum puto. Equidem et in vobis animum advertere

worthy think for-my-part both in you (my)-mind to-turn

soleo et in me ipso saepissime experior, ut et exalbescam

I-am-wont and in me myself very-often I-experience that both I-turn-pale

in principiis dicendi et tota mente atque artibus

in the-beginnings of-speaking and with-(my)-whole mind and in-(my)-limbs

omnibus contremiscam; adolescentulus vero sic initio

all I-tremble as-a-young-man indeed so at-the-beginning

accusationis exanimatus sum, ut hoc summum beneficium

of-a-prosecution unnerved I-was that this the-highest kindness

Q. Maximo debuerim, quod continuo consilium

to-Quintus Maximus I-owed because at-once the-court

dimiserit, simul ac me fractum ac debilitatum metu viderit.

he-dismissed as-soon as me broken and enfeebled by-fear he-had-seen

Hic omnes adsensi significare inter sese et conloqui 122

here all agreeing to-signal among themselves and to-talk

coeperunt; fuit enim mirificus quidam in Crasso pudor,

began there-was for a-wonderful a-certain in Crassus modesty

qui tamen non modo non obsessus eius orationi, sed etiam

which still not only not was-harming to-his speech but even

probitatis commendatione prodesset. Tum Antonius ‘saepe,

of-uprightness by-the-recommendation was-helping then Antonius often

ut dicis,’ inquit ‘animadverti, Crasse, et te et ceteros

as you-say he-said I-have-noticed Crassus both you and the-other

summos oratores, quamquam tibi par mea sententia

biggest orators although to-you an-equal in-my opinion

nemo umquam fuit, in dicendi exordio permoveri;

no-one ever has-been in of-speaking the-outset to-be-stirred

- 123 cuius quidem rei cum causam quaererem, quidnam esset
of-which indeed thing when the-cause I-was-seeking what-then it-might-be
 cur, ut in quoque oratore plurimum esset, ita maxime
why as in each orator most there-was so most
 is pertimesceret, has causas inveniebam duas: unam,
he dreaded these causes I-was-finding two one
 quod intellexerent ei, quos usus ac natura docuisset,
because they-understood those whom experience and nature had-taught
 non numquam summis oratoribus non satis ex
not never for-the-biggest orators not enough according-to
 sententia eventum dicendi procedere; ita non iniuria,
(their)-wish the-outcome of-speaking to-turn-out so not without-reason
 quotienscumque dicerent, id, quod aliquando posset
as-often-as they-spoke that which sometime might
- 124 accidere, ne illo ipso tempore accideret, timere; altera
happen lest at-that very time it-should-happen to-fear the-other
 est haec, de qua queri saepe soleo; quod ceterarum
is this about which to-complain often I-am-wont because of-the-other
 homines artium spectati et probati, si quando aliquid
men of-arts tested and approved if ever something
 minus bene fecerunt quam solent, aut noluisse
less well they-have-done than they-are-wont either to-have-been-unwilling
 aut valetudine impediti non potuisse consequi id,
or by-ill-health hindered not to-have-been-able to-achieve that
 quod scirent, putantur: “noluit” inquit “hodie agere
which they-knew they-are-thought he-was-unwilling they-say today to-act
 Roscius,” aut “crudior fuit”; oratoris peccatum, si quod
Roscius or too-full-of-food he-was of-an-orator the-fault if any
 est animadversum, stultitiae peccatum videtur;
is noticed of-folly a-fault it-seems

stultitia autem excusationem non habet, quia nemo videtur, 125
 folly however an-excuse not has because no-one seems
 aut quia crudus fuerit aut quod ita maluerit, stultus
 either because full-of-food he-was or because so he-preferred foolish
 fuisse; quo etiam gravius iudicium in dicendo subimus:
 to-have-been whereby even a-heavier judgment in speaking we-undergo
 quotiens enim dicimus, totiens de nobis iudicatur, et, qui
 as-often for we-speak so-often about us it-is-judged and who
 semel in gestu peccavit, non continuo existimatur nescire
 once in gesture has-erred not at-once is-thought not-to-know
 gestum, cuius autem in dicendo quid reprehensum est,
 gesture of-whom however in speaking anything censured has-been
 aut aeterna in eo aut certe diuturna valet opinio tarditatis.
 either an-eternal in him or at-least a-lasting prevails opinion of-slowness

I.16 • APOLLONIUS TURNING PUPILS AWAY

Antonius praises Apollonius of Alabanda, who taught for a fee and still sent away pupils he judged unfit. The orator needs the dialectician's edge, the philosopher's thoughts, nearly a poet's words, the jurist's memory, the tragedian's voice, and the best actors' gesture. Crassus cites Roscius, who has yet to find a pupil he could approve, but tells Sulpicius and Cotta he means to spur them, not deter them.

Illud vero, quod a te dictum est, esse permulta, quae 126
 that indeed which by you said has-been to-be very-many-(things) which
 orator a natura nisi haberet, non multum a magistro
 the-orator from nature unless he-had not much by a-teacher
 adiuuaretur, valde tibi adsentior inque eo vel maxime
 would-be-helped strongly with-you I-agree and-in that even most
 probavi summum illum doctorem, Alabandensem Apollonium,
 I-approved the-highest that teacher of-Alabanda Apollonius

qui cum mercede doceret, tamen non patiebatur eos,
who although for-a-fee he-taught still not allowed those
 quos iudicabat non posse oratores evadere, operam apud
whom he-judged not to-be-able orators to-turn-out effort with
 sese perdere, dimittebatque et ad quam quemque artem
himself to-waste and-he-dismissed-(them) and to which each art
 putabat esse aptum, ad eam impellere atque hortari solebat.

he-thought to-be fitted to it to-drive and to-urge he-was-wont

127 Satis est enim in ceteris artificiiis percipiendis tantum
enough it-is for in the-other crafts to-be-mastered only
 modo similem esse hominis et id, quod tradatur vel etiam
merely like to-be of-a-man and that which is-taught or even
 inculcetur, si qui forte sit tardior, posse percipere
is-drummed-in if anyone by-chance is slower to-be-able to-grasp
 animo et memoria custodire; non quaeritur mobilitas
with-the-mind and in-memory to-keep not is-sought the-nimbleness
 linguae, non celeritas verborum, non denique ea,
of-the-tongue not the-quickness of-words not finally those-(things)
 quae nobis non possumus fingere, facies, vultus, sonus:

128 in oratore autem acumen dialecticorum, sententiae

in an-orator however the-acuteness of-logicians the-thoughts

philosophorum, verba prope poetarum, memoria iuris

of-philosophers the-words almost of-poets the-memory of-law

consultorum, vox tragoedorum, gestus paene summorum

of-the-learned the-voice of-tragic-actors the-gesture almost of-the-highest

actorum est requirendus; quam ob rem nihil in

actors is to-be-required which on-account-of thing nothing in

hominum genere rarius perfecto oratore inveniri potest;

of-men the-race rarer than-a-finished orator to-be-found is-able

quae enim, singularum rerum artifices singula si

which for of-single things the-practitioners single if

mediocriter adepti sunt, probantur, ea nisi omnia sunt
moderately gained have are-approved these unless all are
 in oratore summa, probari non possunt.’

in the-orator the-highest to-be-approved not they-can

Tum Crassus ‘atqui vide’ inquit ‘in artificio perquam
then Crassus and-yet see he-said in a-craft exceedingly
 tenui et levi quanto plus adhibeatur diligentiae, quam

slight and trifling how-much more is-applied of-care than

in hac re, quam constat esse maximam: saepe enim
in this thing which it-is-agreed to-be the-greatest often for
 soleo audire Roscium, cum ita dicat, se adhuc reperire

I-am-wont to-bear Roscius when so he-says himself hitherto to-find

discipulum, quem quidem probaret, potuisse neminem,
a-pupil whom indeed he-could-approve to-have-been-able no-one

non quo non essent quidam probabiles, sed quia, si
not because not there-were some passable but because if

aliquid modo esset viti, id ferre ipse non posset;
anything only there-was of-fault that to-bear he-himself not could

nihil est enim tam insigne nec tam ad diuturnitatem
nothing is for so conspicuous nor so for the-lastingness

memoriae stabile quam id, in quo aliquid offenderis.

of-memory fixed as that in which anything you-have-stumbled-at

Itaque ut ad hanc similitudinem huius histrionis oratoriam
and-so that to this likeness of-this actor the-oratorical

laudem dirigamus, videtisne quam nihil ab eo nisi perfecte,
merit we-may-direct do-you-see how nothing by him except perfectly

nihil nisi cum summa venustate fiat, nisi ita, ut deceat
nothing except with the-highest grace is-done except so that it-may-befit

et uti omnis moveat atque delectet? Itaque hoc iam diu
and that all he-may-move and he-may-delight and-so this now long

est consecutus, ut, in quo quisque artificio excelleret, is
he-has attained that in whatever each craft excelled he

in suo genere Roscius diceretur. Hanc ego absolutionem
in his-own kind a-Roscius was-called this I completeness
 perfectionemque in oratore desiderans, a qua ipse longe
and-perfection in an-orator desiring from which myself far
 absum, facio impudenter; mihi enim volo ignosci, ceteris
I-am-away I-act shamelessly to-me for I-wish to-be-pardoned to-others
 ipse non ignosco; nam qui non potest, qui vitiose facit,
I-myself not pardon for who not is-able who faultily does
 quem denique non decet, hunc, ut Apollonius iubebat,
whom finally not it-befits this-man as Apollonius bade
 ad id, quod facere possit, detrudendum puto.
to that which to-do he-may-be-able to-be-thrust-down I-think

- 131 'Num tu igitur' inquit Sulpicius 'me aut hunc Cottam ius
surely-not you therefore said Sulpicius me or this Cotta the-law
 civile aut rem militarem iubes discere? Nam quis ad ista
civil or the-thing military do-you-bid to-learn for who to those
 summa atque in omni genere perfecta potest pervenire?' Tum
highest and in every kind perfect is-able to-arrive then
 ille 'ego vero,' inquit 'quod in vobis egregiam quandam ac
be I indeed be-said because in you an-extraordinary a-certain and
 praeclaram indolem ad dicendum esse cognovi, idcirco haec
splendid natural-gift for speaking to-be I-have-recognized therefore these
 exposui omnia; nec magis ad eos deterrendos, qui non
I-have-set-out all and-not more for those to-be-deterred who not
 possent, quam ad vos, qui possetis, exacuendos accommodavi
were-able than for you who were-able to-be-sharpened I-have-fitted
 orationem meam; et quamquam in utroque vestrum summum
speech my and although in each of-you the-highest
 esse ingenium studiumque perspexi, tamen haec, quae
to-be talent and-zeal I-have-perceived still these which

sunt in specie posita, de quibus plura fortasse dixi,
are in appearance placed about which more perhaps I-have-said
 quam solent Graeci dicere, in te, Sulpici, divina sunt;
than are-wont the-Greeks to-say in you Sulpicius godlike they-are
 ego enim neminem nec motu corporis neque ipso 132
I for no-one neither in-the-movement of-the-body nor in-the-very
 habitu atque forma aptiorem nec voce pleniorē aut suaviorem
bearing and form more-fitted nor in-voice fuller or sweeter
 mihi videor audisse; quae quibus a natura minora
to-me I-seem to-have-heard which-(things) to-whom by nature smaller-(gifts)
 data sunt, tamen illud adsequi possunt, ut eis, quae
given have-been still that to-attain they-can that those-(things) which
 habent, modice et scienter utantur et ut ne dedeant.
they-have modestly and knowingly they-may-use and that not it-may-be-unbecoming
 Id enim est maxime vitandum et de hoc uno minime est
that for is chiefly to-be-avoided and about this one least it-is
 facile praecipere non mihi modo, qui sicut unus paterfamilias
easy to-give-rules not for-me only who like one head-of-a-household
 his de rebus loquor, sed etiam ipsi illi Roscio, quem
these about matters speak but even for-himself that Roscius whom
 saepe audio dicere caput esse artis decere, quod
often I-hear to-say the-chief-point to-be of-the-art to-be-becoming which
 tamen unum id esse, quod tradi arte non possit.
still the-one that to-be which to-be-taught by-art not can

Cotta asks not for the art but for Crassus' own practice. Crassus names first a burning love of the thing, then admits he learned the ordinary precepts like anybody else: that the orator's task is to speak so as to persuade; that a question is either general or fixed to persons and times; that a dispute turns on fact, on quality, on name, or on right; and that the whole falls into five parts.

- 133 Sed, si placet, sermonem alio transferamus et nostro
but if it-pleases the-talk elsewhere let-us-transfer and in-our
 more aliquando, non rhetorico, loquamur.' 'Minime vero,'
manner at-last not rhetorical let-us-speak by-no-means indeed
 inquit Cotta; 'nunc enim te iam exoremus necesse est,
said Cotta now for you already we-should-entreat necessary it-is
 quoniam retines nos in hoc studio nec ad aliam dimittis
since you-hold us in this pursuit and-not to another you-send-away
 artem, ut nobis explices, quicquid est istud, quod tu
art that to-us you-may-unfold whatever is that which you
 in dicendo potes; — neque enim sumus nimis avidi; ista
in speaking can nor for we-are too greedy that
 tua mediocri eloquentia contenti sumus — idque ex te
your middling with-eloquence content we-are and-that from you
 quaerimus, (ut ne plus nos adsequamur, quam quantulum
we-ask that not more we may-attain than how-little
 tu in dicendo adsecutus es), quoniam, quae a
you in speaking attained have since those-(things)-which from
 natura expetenda sunt, ea dicis non nimis deesse
nature to-be-sought are them you-say not too-much to-be-lacking
 nobis, quid praeterea esse adsumendum putes?
to-us what besides to-be to-be-taken-on you-think

Tum Crassus adridens 'quid censes,' inquit 'Cotta, nisi 134
then Crassus smiling what do-you-think he-said Cotta except
 studium et ardorem quendam amoris? sine quo cum
zeal and an-ardor a-certain of-love without which both
 in vita nihil quisquam egregium, tum certe hoc, quod
in life nothing anyone outstanding and certainly this which
 tu expetis, nemo umquam adsequetur. Neque vero vos ad
you seek no-one ever will-attain nor indeed you to
 eam rem video esse cohortandos, quos, cum mihi quoque
that thing I-see to-be to-be-exhorted whom since to-me also
 sitis molesti, nimis etiam flagrare intellego cupiditate.
you-are troublesome too even to-burn I-perceive with-desire
 Sed profecto studia nihil prosunt perveniendi aliquo, nisi illud, 135
but assuredly efforts nothing avail of-arriving somewhere unless that
 quod eo, quo intendas, ferat deducatque, cognoris. Qua
which thither whither you-aim carries and-leads you-have-learned for-which
 re quoniam mihi levius quoddam onus imponitis neque ex
reason since on-me a-lighter a-certain burden you-lay and-not from
 me de oratoris arte, sed de hac mea, quantulumcumque
me about of-the-orator the-art but about this my however-small
 est, facultate quaeritis, exponam vobis non quandam aut
it-is faculty you-ask I-shall-set-out to-you not a-certain either
 perreconditam aut valde difficilem aut magnificam aut gravem
very-abstruse or very difficult or grand or weighty
 rationem consuetudinis meae, qua quondam solitus sum
method of-the-practice my which once accustomed I-am
 uti, cum mihi in isto studio versari adulescenti licebat.'
to-use when to-me in that pursuit to-be-engaged as-a-young-man it-was-allowed
 Tum Sulpicius 'o diem, Cotta, nobis' inquit 'optatum! Quod 136
then Sulpicius o day Cotta for-us he-said longed-for which
 enim neque precibus umquam nec insidiando nec speculando
for neither by-entreaties ever nor by-lying-in-wait nor by-spying

adsequi potui, ut, quid Crassus ageret meditandi aut dicendi

to-attain I-was-able that what Crassus was-doing of-meditating or of-speaking

causa, non modo videre mihi, sed ex eius scriptore et lectore

for-the-sake not only to-see for-me but from his secretary and reader

Diphilo suspicari liceret, id spero nos esse adeptos

Diphilus to-guess it-might-be-allowed that I-hope us to-have attained

omniaque iam ex ipso, quae diu cupimus, cognituros.'

and-all-(things) now from himself which long we-have-desired going-to-learn

137 Tum Crassus 'atqui arbitror, Sulpici, cum audieris,

then Crassus and-yet I-think Sulpicius when you-shall-have-heard

non tam te haec admiraturum, quae dixero, quam

not so-much you these going-to-admire which I-shall-have-said as

existimaturum tum, cum ea audire cupiebas, causam cur

going-to-judge then when them to-hear you-were-desiring a-reason why

cuperes non fuisse; nihil enim dicam reconditum, nihil

you-desired not to-have-been nothing for I-shall-say abstruse nothing

exspectatione vestra dignum, nihil aut inauditum vobis

of-expectation your worthy nothing either unheard by-you

aut cuiquam novum. Nam principio, id quod est homine

or to-anyone new for at-the-outset that which is of-a-man

ingenuo liberaliterque educato dignum, non negabo me ista

free-born and-liberally educated worthy not I-shall-deny me those

omnium communia et contrita praecepta didicisse: primum

of-all common and worn precepts to-have-learned first

oratoris officium esse dicere ad persuadendum accommodare;

of-the-orator the-duty to-be to-speak for persuading suitably

138 deinde esse omnem orationem aut de infinitae rei

then to-be every speech either about of-an-indefinite matter

quaestione sine designatione personarum et temporum aut

the-question without the-marking-out of-persons and of-times or

de re certis in personis ac temporibus locata;

about a-matter fixed in persons and times placed

in utraque autem re quicquid in controversiam veniat, 139
in each however matter whatever into dispute comes
 in eo quaeri solere aut factumne sit aut, si est
in it to-be-asked to-be-wont either whether-done it-was or if it-has-been
 factum, quale sit aut etiam quo nomine vocetur aut,
done of-what-kind it-is or even by-what name it-is-called or
 quod non nulli addunt, rectene factum esse videatur;
which not none add whether-rightly done to-have-been it-seems
 existere autem controversias etiam ex scripti interpretatione, 140
to-arise however disputes even from of-a-writing the-interpretation
 in quo aut ambigue quid sit scriptum aut contrarie
in which either ambiguously something has-been written or contradictorily
 aut ita, ut a sententia scriptura dissentiat; his autem
or so that from the-intention the-wording may-differ to-these however
 omnibus partibus subiecta quaedam esse argumenta propria.
all parts underlying certain to-be arguments proper
 Sed causarum, quae sint a communi quaestione seiunctae, 141
but of-cases which are from the-general question separated
 partim in iudiciis versari, partim in deliberationibus; esse
partly in the-courts to-be-engaged partly in deliberations to-be
 etiam genus tertium, quod in laudandis aut vituperandis
also a-kind third which in praising or blaming
 hominibus poneretur; certosque esse locos, quibus in
men was-placed and-fixed to-be topics which in
 iudiciis uteremur, in quibus aequitas quaereretur; alios in
the-courts we-might-use in which equity was-sought others in
 deliberationibus, quae omnes ad utilitatem dirigerentur eorum
deliberations which all to advantage were-directed of-those
 quibus consilium daremus; alios item in laudationibus,
to-whom counsel we-were-giving others likewise in panegyrics
 in quibus ad personarum dignitatem omnia referrentur;
in which to of-the-persons the-worth all-(things) were-referred

- 142 *cumque esset omnis oratoris vis ac facultas in quinque*
and-since was all of-the-orator the-force and faculty into five
partis distributa, ut deberet reperire primum quid diceret,
parts distributed so-that he-ought to-find first what he-might-say
deinde inventa non solum ordine, sed etiam momento
then the-things-found not only in-order but even with-weight
quodam atque iudicio dispensare atque componere; tum
a-certain and judgment to-dispose and to-arrange then
ea denique vestire atque ornare oratione; post memoria
them finally to-clothe and to-adorn with-speech afterward by-memory
saepire; ad extremum agere cum dignitate ac venustate.
to-hedge at the-end to-deliver with dignity and grace

I.18 • THE PEN IS THE BEST TEACHER

Crassus had learned the order of a speech as well, and the four virtues of style, and he will not pretend the handbooks are useless. But eloquence was not born from the art; the art was gathered from what eloquent men did of their own accord. What matters is exercise, and the greatest is the one most people shirk: to write, and write much. The pen is the best maker and master of speech.

- 143 *Etiam illa cognoram et acceperam, ante quam de*
also those I-had-learned and I-had-received before than about
re diceremus, initio conciliandos eorum esse
the-matter we-spoke at-the-outset to-be-won of-those to-be
animos, qui audirent; deinde rem demonstrandam;
the-minds who were-hearing then the-matter to-be-set-out
postea controversiam constituendam; tum id, quod nos
afterward the-issue to-be-established then that which we
intenderemus, confirmandum; post, quae contra dicerentur,
were-aiming-at to-be-confirmed after what against were-said

refellenda; extrema autem oratione ea, quae pro
to-be-refuted at-the-last however in-the-speech those-(things) which for
 nobis essent, amplificanda et augenda, quaeque essent pro
us were to-be-amplified and to-be-enlarged and-what were for
 adversariis, infirmanda atque frangenda.

the-adversaries to-be-weakened and to-be-broken

Audieram etiam quae de orationis ipsius ornamentis 144

I-had-beard also what about of-the-speech itself the-ornaments

traderentur, in qua praecipitur primum, ut pure et Latine

were-taught in which it-is-prescribed first that purely and in-Latin

loquamur, deinde ut plane et dilucide, tum ut ornate,

we-should-speak then that plainly and clearly then that elegantly

post ad rerum dignitatem apte et quasi decore;

afterward to of-the-matters the-dignity fitly and as-it-were becomingly

singularumque rerum praecepta cognoram.

and-of-single matters the-precepts I-had-learned

Quin etiam, quae maxime propria essent naturae, tamen 145

may even what most proper were of-nature still

his ipsis artem adhiberi videram; nam de actione et

to-these very art to-be-applied I-had-seen for about delivery and

de memoria quaedam brevia, sed magna cum exercitatione

about memory certain brief but great with practice

praecepta gustaram. In his enim fere rebus omnis istorum

precepts I-had-tasted in these for almost matters all of-those

artificum doctrina versatur, quam ego si nihil dicam adiuvare,

of-craftsmen the-learning is-engaged which I if nothing I-should-say to-help

mentiar; habet enim quaedam quasi ad commonendum

I-should-lie it-has for certain-(things) as-it-were for reminding

oratorem, quo quidque referat et quo intuens ab

the-orator whither each-thing he-should-refer and toward-which looking from

eo, quodcumque sibi proposuerit, minus aberret.

that whatever for-himself he-shall-have-set-out less he-may-stray

- 146 Verum ego hanc vim intellego esse in praeceptis omnibus, non
but I this force I-understand to-be in precepts all not
 ut ea secuti oratores eloquentiae laudem sint adepti, sed,
that them having-followed orators of-eloquence the-praise have gained but
 quae sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam
what of-their-own accord men eloquent did those certain-men
 observasse atque collegisse; sic esse non eloquentiam ex
to-have-observed and to-have-collected so to-be not eloquence from
 artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natum; quod tamen, ut
craft but craft from eloquence born which still as
 ante dixi, non eicio; est enim, etiam si minus necessarium
before I-said not I-cast-out it-is for even if less necessary
 ad bene dicendum, tamen ad cognoscendum non inliberale;
for well speaking still for learning not illiberal
- 147 et exercitatio quaedam suscipienda vobis est; quamquam
and practice a-certain to-be-undertaken by-you is although
 vos quidem iam pridem estis in cursu: sed eis, qui
you indeed now long-since are in the-course but for-those who
 ingrediuntur in stadium, quique ea, quae agenda
enter into the-race-track and-who those-(things) which to-be-done
 sunt in foro tamquam in acie, possunt etiam nunc
are in the-forum as-if in the-battle-line are-able even now
 exercitatione quasi ludicra praediscere ac meditari.
by-practice as-it-were playful to-learn-beforehand and to-rehearse
- 148 'Hanc ipsam' inquit Sulpicius 'nosse volumus; ac tamen ista,
this very-(thing) said Sulpicius to-know we-wish and still those
 quae abs te breviter de arte decursa sunt, audire cupimus,
which by you briefly about the-art run-through have-been to-bear we-desire
 quamquam sunt nobis quoque non inaudita; verum illa
although are to-us also not unheard but those
 mox; nunc de ipsa exercitatione quid sentias quaerimus.'
presently now about the-very practice what you-think we-ask

'Equidem probo ista,' Crassus inquit 'quae vos facere 149
for-my-part I-approve those Crassus said which you to-do
 soletis, ut, causa aliqua posita consimili causarum
are-wont that a-case some having-been-set very-like of-the-cases
 earum, quae in forum deferuntur, dicatis quam maxime
those which into the-forum are-brought you-speak as most
 ad veritatem accommodate; sed plerique in hoc vocem
to truth suitably but most in this the-voice
 modo, neque eam scienter, et viris exercent suas
only and-not it knowingly both the-strength exercise their-own
 et linguae celeritatem incitant verborumque frequentia
and of-the-tongue the-quickiness they-urge-on and-of-words in-the-abundance
 delectantur; in quo fallit eos, quod audierunt, dicendo
they-delight in which deceives them that they-have-heard by-speaking
 homines, ut dicant, efficere solere;
men that they-may-speak to-bring-about to-be-wont
 vere enim etiam illud dicitur, perverse dicere homines 150
truly for also that is-said perversely to-speak men
 perverse dicendo facillime consequi. Quam ob rem
perversely by-speaking most-easily to-achieve which on-account-of thing
 in istis ipsis exercitationibus, etsi utile est etiam subito
in those very exercises although useful it-is even suddenly
 saepe dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad
often to-speak still that more-useful when-taken time for
 cogitandum paratius atque accuratius dicere. Caput
thinking more-preparedly and more-carefully to-speak the-chief-point
 autem est, quod, ut vere dicam, minime facimus (est enim
however is which that truly I-may-say least we-do it-is for
 magni laboris, quem plerique fugimus), quam plurimum
of-great toil which most we-flee as much-as-possible
 scribere. Stilus optimus et praestantissimus dicendi effector
to-write the-pen the-best and the-most-excellent of-speaking maker

ac magister; neque iniuria; nam si subitam et fortuitam
and master nor unjustly for if a-sudden and a-chance
 orationem commentatio et cogitatio facile vincit, hanc
speech premeditation and reflection easily surpasses this
 ipsam profecto adsidua ac diligens scriptura superabit.
very assuredly constant and careful writing will-surpass

- 151 Omnes enim, sive artis sunt loci sive ingeni cuiusdam ac
all for whether of-art they-are topics or of-talent a-certain and
 prudentiae, qui modo insunt in ea re, de qua scribimus,
of-practical-wisdom which only are-in in that matter about which we-write
 anquirentibus nobis omnique acie ingeni contemplantibus
to-(us)-searching to-us and-with-the-whole edge of-talent to-(us)-surveying
 ostendunt se et occurrunt; omnesque sententiae verbaque
show themselves and meet-(us) and-all thoughts and-words
 omnia, quae sunt cuiusque generis maxime inlustrata, sub
all which are of-each kind most brilliant under
 acumen stili subeant et succedant necesse est; tum ipsa
the-point of-the-pen come and follow necessary it-is then the-very
 conlocatio conformatioque verborum perficitur in scribendo,
placing and-shaping of-words is-perfected in writing
 non poetico, sed quodam oratorio numero et modo.
not by-a-poetic but by-a-certain oratorical rhythm and measure

Writing gives even an improvised speech the finish of a written one, as a ship keeps its way when the oars stop. Crassus gave up paraphrasing Ennius and Gracchus, who had taken the best words, and turned Greek orations into Latin. Voice and gesture want labor more than art; memory wants drill. Then the poets, the histories, the civil law, and a sprinkling of wit. Cotta, who glimpsed the riches through their wrappings, is told to ask Crassus to unpack them.

Haec sunt, quae clamores et admirationes in bonis 152
these are which shouts and admirations in good
 oratoribus efficiunt; neque ea quisquam, nisi diu multumque
orators produce nor them anyone unless long and-much
 scriptitarit, etiam si vehementissime se in his
shall-have-written-repeatedly even if most-vehemently himself in these
 subitis dictionibus exercuerit, consequetur; et qui a
sudden utterances shall-have-exercised will-attain and who from
 scribendi consuetudine ad dicendum venit, hanc adfert
of-writing the-habit to speaking comes this brings
 facultatem, ut, etiam subito si dicat, tamen illa, quae
faculty that even suddenly if he-speaks still those-(things) which
 dicantur, similia scriptorum esse videantur; atque etiam, si
are-said like of-written-(words) to-be may-seem and even if
 quando in dicendo scriptum attulerit aliquid, cum
ever in speaking a-written-(piece) he-shall-have-brought something when
 ab eo discesserit, reliqua similis oratio consequetur;
from it he-shall-have-departed the-remaining like speech will-follow
 ut concitato navigio, cum remiges inhibuerunt, retinet 153
as in-a-driven ship when the-rowers have-checked-(their-oars) keeps
 tamen ipsa navis motum et cursum suum intermisso
still the-very ship the-motion and the-course its-own when-broken-off
 impetu pulsuque remorum, sic in oratione perpetua, cum
the-drive and-the-beat of-the-oars so in speech continuous when

scripta deficiunt, parem tamen obtinet oratio reliqua

written-(words) fail an-equal still holds the-speech remaining

cursum scriptorum similitudine et vi concitata.

course of-the-written-(words) by-the-likeness and by-the-force driven

154 In cotidianis autem commentationibus equidem mihi

in daily however meditations for-my-part to-myself

adulescentulus proponere solebam illam exercitationem maxime,

as-a-young-man to-set I-was-wont that exercise chiefly

qua C. Carbonem nostrum illum inimicum solitum esse uti

which Gaius Carbo our that enemy accustomed to-be to-use

sciebam, ut aut versibus propositis quam maxime gravibus

I-knew that either when-verses had-been-set as most weighty

aut oratione aliqua lecta ad eum finem, quem memoria

or a-speech some having-been-read up-to that point which in-memory

possem comprehendere, eam rem ipsam, quam legissem,

I-could to-embrace that matter itself which I-had-read

verbis aliis quam maxime possem lectis, pronuntiarem; sed

in-words other as most I-could chosen I-should-deliver but

post animadverti hoc esse in hoc viti, quod ea verba,

afterward I-noticed this to-be in this of-fault that those words

quae maxime cuiusque rei propria quaeque essent ornatissima

which most of-each thing proper and-which were the-most-elegant

atque optima, occupasset aut Ennius, si ad eius versus me

and the-best had-seized-first either Ennius if to his verses myself

excercerem, aut Gracchus, si eius orationem mihi forte

I-trained or Gracchus if his speech to-myself by-chance

proposuissem: ita, si eisdem verbis uterer, nihil prodesse; si

I-had-set so if with-the-same words I-used nothing to-profit if

aliis, etiam obesse, cum minus idoneis uti consuescerem.

with-others even to-binder since less suitable to-use I-grew-accustomed

Postea mihi placuit, eoque sum usus adulescens, ut 155
afterward to-me it-pleased and-that I-have used as-a-young-man that
 summorum oratorum Graecas orationes explicarem, quibus
of-the-highest orators Greek speeches I-should-unfold which
 lectis hoc adsequer, ut, cum ea, quae legeram
when-read this I-was-attaining that when those-(things) which I-had-read
 Graece, Latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer
in-Greek in-Latin I-rendered not only the-best words I-should-use
 et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quaedam verba
and still customary but even I-should-express certain words
 imitando, quae nova nostris essent, dum modo essent idonea.
by-imitating which new to-ours were provided only they-were suitable
 Iam vocis et spiritus et totius corporis et ipsius 156
now of-the-voice and of-the-breath and of-the-whole body and of-the-very
 linguae motus et exercitationes non tam artis indigent
tongue the-movements and the-exercises not so-much of-art need
 quam laboris; quibus in rebus habenda est ratio diligenter,
as of-toil which in matters to-be-had is account carefully
 quos imitemur, quorum similes velimus esse. Intuendi
whom we-should-imitate of-whom like we-should-wish to-be to-be-watched
 nobis sunt non solum oratores, sed etiam actores, ne
by-us are not only orators but even actors lest
 mala consuetudine ad aliquam deformitatem pravitatemque
by-a-bad habit into some deformity and-distortion
 veniamus.

we-come
 Exercenda est etiam memoria ediscendis ad verbum 157
to-be-exercised is also the-memory by-learning-by-heart to the-word
 quam plurimis et nostris scriptis et alienis; atque in ea
as most-many both our writings and others' and in that
 exercitatione non sane mihi displicet adhibere, si consueris,
exercise not indeed to-me it-displeases to-employ if you-have-grown-used

etiam istam locorum simulacrorumque rationem, quae in arte
even that of-places and-of-images method which in the-art
 traditur. Educenda deinde dictio est ex hac domestica
is-handed-down to-be-led-out then the-utterance is from this domestic
 exercitatione et umbratili medium in agmen, in pulverem,
exercise and shady the-midst into the-column into the-dust
 in clamorem, in castra atque in aciem forensem;
into the-shouting into the-camp and into the-battle-line forensic
 subeundus visus hominum et periclitandae vires ingeni,
to-be-undergone the-gaze of-men and to-be-tested the-strength of-talent
 et illa commentatio inclusa in veritatis lucem proferenda est.
and that meditation shut-up into of-truth the-light to-be-brought is

158 Legendi etiam poetae, cognoscendae historiae, omnium
to-be-read also the-poets to-be-learned the-histories of-all
 bonarum artium doctores atque scriptores eligendi et
good arts the-teachers and the-writers to-be-chosen and
 pervolutandi et exercitationis causa laudandi, interpretandi,
to-be-read-through and of-practice for-the-sake to-be-praised to-be-interpreted
 corrigendi, vituperandi; disputandumque de omni re
to-be-corrected to-be-blamed and-to-be-argued about every matter
 in contrarias partis et, quicquid erit in quaque re,
on opposite sides and whatever there-shall-be in each matter
 quod probabile videri possit, eliciendum;
which plausible to-seem may-be-able to-be-drawn-out

159 perdiscendum ius civile, cognoscendae leges, percipienda
to-be-learned-thoroughly the-law civil to-be-learned the-laws to-be-mastered
 omnis antiquitas, senatoria consuetudo, disciplina rei
all antiquity senatorial usage the-discipline of-the-thing
 publicae, iura sociorum, foedera, pactiones, causa imperi
public the-rights of-allies treaties compacts the-ground of-empire
 cognoscenda est; libandus est etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis
to-be-learned is to-be-sipped is also from every kind of-urbanity

facetiarum quidam lepos, quo tamquam sale perspergatur
of-wit a-certain charm by-which as-if with-salt may-be-sprinkled

omnis oratio. Effudi vobis omnia quae sentiebam,
all speech I-have-poured-out to-you all-(things) which I-was-thinking
 quae fortasse, quemcumque patremfamilias adripuissetis ex
which perhaps whatever head-of-a-household you-had-seized from
 aliquo circulo, eadem vobis percontantibus respondisset.

some group the-same to-you inquiring would-have-answered
 Haec cum Crassus dixisset, silentium est consecutum; sed 160

these when Crassus had-said silence has followed but
 quamquam satis eis, qui aderant, ad id, quod erat
although enough to-those who were-present for that which was
 propositum, dictum videbatur, tamen sentiebant celerius
proposed said it-seemed still they-were-feeling more-quickly

esse multo quam ipsi vellent ab eo peroratum. Tum
to-be much than themselves would-wish by him ended then
 Scaevola 'quid est, Cotta?' inquit 'quid tacetis? Nihilne vobis

Scaevola what is-it Cotta he-said why are-you-silent nothing to-you
 in mentem venit, quod praeterea ab Crasso requiratis?'
into mind comes which besides from Crassus you-may-require

'Id me hercule' inquit 'ipsum attendo: tantus enim 161

that by Hercules he-said very-(thing) I-am-attending-to so-great for
 cursus verborum fuit et sic evolavit oratio, ut eius vim et
a-rush of-words there-was and so flew-forth the-speech that its force and
 incitationem aspexerim, vestigia ingressumque vix viderim,
impetus I-glimpsed the-traces and-the-tread scarcely I-saw

et tamquam in aliquam locupletem ac refertam domum
and as-if into some rich and crammed house

venerim, non explicata veste neque proposito argento
I-came not unfolded the-clothing nor set-out the-silver

neque tabulis et signis propalam conlocatis, sed his
nor the-pictures and the-statues openly placed but these

omnibus multis magnificisque rebus constructis ac reconditis;
all many and-magnificent things built-up and stored-away
 sic modo in oratione Crassi divitias atque ornamenta eius
so just-now in the-speech of-Crassus the-riches and the-ornaments of-his
 ingeni per quaedam involucra atque integumenta perspexi,
talent through certain wrappings and coverings I-glimpsed
 sed ea contemplari cum cuperem, vix aspiciendi potestas
but them to-contemplate although I-desired scarcely of-looking the-power
 fuit; itaque nec hoc possum dicere, me omnino ignorare,
there-was and-so neither this I-can to-say myself altogether not-to-know
 quid possideat, neque plane nosse atque vidisse.’

what he-possesses nor plainly to-know and to-have-seen

- 162 ‘Quin tu igitur facis idem,’ inquit Scaevola ‘quod faceres,
why-not you therefore do-you-do the-same said Scaevola which you-would-do
 si in aliquam domum plenam ornamentorum villamve
if into some house full of-ornaments or-a-country-house
 venisses? Si ea seposita, ut dicis, essent, tu, qui valde
you-had-come if they stored-away as you-say were you who greatly
 spectandi cupidus esses, non dubitares rogare dominum,
of-viewing desirous were not you-would-hesitate to-ask the-master
 ut proferri iuberet, praesertim si esset familiaris:
that to-be-brought-out he-should-order especially if he-were a-friend
 similiter nunc petes a Crasso, ut illam copiam
likewise now you-will-ask from Crassus that that store
 ornamentorum suorum, quam constructam uno in loco
of-ornaments his-own which built-up one in place
 quasi per transennam praetereuntes strictim aspeximus,
as-if through a-lattice as-we-passed-by cursorily we-glimpsed
 in lucem proferat et suo quidque in loco conlocet.’
into the-light he-may-bring and in-its each-thing in place he-may-place

Cotta asks Scaevola to make Crassus unfold what he had packed so tightly, and Scaevola joins the request. Crassus answers out of the courts: Hypsaeus pleading at length for leave to lose his case, Octavius resisting at equal length to stop him, and a fluent man lately asking for an exception that was framed to serve the other side. Their eloquence was not wanting. Their knowledge of the civil law was.

‘Ego vero’ inquit Cotta ‘a te peto, Scaevola: — me enim et 163

I indeed said Cotta from you ask Scaevola me for and

hunc Sulpicius impedit pudor ab homine omnium gravissimo,

this Sulpicius holds-back shame from a-man of-all the-weightiest

qui genus huius modi disputationis semper contempserit,

who a-kind of-this sort of-discussion always has-despised

haec, quae isti forsitan puerorum elementa videantur,

these which to-him perhaps of-boys the-rudiments may-seem

exquirere: — sed tu hanc nobis veniam, Scaevola, da, et

to-look-out but you this to-us indulgence Scaevola give and

perficere, ut Crassus haec, quae coartavit et peranguste

bring-it-about that Crassus these which be-compressed and very-narrowly

refersit in oratione sua, dilatet nobis atque explicet.’

crammed in speech his-own may-widen for-us and may-unfold

‘Ego me hercule’ inquit Mucius ‘antea vestra magis hoc 164

I by Hercules said Mucius before for-your rather this

causa volebam, quam mea; neque enim tanto opere

for-sake wished than for-my-own nor for so-great with-effort

hanc a Crasso disputationem desiderabam, quanto opere

this from Crassus discussion I-was-desiring as-great with-effort

eius in causis oratione delector; nunc vero, Crasse,

by-his in cases speech I-am-delighted now indeed Crassus

mea quoque te iam causa rogo, ut, quoniam tantum

for-my also you now for-sake I-ask that since so-much

habemus oti, quantum iam diu nobis non contigit, ne
we-have of-leisure as-much now long to-us not has-fallen not
 graveris exaedificare id opus, quod instituisti: formam
you-may-be-reluctant to-build-out that work which you-have-begun the-shape
 enim totius negoti opinione meliorem maioremque
for of-the-whole undertaking than-expectation better and-greater
 video, quam vehementer probo.’

I-see which strongly I-approve

- 165 ‘Enimvero’ inquit Crassus ‘mirari satis non queo etiam te
truly-indeed said Crassus to-wonder enough not I-am-able even you
 haec, Scaevola, desiderare, quae neque ego ita teneo, uti ei,
these Scaevola to-desire which neither I so hold as those
 qui docent, neque sunt eius generis, ut, si optime tenerem,
who teach nor are of-that kind that if best I-held
 digna essent ista sapientia ac tuis auribus.’ ‘Ain tu?’
worthy they-would-be of-that wisdom and of-your ears do-you-say-so you
 inquit ille: ‘si de istis communibus et pervagatis vix huic
said be if about those common and widespread scarcely for-this
 aetati audiendum putas, etiamne illa neglegere possumus, quae
age to-be-heard you-think even those to-neglect can-we which
 tu oratori cognoscenda esse dixisti, de naturis hominum,
you for-the-orator to-be-learned to-be have-said about the-natures of-men
 de moribus, de rationibus eis, quibus hominum mentes et
about characters about the-methods those by-which of-men the-minds both
 incitarentur et reprimerentur, de historia, de antiquitate,
might-be-roused and might-be-checked about history about antiquity
 de administratione rei publicae, denique de nostro
about the-administration of-the-thing public finally about our
 ipso iure civili? Hanc enim ego omnem scientiam et copiam
very law civil this for I all knowledge and store

rerum in tua prudentia sciebam inesse; in oratoris vero
of-things in your practical-wisdom I-knew to-be-in in of-the-orator indeed
 instrumento tam lautam suppellectilem numquam videram.’

the-equipment so splendid furniture never I-had-seen

‘Potes igitur,’ inquit Crassus ‘ut alia omittam

166

can-you therefore said Crassus that other-(things) I-may-omit

innumerabilia et immensa et ad ipsum tuum ius civile

countless and immeasurable and to the-very your-own law civil

veniam, oratores putare eos, quos multas horas exspectavit,

I-may-come orators to-think those whom many hours he-awaited

cum in campum properaret, et ridens et stomachans

when to the-field he-was-hurrying both laughing and fuming

P. Scaevola, cum Hypsaeus maxima voce, plurimis

Publius Scaevola when Hypsaeus with-the-loudest voice with-very-many

verbis a M. Crasso praetore contenderet, ut ei,

words from Marcus Crassus the-praetor was-contending that to-him

quem defendebat, causa cadere liceret, Cn. autem

whom he-was-defending the-case to-lose it-might-be-allowed Gnaeus however

Octavius, homo consularis, non minus longa oratione

Octavius a-man of-consular-rank not less with-a-long speech

recusaret, ne adversarius causa caderet ac ne is, pro quo

was-objecting lest the-adversary the-case should-lose and lest he for whom

ipse diceret, turpi tutelae iudicio atque omni

he-himself was-speaking from-a-disgraceful of-guardianship judgment and from-all

molestia stultitia adversarii liberaretur?’

trouble by-the-folly of-(his)-adversary should-be-freed

‘Ego vero istos,’ inquit — ‘memini enim mihi narrare

167

I indeed those he-said I-remember for to-me to-relate

Mucium — non modo oratoris nomine sed ne foro

Mucius not only of-an-orator of-the-name but not of-the-forum

quidem dignos vix putarim.’ ‘Atqui non defuit illis

even worthy scarcely I-should-think and-yet not was-lacking to-those

patronis' inquit Crassus 'eloquentia neque dicendi ratio aut
advocates said Crassus eloquence nor of-speaking method or
 copia, sed iuris civilis scientia: quod alter plus lege
fullness but of-the-law civil the-knowledge because the-one more by-the-law
 agendo petebat, quam quantum lex in XII tabulis
in-proceeding was-claiming than as-much-as the-law in the-Twelve Tables
 permiserat, quod cum impetrasset, causa caderet; alter
had-allowed which when he-had-obtained the-case he-would-lose the-other
 iniquum putabat plus secum agi, quam quod erat
unfair thought more with-himself to-be-done than what was
 in actione; neque intellegebat, si ita esset actum, litem
in the-action nor he-understood if so it-were done the-suit
 adversarium perditurum.

the-adversary going-to-lose

- 168 Quid? in his paucis diebus nonne nobis in tribunali
what in these few days surely us on the-tribunal
 Q. Pompei praetoris urbani familiaris nostri sedentibus
of-Quintus Pompeius the-praetor city friend our as-we-sat
 homo ex numero disertorum postulabat, ut illi, unde
a-man from the-number of-the-eloquent was-demanding that to-him from-whom
 peteretur, vetus atque usitata exceptio daretur cuius
it-was-claimed the-old and customary exception should-be-given of-which
 pecuniae dies fuisset? quod petitoris causa comparatum
of-the-money the-day had-been which of-the-claimant for-the-sake devised
 esse non intellegebat, ut, si ille infitiator probasset
to-have-been not he-understood that if that denier had-proved
 iudici ante petitam esse pecuniam, quam esset
to-the-judge before claimed to-have-been the-money than it-had-been
 coepta deberi, petitor rursus cum peteret, ne exceptione
begun to-be-owed the-claimant again when he-claimed lest by-the-exception
 excluderetur, quod ea res in iudicium ante venisset.
he-should-be-shut-out because that matter into court before had-come

Quid ergo hoc fieri turpius aut dici potest, quam 169
what then than-this to-be-done more-shameful or to-be-said is-possible than
 eum, qui hanc personam susceperit, ut amicorum controversias
him who this part has-undertaken that of-friends the-disputes
 causasque tueatur, laborantibus succurrat, aegris medeatur,
and-cases he-may-protect the-struggling he-may-succor the-sick he-may-heal
 adflictos excitet, hunc in minimis tenuissimis rebus ita
the-stricken he-may-raise this-man in the-smallest and-slightest matters so
 labi, ut aliis miserandus, aliis inridendus esse videatur?
to-slip that to-some to-be-pitied to-others to-be-laughed-at to-be he-may-seem

I.21 · THE IMPUDENCE OF NOT KNOWING

Publius Crassus would take no case before he had learned the law, and told his brother Scaevola that a jurist falls short without fluency; Cato was at once his day's greatest speaker and best lawyer. Antonius, armed otherwise, Crassus excepts; the rest he condemns for idleness and then effrontery, a man who cannot row a skiff claiming to steer a quinquereme. Nor are such cases small: a soldier's inheritance, the Marcelli's claim, Orata's house all turned on the law.

Equidem propinquum nostrum P. Crassum cum multis 170
for-my-part kinsman our Publius Crassus not-only in-many
 aliis rebus elegantem hominem et ornatum tum praecipue
other things a-refined man and accomplished but chiefly
 in hoc efferendum et laudandum puto, quod, cum P.
in this to-be-extolled and to-be-praised I-think because when of-Publius
 Scaevolae frater esset, solitus est ei persaepe dicere neque
Scaevola the-brother he-was accustomed he-is to-him very-often to-say neither
 illum in iure civili satis facere posse, nisi dicendi copiam
him in the-law civil enough to-do to-be-able unless of-speaking the-fullness
 adumpsisset — quod quidem hic, qui mecum consul fuit,
he-had-taken-on which indeed this-man who with-me consul was

filius eius est consecutus — neque se ante causas amicorum

the-son of-him has attained nor himself before the-cases of-friends

tractare atque agere coepisse, quam ius civile didicisset.

to-handle and to-conduct to-have-begun than the-law civil he-had-learned

171 Quid vero ille Cato? Nonne et eloquentia tanta fuit,

what indeed that Cato surely both of-eloquence so-great he-was

quantam illa tempora atque illa aetas in hac civitate ferre

as-great those times and that age in this state to-bear

maximam potuit, et iuris civilis omnium peritissimus?

the-greatest could and of-the-law civil of-all the-most-skilled

Verecundius hac de re iam dudum loquor, quod adest

more-modestly this about matter now for-a-while I-speak because is-present

vir in dicendo summus, quem ego unum oratorem maxime

a-man in speaking the-highest whom I alone as-an-orator most

admiror; sed tamen idem hoc semper ius civile contempsit.

I-admire but still the-same this always the-law civil has-despised

172 Verum, quoniam sententiae atque opinionis meae voluistis

but since of-the-thought and of-the-opinion my you-have-wished

esse participes, nihil occultabo et, quoad potero, vobis

to-be sharers nothing I-shall-hide and as-far-as I-shall-be-able to-you

exponam, quid de quaque re sentiam. Antoni incredibilis

I-shall-set-out what about each matter I-think of-Antonius an-incredible

quaedam et prope singularis et divina vis ingeni videtur,

a-certain and almost singular and divine force of-talent seems

etiam si hac scientia iuris nudata sit, posse se facile

even if of-this knowledge of-law stripped it-is to-be-able itself easily

ceteris armis prudentiae tueri atque defendere; quam

by-the-other arms of-practical-wisdom to-guard and to-defend which

ob rem hic nobis sit exceptus; ceteros vero

on-account-of thing this-man by-us let-him-be excepted the-others indeed

non dubitabo primum inertiae condemnare sententia
not I-shall-hesitate first of-idleness to-condemn by-the-judgment

mea, post etiam impudentiae;

my afterward even of-shamelessness

nam volitare in foro, haerere in iure ac praetorum

173

for to-flit in the-forum to-hang in the-court and of-the-praetors

tribunalibus, iudicia privata magnarum rerum obire,

at-the-tribunals suits private of-great matters to-undertake

in quibus saepe non de facto, sed de aequitate ac

in which often not about the-fact but about equity and

iure certetur, iactare se in causis centumviralibus, in

law it-is-contested to-throw oneself in cases centumviral in

quibus usucapionum, tutelarum, gentilitatum, agnationum,

which of-usucapions of-guardianships of-clan-rights of-agnations

adluvionum, circumluvionum, nexorum, mancipiorum,

of-alluvions of-circumlutions of-bonds of-conveyances

parietum, luminum, stillicidiorum, testamentorum ruptorum

of-walls of-lights of-eaves-drippings of-wills broken

aut ratorum, ceterarumque rerum innumerabilium iura

or valid and-of-the-other things countless the-laws

versentur, cum omnino, quid suum, quid alienum, qua

are-handled although at-all what one's-own what another's for-what

re denique civis aut peregrinus, servus aut liber

reason finally a-citizen or a-foreigner a-slave or free

quispiam sit, ignoret, insignis est impudentiae.

anyone is he-does-not-know of-conspicuous it-is shamelessness

Illa vero deridenda adrogantia est, in minoribus navigiis

174

that indeed to-be-laughed-at arrogance is in smaller boats

rudem esse se confiteri, quinquereimis autem aut etiam

unskilled to-be oneself to-confess quinquereimis however or even

maiores gubernare didicisse. Tu mihi cum in circulo

larger to-steer to-have-learned you to-me since in a-gathering

decipiare adversari stipulatiuncula et cum obsignes
you-are-tricked of-(your)-opponent by-a-petty-stipulation and since you-seal
 tabellas clientis tui, quibus in tabellis id sit scriptum,
the-tablets of-a-client your which in tablets that has-been written
 quo ille capiatur, ego tibi ullam causam maiorem
by-which he may-be-caught I to-you any case greater
 committendam putem? Citius hercule is, qui duorum
to-be-entrusted should-think sooner by-Hercules he who of-two
 scalmorum naviculam in portu everterit, in Euxino ponto
thole-pins a-little-boat in harbor has-upset in the-Euxine sea
 Argonautarum navem gubernarit.
of-the-Argonauts the-ship would-steer

- 175 Quid? si ne parvae quidem causae sunt, sed saepe maximae,
what if not small even cases are but often the-greatest
 in quibus certatur de iure civili, quod tandem os
in which it-is-contested about the-law civil what pray effrontery
 est eius patroni, qui ad eas causas sine ulla scientia iuris
is of-that advocate who to those cases without any knowledge of-law
 audet accedere? Quae potuit igitur esse causa maior, quam
dares to-approach which could therefore to-be a-case greater than
 illius militis? de cuius morte cum domum falsus ab
that of-the-soldier about whose death when home a-false from
 exercitu nuntius venisset et pater eius re credita
the-army message had-come and the-father of-him the-thing having-been-believed
 testamentum mutasset et, quem ei visum esset, fecisset
the-will had-changed and whom to-him seemed-good it-had he-had-made
 heredem essetque ipse mortuus, res delata est ad
heir and-had-been himself dead the-matter brought was to
 centumviros, cum miles domum revenisset egissetque lege
the-centumvirs when the-soldier home had-returned and-had-proceeded by-law
 in hereditatem paternam testamento exheres filius. In ea
for the-inheritance paternal by-the-will disinherited the-son in that

causa quaesitum est de iure civili, possetne paternorum
case asked was about the-law civil whether-he-could of-(his)-father's
 bonorum exheres esse filius, quem pater testamento neque
goods disinherited to-be the-son whom the-father in-the-will neither
 heredem neque exheredem scripsisset nominatim.

beir nor disinherited had-written by-name

Quid? qua de re inter Marcellos et Claudios patricos 176

what which about matter between the-Marcelli and the-Claudii patrician
 centumviri iudicarunt, cum Marcelli ab liberti filio
the-centumvirs judged when the-Marcelli from of-a-freedman the-son
 stirpe, Claudii patricii eiusdem hominis hereditatem gente
by-descent the-Claudii patrician of-the-same man the-inheritance by-clan
 ad se redisse dicerent, nonne in ea causa fuit

to themselves to-have-returned were-saying surely in that case was
 oratoribus de toto stirpis et gentilitatis iure dicendum?
for-the-orators about the-whole of-descent and of-clan-right the-law to-be-spoken

Quid? quod item in centumvirali iudicio certatum esse 177

what that likewise in a-centumviral trial contested to-have-been
 accepimus, cum Romam in exilium venisset, cui Romae
we-have-heard when to-Rome into exile he-had-come to-whom at-Rome
 exsulare ius esset, si se ad aliquem quasi patronum
to-be-in-exile the-right was if himself to someone as-if a-patron
 applicavisset, intestatoque esset mortuus, nonne in ea causa

he-had-attached and-intestate he-had died surely in that case
 ius applicationis obscurum sane et ignotum patefactum
the-law of-attachment obscure indeed and unknown laid-open
 in iudicio atque inlustratum est a patrono?

in the-trial and illuminated was by the-advocate

Quid? nuper, cum ego C. Sergi Oratae contra hunc nostrum 178

what lately when I of-Gaius Sergius Orata against this our
 Antonium iudicio privato causam defenderem, nonne omnis
Antonius in-a-suit private the-case was-defending surely all

nostra in iure versata defensio est? Cum enim M. Marius

our in law engaged the-defense was when for Marcus Marius

Gratidianus aedis Oratae vendidisset neque servire

Gratidianus the-house to-Orata had-sold and-not to-be-encumbered

quandam earum aedium partem in mancipi lege dixisset,

a-certain of-that house part in of-the-conveyance the-clause he-had-said

defendebamus, quicquid fuisset incommodi in mancipio,

we-were-arguing whatever there-had-been of-drawback in the-conveyance

id si venditor scisset neque declarasset, praestare debere.

that if the-seller had-known and-not had-declared to-make-good he-ought

179 Quo quidem in genere familiaris noster M. Buculeius,

which indeed in kind a-friend our Marcus Buculeius

homo neque meo iudicio stultus et suo valde sapiens

a-man neither in-my judgment foolish and in-his-own very wise

et ab iuris studio non abhorrens, simili quodam modo

and from of-law the-study not shrinking in-a-like a-certain way

nuper erravit: nam cum aedis L. Fufio venderet,

lately erred for when the-house to-Lucius Fufius he-was-selling

in mancipio lumina, uti tum essent, ita recepit; Fufius

in the-conveyance the-lights as then they-were so he-reserved Fufius

autem, simul atque aedificari coeptum est in quadam

however as-soon as to-be-built begun it-was in a-certain

parte urbis, quae modo ex illis aedibus conspici posset,

part of-the-city which only from that house to-be-seen could

egit statim cum Buculeio, quod, cuicumque particulae caeli

sued at-once with Buculeius because for-whatever little-patch of-sky

officeretur, quamvis esset procul, mutari lumina putabat.

it-was-blocked however-much it-was far-off to-be-changed the-lights he-thought

The case of Curius, fought before the centumviri with Scaevola holding to the letter of the will and Crassus to the testator's intent, kept both deep in the civil law. So did Mancinus, surrendered to the Numantines; the ally enslaved among us who freed himself; the slave censured at his master's wish; and the two sons of a man twice married. Citizenship, liberty, and a consular's life can hang on such points; to parade the forum ignorant of them is shameful.

Quid vero? clarissima M'. Curi causa Marcique Coponi 180
what indeed the-most-famous of-Manius Curius case and-of-Marcus Coponius
 nuper apud centumviros quo concursu hominum, qua
lately before the-centumvirs with-what a-throng of-men with-what
 exspectatione defensa est? Cum Q. Scaevola, aequalis
expectation defended was when Quintus Scaevola contemporary
 et conlega meus, homo omnium et disciplina iuris
and colleague my a-man of-all both in-the-discipline of-the-law
 civilis eruditissimus et ingenio prudentiaque acutissimus
civil the-most-learned and in-talent and-in-practical-wisdom the-keenest
 et oratione maxime limatus atque subtilis atque, ut ego
and in-speech most polished and subtle and as I
 soleo dicere, iuris peritorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium
am-wont to-say of-the-law of-the-skilled the-most-eloquent of-the-eloquent
 iuris peritissimus, ex scripto testamentorum iura
of-the-law the-most-skilled from the-writing of-wills the-rights
 defenderet negaretque, nisi postumus et natus et, ante
was-defending and-was-denying unless a-posthumous-son both born and before
 quam in suam tutelam veniret, mortuus esset, heredem
than into his-own guardianship he-came dead had-been heir
 eum esse posse, qui esset secundum postumum et
he to-be to-be-able who had-been after the-posthumous-son both
 natum et mortuum heres institutus; ego autem defenderem
born and dead heir appointed I however was-arguing

eum hac tum mente fuisse, qui testamentum fecisset, ut,
him in-this then mind to-have-been who the-will had-made that
 si filius non esset, qui in suam tutelam veniret, M'.
if a-son not there-were who into his-own guardianship should-come Manius
 Curius esset heres, num destitit uterque nostrum in
Curius should-be heir surely-not ceased either of-us in
 ea causa in auctoritatibus, in exemplis, in testamentorum
that case in authorities in precedents in of-wills
 formulis, hoc est, in medio iure civili versari?

the-formulas this is in the-middle law civil to-be-engaged

- 181 Omitto iam plura exempla causarum amplissimarum, quae
I-pass-over now more examples of-cases the-most-important which
 sunt innumerabilia: capitis nostri saepe potest accidere
are countless of-life our often it-can to-happen
 ut causae versentur in iure. Etenim si C. Mancinum,
that cases are-engaged in law for-indeed if Gaius Mancinus
 nobilissimum atque optimum virum atque consularem, cum
the-noblest and the-best man and of-consular-rank when
 eum propter invidiam Numantini foederis pater patratus
him on-account-of the-odium of-the-Numantine treaty the-priest fetial
 ex s. c. Numantinis dedidisset eumque illi non
by senate's decree to-the-Numantines had-surrendered and-him they not
 receperant posteaque Mancinus domum revenisset neque in
had-received and-afterward Mancinus home had-retuned and-not into
 senatum introire dubitasset, P. Rutilius, M. filius,
the-senate to-enter had-hesitated Publius Rutilius of-Marcus the-son
 tribunus plebis, iussit educi, quod eum civem negaret
tribune of-the-plebs ordered to-be-led-out because him a-citizen he-denied
 esse, quia memoria sic esset proditum, quem pater suus
to-be since by-tradition thus it-had-been handed-down whom father his-own
 aut populus vendidisset aut pater patratus dedidisset, ei
or the-people had-sold or the-priest fetial had-surrendered to-him

nullum esse postliminium, quam possumus reperire ex
none to-be right-of-return what can-we find from
 omnibus rebus civilibus causam contentionemque maiorem
all things civil a-case and-a-contention greater
 quam de ordine, de civitate, de libertate, de capite
than about rank about citizenship about liberty about the-life
 hominis consularis, praesertim cum haec non in crimine
of-a-man of-consular-rank especially since this not on a-charge
 aliquo, quod ille posset infitiri, sed in civili iure consisteret?

some which he could to-deny but on civil law rested
 Similique in genere, inferiore ordine, si quis apud nos
and-a-like in kind a-lower rank if anyone among us
 servisset ex populo foederato seseque liberasset et postea
had-been-a-slave from a-people allied and-himself had-freed and afterward
 domum revenisset, quaesitum est apud maiores nostros, num
home had-retained asked was among ancestors our whether
 is ad suos postliminio redisset et amisisset hanc civitatem.
he to his-own by-right-of-return had-retained and had-lost this citizenship

Quid? de libertate, quo iudicium gravius esse nullum
what about liberty than-which a-trial weightier to-be none
 potest, nonne ex iure civili potest esse contentio, cum
is-able surely from the-law civil can to-be a-contention when
 quaeritur, is, qui domini voluntate census sit, continuone,
it-is-asked he who of-a-master by-the-will registered has-been whether-at-once
 an, ubi lustrum sit conditum, liber sit? Quid? quod
or when the-lustrum has-been closed free he-is what that
 usu memoria patrum venit, ut paterfamilias, qui
in-practice in-the-memory of-(our)-fathers came that a-head-of-a-household who
 ex Hispania Romam venisset, cum uxorem praegnantem
from Spain to-Rome had-come when a-wife pregnant
 in provincia reliquisset, Romae alteram duxisset neque
in the-province he-had-left at-Rome another had-married and-not

nuntium priori remisisset, mortuusque esset intestato
notice to-the-former had-sent and-dead had-been intestate
 et ex utraque filius natus esset, mediocrisne res in
and from each a-son born had-been a-slight matter into
 contentionem adducta est, cum quaereretur de duobus
contention brought was when it-was-asked about two
 civium capitibus et de puero, qui ex posteriore natus
of-citizens the-lives and about the-boy who from the-later born
 erat, et de eius matre, quae, si iudicaretur certis
had-been and about his mother who if it-were-judged with-fixed
 quibusdam verbis, non novis nuptiis fieri cum superiore
certain words not by-new a-marriage to-take-place with the-former
 divortium, in concubinae locum duceretur?
a-divorce into of-a-concubine the-place would-be-brought

184

Haec igitur et horum similia iura suae civitatis
these therefore and of-these the-like laws of-bis-own of-state
 ignorantem erectum et celsum, alacri et prompto ore
not-knowing upright and lofty with-an-eager and ready mouth
 atque vultu, huc atque illuc intuentem vagari cum magna
and face hither and thither looking to-roam with a-great
 caterva toto foro, praesidium clientibus atque opem
throng through-the-whole forum protection to-clients and aid
 amicis et prope cunctis civibus lucem ingeni et consili
to-friends and almost to-all citizens the-light of-(his)-talent and of-counsel
 sui porrigentem atque tendentem, nonne in primis
bis-own holding-out and stretching-out surely in the-first-place
 flagitiosum putandum est?
scandalous to-be-thought is

Beyond effrontery there is laziness, and Scaevola himself calls no study easier. The law looks hard because the old jurists kept it dark and nobody since has arranged it: the scattered parts must be gathered into a few genera, the genera divided into members, each defined. Whoever does it will leave the civil law an art large and rich rather than obscure, whose authority, and not endless argument, teaches a man to master his appetites.

Et quoniam de impudentia dixi, castigemus etiam 185
 and since about shamelessness I-have-spoken let-us-chastise also
 segnitatem hominum atque inertiam; nam si esset ista
 the-sluggishness of-men and idleness for if were that
 cognitio iuris magna atque difficilis, tamen utilitatis
 learning of-law great and difficult still of-the-usefulness
 magnitudo deberet homines ad suscipiendum discendi
 the-greatness ought men to undertaking of-learning
 laborem impellere: sed, o di immortales, non dicerem hoc,
 the-toil to-drive but o gods immortal not I-should-say this
 audiente Scaevola, nisi ipse dicere soleret nullius artis
 while-hearing Scaevola unless he-himself to-say were-wont of-no art
 sibi faciliorem cognitionem videri.
 to-himself easier the-learning to-seem

Quod quidem certis de causis a plerisque aliter existimatur: 186
 which indeed certain for reasons by most otherwise is-judged
 primum, quia veteres illi, qui huic scientiae praefuerunt,
 first because the-old those who to-this knowledge presided
 obtinendae atque augendae potentiae suae causa
 of-keeping and of-increasing the-power their-own for-the-sake
 pervulgari artem suam noluerunt; deinde, postea quam
 to-be-published the-art their-own they-did-not-wish then after that
 est editum, expositis a Cn. Flavio primum actionibus,
 it-was published when-set-forth by Gnaeus Flavius first the-forms-of-action

nulli fuerunt, qui illa artificiose digesta generatim
none there-have-been who those skillfully arranged by-classes
 componerent; nihil est enim, quod ad artem redigi
should-put-together nothing is for which to an-art to-be-reduced
 possit, nisi ille prius, qui illa tenet, quorum artem
can unless he first who those holds of-which an-art
 instituere vult, habet illam scientiam, ut ex eis rebus,
to-establish he-wishes has that knowledge that from those things
 quarum ars nondum sit, artem efficere possit.
of-which an-art not-yet is an-art to-make he-may-be-able

187

Hoc video, dum breviter voluerim dicere, dictum a me
this I-see while briefly I-wished to-speak said by me
 esse paulo obscurius; sed experiar et dicam, si potero,
to-have-been a-little too-obscurely but I-shall-try and I-shall-say if I-shall-be-able
 planius. Omnia fere, quae sunt conclusa nunc artibus,
more-plainly all-things almost which are enclosed now by-arts
 dispersa et dissipata quondam fuerunt; ut in musicis numeri
scattered and dispersed once were as in music the-rhythms
 et voces et modi; in geometria lineamenta, formae,
and the-notes and the-measures in geometry the-lines the-figures
 intervalla, magnitudines; in astrologia caeli conversio,
the-intervals the-magnitudes in astronomy of-the-sky the-revolution
 ortus, obitus motusque siderum; in grammaticis poetarum
the-risings the-settings and-the-motions of-the-stars in grammar of-the-poets
 pertractatio, historiarum cognitio, verborum interpretatio,
the-handling of-histories the-knowledge of-words the-explanation
 pronuntiandi quidam sonus; in hac denique ipsa ratione
of-pronouncing a-certain sound in this finally very method
 dicendi excogitare, ornare, disponere, meminisse, agere,
of-speaking to-devise to-adorn to-arrange to-remember to-deliver
 †ignota quondam omnibus et diffusa late videbantur.
unknown once to-all and spread widely they-seemed

Adhibita est igitur ars quaedam extrinsecus ex alio
brought-in was therefore an-art a-certain from-outside from another
 genere quodam, quod sibi totum philosophi adsumunt,
kind a-certain which for-themselves wholly the-philosophers claim
 quae rem dissolutam divulsamque conglutineret et
which the-matter loosened and-torn-apart might-glue-together and
 ratione quadam constringeret. Sit ergo in iure
by-a-method a-certain might-bind let-there-be therefore in the-law
 civili finis hic: legitimae atque usitatae in rebus causisque
civil an-end this of-the-lawful and customary in matters and-cases
 civium aequabilitatis conservatio.

188

Tum sunt notanda genera et ad certum numerum
then are to-be-marked the-classes and to a-fixed number
 paucitatemque revocanda. Genus autem id est, quod
and-fewness to-be-reduced a-class however that is which
 sui similis communione quadam, specie autem
to-one-another like by-a-community a-certain in-species however
 differentis, duas aut pluris complectitur partis; partes autem
differing two or more embraces parts parts however
 sunt, quae generibus eis, ex quibus manant, subiciuntur;
are which to-the-classes those from which they-flow are-subordinated
 omniaque, quae sunt vel generum vel partium nomina,
and-all which are either of-classes or of-parts the-names
 definitionibus, quam vim habeant, est exprimendum; est enim
by-definitions what force they-have is to-be-expressed is for
 definitio rerum earum, quae sunt eius rei propriae, quam
a-definition of-things those which are of-that thing proper which
 definire volumus, brevis et circumscripta quaedam explicatio.
to-define we-wish a-brief and circumscribed a-certain unfolding

189

190 Hisce ego rebus exempla adiungerem, nisi apud quos
to-these I things examples would-add unless before whom
 haec haberetur oratio cernerem; nunc complectar, quod
this was-held speech I-saw now I-shall-sum-up what
 proposui, brevi: si enim aut mihi facere licuerit, quod
I-proposed in-brief if for either to-me to-do it-shall-be-allowed what
 iam diu cogito, aut alius quispiam aut me impedito
now long I-ponder or another anyone either with-me hindered
 occuparit aut mortuo effecerit, ut primum
shall-have-anticipated or dead shall-have-brought-about that first
 omne ius civile in genera digerat, quae perpauca
all the-law civil into classes he-may-arrange which very-few
 sunt, deinde eorum generum quasi quaedam membra
are then of-those of-classes as-it-were certain limbs
 dispertiat, tum propriam cuiusque vim definitione declaret,
he-may-divide then the-proper of-each force by-a-definition he-may-declare
 perfectam artem iuris civilis habebitis, magis magnam
a-finished art of-the-law civil you-will-have more great
 atque uberem quam difficilem et obscuram.
and rich than difficult and obscure

191 Atque interea tamen, dum haec, quae dispersa sunt,
and meanwhile still while these which scattered are
 coguntur, vel passim licet carpentem et conligentem
are-gathered even here-and-there it-is-allowed (one)-plucking and (one)-collecting
 undique repleti iusta iuris civilis scientia. Nonne
from-everywhere to-be-filled with-a-fair of-the-law civil knowledge surely
 videtis equitem Romanum, hominem acutissimo omnium
do-you-see a-knight Roman a-man with-the-keenest of-all
 ingenio, sed minime ceteris artibus eruditum, C.
talent but least in-the-other arts trained Gaius
 Aculeonem, qui mecum vivit semperque vixit, ita tenere
Aculeo who with-me lives and-always has-lived so to-bold

ius civile, ut ei, cum ab hoc discesseritis, nemo
the-law civil that to-him when from this-man you-shall-have-departed no-one
 de eis, qui peritissimi sunt, anteponatur?

from those who the-most-skilled are may-be-preferred

Omnia sunt enim posita ante oculos, conlocata in usu 192

all-things are for placed before the-eyes set in use
 cotidiano, in congressione hominum atque in foro; neque
daily in the-meeting of-men and in the-forum nor

ita multis litteris aut voluminibus magnis continentur;

so in-many writings or in-volumes great are-contained

eadem enim elata sunt primum a pluribus, deinde paucis

the-same for uttered have-been first by more then with-few

verbis commutatis etiam ab eisdem scriptoribus scripta

words changed even by the-same writers written

sunt saepius.

they-have-been repeatedly

Accedit vero, quo facilius percipi cognoscique ius civile 193

there-is-added indeed whereby more-easily to-be-grasped and-to-be-learned the-law civil

possit, quod minime plerique arbitrantur, mira quaedam

may-be-able which least most think a-wonderful a-certain

in cognoscendo suavitas et delectatio; nam, sive quem haec

in the-learning sweetness and delight for whether anyone these

Aeliana studia delectant, plurima est et in omni iure civili

Aelian studies delight very-great there-is both in all law civil

et in pontificum libris et in XII tabulis antiquitatis

and in of-the-pontiffs the-books and in the-Twelve Tables of-antiquity

effigies, quod et verborum vetustas prisca cognoscitur et

an-image because both of-words the-age ancient is-learned and

actionum genera quaedam maiorum consuetudinem

of-forms-of-action kinds certain of-(our)-forefathers the-usage

vitamque declarant; sive quem civilis scientia, quam Scaevola

and-life declare or anyone civil the-knowledge which Scaevola

non putat oratoris esse propriam, sed cuiusdam ex alio
not thinks of-the-orator to-be proper but of-a-certain from another
 genere prudentiae, totam hanc descriptis omnibus civitatis
kind of-practical-wisdom whole this when-described all of-the-state
 utilitatibus ac partibus XII tabulis contineri videbit:
the-interests and the-parts in-the-Twelve Tables to-be-contained he-will-see
 sive quem ista praepotens et gloriosa philosophia delectat, —
or anyone that all-powerful and glorious philosophy delights
 dicam audacius — hosce habet fontis omnium disputationum
I-shall-say more-boldly these it-has the-springs of-all of-discussions
 suarum, qui iure civili et legibus continentur: ex his
its-own which by-law civil and by-statutes are-contained from these
 enim et dignitatem maxime expetendam videmus, cum vera
for both worth chiefly to-be-sought we-see when true
 virtus atque honestus labor honoribus, praemiis, splendore
virtue and honorable toil with-honors with-rewards with-splendor
 decoratur, vitia autem hominum atque fraudes damnis,
is-adorned the-vices however of-men and frauds with-losses
 ignominiis, vinclis, verberibus, exsiliis, morte multantur;
with-disgraces with-chains with-scourgings with-exiles with-death are-punished
 et docemur non infinitis concertationumque plenis
and we-are-taught not by-endless and-of-wranglings full
 disputationibus, sed auctoritate nutuque legum domitas
by-discussions but by-the-authority and-by-the-nod of-the-laws tamed
 habere libidines, coercere omnis cupiditates, nostra tueri,
to-have the-lusts to-restrain all the-desires our-own to-guard
 ab alienis mentis, oculos, manus abstinere.
from another's the-minds the-eyes the-hands to-keep-back

Crassus says it outright: the little book of the Twelve Tables outweighs every philosopher's library in authority and in usefulness. Love of country recommends the study, and so does the wisdom of Rome's founders, beside whom Lycurgus, Draco, and Solon look crude. It brings honor while a man is busy, adorns his old age, and makes a jurist's house the oracle of the whole city.

Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio: bibliothecas me 195

let-them-roar all though I-shall-say what I-think the-libraries by

hercule omnium philosophorum unus mihi videtur XII

Hercules of-all the-philosophers one to-me seems of-the-Twelve

tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontis et capita

of-Tables the-little-book if anyone of-the-laws the-springs and the-heads

viderit, et auctoritatis pondere et utilitatis ubertate

shall-have-seen both of-authority by-the-weight and of-usefulness by-the-richness

superare.

to-surpass

Ac si nos, id quod maxime debet, nostra patria delectat, 196

and if us that which chiefly it-ought our fatherland delights

cuius rei tanta est vis ac tanta natura, ut Ithacam

of-which thing so-great is the-force and so-great the-nature that Ithaca

illam in asperrimis saxulis tamquam nidulum adfixam

that on the-roughest little-rocks as-if a-little-nest fastened

sapientissimus vir immortalitati anteponeret, quo amore

the-wisest man to-immortality preferred by-what love

tandem inflammati esse debemus in eius modi patriam,

pray inflamed to-be we-ought toward of-this sort a-fatherland

quae una in omnibus terris domus est virtutis, imperi,

which alone in all lands the-home is of-virtue of-empire

dignitatis? Cuius primum nobis mens, mos, disciplina nota

of-worth of-which first by-us the-mind the-custom the-discipline known

esse debet, vel quia est patria parens omnium nostrum,
to-be ought either because it-is the-fatherland the-parent of-all of-us

vel quia tanta sapientia fuisse in iure constituendo putanda
or because so-great wisdom to-have-been in law in-establishing to-be-thought

est quanta fuit in his tantis opibus imperi comparandis.
is as-great was in these so-great resources of-empire in-acquiring

197 Percipietis etiam illam ex cognitione iuris laetitiam et
you-will-gain also that from the-knowledge of-law gladness and

voluptatem, quod, quantum praestiterint nostri maiores
pleasure because how-much have-excelled our forefathers

prudentia ceteris gentibus, tum facillime intellegetis,
in-practical-wisdom to-the-other to-nations then most-easily you-will-understand

si cum illorum Lycurgo et Dracone et Solone nostras
if with of-those Lycurgus and Draco and Solon our

leges conferre volueritis; incredibile est enim, quam
laws to-compare you-shall-have-wished incredible it-is for how

sit omne ius civile praeter hoc nostrum inconditum ac
is all law civil besides this our disordered and

paene ridiculum; de quo multa soleo in sermonibus
almost ridiculous about which much I-am-wont in conversations

cotidianis dicere, cum hominum nostrorum prudentiam
daily to-say when of-men of-ours the-practical-wisdom

ceteris omnibus et maxime Graecis antepono. His ego
to-the-other to-all and chiefly to-the-Greeks I-prefer these I

de causis dixeram, Scaevola, eis, qui perfecti oratores
for reasons had-said Scaevola for-those who finished orators

esse vellent, iuris civilis esse cognitionem necessariam.
to-be wished of-the-law civil to-be the-knowledge necessary

198 Iam vero ipsa per sese quantum adferat eis, qui
now indeed itself through itself how-much it-brings to-those who

ei praesunt, honoris, gratiae, dignitatis, quis ignorat?
to-it preside of-honor of-favor of-worth who does-not-know

Itaque, ut apud Graecos infimi homines mercedula adducti
and-so as among the-Greeks the-lowest men by-a-petty-fee led
 ministros se praebent in iudiciis oratoribus, ei, qui
as-servants themselves offer in the-courts to-the-orators those who
 apud illos πραγματικοί vocantur, sic in nostra civitate
among them practitioners are-called so in our state
 contra amplissimus quisque et clarissimus vir, ut
on-the-contrary the-most-eminent each and the-most-illustrious man as
 ille, qui propter hanc iuris civilis scientiam sic
that-one who on-account-of this of-the-law civil knowledge so
 appellatus a summo poeta est:
called by the-greatest poet is

egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus,

excellently sagacious a-man shrewd Aelius Sextus

multique praeterea, qui, cum ingenio sibi auctore
and-many besides who since by-talent to-themselves as-author
 dignitatem peperissent, perfecerunt ut in respondendo iure
distinction they-had-won brought-it-about that in answering on-law
 auctoritate plus etiam quam ipso ingenio valerent.

by-authority more even than by-the-very talent they-might-prevail

Senectuti vero celebrandae et ornandae quod honestius

199

for-old-age indeed to-be-thronged and to-be-adorned what more-honorable

potest esse perfugium quam iuris interpretatio? Equidem

can to-be a-refuge than of-law the-interpretation for-my-part

mihi hoc subsidium iam inde ab adulescentia comparavi,

for-myself this support already thence from youth I-have-provided

non solum ad causarum usum forensem, sed etiam ad decus

not only for of-cases the-use forensic but even for the-grace

atque ornamentum senectutis, ut, cum me vires, quod fere

and the-ornament of-old-age so-that when me strength which almost

iam tempus adventat, deficere coepissent, ista ab solitudine
now the-time approaches to-fail should-have-begun that from solitude
 domum meam vindicarem. Quid est enim praeclarius quam
house my I-might-rescue what is for more-splendid than
 honoribus et rei publicae muneribus perfunctum senem
with-honors and of-the-thing public with-offices having-discharged an-old-man
 posse suo iure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicat
to-be-able by-his-own right to-say the-same which in Ennius says
 ille Pythius Apollo, se esse eum, unde sibi, si non
that Pythian Apollo himself to-be him from-whom for-themselves if not
 populi et reges, at omnes sui cives consilium expetant,
peoples and kings yet all his-own citizens counsel may-seek

summarum rerum incerti: quos ego ope mea
of-the-highest matters uncertain whom I by-aid my
 †tex incertis certos compotesque consili
from uncertain certain and-masters of-counsel
 dimitto, ut ne res temere tractent turbidas:
I-send-away that not affairs rashly they-may-handle troubled

200 est enim sine dubio domus iuris consulti totius
is for without doubt the-house of-law of-the-learned of-the-whole
 oraculum civitatis; testis est huiusce Q. Muci ianua
the-oracle of-the-state a-witness is of-this Quintus Mucius the-door
 et vestibulum, quod in eius infirmissima valetudine
and the-porch which in his very-feeble health
 adfectaque iam aetate maxima cotidie frequentia civium
and-broken now in-age by-the-greatest daily throng of-citizens
 ac summorum hominum splendore celebratur.
and of-the-highest of-men by-the-splendor is-thronged

Public law, the records of the past, and the science of governing must be the orator's material as well, for the man this talk seeks is no shouting back but one who can fasten the city's hatred on the guilty, free the innocent, rouse a sinking people, and calm an angry one. Crassus refuses the part of guide: he has pointed a finger at the springs. Sulpicius wants more, and Antonius is called on.

Iam illa non longam orationem desiderant, quam ob
 now those not a-long speech require which on-account-of
 rem existimem publica quoque iura, quae sunt propria civitatis
 thing I-should-judge public also laws which are proper of-the-state
 atque imperi, tum monumenta rerum gestarum et vetustatis
 and of-empire then the-records of-things done and of-antiquity
 exempla oratori nota esse debere; nam ut in rerum
 the-examples for-the-orator known to-be to-be-obliged for as in of-affairs
 privatarum causis atque iudiciis depromenda saepe oratio
 private cases and trials to-be-drawn often speech
 est ex iure civili et idcirco, ut ante diximus, oratori
 is from the-law civil and therefore as before we-said for-the-orator
 iuris civilis scientia necessaria est, sic in causis publicis
 of-the-law civil the-knowledge necessary is so in cases public
 iudiciorum, contionum, senatus omnis haec et antiquitatis
 of-the-courts of-the-public-meetings of-the-senate all this both of-antiquity
 memoria et publici iuris auctoritas et regendae rei
 the-memory and of-public of-law the-authority and of-governing the-thing
 publicae ratio ac scientia tamquam aliqua materies eis
 public the-method and knowledge as-it-were some material for-those
 oratoribus, qui versantur in re publica, subiecta esse debet.
 for-orators who are-engaged in the-thing public underlying to-be ought

201

202 Non enim causicum nescio quem neque clamatorem aut
not for a-pleader I-know-not what nor a-bawler or
 rabulam hoc sermone nostro conquirimus, sed eum virum,
a-wrangler in-this in-discourse our we-are-seeking but that man
 qui primum sit eius artis antistes, cuius cum ipsa
who first may-be of-that art the-high-priest of-which although the-very
 natura magnam homini facultatem daret, auctor tamen esse
nature great to-a-man capacity gave the-author still to-be
 deus putatur, ut id ipsum, quod erat hominis proprium,
a-god is-thought so-that that very-(thing) which was of-man proper
 non partum per nos, sed divinitus ad nos delatum
not gained through us but divinely to us brought-down
 videretur; deinde, qui possit non tam caduceo quam
might-seem then who is-able not so-much by-the-herald's-staff as
 nomine oratoris ornatus incolumis vel inter hostium tela
by-the-name of-an-orator adorned unharmed even among of-enemies the-weapons
 versari; tum, qui scelus fraudemque nocentis possit dicendo
to-move then who the-crime and-fraud of-the-guilty is-able by-speaking
 subicere odio civium supplicioque constringere; idemque
to-subject to-the-hatred of-citizens and-by-punishment to-bind and-the-same
 ingeni praesidio innocentiam iudiciorum poena
of-talent by-the-protection innocence of-the-courts from-the-penalty
 liberare; idemque languentem labentemque populum aut ad
to-free and-the-same a-drooping and-sinking people either to
 decus excitare aut ab errore deducere aut inflammare in
honor to-rouse or from error to-lead-away or to-inflate against
 improbos aut incitatum in bonos mitigare; qui denique,
the-wicked or when-roused against the-good to-soften who finally
 quemcumque in animis hominum motum res et causa
whatever in the-minds of-men emotion the-matter and the-case
 postulet, eum dicendo vel excitare possit vel sedare.
demands that by-speaking either to-rouse is-able or to-calm

Hanc vim si quis existimat aut ab eis, qui de
this force if anyone thinks either by those who about
 dicendi ratione scripserunt, expositam esse aut a me
of-speaking the-method have-written set-out to-have-been or by me
 posse exponi tam brevi, vehementer errat neque solum
to-be-able to-be-set-out so briefly strongly he-errs nor only
 inscientiam meam sed ne rerum quidem magnitudinem
the-ignorance my but not of-things even the-greatness
 perspicit: equidem vobis, quoniam ita voluistis, fontis,
he-perceives for-my-part to-you since so you-have-wished the-springs
 unde hauriretis, atque itinera ipsa ita putavi esse
from-which you-might-draw and the-roads themselves so I-have-thought to-be
 demonstranda, non ut ipse dux essem, quod et infinitum
to-be-shown not that myself a-guide I-should-be which both endless
 est et non necessarium, sed ut commonstrarem tantum
is and not necessary but that I-might-point-out only
 viam et, ut fieri solet, digitum ad fontis intenderem.
the-way and as to-be-done it-is-wont the-finger to the-springs I-might-stretch
 'Mihi vero' inquit Mucius 'satis superque abs te videtur
to-me indeed said Mucius enough and-more by you it-seems
 istorum studiis, si modo sunt studiosi, esse factum;
of-those for-the-studies if only they-are studious to-have-been done
 nam, ut Socratem illum solitum aiunt dicere perfectum sibi
for as Socrates that accustomed they-say to-say finished for-himself
 opus esse, si qui satis esset concitatus cohortatione sua
the-work to-be if anyone enough were stirred by-the-exhortation his-own
 ad studium cognoscendae percipiendaeque virtutis; quibus
to the-pursuit of-learning and-of-grasping virtue to-whom
 enim id persuasum esset, ut nihil mallent esse se,
for that persuaded had-been that nothing they-preferred to-be themselves
 quam bonos viros, eis reliquam facilem esse doctrinam;
than good men to-them the-remaining easy to-be the-learning

203

204

sic ego intellego, si in haec, quae patefecit oratione sua
so I understand if into these which has-opened by-the-speech his-own
 Crassus, intrare volueritis, facillime vos ad ea, quae
Crassus to-enter you-shall-have-wished most-easily you to those which
 cupitis, perventuros, ab hoc aditu ianuaque patefacta.’

you-desire going-to-arrive from this entrance and-door when-opened

205 ‘Nobis vero’ inquit Sulpicius ‘ista sunt pergrata perque
to-us indeed said Sulpicius those are most-welcome and-most
 iucunda; sed pauca etiam requirimus in primisque ea,
delightful but a-few further we-require among and-the-first those
 quae valde breviter a te, Crasse, de ipsa arte percur-
which very briefly by you Crassus about the-very art run-over
 sunt, cum illa te et non contemnere et didicisse
have-been since those you both not to-despise and to-have-learned
 confiterere: ea si paulo latius dixeris, expleris
you-confessed those if a-little more-broadly you-shall-have-said you-will-have-filled
 omnem exspectationem diuturni desiderii nostri; nam nunc,
all the-expectation of-long of-longing our for now
 quibus studendum rebus esset accepimus, quod ipsum
to-what to-be-studied things it-was we-have-received which very-(thing)
 est tamen magnum; sed vias earum rerum rationemque
is still great but the-ways of-those things and-the-method
 cupimus cognoscere.’

we-desire to-learn

206 ‘Quid si,’ inquit Crassus ‘quoniam ego, quo facilius vos
what if said Crassus since I that more-easily you
 apud me tenerem, vestrae potius obsecutus sum voluntati,
with me I-might-keep to-your rather complied I-have to-the-wish
 quam aut consuetudini aut naturae meae, petimus
than either to-the-habit or to-the-nature my we-ask
 ab Antonio, ut ea, quae continet neque adhuc
from Antonius that those-(things) which he-holds-in and-not hitherto

protulit, ex quibus unum libellum sibi excidis-
he-has-brought-out from which one little-book from-him to-have-slipped
 iam dudum questus est, explicet nobis et illa dicendi
now for-a-while complained he-has he-may-unfold to-us and those of-speaking
 mysteria enuntiet?’ ‘Ut videtur,’ inquit Sulpicius; ‘nam
mysteries he-may-utter as it-seems said Sulpicius for
 Antonio dicente etiam quid tu intellegas, sentiemus.’
while-Antonius speaks even what you understand we-shall-perceive
 ‘Peto igitur’ inquit Crassus ‘a te, quoniam id nobis, Antoni, 207
I-ask therefore said Crassus from you since that on-us Antonius
 hominibus id aetatis oneris ab horum adolescentium
on-men of-that of-age of-burden by of-these of-the-young-men
 studiis imponitur, ut exponas, quid eis de rebus, quas
the-studies is-laid that you-may-set-out what those about matters which
 a te quaeri vides, sentias.’ ‘Deprehensum equidem me’
from you to-be-asked you-see you-think caught for-my-part myself
 inquit Antonius ‘plane video atque sentio, non solum quod
said Antonius plainly I-see and I-perceive not only because
 ea requiruntur a me, quorum sum ignarus atque insolens,
those are-required from me of-which I-am ignorant and unpracticed
 sed quia, quod in causis valde fugere soleo, ne tibi,
but because what in cases greatly to-shun I-am-wont lest to-you
 Crasse, succedam, id me nunc isti vitare non sinunt;
Crassus I-should-come-after that me now those to-avoid not allow
 verum hoc ingrediar ad ea, quae vultis, audacius, quod 208
but by-this I-shall-enter-upon to those which you-wish more-boldly because
 idem mihi spero usu esse venturum in hac disputatione,
the-same to-me I-hope in-practice to-be going-to-come in this discussion
 quod in dicendo solet, ut nulla exspectetur ornata oratio:
which in speaking is-wont that no may-be-expected adorned speech
 neque enim sum de arte dicturus, quam numquam
nor for I-am about the-art going-to-speak which never

didici, sed de mea consuetudine; ipsaque illa, quae in
I-have-learned but about my practice and-the-very those which into
 commentarium meum rettuli, sunt eius modi, non aliqua mihi
the-notebook my I-have-put are of-that kind not by-some to-me
 doctrina tradita, sed in rerum usu causisque tractata; quae
learning handed-down but in of-things the-use and-in-cases handled which
 si vobis, hominibus eruditissimis, non probabuntur, vestram
if to-you to-men the-most-learned not shall-be-approved your
 iniquitatem accusatote, qui ex me ea quaesieritis, quae ego
unfairness blame who from me those have-asked which I
 nescirem; meam facilitatem laudatote, cum vobis non meo
did-not-know my easiness praise when to-you not by-my
 iudicio, sed vestro studio inductus non gravate respondero.
judgment but by-your zeal led not grudgingly I-shall-have-replied

I.26 • ANTONIUS DEFINES HIS ORATOR

Antonius begins where every argument should, by settling what is being argued about. A general manages a war, a statesman knows what serves the state, a jurist is skilled in the law and in giving answers. His orator uses words pleasant to hear and thoughts fitted to persuade in the forum, with voice, delivery, and charm besides. Crassus measured the orator by his own genius; statecraft and speaking are distinct faculties, though one man may hold both.

209 Tum Crassus ‘perge modo,’ inquit ‘Antoni; nullum est enim
then Crassus go-on only said Antonius none is for
 periculum, ne quid tu eloquere nisi ita prudenter, ut
danger lest anything you may-utter except so prudently that
 neminem nostrum paeniteat ad hunc te sermonem impulsisse.’
no-one of-us may-regret to this you conversation to-have-urged

‘Ego vero,’ inquit, ‘pergam et id faciam, quod in principio
I indeed he-said shall-go-on and that I-shall-do which at the-beginning
 fieri in omnibus disputationibus oportere censeo, ut, quid
to-be-done in all discussions to-be-fitting I-judge that what
 illud sit, de quo disputetur, explanetur, ne vagari et
that may-be about which is-disputed be-made-clear lest to-wander and
 errare cogatur oratio, si ei, qui inter se dissenserint,
to-stray be-forced the-speech if those who among themselves have-disagreed
 non idem illud, de quo agitur, intellegant.

not the-same that about which it-is-treated understand

Nam si forte quaereretur quae esset ars imperatoris,
for if by-chance it-were-asked what were the-art of-a-general
 constituendum putarem principio, quis esset imperator;

to-be-settled I-should-think at-the-outset who were a-general

qui cum esset constitutus administrator quidam belli

who when he-were settled a-manager a-certain of-war

gerendi, tum adiungeremus de exercitu, de castris, de

of-waging then we-should-add about the-army about the-camp about

agminibus, de signorum conlationibus, de oppidorum

the-columns about of-the-standards the-engagements about of-towns

oppugnationibus, de commeatu, de insidiis faciendis

the-assaults about the-supply about ambushes about-making

atque vitandis, de reliquis rebus, quae essent propriae

and about-avoiding about the-remaining matters which were proper

belli administrandi; quarum qui essent animo et scientia

of-war of-managing of-which who were in-mind and in-knowledge

compotes, eos esse imperatores dicerem, uterique

masters those to-be generals I-should-say and-I-should-use

exemplis Africanorum et Maximorum, Epaminondam atque

with-examples of-the-Africani and of-the-Maximi Epaminondas and

Hannibalem atque eius generis homines nominarem.

Hannibal and of-that kind men I-should-name

211 Sin autem quaereremus quis esset is, qui ad rem
but-if however we-were-asking who were he who to the-thing
 publicam moderandam usum et scientiam et studium
public for-governing experience and knowledge and zeal
 suum contulisset, definirem hoc modo: qui quibus rebus
his-own had-brought I-should-define in-this way who by-what things
 utilitas rei publicae pareretur augeturque,
the-advantage of-the-thing public might-be-produced and-might-be-increased
 teneret eisque uteretur, hunc rei publicae rectorem
should-hold and-them should-use this-man of-the-thing public the-director
 et consili publici auctorem esse habendum, praedicaremque
and of-counsel public the-author to-be to-be-held and-I-should-declare
 P. Lentulum principem illum et Ti. Gracchum patrem
Publius Lentulus the-chief that and Tiberius Gracchus the-father
 et Q. Metellum et P. Africanum et C. Laelium et
and Quintus Metellus and Publius Africanus and Gaius Laelius and
 innumerabilis alios cum ex nostra civitate tum ex ceteris.
countless others both from our state and from the-rest

212 Sin autem quaereretur quisnam iuris consultus vere
but-if however it-were-asked who-then of-law learned truly
 nominaretur, eum dicerem, qui legum et consuetudinis eius,
might-be-named him I-should-say who of-laws and of-the-usage that
 qua privati in civitate uterentur, et ad respondendum
by-which private-men in the-state might-use both for answering
 et ad agendum et ad cavendum peritus esset, et ex
and for pleading and for taking-precaution skilled were and from
 eo genere Sex. Aelium, M'. Manilium, P. Mucium
that class Sextus Aelius Manius Manilius Publius Mucius
 nominarem. Atque, ut iam ad leviora artium studia
I-should-name and that now to the-lighter of-arts pursuits
 veniam, si musicus, si grammaticus, si poeta quaeratur,
I-may-come if a-musician if a-grammarian if a-poet is-sought

possim similiter explicare, quid eorum quisque profiteatur
I-could similarly to-explain what of-them each professes
 et quo non amplius ab quoque sit postulandum.
and beyond-which not further from each is to-be-demanded
 Philosophi denique ipsius, qui de sua vi ac
of-the-philosopher finally of-the-very who about his-own force and
 sapientia unus omnia paene profitetur, est tamen quaedam
wisdom alone all-(things) almost professes there-is still a-certain
 descriptio, ut is, qui studeat omnium rerum divinarum atque
description that he who studies of-all things divine and
 humanarum vim naturam causasque nosse et omnem bene
human the-force the-nature and-the-causes to-know and every well
 vivendi rationem tenere et persequi, nomine hoc appelletur.
of-living method to-hold and to-pursue by-the-name this may-be-called
 Oratorem autem, quoniam de eo quaerimus, equidem non 213
the-orator however since about him we-ask for-my-part not
 facio eundem quem Crassus, qui mihi visus est omnem
I-make the-same as Crassus who to-me seemed has all
 omnium rerum atque artium scientiam comprehendere
of-all things and of-arts the-knowledge to-embrace
 uno oratoris officio ac nomine; atque eum puto esse,
in-one of-the-orator duty and name and him I-think to-be
 qui et verbis ad audiendum iucundis et sententiis ad
who both with-words for hearing pleasant and with-thoughts for
 probandum accommodatis uti possit in causis forensibus
proving suitable to-use is-able in cases forensic
 atque communibus: hunc ego appello oratorem eumque
and common this-man I call the-orator and-him
 esse praeterea instructum voce et actione et lepore
to-be besides equipped with-voice and with-delivery and with-charm
 quodam volo.
a-certain I-wish

- 214 Crassus vero mihi noster visus est oratoris facultatem non
Crassus indeed to-me our seemed has of-the-orator the-faculty not
 illius artis terminis, sed ingeni sui finibus immensis paene
of-that art by-the-bounds but of-talent his-own by-the-limits boundless almost
 describere; nam et civitatum regendarum oratori gubernacula
to-describe for both of-states of-governing to-the-orator the-helm
 sententia sua tradidit, in quo per mihi mirum visum
by-the-judgment his-own he-handed-over in which very to-me wonderful seemed
 est, Scaevola, te hoc illi concedere, cum saepissime tibi
it Scaevola you this to-him to-concede since very-often to-you
 senatus breviter impoliteque dicenti maximis sit de rebus
the-senate briefly and-unpolishedly speaking the-greatest has about matters
 adsensus. M. vero Scaurus, quem non longe ruri apud
agreed Marcus indeed Scaurus whom not far in-the-country at
 se esse audio, vir regendae rei publicae scientissimus,
his-own to-be I-bear a-man of-governing the-thing public most-knowing
 si audierit hanc auctoritatem gravitatis et consili sui
if he-shall-have-heard this authority of-weight and of-counsel his-own
 vindicari a te, Crasse, quod eam oratoris propriam esse
to-be-claimed by you Crassus because it of-the-orator proper to-be
 dicas, iam, credo, huc veniat et hanc loquacitatem
you-say now I-believe hither he-would-come and this talkativeness
 nostram vultu ipso aspectuque conterreat; qui quamquam
our by-the-face itself and-by-the-look he-would-terrify who although
 est in dicendo minime contemnendus, prudentia tamen
is in speaking least to-be-despised on-practical-wisdom still
 rerum magnarum magis quam dicendi arte nititur.
of-things great more than of-speaking on-the-art he-relies
- 215 Neque vero, si quis utrumque potest, aut ille consili
nor indeed if anyone each can either that of-counsel
 publici auctor ac senator bonus ob eam ipsam
public the-author and a-senator good on-account-of that very

causam orator est aut hic disertus atque eloquens, si
cause an-orator is or this well-spoken and eloquent if
 est idem in procuratione civitatis egregius, illam scientiam
he-is the-same in the-administration of-the-state outstanding that knowledge
 dicendi copia est consecutus: multum inter se
of-speaking by-the-fullness has attained much among themselves
 distant istae facultates longeque sunt diversae atque seiunctae
differ those faculties and-far are diverse and separated
 neque eadem ratione ac via M. Cato, P. Africanus,
nor by-the-same method and way Marcus Cato Publius Africanus
 Q. Metellus, C. Laelius, qui omnes eloquentes fuerunt,
Quintus Metellus Gaius Laelius who all eloquent were
 orationem suam et rei publicae dignitatem exornabant.
the-speech their-own and of-the-thing public the-dignity were-adorning
 Neque enim est interdictum aut a rerum natura aut a
nor for is-it forbidden either by of-things the-nature or by
 lege aliqua atque more, ut singulis hominibus ne amplius
law any and custom that to-single men not more
 quam singulas artis nosse liceat.
than single arts to-know it-may-be-allowed

I.27 • ONE MAN, TWO ARTS

Pericles was the most eloquent man at Athens and long its first in council, but that does not fold statecraft into oratory, and Publius Crassus was speaker and jurist without the two becoming one; otherwise ball-playing would belong to the civil law. A speaker should have heard, seen, and read much, tasting other men's goods rather than owning them. Nor need he master philosophy to move the passions: no orator ever paused to ask what anger is.

216 Qua re non, si eloquentissimus Athenis Pericles
for-which reason not if the-most-eloquent at-Athens Pericles
 idemque in ea civitate plurimos annos princeps consili
and-the-same in that state very-many years the-chief of-counsel
 publici fuit, idcirco eiusdem hominis atque artis utraque
public was therefore of-the-same man and of-art each
 facultas existimanda est, nec, si P. Crassus idem fuit
faculty to-be-thought is nor if Publius Crassus the-same was
 eloquens et iuris peritus, ob eam causam inest in
eloquent and of-law skilled on-account-of that cause is-in in
 facultate dicendi iuris civilis scientia.

the-faculty of-speaking of-the-law civil the-knowledge

217 Nam si ut quisque in aliqua arte et facultate excellens
for if as each in some art and faculty excelling
 aliam quoque artem sibi adumpserit, is perficiet
another also art for-himself shall-have-taken-on he will-bring-it-about
 ut, quod praeterea sciet, id eius, in quo excellet,
that what besides he-shall-know that of-that in which he-shall-excel
 pars quaedam esse videatur, licet ista ratione dicamus
a-part a-certain to-be may-seem it-is-allowed by-that reasoning let-us-say
 pila bene et duodecim scriptis ludere proprium esse
at-ball well and at-twelve at-lines to-play proper to-be
 iuris civilis, quoniam utrumque eorum P. Mucius
of-the-law civil since each of-them Publius Mucius
 optime fecerit; eademque ratione dicantur ei quos
best did and-by-the-same reasoning let-them-be-called those whom
 φυσικούς Graeci nominant eidem poetae, quoniam
natural-philosophers the-Greeks name the-same poets since
 Empedocles physicus egregium poema fecerit. At hoc
Empedocles a-natural-philosopher an-outstanding poem made but this
 ne philosophi quidem ipsi, qui omnia sicut propria
not the-philosophers even themselves who all-(things) as proper

sua esse atque a se possideri volunt, dicere audent,
their-own to-be and by themselves to-be-possessed wish to-say dare
 geometriam aut musicam philosophi esse, quia Platonem
geometry or music of-a-philosopher to-be because Plato
 omnes in illis artibus praestantissimum fuisse fateantur.
all in those arts the-most-outstanding to-have-been admit
 Ac si iam placet omnis artis oratori subiungere, tolerabilius 218
and if now it-pleases all arts to-the-orator to-subjoin more-tolerable
 est sic potius dicere, ut, quoniam dicendi facultas non
it-is thus rather to-say that since of-speaking the-faculty not
 debeat esse ieiuna atque nuda, sed aspersa atque distincta
ought to-be meager and bare but sprinkled and varied
 multarum rerum iucunda quadam varietate, sit boni
of-many things with-a-delightful a-certain variety it-is of-a-good
 oratoris multa auribus accepisse, multa vidisse, multa
orator many-things with-the-ears to-have-received many to-have-seen many
 animo et cogitatione, multa etiam legendo percucurrisse,
in-mind and in-thought many even by-reading to-have-run-through
 neque ea ut sua possedissee sed ut aliena libasse; fateor
nor them as his-own to-have-possessed but as another's to-have-tasted I-admit
 enim callidum quendam hunc et nulla in re tironem ac
for shrewd a-certain this-man and no in matter a-novice and
 rudem nec peregrinum atque hospitem in agendo esse debere.
raw nor a-stranger and a-guest in pleading to-be ought
 Neque vero istis tragoediis tuis, quibus uti philosophi 219
nor indeed by-those by-tragedies your which to-use the-philosophers
 maxime solent, Crasse, perturbor, quod ita dixisti, neminem
chiefly are-wont Crassus am-I-troubled because so you-said no-one
 posse eorum mentis, qui audirent, aut inflammare dicendo
to-be-able of-those the-minds who were-hearing either to-inflame by-speaking
 aut inflammatas restinguere, cum eo maxime vis
or when-inflamed to-quench since in-that chiefly the-force

oratoris magnitudoque cernatur, nisi qui naturam et
of-the-orator and-the-greatness is-discerned unless one-who the-nature and
 mores hominum atque rationes penitus perspexerit,
the-characters of-men and the-workings deeply shall-have-examined
 in quo philosophia sit oratori necessario percipienda; quo
in which philosophy is by-the-orator necessarily to-be-mastered which
 in studio hominum ingeniosissimorum otiosissimorumque
in study of-men of-the-most-gifted and-of-the-most-leisured
 totas aetates videmus esse contritas. Quorum ego copiam
whole lifetimes we-see to-be worn-away of-whom I the-abundance
 magnitudinemque cognitionis atque artis non modo non
and-the-greatness of-knowledge and of-art not only not
 contemno, sed etiam vehementer admiror; nobis tamen,
I-despise but even strongly I-admire for-us still
 qui in hoc populo foroque versamur, satis est ea
who in this people and-forum are-engaged enough it-is those-(things)
 de motibus animorum et scire et dicere quae non
about the-movements of-minds both to-know and to-say which not
 abhorrent ab hominum moribus.

sbrink from of-men the-characters

220 Quis enim umquam orator magnus et gravis, cum iratum
who for ever an-orator great and weighty when angry
 adversario iudicem facere vellet, haesitavit ob eam
at-(bis)-adversary the-judge to-make he-wished hesitated on-account-of that
 causam, quod nesciret, quid esset iracundia, fervorne
cause because he-did-not-know what might-be anger whether-a-boiling
 mentis an cupiditas puniendi doloris? Quis, cum ceteros
of-the-mind or a-desire of-punishing of-the-hurt who when the-other
 animorum motus aut iudicibus aut populo dicendo
of-minds the-movements either in-the-judges or in-the-people by-speaking
 miscere atque agitare vellet, ea dixit, quae a philosophis
to-stir and to-agitate he-wished those said which by the-philosophers

dici solent? qui partim omnino motus negant in animis
to-be-said are-wont who partly at-all movements deny in minds
 ullos esse debere, quique eos in iudicium mentibus concitent,
any to-be ought and-who them in of-the-judges the-minds rouse
 scelus eos nefarium facere; partim, qui tolerabiliores volunt
a-crime them abominable to-do partly who more-tolerable wish
 esse et ad veritatem vitae propius accedere, permediocris
to-be and to the-truth of-life more-closely to-approach very-moderate
 ac potius levis motus debere esse dicunt.
and rather slight movements ought to-be say

Orator autem omnia haec, quae putantur in communi 221
the-orator however all these which are-thought in the-common
 vitae consuetudine mala ac molesta et fugienda, multo
of-life usage bad and troublesome and to-be-shunned much
 maiora et acerbiora verbis facit; itemque ea, quae vulgo
greater and harsher by-words makes and-likewise those which commonly
 expetenda atque optabilia videntur, dicendo amplificat atque
to-be-sought and desirable seem by-speaking he-magnifies and
 ornat; neque vult ita sapiens inter stultos videri, ut ei,
he-adorns nor he-wishes so wise among the-foolish to-seem that those
 qui audiant, aut illum ineptum et Graeculum putent,
who hear either him absurd and a-little-Greek should-think
 aut, etiam si valde probent ingenium, oratoris sapientiam
or even if greatly they-approve the-talent of-the-orator the-wisdom
 admirentur, se esse stultos moleste ferant;
they-should-admire themselves to-be fools ill they-should-bear
 sed ita peragrat per animos, ita sensus hominum mentisque 222
but so he-ranges through minds so the-feelings of-men and-the-thoughts
 pertractat, ut non desideret philosophorum descriptiones neque
he-handles that not he-needs of-the-philosophers the-classifications nor
 exquirat oratione, summum illud bonum in animone sit
he-inquires in-speech the-highest that good in the-mind-whether is

an in corpore, virtute an voluptate definiatur, an haec inter
 or in the-body by-virtue or by-pleasure is-defined whether these among
 se iungi copularique possint; an vero, ut quibusdam
 themselves to-be-joined and-coupled can or indeed as to-certain-men
 visum, nihil certum sciri, nihil plane cognosci et
 it-has-seemed nothing certain to-be-known nothing plainly to-be-learned and
 percipi possit; quarum rerum fateor magnam multiplicemque
 to-be-grasped can of-which things I-admit great and-manifold
 esse disciplinam et multas copiosas variasque rationes.
 to-be the-discipline and many copious and-varied systems

1.28 • PLATO'S CITY AND RUTILIUS' TRIAL

What is wanted is a shrewd man who can find out what his hearers think, feel, and expect; the philosophers' books he keeps for the leisure of a Tusculan retreat. Crassus begged the people to rescue the senate from slavery, and added that the senate not only may but must serve them, which no philosopher could approve. Rutilius, censuring Galba's theatrics, pleaded his own case on the bare truth and was lost, as though in Plato's invented city.

223 Sed aliud quiddam, longe aliud, Crasse, quaerimus: acuto
 but another something far another Crassus we-seek a-keen
 homine nobis opus est et natura usuque callido,
 man for-us need there-is and by-nature and-by-experience shrewd
 qui sagaciter pervestiget, quid sui cives eique homines,
 who sagaciously may-track-out what his-own citizens and-those men
 quibus aliquid dicendo persuadere velit, cogitent, sentiant,
 to-whom something by-speaking to-persuade he-wishes think feel
 opinentur, exspectent; teneat oportet venas cuiusque
 believe expect he-should-hold it-behooves the-veins of-each

generis, aetatis, ordinis, et eorum, apud quos aliquid
of-class of-age of-rank and of-those before whom something
 aget aut erit acturus, mentis sensusque degustet;
he-will-plead or he-will-be going-to-plead the-minds and-the-feelings let-him-taste
 philosophorum autem libros reservet sibi ad huiusce 224
of-the-philosophers however the-books let-him-keep for-himself for of-this
 modi Tusculani requiem atque otium, ne, si quando ei
sort of-a-Tusculan the-rest and leisure lest if ever for-him
 dicendum erit de iustitia et fide, mutuetur a
to-be-spoken it-shall-be about justice and good-faith he-should-borrow from
 Platone; qui, cum haec exprimenda verbis arbitraretur,
Plato who since these to-be-expressed by-words he-thought
 novam quandam finxit in libris civitatem; usque eo
a-new a-certain fashioned in the-books state so-far to-that-point
 illa, quae dicenda de iustitia putabat, a vitae
those-(things) which to-be-said about justice he-thought from of-life
 consuetudine et a civitatum moribus abhorrebant.
the-usage and from of-states the-customs shrank
 Quod si ea probarentur in populis atque in civitatibus, quis 225
which if those were-approved among peoples and in states who
 tibi, Crasse, concessisset, clarissimo viro et amplissimo
to-you Crassus would-have-granted to-the-most-illustrious man and to-the-most-eminent
 et principi civitatis, ut illa diceres in maxima contione
and to-the-chief of-the-state that those you-should-say in the-greatest public-meeting
 tuorum civium, quae dixisti? “Eripite nos ex miseriis, eripite
of-your citizens which you-said snatch us from miseries snatch
 ex faucibus eorum, quorum crudelitas nisi nostro sanguine
from the-jaws of-those whose cruelty except by-our blood
 non potest expleri; nolite sinere nos cuiquam servire, nisi
not can to-be-glutted do-not-wish to-allow us to-anyone to-be-slaves except
 vobis universis, quibus et possumus et debemus.” Omitto
to-you all to-whom both we-can and we-ought I-pass-over

miserias, in quibus, ut illi aiunt, vir fortis esse non potest;

the-miseries in which as they say a-man brave to-be not is-able

omitto faucis, ex quibus te eripi vis, ne iudicio

I-pass-over the-jaws from which you to-be-snatched you-wish lest by-a-judgment

iniquo exsorbeatur sanguis tuus, quod sapienti negant

unfair may-be-drained-out the-blood your which for-the-wise-man they-deny

accidere posse: servire vero non modo te, sed universum

to-happen to-be-able to-be-a-slave indeed not only you but the-whole

senatum, cuius tum causam agebas, ausus es dicere?

senate whose then the-cause you-were-pleading dared you-have to-say

226 Potestne virtus, Crasse, servire istis auctoribus, quorum

can virtue Crassus to-be-a-slave with-those as-authorities whose

tu praecepta oratoris facultate complecteris? Quae et

you the-precepts of-an-orator with-the-faculty you-embrace which both

semper et sola libera est, quaeque, etiam si corpora

always and alone free is and-which even if bodies

capta sint armis aut constricta vinculis, tamen suum

captured have-been by-arms or bound by-chains still its-own

ius atque omnium rerum impunitam libertatem tenere

right and of-all things unpunished liberty to-hold

debeat. Quae vero addidisti, non modo senatum servire

ought which indeed you-added not only the-senate to-be-a-slave

posse populo, sed etiam debere, quis hoc philosophus

to-be-able to-the-people but even to-be-obliged what this philosopher

tam mollis, tam languidus, tam enervatus, tam omnia

so soft so languid so unnerved so all-(things)

ad voluptatem corporis doloremque referens probare posset,

to the-pleasure of-the-body and-the-pain referring to-approve could

senatum servire populo, cui populus ipse moderandi et

the-senate to-be-a-slave to-the-people to-whom the-people itself of-controlling and

regendi sui potestatem quasi quasdam habenas tradidisset?

of-governing itself the-power as-if certain reins had-handed-over

Itaque haec cum a te divinitus ego dicta arbitrarer, P. 227

and-so these when by you divinely I said thought Publius

Rutilius Rufus, homo doctus et philosophiae deditus, non

Rutilius Rufus a-man learned and to-philosophy devoted not

modo parum commode, sed etiam turpiter et flagitiose dicta

only too-little suitably but even basely and shamefully said

esse dicebat; idemque Servium Galbam, quem hominem

to-have-been was-saying and-the-same Servius Galba whom a-man

probe commeminisse se aiebat, pergraviter reprehendere

well to-remember himself he-said very-gravely to-censure

solebat, quod is, L. Scribonio quaestionem in

he-was-wont because he when-Lucius Scribonius an-inquiry against

eum ferente, populi misericordiam concitasset, cum

him was-bringing of-the-people the-pity had-roused although

M. Cato, Galbae gravis atque acer inimicus, aspere apud

Marcus Cato of-Galba a-grave and bitter enemy harshly before

populum Romanum et vehementer esset locutus, quam

the-people Roman and vehemently had spoken which

orationem in Originibus suis exposuit ipse.

speech in the-Origins his-own set-out he-himself

Reprehendebat igitur Galbam Rutilius, quod is C. 228

he-was-censuring therefore Galba Rutilius because he of-Gaius

Sulpici Gali propinqui sui Q. pupillum filium ipse

Sulpicius Galus kinsman his-own Quintus the-ward son himself

paene in umeros suos extulisset, qui patris clarissimi

almost onto the-shoulders his-own had-lifted who of-a-father the-most-illustrious

recordatione et memoria fletum populo moveret, et duos

by-the-recollection and by-the-memory weeping in-the-people might-stir and two

filios suos parvos tutelae populi commendasset ac

sons his-own small to-the-guardianship of-the-people had-commended and

se, tamquam in procinctu testamentum faceret sine

himself as-if in battle-array a-will he-were-making without

libra atque tabulis, populum Romanum tutorem instituere
scales and tablets the-people Roman as-guardian to-appoint
 dixisset illorum orbitati. Itaque, cum et invidia et
had-said for-their orphanhood and-so since both by-the-ill-will and
 odio populi tum Galba premeretur, hisce eum tragoediis
by-the-hatred of-the-people then Galba was-pressed by-these him by-theatrics
 liberatum ferebat; quod item apud Catonem scriptum esse
freed he-held which likewise in Cato written to-be
 video, nisi pueris et lacrimis usus esset, poenas eum daturum
I-see unless boys and tears used he-had a-penalty him going-to-pay
 fuisse. Haec Rutilius valde vituperabat et huic humilitati
to-have-been these Rutilius greatly was-blaming and to-this to-baseness
 dicebat vel exsilium fuisse vel mortem anteponendam.
he-was-saying either exile to-have-been or death to-be-preferred

229 Neque vero hoc solum dixit, sed ipse et sensit et fecit:
nor indeed this only he-said but himself both felt and did
 nam cum esset ille vir exemplum, ut scitis, innocentiae
for since was that man a-model as you-know of-innocence
 cumque illo nemo neque integrior esset in civitate neque
and-since than-him no-one neither more-upright was in the-state nor
 sanctor, non modo supplex iudicibus esse noluit, sed
more-blameless not only a-suppliant to-the-judges to-be he-wished-not but
 ne ornatus quidem aut liberius causam dici suam,
not more-ornately even or more-freely the-case to-be-pleaded his-own
 quam simplex ratio veritatis ferebat. Paulum huic Cottae
than the-simple method of-truth bore a-little to-this Cotta
 tribuit partium, disertissimo adulescenti, sororis suae
be-assigned of-the-parts to-the-most-eloquent young-man of-sister his-own
 filio; dixit item causam illam quadam ex parte Q.
to-the-son pleaded likewise the-case that in-a-certain from part Quintus
 Mucius, more suo, nullo apparatu, pure et dilucide.
Mucius in-the-manner his-own with-no display purely and clearly

Quod si tu tunc, Crasse, dixisses, qui subsidium oratori
which if you then Crassus had-spoken who the-support for-the-orator
 ex illis disputationibus, quibus philosophi utuntur, ad dicendi
from those discussions which the-philosophers use for of-speaking
 copiam petendum esse paulo ante dicebas, et, si tibi
the-fullness to-be-sought to-be a-little before you-were-saying and if for-you
 pro P. Rutilio non philosophorum more, sed tuo
for Publius Rutilius not of-the-philosophers in-the-manner but in-your
 licuisset dicere, quamvis scelerati illi fuissent, sicuti
it-had-been-allowed to-speak however-much criminal they had-been just-as
 fuerunt pestiferi cives supplicioque digni, tamen omnem
they-were pestilent citizens and-of-punishment worthy still all
 eorum importunitatem ex intimis mentibus evellisset
of-them the-ruthlessness from the-inmost minds would-have-torn-out
 vis orationis tuae. Nunc talis vir amissus est, dum causa
the-force of-the-speech your now such a-man lost has-been while the-case
 ita dicitur, ut si in illa commenticia Platonis civitate res
so is-pleaded as if in that imaginary of-Plato state the-matter
 ageretur. Nemo ingemuit, nemo inclamavit patronorum,
were-being-conducted no-one groaned no-one cried-out of-the-advocates
 nihil cuiquam doluit, nemo est questus, nemo rem publicam
nothing to-anyone gave-pain no-one has complained no-one the-thing public
 imploravit, nemo supplicavit; quid multa? pedem nemo in
implored no-one entreated what more the-foot no-one in
 illo iudicio supposit, credo, ne Stoicis renuntiaretur.
that trial stamped I-believe lest to-the-Stoics it-should-be-reported

Rutilius imitated Socrates, who read the speech Lysias wrote for him, called it well made, and would not use it: like Sicyonian shoes, a good fit and not a man's. Asked to name his penalty he claimed dinner at public expense, and was condemned for nothing but ignorance of speaking. Crassus praised the law to please Scaevola and justify his labor on it, yet his borrowed finery strips it bare: the jurist a pettifogger, the law a maid to eloquence.

- 231 **Imitatus est homo Romanus et consularis veterem**
 imitated has a-man Roman and of-consular-rank the-old
illum Socratem, qui, cum omnium sapientissimus esset
 that Socrates who although of-all the-wisest he-was
sanctissimeque vixisset, ita in iudicio capitis pro se ipse
 and-most-blamelessly he-had-lived so in a-trial of-life for himself he-himself
dixit, ut non supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus
 spoke that not a-suppliant or a-defendant but a-master or a-lord
videretur esse iudicum. Quin etiam, cum ei scriptam
 he-seemed to-be of-the-judges nay even when to-him a-written
orationem disertissimus orator Lysias attulisset, quam, si
 speech the-most-eloquent orator Lysias had-brought which if
ei videretur, edisceret, ut ea pro se in iudicio
 to-him it-seemed-good he-might-learn-by-heart that it for himself in the-trial
uteretur, non invitus legit et commodè scriptam esse dixit;
 he-might-use not unwilling he-read and neatly written to-be he-said
“sed” inquit “ut, si mihi calceos Sicyonios attulisses, non
 but he-said as if to-me shoes Sicyonian you-had-brought not
uterer, quamvis essent habiles atque apti ad pedem, quia
 I-should-use however-much they-were handy and fitted to the-foot because
non essent viriles,” sic illam orationem disertam sibi et
 not they-were manly so that speech eloquent to-himself and
oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri. Ergo ille
 oratorical to-seem brave and manly not to-seem therefore he

quoque damnatus est; neque solum primis sententiis, quibus
also condemned was nor only by-the-first by-the-votes by-which
 tantum statuebant iudices, damnarent an absolverent,
only were-deciding the-judges whether-they-should-condemn or they-should-acquit
 sed etiam illis, quas iterum legibus ferre debebant;
but even by-those which a-second-time by-the-laws to-cast they-were-obliged
 erat enim Athenis reo damnato, si fraus 232
there-was for at-Athens when-the-defendant was-condemned if the-offense
 capitalis non esset, quasi poenae aestimatio; et
capital not was as-it-were of-the-penalty an-assessment and
 sententia cum iudicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus,
the-vote when to-the-judges was-given was-asked the-defendant
 quam commeruisse se maxime confiteretur. Quod cum
what to-have-deserved himself chiefly he-confessed which when
 interrogatus Socrates esset, respondit sese meruisse ut
questioned Socrates was he-answered himself to-have-deserved that
 amplissimis honoribus et praemiis decoraretur et ut
with-the-amplest honors and rewards he-should-be-adorned and that
 ei victus cotidianus in Prytaneo publice praeberetur,
for-him food daily in the-Prytaneum at-public-cost should-be-supplied
 qui honos apud Graecos maximus habetur.
which honor among the-Greeks the-greatest is-held
 Cuius responso iudices sic exarserunt, ut capitis hominem 233
at-whose answer the-judges so blazed-up that of-life a-man
 innocentissimum condemnarent; qui quidem si absolutus
the-most-innocent they-condemned who indeed if acquitted
 esset, quod me hercule, etiam si nihil ad nos pertinet,
he-had-been which by Hercules even if nothing to us it-pertains
 tamen propter eius ingeni magnitudinem vellem, quonam
still on-account-of his of-talent the-greatness I-should-wish in-what
 modo istos philosophos ferre possemus, qui nunc, cum ille
way those philosophers to-bear could-we who now although he

damnatus est nullam aliam ob culpam nisi propter
condemned was no other on-account-of fault except on-account-of
 dicendi inscientiam, tamen a se oportere dicunt
of-speaking the-ignorance still from themselves it-behooves they-say
 peti praecepta dicendi? Quibuscum ego non pugno,
to-be-sought the-precepts of-speaking with-whom I not fight
 utrum sit melius aut verius: tantum dico et aliud
which-of-the-two is better or truer only I-say both other
 illud esse atque hoc et hoc sine illo summum esse posse.
that to-be than this and this without that the-highest to-be to-be-able

234 Nam quod ius civile, Crasse, tam vehementer amplexus
for that the-law civil Crassus so vehemently embraced
 es, video quid egeris; tum, cum dicebas, videbam;
you-have I-see what you-were-about then when you-were-speaking I-was-seeing
 primum Scaevolae te dedisti, quem omnes amare
first to-Scaevola yourself you-gave whom all to-love
 meritissimo pro eius eximia suavitate debemus; cuius artem
most-deservedly for his exceptional pleasantness we-ought whose art
 cum indotatam esse et incompitam videres, verborum eam
since undowered to-be and unadorned you-saw of-words it
 dote locupletasti et ornasti; deinde quod in ea tu
with-the-dowry you-enriched and you-adorned then because in it you
 plus operae laborisque consumpseras, cum eius studi tibi
more of-effort and-of-toil had-spent since of-that of-study for-you
 et hortator et magister esset domi, veritus es, nisi
both an-encourager and a-teacher was at-home having-feared you-have unless
 istam artem oratione exaggerasses, ne operam perdidisses.
that art by-speech you-had-magnified lest the-effort you-had-wasted

235 Sed ego ne cum ista quidem arte pugno. Sit sane tanta
but I not with that even art fight let-it-be indeed so-great
 quantam tu illam esse vis — etenim sine controversia et
as-great-as you it to-be wish for-indeed without dispute both

magna est et late patet et ad multos pertinet et summo
great it-is and widely it-extends and to many it-pertains and the-highest
 in honore semper fuit et clarissimi cives ei studio
in honor always has-been and the-most-illustrious citizens to-that to-study
 etiam hodie praesunt — sed vide, Crasse, ne dum novo et
even today preside but see Crassus lest while with-new and
 alieno ornatu velis ornare iuris civilis scientiam, suo
alien with-adornment you-wish to-adorn of-the-law civil the-knowledge of-its-own
 quoque eam concesso et tradito spolies atque denudes.
also it granted and handed-down you-strip and you-lay-bare
 Nam, si ita diceret, qui iuris consultus esset, esse
for if so you-were-saying who of-law learned is to-be
 eum oratorem, itemque qui esset orator, iuris eundem
him an-orator and-likewise who is an-orator of-law the-same
 esse consultum, praeclaras duas artis constitueres atque
to-be learned splendid two arts you-would-establish and
 inter se paris et eiusdem socias dignitatis. Nunc vero
among themselves equal and of-the-same partners of-worth now indeed
 iuris consultum sine hac eloquentia, de qua quaerimus,
of-law a-learned-man without this eloquence about which we-ask
 fateris esse posse, fuisseque plurimos; oratorem negas,
you-admit to-be to-be-able and-to-have-been very-many an-orator you-deny
 nisi illam scientiam adsumpserit, esse posse. Ita est tibi
unless that knowledge he-shall-have-taken-on to-be to-be-able so is to-you
 iuris consultus ipse per se nihil nisi leguleius quidam
of-law a-learned-man himself through himself nothing except a-pettifogger a-certain
 cautus et acutus, praeco actionum, cantor formularum,
cautious and sharp a-crier of-actions a-chanter of-formulas
 auceps syllabarum; sed quia saepe utitur orator subsidio
a-catcher of-syllables but because often uses the-orator the-support

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iuris in causis, idcirco istam iuris scientiam eloquentiae

of-law in cases therefore that of-law the-knowledge to-eloquence

tamquam ancillulam pedisequamque adiunxisti.

as-if a-little-maid and-a-waiting-maid you-have-attached

I.30 • ELOQUENCE WON THOSE CASES

The advocates Crassus mocked are easily defended: a man may plead for a woman without knowing the words by which a coemptio is made. In the great centumviral cases the experts disagreed about the law, so what the orator wanted was not knowledge but an authority to cite. Galba once jested the jurist Publius Crassus, clinging to his authorities, into conceding that equity against his answer was nearly true, and in the Curius case Crassus won by wit and ridicule, not by law.

237 Quod vero impudentiam admiratus es eorum
which indeed the-shamelessness having-wondered-at you-have of-those
 patronorum, qui aut, cum parva nescirent, magna
of-advocates who either although small-things they-did-not-know great-things
 profiterentur aut ea, quae maxima essent in iure
professed or those which the-greatest were in the-law
 civili, tractare auderent in causis, cum ea nescirent
civil to-handle dared in cases although them they-did-not-know
 numquamque didicissent, utriusque rei facilis est et prompta
and-never had-learned of-each thing easy is and ready
 defensio. Nam neque illud est mirandum, qui, quibus
the-defense for neither that is to-be-wondered-at who by-what
 verbis coemptio fiat, nesciat, eundem eius mulieris, quae
words a-coemption is-made does-not-know the-same of-that of-the-woman who
 coemptionem fecerit, causam posse defendere; nec, si parvi
a-coemption has-made the-case to-be-able to-defend nor if of-a-small
 navigi et magni eadem est in gubernando scientia, idcirco
ship and of-a-great the-same is in steering the-knowledge therefore

qui, quibus verbis erctum cieri oporteat, nesciat,
who by-what words a-partition to-be-summoned it-behooves does-not-know
 idem erciscundae familiae causam agere non possit.

the-same of-dividing of-an-estate the-case to-conduct not is-able

Nam, quod maximas centumviralis causas in iure positas 238
for that the-greatest centumviral cases in law placed

protulisti, quae tandem earum causa fuit, quae ab
you-brought-forward which pray of-them a-case was which by
 homine eloquenti iuris imperito non ornatissime potuerit
a-man eloquent of-law unskilled not most-elegantly could
 dici? Quibus quidem in causis omnibus, sicut in ipsa

to-be-pleaded which indeed in cases all just-as in the-very

M'. Curi, quae abs te nuper est dicta, et in C.

of-Manius Curius which by you lately has-been pleaded and in of-Gaius

Hostili Mancini controversia atque in eo puero, qui ex
Hostilius Mancinus the-dispute and in that the-boy who from
 altera natus erat uxore, non remisso nuntio superiori,

the-second born had-been wife not having-been-sent notice to-the-former

fuit inter peritissimos homines summa de iure dissensio:

there-was among the-most-skilled men the-highest about law disagreement

quaero igitur, quid adiuverit oratorem in his causis iuris

I-ask therefore what has-helped the-orator in these cases of-law

scientia, cum hic iuris consultus superior fuerit

the-knowledge since here of-law the-learned-man the-superior would-have-been

discessurus, qui esset non suo artificio, sed alieno,

going-to-depart who was not by-his-own by-craft but by-another's

hoc est, non iuris scientia, sed eloquentia, sustentatus.

this is not of-law by-the-knowledge but by-eloquence upheld

Equidem hoc saepe audiui: cum aedilitatem P. Crassus 239

for-my-part this often I-have-beard when the-aedileship Publius Crassus

peteret eumque maior natu et iam consularis Ser.

was-seeking and-him elder in-birth and now of-consular-rank Servius

Galba adsectaretur, quod Crassi filiam Gaius filio suo
Galba was-attending because of-Crassus the-daughter to-Gaius son his-own
 despondisset, accessisse ad Crassum consulendi causa
he-had-betrothed to-have-come to Crassus of-consulting for-the-sake
 quendam rusticanum, qui cum Crassum seduxisset atque
a-certain countryman who when Crassus he-had-drawn-aside and
 ad eum rettulisset responsumque ab eo verum magis quam
to him had-referred and-an-answer from him true more than
 ad suam rem accommodatum abstulisset, ut eum tristem
to his-own affair suited had-carried-off as him gloomy
 Galba vidit, nomine appellavit quaesivitque, qua de re
Galba saw by-name he-called and-he-asked what about matter
 ad Crassum rettulisset; ex quo ut audivit commotumque
to Crassus he-had-referred from which as he-heard and-stirred
 ut vidit hominem, “suspense” inquit “animo et occupato
as he-saw the-man with-a-troubled he-said mind and preoccupied
 Crassum tibi respondisse video,” deinde ipsum Crassum
Crassus to-you to-have-answered I-see then himself Crassus
 manu prehendit et “heus tu,” inquit “quid tibi in
by-the-hand he-seized and ho you he-said what to-you into
 mentem venit ita respondere?” Tum ille fidenter homo
mind came so to-answer then he confidently a-man
 peritissimus confirmare ita se rem habere, ut respondisset,
the-most-skilled to-affirm so itself the-matter to-have as he-had-answered
 nec dubium esse posse; Galba autem adludens varie et
nor doubtful to-be to-be-able Galba however jesting variously and
 copiose multas similitudines adferre multaue pro aequitate
copiously many likenesses to-bring and-many for equity
 contra ius dicere; atque illum, cum disserendo par esse
against law to-say and him since in-arguing an-equal to-be
 non posset — quamquam fuit Crassus in numero disertorum,
not he-could although was Crassus in the-number of-the-eloquent

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sed par Galbae nullo modo — ad auctores confugisse
but an-equal to-Galba in-no way to the-authorities to-have-fled
 et id, quod ipse diceret, et in P. Muci fratris
and that which he-himself was-saying both in of-Publius Mucius of-the-brother
 sui libris et in Sex. Aeli commentariis scriptum
his-own the-books and in of-Sextus of-Aelius the-commentaries written
 protulisse ac tamen concessisse Galbae disputationem
to-have-produced and still to-have-granted of-Galba the-argument
 sibi probabilem et prope veram videri.
to-himself plausible and nearly true to-seem

Ac tamen, quae causae sunt eius modi, ut de earum iure 241
and still which cases are of-that sort that about their law
 dubium esse non possit, omnino in iudicium vocari non
doubt to-be not can at-all into court to-be-called not
 solent. Num quis eo testamento, quod paterfamilias
are-wont surely-not anyone by-that by-will which a-head-of-a-household
 ante fecit quam ei filius natus esset, hereditatem petit?
before made than to-him a-son born had-been the-inheritance claims
 Nemo; quia constat agnascendo rumpi testamentum;
no-one because it-is-agreed by-a-birth to-be-broken a-will
 ergo in hoc genere iuris iudicia nulla sunt: licet igitur
therefore in this kind of-law trials none there-are it-is-allowed therefore
 impune oratori omnem hanc partem iuris non controversi
with-impunity for-the-orator all this part of-law not disputed
 ignorare, quae pars sine dubio multo maxima est;
not-to-know which part without doubt much the-greatest is
 in eo autem iure, quod ambigitur inter peritissimos, non est 242
in that however law which is-disputed among the-most-skilled not is
 difficile oratori eius partis, quamcumque defendet, auctorem
difficult for-the-orator of-that of-the-side whichever he-will-defend an-authority
 aliquem invenire; a quo cum amentatas hastas acceperit,
some to-find from whom when thonged spears he-shall-have-received

ipse eas oratoris lacertis viribusque torquebit.

he-himself them of-an-orator with-the-arms and-with-the-strength will-hurl

Nisi vero — bona venia huius optimi viri dixerim —

unless indeed by-the-good leave of-this of-the-best of-man let-me-say

Scaevolae tu libellis aut praeceptis soceri tui causam

of-Scaevola you by-the-books or by-the-precepts of-the-father-in-law your the-case

M'. Curi defendisti, non adripuisti patrocinium aequitatis

of-Manius Curius you-defended not you-seized the-patronage of-equity

et defensionem testamentorum ac voluntatis mortuorum.

and the-defense of-wills and of-the-intention of-the-dead

243 Ac mea quidem sententia — frequens enim te audiui atque

and in-my indeed opinion often for you I-heard and

adfui — multo maiorem partem sententiarum sale tuo et

I-was-present much greater the-part of-the-votes by-the-wit your and

lepore et politissimis facetiis pellexisti, cum et illud

by-the-charm and by-the-most-polished by-witticisms you-won-over when both that

nimum acumen inluderet et admirare ingenium Scaevolae

excessive subtlety you-mocked and you-marveled-at the-talent of-Scaevola

qui excogitasset nasci prius oportere quam emori;

who had-devised to-be-born first to-be-necessary than to-die

cumque multa conligeres et ex legibus et ex senatus

and-when many-things you-collected both from the-laws and from of-the-senate

consultis et ex vita ac sermone communi non modo acute

the-decrees and from life and talk common not only sharply

sed etiam ridicule ac facete, ubi si verba, non rem

but even laughably and wittily where if the-words not the-substance

sequeremur, confici nihil posset: itaque hilaritatis

we-followed to-be-accomplished nothing could and-so of-merriment

plenum iudicium ac laetitiae fuit; in quo quid tibi iuris

full the-court and of-gladness was in which what to-you of-the-law

civilis exercitatio profuerit, non intellego; dicendi vis
civil the-practice profited not I-understand of-speaking a-force
 egregia, summa festivitate et venustate coniuncta, profuit.
outstanding with-the-highest gaiety and grace joined profited
 Ipse ille Mucius paterni iuris defensor et quasi patrimonii 244
himself that Mucius of-paternal of-law the-defender and as-it-were of-the-patrimony
 propugnator sui, quid in illa causa, cum contra te
the-champion of-his-own what in that case when against you
 diceret, attulit, quod de iure civili depromptum
he-was-speaking brought which from the-law civil drawn
 videretur? Quam legem recitavit? Quid patefecit dicendo,
might-seem what statute did-he-recite what did-he-lay-open by-speaking
 quod fuisset imperitis occultius? Nempe eius omnis oratio
which had-been to-the-unskilled too-hidden surely his whole speech
 versata est in eo, ut scriptum plurimum valere oportere
turned was on this that the-writing most to-avail to-be-obliged
 defenderet; at in hoc genere pueri apud magistros
he-should-maintain but in this kind boys before masters
 exercentur omnes, cum in eius modi causis alias
are-trained all since in of-that sort cases at-one-time
 scriptum, alias aequitatem defendere docentur.
the-writing at-another equity to-defend they-are-taught

I.31 • COMMON SENSE IS ENOUGH

Had Crassus pleaded for the soldier he would have raised the dead father and made the stones weep. The young are not idle for leaving a study Crassus admits is not yet an art; old laws grow old or are repealed, and virtue is taught by persuasion, not penalties. Antonius never learned the law and never missed it: no one reads Mago to inspect a farm. Law helps, but the orator has harder studies.

245 Et, credo, in illa militis causa, si tu aut heredem aut
and I-suppose in that of-the-soldier case if you either the-heir or
 militem defendisses, ad Hostilianas te actiones, non
the-soldier had-defended to the-Hostilian yourself forms-of-action not
 ad tuam vim et oratoriam facultatem contulisses: tu
to your force and oratorical faculty you-would-have-betaken you
 vero, vel si testamentum defenderes, sic ageres, ut
indeed either if a-will you-were-defending so you-would-plead that
 omne omnium testamentorum ius in eo iudicio positum
all of-all of-wills the-law in that trial placed
 videretur, vel si causam ageres militis, patrem
might-seem or if the-case you-were-pleading of-the-soldier the-father
 eius, ut soles, dicendo a mortuis excitasses;
of-him as you-are-wont by-speaking from the-dead you-would-have-roused
 statuisses ante oculos; complexus esset filium
you-would-have-set before the-eyes having-embraced he-would-have the-son
 flensque eum centum viris commendasset; lapides me
and-weeping him to-the-hundred to-men he-would-have-commended the-stones by
 hercule omnis flere ac lamentari coegisses, ut
Hercules all to-weep and to-lament you-would-have-compelled so-that
 totum illud uti lingua nuncupassit non in XII
the-whole that as with-the-tongue he-shall-have-named not in the-Twelve
 tabulis, quas tu omnibus bibliothecis anteponis, sed in
Tables which you to-all to-libraries you-prefer but in
 magistri carmine scriptum videretur.
a-schoolmaster's chant written might-seem

246 Nam quod inertiam accusas adulescentium, qui istam artem
for that the-idleness you-accuse of-the-young-men who that art
 primum facillimam non ediscant, quam sit facilis, illi
first the-easiest not learn-by-heart how it-is easy those
 viderint, qui eius artis adrogantia, quasi difficillima sit,
may-see who of-that of-art by-the-arrogance as-if the-hardest it-were

ita subnixa ambulant, deinde etiam tu ipse videris, qui
so propped-up walk then even you yourself may-see who
 eam artem facilem esse dicis, quam concedis adhuc artem
that art easy to-be say which you-grant hitherto an-art
 omnino non esse, sed aliquando, si quis aliam artem
at-all not to-be but at-some-time if anyone another art
 didicerit, ut hanc artem efficere possit, tum esse
shall-have-learned so-that this an-art to-make be-may-be-able then to-be
 illam artem futuram; deinde, quod sit plena delectationis; in
that an-art going-to-be then because it-is full of-delight in
 quo tibi remittunt omnes istam voluptatem et ea se
which to-you remit all that pleasure and it themselves
 carere patiuntur; nec quisquam est eorum, qui, si iam sit
to-lack they-endure nor anyone is of-them who if now there-is
 ediscendum sibi aliquid, non Teucrum Pacuvi malit
to-be-learned-by-heart by-himself something not the-Teucer of-Pacuvius would-prefer
 quam Manilianas venalium vendendorum leges ediscere;
than the-Manilian of-goods of-to-be-sold the-clauses to-learn-by-heart
 tum autem quod amore patriae censes nos nostrorum 247
then however that from-love of-fatherland you-judge us of-our
 maiorum inventa nosse debere, non vides veteres leges
of-forefathers the-inventions to-know to-be-obliged not do-you-see the-old laws
 aut ipsas sua vetustate consenuisse aut novis legibus
either themselves by-their-own by-age to-have-grown-old or by-new by-laws
 esse sublatas? Quod vero viros bonos iure civili
to-have-been abolished that indeed men good by-the-law civil
 fieri putas, quia legibus et praemia proposita sint
to-be-made you-think because by-the-laws both rewards set-forth are
 virtutibus et supplicia vitiis, equidem putabam virtutem
for-virtues and punishments for-vices for-my-part I-was-thinking virtue
 hominibus, si modo tradi ratione possit, instituendo
to-men if only to-be-handed-on by-a-method it-can by-training

et persuadendo, non minis et vi ac metu tradi.

and by-persuading not by-threats and by-force and by-fear to-be-handed-on

Nam ipsum quidem illud etiam sine cognitione iuris,

for the-very indeed that even without the-knowledge of-law

quam sit bellum cavere malum, scire possumus.

how it-is fine to-guard-against evil to-know we-can

248 De me autem ipso, cui uni tu concedis, ut sine ulla

about me however myself to-whom alone you grant that without any

iuris scientia tamen causis satis facere possim, tibi hoc,

of-law knowledge still for-the-cases enough to-do I-may-be-able to-you this

Crasse, respondeo, neque me umquam ius civile didicisse

Crassus I-reply neither me ever the-law civil to-have-learned

neque tamen in eis causis, quas in iure possem defendere,

nor still in those cases which in law I-could to-defend

umquam istam scientiam desiderasse; aliud est enim esse

ever that knowledge to-have-missed one-thing is for to-be

artificem cuiusdam generis atque artis, aliud in communi vita

a-practitioner of-a-certain class and of-art another in common life

et vulgari hominum consuetudine nec hebetem nec rudem.

and ordinary of-men usage neither dull nor raw

249 Cui nostrum licet fundos nostros obire aut res

to-whom of-us is-it-allowed the-estates our to-visit or things

rusticas vel fructus causa vel delectationis invisere?

rustic either of-produce for-the-sake or of-pleasure to-inspect

Tamen nemo tam sine oculis, tam sine mente vivit, ut

still no-one so without eyes so without mind lives that

quid sit sementis ac messis, quid arborum putatio ac

what is sowing and harvest what of-trees the-pruning and

vitium, quo tempore anni aut quo modo ea fiant

of-vines at-what season of-the-year or in-what way these are-done

omnino nesciat. Num igitur si qui fundus inspiciendus

at-all he-does-not-know surely-not therefore if any estate to-be-inspected

aut si mandandum aliquid procuratori de agri cultura
or if to-be-entrusted anything to-a-steward about of-the-field the-tillage
 aut imperandum vilico est, Magonis Karthaginiensis sunt
or to-be-ordered to-the-bailiff is of-Mago the-Carthaginian are
 libri perdiscendi? an hac communi intellegentia
the-books to-be-learned-thoroughly or with-this common understanding
 contenti esse possumus? Cur ergo non eidem in iure civili,
content to-be we-can why then not the-same in law civil
 praesertim cum in causis et in negotiis et in foro
especially since in cases and in business and in the-forum
 conteramur, satis instructi esse possumus ad hoc dumtaxat,
we-are-worn-down enough equipped to-be we-can for this at-least
 ne in nostra patria peregrini atque advenae esse videamur?
lest in our fatherland foreigners and newcomers to-be we-may-seem
 Ac si iam sit causa aliqua ad nos delata obscurior, 250
and if now there-be a-case some to us brought too-obscure
 difficile, credo, sit, cum hoc Scaevola communicare;
difficult I-suppose it-may-be with this Scaevola to-confer
 quamquam ipsi omnia, quorum negotium est, consulta
although they-themselves all-things whose the-business is consulted
 ad nos et exquisita deferunt. An vero, si de re
to us and inquired-into bring or indeed if about the-matter
 ipsa, si de finibus, cum in rem praesentem venimus, si
itself if about boundaries when to the-place present we-come if
 de tabulis et perscriptionibus controversia est, contortas
about the-tablets and the-accounts a-dispute there-is intricate
 res et saepe difficilis necessario perdiscimus; si leges
matters and often difficult necessarily we-learn-thoroughly if the-laws
 nobis aut si hominum peritorum responsa cognoscenda
by-us or if of-men skilled the-answers to-be-learned

sunt, veremur ne ea, si ab adolescentia iuri civili

are do-we-fear lest them if from youth to-the-law civil

minus studuerimus, non queamus cognoscere?

less we-shall-have-devoted-ourselves not we-may-be-able to-learn

Nihilne igitur prodest oratori iuris civilis scientia? Non

nothing-at-all therefore does-it-profit the-orator of-the-law civil the-knowledge not

possum negare prodesse ullam scientiam, ei praesertim,

I-can to-deny to-profit any knowledge to-him especially

cuius eloquentia copia rerum debeat esse ornata; sed multa

whose eloquence by-the-store of-things ought to-be adorned but many

et magna et difficilia sunt ea, quae sunt oratori necessaria,

and great and difficult are those which are for-the-orator necessary

ut eius industriam in plura studia distrahere nolim.

that his industry into more studies to-distract I-should-not-wish

251 Quis neget opus esse oratori in hoc oratorio motu

who would-deny need to-be for-the-orator in this oratorical movement

statuque Rosci gestum et venustatem? Tamen nemo suaserit

and-bearing of-Roscius the-gesture and the-grace still no-one would-advice

studiosis dicendi adolescentibus in gestu discendo histrionum

to-eager of-speaking to-the-young-men in gesture learning of-actors

more elaborare. Quid est oratori tam necessarium

in-the-manner to-labor what is for-the-orator so necessary

quam vox? Tamen me auctore nemo dicendi studiosus

as the-voice still with-me as-adviser no-one of-speaking eager

Graecorum more tragoedorum voci serviet, qui et

of-the-Greeks in-the-manner of-tragic-actors to-the-voice will-be-a-slave who both

annos compluris sedentes declamitant et cotidie, ante quam

years several sitting declaim-repeatedly and daily before than

pronuntient, vocem cubantes sensim excitant eandemque,

they-deliver the-voice lying gradually they-rouse and-the-same

cum egerunt, sedentes ab acutissimo sono usque ad

when they-have-performed sitting from the-highest pitch right down-to

gravissimum sonum recipiunt et quasi quodam modo
the-lowest pitch they-bring-back and as-it-were in-a-certain way
 conligunt. Hoc nos si facere velimus, ante condemnentur
they-gather this we if to-do we-should-wish before would-be-condemned
 ei, quorum causas receperimus, quam totiens, quotiens
those whose cases we-shall-have-taken than so-often as-often-as
 praescribitur, Paeanem aut hymnum recitarimus.
it-is-prescribed a-paean or a-hymn we-shall-have-recited

I.32 • NEITHER VOICE NOR OLD AGE ARGUES FOR THE LAW

If a speaker cannot spare time to train the gesture and voice that carry eloquence, still less should he learn the civil law, which an expert or a book can supply when a case wants it. Old age needs no crowd of clients: leisure is its best support. History Antonius will borrow from Congus; Crassus' exercises are hard but nearly necessary, and his demand that each be a Roscius deters more than it encourages, since a hoarse orator is still heard.

Quod si in gestu, qui multum oratorem adiuvat, et 252
which if in gesture which much the-orator helps and
 in voce, quae una maxime eloquentiam vel commendat
in the-voice which alone chiefly eloquence either commends
 vel sustinet, elaborare nobis non licet ac tantum in
or sustains to-labor for-us not is-allowed and so-much in
 utroque adsequi possumus, quantum in hac acie cotidiani
each to-attain we-can as-much in this battle-line of-daily
 muneris spatii nobis datur, quanto minus est ad iuris
of-duty of-time to-us is-given how-much less is-it to of-the-law
 civilis perdiscendi occupationem descendendum? Quod et
civil of-learning-thoroughly the-business to-be-gone-down which both
 summam percipi sine doctrina potest et hanc habet
in-summary to-be-grasped without learning can and this has

ab illis rebus dissimilitudinem, quod vox et gestus
from those things a-difference that the-voice and the-gesture
 subito sumi et aliunde adripi non potest, iuris
suddenly to-be-taken and from-elsewhere to-be-snatched not can of-law
 utilitas ad quamque causam quamvis repente vel a
the-usefulness for each case however suddenly either from
 peritis vel de libris depromi potest.

the-skilled or from books to-be-drawn can

253 Itaque illi disertissimi homines ministros habent in causis

and-so those the-most-eloquent men assistants have in cases
 iuris peritos, cum ipsi sint imperitissimi, ei qui,

of-law skilled although they-themselves are the-most-unskilled those who
 ut abs te paulo ante dictum est, pragmatici vocantur;

as by you a-little before said it-was practitioners are-called

in quo nostri omnino melius multo, quod clarissimorum

in which our-men altogether better much because of-the-most-illustrious

hominum auctoritate leges et iura tecta esse voluerunt.

of-men by-the-authority the-laws and the-rights covered to-be they-have-wished

Sed tamen non fugisset hoc Graecos homines, si ita

but still not would-have-escaped this the-Greek men if so

necesse esse arbitrati essent, oratorem ipsum erudire

necessary to-be having-judged they-had-been the-orator himself to-instruct

in iure civili, non ei pragmaticum adiutorem dare.

in the-law civil not to-him a-practitioner as-helper to-give

254 Nam quod dicis senectutem a solitudine vindicari iuris

for that you-say old-age from solitude to-be-rescued of-law

civilis scientia, fortasse etiam pecuniae magnitudine;

civil by-the-knowledge perhaps even of-money by-the-greatness

sed nos non quid nobis utile, verum quid oratori

but we not what for-us useful but what for-the-orator

necessarium sit, quaerimus. Quamquam, quoniam multa

necessary is we-ask although since many-things

ad oratoris similitudinem ab uno artifice sumimus, solet
to of-the-orator the-likeness from one artist we-take is-wont
 idem Roscius dicere se, quo plus sibi aetatis
the-same Roscius to-say himself by-how-much more to-himself of-age
 accederet, eo tardiores tibicinis modos et cantus
was-added by-so-much slower of-the-flute-player the-measures and the-songs
 remissiores esse facturum. Quod si ille astrictus certa
more-relaxed to-be going-to-make which if he bound by-a-fixed
 quadam numerorum moderatione et pedum tamen aliquid
a-certain of-rhythms by-the-regulation and of-feet still something
 ad requiem senectutis excogitat, quanto facilius nos non
for the-rest of-old-age devises how-much more-easily we not
 laxare modos, sed totos mutare possumus?

to-loosen the-measures but wholly to-change we-can

Neque enim hoc te, Crasse, fallit, quam multa sint et 255
nor for this you Crassus escapes how many there-are and
 quam varia genera dicendi, id quod haud sciam an
how various the-kinds of-speaking that which hardly I-may-know whether
 tu primus ostenderis, qui iam diu multo dicis remissius
you first have-shown who now long much you-speak more-relaxedly
 et lenius quam solebas; neque minus haec tamen tua
and more-gently than you-were-wont nor less this still your
 gravissimi sermonis lenitas, quam illa summa vis et contentio
of-most-weighty of-discourse gentleness than that highest force and strain
 probatur: multique oratores fuerunt, ut illum Scipionem
is-approved and-many orators there-have-been as that Scipio
 audimus et Laelium, qui omnia sermone conficerent paulo
we-bear and Laelius who all-(things) with-discourse accomplished a-little
 intentiore, numquam, ut Ser. Galba, lateribus aut clamore
more-intent never as Servius Galba with-the-lungs or with-shouting
 contenderent. Quod si iam hoc facere non poteris aut
strove which if now this to-do not you-shall-be-able or

noles, vereris ne tua domus talis et viri et
you-will-not-wish do-you-fear lest your house of-such both of-a-man and
 civis, si a litigiosis hominibus non colatur, a ceteris
of-a-citizen if by litigious men not is-thronged by the-rest
 deseratur? Equidem tantum absum ab ista sententia, ut
may-be-deserted for-my-part so-far I-am from that view that
 non modo non arbitrer subsidium senectutis in eorum, qui
not only not I-should-think a-support of-old-age in of-those who
 consultum veniant, multitudine esse ponendum, sed tamquam
to-consult come the-multitude to-be to-be-placed but as-if
 portum aliquem exspectem istam quam tu times, solitudinem.
a-harbor some I-should-await that which you fear solitude

Subsidium enim bellissimum existimo esse senectuti otium.
a-support for the-finest I-judge to-be for-old-age leisure

256

Reliqua vero etiam si adiuvant, historiam dico et
the-rest indeed even if they-help history I-mean and
 prudentiam iuris publici et antiquitatis memoriam et
the-practical-wisdom of-law public and of-antiquity the-memory and
 exemplorum copiam, si quando opus erit, a viro optimo
of-examples the-store if ever need there-shall-be from a-man the-best
 et istis rebus instructissimo, familiari meo Congo mutuabor,
and in-those in-matters the-best-furnished a-friend my Congus I-shall-borrow
 neque repugnabo, quo minus, id quod modo hortatus
nor I-shall-oppose by-which the-less that which just-now having-urged
 es, omnia legant, omnia audiant, in omni recto
you-have all-(things) they-should-read all-(things) they-should-bear in every right
 studio atque humanitate versentur; sed me hercule non
pursuit and culture they-should-be-engaged but by Hercules not
 ita multum spati mihi habere videntur, si modo ea facere et
so much of-time to-me to-have they-seem if only those to-do and
 persequi volent, quae a te, Crasse, praecepta sunt; qui mihi
to-pursue they-shall-wish which by you Crassus prescribed have-been who to-me

prope iam nimis duras leges imponere visus es huic aetati,
almost now too hard laws to-impose seemed you-have on-this on-age
 sed tamen ad id, quod cupiunt, adipiscendum prope necessarias.

but still for that which they-desire for-attaining almost necessary

Nam et subitae ad propositas causas exercitationes et
for both sudden on set cases exercises and

257

accuratae ac meditatae commentationes ac stilus ille
careful and pondered meditations and the-pen that

tuus, quem tu vere dixisti perfectorem dicendi esse ac
your which you truly have-said the-perfecter of-speaking to-be and

magistrum, multi sudoris est; et illa orationis suae cum
the-master of-much sweat is and that of-speech one's-own with

scriptis alienis comparatio et de alieno scripto subita
writings others' the-comparison and about another's a-writing sudden

vel laudandi vel vituperandi vel comprobandi vel refellendi
either of-praising or of-blaming or of-approving or of-refuting

causa disputatio non mediocris contentionis est vel ad
for-the-sake a-discussion not of-middling of-effort is either for

memoriam vel ad imitandum.

memory or for imitating

Illud vero fuit horribile, quod me hercule vereor ne maiorem
that indeed was frightful which by Hercules I-fear lest a-greater
 vim ad deterrendum habuerit quam ad cohortandum:

258

force for deterring it-has-had than for encouraging

voluisti enim in suo genere unum quemque nostrum
you-wished for in his-own kind one each of-us

quasi quendam esse Roscium; dixistisque non tam ea,
as-if a-certain to-be a-Roscus and-you-said not so-much those

quae recta essent, probari, quam quae prava, fastidiis
which right were to-be-approved as what crooked to-disgusts

adhaerescere; quod ego non tam fastidiose in nobis quam
to-cling which I not so fastidiously in us as

in histrionibus spectari puto;

in actors to-be-watched think

259 itaque nos raucos saepe attentissime audiri video; tenet

and-so us hoarse often most-attentively to-be-heard I-see holds

enim res ipsa atque causa; at Aesopum, si paulum

for the-matter itself and the-case but Aesopus if a-little

inrauserit, explodi. A quibus enim nihil praeter

be-shall-have-grown-hoarse to-be-bissed-off from whom for nothing besides

voluptatem aurium quaeritur, in eis offenditur, simul atque

the-pleasure of-the-ears is-sought in those offense-is-taken as-soon as

imminuitur aliquid de voluptate, in eloquenti autem

is-lessened anything of the-pleasure in an-eloquent-man however

multa sunt quae teneant; quae si omnia summa non

many-things there-are which hold which if all the-highest not

sunt et pleraque tamen magna sunt, necesse est ea

are and most still great are necessary it-is those

ipsa, quae sunt, mirabilia videri.

very-(things) which are wonderful to-seem

1.33 • DEMOSTHENES, AND THE DAY ENDS

So let the orator be the man who can speak fittingly to persuade, shut into the business of the courts and the forum and pressed at that one work night and day, with Demosthenes for his model, who beat a stammer and a short breath by labor and declaimed uphill with pebbles in his mouth. Crassus objects that Antonius has made a mere workman of the orator, and the company breaks off until the next day.

Ergo, ut ad primum illud revertar, sit orator nobis is, 260
therefore that to the-first that I-may-return let-be the-orator for-us he
 qui, ut Crassus descripsit, accommodate ad persuadendum
who as Crassus described suitably for persuading
 possit dicere; is autem concludatur in ea, quae sunt
is-able to-speak he however let-him-be-confined within those-(things) which are
 in usu civitatum vulgari ac forensi, remotisque ceteris
in the-usage of-states common and forensic and-when-removed the-other
 studiis, quamvis ea sint ampla atque praeclara, in hoc uno
pursuits however-much they may-be ample and splendid in this one
 opere, ut ita dicam, noctes et dies urgeatur; imiteturque
work that so I-may-say nights and days let-him-be-pressed and-let-him-imitate
 illum, cui sine dubio summa vis dicendi conceditur,
him to-whom without doubt the-biggest force of-speaking is-granted
 Atheniensem Demosthenem, in quo tantum studium fuisse
the-Athenian Demosthenes in whom so-great zeal to-have-been
 tantusque labor dicitur, ut primum impedimenta naturae
and-so-great toil is-said that first the-hindrances of-nature
 diligentia industriaque superaret, cumque ita balbus esset,
by-care and-by-industry he-overcame and-although so stammering he-was
 ut eius ipsius artis, cui studeret, primam litteram non
that of-that very of-art which he-was-studying the-first letter not
 posset dicere, perfecit meditando, ut nemo planius esse
he-could to-say he-brought-it-about by-practicing that no-one more-plainly to-have
 locutus putaretur; deinde cum spiritus eius esset angustior,
spoken was-thought then since the-breath of-him was too-short
 tantum continenda anima in dicendo est adsecutus, ut
so-much by-holding the-breath in speaking he-has having-attained that
 una continuatione verborum, id quod eius scripta declarant,
in-one in-a-run of-words that which his writings show
 binae ei contentiones vocis et remissiones continerentur;
two for-him raisings of-the-voice and lowerings were-contained

261 qui etiam, ut memoriae proditum est, coniectis in os
who even as to-memory handed-down it-is when-put into the-mouth
 calculis, summa voce versus multos uno spiritu
pebbles with-the-highest with-voice verses many with-one breath
 pronuntiare consuescebat; neque is consistens in loco,
to-utter he-used-to-accustom-himself nor he standing in a-place
 sed inambulans atque ascensu ingrediens arduo.

but walking-about and by-an-ascent advancing steep

262 Hisce ego cohortationibus, Crasse, ad studium et ad
with-these I with-exhortations Crassus to zeal and to
 laborem incitandos iuvenis vehementer adsentior; cetera,
toil to-be-stirred the-young-men strongly I-agree the-rest
 quae conlegisti ex variis et diversis studiis et artibus,
which you-have-gathered from various and diverse pursuits and arts
 tametsi ipse es omnia consecutus, tamen ab
although you-yourself you-have all-(things) having-attained still from
 oratoris proprio officio atque munere seiuncta esse arbitror.
of-the-orator the-proper duty and function separated to-be I-think
 Haec cum Antonius dixisset, sane dubitare visus est
these when Antonius had-said indeed to-doubt seemed has
 Sulpicius et Cotta, utrius oratio propius ad
Sulpicius and Cotta of-which-of-the-two the-speech more-closely to
 veritatem videretur accedere.

the-truth might-seem to-approach

263 Tum Crassus 'operarium nobis quendam, Antoni, oratorem
then Crassus a-workman for-us a-certain Antonius the-orator
 facis atque haud scio an aliter sentias et utare
you-make and hardly I-know whether otherwise you-think and you-use
 tua illa mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine, qua tibi
your that wonderful for refuting habit in-which to-you
 nemo umquam praestitit; cuius quidem ipsius facultatis
no-one ever has-been-superior of-which indeed of-the-very of-faculty

exercitatio oratorum propria est, sed iam in philosophorum

the-practice of-orators proper is but now in of-philosophers

consuetudine versatur maximeque eorum, qui de omni re

the-habit is-engaged and-chiefly of-those who about every matter

proposita in utramque partem solent copiosissime dicere.

set on each side are-wont most-fully to-speak

Verum ego non solum arbitrabar, his praesertim

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but I not only was-thinking with-these especially

audientibus, a me informari oportere, qualis esse posset

bearing by me to-be-sketchcd to-be-fitting of-what-kind to-be could

is, qui habitaret in subselliis neque quicquam amplius

he who dwelt among the-benches and-not anything more

adferret, quam quod causarum necessitas postularet, sed

brought than what of-the-cases the-necessity demanded but

maius quiddam videbam, cum censebam oratorem, praesertim

greater something I-was-seeing when I-judged the-orator especially

in nostra re publica, nullius ornamenti expertem esse

in our thing public of-no of-ornament devoid to-be

oportere. Tu autem, quoniam exiguis quibusdam finibus

to-be-fitting you however since by-narrow by-certain by-bounds

totum oratoris munus circumdedisti, hoc facilius nobis

the-whole of-the-orator function you-have-encircled by-this more-easily to-us

expones ea, quae abs te de officiis praeceptisque

you-will-set-out those which by you about the-duties and-precepts

oratoris quaesita sunt; sed opinor secundum hunc diem;

of-the-orator asked have-been but I-think after this day

satis enim multa a nobis hodie dicta sunt.

enough for many-things by us today said have-been

Nunc et Scaevola, quoniam in Tusculanum ire constituit,

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now both Scaevola since to the-Tusculan-(villa) to-go he-has-determined

paulum requiescet, dum se calor frangat; et nos ipsi,

a-little will-rest until itself the-heat may-break and we ourselves

quoniam id temporis est, valetudini demus operam.'

since that of-time it-is to-health let-us-give attention

Placuit sic omnibus. Tum Scaevola 'sane' inquit 'vellem

it-pleased so to-all then Scaevola indeed he-said I-could-wish

non constituissem me hodie venturum esse L. Aelio;

not I-had-arranged myself today going-to-come to-be to-Lucius Aelius

libenter audirem Antonium'; et, cum exsurgeret, simul

gladly I-would-hear Antonius and as he-was-rising at-the-same-time

adridens 'neque enim' inquit 'tam mihi molestus fuit,

smiling nor for he-said so to-me troublesome he-has-been

quod ius nostrum civile pervellit, quam iucundus, quod

because the-law our civil he-plucked-at as pleasing because

se id nescire confessus est.'

himself that not-to-know having-confessed he-has

BOOK II

II.1 • TWO MEN WHO HID THEIR LEARNING

Cicero recalls the belief of his boyhood that Crassus had barely been schooled and Antonius not at all, a story many repeated to damp two boys' zeal for study. His father, his uncle, and Aculeo knew better: Crassus spoke Greek as though he had no other language, and Antonius had listened at Athens and Rhodes. Crassus affected to scorn Greek learning and Antonius to lack it, each thinking it made him weightier. No one, Cicero adds, ever excelled in eloquence without learning and wisdom.

Magna nobis pueris, Quinte frater, si memoria tenes, opinio 1
 great for-us as-boys Quintus brother if in-memory you-hold an-opinion
 fuit L. Crassum non plus attigisse doctrinae, quam
 there-was Lucius Crassus not more to-have-touched of-learning than
 quantum prima illa puerili institutione potuisset; M.
 as-much-as first that boyish by-schooling he-had-been-able Marcus
 autem Antonium omnino omnis eruditionis expertem atque
 however Antonius altogether of-all of-education devoid and
 ignarum fuisse; erantque multi qui, quamquam non ita
 ignorant to-have-been and-there-were many who although not so
 se rem habere arbitrarentur, tamen, quo facilius nos
 itself the-matter to-have they-judged still whereby more-easily us
 incensos studio discendi a doctrina deterrerent, libenter
 fired with-zeal of-learning from learning they-might-deter gladly
 id, quod dixi, de illis oratoribus praedicarent, ut,
 that which I-have-said about those orators they-would-proclaim so-that
 si homines non eruditi summam essent prudentiam atque
 if men not educated the-highest had-been practical-wisdom and
 incredibile eloquentiam consecuti, inanis omnis noster
 incredible eloquence having-attained empty all our

esse labor et stultum in nobis erudiendis patris nostri,

to-be the-toil and foolish in us in-educating of-father our

optimi ac prudentissimi viri, studium videretur.

of-the-best and of-the-most-prudent of-man the-zeal might-seem

2 Quos tum, ut pueri, refutare domesticis testibus patre

whom then as boys to-refute by-household by-witnesses by-(our)-father

et C. Aculeone propinquo nostro et L. Cicerone

and by-Gaius Aculeo kinsman our and by-Lucius Cicero

patruo solebamus, quod de Crasso pater et Aculeo,

by-(our)-uncle we-were-wont because about Crassus (our)-father and Aculeo

quocum erat nostra matertera, quem Crassus dilexit ex

with-whom was our aunt whom Crassus loved from

omnibus plurimum, et patruus, qui cum Antonio in Ciliciam

all most and (our)-uncle who with Antonius into Cilicia

profectus una decesserat, multa nobis de eius studio et

having-set-out together had-returned many-things to-us about his zeal and

doctrina saepe narravit; cumque nos cum consobrinis nostris,

learning often related and-since we with cousins our

Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus, quae Crasso placerent,

of-Aculeo the-sons both those we-learned which to-Crassus were-pleasing

et ab eis doctoribus, quibus ille uteretur, erudiremur, etiam

and by those teachers whom he used we-were-instructed also

illud saepe intelleximus, cum essemus eius domi, quod vel

that often we-perceived when we-were at-his house which even

pueri sentire poteramus, illum et Graece sic loqui, nullam

as-boys to-perceive we-were-able him both in-Greek so to-speak no

ut nosse aliam linguam videretur, et doctoribus nostris ea

that to-know other tongue might-seem and to-teachers our those

ponere in percontando eaque ipsum omni in sermone tractare,

to-set in questioning and-them himself every in conversation to-handle

ut nihil esse ei novum, nihil inauditum videretur.

so-that nothing to-be to-him new nothing unheard-of might-seem

De Antonio vero, quamquam saepe ex humanissimo
about Antonius indeed although often from a-most-cultivated
 homine patruo nostro acceperamus, quem ad modum ille
man uncle our we-had-heard in-what to way he
 vel Athenis vel Rhodi se doctissimorum hominum
either at-Athens or at-Rhodes himself of-the-most-learned of-men
 sermonibus dedisset, tamen ipse adolescentulus, quantum
to-the-conversations had-given still I-myself as-a-young-man as-much-as
 illius ineuntis aetatis meae patiebatur pudor, multa ex
of-that of-entering of-age my allowed the-modesty many-things from
 eo saepe quaesivi. Non erit profecto tibi, quod scribo,
bim often I-asked not will-be assuredly to-you what I-write
 hoc novum; nam iam tum ex me audiebas mihi illum
this new for already then from me you-were-hearing to-me him
 ex multis variisque sermonibus nullius rei, quae quidem
from many and-various conversations of-no thing which indeed
 esset in eis artibus, de quibus aliquid existimare possem,
was in those arts about which anything to-judge I-could
 rudem aut ignarum esse visum.
raw or ignorant to-be to-have-seemed

Sed fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam existimari
but was this in each of-them that Crassus not so to-be-thought
 vellet non didicisse, quam illa despiciere et nostrorum
wished not to-have-learned as those to-despise and of-our
 hominum in omni genere prudentiam Graecis anteferre;
of-men in every kind the-practical-wisdom to-the-Greeks to-prefer
 Antonius autem probabiliorem hoc populo orationem
Antonius however more-acceptable to-this to-the-people the-speech
 fore censebat suam, si omnino didicisse numquam
going-to-be judged his-own if at-all to-have-learned never

putaretur; atque ita se uterque graviolem fore, si
he-were-thought and so himself each weightier going-to-be if
 alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Graecos videretur.

the-one to-despise the-other not to-know even the-Greeks might-seem

- 5 Quorum consilium quale fuerit, nihil sane ad hoc
of-whom the-plan of-what-sort it-was nothing indeed to this
 tempus; illud autem est huius institutae scriptionis ac
occasion that however is of-this of-the-undertaken of-writing and
 temporis, neminem eloquentia non modo sine dicendi
of-the-occasion no-one in-eloquence not only without of-speaking
 doctrina, sed ne sine omni quidem sapientia florere
learning but not without any even wisdom to-flourish
 umquam et praestare potuisse. Etenim ceterae fere artes

ever and to-excel to-have-been-able for-indeed the-other almost arts

se ipsae per se tuentur singulae; bene dicere
themselves they-themselves through themselves maintain singly well to-speak

autem, quod est scienter et perite et ornate dicere, non
however which is knowingly and skillfully and elegantly to-speak not

habet definitam aliquam regionem, cuius terminis saepta
has a-defined some region by-whose bounds bedged

teneatur: omnia, quaecumque in hominum disceptationem

it-might-be-held all-(things) whatever into of-men the-debate

cadere possunt, bene sunt ei dicenda, qui hoc se

to-fall can well are by-him to-be-spoken who this himself

posse profitetur, aut eloquentiae nomen relinquendum est.

to-be-able professes or of-eloquence the-name to-be-abandoned is

- 6 Qua re equidem et in nostra civitate et in ipsa Graecia,
for-which reason for-my-part both in our state and in itself Greece

quae semper haec summa duxit, multos et ingeniis

which always these the-highest has-reckoned many both with-talents

eximiis et magna laude dicendi sine summa rerum omnium

exceptional and with-great praise of-speaking without the-highest of-things of-all

scientia fuisse fateor; talem vero existere eloquentiam,
knowledge to-have-been I-admit such indeed to-arise eloquence
 qualis fuit in Crasso et Antonio, non cognitis rebus
such-as was in Crassus and in-Antonius not when-known things
 omnibus, quae ad tantam prudentiam pertinerent, tantamque
all which to so-great practical-wisdom pertained and-so-great
 dicendi copiam, quanta in illis fuit, non potuisse confirmo.
of-speaking fullness as-great in them was not to-have-been-able I-affirm

II.2 · WHY THE CONVERSATION IS WRITTEN DOWN

Cicero writes the conversation down to end the belief that the two were unlearned, to keep what two great orators said about eloquence, and to save a fame already fading, since Crassus left little in writing and Antonius nothing. He cannot invent: men who heard both are alive to check him. Next morning Catulus and his brother Caesar arrive, Caesar having met Scaevola, who said much of the talk was held over to that day.

Quo etiam feci libentius, ut eum sermonem, quem illi 7
whereby even I-have-done more-willingly that that conversation which they
 quondam inter se de his rebus habuissent, mandarem
once among themselves about these matters had-held I-should-entrust
 litteris, vel ut illa opinio, quae semper fuisset, tolleretur,
to-writing either that that opinion which always had-been might-be-removed
 alterum non doctissimum, alterum plane indoctum fuisse;
the-one not most-learned the-other plainly unlearned to-have-been
 vel ut ea, quae existimarem a summis oratoribus de
or that those-(things) which I-judged by the-highest orators about
 eloquentia divinitus esse dicta, custodirem litteris, si ullo
eloquence divinely to-have-been said I-might-guard in-writing if in-any
 modo adsequi complectique potuissem; vel me hercule etiam
way to-attain and-to-embrace I-had-been-able or by Hercules even

ut laudem eorum iam prope senescentem, quantum ego
that the-fame of-them now nearly fading as-much-as I
 possem, ab oblivione hominum atque a silentio vindicarem.

could from the-forgetfulness of-men and from silence I-might-rescue

8 Nam si ex scriptis cognosci ipsi suis potuissent,
for if from writings to-be-known themselves their-own they-had-been-able
 minus hoc fortasse mihi esse putassem laborandum;

less this perhaps to-me to-be I-should-have-thought to-be-labored

sed cum alter non multum, quod quidem exstaret, et
but since the-one not much which indeed survived and

id ipsum adulescens, alter nihil admodum scripti

that very-(thing) as-a-young-man the-other nothing at-all of-writing

reliquisset, deberi hoc a me tantis hominum ingeniis

had-left to-be-owed this by me to-so-great of-men to-the-talents

putavi, ut, cum etiam nunc vivam illorum memoriam

I-thought that since even now living of-those the-memory

teneremus, hanc immortalem redderem, si possem.

we-held this immortal I-might-render if I-could

9 Quod hoc etiam spe adgredior maiore ad probandum,

which for-this-(reason) even with-hope I-approach greater for proving

quia non de Ser. Galbae aut C. Carbonis eloquentia

because not about of-Servius Galba or of-Gaius Carbo the-eloquence

scribo aliquid, in quo liceat mihi fingere, si quid velim,

I-write anything in which it-is-allowed to-me to-invent if anything I-wish

nullius memoria iam me refellente, sed edo haec eis

of-no-one the-memory now me refuting but I-publish these for-those

cognoscenda, qui eos ipsos, de quibus loquor, saepe

to-be-known who them themselves about whom I-speak often

audierunt; ut duos summos viros eis, qui neutrum illorum

have-heard so-that two the-highest men to-those who neither of-them

viderint, eorum, quibus ambo illi oratores cogniti sint,
have-seen of-those to-whom both those orators known are
 vivorum et praesentium memoria teste commendemus.
of-the-living and of-the-present with-the-memory as-witness we-may-commend
 Nec vero te, carissime frater atque optime, rhetoricis
nor indeed you dearest brother and best with-rhetorical
 nunc quibusdam libris, quos tu agrestis putas, insequor
now with-certain with-books which you rustic think do-I-pursue
 ut erudiam; quid enim tua potest esse oratione aut
that I-may-instruct what for than-your can to-be than-speech either
 subtilius aut ornatus? Sed sive iudicio, ut soles dicere,
more-refined or more-elegant but whether by-judgment as you-are-wont to-say
 sive, ut ille pater eloquentiae de se Isocrates scripsit
or as that father of-eloquence about himself Isocrates wrote
 ipse, pudore a dicendo et timiditate ingenua quadam
be-himself from-modesty from speaking and from-timidity gentlemanly a-certain
 refugisti, sive, ut ipse iocari soleo, unum putasti satis
you-have-sbrunk or as I-myself to-joke am-wont one you-have-thought enough
 esse non modo in una familia rhetorem, sed paene in tota
to-be not only in one family a-rhetorician but almost in the-whole
 civitate, non tamen arbitror tibi hos libros in eo fore
state not still I-think for-you these books in that to-be-going-to-be
 genere, quod merito propter eorum, qui de dicendi ratione
class which deservedly on-account-of of-those who about of-speaking the-method
 disputarunt, ieiunitatem bonarum artium possit includi; nihil
have-argued the-meagerness of-good arts might to-be-mocked nothing
 enim mihi quidem videtur in Crassi et Antoni sermone
for to-me indeed seems in of-Crassus and of-Antonius the-conversation
 esse praeteritum, quod quisquam summis ingeniis, acerrimis
to-be passed-over which anyone by-the-highest by-talents by-the-keenest
 studiis, optima doctrina, maximo usu cognosci ac
by-studies by-the-best by-learning by-the-greatest by-experience to-be-known and

percipi potuisse arbitraretur, quod tu facillime poteris
to-be-grasped to-have-been-able might-judge which you most-easily will-be-able
 iudicare, qui prudentiam rationemque dicendi per te
to-judge who the-practical-wisdom and-the-method of-speaking through you
 ipsum, usum autem per nos percipere voluisti.
yourself the-experience however through us to-gain have-wished

- 11 Sed quo citius hoc, quod suscepimus, non mediocre
but whereby more-quickly this which we-have-undertaken not middling
 munus conficere possimus, omissa nostra adhortatione
a-task to-finish we-may-be-able when-set-aside our exhortation
 ad eorum, quos proposuimus, sermonem disputationemque
to of-those whom we-have-set-forth the-conversation and-the-discussion
 veniamus.
let-us-come

- 12 Postero igitur die, quam illa erant acta, hora fere
on-the-next therefore day after those had-been done at-the-hour about
 secunda, cum etiam tum in lecto Crassus esset et apud
second when even then in bed Crassus was and beside
 eum Sulpicius sederet, Antonius autem inambulet cum
him Sulpicius was-sitting Antonius however was-walking with
 Cotta in porticu, repente eo Q. Catulus senex cum
Cotta in the-colonnade suddenly thither Quintus Catulus the-elder with
 C. Iulio fratre venit; quod ubi audit, commotus
Gaius Julius (his)-brother came which when he-heard stirred
 Crassus surrexit omnesque admirati maiorem aliquam esse
Crassus rose and-all wondering a-greater some to-be
 causam eorum adventus suspicati sunt.
a-cause of-their arrival having-suspected they-are

- 13 Qui cum inter se, ut ipsorum usus ferebat,
who when among themselves as of-themselves the-intimacy bore
 amicissime consalutassent: 'quid vos tandem?' Crassus
most-warmly had-greeted-one-another what you pray Crassus

'num quidnam' inquit 'novi?' 'Nihil sane,' inquit Catulus
surely-not anything he-said of-new nothing indeed said Catulus
 'etenim vides esse ludos; sed — vel tu nos ineptos licet'
for-indeed you-see to-be the-games but either you us absurd it-is-allowed
 inquit 'vel molestos putes — cum ad me in Tusculanum'
he-said or troublesome you-may-think when to me to the-Tusculan-(villa)
 inquit 'heri vesperi venisset Caesar de Tusculano
he-said yesterday in-the-evening had-come Caesar from the-Tusculan-(villa)
 suo, dixit mihi a se Scaevolam hinc euntem esse
bis-own he-said to-me by himself Scaevola from-here going to-have-been
 conventum, ex quo mira quaedam se audisse
met from whom wonderful-(things) certain himself to-have-beard
 dicebat; te, quem ego totiens omni ratione temptans
he-was-saying you whom I so-often by-every by-means trying
 ad disputandum elicere non potuissem, permulta de
to arguing to-draw-out not I-had-been-able very-many-(things) about
 eloquentia cum Antonio disseruisse et tamquam in schola
eloquence with Antonius to-have-discussed and as-if in a-school
 prope ad Graecorum consuetudinem disputasse:
nearly to of-the-Greeks the-fashion to-have-argued
 ita me frater exoravit ne ipsum quidem a studio
so me (my)-brother prevailed-upon not myself even from the-desire
 audiendi nimis abhorrentem, sed me hercule verentem, ne
of-bearing too shrinking but by Hercules fearing lest
 molesti vobis interveniremus, ut huc secum venirem; etenim
troublesome to-you we-should-intrude that hither with-him I-should-come for-indeed
 Scaevolam ita dicere aiebat, bonam partem sermonis in
Scaevola so to-say he-said a-good part of-the-conversation into
 hunc diem esse dilatam. Hoc tu si cupidius factum
this day to-have-been put-off this you if too-eagerly done

14

existimas, Caesari attribues; si familiaris, utrique nostrum;

you-judge to-Caesar you-will-ascribe if too-familiarly to-each of-us
 nos quidem, nisi forte molesti intervenimus, venisse delectat.'

us indeed unless perhaps troublesome we-have-intruded to-have-come delights

- 15 Tum Crassus 'equidem, quaecumque vos causa huc
then Crassus for-my-part whatever you cause hither
 attulisset, laetarer, cum apud me viderem homines
had-brought I-should-rejoice since at my-house I-saw men
 mihi carissimos et amicissimos; sed tamen, vere dicam,
to-me dearest and most-friendly but still truly let-me-say
 quaevis mallet fuisset, quam ista, quam dicis. Ego
any-you-please I-should-prefer it-had-been than that which you-say I
 enim, ut, quem ad modum sentio, loquar, numquam
for that in-what to way I-feel I-may-speak never
 mihi minus quam hesterno die placui; magis adeo id
with-myself less than on-yesterday on-day I-was-pleased more indeed that
 facilitate quam alia ulla culpa mea contigit, qui, dum
by-good-nature than by-other any fault mine it-happened who while
 obsequor adolescentibus, me senem esse sum oblitus
I-comply with-the-young-men myself an-old-man to-be I-am having-forgotten
 fecique id, quod ne adolescens quidem feceram, ut eis
and-I-did that which not as-a-young-man even I-had-done that those
 de rebus, quae doctrina aliqua continerentur, disputarem.
about matters which by-learning some were-contained I-should-argue
 Sed hoc tamen cecidit mihi peropportune, quod transactis
but this still fell-out for-me most-opportunely because when-finished
 iam meis partibus ad Antonium audiendum venistis.'

now my parts to Antonius to-be-beard you-have-come

- 16 Tum Caesar 'equidem,' inquit 'Crasse, ita sum cupidus in
then Caesar for-my-part he-said Crassus so I-am desirous in
 illa longiore te ac perpetua disputatione audiendi, ut, si
that longer you and continuous discussion of-hearing that if

id mihi minus contingat, vel hoc sim cotidiano tuo
that to-me less should-fall even by-this I-should-be by-daily your
 sermone contentus; itaque experiar equidem illud, ut ne
by-talk content and-so I-shall-try for-my-part that that not
 Sulpicius familiaris meus aut Cotta plus quam ego apud te
Sulpicius friend my or Cotta more than I with you
 valere videantur, et te exorabo profecto, ut mihi quoque
to-prevail may-seem and you I-shall-entreat assuredly that to-me also
 et Catulo tuae suavitatis aliquid impartias; sin tibi
and to-Catulus of-your of-pleasantness something you-may-impart but-if to-you
 id minus libebit, non te urgebo neque committam, ut,
that less shall-please not you I-shall-press nor I-shall-bring-it-about that
 dum vereare tu ne sis ineptus, me esse iudices.
while you-fear you lest you-may-be absurd me to-be you-should-judge

II.3 • NO GREEK WORD FOR TACTLESS

Crassus dwells on the word ineptus, naming a fault so Greek that Greek has no name for it: the man who misjudges the moment, talks too much, shows himself off, or takes no account of the company. Catulus answers that the place, the leisure, and the men are all right for such talk. Crassus replies that gymnasiums were built for exercise, not argument, and that no man is free who never does nothing.

Tum ille ‘ego me hercule’ inquit, ‘Caesar, ex omnibus 17
then he I by Hercules he-said Caesar from all
 Latinis verbis huius verbi vim vel maximam semper
Latin words of-this of-word the-force even the-greatest always
 putavi; quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur
I-have-thought whom for we absurd we-call he to-me seems
 ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non sit aptus, idque
from this the-name to-have drawn because not he-is fitted and-that

in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlate patet; nam qui aut
in of-talk our the-usage very-widely extends for who either
 tempus quid postulet non videt aut plura loquitur aut
the-occasion what it-demands not sees or too-much talks or
 se ostentat aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel
himself displays or of-those with-whom he-is either of-dignity or
 commodi rationem non habet aut denique in aliquo genere
of-convenience account not has or finally in any kind
 aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur.
either ungraceful or excessive is he absurd to-be is-said

- 18 Hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima illa Graecorum natio;
by-this by-fault heaped-up is the-most-learned that of-the-Greeks nation
 itaque quod vim huius mali Graeci non vident, ne
and-so because the-force of-this of-evil the-Greeks not see not
 nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt; ut enim
a-name even on-that on-fault have-imposed although for
 quaeras omnia, quo modo Graeci ineptum appellent,
you-may-seek all-(things) in-what way the-Greeks the-absurd may-call
 non reperies. Omnium autem ineptiarum, quae sunt
not you-will-find of-all however of-absurdities which are
 innumerabiles, haud sciam an nulla sit maior quam, ut
countless hardly I-may-know whether none is greater than as
 illi solent, quocumque in loco, quoscumque inter homines
they are-wont in-whatever in place among-whatever among men
 visum est, de rebus aut difficillimis aut non necessariis
seemed-good it-is about matters either the-most-difficult or not necessary
 argutissime disputare. Hoc nos ab istis adolescentibus facere
most-subtly to-argue this we by those young-men to-do
 inviti et recusantes heri coacti sumus.
unwilling and refusing yesterday compelled we-have-been

Tum Catulus 'ne Graeci quidem,' inquit 'Crasse, qui in 19
then Catulus not the-Greeks even he-said Crassus who in
 civitatibus suis clari et magni fuerunt, sicuti tu es nosque
states their-own illustrious and great have-been just-as you are and-we
 omnes in nostra re publica volumus esse, horum Graecorum,
all in our thing public we-wish to-be to-these to-Greeks
 qui se inculcant auribus nostris, similes fuerunt, nec
who themselves force upon-the-ears our like have-been nor
 in otio sermones huius modi disputationesque fugiebant.
in leisure conversations of-this sort and-discussions did-they-shun
 Ac si tibi videntur, qui temporis, qui loci, qui 20
and if to-you they-seem those of-the-occasion those of-the-place those
 hominum rationem non habent, inepti, sicut debent videri,
of-the-persons account not have absurd just-as they-ought to-seem
 num tandem aut locus hic non idoneus videtur, in quo
surely-not pray either the-place this not suitable seems in which
 porticus haec ipsa, ubi nunc ambulamus, et palaestra
the-colonnade this very where now we-walk and the-exercise-ground
 et tot locis sessiones gymnasiorum et Graecorum
and in-so-many in-places the-seats of-gymnasia and of-Greek
 disputationum memoriam quodam modo commovent? Aut
of-discussions the-memory in-a-certain way stir or
 num importunum tempus in tanto otio, quod et raro
surely-not unfitting the-occasion in so-great leisure which both rarely
 datur et nunc peroptato nobis datum est? Aut homines
is-given and now most-to-our-wish to-us given has-been or the-persons
 ab hoc genere disputationis alieni, qui omnes ei sumus,
from this kind of-discussion strangers who all such we-are
 ut sine his studiis vitam nullam esse ducamus?'
that without these studies a-life none to-be we-reckon

21 'Omnia ista' inquit Crassus 'ego alio modo interpretor,
all those said Crassus I in-another way interpret
 qui primum palaestram et sedes et porticus etiam
who first the-exercise-ground and the-seats and the-colonnades even
 ipsos, Catule, Graecos exercitationis et delectationis
themselves Catulus the-Greeks of-exercise and of-amusement
 causa non disputationis invenisse arbitror; nam et
for-the-sake not of-discussion to-have-invented I-think for both
 saeculis multis ante gymnasia inventa sunt, quam in
by-ages many before the-gymnasia invented were than in
 eis philosophi garrere coeperunt, et hoc ipso tempore,
them the-philosophers to-chatter began and at-this very at-time
 cum omnia gymnasia philosophi teneant, tamen eorum
although all the-gymnasia the-philosophers hold still their
 auditores discum audire quam philosophum malunt; qui
bearers the-discus to-bear than the-philosopher prefer which
 simul ut increpuit, in media oratione de maximis rebus
as-soon as it-has-clanged in the-middle of-a-speech about the-greatest matters
 et gravissimis disputantem philosophum omnes unctionis
and the-weightiest arguing the-philosopher all of-the-anointing
 causa relinquunt; ita levissimam delectationem gravissimae,
for-the-sake abandon so the-lightest amusement to-the-weightiest
 ut ipsi ferunt, utilitati anteponunt.

as they-themselves report to-usefulness they-prefer

22 Otium autem quod dicis esse, adsentior; verum otii fructus
leisure however which you-say to-be I-agree but of-leisure the-fruit
 est non contentio animi, sed relaxatio. Saepe ex socero
is not the-straining of-the-mind but the-relaxing often from father-in-law
 meo audiui, cum is diceret socerum suum Laelium semper
my I-have-heard when he said the-father-in-law his-own Laelius always
 fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari eosque incredibiliter
almost with Scipio accustomed to-rusticate and-that-they incredibly

repuerascere esse solitos, cum rus ex urbe tamquam
to-become-boys-again to-be accustomed when to-the-country from the-city as-if

e vinclis evolavissent. Non audeo dicere de talibus viris, sed
from chains they-had-flown-out not I-dare to-say about such men but
 tamen ita solet narrare Scaevola, conchas eos et umbilicos
still so he-is-wont to-relate Scaevola shells them and pebbles

ad Caietam et ad Laurentum legere consuesse et
at Caieta and at Laurentum to-gather to-have-been-accustomed and
 ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere.

to every of-the-mind relaxation and-play to-come-down

Sic enim res sese habet, ut, quem ad modum 23

so for the-matter itself holds that in-what to way

volucris videmus procreationis atque utilitatis suae causa

birds we-see of-breeding and of-advantage their-own for-the-sake

effingere et construere nidos, easdem autem, cum aliquid

to-fashion and to-build nests the-same however when something

effecerint, levandi laboris sui causa passim ac

they-have-accomplished of-lightening the-toil their-own for-the-sake here-and-there and

libere solutas opere volitare, sic nostri animi negotiis

freely loosed from-the-work to-flit so our minds by-affairs

forensibus atque urbano opere defessi gestiant ac volitare

forensic and by-city by-work wearied are-eager and to-flit

cupiant vacui cura ac labore.

desire free from-care and from-toil

Itaque illud ego, quod in causa Curiana Scaevolae dixi, non 24

and-so that I which in the-case Curian to-Scaevola I-said not

dixi secus ac sentiebam: nam “si,” inquam “Scaevola, nullum

I-said otherwise than I-felt for if I-say Scaevola no

erit testamentum recte factum, nisi quod tu scripseris,

there-will-be a-will rightly made except which you shall-have-written

omnes ad te cives cum tabulis veniemus, omnium

all to you the-citizens with the-tablets we-shall-come of-all

testamenta tu scribes unus. Quid igitur?" inquam "quando
the-wills you will-write alone what therefore I-say when
 ages negotium publicum? quando amicorum? quando
will-you-do business public when of-friends when
 tuum? quando denique nihil ages?" Tum illud addidi
your-own when finally nothing will-you-do then that I-added
 "mihi enim liber esse non videtur, qui non aliquando nihil
to-me for free to-be not seems who not sometimes nothing
 agit." In qua permaneo, Catule, sententia meque, cum huc
does in which I-remain Catulus in-the-opinion and-me when hither
 veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere et plane cessare delectat.
I-have-come this very-(thing) nothing to-do and plainly to-be-idle delights

- 25 Nam, quod addidisti tertium, vos esse eos, qui vitam insuavem
for that you-added third you to-be those who life unpleasant
 sine his studiis putaretis, id me non modo non hortatur ad
without these studies would-think that me not only not urges to
 disputandum, sed etiam deterret. Nam ut C. Lucilius, homo
arguing but even deters for as Gaius Lucilius a-man
 doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea, quae scriberet neque
learned and very-polished to-say was-wont those which he-wrote neither
 se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi velle, quod
himself by the-most-unlearned nor by the-most-learned to-be-read to-wish because
 alteri nihil intellexerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse;
the-one nothing understood the-other more perhaps than he-himself
 de quo etiam scripsit "Persium non curo legere," — hic
about which even he-wrote Persius not I-care to-read-(me) this-man
 fuit enim, ut noramus, omnium fere nostrorum hominum
was for as we-knew of-all almost of-our of-men
 doctissimus — "Laelium Decumum volo," quem cognovimus
the-most-learned Laelius Decumus I-wish whom we-knew
 virum bonum et non inlitteratum, sed nihil ad Persium; sic
a-man good and not unlettered but nothing to Persius so

ego, si iam mihi disputandum sit de his nostris studiis,
I if now to-me to-be-argued it-should-be about these our studies
 nolim equidem apud rusticos, sed multo minus apud vos;
I-should-not-wish for-my-part before rustics but much less before you
 malo enim non intellegi orationem meam quam reprehendi.
I-prefer for not to-be-understood speech my than to-be-censured
 Tum Caesar ‘equidem,’ inquit ‘Catule, iam mihi videor 26
then Caesar for-my-part he-said Catulus now to-myself I-seem
 navasse operam, quod huc venerim; nam haec ipsa
to-have-spent-well effort because hither I-have-come for this very
 recusatio disputationis disputatio quaedam fuit mihi
refusal of-discussion a-discussion a-certain has-been to-me
 quidem periucunda. Sed cur impedimus Antonium, cuius
indeed most-delightful but why do-we-hinder Antonius whose
 audio esse partis, ut de tota eloquentia disserat,
I-hear to-be the-part that about the-whole eloquence he-should-discourse
 quemque iam dudum et Cotta et Sulpicius exspectat?’
and-whom now for-a-while both Cotta and Sulpicius awaits

II.4 · ANTONIUS GRANTS A SMALL ART

Crassus keeps his guests for the day, and Antonius jokes that he will teach what he never learned. Oratory is splendid in practice and middling as an art, since art deals with the known and the orator with opinion: he speaks before the ignorant, about what he does not know, and often on both sides. Yet rules can be drawn for handling minds, and nothing surpasses the finished orator.

‘Ego vero’ inquit Crassus ‘neque Antonium verbum 27
I indeed said Crassus neither Antonius a-word
 facere patiar et ipse obmutescam, nisi prius a
to-make shall-I-allow and myself I-shall-be-dumb unless first from

vobis impetraro' — 'Quidnam?' inquit Catulus. 'Ut hic
you I-shall-have-obtained what-then said Catulus that here
 sitis hodie.' Tum, cum ille dubitaret, quod ad fratrem
you-may-be today then when he hesitated because to (his)-brother
 promiserat, 'ego' inquit Iulius 'pro utroque respondeo: sic
he-had-promised I said Julius for each answer so
 faciemus; atque ista quidem condicione, vel ut verbum
we-shall-do and on-that indeed on-condition even that a-word
 nullum faceres, me teneres.'
not-one you-should-make me you-would-hold

- 28 Hic Catulus adrisit et simul, 'praecisa' inquit 'mihi
here Catulus smiled and at-the-same-time cut-short he-said for-me
 quidem est dubitatio, quoniam neque domi imperaram
indeed is the-hesitation since neither at-home I-had-given-orders
 et hic, apud quem eram futurus, sine mea sententia
and this-man at whose-house I-was going-to-be without my judgment
 tam facile promisit.'
so easily has-promised

Tum omnes oculos in Antonium coniecerunt, et ille 'audite
then all the-eyes upon Antonius they-cast and he bear
 vero, audite,' inquit 'hominem enim audietis de schola atque
indeed bear he-said a-man for you-will-bear from a-school and
 a magistro et Graecis litteris eruditum, et eo quidem
by a-master and in-Greek in-letters trained and by-that indeed
 loquar confidentius, quod Catulus auditor accessit, cui
I-shall-speak more-confidently because Catulus as-a-bearer has-joined-us to-whom
 non solum nos Latini sermonis, sed etiam Graeci ipsi
not only we of-the-Latin of-speech but even the-Greeks themselves
 solent suae linguae subtilitatem elegantiamque concedere.
are-wont of-their-own of-the-tongue the-refinement and-the-elegance to-concede

Sed quia tamen hoc totum, quicquid est, sive artificium 29
but because still this whole whatever it-is whether a-craft
 sive studium dicendi, nisi accessit os, nullum potest
or a-pursuit of-speaking unless has-been-added effrontery none can
 esse, docebo vos, discipuli, id quod ipse non didici,
to-be I-shall-teach you pupils that which I-myself not have-learned
 quid de omni genere sentiam.'

what about the-whole kind I-think

Hic postea quam adriserunt, 'res mihi videtur esse' inquit 30
here after that they-had-smiled the-thing to-me seems to-be he-said
 'facultate praeclara, arte mediocris; ars enim earum rerum
in-capacity splendid in-art middling an-art for of-those of-things
 est, quae sciuntur; oratoris autem omnis actio opinionibus,
is which are-known of-the-orator however all the-pleading by-opinions
 non scientia, continetur; nam et apud eos dicimus, qui
not by-knowledge is-bounded for both before those we-speak who
 nesciunt, et ea dicimus, quae nescimus ipsi; itaque et illi
do-not-know and those we-say which we-do-not-know ourselves and-so both they
 alias aliud eisdem de rebus et sentiunt et iudicant
at-one-time one-thing on-the-same about matters both feel and judge
 et nos contrarias saepe causas dicimus, non modo ut
and we opposite often cases plead not only that
 Crassus contra me dicat aliquando aut ego contra Crassum,
Crassus against me may-speak sometimes or I against Crassus
 cum alterutri necesse sit falsum dicere, sed etiam ut
since for-one-of-the-two necessary it-is a-falsehood to-speak but even that
 uterque nostrum eadem de re alias aliud defendat,
each of-us on-the-same about matter at-one-time one-thing may-defend
 cum plus uno verum esse non possit. Ut igitur in eius
since more than-one true to-be not can as therefore in of-that
 modi re, quae mendacio nixa sit, quae ad scientiam non
sort a-matter which on-a-falsehood resting is which to knowledge not

saepe perveniat, quae opiniones hominum et saepe errores
often arrives which the-opinions of-men and often the-errors
 aucupetur, ita dicam, si causam putatis esse, cur audiat.

hunts so I-shall-speak if a-reason you-think there-is why you-should-listen

- 31 'Nos vero et valde quidem' Catulus inquit 'putamus atque
we indeed and greatly indeed Catulus said think and
 eo magis, quod nulla mihi ostentatione videris esse
by-that more because with-no to-me with-display you-seem to-be
 usurus; exorsus es enim non gloriose, ut tu putas,
going-to-use begun you-have for not boastfully as you think
 magis a veritate, quam a nescio qua dignitate.'
more from the-truth than from an-I-know-not what dignity

- 32 'Ut igitur de ipso genere sum confessus,' inquit Antonius
as therefore about the-very kind I-have confessed said Antonius
 'artem esse non maximam, sic illud adfirmo, praecepta
an-art to-be not the-greatest so that I-affirm precepts
 posse quaedam dari peracuta ad pertractandos animos
to-be-able certain to-be-given very-shrewd for handling the-minds
 hominum et ad excipiendas eorum voluntates. Huius rei
of-men and for catching their inclinations of-this of-thing
 scientiam si quis volet magnam quandam artem esse
the-knowledge if anyone shall-wish a-great a-certain art to-be
 dicere, non repugnabo; etenim cum plerique temere ac nulla
to-call not I-shall-oppose for-indeed since most rashly and by-no
 ratione causas in foro dicant, non nulli autem propter
method cases in the-forum plead not none however on-account-of
 exercitationem aut propter consuetudinem aliquam callidius
practice or on-account-of habit some more-shrewdly
 id faciant, non est dubium quin, si quis animadverterit,
that do not it-is doubtful but-that if anyone shall-have-noticed
 quid sit, qua re alii melius quam alii dicant, id
what it-is for-what reason some better than others speak that

possit notare: ergo id qui toto in genere fecerit,
be-may-be-able to-mark therefore that who in-the-whole in kind shall-have-done
 is si non plane artem, at quasi artem quandam invenerit.
be if not plainly an-art yet as-it-were an-art a-certain will-have-found
 Atque utinam, ut mihi illa videor videre in foro atque in 33
and would-that as to-me those I-seem to-see in the-forum and in
 causis, item nunc, quem ad modum ea reperirentur, possem
cases likewise now in-what to way they might-be-found I-could
 vobis exquirere! Sed de me videro; nunc hoc propono, quod
for-you to-search-out but about myself I-shall-see now this I-propose which
 mihi persuasi, quamvis ars non sit, tamen nihil
to-myself I-have-persuaded although an-art not it-may-be still nothing
 esse perfecto oratore praeclarius; nam ut usum dicendi
to-be than-a-finished than-orator more-splendid for that the-use of-speaking
 omittam, qui in omni pacata et libera civitate dominatur,
I-may-pass-over which in every peaceful and free state prevails
 tanta oblectatio est in ipsa facultate dicendi, ut nihil
so-great delight there-is in the-very faculty of-speaking that nothing
 hominum aut auribus aut mentibus iucundius percipi possit.
of-men either to-the-ears or to-the-minds more-pleasing to-be-received can
 Qui enim cantus moderata oratione dulcior inveniri potest? 34
what for song than-a-measured than-speech sweeter to-be-found can
 Quod carmen artificiosa verborum conclusionem aptius?
what poem than-the-artful of-words than-the-close more-fitting
 Qui actor imitanda quam orator suscipienda veritate
what an-actor in-imitating than an-orator in-undertaking truth
 iucundior? Quid autem subtilius quam crebrae acutaeque
more-pleasing what however more-subtle than frequent and-sharp
 sententiae? Quid admirabilius quam res splendore
thoughts what more-admirable than a-matter by-the-brilliance
 inlustrata verborum? Quid plenius quam omni genere
lighted-up of-words what fuller than with-every with-kind

rerum cumulata oratio? Neque ulla non propria oratoris
of-things heaped-up a-speech nor any not proper of-the-orator
 res est, quae quidem ornate dici graviterque debet.
matter is which indeed elegantly to-be-said and-weightily ought

II.5 • WHAT BELONGS TO THE ORATOR ALONE

Counsel in great affairs, the rousing of a listless people and the curbing of a wild one, praise, blame, and consolation belong to the orator; history is commended to immortality by no voice but his. Every other art can do its work without eloquence; the orator without it cannot hold his own name. Crassus says the night has made Antonius a civilized man, and Antonius takes up the division: questions unbounded and definite, suits and counsel, praise a lesser third.

- 35 Huius est in dando consilio de maximis rebus cum
of-this-man is in giving counsel about the-greatest matters with
 dignitate explicata sententia; eiusdem et languentis populi
dignity unfolded the-opinion of-the-same both of-a-drooping of-a-people
 incitatio et effrenati moderatio; eadem facultate et
the-rousing and of-an-unbridled the-restraining by-the-same faculty both
 fraus hominum ad perniciem et integritas ad salutem
the-treachery of-men to destruction and the-uprightness to safety
 vocatur. Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius, quis a vitiis
is-summoned who to-exhort to virtue more-ardently who from vices
 acrius revocare, quis vituperare improbos asperius, quis
more-keenly to-call-back who to-blame the-wicked more-harshly who
 laudare bonos ornatus, quis cupiditatem vehementius frangere
to-praise the-good more-elegantly who greed more-forcefully to-break
 accusando potest? Quis maerorem levare mitius consolando?
by-accusing can who grief to-lighten more-gently by-consoling

Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita 36
history indeed the-witness of-the-times the-light of-truth the-life
 memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia
of-memory the-mistress of-life the-messenger of-antiquity by-what voice other
 nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur? Nam si qua est
except of-the-orator to-immortality is-commended for if any is
 ars alia, quae verborum aut faciendorum aut legendorum
art another which of-words either of-making or of-choosing
 scientiam profiteatur; aut si quisquam dicitur nisi orator
the-knowledge professes or if anyone is-said except an-orator
 formare orationem eamque variare et distinguere quasi
to-shape a-speech and-it to-vary and to-mark-out as-it-were
 quibusdam verborum sententiarumque insignibus; aut si
with-certain of-words and-of-thoughts with-badges or if
 via ulla nisi ab hac una arte traditur aut argumentorum
a-way any except by this one art is-taught either of-arguments
 aut sententiarum aut denique discriptionis atque ordinis,
or of-thoughts or finally of-distribution and of-order
 fateamur aut hoc, quod haec ars profiteatur, alienum esse
let-us-admit either this which this art professes another's to-be
 aut cum alia aliqua arte esse commune: sed si in hac una
or with other some art to-be common but if in this one
 est ea ratio atque doctrina, non, si qui aliarum artium bene
is that method and learning not if some of-other of-arts well
 locuti sunt, eo minus id est huius unius proprium;
having-spoken they-are by-that less that is of-this one proper
 sed ut orator de eis rebus, quae ceterarum artium sunt, 37
but as an-orator about those matters which of-the-other of-arts are
 si modo eas cognovit, ut heri Crassus dicebat, optime
if only them he-has-learned as yesterday Crassus was-saying best

potest dicere, sic ceterarum artium homines ornatius illa
is-able to-speak so of-the-other of-arts the-men more-elegantly those
 sua dicunt, si quid ab hac arte didicerunt.

their-own say if anything from this art they-have-learned

- 38 Neque enim si de rusticis rebus agricola quispiam aut
nor for if about rustic matters a-farmer someone or
 etiam, id quod multi, medicus de morbis aut si de
even that which many a-doctor about diseases or if about
 pingendo pictor aliquis diserte scripserit aut dixerit,
painting a-painter some eloquently shall-have-written or shall-have-spoken
 idcirco illius artis putanda est eloquentia; in qua quia
therefore of-that of-art to-be-thought is eloquence in which because
 vis magna est in hominum ingeniis, eo multi etiam
a-force great is in of-men the-talents by-that many even
 sine doctrina aliquid omnium generum atque artium
without learning something of-all of-kinds and of-arts
 consequuntur; sed, quid cuiusque sit proprium, etsi ex
attain but what of-each is proper although from
 eo iudicari potest, cum videris, quid quaeque doceat,
that to-be-judged can when you-shall-have-seen what each teaches
 tamen hoc certius esse nihil potest, quam quod omnes
still than-this more-certain to-be nothing can than that all
 artes aliae sine eloquentia suum munus praestare possunt,
arts others without eloquence their-own function to-perform can
 orator sine ea nomen obtinere suum non potest; ut
an-orator without it the-name to-hold his-own not is-able so-that
 ceteri, si disertis sint, aliquid ab hoc habeant, hic,
the-rest if eloquent they-are something from this-man they-may-have this-man
 nisi domesticis se instruxerit copiis, aliunde
unless with-domestic himself he-shall-have-equipped with-resources from-elsewhere
 dicendi copiam petere non possit.
of-speaking the-fullness to-seek not he-may-be-able

Tum Catulus 'etsi,' inquit 'Antoni, minime impediendus est 39
then Catulus although he-said Antonius by-no-means to-be-hindered is
 interpellatione iste cursus orationis tuae, patiēre tamen
by-an-interruption that course of-speech your you-will-endure still
 mihiq̄ue ignoscēs; "non enim possum quin exclamem," ut ait
and-to-me you-will-pardon not for I-can but-that I-cry-out as says
 ille in Trinummo: ita vim oratoris cum exprimere subtiliter
he in the-Trinummus so the-force of-the-orator both to-express finely
 visus es, tum laudare copiosissime; quod quidem eloquentem
seemed you-are and to-praise most-fully which indeed an-eloquent-man
 vel optime facere oportet, ut eloquentiam laudet; debet
even best to-do it-behooves that eloquence he-should-praise he-ought
 enim ad eam laudandam ipsam illam adhibere, quam laudat.
for for it for-praising the-very that to-employ which he-praises
 Sed perge porro; tibi enim adsentior vestrum esse hoc
but go-on further to-you for I-agree yours to-be this
 totum diserte dicere, idque si quis in alia arte faciat,
whole eloquently to-speak and-that if anyone in another art should-do
 eum adsumpto aliunde uti bono, non proprio nec suo.
him taken from-elsewhere to-use a-good not proper nor his-own
 Et Crassus 'nox te' inquit 'nobis, Antoni, expolivit 40
and Crassus the-night you he-said for-us Antonius has-polished
 hominemque reddidit; nam hesterno sermone unius
and-a-man has-made for by-yesterday's by-talk of-one
 cuiusdam operis, ut ait Caecilius, remigem aliquem aut
of-a-certain of-trade as says Caecilius an-oarsman some or
 baiulum nobis oratorem descriperas, inopem quendam
a-porter for-us an-orator you-had-described needy a-certain
 humanitatis atque inurbanum.' Tum Antonius 'heri enim'
of-culture and unpolished then Antonius yesterday for
 inquit 'hoc mihi proposueram, ut, si te refellissem, hos
he-said this for-myself I-had-proposed that if you I-had-refuted these

a te discipulos abducerem; nunc, Catulo audiente et
from you pupils I-might-lead-away now with-Catulus hearing and
 Caesare, videor debere non tam pugnare tecum quam
with-Caesar I-seem to-be-bound not so-much to-fight with-you as
 quid ipse sentiam dicere.

what I-myself think to-say

- 41 Sequitur igitur, quoniam nobis est hic, de quo loquimur,
it-follows therefore since by-us is he about whom we-speak
 in foro atque in oculis civium constituendus, ut
in the-forum and in the-eyes of-citizens to-be-set that
 videamus, quid ei negoti demus cuique eum muneri
we-may-see what to-him of-business we-may-give and-to-what him to-duty
 velimus esse praepositum; nam Crassus heri, cum vos,
we-may-wish to-be set-over for Crassus yesterday when you
 Catule et Caesar, non adessetis, posuit breviter in artis
Catulus and Caesar not were-present set-down briefly in of-the-art
 distributione idem, quod Graeci plerique posuerunt, neque
the-division the-same which the-Greeks most have-set-down nor
 sane quid ipse sentiret, sed quid ab illis diceretur,
indeed what he-himself thought but what by them was-said
 ostendit: duo prima genera quaestionum esse, in quibus
he-showed two first kinds of-questions to-be in which
 eloquentia versaretur, unum infinitum, alterum certum.
eloquence was-engaged one boundless the-other fixed

- 42 Infinitum mihi videbatur id dicere, in quo aliquid generatim
boundless to-me he-seemed that to-call in which something in-general
 quaereretur, hoc modo: expetendane esset eloquentia?
was-asked in-this way whether-to-be-sought were eloquence
 expetendine honores? Certum autem, in quo quid in
whether-to-be-sought honors fixed however in which something in
 personis et in constituta re et definita quaereretur;
persons and in a-settled matter and defined was-asked

cuius modi sunt, quae in foro atque in civium
of-which sort are those-(things)-which in the-forum and in of-citizens
 causis disceptationibusque versantur.

cases and-in-disputes are-engaged

Ea mihi videntur aut in lite oranda aut in consilio 43
these to-me seem either in a-suit in-pleading or in counsel

dando esse posita; nam illud tertium, quod et a Crasso
in-giving to-be placed for that third which both by Crassus

tactum est et, ut audio, ipse Aristoteles, qui haec
touched is and as I-hear he-himself Aristotle who these

maxime inlustravit, adiunxit, etiam si opus est, minus
chiefly illuminated added even if need there-is less

est tamen necessarium.' 'Quidnam?' inquit Catulus; 'an
it-is still necessary what-then said Catulus can-it-be

laudationes? Id enim video poni genus tertium.'

panegyrics that for I-see to-be-set a-kind third

II.6 • PRAISE, TESTIMONY, AND NO RULES FOR THEM

Antonius allows that praise is the kind set third, and shows what it asks: the goods of fortune, used well, wisely done without, or borne with moderation when lost, and then what the man did wisely, liberally, bravely, justly, and generously. But he will not make a separate art of everything an orator sometimes does. He himself once gave evidence at length against Sextus Titius; embassies, rebukes, exhortations, and consolations all want eloquence, and none of them wants rules.

'Ita,' inquit Antonius 'et in eo quidem genere scio et me 44
so said Antonius and in that indeed kind I-know both me

et omnis, qui adfuerunt, delectatos esse vehementer,
and all who were-present delighted to-have-been strongly

cum a te est Popilia, mater vestra, laudata, cui primum
when by you was Popilia mother your praised to-whom first

mulieri hunc honorem in nostra civitate tributum puto.

to-a-woman this honor in our state paid I-think

Sed non omnia, quaecumque loquimur, mihi videntur ad

but not all-(things) whatever we-utter to-me seem to

artem et ad praecepta esse revocanda;

art and to precepts to-be to-be-referred

45 ex eis enim fontibus, unde omnia ornamenta dicendi

from those for springs whence all ornaments of-speaking

sumuntur, licebit etiam laudationem ornare neque

are-taken it-will-be-allowed even a-panegyric to-adorn nor

illa elementa desiderare, quae ut nemo tradat, quis est

those rudiments to-need which though no-one teaches who is

qui nesciat, quae sint in homine laudanda? Positis

who does-not-know what are in a-man to-be-praised when-set-down

enim eis rebus, quas Crassus in illius orationis suae,

for those things which Crassus in of-that of-speech his-own

quam contra conlegam censor habuit, principio dixit:

which against a-colleague as-censor he-delivered in-the-opening said

quae natura aut fortuna darentur hominibus, in eis rebus

which by-nature or by-fortune were-given to-men in those things

se vinci posse animo aequo pati; quae ipsi

himself to-be-surpassed to-be-able with-a-mind calm to-endure which themselves

sibi homines parare possent, in eis rebus se pati

for-themselves men to-provide could in those things himself to-endure

non posse vinci; qui laudabit quempiam, intellet

not to-be-able to-be-surpassed who will-praise anyone will-understand

exponenda sibi esse fortunae bona;

to-be-set-forth by-him to-be of-fortune the-goods

46 ea sunt generis, pecuniae, propinquorum, amicorum, opum,

these are of-birth of-money of-kinsmen of-friends of-resources

valetudinis, formae, virium, ingeni et ceterarum rerum, quae

of-health of-beauty of-strength of-talent and of-the-other things which

sunt aut corporis aut extraneae; si habuerit, bene rebus eis
are either of-the-body or external if he-shall-have-had well things these
 usum; si non habuerit, sapienter caruisse; si amiserit,
to-have-used if not he-shall-have-had wisely to-have-lacked if he-shall-have-lost
 moderate tulisse; deinde, quid sapienter is, quem laudet,
with-moderation to-have-borne then what wisely he whom he-praises
 quid liberaliter, quid fortiter, quid iuste, quid magnifice, quid
what liberally what bravely what justly what magnificently what
 pie, quid grate, quid humaniter, quid denique cum aliqua
dutifully what gratefully what humanely what finally with some
 virtute aut fecerit aut tulerit: haec et quae sunt eius generis
virtue either he-has-done or has-borne these and what are of-that kind
 facile videbit, qui volet laudare; et qui vituperare, contraria.
easily will-see who shall-wish to-praise and who to-blame the-opposites
 ‘Cur igitur dubitas,’ inquit Catulus, ‘facere hoc tertium 47
why therefore do-you-hesitate said Catulus to-make this third
 genus, quoniam est in ratione rerum? Non enim, si
kind since it-is in the-nature of-things not for if
 est facilius, eo de numero quoque est excerptum.’
it-is easier by-that from the-number also it-is to-be-struck-out
 ‘Quia nolo,’ inquit, ‘omnia, quae cadunt aliquando in
because I-do-not-wish he-said all-(things) which fall sometimes to
 oratorem, quamvis exigua sint, ea sic tractare, quasi
the-orator however-much slight they-may-be them so to-treat as-if
 nihil possit dici sine praeceptis suis;
nothing could to-be-said without precepts of-their-own
 nam et testimonium saepe dicendum est ac non numquam 48
for both evidence often to-be-given is and not never
 etiam accuratius, ut mihi etiam necesse fuit in Sex.
even more-carefully as for-me even necessary it-was against Sextus
 Titium, seditiosum civem et turbulentum; explicavi in eo
Titius a-seditious citizen and turbulent I-unfolded in that

testimonio dicendo omnia consilia consulatus mei, quibus
evidence in-giving all the-plans of-the-consulship my by-which
 illi tribuno plebis pro re publica restitisssem,
to-that to-the-tribune of-the-plebs for the-thing public I-had-resisted
 quaeque ab eo contra rem publicam facta arbitrarer,
and-what by him against the-thing public done I-judged
 exposui; diu retentus sum, multa audiui, multa respondi.

I-set-forth long detained I-was many-things I-beard many-things I-answered
 Num igitur placet, cum de eloquentia praecipias, aliquid
surely-not therefore does-it-please when about eloquence you-give-rules something
 etiam de testimoniis dicendis quasi in arte tradere?"

even about evidence about-giving as-if in an-art to-teach

- 49 'Nihil sane' inquit Catulus 'necesse est.' 'Quid si, quod
nothing indeed said Catulus necessary it-is what if which
 saepe summis viris accidit, mandata sint exponenda aut
often to-the-highest to-men happens instructions are to-be-set-forth either
 in senatu ab imperatore aut ad imperatorem aut ad regem
in the-senate by a-general or to a-general or to a-king
 aut ad populum aliquem a senatu, num quia genere
or to a-people some by the-senate surely-not because with-a-kind
 orationis in eius modi causis accuratiore est utendum,
of-speech in of-that sort cases with-a-more-careful it-is to-be-used
 idcirco pars etiam haec causarum numeranda videtur
therefore a-part even this of-cases to-be-counted seems
 aut propriis praeceptis instruenda?' 'Minime vero,' inquit
or with-proper with-precepts to-be-equipped by-no-means indeed said
 Catulus; 'non enim deerit homini diserto in eius modi
Catulus not for will-be-lacking to-a-man eloquent in of-that sort
 rebus facultas ex ceteris rebus et causis comparata.'
matters the-faculty from the-other matters and from-cases acquired

‘Ergo item’ inquit ‘illa, quae saepe diserte agenda sunt 50
therefore likewise he-said those which often eloquently to-be-handled are
 et quae ego paulo ante, cum eloquentiam laudarem,
and which I a-little before when eloquence I-was-praising
 dixi oratoris esse, neque habent suum locum ullum in
I-said of-the-orator to-be neither have their-own place any in
 divisione partium neque certum praeceptorum genus et
the-division of-the-parts nor a-fixed of-precepts kind and
 agenda sunt non minus diserte, quam quae in lite
to-be-handled are not less eloquently than what in a-suit
 dicuntur, obiurgatio, cohortatio, consolatio, quorum nihil
are-said rebuke exhortation consolation of-which nothing
 est, quod non summa dicendi ornamenta desideret; sed
is which not the-highest of-speaking ornaments requires but
 ex artificio res istae praecepta non quaerunt.’
from craft matters those precepts not seek

II.7 · HISTORY WANTS AN ORATOR

Asked what sort of speaker should write history, Catulus says the greatest if it is to be written as the Greeks wrote, and any honest man if as the Romans do. Antonius traces the bare annals kept by the pontifex maximus, the chroniclers Cato, Pictor, and Piso, and then Antipater, who first raised the tone. The Greeks did better because their best writers stood outside the courts, from Herodotus and Thucydides to Timaeus.

‘Plane’ inquit Catulus ‘adsentior.’ ‘Age vero,’ inquit Antonius 51
plainly said Catulus I-agree come indeed said Antonius
 ‘qualis oratoris et quanti hominis in dicendo putas
of-what-sort of-an-orator and of-how-great of-a-man in speaking do-you-think
 esse historiam scribere?’ ‘Si, ut Graeci scripserunt, summi,’
to-be history to-write if as the-Greeks have-written of-the-highest

inquit Catulus; 'si, ut nostri, nihil opus est oratore; satis
said Catulus if as our-men nothing need there-is of-an-orator enough
 est non esse mendacem.' 'Atqui, ne nostros contemnas,'

it-is not to-be a-liar and-yet lest our-men you-despise

inquit Antonius, 'Graeci quoque ipsi sic initio

said Antonius the-Greeks also themselves so at-the-beginning

scriptitarunt, ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso;

wrote-repeatedly as our Cato as Pictor as Piso

52 erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio, cuius

was for history nothing else except of-annals the-compiling of-which

rei memoriaeque publicae retinendae causa ab initio

of-thing and-of-the-record public of-preserving for-the-sake from the-beginning

rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium pontificem

of-affairs Roman right up-to Publius Mucius pontiff

maximum res omnis singulorum annorum mandabat

greatest the-events all of-single of-years entrusted

litteris pontifex maximus referebatque in album et

to-writing the-pontiff greatest and-transferred-(them) onto a-white-board and

proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo

set-out the-tablet at-home the-opportunity that there-might-be for-the-people

cognoscendi, eique etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur.

of-learning and-those even now the-annals greatest are-named

53 Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui

this likeness of-writing many having-followed are who

sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum,

without any ornaments the-records only of-times

hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt; itaque

of-men of-places and-of-done of-deeds have-left and-so

qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit

of-what-sort among the-Greeks Pherecydes Hellanicus Acusilas was

aliique permulti, talis noster Cato et Pictor et Piso,

and-others very-many such our Cato and Pictor and Piso

qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornetur oratio — modo
who neither understand by-what things may-be-adorned a-speech recently
 enim huc ista sunt importata — et, dum intellegatur
for hither those have-been imported and provided it-is-understood
 quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse brevitatem.
what they-say the-one of-speaking merit they-think to-be brevity
 Paulum se erexit et addidit maiorem historiae sonum 54
a-little himself raised and added a-greater to-history a-sound
 vocis vir optimus, Crassi familiaris, Antipater; ceteri non
of-voice a-man the-best of-Crassus a-friend Antipater the-rest not
 exornatores rerum, sed tantum modo narratores fuerunt. 'Est,
adorners of-events but only merely narrators were it-is
 inquit Catulus 'ut dicis; sed iste ipse Caelius neque distinxit
said Catulus as you-say but that very Caelius neither varied
 historiam varietate colorum neque verborum conlocatione et
history by-the-variety of-colors nor of-words by-the-arrangement and
 tractu orationis leni et aequabili perpolivit illud opus; sed
by-the-flow of-speech smooth and even polished that work but
 ut homo neque doctus neque maxime aptus ad dicendum,
as a-man neither learned nor especially fitted for speaking
 sicut potuit, dolavit; vicit tamen, ut dicis, superiores.'
just-as he-could be-bewed he-surpassed still as you-say (his)-predecessors
 'Minime mirum,' inquit Antonius 'si ista res adhuc nostra 55
not-at-all surprising said Antonius if that thing hitherto in-our
 lingua inlustrata non est; nemo enim studet eloquentiae
in-tongue illuminated not is no-one for is-zealous for-eloquence
 nostrorum hominum, nisi ut in causis atque in foro
of-our of-men except that in cases and in the-forum
 eluceat; apud Graecos autem eloquentissimi homines remoti
he-may-shine among the-Greeks however the-most-eloquent men removed
 a causis forensibus cum ad ceteras res inlustris tum ad
from cases forensic both to the-other matters brilliant and to

historiam scribendam maxime se applicaverunt: namque
history for-writing chiefly themselves have-applied for-indeed
 et Herodotum illum, qui princeps genus hoc ornavit, in
both Herodotus that who first kind this adorned in
 causis nihil omnino versatum esse accepimus; atqui tanta
cases nothing at-all engaged to-have-been we-have-heard and-yet so-great
 est eloquentia, ut me quidem, quantum ego Graece scripta
is the-eloquence that me indeed as-far-as I in-Greek written-(things)
 intellegere possum, magno opere delectet; et post illum
to-understand am-able with-great with-effort it-delights and after him
 Thucydides omnis dicendi artificio mea sententia facile vicit;
Thucydides all of-speaking by-the-craft in-my opinion easily surpassed
 56 qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope
who so crowded is of-matters by-the-abundance that of-words almost
 numerum sententiarum numero consequatur, ita porro
the-number of-thoughts by-the-number he-matches so further
 verbis est aptus et pressus, ut nescias, utrum
in-words he-is fitted and compressed that you-would-not-know whether
 res oratione an verba sententiis inlustrantur: atqui ne
the-matters by-the-speech or the-words by-the-thoughts are-illuminated and-yet not
 hunc quidem, quamquam est in re publica versatus,
this-man even although he-is in the-thing public engaged
 ex numero accepimus eorum, qui causas dictitarunt; et
from the-number we-have-heard of-those who cases pleaded-repeatedly and
 hos ipsos libros tum scripsisse dicitur, cum a re
these very books then to-have-written he-is-said when from the-thing
 publica remotus atque, id quod optimo cuique Athenis
public removed and that which to-the-best to-each at-Athens
 accidere solitum est, in exilium pulsus esset;
to-happen accustomed it-is into exile driven he-bad-been

hunc consecutus est Syracosius Philistus, qui, cum Dionysi 57
him having-followed is the-Syracusan Philistus who although of-Dionysius
 tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit
of-the-tyrant the-closest-friend he-was the-leisure his-own spent
 in historia scribenda maximeque Thucydidem est, ut
in history in-writing and-chiefly Thucydides he-has as
 mihi videtur, imitatus. Postea vero ex clarissima quasi
to-me it-seems imitated afterward indeed from the-most-famous as-it-were
 rhetoris officina duo praestantes ingenio, Theopompus
of-a-rhetorician the-workshop two outstanding in-talent Theopompus
 et Ephorus ab Isocrate magistro impulsus se ad
and Ephorus by Isocrates the-master driven themselves to
 historiam contulerunt; causas omnino numquam attigerunt.
history betook cases at-all never they-touched
 Denique etiam a philosophia profectus princeps Xenophon, 58
finally even from philosophy having-set-out first Xenophon
 Socraticus ille, post ab Aristotele Callisthenes, comes
the-Socratic that afterward from Aristotle Callisthenes the-companion
 Alexandri, scripsit historiam, et is quidem rhetorico paene
of-Alexander wrote history and he indeed in-a-rhetorical almost
 more; ille autem superior leniore quodam sono est usus,
in-manner that however earlier with-a-gentler a-certain sound has used
 et qui illum impetum oratoris non habeat, vehemens fortasse
and who that impetus of-an-orator not has vehement perhaps
 minus, sed aliquanto tamen est, ut mihi quidem videtur,
less but somewhat still is as to-me indeed it-seems
 dulcior. Minimus natu horum omnium Timaeus, quantum
sweeter the-youngest in-birth of-these of-all Timaeus as-far-as
 autem iudicare possum, longe eruditissimus et rerum copia
however to-judge I-am-able far the-most-learned and of-matters by-the-store
 et sententiarum varietate abundantissimus et ipsa
and of-thoughts by-the-variety the-most-abundant and by-the-very

compositione verborum non impolitus magnam eloquentiam

arrangement of-words not unpolished great eloquence

ad scribendum attulit, sed nullum usum forensem.

to writing brought but no experience forensic

II.8 • THE LAWS OF HISTORY

Caesar marvels at how many historians Antonius can name; Antonius says he reads them for pleasure, though some color rubs off, as on a man walking in the sun. The first law of history is to dare no falsehood, the second to dare every truth, with no favor or grudge suspected; on that foundation come chronology, geography, plans, deeds, causes, and men. The boundless question too, named by most writers and unfolded by none, the orator takes up within limits.

59 Haec cum ille dixisset, 'quid est,' inquit 'Catule?' Caesar;

these when he had-said what is-it said Catulus Caesar

'ubi sunt, qui Antonium Graece negant scire? Quot

where are-they who Antonius in-Greek deny to-know how-many

historicos nominavit! Quam scienter, quam proprie de uno

historians has-be-named how expertly how properly about one

quoque dixit!' 'Id me hercule' inquit Catulus 'admirans

each has-be-spoken that by Hercules said Catulus wondering-at

illud iam mirari desino, quod multo magis ante mirabar,

that now to-wonder I-cease which much more before I-was-wondering

hunc, cum haec nesciret, in dicendo posse tantum.'

this-man although these he-did-not-know in speaking to-be-able so-much

'Atqui, Catule,' inquit Antonius 'non ego utilitatem aliquam

and-yet Catulus said Antonius not I usefulness some

ad dicendum aucupans horum libros et non nullos alios,

for speaking hunting of-these the-books and not none others

sed delectationis causa, cum est otium, legere soleo.

but of-delight for-the-sake when there-is leisure to-read I-am-wont

Quid ergo est? Est, fatebor, aliquid tamen; ut, cum 60
what then is-it there-is I-shall-admit something still as when
 in sole ambulem, etiam si ego aliam ob causam
in the-sun I-walk even if I another on-account-of cause
 ambulem, fieri natura tamen, ut colorer, sic, cum
walk to-happen by-nature still that I-am-colored so when
 istos libros ad Misenum — nam Romae vix licet —
those books at Misenum for at-Rome scarcely it-is-allowed
 studiosius legerim, sentio illorum tactu orationem meam
rather-eagerly I-have-read I-feel of-those by-the-touch the-speech my
 quasi colorari. Sed ne latius hoc vobis patere videatur,
as-it-were to-be-colored but lest more-widely this to-you to-extend it-may-seem
 haec dumtaxat in Graecis intellego, quae ipsi, qui
these only in Greek-(writers) I-understand which they-themselves who
 scripserunt, voluerunt vulgo intellegi:
wrote wished commonly to-be-understood
 in philosophos vestros si quando incidi, deceptus 61
upon the-philosophers your if ever I-have-fallen deceived
 indicibus librorum, qui sunt fere inscripti de rebus notis
by-the-titles of-the-books which are generally inscribed about matters known
 et inlustribus, de virtute, de iustitia, de honestate, de
and famous about virtue about justice about honor about
 voluptate, verbum prorsus nullum intellego; ita sunt angustis
pleasure a-word absolutely not-one I-understand so are-they by-narrow
 et concisis disputationibus inligati; poetas omnino quasi
and by-clipped by-arguments bound the-poets altogether as-if
 alia quadam lingua locutos non conor attingere. Cum
in-another in-a-certain in-tongue having-spoken not I-try to-touch with
 eis me, ut dixi, oblecto, qui res gestas aut orationes
those myself as I-have-said I-amuse who deeds done or speeches

scripserunt suas aut qui ita loquuntur, ut videantur
have-written their-own or who so speak that they-seem
 voluisse esse nobis, qui non sumus eruditissimi, familiares.
to-have-wished to-be to-us who not are most-learned intimates

- 62 Sed illuc redeo: videtisne, quantum munus sit oratoris
but thither I-return do-you-see how-great a-task is of-an-orator
 historia? Haud scio an flumine orationis et varietate
history hardly I-know whether by-the-stream of-speech and by-the-variety
 maximum; neque eam reperio usquam separatim instructam
the-greatest nor it I-find anywhere separately equipped
 rhetorum praeceptis; sita sunt enim ante oculos. Nam quis
of-rhetoricians by-the-precepts placed they-are for before the-eyes for who
 nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere
does-not-know the-first to-be of-history the-law that-not anything of-false to-say
 audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Ne quae
he-should-dare then that-not anything of-true not he-should-dare that-not any
 suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? Ne quae simultatis?
suspicion of-favor there-be in writing that-not any of-enmity

- 63 Haec scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus, ipsa autem
these of-course foundations known are to-all the-very however
 exaedificatio posita est in rebus et verbis: rerum ratio
building-up placed is in matters and words of-matters the-plan
 ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem; vult
the-order of-times requires of-regions the-description it-wants
 etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriaque dignis consilia
also since in matters great and-of-memory worthy the-plans
 primum, deinde acta, postea eventus exspectentur, et de
first then the-acts afterward the-outcomes may-be-expected and about
 consiliis significari quid scriptor probet et in rebus gestis
the-plans to-be-shown what the-writer approves and in deeds done
 declarari non solum quid actum aut dictum sit, sed
to-be-declared not only what done or said has-been but

etiam quo modo, et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causae
even in-what way and when about the-outcome it-is-spoken that the-causes
 explicentur omnes vel casus vel sapientiae vel temeritatis
may-be-unfolded all either of-chance or of-wisdom or of-rashness
 hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestae, sed etiam, qui
and-of-the-men themselves not only the-deeds done but even who
 fama ac nomine excellent, de cuiusque vita atque natura;
by-fame and by-name excel about of-each the-life and character
 verborum autem ratio et genus orationis fusum atque 64
of-words however the-plan and the-kind of-speech spread-out and
 tractum et cum lenitate quadam aequabiliter profluens
drawn-along and with a-smoothness a-certain evenly flowing-on
 sine hac iudiciali asperitate et sine sententiarum forensibus
without this judicial harshness and without of-thoughts forensic
 aculeis persequendum est. Harum tot tantarumque
stings to-be-pursued is of-these of-so-many and-of-so-great
 rerum videtisne nulla esse praecepta, quae in artibus
of-matters do-you-see none to-be precepts which in the-arts
 rhetorum reperiantur? In eodem silentio multa alia oratorum
of-rhetoricians are-found in the-same silence many other of-orators
 officia iacuerunt, cohortationes, praecepta, consolationes,
duties have-lain exhortations precepts consolations
 admonita, quae tractanda sunt omnia disertissime, sed locum
warnings which to-be-handled are all most-eloquently but a-place
 suum in his artibus, quae traditae sunt, habent nullum.
their-own in these arts which handed-down have-been they-have none
 Atque in hoc genere illa quoque est infinita silva, quod 65
and in this kind that also is a-boundless forest that
 oratori plerique, ut etiam Crassus ostendit, duo genera
to-the-orator most as even Crassus showed two kinds
 ad dicendum dederunt: unum de certa definitaque causa,
for speaking have-given one about a-fixed and-defined case

quales sunt, quae in litibus, quae in deliberationibus

of-what-sort are those-(things)-which in suits which in deliberations

versantur, addat, si quis volet, etiam laudationes; alterum,

are-engaged let-him-add if anyone shall-wish even panegyrics the-other

quod appellant omnes fere scriptores, explicat nemo, infinitam

which name all almost writers unfolds no-one the-boundless

generis sine tempore et sine persona quaestionem. Hoc quid

of-the-class without time and without person question this what

et quantum sit, cum dicunt, intellegere mihi non videntur:

and how-great it-is when they-say to-understand to-me not they-seem

66 si enim est oratoris, quaecumque res infinite posita sit,

if for it-is of-the-orator whatever matter boundlessly set may-be

de ea posse dicere, dicendum erit ei, quanta sit solis

about it to-be-able to-speak to-be-spoken it-will-be by-him how-great is of-the-sun

magnitudo, quae forma terrae; de mathematicis, de

the-size what the-shape of-the-earth about mathematical about

musicis rebus non poterit quin dicat hoc onere

musical matters not he-will-be-able but-that he-speaks this when-the-burden

suscepto recusare; denique ei, qui profitetur esse

has-been-undertaken to-refuse finally to-him who professes to-be

suum non solum de eis controversiis, quae temporibus et

his-own not only about those controversies which by-times and

personis notatae sunt, hoc est, de omnibus forensibus, sed

by-persons marked are this is about all forensic but

etiam de generum infinitis quaestionibus dicere, nullum

even about of-classes boundless questions to-speak no

potest esse genus orationis, quod sit exceptum.

can to-be kind of-speech which is excepted

67 Sed si illam quoque partem quaestionum oratori volumus

but if that also part of-questions to-the-orator we-wish

adiungere vagam et liberam et late patentem, ut de

to-add roaming and free and widely extending as about

rebus bonis aut malis, expetendis aut fugiendis, honestis
things good or bad to-be-sought or to-be-shunned honorable
 aut turpibus, utilibus aut inutilibus, de virtute, de
or base useful or useless about virtue about
 iustitia, de continentia, de prudentia, de magnitudine
justice about self-control about practical-wisdom about greatness
 animi, de liberalitate, de pietate, de amicitia, de
of-mind about liberality about piety about friendship about
 officio, de fide, de ceteris virtutibus contrariisque vitiis
duty about good-faith about the-other virtues and-the-opposite vices
 dicendum oratori putemus; itemque de re publica,
to-be-spoken by-the-orator we-should-think and-likewise about the-thing public
 de imperio, de re militari, de disciplina civitatis,
about supreme-power about the-thing military about the-discipline of-the-state
 de hominum moribus, adsumamus eam quoque partem,
about of-men the-characters let-us-take-on that also part
 sed ita, ut sit circumscripta modicis regionibus.
but so that it-may-be circumscribed by-moderate by-limits

II.9 • LEARN THE HARD PART, AND THE REST FOLLOWS

Whatever touches civic life, character, and custom the orator should take in, if not to answer like a philosopher then to weave into a case, speaking as the lawgivers did, plainly and splendidly. Antonius gives no rules for the rest, since every art teaches only its hardest part: Polyclitus, shaping Hercules, never asked how to make the skin or the hydra. Catulus fears the greater works are left out; Antonius holds pleading the greatest, and whoever can make the Minerva will not labor over the shield.

68 Equidem omnia, quae pertinent ad usum civium, morem
for-my-part all-(things) which pertain to the-practice of-citizens the-custom
 hominum, quae versantur in consuetudine vitae, in ratione
of-men which are-engaged in the-usage of-life in the-system
 rei publicae, in hac societate civili, in sensu hominis
of-the-thing public in this fellowship civil in the-sense of-man
 communi, in natura, in moribus, comprehendenda esse
common in nature in characters to-be-embraced to-be
 oratori puto; si minus ut separatim de his rebus
by-the-orator I-think if not that separately about these matters
 philosophorum more respondeat, at certe ut in causa
of-philosophers in-the-manner he-may-answer yet certainly that in a-case
 prudenter possit intexere; hisce autem ipsis
prudently he-may-be-able to-weave-in about-these however about-the-very
 de rebus ut ita loquatur, uti ei, qui iura, qui leges,
about matters that so he-may-speak as those who the-rights who the-laws
 qui civitates constituerunt, locuti sunt, simpliciter et
who the-states established having-spoken have simply and
 splendide, sine ulla serie disputationum et sine ieiuna
splendidly without any train of-arguments and without meager
 concertatione verborum.

wrangling of-words

69 Hoc loco ne qua sit admiratio, si tot tantarumque
at-this point lest any there-be surprise if of-so-many and-of-so-great
 rerum nulla a me praecepta ponentur, sic statuo: ut in
of-matters no by me precepts shall-be-laid-down so I-hold as in
 ceteris artibus, cum tradita sint cuiusque artis difficillima,
the-other arts when handed-down have-been of-each of-art the-hardest
 reliqua, quia aut faciliora aut similia sint, tradi non
the-rest because either easier or similar are to-be-handed-down not
 necesse esse; ut in pictura, qui hominum unam speciem
necessary to-be as in painting who of-men one form

pingere perdidicerit, posse eum cuiusvis vel formae vel
to-paint has-learned-thoroughly to-be-able him of-any either of-shape or
aetatis, etiam si non didicerit, pingere neque esse periculum,
of-age even if not he-has-learned to-paint nor to-be danger
qui leonem aut taurum pingat egregie, ne idem in multis
who a-lion or a-bull paints excellently lest the-same in many
aliis quadrupedibus facere non possit — neque est omnino
other quadrupeds to-do not he-may-be-able nor is at-all
ars ulla, in qua omnia, quae illa arte effici possint, a
an-art any in which all-(things) which by-that by-art to-be-effected can by
doctore tradantur, sed qui primarum et certarum rerum
a-teacher are-handed-down but those-who of-the-first and of-fixed of-things
genera ipsa didicerunt, reliqua per se adsequuntur —
the-kinds themselves have-learned the-rest through themselves will-attain
similiter arbitror in hac sive ratione sive exercitatione 70
similarly I-think in this whether method or practice
dicendi, qui illam vim adeptus sit, ut eorum mentis,
of-speaking who that force having-gained he-has that of-those the-minds
qui aut de re publica aut de ipsius rebus aut de
who either about the-thing public or about his-own affairs or about
eis, contra quos aut pro quibus dicat, cum aliqua statuendi
those against whom or for whom he-speaks with some of-deciding
potestate audiant, ad suum arbitrium movere possit,
power bear to his-own will to-move he-may-be-able
illum de toto illo genere reliquarum orationum non plus
him about the-whole that kind of-the-remaining of-speeches not more
quaesitum esse, quid dicat, quam Polyclitum illum, cum
going-to-ask to-be what he-may-say than Polyclitus that when
Herculem fingeat, quem ad modum pellem aut hydam
a-Hercules he-was-shaping in-what to way the-skin or the-hydra
fingeret, etiam si haec numquam separatim facere didicisset.
he-should-shape even if these never separately to-make he-had-learned

- 71 Tum Catulus 'praeclare mihi videris, Antoni, posuisse'
then Catulus splendidly to-me you-seem Antonius to-have-set
 inquit 'ante oculos, quid discere oporteret eum, qui orator
he-said before the-eyes what to-learn it-behooved him who an-orator
 esset futurus, quid, etiam si non didicisset, ex eo, quod
was going-to-be what even if not he-had-learned from that which
 didicisset, adsumeret; deduxisti enim totum hominem
he-had-learned he-might-take-on you-have-brought-down for the-whole man
 in duo genera solum causarum, cetera innumerabilia
into two kinds only of-cases the-rest countless
 exercitationi et similitudini reliquisti: sed videto ne in
to-practice and to-likeness you-have-left but see lest in
 istis duobus generibus hydra tibi sit et pellis, Hercules
those two kinds a-hydra for-you there-be and a-skin a-Hercules
 autem et alia opera maiora in illis rebus, quas praetermittis,
however and other works greater in those matters which you-pass-over
 relinquuntur; non enim mihi minus operis videtur de
may-be-left not for to-me less of-work it-seems about
 universis generibus rerum quam de singulorum causis
universal kinds of-things than about of-individuals cases
 ac multo etiam maius de natura deorum quam de
and much even greater about the-nature of-the-gods than about
 hominum litibus dicere.' 'Non est ita,' inquit Antonius;
of-men the-suits to-speak not it-is so said Antonius
- 72 'dicam enim tibi, Catule, non tam doctus quam, id quod
I-shall-say for to-you Catulus not so learned as that which
 est maius, expertus: omnium ceterarum rerum oratio, mihi
is greater experienced of-all of-the-other of-matters speech to-me
 crede, ludus est homini non hebeti neque inexercitato
believe child's-play is for-a-man not dull nor unpracticed
 neque communium litterarum et politioris humanitatis
nor of-common of-letters and of-more-polished of-culture

experti; in causarum contentionibus magnum est quoddam
devoid in of-cases the-struggles great is a-certain
 opus atque haud sciam an de humanis operibus
work and hardly I-may-know whether among human works
 longe maximum; in quibus vis oratoris plerumque ab
far the-greatest in which the-force of-the-orator generally by
 imperitis exitu et victoria iudicatur; ubi adest armatus
the-unskilled by-the-outcome and by-victory is-judged where is-present armed
 adversarius, qui sit et feriendus et repellendus; ubi saepe
an-adversary who is both to-be-struck and to-be-driven-back where often
 is, qui rei dominus futurus est, alienus atque iratus
he who of-the-matter master going-to-be is unfriendly and angry
 aut etiam amicus adversario et inimicus tibi est; cum
or even a-friend to-the-adversary and an-enemy to-you is when
 aut docendus is est aut dedocendus aut reprimendus aut
either to-be-taught he is or to-be-untaught or to-be-checked or
 incitandus aut omni ratione ad tempus, ad causam oratione
to-be-roused or by-every by-means to the-occasion to the-case by-speech
 moderandus (in quo saepe benevolentia ad odium, odium
to-be-controlled in which often goodwill to hatred hatred
 autem ad benevolentiam deducendum est); aut tamquam
however to goodwill to-be-brought is or as-if
 machinatione aliqua tum ad severitatem tum ad remissionem
by-machinery some now to severity now to relaxation
 animi, tum ad tristitiam tum ad laetitiam est contorquendus;
of-mind now to sadness now to gladness is to-be-swung
 omnium sententiarum gravitate, omnium verborum ponderibus 73
of-all of-thoughts by-the-weight of-all of-words by-the-beft
 est utendum; accedat oportet actio varia, vehemens,
it-is to-be-used let-there-be-added it-behooves delivery varied vehement
 plena animi, plena spiritus, plena doloris, plena veritatis.
full of-spirit full of-breath full of-passion full of-truth

In his operibus si quis illam artem comprehenderit, ut
in these works if anyone that art shall-have-grasped so-that
 tamquam Phidias Minervae signum efficere possit, non
as-if Phidias of-Minerva a-statue to-make he-may-be-able not
 sane, quem ad modum, ut in clipeo idem artifex, minora
indeed in-what to way as on a-shield the-same craftsman smaller
 illa opera facere discat, laborabit.
those works to-make he-may-learn he-will-toil

II.10 • HANNIBAL AND THE LECTURER

Catulus asks by what rules such power is got, and mocks Greek teachers who have never seen a court, like Phormio, who lectured Hannibal on generalship and was called the maddest old man he had met. Antonius has met many Phormios. Their doctrine divides the case from the general question and says nothing of the second; the five parts are obvious, and the goodwill and attention they assign the opening are won by the whole speech.

74 Tum Catulus ‘quo ista maiora ac mirabilia fecisti,
then Catulus by-how-much those greater and more-wonderful you-have-made
 eo me maior exspectatio tenet quibusnam rationibus
by-that me a-greater expectation holds by-what-then by-methods
 quibusque praeceptis ea tanta vis comparetur; non quo
and-by-what by-precepts that so-great force is-acquired not because
 mea quidem iam intersit — neque enim aetas id mea
for-me indeed now it-matters nor for the-age that my
 desiderat et aliud genus quoddam dicendi nos secuti
requires and another kind a-certain of-speaking we having-followed
 sumus, qui numquam sententias de manibus iudicum
have who never the-votes from the-hands of-judges
 vi quadam orationis extorsimus ac potius placatis
by-force a-certain of-speech have-wrenched and rather when-appeased

eorum animis tantum, quantum ipsi patiebantur,
their minds so-much as-much-as they-themselves allowed
 accepimus — sed tamen ista tua nullum ad usum meum,
we-have-received but still those your for-no for use my
 tantum cognoscendi studio adductus requiro.

only of-learning by-the-zeal led I-seek

Nec mihi opus est Graeco aliquo doctore, qui mihi

75

nor for-me need there-is of-a-Greek of-some of-a-teacher who to-me

pervulgata praecepta decantet, cum ipse numquam

backneyed precepts may-chant-over when he-himself never

forum, numquam ullum iudicium aspexerit; ut Peripateticus

the-forum never any court has-beheld as the-Peripatetic

ille dicitur Phormio, cum Hannibal Karthagine expulsus

that is-said Phormio when Hannibal from-Carthage driven-out

Ephesum ad Antiochum venisset exsul proque eo, quod

to-Ephesus to Antiochus had-come an-exile and-for that because

eius nomen erat magna apud omnis gloria, invitatus esset

his name was great among all in-glory invited he-had-been

ab hospitibus suis, ut eum, quem dixi, si vellet,

by hosts his-own that him whom I-have-said if he-wished

audiret; cumque is se non nolle dixisset, locutus

he-should-hear and-since he himself not to-be-unwilling had-said having-spoken

esse dicitur homo copiosus aliquot horas de imperatoris

to-have he-is-said a-man copious several hours about of-a-general

officio et de re militari. Tum, cum ceteri, qui

the-duty and about the-thing military then when the-rest who

illum audierant, vehementer essent delectati, quaerebant ab

him had-heard strongly had-been delighted they-were-asking from

Hannibale, quidnam ipse de illo philosopho iudicaret:

Hannibal what-then he-himself about that philosopher judged

hic Poenus non optime Graece, sed tamen libere

here the-Carthaginian not best in-Greek but still freely

respondisse fertur, multos se deliros senes saepe vidisse,
to-have-answered is-reported many himself doting old-men often to-have-seen

sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem.

but who more than Phormio doted to-have-seen no-one

76 Neque me hercule iniuria; quid enim aut adrogantius

nor by Hercules without-reason what for either more-arrogant

aut loquacius fieri potuit quam Hannibali, qui tot

or more-talkative to-be-done could than to-Hannibal who for-so-many

annis de imperio cum populo Romano omnium gentium

for-years about empire with the-people Roman of-all of-nations

victore certasset, Graecum hominem, qui numquam

the-conqueror had-striven a-Greek a-man who never

hostem, numquam castra vidisset, numquam denique

an-enemy never a-camp had-seen never finally

minimam partem ullius publici muneris attigisset, praecepta

the-smallest part of-any of-public of-service had-touched precepts

de re militari dare? Hoc mihi facere omnes isti,

about the-thing military to-give this to-me to-do all those

qui de arte dicendi praecipunt, videntur; quod enim

who about the-art of-speaking give-rules seem what for

ipsi experti non sunt, id docent ceteros; sed hoc

they-themselves experienced not have that they-teach the-others but in-this

minus fortasse errant, quod non te, ut Hannibalem ille,

less perhaps they-err because not you as Hannibal that-man

sed pueros aut adulescentulos docere conantur.

but boys or youths to-teach they-try

77 'Erras, Catule,' inquit Antonius 'nam egomet in multos iam

you-err Catulus said Antonius for I-myself upon many now

Phormiones incidi. Quis enim est istorum Graecorum, qui

Phormios have-fallen who for is of-those of-Greeks who

quemquam nostrum quicquam intellegere arbitretur? Ac mihi

anyone of-us anything to-understand thinks and to-me

quidem non ita molesti sunt; facile omnis perpetior et
indeed not so troublesome they-are easily all I-endure and
 perfero; nam aut aliquid adferunt, quod mihi non displiceat,
I-bear-through for either something they-bring which to-me not displeases
 aut efficiunt, ut me non didicisse minus paeniteat; dimitto
or they-bring-about that me not to-have-learned less I-may-regret I-dismiss
 autem eos non tam contumeliose quam philosophum illum
however them not so insultingly as the-philosopher that
 Hannibal, et eo fortasse plus habeo etiam negoti. Sed tamen
Hannibal and by-that perhaps more I-have even of-trouble but still
 est eorum doctrina, quantum ego iudicare possum, perridicula:
is of-them the-learning as-far-as I to-judge am-able very-ridiculous
 dividunt enim totam rem in duas partis, in causae
they-divide for the-whole matter into two parts into of-a-case
 controversiam et in quaestionis: causam appellant
the-controversy and into of-a-question a-case they-call
 rem positam in disceptatione reorum et controversia;
a-matter placed in the-dispute of-the-parties and in-controversy
 quaestionem autem rem positam in infinita dubitatione;
a-question however a-matter placed in boundless doubt
 de causa praecepta dant; de altera parte dicendi mirum
about the-case precepts they-give about the-other part of-speaking a-strange
 silentium est.

silence there-is

Deinde quinque faciunt quasi membra eloquentiae, invenire
then five they-make as-it-were limbs of-eloquence to-find
 quid dicas, inventa disponere, deinde ornare verbis,
what you-may-say the-things-found to-arrange then to-adorn with-words
 post memoriae mandare, tum ad extremum agere ac
afterward to-memory to-entrust then at the-end to-perform and
 pronuntiare; rem sane non reconditam; quis enim hoc non
to-deliver a-thing indeed not abstruse who for this not

sua sponte viderit, neminem posse dicere, nisi et quid
of-his-own accord would-see no-one to-be-able to-speak unless both what
 diceret et quibus verbis et quo ordine diceret haberet
he-should-say and with-what words and in-what order he-should-say he-bad
 et ea meminisset? Atque haec ego non reprehendo, sed
and them he-remembered and these I not censure but
 ante oculos posita esse dico, ut eas item quattuor, quinque,
before the-eyes placed to-be I-say as those likewise four five
 sexve partis vel etiam septem, quoniam aliter ab aliis
or-six parts or even seven since differently by different-men
 digeruntur, in quas est ab his omnis oratio distributa:
they-are-arranged into which is by these all speech divided

80 iubent enim exordiri ita, ut eum, qui audiat, benevolum
they-bid for to-begin so that him who hears well-disposed
 nobis faciamus et docilem et attentum; deinde rem
to-us we-may-make and teachable and attentive then the-matter
 narrare, et ita ut veri similis narratio sit, ut aperta, ut
to-narrate and so that of-truth like the-narrative may-be that clear that
 brevis; post autem dividere causam aut proponere; nostra
brief afterward however to-divide the-case or to-set-forth our-own
 confirmare argumentis ac rationibus; deinde contraria refutare;
to-confirm by-arguments and by-reasons then the-opposites to-refute
 tum autem alii conclusionem orationis et quasi perorationem
then however some the-conclusion of-the-speech and as-it-were the-peroration
 conlocant, alii iubent, ante quam peroretur, ornandi aut
place others bid before than it-is-perorated of-adorning or
 augendi causa digredi, deinde concludere ac perorare.
of-amplifying for-the-sake to-digress then to-conclude and to-perorate

81 Ne haec quidem reprehendo; sunt enim concinne distributa,
not these even I-censure they-are for neatly divided
 sed tamen, id quod necesse fuit hominibus expertibus veritatis,
but still that which necessary was for-men devoid of-truth

non perite: quae enim praecepta principiorum et narrationum
 not skillfully what for precepts of-openings and of-narratives
 esse voluerunt, ea in totis orationibus sunt conservanda;
 to-be they-have-wished those in whole speeches are to-be-kept
 nam ego mihi benevolum iudicem facilius facere 82
 for I for-myself well-disposed the-judge more-easily to-make
 possum, cum sum in cursu orationis, quam cum omnia
 am-able when I-am in the-course of-the-speech than when all-(things)
 sunt inaudita; docilem autem non cum polliceor me
 are unheard teachable however not when I-promise myself
 demonstraturum, sed tum, cum doceo et explano; attentum
 going-to-show but then when I-teach and I-explain attentive
 vero tota actione excitandis mentibus iudicum, non
 indeed by-the-whole by-pleading by-rousing the-minds of-the-judges not
 prima denuntiatione efficere possumus.
 by-a-first by-announcement to-make we-can

II.11 • WHAT A TEACHER CAN JUDGE

The rhetoricians' mistake is to think oratory can be laid out like the civil law, genus by genus and definition by definition. Fencing practice helps a soldier, but the battle wants a keen and ready mind. Antonius would first see what a pupil can do, press the promising to work, leave the middling to please themselves, and tell the hopeless to try something else. So he encouraged young Sulpicius and sent him to Crassus.

Iam vero narrationem quod iubent veri similem esse 83
 now indeed the-narrative that they-bid of-truth like to-be
 et apertam et brevem, recte nos admonent: quod haec
 and clear and brief rightly us they-advice because these
 narrationis magis putant esse propria quam totius orationis,
 of-the-narrative more they-think to-be proper than of-the-whole of-the-speech

valde mihi videntur errare; omninoque in hoc omnis est
greatly to-me they-seem to-err and-altogether in this all is
 error, quod existimant artificium esse hoc quoddam non
the-error that they-judge a-craft to-be this a-certain not
 dissimile ceterorum, cuius modi de ipso iure civili
unlike of-the-others of-which sort about the-very the-law civil
 hesterno die Crassus componi posse dicebat: ut
on-yesterday's on-day Crassus to-be-put-together to-be-able was-saying that
 genera rerum primum exponerentur, in quo vitium est,
the-kinds of-things first should-be-set-forth in which a-fault it-is
 si genus ullum praetermittitur; deinde singulorum partes
if a-kind any is-passed-over then of-individual the-parts
 generum, in quo et deesse aliquam partem et superare
of-the-kinds in which both to-be-lacking some part and to-be-in-excess
 mendosum est; tum verborum omnium definitiones, in
faulty is then of-words of-all the-definitions in
 quibus neque abesse quicquam decet neque redundare.
which neither to-be-absent anything is-fitting nor to-overflow

84 Sed hoc si in iure civili, si etiam in parvis aut
but this if in the-law civil if even in small or
 mediocribus rebus doctiores adsequi possunt, non idem
middling matters the-more-learned to-attain can not the-same
 sentio tanta hac in re tamque immensa posse fieri;
I-think in-so-great in-this in matter and-so in-boundless to-be-able to-be-done
 sin autem qui arbitrantur, deducendi sunt ad eos, qui
but-if however some think to-be-led they-are to those who
 haec docent; omnia iam explicata et perpolita adsequentur;
these teach all-(things) now unfolded and polished they-will-attain
 sunt enim innumerabiles de his rebus libri neque abdit
there-are for countless about these matters books nor hidden
 neque obscuri: sed videant quid velint; ad ludendumne an
nor obscure but let-them-see what they-wish for playing-whether or

ad pugnandum arma sint sumpturi; aliud enim pugna et
for fighting arms they-are going-to-take another for a-fight and
 acies, aliud ludus campusque noster desiderat; ac tamen
a-battle-line another play and-the-field our requires and still
 ars ipsa ludicra armorum et gladiatori et militi
the-art itself playful of-arms both for-a-gladiator and for-a-soldier
 prodest aliquid; sed animus acer et praesens et acutus
profits something but a-spirit keen and ready and sharp
 idem atque versutus invictos viros efficit.

the-same and cunning unconquered men makes

Qua re ego tibi oratorem sic iam instituam, si 85
for-which reason I for-you an-orator so now shall-train if
 potuero, ut quid efficere possit ante perspiciam: sit
I-shall-be-able that what to-effect he-may-be-able before I-may-see let-him-be
 enim mihi tinctus litteris; audierit aliquid, legerit,
for to-me steeped in-letters let-him-have-beard something let-him-have-read
 ista ipsa praecepta acceperit; temptabo quid deceat, quid
those very precepts let-him-have-received I-shall-test what befits what
 voce, quid viribus, quid spiritu, quid lingua efficere
with-voice what with-strength what with-breath what with-tongue to-effect
 possit. Si intellegam posse ad summos pervenire, non

he-may-be-able if I-perceive to-be-able to the-highest to-arrive not
 solum hortabor, ut elaboret, sed etiam, si vir quoque
only I-shall-urge that he-labor but even if a-man also
 bonus mihi videbitur esse, obsecrabo; tantum ego in
good to-me he-shall-seem to-be I-shall-beseech so-much I in
 excellenti oratore et eodem bono viro pono esse ornamenti
an-outstanding orator and the-same good man reckon to-be of-ornament
 universae civitati; sin videbitur, cum omnia summe
for-the-whole for-the-state but-if he-shall-seem when all-(things) in-the-highest-degree
 fecerit, tamen ad mediocris oratores esse venturus,
he-shall-have-done still to middling orators to-be going-to-come

permittam ipsi quid velit; molestus magno opere non
I-shall-leave-it to-himself what he-wishes troublesome with-great with-effort not
 ero; sin plane abhorrebit et erit absurdus, ut se
I-shall-be but-if plainly he-shall-shrink and shall-be absurd that himself
 contineat aut ad aliud studium transferat, admonebo;
he-restrain or to another pursuit he-transfer I-shall-warn

- 86 nam neque is, qui optime potest, deserendus ullo modo
for neither he who best is-able to-be-abandoned in-any way
 est a cohortatione nostra neque is, qui aliquid potest,
is from the-exhortation our nor he who something is-able
 deterrendus: quod alterum divinitatis mihi cuiusdam videtur,
to-be-deterred because the-one of-divinity to-me of-a-certain seems
 alterum, vel non facere quod non optime possis, vel facere
the-other either not to-do what not best you-can or to-do
 quod non pessime facias, humanitatis, tertium vero illud,
what not worst you-may-do of-humanity the-third indeed that
 clamare contra quam deceat et quam possit, hominis est,
to-bawl contrary-to than is-fitting and than he-can of-a-man is
 ut tu, Catule, de quodam clamatore dixisti, stultitiae suae
as you Catulus about a-certain bawler have-said of-folly of-his-own
 quam plurimos testis domestico praeconio conligentis.
as many-as-possible witnesses by-a-domestic by-proclamation gathering

- 87 De hoc igitur, qui erit talis, ut cohortandus adiuvandusque
about this therefore who will-be such that to-be-exhorted and-to-be-helped
 sit, ita loquamur, ut ei tradamus ea dumtaxat,
he-may-be so let-us-speak that to-him we-may-hand-on those only
 quae nos usus docuit, ut nobis ducibus veniat eo,
which us experience has-taught that with-us as-guides he-may-come thither
 quo sine duce ipsi pervenimus, quoniam meliora
whither without a-guide ourselves we-have-arrived since better-things
 docere non possumus.
to-teach not we-can

Atque ut a familiari nostro exordiar, hunc ego, Catule, 88
and that from a-friend our I-may-begin this-man I Catulus
 Sulpicium primum in causa parvula adolescentulum audiivi
Sulpicius first in a-case tiny as-a-youth I-heard
 voce et forma et motu corporis et reliquis rebus
in-voice and in-form and in-the-movement of-the-body and in-the-remaining in-things
 aptis ad hoc munus, de quo quaerimus, oratione autem celeri
fitted for this office about which we-ask in-speech however quick
 et concitata, quod erat ingeni, et verbis effervescentibus
and impetuous which was of-talent and with-words boiling-over
 et paulo nimium redundantibus, quod erat aetatis. Non sum
and a-little too overflowing which was of-age not I
 aspernatus; volo enim se efferat in adulescente fecunditas;
scorned I-wish for itself may-pour-forth in a-young-man fertility
 nam facilius sicut in vitibus revocantur ea, quae se
for more-easily just-as in vines are-called-back those which themselves
 nimium profuderunt, quam, si nihil valet materies, nova
too-much have-poured-out than if nothing avails the-stock new
 sarmenta cultura excitantur; item volo esse in adulescente,
shoots by-cultivation are-raised likewise I-wish to-be in a-young-man
 unde aliquid amputem; non enim potest in eo sucus esse
whence something I-may-prune not for can in it sap to-be
 diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter est maturitatem exsecutum.
lasting which too quickly has maturity attained
 Vidi statim indolem neque dimisi tempus et eum sum 89
I-saw at-once the-natural-gift nor I-let-go the-moment and him I
 cohortatus, ut forum sibi ludum putaret esse ad
urged that the-forum for-himself a-school he-should-think to-be for
 discendum, magistrum autem, quem vellet, eligeret; me
learning a-master however whom he-wished he-should-choose me
 quidem si audiret, L. Crassum: quod iste adipuit et ita
indeed if he-should-listen Lucius Crassus which he seized and so

sese facturum confirmavit atque etiam addidit, gratiae scilicet
himself going-to-do affirmed and even he-added of-favor of-course
 causa, me quoque sibi magistrum futurum. Vix annus
for-the-sake me also for-himself a-master going-to-be scarcely a-year
 intercesserat ab hoc sermone cohortationis meae, cum iste
had-passed from this talk of-exhortation my when he
 accusavit C. Norbanum, defendente me: non est credibile
accused Gaius Norbanus while-defending me not it-is credible
 quid interesse mihi sit visum inter eum, qui tum erat
how-much to-differ to-me it-has seemed between him who then was
 et qui anno ante fuerat. Omnino in illud genus eum Crassi
and who a-year before had-been altogether into that kind him of-Crassus
 magnificum atque praeclarum natura ipsa ducebat, sed ea
magnificent and splendid nature itself was-leading but it
 non satis proficere potuisset, nisi eodem studio
not enough to-advance would-have-been-able unless to-the-same-(point) by-zeal
 atque imitatione intendisset atque ita dicere consuesset, ut
and by-imitation he-had-strained and so to-speak he-had-grown-used that
 tota mente Crassum atque omni animo intueretur.
with-(his)-whole with-mind Crassus and with-all with-spirit he-gazed-at

II.12 • WHOM TO IMITATE

Antonius' first rule is to choose a model, the next to reproduce him by practice, not as many imitators do by seizing what is easy or even what is faulty, the way Fufius takes over Fimbria's distorted mouth and broad speech. Each Greek generation had its own manner because each imitated: Pericles and Thucydides, then Lysias, then Isocrates' school, Demosthenes among its pupils, and then a softer style. Writing does the most for it. Yet Caesar, Cotta, and Curio imitate no one.

Ergo hoc sit primum in praeceptis meis, ut 90
therefore this let-it-be first in precepts my that
 demonstramus, quem imitetur; tum accedat
we-may-show whom he-should-imitate then let-there-be-added
 exercitatio, qua illum, quem delegerit, imitando
practice by-which him whom he-shall-have-chosen by-imitating
 effingat atque exprimat, non ut multos imitatores saepe
be-may-mold and may-express not as many imitators often
 cognovi, qui aut ea, quae facilia sunt, aut etiam illa,
I-have-known who either those which easy are or even those
 quae insignia ac paene vitiosa, consecantur imitando.
which conspicuous and almost faulty pursue by-imitating
 Nihil est facilius, quam amictum imitari alicuius aut 91
nothing is easier than the-cloak to-imitate of-someone or
 statum aut motum; si vero etiam vitiosi aliquid
the-bearing or the-movement if indeed even of-something-faulty anything
 est, id sumere et in eo vitio similem esse non magnum
there-is that to-take and in that fault like to-be not great
 est, ut ille, qui nunc etiam, amissa voce, furit in re
it-is as he who now even when-lost the-voice rages in the-thing
 publica, Fufius, nervos in dicendo C. Fimbriae, quos
public Fufius the-sinews in speaking of-Gaius Fimbria which
 tamen habuit ille, non adsequitur, oris pravitatem et
still had he not attains of-the-mouth the-distortion and
 verborum latitudinem imitatur; sed tamen ille nec deligere
of-words the-broadness he-imitates but still he neither to-choose
 scivit, cuius potissimum similis esset, et in eo ipso,
knew of-whom most-of-all like he-should-be and in him himself
 quem delegerat, imitari etiam vitia voluit;
whom he-bad-chosen to-imitate even the-faults he-wished

- 92 qui autem ita faciet, ut oportet, primum vigilet
who however so will-do as it-behooves first let-him-be-watchful
 necesse est in deligendo; deinde, quem probarit, in
necessary it-is in choosing then whom he-shall-have-approved in
 eo, quae maxime excellent, ea diligentissime persequatur.
him what most shall-excel those most-diligently let-him-pursue
 Quid enim causae censetis esse cur aetates extulerint
what for of-cause do-you-judge to-be why the-ages have-brought-forth
 singulae singula prope genera dicendi? Quod non tam facile
single single almost kinds of-speaking which not so easily
 in nostris oratoribus possumus iudicare, quia scripta, ex
in our orators we-can to-judge because writings from
 quibus iudicium fieri posset, non multa sane reliquerunt,
which a-judgment to-be-made could not many indeed they-have-left
 quam in Graecis, ex quorum scriptis, cuiusque aetatis
as in Greek-(writers) from whose writings of-each of-age
 quae dicendi ratio voluntasque fuerit, intellegi potest.
what of-speaking method and-inclination was to-be-understood can
- 93 Antiquissimi fere sunt, quorum quidem scripta constant,
the-most-ancient generally are of-whom indeed the-writings are-established
 Pericles atque Alcibiades et eadem aetate Thucydides,
Pericles and Alcibiades and in-the-same in-age Thucydides
 subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiisque magis quam verbis
subtle sharp brief and-in-thoughts more than in-words
 abundantes: non potuisset accidere, ut unum genus
abounding not it-would-have-been-able to-happen that one kind
 esset omnium, nisi aliquem sibi proponerent
there-should-be of-all unless someone for-themselves they-set-before
 ad imitandum. Consecuti sunt hos Critias, Theramenes,
for imitating followed have these Critias Theramenes
 Lysias: multa Lysiae scripta sunt; non nulla Critiae; de
Lysias many of-Lysias writings there-are not none of-Critias about

Theramene audimus; omnes etiam tum retinebant illum

Theramenes we-hear all even then were-keeping that

Pericli sucum, sed erant paulo uberiore filo.

of-Pericles the-sap but they-were a-little richer with-thread

Ecce tibi est exortus Isocrates, cuius e ludo tamquam 94

behold for-you has arisen Isocrates whose from school as-if

ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt; sed eorum partim

from a-horse Trojan pure leading-men came-out but of-them some

in pompa, partim in acie inlustres esse voluerunt.

in the-procession some in the-battle-line distinguished to-be wished

Atque et illi, Theopompi, Ephori, Philisti, Naucratae

and both those Theopompuses Ephoruses Philistuses Naucrateses

multique alii naturis differunt, voluntate autem similes

and-many others in-natures differ in-inclination however alike

sunt et inter sese et magistri; et hi, qui se ad

they-are both among themselves and of-the-master and these who themselves to

causas contulerunt, ut Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus,

cases betook as Demosthenes Hyperides Lycurgus

Aeschines, Dinarchus aliique complures, etsi inter se

Aeschines Dinarchus and-others several although among themselves

pares non fuerunt, tamen omnes sunt in eodem veritatis

equal not they-were still all are in the-same of-truth

imitandae genere versati, quorum quam diu mansit imitatio,

of-imitating kind engaged of-whom as long remained the-imitation

tam diu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit;

so long kind that of-speaking and-the-pursuit lived

postea quam extinctis his omnis eorum memoria sensim 95

after that when-extinguished these all of-them the-memory gradually

obscurata est et evanuit, alia quaedam dicendi molliora

darkened was and vanished other certain of-speaking softer

ac remissiora genera viguerunt. Inde Demochares, quem

and slacker kinds flourished thence Demochares whom

aiunt sororis filium fuisse Demostheni; tum Phalereus
they-say of-a-sister the-son to-have-been to-Demosthenes then the-Phalerean
 ille Demetrius omnium istorum mea sententia politissimus,
that Demetrius of-all of-those in-my opinion the-most-polished
 aliique horum similes exstiterunt. Quae si volumus usque
and-others of-these like arose which if we-shall-wish right
 ad hoc tempus persequi, intellegemus, ut hodie etiam
to this time to-pursue we-shall-understand as today even
 Alabandensem illum Meneclem et eius fratrem Hieroclem,
the-Alabandan that Menecles and his brother Hierocles
 quos ego audiui, tota imitetur Asia, sic semper fuisse
whom I have-heard the-whole imitates Asia so always to-have-been
 aliquem, cuius se similis plerique esse vellent.
someone of-whom themselves like most to-be wished

- 96 Hanc igitur similitudinem qui imitatione adsequi volet, cum
this therefore likeness who by-imitation to-attain shall-wish both
 exercitationibus crebris atque magnis tum scribendo
by-exercises frequent and great and-especially by-writing
 maxime persequatur; quod si haec noster Sulpicius faceret,
chiefly let-him-pursue which if these our Sulpicius did
 multo eius oratio esset pressior; in qua nunc interdum,
much his speech would-be more-compressed in which now at-times
 ut in herbis rustici solent dicere in summa ubertate,
as in the-herbage countrymen are-wont to-say in the-biggest richness
 inest luxuries quaedam, quae stilo depascenda est.
is-in a-rankness a-certain which by-the-pen to-be-grazed-down is

- 97 Hic Sulpicius 'me quidem' inquit 'recte mones, idque
here Sulpicius me indeed he-said rightly you-advise and-that
 mihi gratum est; sed ne te quidem, Antoni, multum
to-me pleasing is but not you even Antonius much
 scriptitasse arbitror.' Tum ille 'quasi vero' inquit 'non
to-have-written-repeatedly I-think then he as-if indeed he-said not

ea praecipiam aliis, quae mihi ipsi desint: sed tamen
those I-should-teach to-others which to-me myself are-lacking but still
 ne tabulas quidem conficere existimor: verum et in hoc
not accounts even to-make I-am-thought but both in this
 ex re familiari mea et in illo ex eo, quod dico,
from the-thing family my and in that from that which I-say
 quantum id cumque est, quid faciam iudicari potest.

however-little that soever is what I-do to-be-judged can

Atque esse tamen multos videmus, qui neminem imitentur 98

and to-be still many we-see who no-one imitate

et suapte natura, quod velint, sine cuiusquam similitudine
and by-their-own by-nature what they-wish without of-anyone likeness

consequantur; quod et in vobis animadverti recte potest,
attain which also in you to-be-noticed rightly can

Caesar et Cotta; quorum alter inusitatum nostris quidem
Caesar and Cotta of-whom the-one unusual to-our indeed

oratoribus leporem quendam et salem, alter acutissimum
to-orators a-charm a-certain and salt the-other the-sharpest

et subtilissimum dicendi genus est consecutus; neque vero
and the-most-refined of-speaking kind has attained nor indeed

vester aequalis C. Curio, patre mea sententia vel
your contemporary Gaius Curio with-a-father in-my opinion even

eloquentissimo temporibus illis, quemquam mihi magno
the-most-eloquent in-times in-those anyone to-me with-great

opere videtur imitari; qui tamen verborum gravitate et
with-effort seems to-imitate who still of-words by-the-weight and

elegantia et copia suam quandam expressit quasi
by-the-elegance and by-the-fullness his-own a-certain has-expressed as-it-were

formam figuramque dicendi; quod ego maxime iudicare
shape and-figure of-speaking which I chiefly to-judge

potui in ea causa, quam ille contra me apud centumviros
was-able in that case which he against me before the-centumvirs

pro fratribus Cossis dixit; in qua nihil illi defuit, quod
for the-brothers Cossi pleaded in which nothing to-him was-lacking which
 non modo copiosus, sed etiam sapiens orator habere deberet.
not only a-copious but even a-wise orator to-have ought

II.13 • KNOW THE CASE FIRST

Antonius' first rule for court sounds foolish and is indispensable: learn the case thoroughly. School cases are easy, but a real one lies hidden in ledgers, testimony, contracts, kinship, decrees, and the lives of the parties. He has each client instruct him alone, then argues the other side, carrying three persons at once, his own, his adversary's, and the judge's. Every dispute turns on fact, on quality, or on the name.

99 Verum ut aliquando ad causas deducamus illum, quem
but that at-last to cases we-may-bring-down him whom
 constituimus, et eas quidem, in quibus plusculum negoti
we-have-set-up and those indeed in which somewhat-more of-trouble
 est, iudiciorum atque litium — riserit aliquis fortasse hoc
there-is of-trials and of-suits may-laugh someone perhaps at-this
 praeceptum; est enim non tam acutum quam necessarium
precept it-is for not so acute as necessary
 magisque monitoris non fatui quam eruditi magistri —
and-more of-a-monitor not silly than of-a-learned of-a-master
 hoc ei primum praecipiemus, quascumque causas erit
this to-him first we-shall-teach whatever cases he-will-be
 tractaturus, ut eas diligenter penitusque cognoscat.
going-to-handle that them carefully and-thoroughly he-should-learn

100 Hoc in ludo non praecipitur; faciles enim causae ad pueros
this in a-school not is-taught easy for cases to boys
 deferuntur; lex peregrinum vetat in murum ascendere;
are-brought a-law a-foreigner forbids onto a-wall to-climb

ascendit; hostis reppulit: accusatur. Nihil est negoti eius
he-climbed the-enemy he-drove-back he-is-accused nothing is of-trouble of-that
 modi causam cognoscere; recte igitur nihil de causa
sort a-case to-learn rightly therefore nothing about a-case
 discenda praecipunt. At vero in foro tabulae testimonia,
to-be-learned they-teach but indeed in the-forum the-tablets the-testimonies
 pacta conventa stipulationes, cognationes adfinitates,
the-pacts the-agreements the-stipulations the-kinships the-marriage-ties
 decreta responsa, vita denique eorum, qui in causa
the-decrees the-answers the-life finally of-those who in the-case
 versantur, tota cognoscenda est; quarum rerum neglegentia
are-involved whole to-be-learned is of-which of-things by-the-neglect
 plerasque causas et maxime privatas — sunt enim multo
very-many cases and chiefly private are for by-much
 saepe obscuriores — videmus amitti.
often more-obscure we-see to-be-lost

Ita non nulli, dum operam suam multam existimari
so not none while the-service their-own great to-be-thought
 volunt, ut toto foro volitare et a causa
they-wish that through-the-whole through-the-forum to-flit and from case
 ad causam ire videantur, causas dicunt incognitas; in
to case to-go they-may-seem cases they-plead not-learned in
 quo est illa quidem magna offensio vel neglegentiae,
which is that indeed great offense either of-negligence
 susceptis rebus, vel perfidiae, receptis; sed etiam
when-undertaken the-matters or of-treachery when-accepted but even
 illa maior opinione, quod nemo potest de ea re,
that greater than-supposed because no-one can about that matter
 quam non novit, non turpissime dicere: ita dum inertiae
which not he-knows not most-basely to-speak so while of-idleness

101

vituperationem, quae maior est, contemnunt, adsequuntur

the-reproach which greater is they-despise they-gain

etiam illam, quam magis ipsi fugiunt, tarditatis.

even that which more they-themselves flee of-slowness

102 Equidem soleo dare operam, ut de sua quisque re

for-my-part I-am-wont to-give effort that about his-own each matter

me ipse doceat et ut ne quis alius adsit, quo

me himself may-instruct and that not anyone other be-present whereby

liberius loquatur, et agere adversari causam, ut ille

more-freely be-may-speak and to-plead of-the-opponent the-case that he

agat suam et quicquid de sua re cogitarit in

may-plead his-own and whatever about his-own matter he-shall-have-thought into

medium proferat: itaque cum ille discessit, tris personas

the-open he-may-bring and-so when he has-departed three persons

unus sustineo summa animi aequitate, meam, adversari,

alone I-sustain with-the-highest of-mind with-fairness my-own of-the-opponent

iudicis. Qui locus est talis, ut plus habeat adiumenti

of-the-judge which topic is such that more it-has of-help

quam incommodi, hunc iudico esse dicendum; ubi plus

than of-harm this I-judge to-be to-be-said where more

mali quam boni reperio, id totum abiudico atque eicio.

of-bad than of-good I-find that wholly I-rule-out and I-cast-out

103 Ita adsequor, ut alio tempore cogitem quid dicam et alio

so I-attain that at-one time I-may-think what I-may-say and at-another

dicam; quae duo plerique ingenio freti simul faciunt; sed

I-may-say which two most on-talent relying at-once do but

certe eidem illi melius aliquanto dicerent, si aliud sumendum

certainly the-same those better somewhat would-speak if one to-be-taken

sibi tempus ad cogitandum, aliud ad dicendum putarent.

for-themselves a-time for thinking another for speaking they-thought

Cum rem penitus causamque cognovi, statim occurrit 104
when the-matter thoroughly and-the-case I-have-learned at-once occurs
 animo, quae sit causa ambigendi; nihil est enim, quod
to-the-mind what may-be the-ground of-disputing nothing is for which
 inter homines ambigatur, sive ex crimine causa constat,
among men is-disputed whether from a-charge the-case consists
 ut facinoris, sive ex controversia, ut hereditatis, sive ex
as of-a-crime or from a-controversy as of-an-inheritance or from
 deliberatione, ut belli, sive ex disputatione, ut de ratione
a-deliberation as of-war or from a-discussion as about the-method
 vivendi, in quo non aut quid factum sit aut fiat
of-living in which not either what done has-been or is-done
 futurumve sit quaeratur aut quale sit aut quid vocetur.
or-going-to-be is is-asked or of-what-kind it-is or what it-is-called
 Ac nostrae fere causae, quae quidem sunt criminum, 105
and our generally cases which indeed are of-charges
 plerumque infitiatione defenduntur; nam et de pecuniis
mostly by-denial are-defended for both about moneys
 repetundis quae maximae sunt, neganda fere sunt omnia,
to-be-recovered which the-greatest are to-be-denied generally are all-(things)
 et de ambitu raro illud datur, ut possis liberalitatem
and about bribery rarely that is-given that you-can generosity
 atque benignitatem ab ambitu atque largitione seiungere;
and kindness from bribery and largess to-separate
 de sicariis, de veneficiis, de peculatu infitari necesse
about assassins about poisonings about embezzlement to-deny necessary
 est: id est igitur genus primum causarum in iudiciis
it-is that is therefore the-kind first of-cases in trials
 ex controversia facti; in deliberationibus plerumque ex
from a-controversy of-fact in deliberations mostly from
 futuri, raro ex instantis aut acti.
of-the-future rarely from of-the-present or of-the-past

- 106 Saepe etiam res non sit necne, sed qualis sit quaeritur;
often even a-thing not it-is or-not but of-what-kind it-is is-asked
 ut cum L. Opimi causam defendebat apud populum,
as when of-Lucius Opimius the-case he-was-defending before the-people
 audiente me, C. Carbo consul, nihil de C. Gracchi
in-the-hearing-of me Gaius Carbo the-consul nothing about of-Gaius Gracchus
 nece negabat, sed id iure pro salute patriae factum
the-killing was-denying but that rightly for the-safety of-the-fatherland done
 esse dicebat; ut eidem Carboni tribuno plebis
to-have-been was-saying as to-the-same to-Carbo tribune of-the-plebs
 alia tum mente rem publicam capessenti P.
with-another then with-a-mind the-thing public to-(him)-taking-up Publius
 Africanus de Ti. Graccho interroganti responderat iure
Africanus about Tiberius Gracchus to-(him)-asking had-answered rightly
 caesum videri; iure autem omnia defenduntur, quae sunt
slain to-seem rightly however all-(things) are-defended which are
 eius generis, ut aut oportuerit aut licuerit aut necesse
of-that kind that either it-behooved or it-was-allowed or necessary
 fuerit aut imprudentia aut casu facta esse videantur.
it-was or by-inadvertence or by-chance done to-have-been they-may-seem
- 107 Iam quid vocetur, quaeritur, cum quo verbo quid
now what it-is-called is-asked when by-what by-word what
 appellandum sit, contenditur; ut mihi ipsi cum hoc Sulpicio
to-be-named is it-is-contested as for-me myself with this Sulpicius
 fuit in Norbani causa summa contentio; pleraque
there-was in of-Norbanus the-case the-highest struggle very-many-(things)
 enim de eis, quae ab isto obiciebantur, cum confiterer,
for about those which by him were-alleged although I-confessed
 tamen ab illo maiestatem minutam negabam, ex quo
still by that-man majesty diminished I-was-denying from which
 verbo lege Appuleia tota illa causa pendebat.
word by-the-law by-the-Appuleian whole that case hung

Some would have each side define the disputed word briefly. Antonius calls that childish: one word added or removed wrenches a definition away, and it slips past the judge before he grasps it. Disputes over a text are all one kind, ambiguity, whether words are left out or writings conflict; and every controversy reduces to three questions, what was done, of what kind it was, and what it should be called. Persuasion rests on proof, goodwill, and feeling.

Atque in hoc genere causarum non nulli praecipiant ut verbum 108
and in this kind of-cases not none teach that the-word
 illud, quod causam facit, breviter uterque definiat, quod mihi
that which the-case makes briefly each should-define which to-me
 quidem perquam puerile videri solet: alia est enim, cum inter
indeed exceedingly childish to-seem is-wont another is for when among
 doctos homines de eis ipsis rebus, quae versantur in artibus,
learned men about those very matters which are-engaged in arts
 disputatur, verborum definitio, ut cum quaeritur, quid sit
it-is-disputed of-words a-definition as when it-is-asked what may-be
 ars, quid sit lex, quid sit civitas, in quibus hoc praecipit
an-art what may-be a-law what may-be a-state in which this prescribes
 ratio et doctrina, ut vis eius rei, quam definias, sic
reason and learning that the-force of-that of-thing which you-define so
 exprimatur, ut neque absit quicquam neque supersit;
may-be-expressed that neither may-be-absent anything nor may-be-in-excess
 quod quidem in illa causa neque Sulpicius fecit neque ego 109
which indeed in that case neither Sulpicius did nor I
 facere conatus sum; nam quantum uterque nostrum potuit,
to-do having-attempted I-am for as-much-as each of-us was-able
 omni copia dicendi dilatavit, quid esset maiestatem
with-all with-the-fullness of-speaking he-expanded what might-be majesty
 minuere: etenim definitio primum reprehenso verbo uno aut
to-diminish for-indeed a-definition first when-challenged a-word one either

addito aut dempto saepe extorquetur e manibus;
when-added or when-taken-away often is-wrenched from the-hands
 deinde genere ipso doctrinam redolet exercitationemque paene
then by-the-kind itself of-learning it-smells and-of-exercise almost
 puerilem: tum et in sensum et in mentem iudicis intrare
childish then both into the-feeling and into the-mind of-the-judge to-enter
 non potest, ante enim praeterlabitur, quam percepta est.

not it-can sooner for it-slips-past than grasped it-is

- 110 Sed in eo genere, in quo quale sit quid, ambigitur,
but in that kind in which of-what-kind may-be something is-disputed
 existit etiam ex scripti interpretatione saepe contentio, in
arises even from of-a-writing the-interpretation often a-contest in
 quo nulla potest esse nisi ex ambiguo controversia; nam
which none can to-be except from the-ambiguous a-controversy for
 illud ipsum, quod scriptum a sententia discrepat, genus
that very-(thing) that the-writing from the-intention differs a-kind
 quoddam habet ambigui; quod tum explicatur, cum ea
a-certain has of-the-ambiguous which then is-unfolded when those
 verba, quae desunt, suggesta sunt, quibus additis defenditur
words which are-lacking supplied have-been which when-added it-is-argued
 sententiam scripti perspicuam fuisse; ex contrariisque
the-sense of-the-writing plain to-have-been from and-contrary
 scriptis si quid ambigitur, non novum genus nascitur, sed
writings if anything is-disputed not a-new kind is-born but
 superioris generis causa duplicatur; idque aut numquam
of-the-earlier of-the-kind the-case is-doubled and-that either never
 diiudicari poterit aut ita diiudicabitur, ut referendis praeteritis
to-be-decided will-be-able or so will-be-decided that when-restoring the-omitted
 verbis id scriptum, quodcumque defendemus, suppleatur; ita
the-words that writing whichever we-shall-defend may-be-filled-out so

fit, ut unum genus in eis causis, quae propter scriptum
it-happens that one kind in those cases which on-account-of a-writing
 ambiguntur, relinquatur, si est scriptum aliquid ambigue.
are-disputed is-left if has-been written something ambiguously
 Ambiguorum autem cum plura genera sunt, quae mihi 111
of-ambiguous-(things) however while more kinds there-are which to-me
 videntur ei melius nosse, qui dialectici appellantur, hi
seem those better to-know who logicians are-called these
 autem nostri ignorare, qui non minus nosse debeant,
however our not-to-know who not less to-know ought
 tum illud est frequentissimum in omni consuetudine vel
then that is the-most-frequent in every usage either
 sermonis vel scripti, cum idcirco aliquid ambigitur, quod
of-speech or of-writing when for-this-reason something is-disputed because
 aut verbum aut verba sint praetermissa.
either a-word or words have-been passed-over
 Iterum autem peccant, cum genus hoc causarum, quod in 112
a-second-time however they-err when kind this of-cases which in
 scripti interpretatione versatur, ab illis causis, in quibus,
of-a-writing the-interpretation is-engaged from those cases in which
 qualis quaeque res sit, disceptatur, seiungunt; nusquam
of-what-kind each thing may-be it-is-debated they-separate nowhere
 enim tam quaeritur, quale sit genus ipsum rei quam
for so is-it-asked of-what-kind may-be the-kind itself of-the-thing as
 in scripto, quod totum a facti controversia separatum est.
in a-writing which wholly from of-fact the-controversy separated is
 Ita tria sunt omnino genera, quae in disceptationem et 113
so three there-are altogether kinds which into debate and
 controversiam cadere possint: quid fiat factum futurumve
controversy to-fall can what is-done done or-going-to-be
 sit, aut quale sit, aut quo modo nominetur; nam
is or of-what-kind it-is or in-what way it-is-named for

illud quidem, quod quidam Graeci adiungunt, “rectene
that indeed which certain Greeks add whether-rightly
 factum sit,” totum in eo est “quale sit.” Sed iam
done it-has-been wholly in that is of-what-kind it-is but now
 ad institutum revertar meum.

to the-plan let-me-return my

- 114 Cum igitur accepta causa et genere cognito rem
when therefore when-received the-case and the-kind when-learned the-matter
 tractare coepi, nihil prius constituo, quam quid sit
to-handle I-have-begun nothing sooner I-settle than what may-be
 illud, quo mihi sit referenda omnis illa oratio, quae sit
that to-which by-me is to-be-referred all that speech which may-be
 propria quaestionis et iudici; deinde illa duo diligentissime
proper of-the-question and of-the-trial then those two most-carefully
 considero, quorum alterum commendationem habet nostram
I-consider of-which the-one the-commendation has our
 aut eorum, quos defendimus, alterum est accommodatum ad
or of-those whom we-defend the-other is fitted for
 eorum animos, apud quos dicimus, ad id, quod volumus,
of-those the-minds before whom we-speak to that which we-wish
 commovendos.

for-stirring

- 115 Ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus
so all the-method of-speaking on-three for persuading on-things
 est nixa: ut probemus vera esse, quae defendimus; ut
is rested that we-may-prove true to-be what we-defend that
 conciliemus eos nobis, qui audiunt; ut animos eorum, ad
we-may-win them to-us who hear that the-minds of-them to
 quemcumque causa postulabit motum, vocemus.
whatever the-case shall-demand emotion we-may-call

Proof has two materials: what the case hands the orator, such as documents, witnesses, contracts, examinations, laws, and decrees, and what he makes for himself by argument. The first wants practice more than art, and the common-places for and against witnesses should be ready to hand. To see what must be said takes ordinary sense; to say it richly is where the orator's power shows, and that part Antonius offers to Crassus.

Ad probandum autem duplex est oratori subiecta materies: 116

for proving however twofold is for-the-orator underlying material
una rerum earum, quae non excogitantur ab oratore, sed
one of-things of-those which not are-devised by the-orator but
in re positae ratione tractantur, ut tabulae, testimonia,
in the-matter placed by-method are-handled as tablets testimonies
pacta conventa, quaestiones, leges, senatus consulta, res
pacts agreements examinations laws of-the-senate decrees things
iudicatae, decreta, responsa, reliqua, si quae sunt, quae
adjudged decrees answers the-rest if any there-are which
non reperiantur ab oratore, sed ad oratorem a causa
not are-found by the-orator but to the-orator from the-case
deferuntur; altera est, quae tota in disputatione et in
are-brought the-other is which wholly in argument and in
argumentatione oratoris conlocata est;

reasoning of-the-orator placed is
ita in superiore genere de tractandis argumentis, in hoc 117

so in the-earlier kind about handling arguments in this
autem etiam de inveniendis cogitandum est. Atque isti
however even about finding to-be-thought it-is and those
quidem, qui docent, cum causas in plura genera secuerunt,
indeed who teach when the-cases into more kinds they-have-cut
singulis generibus argumentorum copiam suggerunt; quod
to-single to-kinds of-arguments a-store they-supply which

etiam si ad instituendos adulescentulos magis aptum est, ut,
even if for training youths more fitted is that
 simul ac posita causa sit, habeant quo se referant,
as-soon as set the-case may-be they-may-have whither themselves they-may-betake
 unde statim expedita possint argumenta depromere, tamen
whence at-once ready they-may-be-able arguments to-draw-out still
 et tardi ingeni est rivulos consecrari, fontis rerum non
both of-slow of-talent it-is the-rivulets to-chase the-springs of-things not
 videre, et iam aetatis est ususque nostri a capite
to-see and now of-the-age it-is and-of-the-experience our from the-source
 quod velimus arcessere et unde omnia manent videre.
what we-may-wish to-fetch and whence all-(things) flow to-see

- 118 Et primum genus illud earum rerum, quae ad oratorem
and the-first kind that of-those of-things which to the-orator
 deferuntur, meditatum nobis in perpetuum ad omnem
are-brought pondered by-us for perpetuity for every
 usum similium rerum esse debet; nam et pro tabulis
use of-like of-things to-be it-will-be-obliged for both for tablets
 et contra tabulas et pro testibus et contra testis et
and against tablets and for witnesses and against witnesses and
 pro quaestionibus et contra quaestiones et item de
for examinations and against examinations and likewise about
 ceteris rebus eiusdem generis vel separatim dicere solemus
the-other things of-the-same of-kind either separately to-speak we-are-wont
 de genere universo vel definite de singulis temporibus,
about the-kind universal or specifically about single times
 hominibus, causis; quos quidem locos — vobis hoc, Cotta
men cases which indeed topics for-you this Cotta
 et Sulpici, dico — multa commentatione atque meditatione
and Sulpicius I-say by-much by-study and by-meditation
 paratos atque expeditos habere debetis.
prepared and ready to-have you-ought

Longum est enim nunc me explicare, qua ratione aut 119
long it-is for now me to-unfold by-what by-method either
 confirmare aut infirmare testis, tabulas, quaestiones oporteat.
to-confirm or to-weaken witnesses tablets examinations it-behooves
 Haec sunt omnia ingeni vel mediocris, exercitationis autem
these are all of-talent even of-middling of-practice however
 maximae; artem quidem et praecepta dumtaxat hactenus
the-greatest art indeed and precepts only thus-far
 requirunt, ut certis dicendi luminibus ornentur.
require that with-certain of-speaking with-lights they-may-be-adorned
 Itemque illa, quae sunt alterius generis, quae tota ab 120
and-likewise those which are of-the-other of-kind which wholly by
 oratore pariuntur, excogitationem non habent difficilem,
the-orator are-produced a-devising not have difficult
 explicationem magis inlustrem perpolitamque desiderant;
a-setting-out more brilliant and-polished they-require
 itaque cum haec duo nobis quaerenda sint in causis, primum
and-so since these two by-us to-be-sought are in cases first
 quid, deinde quo modo dicamus, alterum, quod totum arte
what then in-what way we-may-say the-one which wholly by-art
 tinctum videtur, tametsi artem requirit, tamen prudentiae
tinged seems although art it-requires still of-practical-wisdom
 est paene mediocris quid dicendum sit videre; alterum est,
it-is almost of-middling what to-be-said is to-see the-other is
 in quo oratoris vis illa divina virtusque cernitur, ea,
in which of-the-orator the-force that divine and-the-excellence is-discerned those
 quae dicenda sunt, ornate, copiose varieque dicere.
which to-be-said are elegantly fully and-variously to-say
 Qua re illam partem superiorem, quoniam semel ita 121
for-which reason that part the-earlier since once so
 vobis placuit, non recusabo quo minus perpoliam atque
to-you it-has-pleased not I-shall-refuse that not I-may-polish and

conficiam — quantum consequar, vos iudicabitis — quibus
I-may-finish how-much I-shall-attain you will-judge from-which
 ex locis ad eas tris res, quae ad fidem faciendam solae
from topics to those three things which to belief for-making alone
 valent, ducatur oratio, ut et concilientur animi et doceantur
avail may-be-led the-speech that both may-be-won the-minds and may-be-taught
 et moveantur. Ea vero quem ad modum inlustrentur,
and may-be-moved these indeed in-what to way they-may-be-lighted-up
 praesto est, qui omnis docere possit, qui hoc primus in
at-hand is-he who all to-teach can who this first into
 nostros mores induxit, qui maxime auxit, qui solus effecit.

- 122 Namque ego, Catule, — dicam enim non reverens adsentandi
our customs brought who chiefly increased who alone accomplished
 for I Catulus I-shall-say for not fearing of-flattering
 suspicionem — neminem esse oratorem paulo inlustriorem
the-suspicion no-one to-be an-orator a-little more-distinguished
 arbitror quem aetas nostra tulerit, quem non et saepe
I-think whom age our has-borne whom not both often
 et diligenter audierim; itaque si quid est in me — quod
and carefully I-have-heard and-so if anything is in me which
 iam sperare videor, quoniam quidem vos, his ingeniis
now to-hope I-seem since indeed you with-these with-talents
 homines, tantum operae mihi ad audiendum datis — ex
men so-much of-effort to-me for bearing you-give from
 eo est, quod nihil quisquam umquam me audiente
that it-is that nothing anyone ever with-me bearing
 egit orator, quod non in memoria mea penitus insederit:
has-done an-orator which not in the-memory my deeply has-settled
 itaque ego is, qui sum, quantuscumque sum ad iudicandum,
and-so I he who I-am however-great I-am for judging
 omnibus auditis oratoribus, sine ulla dubitatione sic
when-all have-been-heard orators without any doubt so

statuo et iudico, neminem omnium tot et tanta, quanta
I-hold and I-judge no-one of-all so-many and so-great as-great
 sint in Crasso, habuisse ornamenta dicendi.

as-are in Crassus to-have-had ornaments of-speaking

Quam ob rem, si vos quoque hoc idem existimatis, 123
for-which on-account-of thing if you also this same judge

non erit, ut opinor, iniqua partitio, si, cum ego hunc
not it-will-be as I-think unfair the-division if when I this
 oratorem, quem nunc fingo, ut institui, crearo,

orator whom now I-fashion as I-have-begun I-shall-have-created

aluerō, confirmaro, tradam eum Crasso et
I-shall-have-reared I-shall-have-strengthened I-shall-hand-over him to-Crassus both
 vestiendum et ornandum.’

to-be-clothed and to-be-adorned

II.16 • CRASSUS HANDS IT BACK

Crassus refuses the division and recalls Antonius in court: he raised a consular defendant, tore open the old general's tunic, and showed the judges his scars; defending Norbanus he praised sedition itself, arguing that the state had often gained by it, as when the kings were driven out and the tribunes' power established. Catulus admires two speakers so unlike, yet each lacking nothing. Antonius takes up instruction, the second of his three tasks, first.

Tum Crassus, ‘tu vero,’ inquit ‘Antoni, perge, ut instituisti; 124

then Crassus you indeed he-said Antonius go-on as you-have-begun

neque enim est boni neque liberalis parentis, quem

nor for it-is of-a-good nor of-a-generous of-a-parent whom

procrearis et eduxeris, eum non et vestire et ornare,

you-have-begotten and you-have-reared him not both to-clothe and to-adorn

praesertim cum te locupletem esse negare non possis. Quod

especially since you rich to-be to-deny not you-can what

enim ornamentum, quae vis, qui animus, quae dignitas
for ornament what force what spirit what dignity
 illi oratori defuit, qui in causa peroranda non dubitavit
to-that to-the-orator was-lacking who in a-case in-perorating not hesitated
 excitare reum consularem et eius diloricare tunicam et
to-raise-up a-defendant of-consular-rank and of-him to-tear-open the-tunic and
 iudicibus cicatrices adversas senis imperatoris ostendere?
to-the-judges the-scars in-front of-the-old of-the-general to-show
 qui idem, hoc accusante Sulpicio, cum hominem seditiosum
who the-same this while-accusing Sulpicius when a-man seditious
 furiosumque defenderet, non dubitavit seditiones ipsas ornare
and-frenzied he-was-defending not hesitated the-seditions themselves to-adorn
 ac demonstrare gravissimis verbis multos saepe impetus
and to-show with-the-weightiest with-words many often onsets
 populi non iniustos esse, quos praestare nemo posset;
of-the-people not unjust to-be which to-answer-for no-one could
 multas etiam e re publica seditiones saepe esse
many even for the-thing public seditions often to-have-been
 factas, ut cum reges essent exacti, ut cum tribunicia
made as when the-kings had-been driven-out as when the-tribunician
 potestas constituta; illam Norbani seditionem ex luctu
power was-established that of-Norbanus sedition from the-grief
 civium et ex Caepionis odio, qui exercitum amiserat,
of-the-citizens and from of-Caepio the-hatred who an-army had-lost
 neque reprimi potuisse et iure esse conflata?
not to-be-checked to-have-been-able and rightly to-have-been kindled
 125 Potuit hic locus tam anceps, tam inaudit, tam lubricus,
could this topic so double-edged so unheard-of so slippery
 tam novus sine quadam incredibili vi ac facultate
so new without a-certain incredible force and faculty
 dicendi tractari? Quid ego de Cn. Manli, quid
of-speaking to-be-handled what I about of-Gnaeus of-Manlius what

de Q. Regis commiseratione dicam? Quid de aliis
about of-Quintus of-Rex the-appeal-to-pity am-I-to-say what about others
 innumerabilibus? In quibus hoc non maxime enituit quod
countless in which this not chiefly shone-out which
 tibi omnes dant, acumen quoddam singulare, sed haec
to-you all grant a-sbrowdness a-certain singular but these
 ipsa, quae nunc ad me delegare vis, ea semper in
very-(things) which now to me to-assign you-wish they always in
 te eximia et praestantia fuerunt.'

you exceptional and outstanding have-been

Tum Catulus 'ego vero' inquit 'in vobis hoc maxime

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then Catulus I indeed he-said in you this chiefly
 admirari soleo, quod, cum inter vos in dicendo
to-admire I-am-wont that although among yourselves in speaking
 dissimillimi sitis, ita tamen uterque vestrum dicat, ut ei
most-unlike you-are so still each of-you speaks that to-him
 nihil neque a natura denegatum neque a doctrina non
nothing neither by nature denied nor by learning not
 delatum esse videatur; qua re, Crasse, neque tu
bestowed to-have-been may-seem for-which reason Crassus neither you
 tua suavitate nos privabis, ut, si quid ab Antonio aut
by-your by-pleasantness us will-deprive that if anything by Antonius either
 praetermissum aut relictum sit, non explices; neque
passed-over or left has-been not you-may-unfold nor
 te, Antoni, si quid non dixeris, existimabimus non
you Antonius if anything not you-shall-have-said we-shall-think not
 potuisse potius quam a Crasso dici maluisse.'

to-have-been-able rather than by Crassus to-be-said to-have-preferred

Hic Crassus 'quin tu,' inquit 'Antoni, omittis ista, quae

127

here Crassus why-not you he-said Antonius do-you-omit those which
 proposuisti, quae nemo horum desiderat: quibus ex locis ea,
you-have-proposed which no-one of-these desires from-which from topics those

quae dicenda sunt in causis, reperiantur; quae quamquam a te
which to-be-said are in cases may-be-found which although by you
 novo quodam modo praeclareque dicuntur, sunt tamen et
in-a-new in-a-certain way and-splendidly are-said they-are still both
 re faciliora et praeceptis pervagata; illa deprome nobis
in-substance easier and by-precepts widespread those bring-out for-us
 unde adferas, quae saepissime tractas semperque divinitus.
whence you-may-fetch which most-often you-handle and-always divinely

128 'Depromam equidem,' inquit 'et quo facilius id a
I-shall-bring-out for-my-part be-said and whereby more-easily that from
 te exigam, quod peto, nihil tibi a me postulanti
you I-may-exact which I-seek nothing to-you from me demanding
 recusabo. Meae totius rationis in dicendo et istius
I-shall-refuse of-my of-the-whole of-the-method in speaking and of-that
 ipsius facultatis, quam modo Crassus in caelum verbis
very of-faculty which just-now Crassus into heaven with-words
 extulit, tres sunt res, ut ante dixi: una conciliandorum
has-raised three there-are things as before I-have-said one of-winning
 hominum, altera docendorum, tertia concitandorum.

of-men the-second of-teaching the-third of-rousing
 129 Harum trium partium prima lenitatem orationis, secunda
of-these of-three of-parts the-first smoothness of-speech the-second
 acumen, tertia vim desiderat; nam hoc necesse est, ut is, qui
sharpness the-third force requires for this necessary it-is that he who
 nobis causam adiudicaturus sit, aut inclinatione voluntatis
to-us the-case going-to-adjudge is either by-the-inclination of-the-will
 propendeat in nos aut defensionis argumentis adducatur aut
may-lean toward us or of-the-defense by-the-arguments may-be-led or
 animi permotione cogatur. Sed quoniam illa pars, in qua
of-the-mind by-the-stirring may-be-compelled but since that part in which
 rerum ipsarum explicatio ac defensio posita est, videtur
of-the-matters themselves the-unfolding and the-defense placed is seems

omnem huius generis quasi doctrinam continere, de ea
all of-this of-kind as-it-were the-learning to-contain about it
 primum loquemur et pauca dicemus: pauca enim sunt, quae
first we-shall-speak and few-things we-shall-say few for there-are which
 usu iam tractata et animo quasi notata habere videamur.
by-use now handled and in-mind as-it-were noted to-have we-may-seem
 Ac tibi sapienter monenti, Crasse, libenter adsentiemur, ut 130
and to-you wisely advising Crassus gladly we-shall-agree that
 singularum causarum defensiones quas solent magistri pueris
of-single of-cases the-defenses which are-wont masters to-boys
 tradere, relinquamus, aperiamus autem capita ea, unde omnis
to-hand-on we-may-leave we-may-open however the-heads those whence all
 ad omnem et causam et orationem disputatio ducitur.
for every both case and speech the-discussion is-drawn
 Neque enim quotiens verbum aliquod est scribendum nobis,
nor for as-often-as a-word some is to-be-written by-us
 totiens eius verbi litterae sunt cogitatione conquirendae;
so-often of-that of-word the-letters are by-thought to-be-sought-out
 nec quotiens causa dicenda est, totiens ad eius causae
nor as-often-as a-case to-be-pleaded is so-often to of-that of-case
 seposita argumenta revoli nos oportet, sed habere certos
the-stored arguments to-turn-back us it-behooves but to-have fixed
 locos, qui, ut litterae ad verbum scribendum, sic illi ad
topics which as the-letters for a-word for-writing so those for
 causam explicandam statim occurrant.
a-case for-unfolding at-once may-occur

The commonplaces help only a speaker whose mind has been worked over by use, listening, and reading, as a field bears better for a second plowing; a learned man who is a stranger to his city's ways gets little from them. Look first at the nature of the dispute, then at what makes the case and what comes to trial. The schoolmasters wrongly suppose a particular case is not a general question.

- 131 Sed hi loci ei demum oratori prodesse possunt, qui est
but these topics to-that only to-an-orator to-profit can who is
 versatus in rerum vel usu, quem aetas denique adferet,
versed in of-things either the-experience which age at-last will-bring
 vel auditione et cogitatione, quae studio et diligentia
or hearing and reflection which by-zeal and by-diligence
 praecurrit aetatem. Nam si tu mihi quamvis eruditum
has-outrun age for if you to-me however learned
 hominem adduxeris, quamvis acrem et acutum in cogitando,
a-man shall-have-brought however keen and sharp in thinking
 quamvis ad pronuntiandum expeditum, si erit idem in
however for delivering ready if he-shall-be the-same in
 consuetudine civitatis, in exemplis, in institutis, in moribus
the-usage of-the-state in precedents in institutions in customs
 ac voluntatibus civium suorum hospes, non multum
and wishes of-the-citizens of-his-own a-stranger not much
 ei loci proderunt illi, ex quibus argumenta promuntur:
to-him topics will-profit those from which arguments are-drawn
 subacto mihi ingenio opus est, ut agro non semel arato,
worked-up for-me talent need there-is as a-field not once plowed
 sed iterato, quo meliores fetus possit et grandiores
but plowed-again whereby better crops it-may-be-able and larger
 edere; subactio autem est usus, auditio, lectio, litterae.
to-yield the-working however is practice hearing reading letters

Ac primum naturam causae videat, quae numquam latet,
and first the-nature of-the-case let-him-see which never lies-bidden
 factumne sit quaeratur, an quale sit, an quod nomen
whether-done it-was is-asked or of-what-kind it-is or what name
 habeat; quo perspecto statim occurrit naturali quadam
it-has which when-perceived at-once occurs by-a-natural a-certain
 prudentia, non his subductionibus, quas isti docent, quid
practical-wisdom not by-these by-calculations which those teach what
 faciat causam, id est, quo sublato controversia stare non
makes the-case that is which when-removed the-dispute to-stand not
 possit; deinde quid veniat in iudicium: quod isti sic iubent
can then what comes into judgment which those so bid
 quaerere: interfecit Opimius Gracchum. Quid facit causam?
to-ask killed Opimius Gracchus what makes the-case
 Quod rei publicae causa, cum ex senatus consulto
that of-the-thing public for-the-sake when from of-the-senate a-decree
 ad arma vocasset. Hoc tolle, causa non erit. At id
to arms he-had-called this take-away a-case not there-will-be but that
 ipsum negat contra leges licuisse Decius. Veniet
very-(thing) denies against the-laws to-have-been-allowed Decius will-come
 igitur in iudicium licueritne ex senatus consulto
therefore into judgment whether-it-was-allowed from of-the-senate a-decree
 servandae rei publicae causa. Perspicua sunt haec
of-saving of-the-thing public for-the-sake plain are these
 quidem et in vulgari prudentia sita; sed illa quaerenda,
indeed and in common practical-wisdom placed but those to-be-sought
 quae et ab accusatore et a defensore argumenta ad id,
which both by the-accuser and by the-defender arguments to that
 quod in iudicium venit, spectantia debent adferri.
which into judgment comes looking ought to-be-brought

- 133 Atque hic illud videndum est, in quo summus est error
and here that to-be-seen is in which the-greatest is the-error
 istorum magistrorum, ad quos liberos nostros mittimus, non
of-those of-masters to whom children our we-send not
 quo hoc quidem ad dicendum magno opere pertineat,
because this indeed for speaking with-great with-effort pertains
 sed tamen ut videatis, quale sit genus hoc eorum, qui
but still that you-may-see of-what-kind is the-kind this of-those who
 sibi eruditi videntur. Hebes atque impolitus: constituunt
to-themselves learned seem dull and unpolished they-set-up
 enim in partiendis orationum modis duo genera causarum:
for in dividing of-speeches the-modes two kinds of-cases
 unum appellant, in quo sine personis atque temporibus
the-one they-call in which without persons and times
 de universo genere quaeratur; alterum, quod personis
about a-universal kind it-is-asked the-other which by-persons
 certis et temporibus definiatur; ignari omnis controversias
fixed and by-times is-defined ignorant all controversies
 ad universi generis vim et naturam referri;
to of-a-universal of-kind the-force and the-nature to-be-referred
- 134 nam in ea ipsa causa, de qua ante dixi, nihil pertinet
for in that very the-case about which before I-spoke nothing pertains
 ad oratoris locos Opimi persona, nihil Deci; de
to of-the-orator the-topics of-Opimius the-person nothing of-Decius about
 ipso universo genere infinita quaestio est, num poena
the-very universal kind a-boundless question it-is whether by-punishment
 videatur esse adficiendus, qui civem ex senatus consulto
be-seems to-be to-be-visited who a-citizen from of-the-senate a-decree
 patriae conservandae causa interemerit, cum id per
of-the-fatherland of-saving for-the-sake has-slain when that by
 leges non liceret; nulla denique est causa, in qua id,
the-laws not was-allowed no finally is a-case in which that

quod in iudicium venit, reorum personis ac non
which into judgment comes of-the-defendants by-the-persons and not
 generum ipsorum universa dubitatione quaeratur.

of-the-kinds themselves by-the-universal by-the-question is-asked

Quin etiam in eis ipsis, ubi de facto ambigitur, 135

nay even in those very where about the-fact it-is-disputed

ceperitne pecunias contra leges Decius, argumenta et

whether-be-took moneys against the-laws Decius the-arguments both

criminum et defensionis revocentur oportet ad genus

of-the-charges and of-the-defense should-be-called-back it-behooves to the-kind

et naturam universam: quod sumptuosus, de luxurie,

and the-nature universal because extravagant about luxury

quod alieni appetens, de avaritia, quod seditiosus, de

because of-another's covetous about avarice because seditious about

turbulentis et malis civibus, quod a multis arguitur, de

turbulent and bad citizens because by many he-is-accused about

genere testium; contraque, quae pro reo dicentur,

the-class of-witnesses and-on-the-contrary what for the-defendant shall-be-said

omnia necessario a tempore atque homine ad communis

all-(things) necessarily from the-time and the-man to the-common

rerum et generum summas revolventur.

of-things and of-kinds the-sums will-be-carried-back

Atque haec forsitan homini non omnia, quae sunt in 136

and these perhaps to-a-man not all-(things) which are in

natura rerum, celeriter animo comprehendenti permulta

the-nature of-things quickly with-the-mind grasping very-many

videantur, quae veniant in iudicium tum, cum de

may-seem which come into judgment then when about

facto quaeratur; sed tamen criminum multitudo est et

the-fact it-is-asked but still of-charges the-multitude is and

defensionum, non locorum infinita.

of-defenses not of-topics boundless

Counted by defendants, disputes are numberless; counted by kind, they are few and clear. Mancinus' name adds nothing to the question whether a man the fetial priest surrendered, and who was not received, has the right of return; nor Curius' name to the question about the will. Cato's and Brutus' books, recording by name what was answered to each man or woman, make the law look endless. Crassus promised yesterday to reduce the civil law to an art.

- 137 **Quae vero, cum de facto non ambigitur, quaeruntur, qualia**
which indeed when about the-fact not it-is-disputed are-asked of-what-kind
sint, ea si ex reis numeres, et innumerabilia sunt et
they-are they if from the-defendants you-count both countless are and
obscura; si ex rebus, valde et modica et inlustria; nam si
obscure if from the-things very both moderate and clear for if
Mancini causam in uno Mancino ponimus, quotienscumque is,
of-Mancinus the-case in one Mancinus we-place as-often-as he
quem pater patratus dediderit, receptus non erit,
whom the-priest fetial shall-have-surrendered received not shall-have-been
totiens causa nova nascetur; sin illa controversia causam facit,
so-often a-case new will-arise but-if that controversy the-case makes
videaturne ei, quem pater patratus dediderit, si is
whether-it-seems for-him whom the-priest fetial shall-have-surrendered if he
non sit receptus, postliminium esse, nihil ad artem dicendi
not is received the-right-of-return to-be nothing to the-art of-speaking
nec ad argumenta defensionis Mancini nomen pertinet;
nor to the-arguments of-the-defense of-Mancinus the-name pertains
138 **ac, si quid adfert praeterea hominis aut dignitas aut**
and if anything brings besides of-the-man either the-worthiness or
indignitas, extra quaestionem est et ea tamen ipsa
the-unworthiness outside the-question it-is and that still very
oratio ad universi generis disputationem referatur necesse
speech to of-the-universal of-kind the-discussion be-referred necessary

est. Haec ego non eo consilio disputo, ut homines
it-is these I not with-that with-purpose argue that men
 eruditos redarguam; quamquam reprehendendi sunt qui in
learned I-may-refute although to-be-censured they-are who in
 genere definiendo istas causas describunt in personis et
a-kind in-defining those cases describe in persons and
 in temporibus positas esse; nam etsi incurrunt tempora
in times placed to-be for although come-in the-times
 et personae, tamen intellegendum est, non ex eis, sed
and the-persons still to-be-understood it-is not from those but
 ex genere quaestionis pendere causas.

from the-kind of-the-question to-hang the-cases

Sed hoc nihil ad me; nullum enim nobis certamen cum 139
but this nothing to me no for for-us a-contest with
 istis esse debet; tantum satis est intellegi ne hoc
those to-be ought only enough it-is to-be-understood not this
 quidem eos consecutos, quod in tanto otio etiam sine hac
even them to-have-attained which in so-great leisure even without this
 forensi exercitatione efficere potuerunt, ut genera rerum
forensic practice to-effect they-could that the-kinds of-things
 discernere eaque paulo subtilius explicarent.

they-should-distinguish and-them a-little more-finely they-should-unfold

Verum hoc, ut dixi, nihil ad me; illud ad me ac multo 140
but this as I-have-said nothing to me that to me and much
 etiam magis ad vos, Cotta noster et Sulpici: quo modo nunc
even more to you Cotta our and Sulpicius in-what way now
 se istorum artes habent, pertimescenda est multitudo
themselves of-those the-arts have to-be-dreaded is the-multitude
 causarum; est enim infinita, si in personis ponitur; quot
of-cases it-is for boundless if in persons it-is-placed as-many
 homines, tot causae; sin ad generum universas quaestiones
men so-many cases but-if to of-kinds the-universal questions

referuntur, ita modicae et paucae sunt, ut eas omnis
they-are-referred so moderate and few they-are that them all
 diligentes et memores et sobrii oratores percursas animo et
diligent and mindful and sober orators run-over in-mind and
 prope dicam decantatas habere debeant; nisi forte existimatis
almost I-may-say chanted-over to-have they-ought unless perhaps you-judge
 a M'. Curio causam didicisse L. Crassum et ea
from Manius Curius the-case to-have-learned Lucius Crassus and by-that
 re multa attulisse, quam ob rem postumo
by-thing many-things to-have-brought which on-account-of thing when-a-posthumous-son
 non nato Curium tamen heredem Coponi esse oporteret:
not was-born Curius still heir of-Coponius to-be it-behooved
 141 nihil ad copiam argumentorum neque ad causae vim ac
nothing to the-store of-arguments nor to of-the-case the-force and
 naturam nomen Coponi aut Curi pertinuit; in genere
the-nature the-name of-Coponius or of-Curius pertained in the-kind
 erat universo rei negotique, non in tempore ac
was universal of-the-matter and-of-the-business not in the-time and
 nominibus, omnis quaestio: cum scriptum ita sit si mihi
the-names the-whole question when written so it-is if to-me
 filius genitur, isque prius moritur, et cetera, tum mihi
a-son is-born and-he sooner dies and the-rest then to-me
 ille sit heres, si natus filius non sit, videaturne is, qui
be be heir if born a-son not is whether-he-seems he who
 filio mortuo institutus heres sit, heres esse: perpetui iuris
the-son when-dead appointed heir is heir to-be of-perpetual of-law
 et universi generis quaestio non hominum nomina, sed
and of-universal of-kind a-question not of-men the-names but
 rationem dicendi et argumentorum fontis desiderat.
the-method of-speaking and of-arguments the-springs requires

In quo etiam isti nos iuris consulti impediunt a
in which even those us of-law the-learned hinder from
 discendoque deterrent; video enim in Catonis et in Bruti
and-learning deter I-see for in of-Cato and in of-Brutus
 libris nominatim fere referri, quid alicui de iure
the-books by-name generally to-be-reported what to-someone about law
 viro aut mulieri responderit; credo, ut putaremus in
to-a-man or to-a-woman he-answered I-believe that we-should-think in
 hominibus, non in re consultationis aut dubitationis
the-men not in the-thing of-the-consultation or of-the-doubt
 causam aliquam fuisse; ut, quod homines innumerabiles
a-cause some to-have-been that because men countless
 essent, debilitati voluntatem discendi simul cum spe
were weakened the-will of-learning together with the-hope
 perdiscendi abiceremus. Sed haec Crassus aliquando
of-learning-thoroughly we-should-cast-away but these Crassus sometime
 nobis expediet et exponet discripta generatim; est enim,
for-us will-disentangle and will-set-forth arranged by-kinds he-has for
 ne forte nescias, heri nobis ille hoc, Catule, pollicitus
lest perhaps you-do-not-know yesterday to-us he this Catulus promised
 ius civile, quod nunc diffusum et dissipatum esset, in
the-law civil which now diffused and scattered was into
 certa genera coacturum et ad artem facilem redacturum.
fixed kinds going-to-gather and to an-art easy going-to-reduce
 'Et quidem' inquit Catulus 'haudquaquam id est difficile
and indeed said Catulus by-no-means that is difficult
 Crasso, qui et, quod disci potuit de iure, didicit
for-Crassus who both what to-be-learned could about law has-learned
 et, quod eis, qui eum docuerunt, defuit, ipse adferet,
and what to-those who him taught was-lacking he-himself will-bring
 ut, quae sint in iure, vel apte describere vel ornate
so-that what are in law either fitly to-arrange or elegantly

142

143

inlustrare possit.' 'Ergo' inquit 'ista' Antonius 'tum a
to-illustrate he-may-be-able therefore said those Antonius then from
 Crasso discemus, cum se de turba et a subselliis
Crassus we-shall-learn when himself from the-crowd and from the-benches
 in otium, ut cogitat, soliumque contulerit.'
into leisure as he-plans and-the-armchair he-shall-have-betaken

144 'Iam id quidem saepe' inquit Catulus 'ex eo audiui,
now that indeed often said Catulus from him I-have-heard
 cum diceret sibi iam certum esse a iudiciis causisque
when he-said for-himself now certain to-be from trials and-cases
 discedere; sed, ut ipsi soleo dicere, non licebit; neque
to-withdraw but as to-him I-am-wont to-say not it-will-be-allowed nor
 enim auxilium suum saepe a viris bonis frustra implorari
for the-aid his-own often by men good in-vain to-be-implored
 patietur neque id aequo animo feret civitas, quae si
will-be-endure nor that with-a-calm with-mind will-bear the-state which if
 voce L. Crassi carebit, ornamento quodam se spoliata
the-voice of-Lucius Crassus shall-lack of-an-ornament a-certain itself despoiled
 putabit.' 'Nam hercle,' inquit Antonius 'si haec vere a Catulo
will-think for by-Hercules said Antonius if these truly by Catulus
 dicta sunt, tibi mecum in eodem est pistrino, Crasse,
said are for-you with-me in the-same is mill Crassus
 vivendum; et istam oscitantem et dormitantem sapientiam
to-be-lived and that yawning and drowsing wisdom
 Scaevolarum et ceterorum beatorum otio concedamus.'
of-the-Scaevolae and of-the-other of-the-blessed to-leisure let-us-yield

Since everything in doubt lies in kinds and not in persons, and the kinds are few, a student can carry his stock of matter into the forum ready furnished instead of hunting arguments after the case arrives. Talent comes first, then method, then diligence, which learns the case through and catches the adversary's every word and look; hiding that it does so is prudence. Catulus recognizes Aristotle behind all of it.

Adrisit hic Crassus leniter et 'pertexe modo,' inquit 'Antoni, 145
smiled here Crassus gently and weave-through only he-said Antonius
 quod exorsus es; me tamen ista oscitans sapientia,
which having-begun you-have me still that yawning wisdom
 simul atque ad eam confugero, in libertatem vindicabit.'
as-soon as to it I-shall-have-fled into liberty will-claim
 'Huius quidem loci, quem modo sum exorsus, hic est finis,'
of-this indeed of-topic which just-now I-have begun this is the-end
 inquit Antonius; 'quoniam intellegeretur non in hominum
said Antonius since it-should-be-understood not in of-men
 innumerabilibus personis neque in infinita temporum
the-countless persons nor in the-boundless of-times
 varietate, sed in generum causis atque naturis omnia
the-variety but in of-kinds the-grounds and in-the-natures all-(things)
 sita esse, quae in dubium vocarentur, genera autem esse
placed to-be which into doubt were-called the-kinds however to-be
 definita non solum numero, sed etiam paucitate, ut eam
defined not only by-number but even by-fewness so-that that
 materiem orationis, quae cuiusque esset generis, studiosi
material of-speech which of-each was of-kind the-eager
 qui essent dicendi, omnibus locis discriptam, instructam
who were of-speaking with-all with-topics arranged equipped
 ornatamque comprehenderent, rebus dico et sentiis.
and-adorned they-might-grasp matters I-mean and thoughts

146 Ea vi sua verba parient, quae semper satis ornata
these by-force their-own words will-bring-forth which always enough adorned
 mihi quidem videri solent, si eius modi sunt, ut ea
to-me indeed to-seem are-wont if of-that sort they-are that them
 res ipsa peperisse videatur; ac si verum quaeritis,
the-matter itself to-have-brought-forth may-seem and if the-truth you-seek
 quod mihi quidem videatur — nihil enim aliud adfirmare
what to-me indeed may-seem nothing for else to-affirm
 possum nisi sententiam et opinionem meam — hoc
I-can except the-view and the-opinion my this
 instrumentum causarum et generum universorum in forum
equipment of-cases and of-kinds of-universal into the-forum
 deferre debemus neque, ut quaeque res delata ad nos
to-bring we-ought nor as each matter brought to us
 erit, tum denique scrutari locos, ex quibus argumenta
shall-have-been then at-last to-search the-topics from which arguments
 eruamus; quae quidem omnibus, qui ea mediocriter modo
we-may-dig-out which indeed by-all who them moderately only
 considerarint, studio adhibito et usu pertractata esse
shall-have-considered when-zeal has-been-applied and by-practice handled to-be
 possunt; sed tamen animus referendus est ad ea capita et
can but still the-mind to-be-referred is to those heads and
 ad illos, quos saepe iam appellavi, locos, ex quibus omnia
to those which often now I-have-named topics from which all-(things)
 ad omnem orationem inventa ducuntur, atque hoc totum
for every speech found are-drawn and this whole
 est sive artis sive animadversionis sive consuetudinis nosse
is whether of-art or of-observation or of-habit to-know
 regiones, intra quas venere et pervestiges, quod quaeras:
the-regions within which you-may-hunt and you-may-track what you-may-seek

ubi eum locum omnem cogitatione saepseris, si modo 147
when that topic whole with-thought you-shall-have-begged if only
 usum rerum percallueris, nihil te effugiet atque omne,
the-practice of-things you-shall-have-mastered nothing you will-escape and everything
 quod erit in re, occurret atque incidet. Et sic, cum ad
which shall-be in the-matter will-meet-(you) and will-fall-in and so since for
 inveniendum in dicendo tria sint: acumen, deinde ratio, quam
finding in speaking three there-are sharpness then method which
 licet, si volumus, appellemus artem, tertium diligentia,
it-is-allowed if we-wish we-may-call an-art the-third diligence
 non possum equidem non ingenio primas concedere, sed
not I-can for-my-part not to-talent the-first-place to-grant but
 tamen ipsum ingenium diligentia etiam ex tarditate incitat;
still the-very talent diligence even from slowness rouses
 diligentia, inquam, quae cum omnibus in rebus tum 148
diligence I-say which both all in things and-especially
 in causis defendendis plurimum valet. Haec praecipue
in cases in-defending most avails this chiefly
 colenda est nobis; haec semper adhibenda; haec nihil est
to-be-cultivated is by-us this always to-be-employed this nothing is
 quod non adsequatur: causa ut penitus, quod initio dixi,
which not it-attains the-case that thoroughly which at-the-outset I-said
 nota sit, diligentia est; ut adversarium attente audiamus
known may-be diligence it-is that the-adversary attentively we-hear
 atque ut eius non solum sententias sed etiam verba
and that of-him not only the-thoughts but even the-words
 omnia excipiamus, vultus denique perspiciamus omnis, qui
all we-catch the-looks finally we-see all which
 sensus animi plerumque indicant, diligentia est;
the-feelings of-the-mind generally show diligence it-is

149 id tamen dissimulanter facere, ne sibi ille aliquid
that still dissemblingly to-do lest to-himself he something
 proficere videatur, prudentia est; deinde ut in eis locis,
to-gain may-seem practical-wisdom it-is then that in those topics
 quos proponam paulo post, pervolvatur animus, ut penitus
which I-shall-set-forth a-little afterward may-be-turned the-mind that deeply
 insinuet in causam, ut sit cura et cogitatione
it-may-work-in into the-case that it-may-be by-care and by-thought
 intentus, diligentia est; ut his rebus adhibeat tamquam
intent diligence it-is that to-these to-things he-may-apply as-it-were
 lumen aliquod memoriam, ut vocem, ut viris, diligentia est.
a-light some the-memory that the-voice that the-strength diligence it-is

150 Inter ingenium quidem et diligentiam perpaulum loci
between talent indeed and diligence very-little of-room
 reliquum est arti: ars demonstrat tantum, ubi quaeras, atque
left is for-art art shows only where you-should-seek and
 ubi sit illud, quod studeas invenire; reliqua sunt in cura,
where may-be that which you-may-strive to-find the-rest are in care
 attentione animi, cogitatione, vigilantia, adsiduitate, labore;
in-attention of-mind in-thought in-watchfulness in-perseverance in-toil
 complectar uno verbo, quo saepe iam usi sumus, diligentia;
let-me-embrace in-one in-word which often now used we-have diligence
 qua una virtute omnes virtutes reliquae continentur.
by-which by-one by-virtue all virtues the-remaining are-contained

151 Nam orationis quidem copia videmus ut abundant
for of-speech indeed in-the-store we-see how abound
 philosophi, qui, ut opinor — sed tu haec, Catule, melius —
the-philosophers who as I-think but you these Catulus better
 nulla dant praecepta dicendi nec idcirco minus, quaecumque
no give precepts of-speaking nor therefore less whatever

res proposita est, suscipiunt, de qua copiose et
matter set-forth is they-take-up about which fully and
 abundanter loquantur.’

abundantly they-may-speak

Tum Catulus ‘est,’ inquit ‘ut dicis, Antoni, ut plerique

152

then Catulus it-is he-said as you-say Antonius that most

philosophi nulla tradant praecepta dicendi et habeant

philosophers no hand-down precepts of-speaking and have

paratum tamen quid de quaque re dicant; sed

ready still what about each matter they-may-say but

Aristoteles, is, quem ego maxime admiror, posuit quosdam

Aristotle he whom I chiefly admire has-set-down certain

locos, ex quibus omnis argumenti via non modo ad

topics from which every of-argument the-way not only for

philosophorum disputationem, sed etiam ad hanc orationem,

of-philosophers the-discussion but even for this speech

qua in causis utimur, inveniretur; a quo quidem homine

which in cases we-use might-be-found from whom indeed the-man

iam dudum, Antoni, non aberrat oratio tua, sive tu

now for-a-while Antonius not strays speech your whether you

similitudine illius divini ingeni in eadem incurris vestigia

by-the-likeness of-that of-divine of-talent into the-same run tracks

sive etiam illa ipsa legisti atque didicisti, quod

or even those very-(things) you-have-read and have-learned which

quidem mihi magis veri simile videtur; plus enim te

indeed to-me more of-truth like seems more for you

operae Graecis dedisse rebus video quam putaramus.’

of-effort to-Greek to-have-given to-matters I-see than we-had-thought

Antonius admits he has tasted every school, though he holds that a speaker should show as little art and as little Greek as he can. Catulus reminds him that Italy was once full of Pythagoreans, and that Scipio and Laelius kept learned Greeks about them openly. Antonius answers with Neoptolemus: philosophize in a few things. Dialectic he dismisses, too mute in finding arguments and too talkative in judging them.

- 153 Tum ille ‘verum’ inquit ‘ex me audies, Catule: semper
then he the-truth he-said from me you-will-hear Catulus always
 ego existimavi iucundiorē et probabiliorem huic populo
I have-judged more-pleasing and more-acceptable to-this to-the-people
 oratorem fore, qui primum quam minimam artifici
an-orator to-be-going-to-be who first as least of-craft
 alicuius, deinde nullam Graecarum rerum significationem
of-any then no of-Greek of-things indication
 daret: atque ego idem existimavi pecudis esse, non
should-give and I the-same have-judged of-a-beast to-be not
 hominis, cum tantas res Graeci suscipere, profiterentur,
of-a-man since so-great matters the-Greeks undertook professed
 agerent seseque et videndi res obscurissimas et bene
handled and-themselves both of-seeing matters the-most-obscure and well
 vivendi et copiose dicendi rationem daturus hominibus
of-living and fully of-speaking the-method going-to-give to-men
 pollicerentur, non admoveere aurem et, si palam audire eos
promised not to-apply the-ear and if openly to-hear them
 non auderes, ne minueres apud tuos civis auctoritatem
not you-dared lest you-should-lessen among your citizens the-authority
 tuam, subauscultando tamen excipere voces eorum et procul
your by-eavesdropping still to-catch the-voices of-them and from-afar

quid narrarent attendere. Itaque feci, Catule, et istorum
what they-related to-attend and-so I-did Catulus and of-those
 omnium summatim causas et genera ipsa gustavi.
of-all in-summary the-grounds and the-kinds themselves I-tasted
 ‘Valde hercule’ inquit Catulus ‘timide tamquam ad aliquem 154
greatly by-Hercules said Catulus timidly as-if to some
 libidinis scopulum sic tuam mentem ad philosophiam
of-lust a-reef so your mind to philosophy
 appulisti, quam haec civitas aspernata numquam est; nam
you-have-brought which this state having-spurned never has for
 et referta quondam Italia Pythagoreorum fuit tum, cum
both crammed once Italy of-Pythagoreans was then when
 erat in hac gente magna illa Graecia; ex quo etiam quidam
there-was in this nation great that Greece from which even some
 Numam Pompilium, regem nostrum, fuisse Pythagoreum
Numa Pompilius king our to-have-been a-Pythagorean
 ferunt, qui annis ante permultis fuit quam ipse
report who by-years before very-many was than he-himself
 Pythagoras; quo etiam maior vir habendus est, quoniam
Pythagoras whereby even a-greater man to-be-held he-is since
 illam sapientiam constituendae civitatis duobus prope saeculis
that wisdom of-establishing a-state by-two nearly by-centuries
 ante cognovit, quam eam Graeci natam esse senserunt; et
before he-learned than it the-Greeks born to-be perceived and
 certe non tulit ullos haec civitas aut gloria clariores
certainly not has-borne any this state or in-glory more-illustrious
 aut auctoritate graviores aut humanitate politiores P.
or in-authority weightier or in-culture more-polished than-Publius
 Africano, C. Laelio, L. Furio, qui secum
Africanus than-Gaius Laelius than-Lucius Furius who with-themselves
 eruditissimos homines ex Graecia palam semper habuerunt.
the-most-learned men from Greece openly always kept

155 Atque ego hoc ex eis saepe audiui, cum dicerent pergratum
and I this from them often have-heard when they-said most-welcome
 Atheniensis et sibi fecisse et multis principibus
the-Athenians both for-themselves to-have-done and for-many for-the-chief-men
 civitatis, quod, cum ad senatum legatos de suis maximis
of-the-state because when to the-senate envoys about their-own greatest
 rebus mitterent, tris illius aetatis nobilissimos philosophos
affairs they-were-sending three of-that of-age the-noblest philosophers
 misissent, Carneadem et Critolaum et Diogenem; itaque eos,
they-had-sent Carneades and Critolaus and Diogenes and-so them
 dum Romae essent, et a se et ab aliis frequenter auditos;
while at-Rome they-were both by themselves and by others frequently heard
 quos tu cum haberes auctores, Antoni, miror cur philosophiae
whom you since you-had as-authorities Antonius I-wonder why on-philosophy
 sicut Zethus ille Pacuvianus prope bellum indixeris.
just-as Zethus that Pacuvian almost war you-have-declared

156 ‘Minime,’ inquit Antonius; ‘ac sic decrevi philosophari
by-no-means said Antonius and so I-have-resolved to-philosophize
 potius, ut Neoptolemus apud Ennium “paucis: nam omnino
rather as Neoptolemus in Ennius in-few for altogether
 haud placet.” Sed tamen haec est mea sententia, quam videbar
not it-pleases but still this is my opinion which I-seemed
 exposuisse: ego ista studia non improbo, moderata modo
to-have-set-forth I those studies not disapprove moderate only
 sint: opinionem istorum studiorum et suspicionem artificii
they-may-be the-repute of-those of-studies and the-suspicion of-craft
 apud eos, qui res iudicent, oratori adversariam esse arbitror,
among those who matters judge to-the-orator hostile to-be I-think
 imminuit enim et oratoris auctoritatem et orationis fidem.
it-lessens for both of-the-orator the-authority and of-the-speech the-credit

Sed, ut eo revocetur, unde huc declinavit oratio, ex 157
but that thither it-may-be-called-back whence hither turned-aside the-speech from
 tribus istis clarissimis philosophis, quos Romam venisse
three those most-famous philosophers whom to-Rome to-have-come
 dixisti, videsne Diogenem eum fuisse, qui diceret artem
you-have-said do-you-see Diogenes him to-have-been who said an-art
 se tradere bene disserendi et vera ac falsa diiudicandi,
himself to-hand-on well of-arguing and true and false of-distinguishing
 quam verbo Graeco διαλεκτικήν appellaret? In hac arte, si
which by-a-word by-Greek dialectic he-called in this art if
 modo est haec ars, nullum est praeceptum, quo modo
only is this an-art no is precept in-what way
 verum inveniatur, sed tantum est, quo modo iudicetur;
the-true may-be-found but only there-is in-what way it-may-be-judged
 nam et omne, quod eloquimur sic, ut id aut esse 158
for both everything which we-utter so that that either to-be
 dicamus aut non esse, et, si simpliciter dictum sit, suscipiunt
we-may-say or not to-be and if simply said it-is undertake
 dialectici, ut iudicent, verumne sit an falsum, et, si
the-dialecticians that they-may-judge whether-true it-is or false and if
 coniuncte sit elatum et adiuncta sint alia, iudicant, recte
conjointly it-is uttered and joined are others they-judge whether-rightly
 adiuncta sint et verane summa sit unius cuiusque
joined they-are and whether-true the-sum is of-one of-each
 rationis, et ad extremum ipsi se compungunt
of-reasoning and at the-end they-themselves themselves they-prick
 suis acuminibus et multa quaerendo reperiunt non
with-their-own with-subtleties and many-things by-asking they-find not
 modo ea, quae iam non possint ipsi dissolvere, sed
only those which now not they-can themselves to-unravel but
 etiam quibus ante exorsa et potius detexta prope retexantur.
even by-which before begun and rather woven-out nearly are-unwoven

- 159 Hic nos igitur Stoicus iste nihil adiuvat, quoniam, quem ad
here us therefore the-Stoic that nothing helps since what to
 modum inveniam quid dicam, non docet; atque idem etiam
way I-may-find what I-may-say not he-teaches and the-same even
 impedit, quod et multa reperit, quae negat ullo modo
hinders because both many-things he-finds which he-denies in-any way
 posse dissolvi, et genus sermonis adfert non liquidum,
to-be-able to-be-unraveled and a-kind of-discourse he-brings not clear
 non fusum ac profluens, sed exile, aridum, concisum ac
not spread and flowing-forth but thin dry clipped and
 minutum, quod si qui probabit, ita probabit, ut oratori
minute which if anyone will-approve so he-will-approve that for-an-orator
 tamen aptum non esse fateatur; haec enim nostra oratio
still fitted not to-be he-may-admit this for our speech
 multitudinis est auribus accommodanda, ad oblectandos
of-the-multitude is to-the-ears to-be-fitted for delighting
 animos, ad impellendos, ad ea probanda, quae non aurificis
the-minds for driving for those for-proving which not of-a-goldsmith
 statera, sed populari quadam trutina examinantur;
by-a-balance but by-a-popular by-a-certain by-scale are-weighed
- 160 qua re istam artem totam dimittimus, quae in
for-which reason that art whole we-dismiss which in
 excogitandis argumentis muta nimium est, in iudicandis
devising arguments mute too is in judging
 nimium loquax. Critolaum istum, quem cum Diogene
too talkative Critolaus that whom with Diogenes
 venisse commemoras, puto plus huic nostro studio
to-have-come you-relate I-think more to-this to-our to-pursuit
 prodesse potuisse; erat enim ab isto Aristotele, a
to-profit to-have-been-able he-was for from that Aristotle from
 cuius inventis tibi ego videor non longe aberrare. Atque
whose discoveries to-you I seem not far to-stray and

inter hunc Aristotelem, cuius et illum legi librum, in
between this Aristotle of-whom both that I-read book in
 quo exposuit dicendi artis omnium superiorum, et illos, in
which he-set-forth of-speaking the-arts of-all of-the-earlier and those in
 quibus ipse sua quaedam de eadem arte dixit, et hos
which he-himself his-own certain about the-same art said and these
 germanos huius artis magistros hoc mihi visum est interesse,
genuine of-this of-art the-masters this to-me seemed is to-differ
 quod ille eadem acie mentis, qua rerum omnium
that he with-the-same with-the-edge of-mind with-which of-things of-all
 vim naturamque viderat, haec quoque aspexit, quae ad
the-force and-the-nature he-had-seen these also he-beheld which to
 dicendi artem, quam ille despiciebat, pertinebant; illi autem,
of-speaking the-art which he despised pertained they however
 qui hoc solum colendum ducebant, habitarunt in hac una
who this only to-be-cultivated reckoned have-dwelt in this one
 ratione tractanda non eadem prudentia qua ille,
method in-handling not with-the-same with-practical-wisdom with-which he
 sed usu in hoc uno genere studioque maiore.
but with-practice in this one kind and-with-zeal with-greater

II.21 • WHERE THE ARGUMENTS LIVE

Antonius would gladly have Carneades, who never defended a thing without proving it nor attacked one without overturning it, though that is more than a teacher can promise. Send a raw beginner to the men who chew every crumb small for him; a trained mind should be shown where the whole river breaks out. All proof and refutation is drawn from the matter itself, by definition, division, name, or connection, or from outside it.

- 161 Carneadi vero vis incredibilis illa dicendi et varietas
of-Carneades indeed the-force incredible that of-speaking and the-variety
 perquam esset optanda nobis, qui nullam umquam in illis
exceedingly would-be to-be-wished for-us who no ever in those
 suis disputationibus rem defendit quam non probarit, nullam
his discussions thing defended which not he-proved none
 oppugnavit quam non everterit. Sed hoc maius est quiddam
he-attacked which not he-overthrew but this greater is something
 quam ab his, qui haec tradunt et docent, postulandum sit.
than from these who these hand-down and teach to-be-demanded should-be
- 162 Ego autem, si quem nunc plane rudem institui ad
I however if anyone now plainly raw to-be-trained for
 dicendum velim, his potius tradam adsiduis
speaking I-should-wish to-these rather I-should-hand-over to-the-constant
 uno opere eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus,
with-one with-work the-same anvil day and-night to-those-hammering
 qui omnis tenuissimas particulas atque omnia minima
who all the-thinnest particles and all the-smallest
 mansa ut nutrices infantibus pueris in os inserant;
chewed as nurses for-infant for-boys into the-mouth may-insert
 sin sit is, qui et doctrina mihi liberaliter institutus
but-if he-be such who both by-learning to-me liberally trained
 et aliquo iam imbutus usu et satis acri ingenio
and with-some now steeped with-practice and sufficiently keen with-talent
 esse videatur, illuc eum rapiam, ubi non seclusa aliqua
to-be may-seem thither him I-should-hurry where not a-shut-off some
 acula teneatur, sed unde universum flumen erumpat;
little-stream may-be-held but whence the-whole river may-burst-forth
 qui illi sedis et quasi domicilia omnium argumentorum
who to-him the-seats and as-it-were the-dwellings of-all of-arguments
 commonstret et ea breviter inlustret verbisque definiat.
may-point-out and them briefly may-illustrate and-with-words may-define

Quid enim est, in quo haereat, qui viderit omne, quod 163
what for is in which he-may-stick who has-seen everything which
 sumatur in oratione aut ad probandum aut ad refellendum,
is-taken in a-speech either for proving or for refuting
 aut ex re sua sumi vi atque natura aut adsumi
either from the-thing its-own to-be-taken by-force and by-nature or to-be-taken-on
 foris? sua vi, cum aut res quae sit tota quaeratur,
from-outside by-its-own by-force when either the-thing what it-is whole is-asked
 aut pars eius, aut vocabulum quod habeat, aut quippiam,
or a-part of-it or the-name which it-has or anything
 rem illam quod attingat; extrinsecus autem, cum ea,
the-thing that which touches from-outside however when those-(things)
 quae sunt foris neque haerent in rei natura, conliguntur.
which are outside and-not cling in of-the-thing the-nature are-gathered
 Si res tota quaeritur, definitione universa vis explicanda 164
if the-thing whole is-asked by-a-definition the-whole force to-be-unfolded
 est, sic: “si maiestas est amplitudo ac dignitas civitatis, is eam
is thus if majesty is the-greatness and the-dignity of-the-state he it
 minuit, qui exercitum hostibus populi Romani tradidit, non
diminishes who an-army to-the-enemies of-the-people Roman handed-over not
 qui eum, qui id fecisset, populi Romani potestati tradidit.”
who him who that had-done of-the-people Roman to-the-power handed-over
 Sin pars, partitione, hoc modo: “aut senatui parendum 165
but-if a-part by-partition in-this way either to-the-senate to-be-obeyed
 de salute rei publicae fuit aut aliud consilium
about the-safety of-the-thing public it-was or another plan
 instituendum aut sua sponte faciendum; aliud consilium,
to-be-adopted or of-his-own accord to-be-acted another plan
 superbum; suum, adrogans; utendum igitur fuit consilio
haughty his-own arrogant to-be-used therefore it-was with-the-counsel

senatus." Si ex vocabulo, ut Carbo: "si consul est, qui
of-the-senate if from a-name as Carbo if a-consul is he-who
 consulit patriae, quid aliud fecit Opimius?"

consults for-the-fatherland what else did Opimius

166 Sin ab eo, quod rem attingit, plures sunt argumentorum

but-if from that which the-thing touches more there-are of-arguments

sedes ac loci, nam et coniuncta quaeremus et

the-seats and the-topics for both conjoined-(things) we-shall-seek and

genera et partis generibus subiectas et similitudines et

the-kinds and the-parts to-the-kinds subordinate and likenesses and

dissimilitudines et contraria et consequentia et consentanea

unlikenesses and opposites and consequents and consistent-(things)

et quasi praecurrentia et repugnantia et causas rerum

and as-it-were antecedents and incompatibles and the-causes of-things

vestigabimus et ea, quae ex causis orta sint, et maiora,

we-shall-track and those which from causes arisen have-been and greater

paria, minora quaeremus.

equal smaller we-shall-seek

167 Ex coniunctis sic argumenta ducuntur: "si pietati summa

from conjoined-(things) thus arguments are-drawn if to-piety the-highest

tribuenda laus est, debetis moveri, cum Q. Metellum tam

to-be-given praise is you-ought to-be-moved when Quintus Metellus so

pie lugere videatis." Ex genere autem: "si magistratus

dutifully to-mourn you-see from the-kind however if magistrates

in populi Romani esse potestate debent, quid Norbanum

in of-the-people Roman to-be the-power ought why Norbanus

accusas, cuius tribunatus voluntati paruit civitatis?"

do-you-accuse whose tribunate to-the-will obeyed of-the-state

168 Ex parte autem ea, quae est subiecta generi: "si omnes, qui

from the-part however that which is subordinate to-the-kind if all who

rei publicae consulunt, cari nobis esse debent, certe

for-the-thing public take-thought dear to-us to-be ought certainly

in primis imperatores, quorum consiliis, virtute, periculis

among the-first generals whose by-plans by-courage by-dangers

retinemus et nostram salutem et imperi dignitatem.” Ex

we-keep both our safety and of-empire the-dignity from

similitudine autem: “si ferae partus suos diligunt,

likeness however if wild-beasts the-offspring their-own love

qua nos in liberos nostros indulgentia esse debemus?”

with-what we toward children our with-tenderness to-be we-ought

At ex dissimilitudine: “si barbarorum est in diem vivere, 169

but from unlikeness if of-barbarians it-is for the-day to-live

nostra consilia sempiternum tempus spectare debent.” Atque

our plans everlasting time to-regard ought and

utroque in genere et similitudinis et dissimilitudinis

each in kind both of-likeness and of-unlikeness

exempla sunt ex aliorum factis aut dictis aut eventis

examples are from of-others deeds or from-sayings or from-outcomes

et fictae narrationes saepe ponendae. Iam ex contrario:

and invented narratives often to-be-set now from the-opposite

“si Gracchus nefarie, praeclare Opimius.”

if Gracchus wickedly splendidly Opimius

II.22 · THE MARKS THAT SHOW WHERE THE GOLD LIES

Antony runs through the seats of argument with instances out of Roman trials: consequence and incompatibility, cause and effect, the greater, the equal, and the less. External proofs are those propped by authority, examination, or documents. He has only marked the ground where the gold lies buried; the digging is the speaker's own. Finding matter is not enough: the handling must vary or the machinery shows.

- 170 Ex consequentibus: “si et ferro interfectus ille et tu
from consequents if both by-the-sword slain he and you
 inimicus eius cum gladio cruento comprehensus in illo ipso
an-enemy of-him with a-sword bloody seized in that very
 loco et nemo praeter te ibi visus est et causa nemini
place and no-one besides you there seen was and a-cause to-no-one
 et tu semper audax, quid est quod de facinore dubitare
and you always bold what is-it which about the-crime to-doubt
 possimus?” Ex consentaneis et ex praecurrentibus et ex
we-could from consistent-(things) and from antecedents and from
 repugnantibus, ut olim Crassus adulescens: “non si Opimium
incompatibles as once Crassus as-a-young-man not if Opimius
 defendisti, Carbo, idcirco te isti bonum civem putabunt:
you-defended Carbo therefore you those a-good citizen will-think
 simulasse te et aliquid quaesisse perspicuum est, quod
to-have-feigned you and something to-have-sought plain it-is because
 Ti. Gracchi mortem saepe in contionibus deplorasti,
of-Tiberius of-Gracchus the-death often in public-meetings you-have-lamented
 quod P. Africani necis socius fuisti, quod eam legem
because of-Publius of-Africanus of-the-killing a-partner you-were because that law
 in tribunatu tulisti, quod semper a bonis dissedisti.”
in the-tribunate you-carried because always from the-good you-have-dissented
- 171 Ex causis autem rerum sic: “avaritiam si tollere vultis, mater
from causes however of-things thus avarice if to-remove you-wish the-mother
 eius est tollenda, luxuries.” Ex eis autem, quae sunt orta
of-it is to-be-removed luxury from those however which have arisen
 de causis: “si aerari copiis et ad belli adiumenta
from causes if of-the-treasury by-the-resources both for of-war the-supports
 et ad ornamenta pacis utimur, vectigalibus serviamus.”
and for the-adornments of-peace we-use to-the-revenues let-us-be-slaves

Maiores autem et minores et paria comparabimus sic: 172
greater however and smaller and equal we-shall-compare thus
 ex maiore: "si bona existimatio divitiis praestat et
from the-greater if good repute riches surpasses and
 pecunia tanto opere expetitur, quanto gloria magis est
money with-so-great with-effort is-sought how-much glory more is
 expetenda!" ex minore:
to-be-sought from the-smaller

hic parvae consuetudinis
this-man of-a-small of-acquaintance
 causa huius mortem tam fert familiariter:
for-the-sake of-this the-death so bears familiarly
 quid si ipse amasset? Quid hic mihi faciet patri?
what if he-himself had-loved what this-man to-me will-do to-a-father

Ex pari: "est eiusdem et eripere et contra rem
from the-equal it-is of-the-same both to-snatch-away and against the-thing
 publicam largiri pecunias."
public to-lavish moneys

Foris autem adsumuntur ea, quae non sua vi, sed 173
from-outside however are-taken-on those which not by-their-own by-force but
 extranea sublevantur, ut haec: "hoc verum est; dixit enim
by-external are-supported as these this true is said for
 Q. Lutatius. Hoc falsum est; habita enim quaestio
Quintus Lutatius this false is held for an-examination
 est. Hoc sequi necesse est; recito enim tabulas." De
has-been this to-follow necessary it-is I-read for the-tablets about
 quo genere toto paulo ante dixi.
which kind whole a-little before I-have-spoken

- 174 Haec, ut brevissime dici potuerunt, ita a me dicta sunt;
these as most-briefly to-be-said they-could so by me said have-been
 ut enim si aurum cui, quod esset multifariam defossum,
as for if gold to-someone which was in-many-places buried
 commonstrare vellem, satis esse deberet, si signa et notas
to-point-out I-wished enough to-be it-ought if the-signs and the-marks
 ostenderem locorum, quibus cognitis ipse sibi foderet
I-showed of-the-places which when-known he-himself for-himself would-dig
 et id quod vellet parvo labore, nullo errore, inveniret;
and that which he-wished with-little with-toil with-no with-error would-find
 sic has ego argumentorum notavi notas quae quaerenti
so these I of-arguments have-marked the-marks which to-(one)-seeking
 demonstrant, ubi sint; reliqua cura et cogitatione eruuntur;
show where they-are the-rest by-care and by-thought are-dug-out
- 175 quod autem argumentorum genus cuique causarum generi
which however of-arguments kind to-each of-cases to-the-kind
 maxime conveniat, non est artis exquisitae praescribere, sed
chiefly suits not is of-an-art of-a-refined to-prescribe but
 est mediocris ingeni iudicare, neque enim nunc id agimus,
is of-a-middling of-talent to-judge nor for now that we-do
 ut artem aliquam dicendi explicemus, sed ut doctissimis
that an-art some of-speaking we-may-unfold but that to-the-most-learned
 hominibus usus nostri quasi quaedam monita
to-men of-the-experience of-our as-it-were certain hints
 tradamus. Hic igitur locis in mente et cogitatione
we-may-hand-on here therefore with-the-topics in the-mind and in-thought
 defixis et in omni re ad dicendum posita excitatis, nihil
being-fixed and in every matter for speaking set being-roused nothing
 erit quod oratorem effugere possit non modo in
there-will-be which the-orator to-escape may-be-able not only in
 forensibus disputationibus, sed omnino in ullo genere dicendi.
forensic disputes but at-all in any kind of-speaking

Si vero adsequetur, ut talis videatur, qualem se videri 176

if indeed he-shall-attain that such he-may-seem of-what-kind himself to-seem
 velit et animos eorum ita adficiat, apud quos aget,
he-wishes and the-minds of-those so he-may-affect before whom he-shall-plead
 ut eos quocumque velit vel trahere vel rapere possit,
that them whithersoever he-wishes either to-draw or to-hurry he-may-be-able
 nihil profecto praeterea ad dicendum requiret.

nothing assuredly besides for speaking he-will-require

Iam illud videmus nequaquam satis esse reperire quid 177

now that we-see by-no-means enough to-be to-find what
 dicas, nisi id inventum tractare possis; tractatio autem
you-may-say unless that when-found to-handle you-can the-handling however
 varia esse debet, ne aut cognoscat artem qui audiat aut
varied to-be ought lest either he-recognize the-art who hears or
 defetigetur similitudinis satietate: proponi oportet quid
he-be-wearied of-sameness by-the-satiety to-be-set-forth it-behooves what
 adferas et qua re ita sit ostendere; ex eisdem illis
you-bring and for-what reason so it-is to-show from the-same those
 locis interdum concludere, relinquere alias alioque

topics at-times to-conclude to-leave at-other-times and-elsewhere

transire; saepe non proponere ac ratione ipsa adferenda
to-pass-on often not to-set-forth and by-the-reasoning itself by-being-brought
 quid proponendum fuerit, declarare; si cui quid

what to-be-set-forth had-been to-declare if to-something anything

simile dicas, prius ut simile confirmes, deinde quod

like you-say first that as-like you-may-confirm then what

agitur, adiungas; interpuncta argumentorum plerumque

is-at-issue you-may-join the-divisions of-arguments generally

occulas, ne quis ea numerare possit, ut re

you-may-conceal lest anyone them to-count may-be-able so-that in-substance

distinguantur, verbis confusa esse videantur.

they-may-be-distinguished in-words confused to-be they-may-seem

Nothing in speaking matters more than having the hearer on your side, since men judge far oftener by love, hatred, desire, anger, grief, hope, or fear than by law and evidence. Catulus asks about arrangement, and Antonius puts him off until the other two tasks are done. Goodwill is won by the standing and life of the parties, by a mild voice and a modest face, and by seeming to strike only under compulsion.

- 178 Haec properans ut et apud doctos et semidoctus ipse
these hurrying as both before the-learned and half-learned myself
 percurro, ut aliquando ad illa maiora veniamus: nihil est
I-run-through that at-last to those greater we-may-come nothing is
 enim in dicendo, Catule, maius, quam ut faveat oratori
for in speaking Catulus greater than that may-favor the-orator
 is, qui audiet, utique ipse sic moveatur, ut impetu
he who will-hear and-that himself so may-be-moved that by-an-impulse
 quodam animi et perturbatione magis quam iudicio aut
a-certain of-mind and by-agitation more than by-judgment or
 consilio regatur: plura enim multo homines iudicant
by-reflection he-may-be-governed more for by-much men judge
 odio aut amore aut cupiditate aut iracundia aut dolore
by-hatred or by-love or by-desire or by-anger or by-grief
 aut laetitia aut spe aut timore aut errore aut aliqua
or by-gladness or by-hope or by-fear or by-error or by-some
 permotione mentis quam veritate aut praescripto aut iuris
by-stirring of-mind than by-truth or by-a-rule or of-law
 norma aliqua aut iudici formula aut legibus.
by-a-standard some or of-a-trial by-a-formula or by-laws

- 179 Qua re, nisi quid vobis aliud placet, ad illa pergamus.
for-which reason unless anything to-you other pleases to those let-us-go-on
 ‘Paulum’ inquit Catulus ‘etiam nunc deesse videtur
a-little said Catulus even now to-be-lacking seems

eis rebus, Antoni, quas exposuisti, quod sit tibi
to-those to-things Antonius which you-have-set-forth which may-be by-you
 ante explicandum, quam illuc proficiscare, quo te dicis
before to-be-unfolded than thither you-set-out whither you say
 intendere.' 'Quidnam?' inquit. 'Qui ordo tibi placeat' inquit
to-aim what-then he-said what order to-you may-please said
 Catulus 'et quae dispositio argumentorum, in qua tu mihi
Catulus and what arrangement of-arguments in which you to-me
 semper deus videri soles.'

always a-god to-seem are-wont

'Vide quam sim' inquit 'deus in isto genere, Catule: non 180

see how I-may-be he-said a-god in that kind Catulus not
 hercule mihi nisi admonito venisset in mentem; ut
by-Hercules to-me except when-reminded it-would-have-come into mind that
 possis existimare me in ea, in quibus non numquam

you-may-be-able to-judge me in those in which not never
 aliquid efficere videor, usu solere in dicendo vel casu
something to-effect I-seem by-practice to-be-wont in speaking or by-chance

potius incurrere. Ac res quidem ista, quam ego, quia
rather to-fall-in and the-thing indeed that which I because
 non noram, sic tamquam ignotum hominem praeteribam,

not I-knew so as-if an-unknown man I-was-passing-by
 tantum potest in dicendo, ut ad vincendum nulla plus

so-much can in speaking that for conquering none more
 possit; sed tamen mihi videris ante tempus a me

may-be-able but still to-me you-seem before the-time from me
 rationem ordinis et disponendarum rerum requisisse;

the-method of-order and of-arranging of-things to-have-required

nam si ego omnem vim oratoris in argumentis et 181

for if I all the-force of-the-orator in arguments and
 in re ipsa per se comprobanda posuissem, tempus
in the-thing itself through itself in-proving bad-placed the-time

esset iam de ordine argumentorum et de conlocatione
it-would-be now about the-order of-arguments and about the-placing
 rerum aliquid dicere; sed cum tria sint a me proposita,
of-things something to-say but since three there-are by me proposed
 de uno dictum, cum de duobus reliquis dixerō, tum
about one has-been-said when about the-two remaining I-shall-have-spoken then
 erit denique de disponenda tota oratione quaerendum.

it-will-be at-last about arranging the-whole speech to-be-asked

- 182 Valet igitur multum ad vincendum probari mores et
avails therefore much for conquering to-be-approved the-characters and
 instituta et facta et vitam eorum, qui agent causas,
the-habits and the-deeds and the-life of-those who will-plead the-cases
 et eorum, pro quibus, et item improbari adversariorum,
and of-those for whom and likewise to-be-disapproved of-the-adversaries
 animosque eorum, apud quos agetur, conciliari quam
and-the-minds of-those before whom it-will-be-pleaded to-be-won as
 maxime ad benevolentiam cum erga oratorem tum erga
most to goodwill both toward the-orator and-especially toward
 illum, pro quo dicet orator. Conciliantur autem animi
him for whom will-speak the-orator are-won however the-minds
 dignitate hominis, rebus gestis, existimatione vitae; quae
by-the-worth of-the-man by-the-deeds done by-the-repute of-the-life which
 facilius ornari possunt, si modo sunt, quam fingi,
more-easily to-be-adorned can if only they-are than to-be-feigned
 si nulla sunt. Sed haec adiuvant in oratore: lenitas vocis,
if none they-are but these help in an-orator the-mildness of-voice
 vultus pudor, verborum comitas; si quid persequare acrius,
of-the-face the-modesty of-words the-courtesy if anything you-pursue too-keenly
 ut invitus et coactus facere videare. Facilitatis, liberalitatis,
that unwilling and forced to-do you-may-seem of-affability of-generosity
 mansuetudinis, pietatis, grati animi, non appetentis,
of-gentleness of-piety of-a-grateful of-mind not of-grasping

non avidi signa proferre perutile est; eaque omnia, quae
not of-greedy the-signs to-produce very-useful it-is and-they all which
 proborum, demissorum, non acrium, non pertinacium,
of-the-upright of-the-unassuming not of-the-fierce not of-the-stubborn
 non litigiosorum, non acerborum sunt, valde benevolentiam
not of-the-litigious not of-the-bitter are greatly goodwill
 conciliant abalienantque ab eis, in quibus haec non sunt;
win and-alienate from those in whom these not are
 itaque eadem sunt in adversarios ex contrario conferenda.

Sed genus hoc totum orationis in eis causis excellit, in 183
and-so the-same are against the-adversaries from the-contrary to-be-brought
 but kind this whole of-speech in those cases excels in
 quibus minus potest inflammari animus iudicis acri et
which less can to-be-inflamed the-mind of-the-judge by-keen and
 vehementi quadam incitatione; non enim semper fortis
by-vehement by-a-certain by-rousing not for always a-bold
 oratio quaeritur, sed saepe placida, summissa, lenis, quae
speech is-sought but often calm subdued gentle which
 maxime commendat reos. Reos autem appello non
chiefly commends the-accused the-accused however I-call not
 eos modo, qui arguuntur, sed omnis, quorum de re
those only who are-charged but all of-whose about matter
 disceptatur; sic enim olim loquebantur.

it-is-debated so for once they-used-to-speak
 Horum igitur exprimere mores oratione iustos, integros, 184
of-these therefore to-portray the-characters by-speech just upright
 religiosos, timidos, perferentis iniuriarum mirum quiddam
scrupulous timid enduring of-wrongs a-wonderful something
 valet; et hoc vel in principiis vel in re narranda vel in
avails and this either in the-openings or in the-thing in-narrating or in
 perorando tantam habet vim, si est suaviter et cum sensu
perorating so-great it-has force if it-is agreeably and with feeling

tractatum, ut saepe plus quam causa valeat. Tantum
handled that often more than the-case it-may-avail so-much
 autem efficitur sensu quodam ac ratione dicendi, ut
however is-effected by-a-feeling a-certain and by-a-method of-speaking that
 quasi mores oratoris effingat oratio; genere enim
as-it-were the-characters of-the-orator may-mold the-speech by-a-kind for
 quodam sententiarum et genere verborum, adhibita etiam
a-certain of-thoughts and by-a-kind of-words when-employed even
 actione leni facilitatemque significante efficitur, ut probi,
a-delivery gentle and-affability signifying it-is-effected that upright
 ut bene morati, ut boni viri esse videamur.
that well mannered that good men to-be we-may-seem

II.24 • THE SPEAKER MUST BURN FIRST

A second kind of speech drives the judges toward hatred, pity, fear, envy, or hope. Antonius sounds out what they already feel, as a careful physician learns the patient's constitution before prescribing, and spreads sail to whatever wind shows. No hearer will grieve or hate unless the speaker visibly does: no fuel catches without fire set to it, and no mind takes light from a man not burning himself.

- 185 Huic autem est illa dispar adiuncta ratio orationis, quae
to-this however is that unlike joined method of-speech which
 alio quodam genere mentis iudicum permovet impellitque,
by-another by-a-certain by-kind the-minds of-the-judges stirs and-drives
 ut aut oderint aut diligant aut invideant aut saluum
that either they-may-hate or they-may-love or they-may-envy or safe
 velint aut metuant aut sperent aut cupiant aut
they-may-wish or they-may-fear or they-may-hope or they-may-desire or
 abhorreant aut laetentur aut maereant aut misereantur
they-may-shrink or they-may-rejoice or they-may-grieve or they-may-pity

aut poenire velint aut ad eos motus deducantur, si
or to-punish they-may-wish or to those emotions they-may-be-brought if
 qui finitimi sunt talibus animi permotionibus.

any neighboring are to-such of-mind to-stirrings

Atque illud optandum est oratori, ut aliquam permotionem 186

and that to-be-wished is for-the-orator that some stirring

animorum sua sponte ipsi adferant ad causam iudices

of-minds of-their-own accord themselves may-bring to the-case the-judges

ad id, quod utilitas oratoris feret, accommodatam; facilius

to that which the-advantage of-the-orator shall-bring fitted easier

est enim currentem, ut aiunt, incitare quam commovere

it-is for a-runner as they-say to-urge-on than to-stir

languentem; sin id aut non erit aut erit obscurius,

a-sluggard but-if that either not shall-be or shall-be more-obscure

sicut medico diligenti, priusquam conetur aegro adhibere

just-as by-a-doctor by-a-careful before-than he-tries to-the-sick to-apply

medicinam, non solum morbus eius, cui mederi volet, sed

medicine not only the-disease of-him whom to-heal he-shall-wish but

etiam consuetudo valentis et natura corporis cognoscenda

even the-habit of-the-healthy and the-nature of-the-body to-be-learned

est, sic equidem cum adgredior in ancipiti causa et gravi

is so for-my-part when I-approach in a-doubtful case and grave

ad animos iudicum pertractandos, omni mente in ea

to the-minds of-the-judges for-handling with-(my)-whole with-mind in that

cogitatione curaue versor, ut odor, quam sagacissime

reflection and-care I-am-engaged that I-may-scent as most-keenly

possim, quid sentiant, quid existiment, quid exspectent,

I-may-be-able what they-feel what they-judge what they-expect

quid velint, quo deduci oratione facillime posse videantur.

what they-wish whither to-be-led by-speech most-easily to-be-able they-may-seem

- 187 Si se dant et, ut ante dixi, sua sponte, quo
if themselves they-give and as before I-have-said of-their-own accord whither
 impellimus, inclinant atque propendent, accipio quod datur
we-drive they-lean and they-incline I-take what is-given
 et ad id, unde aliquis flatus ostenditur, vela do; sin est
and to that whence some breeze is-shown the-sails I-give but-if is
 integer quietusque iudex, plus est operis; sunt enim omnia
untouched and-calm the-judge more is of-work are for all-things
 dicendo excitanda, nihil adiuvante natura. Sed tantam vim
by-speaking to-be-roused nothing helping nature but so-great force
 habet illa, quae recte a bono poeta dicta est
has that which rightly by a-good a-poet said has-been

flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio,
mind-bending and of-all the-queen of-things speech

ut non modo inclinantem excipere aut stantem inclinare,
that not only the-leaning to-catch or the-standing to-bend
 sed etiam adversantem ac repugnantem, ut imperator fortis
but even the-opposing and resisting as a-commander brave
 ac bonus, capere possit.
and good to-take it-may-be-able

- 188 Haec sunt illa, quae me ludens Crassus modo flagitabat, cum
these are those which me jesting Crassus just-now was-demanding when
 a me divinitus tractari solere diceret et in causa M'.
by me divinely to-be-handled to-be-wont he-said and in the-case of-Manius
 Aquili Gaique Norbani non nullisque aliis quasi praeclare acta
Aquilius and-of-Gaius of-Norbanus not and-none others as-if splendidly done
 laudaret, quae me hercule ego, Crasse, cum a te tractantur
be-praised which by Hercules I Crassus when by you they-are-handled
 in causis, horrere soleo: tanta vis animi, tantus impetus,
in cases to-shudder I-am-wont so-great a-force of-mind so-great an-impulse

tantus dolor oculis, vultu, gestu, digito denique isto
so-great a-grief by-the-eyes by-the-face by-the-gesture by-the-finger finally by-that
 tuo significari solet; tantum est flumen gravissimorum
by-your to-be-signified is-wont so-great is the-river of-the-weightiest
 optimorumque verborum, tam integrae sententiae, tum verae,
and-of-the-best of-words so unspoiled the-thoughts then true
 tam novae, tam sine pigmentis fucoque puerili, ut mihi
so new so without pigments and-paint childish that to-me
 non solum tu incendere iudicem, sed ipse ardere videaris.
not only you to-kindle the-judge but yourself to-burn you-may-seem
 Neque fieri potest ut doleat is, qui audit, ut
nor to-happen can that may-grieve he who hears that
 oderit, ut invidet, ut pertimescat aliquid, ut ad fletum
he-may-hate that he-may-envy that he-may-dread something that to weeping
 misericordiamque deducatur, nisi omnes illi motus, quos
and-pity he-may-be-brought unless all those emotions which
 orator adhibere volet iudici, in ipso oratore impressi
the-orator to-employ shall-wish for-the-judge in the-very the-orator stamped
 esse atque inusti videbuntur. Quod si fictus aliqui dolor
to-be and branded shall-seem which if feigned some grief
 suscipiendus esset et si in eius modi genere orationis
to-be-assumed were and if in of-that sort kind of-speech
 nihil esset nisi falsum atque imitatione simulatum, maior
nothing were except false and by-imitation counterfeited a-greater
 ars aliqua forsitan esset requirenda: nunc ego, quid tibi,
art some perhaps would-be to-be-sought now I what to-you
 Crasse, quid ceteris accidat, nescio; de me autem
Crassus what to-the-others happens I-do-not-know about myself however
 causa nulla est cur apud homines prudentissimos atque
a-cause none is why before men the-most-prudent and
 amicissimos mentiar: non me hercule umquam apud iudices
the-most-friendly I-should-lie not by Hercules ever before judges

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dolorem aut misericordiam aut invidiam aut odium dicendo
grief or pity or ill-will or hatred by-speaking
 excitare volui quin ipse in commovendis iudicibus eis
to-rouse I-have-wished but-that myself in stirring the-judges by-those
 ipsis sensibus, ad quos illos adducere vellem, permoverer;
very by-feelings to which them to-bring I-wished I-might-be-stirred
 190 neque est enim facile perficere ut irascatur ei, cui
nor is for easy to-bring-about that may-be-angry with-him with-whom
 tu velis, iudex, si tu ipse id lente ferre videre; neque
you may-wish the-judge if you yourself that calmly to-bear may-seem nor
 ut oderit eum, quem tu velis, nisi te ipsum flagrantem
that he-may-hate him whom you may-wish unless you yourself blazing
 odio ante viderit; neque ad misericordiam adducetur,
with-hatred before he-shall-have-seen nor to pity will-he-be-brought
 nisi tu ei signa doloris tui verbis, sentiis, voce, vultu,
unless you to-him the-signs of-grief your by-words by-thoughts by-voice by-face
 conlacrimatione denique ostenderis; ut enim nulla materies tam
by-weeping-together finally shall-have-shown as for no material so
 facilis ad exardescendum est, quae nisi admoto igni ignem
easy for taking-fire is which unless when-applied fire fire
 concipere possit, sic nulla mens est tam ad comprehendendam
to-catch may-be-able so no mind is so for grasping
 vim oratoris parata, quae possit incendi, nisi ipse
the-force of-the-orator ready which may-be-able to-be-kindled unless he-himself
 inflammatus ad eam et ardens accesserit.
inflamed to it and burning shall-have-approached

The feeling need not be feigned, for the matter moves the speaker more than anyone listening. An actor speaking Telamon's lines seemed to burn with them, and no good poet writes without something like frenzy. When Antonius had to save Aquilius he was taken by pity before he stirred it in anyone else, and tore open the old commander's tunic out of grief rather than art. Sulpicius, prosecuting Norbanus, had set that court ablaze himself.

Ac, ne hoc forte magnum ac mirabile esse videatur 191

and lest this by-chance great and wonderful to-be may-seem
hominem totiens irasci, totiens dolere, totiens omni
a-man so-often to-be-angry so-often to-grieve so-often with-every
motu animi concitari, praesertim in rebus alienis, magna
with-emotion of-mind to-be-stirred especially in matters another's a-great
vis est earum sententiarum atque eorum locorum, quos
force is of-those of-thoughts and of-those of-topics which
agas tractesque dicendo, nihil ut opus sit
you-may-plead and-may-handle by-speaking nothing so-that need there-is
simulatione et fallaciis; ipsa enim natura orationis eius, quae
of-pretense and of-tricks the-very for nature of-speech of-that which
suscipitur ad aliorum animos permovendos, oratorem ipsum
is-undertaken for of-others the-minds for-stirring the-orator himself
magis etiam quam quemquam eorum qui audiunt permovet.
more even than anyone of-those who hear stirs

Et ne hoc in causis, in iudiciis, in amicorum periculis, 192

and lest this in cases in trials in of-friends perils
in concursu hominum, in civitate, in foro accidere
in the-throng of-men in the-state in the-forum to-happen
miremur, cum agitur non solum ingeni nostri existimatio,
we-should-wonder when is-at-stake not only of-talent our the-repute
nam id esset levius; — quamquam, cum professus
for that would-be lighter although when having-professed

sis te id posse facere, quod pauci, ne id quidem
you-are yourself that to-be-able to-do which few not that even
 neglegendum est—; sed alia sunt maiora multo, fides,
to-be-neglected is but others are greater by-much good-faith
 officium, diligentia, quibus rebus adducti, etiam cum
duty diligence by-which by-things led even when
 alienissimos defendimus, tamen eos alienos, si ipsi viri boni
the-most-alien we-defend still them alien if ourselves men good
 193 volumus haberi, existimare non possumus — sed, ut dixi,
we-wish to-be-held to-think not we-can but as I-have-said
 ne hoc in nobis mirum esse videatur, quid potest esse tam
lest this in us wonderful to-be may-seem what can to-be so
 fictum quam versus, quam scaena, quam fabulae? Tamen in
feigned as a-verse as the-stage as plays still in
 hoc genere saepe ipse vidi, ut ex persona mihi ardere
this kind often myself I-have-seen that from the-mask to-me to-burn
 oculi hominis histrionis viderentur †spondalli illa dicentis:
the-eyes of-the-man of-the-actor seemed of-the-spondallus those saying

segregare abs te ausu's aut sine illo Salamina ingredi?
to-part from you you-dared or without him Salamis to-enter
 neque paternum aspectum es veritus?
nor the-paternal face have-you feared

Numquam illum aspectum dicebat, quin mihi Telamo
never that face he-was-saying but-that to-me Telamon
 iratus furere luctu fili videretur; at idem inflexa ad
angry to-rage with-grief of-a-son seemed but the-same when-bent to
 miserabilem sonum voce,
a-piteous sound with-voice

cum aetate exacta indigem

when with-age spent needy

liberum lacerasti, orbasti, exstinxti; neque fratris necis,
of-children you-mangled you-bereft you-quenched nor of-a-brother of-the-death
 neque eius gnati parvi, qui tibi in tutelam est traditus,
nor of-his of-son small who to-you into guardianship has-been banded

flens ac lugens dicere videbatur; quae si ille histrio,
weeping and mourning to-speak he-seemed which if he an-actor
 cotidie cum ageret, tamen agere sine dolore non poterat,
daily although he-played still to-play without grief not he-could
 quid Pacuvium putatis in scribendo leni animo ac
what Pacuvius do-you-think in writing with-a-calm with-mind and
 remisso fuisse?

relaxed to-have-been

Fieri nullo modo potuit. Saepe enim audiui poetam bonum 194

to-happen in-no way it-could often for I-have-heard a-poet good
 neminem — id quod a Democrito et Platone in scriptis
no-one that which by Democritus and by-Plato in writings
 relictum esse dicunt — sine inflammatione animorum
left to-have-been they-say without a-kindling of-minds

existere posse et sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris. Qua
to-arise to-be-able and without a-certain breath as-it-were of-frenzy for-which
 re nolite existimare me ipsum, qui non heroum veteres
reason do-not-wish to-suppose me myself who not of-heroes the-ancient

casus fictosque luctus velim imitari atque adumbrare
misfortunes and-feigned griefs may-wish to-imitate and to-sketch
 dicendo neque actor sim alienae personae, sed auctor meae,
by-speaking nor an-actor I-am of-another's of-a-part but the-author of-my-own
 cum mihi M'. Aquilius in civitate retinendus esset, quae
when for-me Manius Aquilius in the-state to-be-kept was what
 in illa causa peroranda fecerim, sine magno dolore fecisse:
in that case in-perorating I-did without great grief to-have-done
 quem enim ego consulem fuisse, imperatorem ornatum
whom for I a-consul to-have-been a-general honored
 a senatu, ovantem in Capitolium ascendisse meminissem,
by the-senate in-ovation into the-Capitol to-have-gone-up I-remembered
 hunc cum adflictum, debilitatum, maerentem, in summum
this-man when stricken broken mourning into the-utmost
 discrimen adductum viderem, non prius sum conatus
peril brought I-saw not sooner have-I tried
 misericordiam aliis commovere quam misericordia sum
pity in-others to-stir than by-pity have-I
 ipse captus. Sensi equidem tum magno opere moveri
myself been-seized I-felt for-my-part then in-a-great degree to-be-moved
 iudices, cum excitavi maestum ac sordidatum senem et
the-judges when I-raised-up the-sad and mean-clad old-man and
 cum ista feci, quae tu, Crasse, laudas, non arte, de qua
when those I-did which you Crassus praise not by-art about which
 quid loquar nescio, sed motu magno animi ac dolore,
what I-may-say I-know-not but by-a-stirring by-a-great of-mind and by-grief
 ut discinderem tunicam, ut cicatrices ostenderem.
that I-tore the-tunic that the-scars I-showed

Cum C. Marius maerorem orationis meae praesens ac
when Gaius Marius the-sorrow of-the-speech my present and
 sedens multum lacrimis suis adiuvaret cumque ego illum
sitting much by-tears his-own supported and-when I him

crebro appellans conlegam ei suum commendarem atque
 repeatedly calling colleague to-him his-own I-commended and
 ipsum advocatum ad communem imperatorum fortunam
 himself as-supporter to the-common of-generals fortune
 defendendam invocarem, non fuit haec sine meis lacrimis,
 to-be-defended I-called not was this without my tears
 non sine dolore miseratio omniumque deorum et hominum
 not without grief the-lament and-of-all of-gods and of-men
 et civium et sociorum imploratio; quibus omnibus verbis,
 and of-citizens and of-allies the-imploing from-which from-all from-words
 quae a me tum sunt habita, si dolor afuisset meus,
 which by me then have-been employed if grief had-been-absent my
 non modo non miserabilis, sed etiam inridenda fuisset
 not only not pitiable but even to-be-laughed-at would-have-been
 oratio mea. Quam ob rem hoc vos doceo, Sulpici,
 the-speech my which on-account-of thing this you I-teach Sulpicius
 bonus ego videlicet atque eruditus magister, ut in dicendo
 a-good I of-course and learned master that in speaking
 irasci, ut dolere, ut flere possitis.

to-be-angry that to-grieve that to-weep you-may-be-able

Quamquam te quidem quid hoc doceam, qui in accusando 197
 although you indeed why this should-I-teach who in accusing
 sodali meo tantum incendium non oratione solum, sed etiam
 comrade my so-great a-blaze not by-speech only but even
 multo magis vi et dolore et ardore animi concitatas,
 much more by-force and by-grief and by-the-ardor of-mind you-had-kindled
 ut ego ad id restinguendum vix conarer accedere? Habueras
 that I for that to-be-quenched scarcely I-tried to-approach you-had-had
 enim tu omnia in causa superiora: vim, fugam, lapidationem,
 for you all-(things) in the-case superior violence flight stone-throwing
 crudelitatem tribuniciam in Caepionis gravi miserabilique
 cruelty tribunician in of-Caepio the-grave and-piteous

casu in iudicium vocabas; deinde principem et senatus et
fall into judgment you-were-calling then the-chief both of-the-senate and
 civitatis, M. Aemilium, lapide percutsum esse constabat;
of-the-state Marcus Aemilius by-a-stone struck to-have-been it-was-agreed
 vi pulsum e templo L. Cottam et T. Didium,
by-force driven from the-temple Lucius Cotta and Titus Didius
 cum intercedere vellent rogationi, nemo poterat negare.
when to-interpose they-wished to-the-bill no-one could to-deny
 198 Accedebat ut haec tu adulescens pro re publica
it-was-being-added that these you a-young-man for the-thing public
 queri summa cum dignitate existimare; ego, homo
to-complain with-the-highest with dignity were-thought I a-man
 censorius, vix satis honeste viderer seditiosum civem
of-censorial-rank scarcely enough honorably seemed a-seditious citizen
 et in hominis consularis calamitate crudelem posse
and in of-a-man of-consular-rank the-ruin cruel to-be-able
 defendere. Erant optimi cives iudices, bonorum virorum
to-defend they-were the-best citizens the-judges of-good of-men
 plenum forum, vix ut mihi tenuis quaedam venia
full the-forum scarcely so-that to-me a-slight a-certain indulgence
 daretur excusationis, quod tamen eum defenderem, qui
was-given of-excuse because still him I-was-defending who
 mihi quaestor fuisset. Hic ego quid dicam me artem
to-me quaestor had-been here I why am-I-to-say myself an-art
 aliquam adhibuisse? Quid fecerim, narrabo; si placuerit,
some to-have-employed what I-did I-shall-relate if it-shall-have-pleased
 vos meam defensionem in aliquo artis loco reponetis.
you my defense in some of-art place will-set

Defending Norbanus, Antonius surveyed every kind of sedition in Rome's history and argued that some had been just and nearly necessary, then turned the speech against Caepio's flight and the loss of his army, reopening the knights' old grievance. Holding the court at last, he mixed in the gentler manner, pleading for his quaestor and his own name, and touched the point of law in passing. Sulpicius admits the case slipped from his own hands.

Omnium seditionum genera, vitia, pericula conlegi eamque 199
of-all of-seditions the-kinds the-faults the-dangers I-collected and-that
orationem ex omni rei publicae nostrae temporum
speech from every of-the-thing public of-our of-times
varietate repetivi conclusique ita, ut dicerem, etsi omnes
from-the-variety I-fetched and-I-closed so that I-said although all
semper molestae seditiones fuissent, iustas tamen fuisse
always troublesome seditions had-been just still to-have-been
non nullas et prope necessarias. Tum illa, quae modo
not none and almost necessary then those which just-now
Crassus commemorabat, egi: neque reges ex hac civitate
Crassus was-recalling I-pleaded neither kings from this state
exigi neque tribunos plebis creari neque plebiscitis
to-be-driven nor tribunes of-the-plebs to-be-created nor by-plebiscites
totiens consularem potestatem minui neque provocationem,
so-often the-consular power to-be-lessened nor the-right-of-appeal
patronam illam civitatis ac vindicem libertatis, populo
patroness that of-the-state and vindicator of-liberty to-the-people
Romano dari sine nobilium dissensione potuisse; ac,
Roman to-be-given without of-the-nobles dissension to-have-been-able and
si illae seditiones saluti huic civitati fuissent, non continuo,
if those seditions for-safety to-this to-state had-been not at-once
si quis motus populi factus esset, id C. Norbano
if any stirring of-the-people made had-been that for-Gaius Norbanus

in nefario crimine atque in fraude capitali esse ponendum.

in a-wicked charge and in a-crime capital to-be to-be-placed

Quod si umquam populo Romano concessum esset ut

which if ever to-the-people Roman granted had-been that

iure incitatus videretur, id quod docebam saepe esse

rightly roused it-seemed that which I-was-showing often to-have-been

concessum, nullam illa causa iustiore fuisse. Tum

granted none than-that case juster to-have-been then

omnem orationem traduxi et converti in increpandam

the-whole speech I-carried-across and I-turned to reproaching

Caepionis fugam, in deplorandum interitum exercitus: sic et

of-Caepio the-flight to lamenting the-destruction of-the-army so both

eorum dolorem, qui lugebant suos, oratione refricabam

of-those the-grief who were-mourning their-own by-speech I-was-chafing-again

et animos equitum Romanorum, apud quos tum iudices

and the-minds of-the-knights Roman before whom then as-judges

causa agebatur, ad Q. Caepionis odium, a quo

the-case was-being-pleaded to of-Quintus of-Caepio the-hatred from whom

erant ipsi propter iudicia abalienati, renovabam.

they-were themselves on-account-of the-courts alienated I-was-renewing

200 Quod ubi sensi me in possessionem iudici ac defensionis

which when I-felt myself into possession of-the-trial and of-the-defense

meae constitisse, quod et populi benevolentiam mihi

my to-have-taken-my-stand because both of-the-people the-goodwill for-myself

conciliaram, cuius ius etiam cum seditionis coniunctione

I-had-won of-which the-right even with of-sedition the-joining

defenderam, et iudicum animos totos vel calamitate

I-had-defended and of-the-judges the-minds whole either by-the-disaster

civitatis vel luctu ac desiderio propinquorum vel odio

of-the-state or by-the-grief and by-the-longing of-kinsmen or by-hatred

proprio in Caepionem ad causam nostram converteram,

personal against Caepio to the-case our I-had-turned

tum admiscere huic generi orationis vehementi atque
then to-mingle with-this with-the-kind of-speech vehement and
 atroci genus illud alterum, de quo ante disputavi, lenitatis
fierce the-kind that other about which before I-have-argued of-gentleness
 et mansuetudinis coepi: me pro meo sodali, qui mihi in
and of-mildness I-began myself for my comrade who to-me in
 liberum loco more maiorum esse deberet, et pro
of-children the-place by-the-custom of-(our)-forefathers to-be ought and for
 mea omni fama prope fortunisque decernere; nihil mihi
my whole reputation almost and-for-my-fortunes to-contend nothing for-me
 ad existimationem turpius, nihil ad dolorem acerbius
for repute more-shameful nothing for grief more-bitter
 accidere posse, quam si is, qui saepe alienissimis a
to-happen to-be-able than if he who often to-the-most-alien from
 me, sed meis tamen civibus saluti existimarer fuisse,
me but to-my still to-citizens for-safety I-was-thought to-have-been
 sodali meo auxilium ferre non potuissem.
to-a-comrade to-my aid to-bring not I-had-been-able
 Petebam a iudicibus ut illud aetati meae, ut honoribus, 201
I-was-asking from the-judges that that to-age my that to-honors
 ut rebus gestis, si iusto, si pio dolore me esse
that to-deeds done if with-just if with-dutiful with-grief me to-be
 adfectum viderent, concederent; praesertim si in aliis causis
affected they-saw they-should-grant especially if in other cases
 intellexissent omnia me semper pro amicorum periculis,
they-had-perceived all-(things) me always for of-friends the-perils
 nihil umquam pro me ipso deprecatum. Sic in illa
nothing ever for me myself to-have-begged so in that
 omni defensione atque causa, quod esse in arte positum
whole defense and in-case which to-be in art placed
 videbatur, ut de lege Appuleia dicerem, ut quid esset
seemed that about the-law Appuleian I-should-speak that what it-was

minuere maiestatem explicarem, perquam breviter perstrinxi

to-diminish majesty I-should-explain exceedingly briefly I-grazed

atque attigi; his duabus partibus orationis, quarum altera

and I-touched by-these by-two by-parts of-speech of-which the-one

commendationem habet, altera concitationem, quae minime

commendation has the-other rousing which least

praeceptis artium sunt perpolitae, omnis est a me illa causa

by-the-precepts of-the-arts are polished whole was by me that case

tractata, ut et acerrimus in Caepionis invidia renovanda

handled that both the-keenest in of-Caepio the-odium in-renewing

et in meis moribus erga meos necesarios declarandis

and in my character toward my connections in-declaring

mansuetissimus viderer: ita magis adfectis animis iudicum

the-gentlest I-might-seem so more when-affected the-minds of-the-judges

quam doctis, tua, Sulpici, est a nobis tum accusatio victa.’

than when-taught your Sulpicius was by us then accusation conquered

202 Hic Sulpicius, ‘vere hercle,’ inquit ‘Antoni, ista commemoras;

here Sulpicius truly by-Hercules he-said Antonius those you-recall

nam ego nihil umquam vidi, quod tam e manibus

for I nothing ever have-seen which so from the-hands

elaberetur, quam mihi tum est elapsa illa ipsa causa.

slipped-away as for-me then has slipped-away that very case

Cum enim, quem ad modum dixisti, tibi ego non

when for in-what to way you-have-said to-you I not

iudicium, sed incendium tradidissem, quod tuum principium,

a-trial but a-conflagration had-handed-over what your opening

di immortales, fuit! qui timor! quae dubitatio, quanta

gods immortal was what fear what hesitation how-great

haesitatio tractusque verborum! Ut tu illud initio,

faltering and-the-dragging of-words how you that at-the-beginning

quod tibi unum ad ignoscendum homines dabant, tenuisti,

which to-you alone for pardoning men gave you-held

te pro homine pernecessario, quaestore tuo, dicere! Quam
yourself for a-man most-closely-bound the-quaestor your to-speak what-a
 tibi primum munisti ad te audiendum viam.

for-yourself first you-fortified for yourself to-be-heard road

Ecce autem, cum te nihil aliud profecisse arbitrarer, nisi 203

behold however when you nothing else to-have-gained I-thought except

ut homines tibi civem improbum defendenti ignoscendum

that men to-you a-citizen wicked defending to-be-pardoned

propter necessitudinem arbitrantur, serpere occulte

on-account-of the-connection should-think to-creep secretly

coepisti, nihil dum aliis suspicantibus, me vero iam

you-began nothing as-yet by-others suspecting by-me indeed now

pertimescente, ut illam non Norbani seditionem, sed

greatly-fearing that that not of-Norbanus a-sedition but

populi Romani iracundiam neque eam iniustam, sed

of-the-people Roman the-anger nor it unjust but

meritam ac debitam fuisse defenderes. Deinde qui

deserved and owed to-have-been you-might-argue then what

locus a te praetermissus est in Caepionem? Ut tu illa

topic by you passed-over was against Caepio how you those

omnia odio, invidia, misericordia miscuisti! Neque haec

all-(things) with-hatred with-odium with-pity mixed nor these

solum in defensione, sed etiam in Scauro ceterisque meis

only in the-defense but even in Scaurus and-in-the-other my

testibus, quorum testimonia non refellendo, sed ad eundem

in-witnesses whose testimonies not by-refuting but to the-same

impetum populi confugiendo refutasti;

onset of-the-people by-taking-refuge you-refuted

- 204 quae cum abs te modo commemorarentur, equidem nulla
which when by you just-now were-recalled for-my-part no
 praecepta desiderabam; ipsam tamen istam demonstrationem
precepts I-was-missing the-very still that showing
 defensionum tuarum doctrinam esse non mediocrem puto.
of-defenses your learning to-be not middling I-think
 ‘Atqui, si ita placet,’ inquit ‘trademus etiam, quae nos
and-yet if so it-pleases he-said we-shall-hand-on even what we
 sequi in dicendo quaeque maxime spectare solemus; docuit
to-follow in speaking and-what chiefly to-regard we-are-wont has-taught
 enim iam nos longa vita ususque rerum maximarum,
for now us a-long life and-the-experience of-matters of-the-greatest
 ut quibus rebus animi hominum moverentur teneremus.
that by-what by-things the-minds of-men were-moved we-should-hold

II.27 · LOVE, HATRED, ENVY, PITY

Antonius asks first whether the case will bear such fire, since tragedy over trifles earns ridicule. Love is won by defending what is useful to the bearers and by showing that the client sought nothing for himself; hatred and anger come by the opposite road. Envy, the fiercest of all, is calmed by showing the fortune bought with labor and mixed with misery. Pity moves the hearer who sees his own case in another's; each manner must borrow from the other.

- 205 Equidem primum considerare soleo, postuletne causa;
for-my-part first to-consider I-am-wont whether-it-demands the-case
 nam neque parvis in rebus adhibendae sunt hae dicendi faces
for neither in-small in matters to-be-applied are these of-speaking torches
 neque ita animatis hominibus, ut nihil ad eorum mentis
nor so disposed to-men that nothing for their minds
 oratione flectendas proficere possimus, ne aut inrisione aut
by-speech for-bending to-accomplish we-can lest either of-derision or

odio digni putemur, si aut tragoedias agamus in nugis
of-hatred worthy we-be-thought if either tragedies we-play in trifles
 aut convellere adoriamur ea, quae non possint commoveri.
or to-tear-up we-attempt those which not can to-be-moved
 Iam quoniam haec fere maxime sunt in iudicium animis aut, 206
now since these generally chiefly are in of-the-judges the-minds or
 quicumque illi erunt, apud quos agemus, oratione molienda,
whoever they shall-be before whom we-shall-plead by-speech to-be-worked
 amor odium iracundia, invidia misericordia, spes laetitia, timor
love hatred anger ill-will pity hope gladness fear
 molestia: sentimus amorem conciliari, si id iure videamur,
vexation we-perceive love to-be-won if that rightly we-seem
 quod sit utile ipsis, apud quos agamus, defendere,
which is useful for-them-themselves before whom we-plead to-defend
 aut si pro bonis viris aut certe pro eis, qui illis boni atque
or if for good men or at-least for those who to-them good and
 utiles sint, laborare, namque haec res amorem magis conciliat,
useful are to-labor for-indeed this thing love more wins
 illa virtutis defensio caritatem; plusque proficit, si proponitur
that of-virtue the-defense affection and-more accomplishes if is-set-forth
 spes utilitatis futurae quam praeteriti benefici commemoratio.
the-hope of-advantage future than of-a-past of-benefit the-recalling
 Enitendum est ut ostendas in ea re, quam defendas, 207
to-be-striven it-is that you-may-show in that thing which you-defend
 aut dignitatem esse aut utilitatem, eumque, cui
either worth to-be or usefulness and-him for-whom
 concilies hunc amorem, significes nihil ad utilitatem
you-win this love you-may-signify nothing to advantage
 suam rettulisse ac nihil omnino fecisse causa sua;
his-own to-have-referred and nothing at-all to-have-done for-the-sake his-own

invidetur enim commodis hominum ipsorum, studiis
is-envied for the-gains of-men themselves the-endeavors

autem eorum ceteris commodandi favetur.

however of-those to-the-others of-obliging is-favored

208 Videndumque hoc loco est ne, quos ob benefacta

and-to-be-watched at-this at-point is lest whom on-account-of good-deeds

diligi volumus, eorum laudem atque gloriam, cui maxime

to-be-loved we-shall-wish of-them the-praise and the-glory to-which chiefly

invideri solet, nimis efferre videamur; atque eisdem

to-be-envied is-wont too-much to-exalt we-may-seem and from-the-same

his ex locis et in alios odium struere discemus et

from-these from topics both against others hatred to-build we-shall-learn and

a nobis ac nostris demovere; eademque haec genera sunt

from us and from-ours to-remove and-the-same these kinds are

tractanda in iracundia vel excitanda vel sedanda; nam si,

to-be-handled in anger either in-rousing or in-calming for if

quod ipsis, qui audiunt, perniciosum aut inutile sit,

which for-them-themselves who hear ruinous or useless is

id factum augeas, odium creatur; sin, quod aut in

that deed you-magnify hatred is-created but-if which either against

bonos viros aut in eos, quos minime quisque debuerit, aut

good men or against those whom least each ought or

in rem publicam, tum excitatur, si non tam acerbum

against the-thing public then is-roused if not so bitter

odium, tamen aut invidiae aut odi non dissimilis offensio;

hatred still either of-ill-will or of-hatred not unlike an-offense

209 item timor incutitur aut ex ipsorum periculis aut ex

likewise fear is-struck-in either from of-themselves the-perils or from

communibus: interior est ille proprius; sed hic quoque

common inward is that private but this also

communis ad eandem similitudinem est perducendus. Par

common to the-same likeness is to-be-brought equal

atque una ratio est spei, laetitiae, molestiae; sed haud
and one the-method is of-hope of-gladness of-vexation but hardly
 sciam an acerrimus longe sit omnium motus
I-may-know whether the-keenest far may-be of-all the-emotion
 invidiae nec minus virium opus sit in ea comprimenda
of-ill-will nor less of-strength need may-be in it in-checking
 quam in excitanda. Invident autem homines maxime paribus
than in rousing they-envy however men chiefly equals
 aut inferioribus, cum se relictos sentiunt, illos autem
or inferiors when themselves left-behind they-feel those however
 dolent evolasse; sed etiam superioribus invidetur saepe
they-grieve to-have-flown-out but even superiors is-envied often
 vehementer et eo magis, si intolerantius se iactant
strongly and by-that more if too-intolerably themselves they-vaunt
 et aequabilitatem communis iuris praestantia dignitatis
and the-evenness of-common of-right by-the-preeminence of-rank
 aut fortunae suae transeunt; quae si inflammanda sunt,
or of-fortune of-their-own they-overstep which if to-be-inflamed are
 maxime dicendum est non esse virtute parata, deinde
chiefly to-be-said it-is not to-be by-virtue gained then
 etiam vitiis atque peccatis, tum, si erunt honestiora
even by-vices and by-crimes then if they-shall-be more-honorable
 atque graviora, tamen non esse tanta illa merita, quantum
and weightier still not to-be so-great those deserts as-great-as
 insolentiam hominis quantumque fastidium;
the-insolence of-the-man and-as-great-as the-disdain
 ad sedandum autem, magno illa labore, magnis periculis esse
for calming however by-great those by-toil by-great by-perils to-be
 parta nec ad suum commodum, sed ad aliorum esse conlata;
gained and-not to his-own advantage but to of-others to-be brought
 eumque, si quam gloriam peperisse videatur, tamen etsi ea
and-him if any glory to-have-won he-seems still although it

non sit iniqua merces periculi, tamen ea non delectari
not may-be an-unfair wage of-peril still by-it not to-be-delighted
 totamque abicere atque deponere; omninoque perficiendum est,
and-the-whole to-cast-off and to-lay-aside and-altogether to-be-accomplished it-is
 quoniam plerique sunt invidi maximeque hoc est commune
since most are envious and-chiefly this is a-common
 vitium et perpetuum, invidetur autem praestanti florentique
fault and perpetual is-envied however to-outstanding and-flourishing
 fortunae, ut haec opinio minuatur et illa excellens opinione
to-fortune that this repute may-be-lessened and that surpassing in-repute
 fortuna cum laboribus et miseriis permixta videatur.
fortune with toils and with-miseries mingled may-seem

- 211 Iam misericordia movetur, si is, qui audit, adduci potest
now pity is-stirred if he who hears to-be-brought can
 ut illa, quae de altero deplorentur, ad suas res revocet,
that those which about another are-lamented to his-own affairs he-may-recall
 quas aut tulerit acerbas aut timeat, ut intuens alium
which either he-has-borne bitter or he-fears that gazing-at another
 crebro ad se ipsum revertatur; et cum singuli casus
repeatedly to him himself he-may-return and while single misfortunes
 humanarum miseriarum graviter accipiuntur, si dicuntur
of-human of-miseries gravely are-received if they-are-told
 dolenter, tum adflicta et prostrata virtus maxime luctuosa est.
feelingly then stricken and prostrate virtue chiefly mournful is
 Et ut illa altera pars orationis, quae probitatis commendatione
and as that other part of-speech which of-uprightness by-the-commendation
 boni viri debet speciem tueri, lenis, ut saepe iam
of-a-good of-man ought the-appearance to-guard gentle as often now
 dixi, atque summissa, sic haec, quae suscipitur ab oratore
I-have-said and subdued so this which is-undertaken by the-orator

ad commutandos animos atque omni ratione flectendos,
for changing minds and by-every by-means for-bending
 intenta ac vehemens esse debet.

strained and vehement to-be ought

Sed est quaedam in his duobus generibus, quorum 212

but there-is a-certain in these two kinds of-which

alterum lene, alterum vehemens esse volumus, difficilis ad

the-one gentle the-other vehement to-be we-wish difficult for

distinguendum similitudo; nam et ex illa lenitate, qua

distinguishing likeness for both from that gentleness by-which

conciliamur eis, qui audiunt, ad hanc vim acerrimam, qua

we-are-won to-those who hear to this force the-keenest by-which

eosdem excitamus, influat oportet aliquid, et ex hac vi

the-same we-rouse should-flow-in it-behooves something and from this force

non numquam animi aliquid inflandum est illi lenitati;

not never of-spirit something to-be-breathed is into-that into-gentleness

neque est ulla temperatior oratio quam illa, in qua asperitas

nor is any better-tempered speech than that in which the-barshness

contentionis oratoris ipsius humanitate conditur, remissio

of-the-struggle of-the-orator of-himself by-humanity is-seasoned the-slackening

autem lenitatis quadam gravitate et contentione firmatur.

however of-gentleness by-a-certain by-weight and by-effort is-strengthened

In utroque autem genere dicendi et illo, in quo vis 213

in each however kind of-speaking both in-that in which force

atque contentio quaeritur, et hoc, quod ad vitam et

and effort is-sought and in-this which to life and

mores accommodatur, et principia tarda et exitus item

character is-fitted both the-beginnings slow and the-endings likewise

spissi et producti esse debent. Nam neque adsiliendum

slow and drawn-out to-be ought for neither to-be-leapt

statim est ad genus illud orationis; abest enim totum

at-once it-is to kind that of-speech is-away for wholly

a causa et homines prius ipsum illud, quod proprium
 from the-case and men first the-very that which proper
 sui iudici est, audire desiderant; nec cum in eam
 of-their-own of-judgment is to-hear desire nor when into that
 rationem ingressus sis, celeriter discedendum est;
 method entered you-have quickly to-be-departed it-is

II.28 · WHETHER WIT CAN BE TAUGHT

Feeling, unlike an argument, does not take hold at the first stroke; it wants a full, sustained speech, so a short or a quiet speaker may instruct and can never move. One passion is dislodged by its opposite. Antonius hands wit to Caesar, who found the Greek books on the laughable so saltless that only their saltlessness raises a laugh, and doubts it can be taught; Crassus excels in both its kinds. Ennius said a wise man could sooner smother a flame in his mouth than keep in a good saying.

214 non enim, sicut argumentum, simul atque positum est,
 not for just-as an-argument as-soon as put it-is
 adripitur alterumque et tertium poscitur, ita misericordiam
 is-seized and-a-second and a-third is-demanded so pity
 aut invidiam aut iracundiam, simul atque intuleris,
 or ill-will or anger as-soon as you-shall-have-brought-in
 possis commovere: argumentum ratio ipsa confirmat idque,
 you-can to-stir an-argument the-reason itself confirms and-that
 simul atque emissum est, adhaerescit; illud autem genus
 as-soon as sent-out it-is sticks that however kind
 orationis non cognitionem iudicis, sed magis perturbationem
 of-speech not the-understanding of-the-judge but rather the-agitation
 requirit, quam consequi nisi multa et varia et copiosa
 requires which to-attain unless by-much and varied and copious
 oratione et simili contentione actionis nemo potest;
 by-speech and by-a-like by-effort of-delivery no-one can

qua re qui aut breviter aut summisce dicunt, docere 215
for-which reason who either briefly or subduedly speak to-teach
 iudicem possunt, commovere non possunt; in quo sunt
the-judge can to-stir not they-can in which are
 omnia.

all-(things)

Iam illud perspicuum est, omnium rerum in contrarias
now that plain is of-all of-things into opposite
 partis facultatem ex eisdem suppeditari locis. Sed argumento
sides the-capacity from the-same to-be-supplied topics but to-an-argument
 resistendum est aut eis, quae comprobandi eius causa
to-be-resisted it-is either those which of-proving of-it for-the-sake
 sumuntur, reprehendendis aut demonstrando, id, quod
are-taken by-refuting or by-showing that which
 concludere illi velint, non effici ex propositis nec
to-conclude they may-wish not to-be-effected from the-premises nor
 esse consequens, aut, si ita non refellas, adferendum est in
to-be consequent or if so not you-refute to-be-brought it-is on
 contrariam partem, quod sit aut gravius aut aequae grave.
the-opposite side what may-be either weightier or equally weighty

Illa autem, quae aut conciliationis causa leniter aut 216
those however which either of-conciliation for-the-sake gently or
 permotionis vehementer aguntur, contrariis commotionibus
of-stirring vehemently are-handled by-opposite by-emotions
 auferenda sunt, ut odio benevolentia, ut misericordia
to-be-removed are that by-hatred goodwill that by-pity
 invidia tollatur.

ill-will may-be-taken-away

Suavis autem est et vehementer saepe utilis iocus et
pleasant however is and strongly often useful a-jest and
 facetiae; quae, etiam si alia omnia tradi arte possunt,
wit which even if other all-(things) to-be-handed-on by-art can

naturae sunt propria certe neque ullam artem desiderant:
of-nature are proper certainly nor any art require

in quibus tu longe aliis mea sententia, Caesar, excellis;
in which you far than-others in-my in-judgment Caesar excel

quo magis mihi etiam aut testis esse potes nullam esse
whereby more to-me even either a-witness to-be you-can no to-be
 artem salis aut, si qua est, eam tu potissimum nos docere.'

an-art of-salt or if any there-is it you most-of-all us to-teach

217 'Ego vero,' inquit 'omni de re facilius puto esse ab

I indeed he-said about-every about matter more-easily I-think to-be by

homine non inurbano, quam de ipsis facetiis disputari.

a-man not unpolished than about the-very witticisms to-be-argued

Itaque cum quosdam Graecos inscriptos libros esse vidissem

and-so when certain Greek entitled books to-be I-had-seen

de ridiculis, non nullam in spem veneram posse

about laughable-(things) not none into hope I-had-come to-be-able

me ex eis aliquid discere; inveni autem ridicula et

me from them something to-learn I-found however laughable-(things) and

salsa multa Graecorum; nam et Siculi in eo genere

salty many of-the-Greeks for both the-Sicilians in that kind

et Rhodii et Byzantii et praeter ceteros Attici

and the-Rhodians and the-Byzantines and beyond the-rest the-Attic-men

excellunt; sed qui eius rei rationem quandam conati

excel but those-who of-that of-thing a-method a-certain having-tried

sunt artemque tradere, sic insulsi exstiterunt, ut nihil

they-are and-an-art to-hand-on so saltless have-turned-out that nothing

aliud eorum nisi ipsa insulsitas rideatur;

else of-them except the-very saltlessness may-be-laughed-at

218 qua re mihi quidem nullo modo videtur doctrina ista res

for-which reason to-me indeed in-no way it-seems by-learning that thing

posse tradi. Etenim cum duo genera sint facietiarum,

to-be-able to-be-handed-on for-indeed since two kinds there-are of-witticisms

alterum aequabiliter in omni sermone fusum, alterum
the-one evenly through every discourse spread the-other
 peracutum et breve, illa a veteribus superior cavillatio, haec
very-sharp and brief that by the-ancients the-earlier banter this
 altera dicacitas nominata est. Leve nomen habet utraque
the-other raillery named has-been light a-name has each
 res. Quippe; leve enim est totum hoc risum movere.

thing indeed light for is the-whole this laughter to-stir
 Verum tamen, ut dicis, Antoni, multum in causis persaepe 219
but still as you-say Antonius much in cases very-often
 lepore et facetiis profici vidi. Sed cum illo in
by-charm and by-witticisms to-be-gained I-have-seen but although in-that in
 genere perpetuae festivitatis ars non desideretur (natura
kind of-continuous of-pleasantry art not is-required nature
 enim fingit homines et creat imitatores et narratores
for fashions men and creates imitators and narrators
 facetos adiuvante et vultu et voce et ipso genere
witty helping both the-face and the-voice and the-very kind
 sermonis) tum vero in hoc altero dicacitatis quid habet
of-discourse then indeed in this the-other of-raillery what has
 ars loci, cum ante illud facete dictum emissum haerere
art of-room since before that wittily the-saying when-uttered to-stick
 debeat, quam cogitari potuisse videatur?

ought than to-be-thought to-have-been-able it-may-seem
 Quid enim hic meus frater ab arte adiuvari potuit, cum 220
what for this my brother by art to-be-helped could when
 a Philippo interrogatus quid latraret, furem se videre
by Philippus asked why he-barked a-thief himself to-see
 respondit? Quid in omni oratione Crassus vel apud centum
he-answered what in every speech Crassus either before the-hundred
 viros contra Scaevolam vel contra accusatorem Brutum, cum
men against Scaevola or against the-accuser Brutus when

pro Cn. Plancio diceret? Nam id, quod tu mihi tribuis,
for Gnaeus Plancius he-was-speaking for that which you to-me assign
 Antoni, Crasso est omnium sententia concedendum; non
Antonius to-Crassus is of-all by-the-judgment to-be-granted not
 enim fere quisquam reperietur praeter hunc in utroque
for generally anyone will-be-found besides this-man in each
 genere leporis excellens: et illo, quod in perpetuitate
kind of-cbarm excelling and in-that which in the-continuity
 sermonis, et hoc, quod in celeritate atque dicto est.
of-discourse and in-this which in quickness and in-a-saying is

221 Nam haec perpetua contra Scaevolam Curiana defensio
for this continuous against Scaevola Curian defense
 tota redundavit hilaritate quadam et ioco; dicta illa
wholly overflowed with-merriment with-a-certain and with-jest sayings those
 brevia non habuit; parcebat enim adversari dignitati,
brief not it-had he-was-sparing for of-the-adversary the-dignity
 in quo ipse conservabat suam; quod est hominibus facetis
in which himself he-was-preserving his-own which is for-men witty
 et dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem et
and given-to-raillery the-hardest to-have of-men account and
 temporum et ea, quae occurrunt, cum salsissime dici
of-times and those which occur when most-saltily to-be-said
 possunt, tenere; itaque non nulli ridiculi homines hoc
they-can to-hold-back and-so not none droll men this
 ipsum non insulse interpretantur;
very-(thing) not without-salt interpret

222 dicere enim aiunt Ennium, flammam a sapiente facilius
to-say for they-say Ennius a-flame by a-wise-man more-easily
 ore in ardente opprimi, quam bona dicta teneat;
in-the-mouth in burning to-be-smothered than good sayings he-may-hold
 haec scilicet bona dicta, quae salsa sint; nam ea dicta
these of-course good sayings which salty are for those sayings

appellantur proprio iam nomine. Sed ut in Scaevola
are-called by-a-proper now by-name but as in Scaevola
 continuit ea Crassus atque in illo altero genere, in
restrained them Crassus and in that other kind in
 quo nulli aculei contumeliarum inerant, causam illam
which no stings of-insults were-in the-case that
 disputationemque elusit, sic in Bruto, quem oderat et
and-the-argument he-made-sport-of so in Brutus whom he-hated and
 quem dignum contumelia iudicabat, utroque genere pugnavit.
whom worthy of-insult he-judged with-each with-kind he-fought

II.29 · CRASSUS AGAINST BRUTUS

Caesar recalls how Brutus had two readers set Crassus' speeches against each other. Crassus joked about the bath-house Brutus had sold and his wasted patrimony, and had old Brutus' three books of law read out, each opening at another country house, to show the estates gone. Then, as Junia's funeral passed, he turned tragic and asked what Brutus could tell the ancestors whose masks were going by.

Quam multa de balneis, quas nuper ille vendiderat, 223
how many-things about the-baths which lately he had-sold
 quam multa de amisso patrimonio dixit! Atque illa
how many-things about the-lost patrimony he-said and those
 brevia, cum ille diceret se sine causa sudare, “minime”
brief when he said himself without cause to-sweat by-no-means
 inquit “modo enim existi de balneis.” Innumerabilia
he-said just-now for you-have-come-out from the-baths countless
 alia fuerunt, sed non minus iucunda illa perpetua: cum
others there-were but not less delightful those continuous when
 enim Brutus duo lectores excitasset et alteri de colonia
for Brutus two readers had-called-up and to-the-one about the-colony

Narbonensi Crassi orationem legendam dedisset, alteri

Narbonese of-Crassus the-speech to-be-read had-given to-the-other

de lege Servilia, et cum contraria inter sese de re

about the-law Servilian and when contrary among themselves about the-thing

publica capita contulisset, noster hic facetissime tris

public passages he-had-brought-together our this-man most-wittily three

patris Bruti de iure civili libellos tribus legendos dedit.

of-the-father of-Brutus about law civil little-books to-three to-be-read gave

224 Ex libro primo: "forte evenit ut in Privernati

from the-book the-first by-chance it-happened that in the-Privernate-(estate)

essemus." "Brute, testificatur pater se tibi Privernatem

we-were Brutus testifies the-father himself to-you the-Privernate

fundum reliquisse." Deinde ex libro secundo: "in Albano

estate to-have-left then from the-book the-second in the-Alban-(estate)

eramur ego et Marcus filius." "Sapiens videlicet homo cum

we-were I and Marcus the-son wise of-course a-man among

primis nostrae civitatis norat hunc gurgitem; metuebat ne,

the-first of-our of-state he-knew this whirlpool he-feared lest

cum is nihil haberet, nihil esse ei relictum putaretur."

when he nothing had nothing to-be to-him left it-should-be-thought

Tum ex libro tertio, in quo finem scribendi fecit —

then from the-book the-third in which an-end of-writing he-made

tot enim, ut audiavi Scaevolam dicere, sunt veri Bruti

so-many for as I-have-heard Scaevola to-say are genuine of-Brutus

libri — "in Tiburti forte adsedimus ego et Marcus

the-books in the-Tiburtine-(estate) by-chance we-sat I and Marcus

filius." "Ubi sunt hi fundi, Brute, quos tibi pater publicis

the-son where are these estates Brutus which to-you the-father in-public

commentariis consignatos reliquit? Quod nisi puberem te,

in-records recorded left which unless of-age you

inquit, iam haberet, quartum librum composuisset et
he-said now he-had a-fourth book he-would-have-composed and
 se etiam in balneis lotum cum filio scriptum reliquisset.”
himself even in the-baths bathed with the-son written he-would-have-left
 Quis est igitur qui non fateatur hoc lepore atque his 225
who is therefore who not may-admit by-this by-charm and by-these
 facetiis non minus refutatum esse Brutum quam illis
by-witticisms not less refuted to-be Brutus than by-those
 tragoediis, quas egit idem, cum casu in eadem causa
by-tragedies which he-played the-same when by-chance in the-same case
 efferretur anus Iunia. Pro di immortales, quae
was-being-carried-out the-old-woman Junia O the-gods immortal what
 fuit illa, quanta vis! quam inexpectata! quam repentina! cum
was that how-great force how unexpected how sudden when
 coniectis oculis, gestu omni ei imminenti, summa
with-fixed with-eyes with-gesture with-all over-him looming with-the-highest
 gravitate et celeritate verborum “Brute, quid sedes? Quid
with-weight and with-swiftness of-words Brutus why do-you-sit what
 illam anum patri nuntiare vis tuo? Quid illis
that old-woman to-the-father to-announce do-you-wish your what to-those
 omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? Quid maioribus tuis?
to-all whose images to-be-led you-see what to-forefathers your
 Quid L. Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio
what to-Lucius Brutus who this people from-domination from-kingly
 liberavit? Quid te agere? Cui rei, cui gloriae, cui virtuti
freed what you to-do to-what to-thing to-what to-glory to-what to-virtue
 studere? Patrimonione augendo? At id non est nobilitatis.
to-strive to-the-patrimony-whether to-be-increased but that not is of-nobility
 Sed fac esse, nihil superest; libidines totum dissipaverunt. 226
but grant to-be nothing is-left the-lusts the-whole have-squandered
 An iuri civili? Est paternum. Sed dicet te, cum aedis
or to-law civil it-is paternal but he-will-say you when the-house

venderes, ne in rutis quidem et caesis solum tibi
you-were-selling not among the-dug even and the-cut the-seat for-yourself
 paternum recepisce. An rei militari? Qui numquam
paternal to-have-reserved or to-the-thing military you-who never
 castra videris! An eloquentiae? Quae neque est in te,
a-camp have-seen or to-eloquence which neither is in you
 et, quicquid est vocis ac linguae, omne in istum
and whatever there-is of-voice and of-tongue all upon that
 turpissimum calumniae quaestum contulisti! Tu lucem
most-base of-slander gain you-have-spent you the-light
 aspicere audes? Tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in
to-behold do-you-dare you these to-look-at you in the-forum you in
 civium esse conspectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines
of-citizens to-be the-sight you that dead-woman you the-images
 ipsas non perhorrescis? Quibus non modo imitandis, sed
themselves not do-you-sbudder-at for-which not only for-imitating but
 ne conlocandis quidem tibi locum ullum reliquisti.”
not for-placing even for-yourself room any you-have-left

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Sed haec tragica atque divina; faceta autem et urbana
but these tragic and divine witty however and urbane
 innumerabilia vel ex una contione meministis; nec enim
countless even from one a-public-meeting you-remember nor for
 maior contentio umquam fuit nec apud populum gravior
a-greater struggle ever was nor before the-people a-weightier
 oratio quam huius contra conlegam in censura nuper
speech than of-this-man against a-colleague in the-censorship lately
 neque lepore et festivitate conditor. Qua re tibi,
nor with-charm and with-pleasantry better-seasoned for-which reason to-you
 Antoni, utrumque adsentior et multum facetias in dicendo
Antonius each I-agree both much witticisms in speaking
 prodesse saepe et eas arte nullo modo posse tradi:
to-profit often and them by-art in-no way to-be-able to-be-banded-on

illud quidem admiror, te nobis in eo genere tribuisse
that indeed I-wonder-at you to-us in that kind to-have-assigned
 tantum et non huius rei quoque palmam Crasso detulisse.
so-much and not of-this of-thing also the-palm to-Crassus to-have-given

II.30 · CAESAR IS MADE TO SPEAK

Antonius grudges Crassus only this, that the most charming man alive is also the weightiest. He notes the one rule given, to keep account of the men, the matter, and the moment, but that says when to withhold a joke, not how to use one. A retort is better received than an attack. Crassus finds no art in the rest either and asks Caesar to speak; Caesar consents, and Antonius rests in his talk as at an inn.

Tum Antonius ‘ego vero ita fecissem,’ inquit ‘nisi 228
then Antonius I indeed so would-have-done he-said unless
 interdum in hoc Crasso paulum inviderem; nam esse
at-times in this-(thing) Crassus a-little I-envied for to-be
 quamvis facetum atque salsum non nimis est per se
however-much witty and salty not too is through itself
 ipsum invidendum; sed cum omnium sit venustissimus
it-itself to-be-envied but although of-all he-is the-most-charming
 et urbanissimus, omnium gravissimum et severissimum
and the-most-urbane of-all the-weightiest and the-severest
 et esse et videri, quod isti contigit uni, mihi vix
both to-be and to-seem which to-him has-fallen alone to-me scarcely
 ferendum videbatur.’
to-be-borne it-seemed

Hic cum adrisisset ipse Crassus, ‘ac tamen,’ inquit Antonius 229
here when had-smiled himself Crassus and still said Antonius
 ‘cum artem esse facetiarum, Iuli, negares, aperuisti quiddam,
although an-art to-be of-witticisms Julius you-denied you-opened something

quod praecipendum videretur: haberi enim dixisti rationem

which to-be-taught might-seem to-be-had for you-said account

oportere hominum, rei, temporis, ne quid iocus de

it-behooves of-the-men of-the-matter of-the-time lest anything the-jest from

gravitate decerperet; quod quidem in primis a Crasso

the-gravity should-pluck-off which indeed among the-first by Crassus

observari solet. Sed hoc praeceptum praetermittendarum est

to-be-observed is-wont but this precept of-passing-over is

facietiarum, cum eis nihil opus sit; nos autem quo modo

of-witticisms when of-them nothing need there-is we however in-what way

utamur, cum opus sit, quaerimus, ut in adversarium et

we-may-use when need there-is we-ask as against an-adversary and

maxime, si eius stultitia poterit agitari; in testem stultum,

chiefly if his folly shall-be-able to-be-stirred against a-witness foolish

cupidum, levem, si facile homines audituri videbuntur.

partisan fickle if easily men going-to-listen shall-seem

230 Omnino probabiliora sunt, quae lacessiti dicimus quam

altogether more-acceptable are which when-provoked we-say than

quae priores, nam et ingeni celeritas maior est, quae

which first for both of-talent the-quickness greater is which

apparet in respondendo, et humanitatis est responsio;

appears in answering and of-good-breeding is the-reply

videmur enim quieturi fuisse, nisi essemus lacessiti, ut

we-seem for going-to-be-quiet to-have-been unless we-had-been provoked as

in ipsa ista contione nihil fere dictum est ab hoc,

in the-very that a-public-meeting nothing almost said was by this-man

quod quidem facetius dictum videretur, quod non provocatus

which indeed more-wittily said might-seem which not when-challenged

responderit; erat autem tanta in Domitio gravitas, tanta

be-answered there-was however so-great in Domitius gravity so-great

auctoritas, ut, quod esset ab eo obiectum, lepore magis
authority that what was by him thrown-out by-charm rather
 levandum quam contentione frangendum videretur.'

to-be-lightened than by-vehemence to-be-broken might-seem

Tum Sulpicius 'quid igitur? Patiemur' inquit 'Caesarem, 231
then Sulpicius what therefore shall-we-allow he-said Caesar

qui quamquam Crasso facetias concedit, tamen multo in
who although to-Crassus witticisms grants still much in
 eo studio magis ipse elaborat, non explicare nobis totum
that pursuit more himself labors not to-unfold for-us the-whole
 genus hoc iocandi quale sit et unde ducatur;

kind this of-jesting of-what-sort it-may-be and whence it-may-be-derived

praesertim cum tantam vim et utilitatem salis et
especially since so-great a-force and usefulness of-salt and
 urbanitatis esse fateatur?' 'Quid, si' inquit Iulius 'adsentior

of-urbanity to-be he-admits what if he-said Julius I-agree

Antonio dicenti nullam esse artem salis?'

with-Antonius saying no to-be an-art of-salt

Hic cum Sulpicius reticisset, 'quasi vero' inquit Crassus 232
here when Sulpicius had-fallen-silent as-if indeed said Crassus

'horum ipsorum, de quibus Antonius iam diu loquitur,
of-these of-the-very about which Antonius now long speaks
 ars ulla sit: observatio quaedam est, ut ipse dixit,

an-art any there-were an-observing a-certain it-is as he-himself has-said

earum rerum, quae in dicendo valent; quae si eloquentis
of-those of-things which in speaking avail which if eloquent-men
 facere posset, quis esset non eloquens? Quis enim haec

to-make it-could who would-be not eloquent who for these

non vel facile vel certe aliquo modo posset ediscere?

not either easily or at-least in-some way could to-learn-by-heart

Sed ego in his praeceptis hanc vim et hanc utilitatem

but I in these precepts this force and this usefulness

esse arbitror, non ut ad reperiendum quod dicamus, arte
to-be think not that for finding what we-may-say by-art

ducamur sed ut ea, quae natura, quae studio, quae
we-may-be-led but that those which by-nature which by-zeal which

exercitatione consequimur, aut recta esse confidamus aut
by-practice we-attain either right to-be we-may-trust or

prava intellegamus, cum quo referenda sint didicerimus.

crooked we-may-perceive when to-what to-be-referred they-are we-shall-have-learned

233 Qua re, Caesar, ego quoque hoc a te peto, ut, si tibi
for-which reason Caesar I also this from you ask that if to-you

videtur, disputes de hoc toto iocandi genere quid sentias,
it-seems-good you-argue about this whole of-jesting about-kind what you-think

ne qua forte dicendi pars, quoniam ita voluistis, in hoc tali
lest any by-chance of-speaking part since so you-have-wished in this such

coetu atque in tam accurato sermone praeterita esse videatur.
gathering and in so careful discourse passed-over to-be may-seem

‘Ego vero,’ inquit ille ‘quoniam conlectam a conviva, Crasse,
I indeed he-said he since a-contribution from a-guest Crassus

exigis, non committam ut, si defugerim, tibi causam
you-exact not I-shall-bring-it-about that if I-shall-have-fled to-you a-reason

aliquam recusandi dem. Quamquam soleo saepe mirari
some of-refusing I-give although I-am-wont often to-wonder-at

eorum impudentiam, qui agunt in scaena gestum inspectante
of-those the-shamelessness who perform on the-stage the-gesture while-watching

Roscio; quis enim sese commovere potest, cuius ille vitia
Roscius who for himself to-move can whose he the-faults

non videat? Sic ego nunc, Crasso audiente, primum loquar
not may-see so I now with-Crassus bearing first shall-speak

de facetiis et docebo sus, ut aiunt, oratorem eum, quem
about witticisms and shall-teach a-sow as they-say the-orator him whom

cum Catulus nuper audisset, faenum alios aiebat esse oportere.
when Catulus lately had-heard hay others he-said to-eat it-behooves

Tum ille 'iocabatur' inquit 'Catulus, praesertim cum ita
then he was-jesting said Catulus especially since so
 dicat ipse, ut ambrosia alendus esse videatur. Verum
speaks he-himself that on-ambrosia to-be-fed to-be he-may-seem but
 te, Caesar, audiamus, ut Antoni reliqua videamus.' Et
you Caesar let-us-hear that of-Antonius the-rest we-may-see and
 Antonius 'perpauca quidem mihi restant,' inquit 'sed
Antonius very-few indeed to-me remain he-said but
 tamen defessus iam labore atque itinere disputationis
still wearied now by-toil and by-the-journey of-the-discussion
 meae requiescam in Caesaris sermone quasi in aliquo
my I-shall-rest in of-Caesar the-talk as-if in some
 peropportuno deversorio.' 'Atqui' inquit Iulius 'non nimis
most-opportune an-inn and-yet said Julius not too
 liberale hospitium meum dices; nam te in viam, simul
generous the-hospitality my you-will-call for you onto the-road as-soon
 ac perpaulum gustaris, extrudam et eiciam.
as a-very-little you-shall-have-tasted I-shall-thrust-out and I-shall-cast-out

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II.31 · WHAT LAUGHTER IS MADE OF

Caesar sets five questions: what laughter is, where it comes from, whether the orator should raise it, how far he may go, and what its kinds are. The first he leaves to Democritus. Its ground is some ugliness pointed at without ugliness; it wins goodwill and undoes what argument cannot, but must spare great crime, great misery, and the loved. Wit lies in matter or in word; wit of matter is a told tale, like Crassus' on Memmius, or an imitation short of the mime.

Ac ne diutius vos demorer, de omni isto genere quid
and lest longer you I-may-delay about the-whole that kind what
 sentiam perbreuiter exponam. De risu quinque sunt,
I-think very-briefly I-shall-set-out about laughter five there-are

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quae quaerantur: unum, quid sit; alterum, unde sit; tertium,
which may-be-asked one what it-is the-second whence it-is the-third
 sitne oratoris risum velle movere; quartum, quatenus;
whether-it-is of-an-orator laughter to-wish to-stir the-fourth how-far
 quintum, quae sint genera ridiculi. Atque illud primum,
the-fifth what may-be the-kinds of-the-laughable and that first
 quid sit ipse risus, quo pacto concitetur, ubi sit, quo modo
what it-is itself laughter in-what manner it-is-roused where it-is in-what way
 existat atque ita repente erumpat, ut eum cupientes tenere
it-arises and so suddenly bursts-out that it desiring to-hold
 nequeamus, et quo modo simul latera, os, venas, oculos,
we-cannot and in-what way at-once the-sides the-mouth the-veins the-eyes
 vultum occupet, viderit Democritus; neque enim ad hunc
the-face it-seizes let-him-see Democritus nor for to this
 sermonem hoc pertinet, et, si pertineret, nescire me tamen
discourse this pertains and if it-pertained not-to-know me still
 id non puderet, quod ne illi quidem scirent, qui pollicerentur.
that not would-shame which not they even knew who promised

236 Locus autem et regio quasi ridiculi — nam id proxime
the-place however and the-region as-it-were of-the-laughable for that next
 quaeritur — turpitudine et deformitate quadam continetur;
is-asked by-ugliness and by-a-deformity a-certain is-contained
 haec enim ridentur vel sola vel maxime, quae notant et
these for are-laughed-at either alone or chiefly which mark and
 designant turpitudinem aliquam non turpiter. Est autem, ut
point-out an-ugliness some not basely it-is however that
 ad illud tertium veniam, est plane oratoris movere risum;
to that third I-may-come it-is plainly of-an-orator to-stir laughter
 vel quod ipsa hilaritas benevolentiam conciliat ei, per
either because the-very cheerfulness goodwill wins for-him through
 quem excitata est; vel quod admirantur omnes acumen
whom roused it-has-been or because they-admire all a-sharpness

uno saepe in verbo positum maxime respondentis, non
in-one often in a-word placed chiefly of-one-answering not
 numquam etiam lacescentis; vel quod frangit adversarium,
never even of-one-attacking or because it-breaks the-adversary
 quod impedit, quod elevat, quod deterret, quod refutat;
because it-binders because it-belittles because it-deters because it-refutes
 vel quod ipsum oratorem politum esse hominem significat,
or because the-very orator polished to-be a-man it-signifies
 quod eruditum, quod urbanum, maxime quod tristitiam ac
because cultivated because urbane chiefly because gloom and
 severitatem mitigat et relaxat odiosasque res saepe, quas
severity it-softens and it-relaxes and-odious matters often which
 argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissolvit.
by-arguments to-be-dissolved not easy is by-a-jest and-by-laughter it-dissolves
 Quatenus autem sint ridicula tractanda oratori, perquam 237
how-far however may-be the-laughable to-be-handled by-the-orator exceedingly
 diligenter videndum est, quod in quarto loco quaerendi
carefully to-be-seen is which in the-fourth place of-asking
 posueramus. Nam nec insignis improbitas et scelere
we-had-placed for neither conspicuous wickedness and with-crime
 iuncta nec rursus miseria insignis agitata ridetur:
joined nor again misery conspicuous when-attacked is-laughed-at
 facinerosos maiore quadam vi quam ridiculi
the-criminal with-a-greater a-certain with-force than of-the-laughable
 vulnerari volunt; miseros inludi nolunt, nisi se
to-be-wounded they-wish the-wretched to-be-mocked they-do-not-wish unless themselves
 forte iactant; parcendum autem maxime est caritati
by-chance they-vaunt to-be-spared however chiefly is to-the-affection
 hominum, ne temere in eos dicas, qui diliguntur.
of-men lest rashly against those you-speak who are-loved

238 Haec igitur adhibenda est primum in iocando moderatio;
this therefore to-be-applied is first in jesting moderation
 itaque ea facillime luduntur, quae neque odio magno
and-so those most-easily are-made-sport-of which neither of-hatred of-great
 neque misericordia maxima digna sunt; quam ob
nor of-pity of-the-greatest worthy are which on-account-of
 rem materies omnis ridiculorum est in eis vitiis, quae
thing the-material all of-laughable-things is in those faults which
 sunt in vita hominum neque carorum neque calamitosorum
are in the-life of-men neither of-the-dear nor of-the-wretched
 neque eorum, qui ob facinus ad supplicium rapiendi
nor of-those who on-account-of a-crime to punishment to-be-hurried
 videntur; eaque belle agitata ridentur.
seem and-they prettily when-attacked are-laughed-at

239 Est etiam deformitatis et corporis vitiorum satis bella materies
is even of-deformity and of-the-body of-defects fairly pretty material
 ad iocandum; sed quaerimus idem, quod in ceteris rebus
for jesting but we-ask the-same which in the-other things
 maxime quaerendum est, quatenus; in quo non modo illud
chiefly to-be-asked is how-far in which not only that
 praecipitur, ne quid insulse, sed etiam, si quid perridicule
is-taught lest anything without-salt but even if anything very-laughably
 possis, vitandum est oratori utrumque, ne aut scurrilis
you-can to-be-avoided is by-the-orator each lest either a-buffoon's
 iocus sit aut mimicus. Quae cuius modi sint facilius iam
jest it-be or a-mime's which of-what sort may-be more-easily now
 intellegemus, cum ad ipsa ridiculorum genera venerimus.
we-shall-understand when to the-very of-laughable-things the-kinds we-shall-have-come

240 Duo sunt enim genera facetiarum, quorum alterum
two there-are for kinds of-wit of-which the-one
 re tractatur, alterum dicto: re, si quando
in-substance is-handled the-other in-a-saying in-substance if ever

quid tamquam aliqua fabella narratur, ut olim tu, Crasse,
something as-if some little-tale is-told as once you Crassus
 in Memmium, comedisse eum lacertum Lari, cum
against Memmius to-have-eaten him the-arm of-Largus when
 esset cum eo Tarracinae de amica rixatus: salsa,
he-had-been with him at-Tarracina about a-girl-friend having-quarreled a-salty
 ac tamen a te ipso ficta narratio; addidisti clausulam:
and still by you yourself invented story you-added a-close
 tota Tarracina tum omnibus in parietibus inscriptas
through-the-whole Tarracina then on-all on the-walls inscribed
 fuisse litteras L. L. L. M. M.; cum quaereres id quid
to-have-been the-letters L L L M M when you-asked that what
 esset, senem tibi quendam oppidanum dixisse: “lacerat
it-might-be an-old-man to-you a-certain townsman to-have-said mangles
 lacertum Lari mordax Memmius.”

the-arm of-Largus biting Memmius
 Perspicitis genus hoc quam sit facetum, quam elegans, quam 241
you-see kind this how it-is witty how elegant how
 oratorium, sive habeas vere quod narrare possis, quod tamen
oratorical whether you-have truly what to-tell you-can which still
 est mendaciunculis aspergendum, sive fingas. Est autem huius
is with-little-lies to-be-sprinkled or you-invent it-is however of-this
 generis virtus, ut ita facta demonstres, ut mores eius,
of-kind the-merit that so the-deeds you-show that the-manners of-him
 de quo narres, ut sermo, ut vultus omnes exprimantur,
about whom you-tell that the-talk that the-face all may-be-expressed
 ut eis, qui audiunt, tum geri illa fierique videantur.
that to-those who hear then to-be-done those and-to-happen may-seem

In re est item ridiculum, quod ex quadam depravata 242
in substance is likewise the-laughable which from a-certain distorted
 imitatione sumi solet, ut idem Crassus: “per tuam
imitation to-be-taken is-wont as the-same Crassus by your

nobilitatem, per vestram familiam!" Quid aliud fuit, in quo
nobility by your family what else was-it in which
 contio rideret, nisi illa vultus et vocis imitatio?

a-public-meeting laughed except that of-the-face and of-the-voice imitation

"Per tuas statuas!" vero cum dixit et extento brachio

by your statues indeed when he-said and with-outstretched with-arm

paulum etiam de gestu addidit, vehementius risimus. Ex

a-little even of gesture he-added more-strongly we-laughed from

hoc genere est illa Rosciana imitatio senis:

this kind is that Roscian imitation of-an-old-man

"tibi ego, Antipho, has sero, inquit; seniumst, quom audio."

for-you I Antipho these I-saw he-says it-is-old-age when I-hear

Atqui ita est totum hoc ipso genere ridiculum,

and-yet so is wholly this by-the-very by-kind laughable

ut cautissime tractandum sit; mimorum est enim et

that most-cautiously to-be-handled it-is of-mimes it-is for and

ethologorum, si nimia est imitatio, sicut obscenitas. Orator

of-mimics if excessive is the-imitation just-as obscenity the-orator

surripiat oportet imitationem, ut is, qui audiet, cogitet

should-steal it-behooves the-imitation so-that he who will-hear may-think

plura quam videat; praestet idem ingenuitatem et ruborem

more than he-may-see let-him-show the-same the-gentlemanliness and the-blush

suum verborum turpitudine et rerum obscenitate vitanda.

his-own of-words by-the-baseness and of-things by-the-obscenity by-avoiding

243 Ergo haec duo genera sunt eius ridiculi, quod in re

therefore these two kinds are of-that of-the-laughable which in substance

positum est, quae sunt propria perpetuarum facetiarum, in

placed is which are proper of-continuous of-wit in

quibus describuntur hominum mores et ita effinguntur,

which are-described of-men the-manners and so are-molded

ut aut re narrata aliqua quales sint intellegantur
that either a-thing when-told some of-what-sort they-are they-may-be-understood
 aut imitatione breviter iniecta in aliquo insigni ad
or an-imitation briefly when-thrown-in in some conspicuous for
 inridendum vitio reperiantur.
mocking in-a-fault they-may-be-found

II.32 · THE ORATOR AND THE BUFFOON

Wit of the word must avoid the buffoon as wit of the matter avoids the mime. What divides the orator from Granius is that he does not say a thing merely because it can be said. Philippus' joke about a very small witness fell on a judge smaller still, and turned scurrilous. Timing, restraint, and rarity make the difference, and the same sources that yield a joke yield a grave saying; only the subject changes.

In dicto autem ridiculum est id, quod verbi aut sententiae 244
in a-saying however the-laughable is that which of-a-word or of-a-thought
 quodam acumine movetur; sed ut in illo superiore genere
by-a-certain by-sharpness is-stirred but as in that earlier kind
 vel narrationis vel imitationis vitanda est mimorum et
either of-narration or of-imitation to-be-avoided is of-mimes and
 ethologorum similitudo, sic in hoc scurrilis oratori dicacitas
of-mimics the-likeness so in this a-buffoon's by-the-orator raillery
 magno opere fugienda est. Qui igitur distinguemus a
with-great with-effort to-be-shunned is how therefore shall-we-distinguish from
 Crasso, a Catulo, a ceteris familiarem vestrum Granium
Crassus from Catulus from the-rest the-friend your Granius
 aut Vargulam amicum meum? Non me hercule in mentem
or Vargula the-friend my not by Hercules into mind
 mihi quidem venit: sunt enim dicaces; Granio quidem
to-me indeed comes they-are for railers than-Granius indeed

nemo dicacior. Hoc, opinor, primum, ne, quotienscumque
no-one more-railing this I-think first lest as-often-as

potuerit dictum dici, necesse habeamus dicere.

it-shall-have-been-possible a-saying to-be-said necessary we-may-hold to-say

245 Pusillus testis processit. "Licet" inquit "rogare?" Philippus.

a-tiny witness came-forward it-is-allowed he-said to-question Philippus

Tum quaesitor properans "modo breviter." Hic ille "non

then the-examiner hurrying only briefly here he not

accusabis: perpusillum rogabo." Ridicule. Sed sedebat

you-will-accuse a-very-tiny-(man) I-shall-question laughably but was-sitting

iudex L. Aurifex brevior ipse quam testis etiam: omnis

as-judge Lucius Aurifex shorter himself than the-witness even all

est risus in iudicem conversus; visum est totum

was the-laughter against the-judge turned seemed it-was the-whole

scurrile ridiculum. Ergo haec, quae cadere possunt in

buffoonish laughable therefore these which to-fall can upon

quos nolis, quamvis sint bella, sunt tamen

whom you-would-not-wish however-much they-may-be pretty are still

ipso genere scurrilia;

by-the-very by-kind buffoonish

246 ut iste, qui se vult dicacem et me hercule est,

as that-man who himself wishes a-railer and by Hercules is

Appius, sed non numquam in hoc vitium scurrile delabitur.

Appius but not never into this fault buffoonish he-slips-down

"Cenabo" inquit "apud te," huic lusco familiari meo,

I-shall-dine he-said at your-house to-this to-one-eyed to-friend my

C. Sextio; "uni enim locum esse video." Est hoc

to-Gaius Sextius for-one for room to-be I-see is this

scurrile, et quod sine causa lacesivit et tamen id dixit,

buffoonish both because without cause he-provoked and still that he-said

quod in omnis luscis conveniret; ea, quia meditata

which upon all one-eyed-(men) would-fit those because premeditated

putantur esse, minus ridentur: illud egregium Sexti
they-are-thought to-be less are-laughed-at that outstanding of-Sextius
 et ex tempore “manus lava” inquit “et cena.”

and from the-moment the-hands wash he-said and dine

Temporis igitur ratio et ipsius dicacitatis moderatio et 247
of-the-time therefore the-account and of-the-very of-raillery the-restraint and

temperantia et raritas dictorum distinguunt oratorem a
the-temperance and the-rarity of-sayings will-distinguish the-orator from

scurra, et quod nos cum causa dicimus, non ut ridiculi
a-buffoon and because we with cause speak not that laughable

videamur, sed ut proficiamus aliquid, illi totum diem et
we-may-seem but that we-may-gain something they the-whole day and

sine causa. Quid enim est Vargula adsecutus, cum eum
without cause what for has Vargula gained when him

candidatus A. Sempronius cum M. fratre suo complexus
a-candidate Aulus Sempronius with Marcus brother his-own having-embraced

esset “puer, abige muscas”? Risum quaesivit, qui est mea
had-been boy drive-off the-flies a-laugh he-sought which is in-my

sententia vel tenuissimus ingeni fructus. Tempus igitur
opinion even the-slightest of-talent the-fruit the-time therefore

dicendi prudentia et gravitate moderabimur; quarum
of-speaking by-practical-wisdom and by-weight we-shall-govern of-which

utinam artem aliquam haberemus! Sed domina natura est.
would-that an-art some we-had but the-mistress nature is

Nunc exponamus genera ipsa summatim, quae risum 248
now let-us-set-out the-kinds themselves in-summary which laughter

maxime moveant. Haec igitur sit prima partitio, quod
chiefly may-stir this therefore let-it-be the-first division what

facete dicatur, id alias in re habere, alias in verbo
wittily is-said that at-one-time in substance to-have at-another in a-word

facetias; maxime autem homines delectari, si quando risus
the-wit chiefly however men to-be-delighted if ever laughter

coniuncte re verboque moveatur. Sed hoc mementote,
conjointly by-substance and-by-the-word is-stirred but this remember

quoscumque locos attingam, unde ridicula ducantur, ex
whatever topics I-shall-touch whence laughable-things are-drawn from

eisdem locis fere etiam gravis sententias posse duci:
the-same topics generally even weighty thoughts to-be-able to-be-drawn

tantum interest, quod gravitas honestis in rebus severisque,
only it-differs that weight in-honorable in things and-in-serious

iocus in turpiculis et quasi deformibus ponitur, velut eisdem
a-jest in slightly-base and as-it-were in-ugly is-placed as-if by-the-same

verbis et laudare frugi servum possumus et, si est nequam,
by-words both to-praise a-thrifty slave we-could and if he-is worthless

iocari. Ridiculum est illud Neronianum vetus in furaci
to-jest laughable is that Neronian old about a-thieving

servo: solum esse, cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum
a-slave alone to-be for-whom at-home nothing is neither sealed-up

nec occlusum, quod idem in bono servo dici solet.
nor locked-up which the-same about a-good a-slave to-be-said is-wont

249 Sed hoc eisdem verbis; ex eisdem locis omnia. Nam
but this by-the-same by-words from the-same topics all-(things) for

quod Sp. Carvilio graviter claudicanti ex vulnere
what to-Spurius to-Carvilius badly limping from a-wound

ob rem publicam accepto et ob eam causam
on-account-of the-thing public received and on-account-of that cause

verecundanti in publicum prodire mater dixit “quin
ashamed into public to-come-forth the-mother said why-not

prodis, mi Spuri? quotienscumque gradum facies,
do-you-come-forth my Spurius as-often-as a-step you-shall-make

totiens tibi tuarum virtutum veniat in mentem,” praeclarum
so-often to-you of-your of-virtues let-it-come into mind splendid

et grave est: quod Calvino Glaucia claudicanti “ubi est
and weighty it-is what to-Calvinus Glaucia to-(him)-limping where is

vetus illud: num claudicat? at hic clodicat"! hoc
old-(saying) that surely-not does-he-limp but this-man limps this
 ridiculum est; et utrumque ex eo, quod in claudicatione
laughable is and each from that which in limping
 animadverti potuit, est ductum. "Quid hoc Navio
to-be-noticed could is drawn what than-this than-Navius
 ignavius?" severe Scipio; at in male olentem "video
more-slothful severely Scipio but against a-badly smelling-(man) I-see
 me a te circumveniri" subridicule Philippus; at utrumque
myself by you to-be-surrounded rather-laughably Philippus but each
 genus continet verbi ad litteram immutati similitudo.
kind contains of-a-word to a-letter when-changed the-likeness
 Ex ambiguo dicta vel argutissima putantur, sed non semper 250
from the-ambiguous sayings even the-most-clever are-thought but not always
 in ioco, saepe etiam in gravitate versantur. Africano illi
in a-jest often even in weight they-are-engaged to-Africanus to-that
 superiori coronam sibi in convivio ad caput accommodanti,
to-the-elder a-garland for-himself at a-banquet to the-head fitting
 cum ea saepius rumperetur, P. Licinius Varus "noli
when it rather-often was-broken Publius Licinius Varus do-not-wish
 mirari," inquit "si non convenit, caput enim magnum est": et
to-wonder he-said if not it-fits the-head for great it-is both
 laudabile et honestum; at ex eodem genere est "Calvo
praiseworthy and honorable but from the-same kind is to-a-bald-man
 satis est, quod dicit parum." Ne multa: nullum genus
enough is what he-says too-little not many-(words) no kind
 est ioci, quo non ex eodem severa et gravia sumantur.
is of-jest from-which not from the-same severe and weighty may-be-taken

A clown raises a laugh by face, voice, and body, but that is the mime's trade, not ours; so with mimicry, grimacing, and obscenity. What is left is wit of matter and wit of word, the latter whatever loses its savor once the words are changed. Double meanings win admiration more than laughter; the best-known laugh comes when one thing is expected and another said. Then a changed letter, a name interpreted, a verse quoted or bent, and a proverb.

- 251 Atque hoc etiam animadvertendum est, non esse omnia
and this even to-be-noticed is not to-be all
 ridicula faceta. Quid enim potest esse tam ridiculum
laughable-things witty what for can to-be so laughable
 quam sannio est? Sed ore, vultu, voce, denique
as a-clown is but by-the-mouth by-the-face by-the-voice finally
 corpore ridetur ipso; salsum hunc possum dicere
by-the-body he-is-laughed-at by-the-very salty this-man I-can to-call
 atque ita, non ut eius modi oratorem esse velim, sed
and so not as of-that sort an-orator to-be I-should-wish but
 ut mimum. Qua re primum genus hoc, quod risum vel
as a-mime for-which reason the-first kind this which laughter even
 maxime movet, non est nostrum: morosum, superstitiosum,
chiefly stirs not is ours the-peevisb the-superstitious
 suspiciosum, gloriosum, stultum: naturae ridentur ipsae,
the-suspicious the-boastful the-foolish the-characters are-laughed-at themselves
 quas personas agitare solemus, non sustinere.
which parts to-mock we-are-wont not to-sustain

- 252 Alterum genus est in imitatione admodum ridiculum, sed
the-second kind is in imitation quite laughable but
 nobis furtim tantum uti licet, si quando, et cursim;
for-us stealthily only to-use it-is-allowed if ever and hastily
 aliter enim minime est liberale; tertium, oris depravatio,
otherwise for not-at-all it-is gentlemanly the-third of-the-mouth the-distortion

non digna nobis; quartum, obscenitas, non solum non
not worthy of-us the-fourth obscenity not only not
 foro digna, sed vix convivio liberorum. Detractis
of-the-forum worthy but scarcely of-a-banquet of-free-men when-taken-away
 igitur tot rebus ex hoc oratorio loco facietiae reliquae
therefore so-many things from this oratorical topic witticisms the-remaining
 sunt, quae aut in re, ut ante divisi, positae videntur esse
are which either in substance as before I-divided placed seem to-be
 aut in verbo; nam quod, quibuscumque verbis dixeris,
or in a-word for what with-whatever with-words you-shall-have-said
 facetum tamen est, re continetur; quod mutatis
witty still is by-substance is-bounded what when-changed
 verbis salem amittit, in verbis habet omnem leporem.
the-words the-salt loses in words it-has all the-charm

Ambigua sunt in primis acuta atque in verbo posita, non in 253
ambiguities are among the-first sharp and in a-word placed not in
 re; sed non saepe magnum risum movent; magis ut belle,
substance but not often great laughter they-stir more as prettily
 ut litterate dicta laudantur; ut in illum Titium, qui cum
as learnedly said they-are-praised as against that Titius who since
 studiose pila luderet et idem signa sacra noctu frangere
eagerly at-ball he-played and the-same statues sacred by-night to-break
 putaretur gregalesque eum, cum in campum non venisset,
was-thought and-his-mates him when into the-field not he-had-come
 requirerent, excusavit Vespa Terentius, quod eum brachium
sought excused Vespa Terentius because him the-arm
 fregisse diceret; ut illud Africani, quod est apud Lucilium
to-have-broken he-said as that of-Africanus which is in Lucilius
 Quid Decius? Nuculam an confixum vis facere? inquit:
what Decius a-little-nut or pierced do-you-wish to-make he-said

- 254 ut tuus amicus, Crasse, Granius, “non esse sextantis.” Et
as your friend Crassus Granius not to-be of-a-sixth and
 si quaeritis, is, qui appellatur dicax, hoc genere maxime
if you-ask he who is-called a-railer in-this in-kind chiefly
 excellet; sed risum movent alia maiorem. Ambiguum
will-excel but laughter stir others greater the-ambiguous
 per se ipsum probatur id quidem, ut ante dixi, vel
through itself it-itself is-approved that indeed as before I-have-said even
 maxime; ingeniosi enim videtur vim verbi in aliud,
chiefly of-a-clever for it-seems the-force of-a-word into another
 atque ceteri accipiant, posse ducere; sed admirationem
than the-rest take to-be-able to-lead but admiration
 magis quam risum movet, nisi si quando incidit in aliud
more than laughter it-stirs unless if ever it-falls into another
 quoque genus ridiculi, quae genera percurram eequidem.
also kind of-the-laughable which kinds I-shall-run-through for-my-part
- 255 Sed scitis esse notissimum ridiculi genus, cum aliud
but you-know to-be the-best-known of-the-laughable a-kind when one-thing
 exspectamus, aliud dicitur: hic nobismet ipsis noster
we-expect another is-said here for-ourselves for-the-very our
 error risum movet: quod si admixtum est etiam ambiguum,
error laughter stirs which if mixed-in is even an-ambiguity
 fit salsius; ut apud Novium videtur esse misericors
it-becomes saltier as in Novius seems to-be compassionate
 ille, qui iudicatum duci videt: percontatur ita: “quanti
he who a-judgment-debtor to-be-led sees he-asks so for-how-much
 addictus?” “Mille nummum.” Si addidisset tantummodo
adjudged a-thousand of-coins if he-had-added only
 “ducas licet”; esset illud genus ridiculi praeter
you-may-lead it-is-allowed it-would-be that kind of-the-laughable beyond
 exspectationem; sed quia addidit “nihil addo, ducas
expectation but because he-added nothing I-add you-may-lead

licet”; addito ambiguo, fuit, ut mihi quidem videtur,

it-is-allowed when-added the-ambiguity he-was as to-me indeed it-seems

salsissimus. Hoc tum est venustum, cum in altercatione

the-saltiest this then is charming when in an-altercation

arripitur ab adversario verbum et ex eo, ut a Catulo in

is-seized from the-adversary a-word and from it as by Catulus against

Philippum, in eum ipsum aliquid, qui lacessivit, infligitur.

Philippus against him himself something who has-provoked is-struck

Sed cum plura sint ambigui genera, de quibus est 256

but since more there-are of-the-ambiguous kinds about which is

doctrina quaedam subtilior, attendere et aucupari verba

learning a-certain more-refined to-attend and to-hunt the-words

oportebit; in quo, ut ea, quae sint frigidiora, vitemus, — est

it-will-behoove in which that those which are colder we-may-avoid it-is

enim cavendum, ne arcessitum dictum putetur — permulta

for to-be-guarded lest far-fetched saying it-be-thought very-many

tamen acute dicemus. Alterum genus est, quod habet parvam

still shrewdly we-shall-say the-second kind is which has a-small

verbi immutationem, quod in littera positum Graeci

of-a-word alteration which in a-letter placed the-Greeks

vocant παρονομασίαν, ut “Nobiliorem mobiliorem” Cato;

call paronomasia as Nobilior more-fickle Cato

aut, ut idem, cum cuidam dixisset “eamus deambulatum”

or as the-same when to-someone he-had-said let-us-go for-a-walk

et ille “quid opus fuit de?” “Immo vero” inquit “quid

and he what need was-there of-the-de nay indeed he-said what

opus fuit te?” Aut eiusdem responsio illa “si tu et

need was-there of-you or of-the-same the-reply that if you both

adversus et aversus impudicus es.”

facing and turned-away shameless you-are

257 Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen, cum ad ridiculum
also the-interpretation of-a-name has sharpness when to the-laughable
 convertas, quam ob rem ita quis vocetur; ut ego
you-turn what on-account-of thing so someone is-called as I
 nuper Nummum divisorem, ut Neoptolemum ad Troiam, sic
lately Nummius the-briber as Neoptolemus at Troy so
 illum in campo Martio nomen invenisse; atque haec omnia
that-man in the-field Martian a-name to-have-found and these all
 verbo continentur. Saepe etiam versus facete interponitur,
by-a-word are-bounded often even a-verse wittily is-inserted
 vel ut est vel paululum immutatus, aut aliqua pars versus,
either as it-is or a-little changed or some part of-a-verse
 ut Statio a Scauro stomachante; ex quo sunt non nulli,
as of-Statius by Scaurus fuming from which are not none
 qui tuam legem de civitate natam, Crasse, dicant:
who your law about citizenship born Crassus say

st, tacete, quid hoc clamoris? Quibus nec mater nec pater,
hush be-silent what this of-shouting to-whom neither a-mother nor a-father
 tanta confidentia? Auferte istam enim superbiam.
so-great confidence take-away that indeed pride

Nam in Caelio sane etiam ad causam utile fuit tuum illud,
for in Caelius indeed even to the-case useful was your that
 Antoni, cum ille a se pecuniam profectam diceret
Antonius when he from himself the-money to-have-come said
 testis et haberet filium delicatorem, abeunte iam illo,
as-witness and had a-son too-dainty when-departing now he

sentin senem esse tactum triginta minis?
do-you-perceive the-old-man to-be touched by-thirty by-minae

In hoc genus coniciuntur etiam proverbia, ut illud Scipionis, 258
into this kind are-thrown even proverbs as that of-Scipio
 cum Asellus omnis se provincias stipendia merentem
when Asellus all himself provinces campaigns serving
 peragrasse gloriaretur: “agas asellum” et cetera; qua
to-have-traversed boasted you-may-drive the-little-ass and the-rest for-which
 re ea quoque, quoniam mutatis verbis non possunt
reason those also since when-changed the-words not they-can
 retinere eandem venustatem, non in re, sed in verbis
to-keep the-same charm not in substance but in words
 posita ducantur.
placed let-them-be-reckoned

II.34 · WORDS TAKEN LITERALLY, AND IMAGES

Another kind takes the phrase by its word and not its sense, as when Crassus assured a caller who wanted to come before dawn that he would be no trouble at all. Then an altered expression, a metaphor, a word said for its opposite, and antithesis. Wit of matter follows: narrative and fable, a tale from history, likeness and image, overstatement, the pointed hint, and irony.

Est etiam in verbo positum non insulsum genus ex eo, 259
is even in a-word placed not saltless a-kind from that
 cum ad verbum, non ad sententiam rem accipere videare;
when to the-word not to the-sense the-matter to-take you-seem
 ex quo uno genere totus est Tutor, mimus vetus,
from which one kind whole is the-Guardian a-mime old
 oppido ridiculus. Sed abeo a mimis; tantum genus huius
exceedingly laughable but I-go-away from mimes only the-kind of-this
 ridiculi insigni aliqua et nota re notari
of-the-laughable by-a-notable by-some and by-a-known by-instance to-be-marked

volo; est autem ex hoc genere illud, quod tu, Crasse,
I-wish is however from this kind that which you Crassus
 nuper ei, qui te rogasset, num tibi molestus esset
lately to-him who you had-asked whether to-you troublesome he-would-be
 futurus, si ad te bene ante lucem venisset, “tu vero”
going-to-be if to you well before daylight he-had-come you indeed
 inquisti “molestus non eris.” “Iubebis igitur te” inquit
you-said troublesome not you-will-be you-will-order therefore yourself he-said
 “suscitari?” Et tu “certe negaram te molestum futurum.”
to-be-wakened and you certainly I-had-denied you troublesome going-to-be

260

Ex eodem hoc vetus illud est, quod aiunt Maluginensem
from the-same this old that is which they-say the-Maluginensian
 illum Scipionem, cum ex centuria sua renuntiaret
that Scipio when from the-century his-own he-was-announcing
 Acidinum consulem praecoque dixisset “dic de L.
Acidinus consul and-the-herald had-said say about Lucius
 Manlio”: “virum bonum” inquit “egregiumque civem esse
Manlius a-man good he-said and-outstanding a-citizen to-be
 arbitror.” Ridicule etiam illud L. Nasica censori Catoni;
I-judge laughably even that Lucius Nasica to-the-censor to-Cato
 cum ille “ex tui animi sententia tu uxorem habes?” “Non
when he from of-your of-mind the-judgment you a-wife have not
 hercule” inquit “ex mei animi sententia.” Haec aut frigida
by-Hercules he-said from of-my of-mind the-judgment these either cold
 sunt aut tum salsa, cum aliud est exspectatum.
are or then salty when another-thing has-been expected
 Natura enim nos, ut ante dixi, noster delectat error;
by-nature for us as before I-have-said our delights the-error
 ex quo, cum quasi decepti sumus exspectatione, ridemus.
from which when as-if deceived we-are in-expectation we-laugh

In verbis etiam illa sunt, quae aut ex immutata oratione 261

in words even those are which either from an-altered speech
 ducuntur aut ex unius verbi translatione aut ex inversione
are-drawn or from of-one of-word the-transfer or from the-inversion
 verborum. Ex immutatione, ut olim Rusca cum legem
of-words from an-alteration as once Rusca when a-law
 ferret annalem, dissuasor M. Servilius “dic mihi,”
he-was-bringing on-ages an-opposer Marcus Servilius tell to-me
 inquit “M. Pinari, num, si contra te dixero, mihi
he-said Marcus Pinarius surely-not if against you I-shall-have-spoken to-me
 male dicturus es, ut ceteris fecisti?” “Ut sementem
ill going-to-speak are-you as to-the-others you-have-done as the-sowing
 feceris, ita metes” inquit.

you-shall-have-made so you-will-reap he-said

Ex translatione autem, ut, cum Scipio ille maior Corinthiis 262

from a-transfer however as when Scipio that the-elder the-Corinthians
 statuam pollicentibus eo loco, ubi aliorum essent
a-statue when-promising in-that in-place where of-others were
 imperatorum, turmalis dixit displicere. Invertuntur autem
of-generals squadron-mates he-said to-displease are-inverted however
 verba, ut, Crassus apud M. Perpernam iudicem pro Aculeone
words as Crassus before Marcus Perperna the-judge for Aculeo
 cum diceret, aderat contra Aculeonem Gratidiano L.
when he-was-speaking was-present against Aculeo for-Gratidianus Lucius
 Aelius Lamia, deformis, ut nostis; qui cum interpellaret
Aelius Lamia ugly as you-know who when he-was-interrupting
 odiose, “audiamus” inquit “pulchellum puerum” Crassus; cum
hatefully let-us-hear he-said the-pretty-little boy Crassus when
 esset arrisum, “non potui mihi” inquit Lamia “formam
there-had-been laughter not I-was-able for-myself he-said Lamia the-form
 ipse fingere, ingenium potui”; tum hic “audiamus” inquit
myself to-shape the-talent I-was-able then this-man let-us-hear he-said

“disertum”: multo etiam arrisum est vehementius. Sunt
the-eloquent-one much even laughed it-was more-strongly there-are
 etiam illa venusta ut in gravibus sentiis, sic in facetiis —
even those charming as in weighty thoughts so in witticisms
 dixi enim dudum rationem aliam esse ioci, aliam severitatis,
I-said for a-while-ago the-principle another to-be of-jest another of-seriousness

263 gravium autem et iocorum unam esse materiam — ornant
of-weighty however and of-jests one to-be the-material adorn
 igitur in primis orationem verba relata contrarie, quod
therefore among the-first a-speech words placed contrariwise which
 idem genus saepe est etiam facetum, ut Servius ille Galba
the-same kind often is even witty as Servius that Galba
 cum iudices L. Scribonio tribuno plebis ferret
when judges to-Lucius to-Scribonius to-the-tribune of-the-plebs he-was-proposing
 familiaris suos et dixisset Libo “quando tandem, Galba, de
friends his-own and had-said Libo when pray Galba from
 triclinio tuo exibis?” “cum tu” inquit “de cubiculo
the-dining-room your will-you-come-out when you he-said from the-bedroom
 alieno.” A quo genere ne illud quidem plurimum distat, quod
another’s from which kind not that even very-much differs which
 Glaucia Metello “villam in Tiburti habes, cortem in Palatio.”
Glaucia to-Metellus a-villa in the-Tiburtine you-have a-cattle-yard on the-Palatine

264 Ac verborum quidem genera, quae essent faceta, dixisse
and of-words indeed the-kinds which were witty to-have-said
 me puto; rerum plura sunt, eaque magis, ut dixi ante,
me I-think of-things more there-are and-they more as I-have-said before
 ridentur; in quibus est narratio, res sane difficilis;
are-laughed-at among which is narrative a-thing indeed difficult
 exprimenda enim sunt et ponenda ante oculos ea, quae
to-be-expressed for are and to-be-set before the-eyes those which
 videantur et veri similia, quod est proprium narrationis,
may-seem both of-truth like which is proper of-narrative

et quae sint, quod ridiculi proprium est, subturpia;
and which may-be which of-the-laughable proper is somewhat-base
 cuius exemplum, ut brevissimum, sit sane illud, quod
of-which the-example as most-brief let-it-be indeed that which
 ante posui, Crassi de Memmio. Et ad hoc genus
before I-set of-Crassus about Memmius and to this kind
 ascribamus etiam narrationes apologorum.

let-us-add even the-narratives of-fables

Trahitur etiam aliquid ex historia, ut, cum Sex. Titius se 265

is-drawn even something from history as when Sextus Titius himself

Cassandram esse diceret, “multos” inquit Antonius “possum

Cassandra to-be said many said Antonius I-can

tuos Aiaces Oileos nominare.” Est etiam ex similitudine, quae

your Ajaxes Oilean to-name is even from likeness which

aut conlationem habet aut tamquam imaginem: conlationem,

either a-comparison has or as-it-were an-image a-comparison

ut ille Gallus olim testis in Pisonem, cum innumerabilem

as that Gallus once a-witness against Piso when countless

Magio praefecto pecuniam dixisset datam idque

to-Magius to-the-prefect money he-had-said to-have-been-given and-that

Scaurus tenuitate Magi redargueret, “erras,” inquit “Scaure;

Scaurus by-the-poverty of-Magius refuted you-err he-said Scaurus

ego enim Magium non conservasse dico, sed tamquam

I for Magius not to-have-kept say but as-if

nudus nuces legeret, in ventre abstulisse”; ut illud

a-naked-man nuts were-gathering in the-belly to-have-carried-off as that

M. Cicero senex, huius viri optimi, nostri familiaris,

Marcus Cicero the-elder of-this of-man of-the-best of-our of-friend

pater, “nostros homines similis esse Syrorum venalium:

the-father our men like to-be of-Syrians of-those-for-sale

ut quisque optime Graece sciret, ita esse nequissimum.”

as each best in-Greek knew so to-be most-worthless

266 Valde autem ridentur etiam imagines, quae fere in
greatly however are-laughed-at even images which generally into
 deformitatem aut in aliquod vitium corporis ducuntur
deformity or into some fault of-the-body are-drawn
 cum similitudine turpioris: ut meum illud in Helvium
with a-likeness of-a-baser as my that against Helvius
 Manciam “iam ostendam cuius modi sis,” cum ille
Mancia now I-shall-show of-what sort you-are when he
 “ostende, quaeso”; demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in
show pray I-pointed-out with-the-finger a-painted Gaul on
 Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis distortum, eiecta
a-Marian shield Cimbrian below the-New-shops distorted with-thrust-out
 lingua, buccis fluentibus; risus est commotus; nihil tam
with-tongue with-cheeks drooping laughter was roused nothing so
 Manciae simile visum est; ut cum Tito Pinario mentum
to-Mancia like seemed it-was as when to-Titus to-Pinarius the-chin
 in dicendo intorquenti: “tum ut diceret, si quid vellet,
in speaking to-(him)-twisting then that he-should-say if anything he-wished
 si nucem fregisset.”
if a-nut he-had-cracked

267 Etiam illa, quae minuendi aut augendi causa ad
even those which of-diminishing or of-magnifying for-the-sake to
 incredibilem admirationem efferuntur; velut tu, Crasse, in
an-incredible wonder are-carried as-when you Crassus in
 contione: “ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium, ut
a-public-meeting so to-himself himself great to-seem Memmius that
 in forum descendens caput ad fornecem Fabianum demitteret”;
into the-forum going-down the-head at the-arch Fabian he-would-lower
 ex quo genere etiam illud est, quod Scipio apud Numantiam,
from which kind even that is which Scipio at Numantia

cum stomacharetur cum C. Metello, dixisse dicitur: “si
when he-was-fuming with Gaius Metellus to-have-said is-said if
 quintum pareret mater eius, asinum fuisse parituram.”
a-fifth-(time) should-bear the-mother of-him an-ass to-have-been going-to-bear
 Arguta etiam significatio est, cum parva re et saepe 268
clever even the-hint is when by-a-small by-a-thing and often
 verbo res obscura et latens inlustratur; ut, cum C.
by-a-word a-matter obscure and hidden is-lighted-up as when to-Gaius
 Fabricio P. Cornelius, homo, ut existimabatur, avarus
to-Fabricius Publius Cornelius a-man as was-thought greedy
 et furax, sed egregie fortis et bonus imperator, gratias
and thievisb but outstandingly brave and a-good general thanks
 ageret, quod se homo inimicus consulem fecisset, bello
was-giving because him a-man an-enemy consul had-made in-a-war
 praesertim magno et gravi “nihil est, quod mihi gratias
especially great and grave nothing is why to-me thanks
 agas,” inquit “si malui compilari quam venire”; ut
you-should-give he-said if I-preferred to-be-plundered than to-be-sold as
 Asello Africanus obicienti lustrum illud infelix, “noli”
to-Asellus Africanus to-(him)-objecting the-lustrum that unlucky do-not-wish
 inquit “mirari; is enim, qui te ex aerariis exemit,
he-said to-wonder he for who you from the-tax-payers removed
 lustrum condidit et taurum immolavit.”
the-lustrum closed and a-bull sacrificed
 Urbana etiam dissimulatio est, cum alia dicuntur ac 269
urbane even dissimulation is when other-things are-said than
 sentias, non illo genere, de quo ante dixi, cum
you-think not by-that by-kind about which before I-have-spoken when
 contraria dicas, ut Lamiae Crassus, sed cum toto
contrary-things you-say as to-Lamia Crassus but when by-the-whole
 genere orationis severe ludas, cum aliter sentias ac loquare;
by-kind of-speech gravely you-play when otherwise you-think than you-speak

ut noster Scaevola Septumuleio illi Anagnino, cui pro
 as our Scaevola to-Septumuleius to-that to-the-Anagnine to-whom for
 C. Gracchi capite erat aurum repensum, roganti,
 of-Gaius of-Gracchus the-head had-been gold weighed-out to-(him)-asking
 ut se in Asiam praefectum duceret “quid tibi
 that himself into Asia as-prefect he-should-take what for-yourself
 vis,” inquit “insane? tanta malorum est multitudo civium,
 you-wish he-said madman so-great of-bad-men is the-multitude of-citizens
 ut tibi ego hoc confirmem, si Romae manseris, te
 that to-you I this may-affirm if at-Rome you-shall-have-stayed you
 paucis annis ad maximas pecunias esse venturum.”
 in-a-few in-years to the-greatest moneys to-be going-to-come

II.35 • IRONY, AND PLAYING THE FOOL

Fannius called Africanus an eiron, and Socrates surpassed everyone in that dissembling. Wit seasons every kind of talk and not pleading alone. Then the honorable word for a vicious thing, as when Africanus said he did not care for the over-careful; taking a man's words otherwise than he meant them; a sensible man playing the fool; feigned incomprehension, like Nasica's with Ennius; and the retort in kind.

270 In hoc genere Fannius in annalibus suis Africanum
 in this kind Fannius in the-annals his-own Africanus
 hunc Aemilianum dicit fuisse egregium et Graeco eum
 this Aemilianus says to-have-been outstanding and by-a-Greek him
 verbo appellat εἰρωνᾶ; sed, uti ei ferunt, qui melius
 by-a-word he-calls an-ironist but as those they-report who better
 haec norunt, Socratem opinor in hac ironia dissimulantiaque
 these know Socrates I-think in this irony and-dissembling
 longe lepore et humanitate omnibus praestitisse. Genus
 far in-charm and in-culture all to-have-surpassed a-kind

est perelegans et cum gravitate salsum cumque oratoriis
it-is very-elegant and with weight salty and-both to-oratorical
 dictionibus tum urbanis sermonibus accommodatum.

to-utterances and to-urbane to-conversations fitted

Et hercule omnia haec, quae a me de facetiis disputantur, 271

and by-Hercules all these which by me about wit are-discussed

non maiora forensium actionum quam omnium sermonum
not greater of-forensic of-pleadings than of-all of-conversations

condimenta sunt. Nam sicut quod apud Catonem est — qui
the-seasonings are for just-as which in Cato is who

multa rettulit, ex quibus a me exempli causa non
many-things has-reported from which by me of-an-example for-the-sake not

nulla ponuntur — per mihi scitum videtur, C. Publicium
none are-set very to-me clever seems Gaius Publicius

solitum dicere “P. Mummius cuiusvis temporis hominem
accustomed to-say Publius Mummius of-any of-occasion a-man

esse,” sic profecto se res habet, nullum ut sit vitae
to-be so assuredly itself the-thing has no that there-be of-life

tempus, in quo non deceat leporem humanitatemque versari.

time in which not it-befits charm and-culture to-be-engaged

Sed redeo ad cetera. Est huic finitimum dissimulationi, 272

but I-return to the-rest is to-this neighboring to-dissimulation

cum honesto verbo vitiosa res appellatur; ut cum

when by-an-honorable by-a-word a-faulty thing is-called as when

Africanus censor tribu movebat eum centurionem, qui

Africanus as-censor from-the-tribe was-removing that centurion who

in Pauli pugna non adfuerat, cum ille se custodiae
in of-Paulus the-battle not had-been-present when he himself of-guard-duty

causa diceret in castris remansisse quaereretque, cur ab
for-the-sake said in the-camp to-have-remained and-asked why by

eo notaretur, “non amo” inquit “nimium diligentis.”

him he-was-marked not I-love he-said too diligent-men

273 Acutum etiam illud est, cum ex alterius oratione aliud
sharp even that is when from of-another the-speech another-thing
 excipias atque ille vult; ut Salinatori Maximus, cum Tarento
you-take than he wishes as to-Salinator Maximus when Tarentum
 amisso arcem tamen Livius retinuisset multaque ex ea proelia
was-lost the-citadel still Livius had-kept and-many from it battles
 praeclara fecisset, cum aliquot post annis Maximus id oppidum
splendid had-fought when some after years Maximus that town
 recepisset rogaretque eum Salinator, ut meminisset opera
had-recovered and-asked him Salinator that he-should-remember by-the-work
 sua se Tarentum recepisse, “quidni” inquit “meminerim?”
his-own himself Tarentum to-have-recovered why-not he-said should-I-remember
 Numquam enim recepissem, nisi tu perdidisses.”
never for I-should-have-recovered unless you had-lost-(it)

274 Sunt etiam illa subabsurda, sed eo ipso nomine
there-are even those somewhat-absurd but for-that for-the-very reason
 saepe ridicula, non solum mimis perapposita, sed etiam
often laughable not only to-mimes very-suited but even
 quodam modo nobis:
in-a-certain way to-us

homo fatuus,

a-man foolish

postquam rem habere coepit, est emortuus.

after property to-have he-began he-has died

Et

and

quid est tibi ista mulier? Uxor. Similis me dius fidius.

what is to-you that woman a-wife like me god of-faith

Et

and

quamdiu ad aquas fuit, numquam est emortuus.

as-long-as at the-waters he-was never he-has died

Genus hoc levius et, ut dixi, mimicum, sed habet non

a-kind this lighter and as I-have-said mimic but it-has not

numquam aliquid etiam apud nos loci, ut vel non stultus

never something even among us of-place as even not a-fool

quasi stulte cum sale dicat aliquid: ut tibi, Antoni,

as-if foolishly with salt may-say something as to-you Antonius

Mancia, cum audisset te censorem a M. Duronio

Mancia when he-had-heard you as-censor by Marcus Duronius

de ambitu postulatum, "aliquando" inquit "tibi tuum

for bribery indicted at-last he-said for-you your-own

negotium agere licebit."

business to-do it-will-be-allowed

Valde haec ridentur et hercule omnia, quae a prudentibus 275

greatly these are-laughed-at and by-Hercules all which by prudent-men

per simulationem subabsurde salseque dicuntur. Ex quo

through pretense somewhat-absurdly and-saltily are-said from which

genere est etiam non videri intellegere quod intellegas,

kind is even not to-seem to-understand what you-understand

ut Pontidius "qualem existimas, qui in adulterio

as Pontidius of-wha-sort do-you-judge him-who in adultery

deprehenditur?" "tardum!" ut ego, qui in dilectu Metello,

is-caught slow as I who in a-levy to-Metellus

cum excusationem oculorum a me non acciperet et

when an-excuse of-the-eyes from me not he-took and

dixisset "tu igitur nihil vides?" "ego vero" inquam "a

he-had-said you therefore nothing do-you-see I indeed I-said from

porta Esquilina video villam tuam;"

the-gate Esquiline I-see the-villa your

276 ut illud Nasicae, qui cum ad poetam Ennium venisset

as that of-Nasica who when to the-poet Ennius had-come

eique ab ostio quaerenti Ennium ancilla dixisset domi

and-to-him from the-door asking Ennius the-maid had-said at-home

non esse, Nasica sensit illam domini iussu dixisse

not to-be Nasica perceived her of-the-master by-the-order to-have-said

et illum intus esse; paucis post diebus cum ad Nasicam

and him inside to-be a-few afterward on-days when to Nasica

venisset Ennius et eum ad ianuam quaereret, exclamat

had-come Ennius and him at the-door sought calls-out

Nasica domi non esse, tum Ennius "quid? ego non cognosco

Nasica at-home not to-be then Ennius what I not do-I-recognize

vocem" inquit "tuam?" Hic Nasica "homo es impudens:

the-voice he-said your here Nasica a-man you-are shameless

ego cum te quaererem ancillae tuae credidi te domi non

I when you I-sought to-the-maid your I-believed you at-home not

esse, tu mihi non credis ipsi?" Est bellum illud quoque,

to-be you to-me not do-you-believe to-myself is pretty that also

ex quo is, qui dixit inridetur in eo ipso genere, quo dixit;

from which he who spoke is-mocked in that very kind in-which he-spoke

277 ut, cum Q. Opimius consularis, qui adulescentulus male

as when Quintus Opimius of-consular-rank who as-a-youth ill

audisset, festivo homini Egilio, qui videretur mollior

had-been-spoken-of to-a-lively to-a-man to-Egilius who seemed softish

nec esset, dixisset “quid tu, Egilia mea? quando ad
and-not was had-said what you Egilia my when to
 me venis cum tua colu et lana?” “Non pol” inquit
me do-you-come with your distaff and wool not by-Pollux he-said
 “audeo, nam me ad famosas vetuit mater accedere.”
I-dare for me to notorious-(women) forbade (my)-mother to-approach

II.36 · HINTS, PEEVISHNESS, AND PATIENCE

Witty too are the sayings with the joke bidden in them, like the Sicilian who begged cuttings from the fig his friend's wife had hanged herself on. Then peevish jokes, and their opposite in Cato, who asked the man with the chest whether he was carrying anything else; the salted rebuke of folly; a reading nobody intended; a discrepancy; and the friendly reproof of a man in error.

Salsa sunt etiam, quae habent suspicionem ridiculi 278
salty are even which have a-bint of-the-laughable
 absconditam, quo in genere est Siculi illud, cui
bidden in-which in kind is of-the-Sicilian that to-whom
 cum familiaris quidam quereretur quod diceret uxorem suam
when a-friend a-certain complained because he-said the-wife his-own
 suspendisse se de ficu, “amabo te,” inquit “da mihi
to-have-hanged herself from a-fig-tree I-shall-love you he-said give to-me
 ex ista arbore quos seram surculos.” In eodem genere
from that tree which I-may-plant shoots in the-same kind
 est, quod Catulus dixit cuidam oratori malo: qui cum
is what Catulus said to-a-certain to-an-orator to-a-bad who when
 in epilogo misericordiam se movisse putaret, postquam
in the-epilogue pity himself to-have-stirred thought after
 adsedit, rogavit hunc videreturne misericordiam movisse,
he-sat-down he-asked this-man whether-it-seemed pity to-have-stirred

“ac magnam quidem,” inquit “neminem enim puto esse tam
and great indeed he-said no-one for I-think to-be so
durum, cui non oratio tua misericordia digna visa sit.”

hard to-whom not the-speech your of-pity worthy seemed it-may-be

279 Me tamen hercule etiam illa valde movent stomachosa

me still by-Hercules even those greatly move peevish

et quasi submorosa ridicula, non cum a moroso

and as-it-were somewhat-surly laughable-things not when by a-surly-man

dicuntur; tum enim non sal, sed natura ridetur; in

they-are-said then for not the-salt but the-nature is-laughed-at in

quo, ut mihi videtur, persalsum illud est apud Novium:

which as to-me it-seems very-salty that is in Novius

“quid ploras, pater?”

why do-you-weep father

“Mirum ni cantem: condemnatus sum.”

a-wonder unless I-should-sing condemned I-am

Huic generi quasi contrarium est ridiculi genus

to-this to-kind as-it-were opposite is of-the-laughable a-kind

patientis ac lenti, ut, cum Cato percussus esset ab eo,

of-the-patient and of-the-slow as when Cato struck had-been by him

qui arcam ferebat, cum ille diceret “cave,” rogavit “num

who a-chest was-carrying when he said look-out he-asked whether

quid aliud ferret praeter arcam.”

anything else he-was-carrying besides a-chest

280 Est etiam stultitiae salsa reprehensio, ut ille Siculus, cui

is even of-folly a-salty rebuke as that Sicilian to-whom

praetor Scipio patronum causae dabat hospitem suum,

the-praetor Scipio a-patron of-the-case was-giving a-guest-friend his-own

hominem nobilem, sed admodum stultum, “quaeso,” inquit

a-man noble but quite foolish I-beg he-said

“praetor, adversario meo da istum patronum, deinde mihi
praetor to-adversary my give that patron then to-me
 neminem dederis.” Movent illa etiam, quae coniectura
no-one you-should-give move those even which by-conjecture
 explanantur longe aliter atque sunt, sed acute atque
are-explained far otherwise than they-are but shrewdly and
 concinne; ut, cum Scaurus accusaret Rutilium ambitus, cum
neatly as when Scaurus was-accusing Rutilius of-bribery when
 ipse consul esset factus, ille repulsam tulisset, et in eius
be-himself consul had-been made he a-defeat had-borne and in his
 tabulis ostenderet litteras A. F. P. R. idque diceret esse,
tablets he-showed the-letters A F P R and-that he-said to-be
 actum fide P. Rutili; Rutilius autem, ante factum,
done by-the-good-faith of-Publius of-Rutilius Rutilius however before done
 post relatum; C. Canius, eques Romanus, cum Rufo
afterward entered Gaius Canius a-knight Roman when for-Rufus
 adesset, exclamat, neutrum illis litteris declarari: “quid
he-was-appearing cries-out neither by-those by-letters to-be-shown what
 ergo?” inquit Scaurus; “Aemilius fecit, plectitur Rutilius.”
then he-said Scaurus Aemilius did-it is-punished Rutilius
 Ridentur etiam discrepantia: “quid huic abest nisi
are-laughed-at even inconsistencies what to-this-man is-lacking except
 res et virtus?”
property and virtue

Bella etiam est familiaris reprehensio quasi errantis; ut
pretty even is a-friendly rebuke as-if of-one-erring as
 cum obiurgavit Albium Granium quod, cum eius tabulis
when rebuked Albius Granius because when by-his by-tablets
 quiddam ab Albucio probatum videretur, et valde absoluto
something by Albucius proved seemed and greatly when-acquitted

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Scaevola gauderet neque intellegeret contra suas tabulas
Scaevola he-rejoiced and-not he-understood against his-own tablets
 esse iudicatum.

to-have-been judged

- 282 Huic similis est etiam admonitio in consilio dando familiaris,
to-this like is even the-admonition in counsel in-giving friendly
 ut, cum patrono malo, cum vocem in dicendo obtudisset,
as when to-a-patron to-a-bad when the-voice in speaking he-had-blunted
 suadebat Granius, ut mulsum frigidum biberet, simul
was-advising Granius that honey-wine cold he-should-drink as-soon
 ac domum redisset, “perdam” inquit “vocem, si id
as home he-had-retained I-shall-ruin he-said the-voice if that
 fecero”: “melius est” inquit “quam reum.”

I-shall-have-done better it-is he-said than the-defendant

- 283 Bellum etiam est, cum quid cuique sit consentaneum dicitur;
pretty even is when what to-each is fitting is-said
 ut, cum Scaurus non nullam haberet invidiam ex eo, quod
as when Scaurus not none had ill-will from that because
 Phrygonis Pompei, locupletis hominis, bona sine testamento
of-Phrygio of-Pompeius of-a-rich of-a-man the-goods without a-will
 possederat, sederetque advocatus reo Bestiae, cum
he-had-possessed and-was-sitting as-counsel for-the-defendant for-Bestia when
 funus quoddam duceretur, accusator C. Memmius “vide,”
a-funeral a-certain was-being-led the-accuser Gaius Memmius see
 inquit “Scaure, mortuus rapitur, si potes esse possessor.”
he-said Scaurus a-dead-man is-buried-off if you-can to-be the-possessor

Nothing raises more laughter than what comes against expectation, as when Crassus, after the witness Silus had nodded to two milder possibilities, added that perhaps he had never heard the thing at all. Grant your adversary what he takes from you. Jokes of matter are few in kind, and a grave face sharpens them. Caesar then sends Antonius on, who sets out his method: weigh a case's good and bad, dwell on the good so the bad lies buried, and attack or defend by whichever is stronger.

Sed ex his omnibus nihil magis ridetur, quam quod est 284
 but from these all nothing more is-laughed-at than what is
 praeter expectationem, cuius innumerabilia sunt exempla,
 beyond expectation of-which countless there-are examples
 vel Appi maioris illius, qui in senatu, cum ageretur
 for-instance of-Appius of-the-elder of-that who in the-senate when it-was-treated
 de agris publicis et de lege Thoria et peteretur
 about lands public and about the-law Thorian and was-attacked
 Lucullus ab eis, qui a pecore eius depasci agros
 Lucullus by those who by the-flock of-him to-be-grazed-down the-lands
 publicos dicerent, “non est” inquit “Luculli pecus illud;
 public said not is he-said of-Lucullus the-flock that
 erratis”; — defendere Lucillum videbatur — “ego liberum
 you-err to-defend Lucillus he-seemed I free
 puto esse: qua libet pascitur.”

I-think it-to-be where it-pleases it-grazes

Placet etiam mihi illud Scipionis illius, qui Ti. Gracchum 285
 pleases even me that of-Scipio of-that who Tiberius Gracchus
 perculit: cum ei M. Flaccus multis probris obiectis
 struck-down when to-him Marcus Flaccus with-many with-reproaches when-thrown
 P. Mucium iudicem tulisset; “eiero,” inquit “iniquus
 Publius Mucius as-judge had-proposed I-swear-off he-said unfair

est"; cum esset admurmuratum, "ah," inquit "P. C.,
be-is when there-had-been a-murmur ab he-said fathers conscript
 non ego mihi illum iniquum eiero, verum omnibus." Ab
not I for-myself him unfair swear-off but for-all by
 hoc vero Crasso nihil facietus: cum laesisset testis Silus
this indeed Crassus nothing more-witty when had-injured as-witness Silus
 Pisonem, quod se in eum audisse dixisset, "potest
Piso because himself against him to-have-heard he-had-said it-can
 fieri," inquit "Sile, ut is, unde te audisse dicis, iratus
to-happen he-said Silus that he from-whom you to-have-heard you-say angry
 dixerit." Adnuit Silus. "Potest etiam, ut tu non recte
said-it nodded Silus it-can even that you not rightly
 intellexeris." Id quoque toto capite adnuit, ut se
understood that also with-the-whole with-head he-nodded that himself
 Crasso daret. "Potest etiam fieri," inquit "ut omnino,
to-Crassus he-might-give it-can even to-happen he-said that at-all
 quod te audisse dicis, numquam audieris." Hoc ita
what you to-have-heard you-say never you-heard this so
 praeter expectationem accidit, ut testem omnium risus
beyond expectation happened that the-witness of-all the-laughter
 obrueret. Huius generis est plenus Novius, cuius iocus est
overwhelmed of-this of-kind is full Novius whose jest is
 familiaris "sapiens si algebis, tremes" et alia permulta.
familiar wise-man if you-shall-be-cold you-will-shiver and others very-many

286 Saepe etiam facete concedas adversario id ipsum, quod
often even wittily you-may-concede to-an-adversary that very-(thing) which
 tibi ille detrahit; ut C. Laelius, cum ei quidam malo
to-you he takes-away as Gaius Laelius when to-him someone of-a-bad
 genere natus diceret, indignum esse suis maioribus, "at
of-family born said unworthy to-be of-his of-forefathers but
 hercule" inquit "tu tuis dignus." Saepe etiam sententiose
by-Hercules he-said you of-yours worthy often even sententiously

ridicula dicuntur, ut M. Cincius, quo die legem de
laughable-things are-said as Marcus Cincius on-which on-day a-law about
 donis et muneribus tulit, cum C. Cento prodisset
gifts and presents he-carried when Gaius Cento had-come-forward
 et satis contumeliose “quid fers, Cinciole?” quaesisset,
and quite insultingly what do-you-carry little-Cincius had-asked
 “ut emas,” inquit “Gai, si uti velis.”

that you-may-buy he-said Gaius if to-use you-wish

Saepe etiam salse, quae fieri non possunt, optantur;

287

often even saltily what to-be-done not can are-wished

ut M. Lepidus, cum, ceteris se in campo

as Marcus Lepidus when with-the-rest themselves in the-field

exercentibus, ipse in herba recubisset, “vellem hoc

exercising he-himself on the-grass had-lain-down I-could-wish this

esset,” inquit “laborare.” Salsum est etiam quaerentibus et

were he-said to-labor salty it-is even to-(those)-asking and

quasi percontantibus lente respondere quod nolint; ut

as-it-were to-(those)-inquiring slowly to-answer what they-do-not-wish as

censores Lepidus, cum M. Antistio Pyrgensi equum

the-censor Lepidus when from-Marcus from-Antistius from-Pyrgi the-horse

ademisset amicique vociferarentur et quaererent, quid ille

had-taken-away and-the-friends shouted and asked what he

patri suo responderet, cur ademptum sibi equum

to-the-father his-own should-answer why taken-away from-him the-horse

diceret, cum optimus colonus, parcissimus, modestissimus,

he-should-say when the-best farmer the-most-thrifty the-most-modest

frugalissimus esset, “me istorum” inquit “nihil credere.”

the-most-frugal he-was me of-those he-said nothing to-believe

Conliguntur a Graecis, alia non nulla, execrationes,

288

are-gathered by the-Greeks others not none curses

admirationes, minationes; sed haec ipsa nimis mihi videor

expressions-of-wonder threats but these very too to-me I-seem

in multa genera discripsisse; nam illa, quae verbi
into many kinds to-have-divided for those which of-a-word
 ratione et vi continentur, certa fere ac definita
by-the-nature and by-the-force are-contained fixed generally and defined
 sunt; quae plerumque, ut ante dixi, laudari magis
are which mostly as before I-have-said to-be-praised more
 quam rideri solent;
than to-be-laughed-at are-wont

289 haec autem, quae sunt in re ipsa et sententia, partibus
these however which are in the-thing itself and in-the-thought in-parts
 sunt innumerabilia, generibus pauca; expectationibus enim
are countless in-kinds few by-expectations for
 decipiendis et naturis aliorum inridendis et similitudine
by-deceiving and by-the-natures of-others by-mocking and by-the-likeness
 turpioris et dissimulatione et subabsurda dicendo et
of-something-baser and by-dissembling and somewhat-absurd by-saying and
 stulta reprehendendo risus moventur. Itaque imbuendus
foolish by-rebuking laughs are-stirred and-so to-be-steeped
 est is, qui iocose volet dicere, quasi natura quadam
is he who jestingly shall-wish to-speak as-if by-a-nature by-a-certain
 apta ad haec genera et moribus, ut ad cuiusque modi
fitted for these kinds and by-manners so-that to of-each of-sort
 genus ridiculi vultus etiam accommodetur; qui quidem
the-kind of-the-laughable the-face even may-be-fitted which indeed
 quo severior est et tristior, ut in te, Crasse, hoc
by-how-much sterner it-is and graver as in you Crassus by-this
 illa, quae dicuntur, salsiora videri solent.

those which are-said saltier to-seem are-wont

290 Sed iam tu, Antoni, qui hoc deversorio sermonis mei
but now you Antonius who at-this at-inn of-talk of-my
 libenter acquieturum te esse dixisti, tamquam in
gladly going-to-rest yourself to-be have-said as-if into

Promptinum deverteris, neque amoenum neque

the-Promptine-marsbes you-have-turned-aside neither a-pleasant nor

salubrem locum, censeo, ut satis diu te putes

a-healthy place I-judge that enough long yourself you-should-think

requiesce et iter reliquum conficere pergas.

to-have-rested and the-journey remaining to-finish you-should-proceed

‘Ego vero, atque hilare quidem a te acceptus,’ inquit ‘et

I indeed and merrily indeed by you received he-said and

cum doctior per te, tum etiam audacior factus iam ad

both more-learned through you and even bolder made now for

iocandum; non enim vereor ne quis me in isto genere

jesting not for I-fear lest anyone me in that kind

leviorem iam putet, quoniam quidem tu Fabricios mihi

lighter now should-think since indeed you the-Fabricii to-me

auctores et Africanos, Maximos, Catones, Lepidos protulisti.

as-authorities and the-Africani the-Maximi the-Catones the-Lepidi have-produced

Sed habetis ea, quae vultis ex me audire, de quibus

but you-have those which you-wish from me to-hear about which

quidem accuratius dicendum et cogitandum fuit; nam

indeed more-carefully to-be-spoken and to-be-thought it-was for

cetera facilia sunt atque ex eis, quae dicta sunt,

the-rest easier are and from those which said have-been

reliqua nascuntur omnia. Ego enim cum ad causam sum

the-remaining arise all I for when to a-case I-have

adgressus atque omnia cogitando, quoad facere potui,

approached and all-(things) by-thinking as-far-as to-do I-have-been-able

persecutus, cum et argumenta causae et eos locos, quibus

having-pursued when both the-arguments of-the-case and those topics by-which

animi iudicum conciliantur, et illos, quibus permoventur,

the-minds of-the-judges are-won and those by-which they-are-stirred

vidi atque cognovi, tum constituo quid habeat causa

I-have-seen and I-have-learned then I-settle what may-have the-case

quaeque boni, quid mali; nulla enim fere potest res in
each of-good what of-bad no for generally can thing into
 dicendi disceptationem aut controversiam vocari, quae non
of-speaking debate or controversy to-be-called which not
 habeat utrumque, sed, quantum habeat, id refert;

may-have each but how-much it-may-have that matters

292 mea autem ratio haec esse in dicendo solet, ut, boni quod

my however method this to-be in speaking is-wont that of-good what
 habeam, id amplectar, exornem, exaggerem, ibi commorer,
I-may-have that I-may-embrace I-may-adorn I-may-magnify there I-may-linger
 ibi habitem, ibi haeream; a malo autem vitioque

there I-may-dwell there I-may-cling from the-bad however and-from-the-fault
 causae ita recedam, non ut me id fugere appareat, sed

of-the-case so I-may-withdraw not that me that to-flee may-appear but
 ut totum bono illo ornando et augendo dissimulatum

that wholly by-the-good by-that by-adorning and by-magnifying dissembled

obruatur; et, si causa est in argumentis, firmissima

it-may-be-buried and if the-case is in arguments the-strongest

quaeque maxime tueor, sive plura sunt sive aliquod

each chiefly I-guard whether several they-are or some

unum; sin autem in conciliatione aut in permotione causa

one but-if however in conciliation or in stirring the-case

est, ad eam me potissimum partem, quae maxime movere

is to that me most-of-all part which chiefly to-move

animos hominum potest, confero.

the-minds of-men can I-betake

293 Summa denique huius generis haec est, ut si in refellendo

the-sum finally of-this of-kind this is that if in refuting

adversario firmior esse oratio quam in confirmandis nostris

the-adversary stronger to-be the-speech than in confirming our

rebus potest, omnia in illum tela conferam; si nostra

matters can all against him the-weapons I-may-bring if ours

probari facilius, quam illa redargui possunt, abducere animos
to-be-proved more-easily than those to-be-refuted can to-draw-away the-minds
 a contraria defensione et ad nostram conor deducere.
from the-opposing defense and to our I-try to-bring

II.38 · DOING THE CASE NO HARM

Antonius claims for himself the two easiest things, since the harder are beyond him: sometimes answering nothing at all to a troublesome argument, so that his retreat looks like a maneuver rather than flight; and taking more care to do his case no harm than good. Caesar recalls Crassus calling that fault treachery. Antonius replies that Crassus judges from his own rare powers, and tells how Themistocles asked instead for an art of forgetting.

Duo denique illa, quae facillima videntur, quoniam quae 294
two finally those which easiest seem since which
 difficiliora sunt, non possum, mihi pro meo iure sumo:
harder are not I-can for-myself for my right I-take
 unum, ut molesto aut difficili argumento aut loco non
one that to-a-troublesome or to-a-difficult to-an-argument or to-a-topic not
 numquam omnino nihil respondeam, quod forsitan aliquis
never at-all nothing I-may-answer which perhaps someone
 iure inriserit; quis enim est, qui id facere non possit? sed
rightly may-have-mocked who for is who that to-do not can but
 tamen ego de mea nunc, non de aliorum facultate disputo
still I about my now not about of-others the-faculty argue
 confiteorque me, si quae premat res vehementius, ita cedere
and-I-confess myself if any presses matter more-strongly so to-yield
 solere, ut non modo non abiecto, sed ne reiecto
to-be-wont that not only not when-cast-away but not when-thrown-back
 quidem scuto fugere videar, sed adhibere quandam in
even the-shield to-flee I-may-seem but to-employ a-certain in

dicendo speciem atque pompam et pugnae similem fugam;

speaking show and pomp and to-a-battle like a-flight

consistere vero in meo praesidio sic, ut non fugiendi

to-halt indeed in my post so that not of-fleeing

hostis, sed capiendi loci causa cessisse videar;

the-enemy but of-taking a-position for-the-sake to-have-withdrawn I-may-seem

295 alterum est illud, quod ego maxime oratori cavendum et

the-other is that which I chiefly for-the-orator to-be-guarded and

providendum puto quodque me sollicitare summe

to-be-provided-against I-think and-which me to-trouble in-the-highest-degree

solet: non tam ut prosim causis, elaborare soleo,

is-wont not so-much that I-may-profit for-the-cases to-labor I-am-wont

quam ut ne quid obsim; non quin enitendum sit in

as that not anything I-may-harm not but-that to-be-striven it-is in

utroque, sed tamen multo est turpius oratori nocuisse

each but still much it-is more-shameful for-an-orator to-have-harmed

videri causae quam non profuisse. Sed quid hoc loco

to-seem the-case than not to-have-profited but what at-this at-point

vos inter vos, Catule? An haec, ut sunt contemnenda,

you among yourselves Catulus or these as they-are to-be-despised

contemnitis?' 'Minime,' inquit ille 'sed Caesar de isto ipso

do-you-despise by-no-means said he but Caesar about that very

quiddam velle dicere videbatur.' 'Me vero libente' inquit

something to-wish to-say seemed with-me indeed willing said

Antonius 'dixerit sive refellendi causa sive quaerendi.'

Antonius let-him-say either of-refuting for-the-sake or of-asking

296 Tum Iulius 'ego me hercule,' inquit 'Antoni, semper is

then Julius I by Hercules he-said Antonius always such-a-one

fui, qui de te oratore sic praedicarem, unum te

I-have-been who about you as-an-orator so would-proclaim alone you

in dicendo mihi videri tectissimum propriumque hoc esse

in speaking to-me to-seem the-most-guarded and-proper this to-be

laudis tuae nihil a te umquam esse dictum, quod
of-praise your nothing by you ever to-have-been said which
 obsesset ei, pro quo diceret; idque memoria teneo,
might-harm him for whom you-were-speaking and-that in-memory I-hold
 cum mihi sermo cum hoc Crasso, multis audientibus,
when to-me a-talk with this Crassus with-many hearing
 esset institutus Crassusque plurimis verbis eloquentiam
had-been begun and-Crassus with-very-many with-words the-eloquence
 laudaret tuam, dixisse me cum ceteris tuis laudibus hanc
praised your to-have-said me with the-other your praises this
 esse vel maximam quod non solum quod opus esset
to-be even the-greatest that not only what needful was
 diceret, sed etiam quod non opus esset non diceret;
you-said but even what not needful was not you-said
 tum illum mihi respondere memini, cetera in te 297
then him to-me to-answer I-remember the-rest in you
 summe esse laudanda, illud vero improbi esse hominis
in-the-highest-degree to-be to-be-praised that indeed of-a-wicked to-be of-a-man
 et perfidiosi, dicere quod alienum esset et noceret ei,
and of-a-treacherous to-say what irrelevant was and might-harm him
 pro quo quisque diceret; qua re non sibi eum
for whom each was-speaking for-which reason not to-himself him
 disertum, qui id non faceret, videri, sed improbum, qui
eloquent who that not did to-seem but wicked who
 faceret. Nunc, si tibi videtur, Antoni, demonstres velim,
did now if to-you it-seems-good Antonius you-may-show I-could-wish
 qua re tu hoc ita magnum putes nihil in causa mali
for-what reason you this so great you-think nothing in a-case of-bad
 facere, ut nihil tibi in oratore maius esse videatur.
to-do that nothing to-you in an-orator greater to-be may-seem

- 298 'Dicam equidem, Caesar,' inquit 'quid intellegam, sed
I-shall-say for-my-part Caesar be-said what I-understand but
 et tu et vos hoc omnes,' inquit, 'mementote, non me
both you and you this all be-said remember not me
 de perfecti oratoris divinitate quadam loqui, sed de
about of-a-finished of-an-orator the-divinity a-certain to-speak but about
 exercitationis et consuetudinis meae mediocritate. Crassi
of-the-practice and of-the-habit of-my the-middling-quality of-Crassus
 quidem responsum excellentis cuiusdam est ingeni ac
indeed the-answer of-an-excellent of-a-certain is of-talent and
 singularis; cui quidem portenti simile esse visum est
of-a-singular to-whom indeed of-a-portent like to-be seemed it-is
 posse aliquem inveniri oratorem, qui aliquid mali faceret
to-be-able someone to-be-found an-orator who anything of-bad might-do
 dicendo obsesetque ei, quem defenderet;
by-speaking and-might-harm him whom be-defended
- 299 facit enim de se coniecturam; cuius tanta vis ingeni
be-makes for about himself the-inference of-whom so-great a-force of-talent
 est, ut neminem nisi consulto putet, quod contra se ipsum
is that no-one except on-purpose he-thinks what against him himself
 sit, dicere; sed ego non de praestanti quadam et eximia,
is to-say but I not about an-outstanding a-certain and exceptional
 sed prope de vulgari et communi vi nunc disputo. Ita
but nearly about a-common and shared force now argue so
 apud Graecos fertur incredibili quadam magnitudine
among the-Greeks it-is-reported with-an-incredible with-a-certain with-greatness
 consili atque ingeni Atheniensis ille fuisse Themistocles;
of-judgment and of-talent the-Athenian that to-have-been Themistocles
 ad quem quidam doctus homo atque in primis eruditus
to whom a-certain learned man and among the-first cultivated
 accessisse dicitur eique artem memoriae, quae tum
to-have-approached is-said and-to-him an-art of-memory which then

primum proferebatur, pollicitus esse se traditurum; cum

first was-being-produced to-have-promised to-be himself going-to-hand-on when

ille quaesisset quidnam illa ars efficere posset, dixisse illum

he had-asked what-then that art to-effect could to-have-said that

doctorem, ut omnia meminisset; et ei Themistoclem

teacher that all-(things) he-might-remember and to-him Themistocles

respondisse gratius sibi illum esse facturum, si se

to-have-answered more-pleasing to-himself him to-be going-to-do if himself

oblivisci quae vellet quam si meminisse docuisset.

to-forget what he-wished than if to-remember he-had-taught

Videsne quae vis in homine acerrimi ingeni, quam potens 300

do-you-see what force in a-man of-the-keenest of-talent how powerful

et quanta mens fuerit? Qui ita responderit, ut intellegere

and how-great a-mind was who so answered that to-understand

possemus nihil ex illius animo, quod semel esset

we-could nothing from of-that the-mind which once had-been

infusum, umquam effluere potuisse; cum quidem ei

poured-in ever to-flow-away to-have-been-able since indeed for-him

fuerit optabilius oblivisci posse potius quod meminisse

it-was more-desirable to-forget to-be-able rather what to-remember

nollet quam quod semel audisset vidissetve meminisse.

he-did-not-wish than what once he-had-heard or-had-seen to-remember

Sed neque propter hoc Themistocli responsum memoriae

but neither on-account-of this of-Themistocles the-answer to-memory

nobis opera danda non est neque illa mea cautio et

by-us effort to-be-given not is nor that my caution and

timiditas in causis propter praestantem prudentiam Crassi

timidity in cases on-account-of the-outstanding practical-wisdom of-Crassus

neglegenda est; uterque enim istorum non mihi attulit

to-be-neglected is each for of-those not to-me has-brought

aliquam, sed suam significavit facultatem.

some but his-own has-shown faculty

A witness who would have done no harm is provoked into doing it; a client's odium is enlarged by praising him; men the jury love are abused without preparation; a juror's own faults are flung at the other side; the advocate makes the quarrel his own. The ignorant blame a foolish word sooner than they praise a wise silence. Arrangement follows, and arguments are to be weighed rather than counted.

301 Etenim permulta sunt in causis in omni parte orationis
for-indeed very-many-things are in cases in every part of-a-speech
 circumspicienda, ne quid offendas, ne quo intruas:
to-be-looked-round-at lest anything you-offend lest into-anything you-rush
 saepe aliqui testis aut non laedit aut minus laedit, nisi
often some witness either not harms or less harms unless
 lacessatur; orat reus, urgent advocati, ut invehmur, ut
he-is-provoked begs the-defendant press the-supporters that we-may-inveigh that
 male dicamus, denique ut interrogemus: non moveor, non
ill we-may-speak finally that we-may-question not I-am-moved not
 obtempero, non satis facio; neque tamen ullam adsequor
I-comply not enough I-do nor still any I-gain
 laudem; homines enim imperiti facilius quod stulte
praise men for unskilled more-easily what foolishly
 dixeris reprehendere quam quod sapienter tacueris
you-have-said to-blame than what wisely you-have-kept-silent
 laudare possunt.
to-praise they-can

302 Hic quantum fit mali, si iratum, si non stultum, si non
here how-much is-made of-bad if an-angry if not a-foolish if not
 levem testem laesis! Habet enim et voluntatem
a-fickle witness you-shall-have-injured he-has for both the-will
 nocendi in iracundia et vim in ingenio et pondus in vita.
of-harming in anger and force in talent and weight in life

Nec, si hoc Crassus non committit, ideo non multi et saepe
nor if this Crassus not commits therefore not many and often
 committunt. Quo quidem mihi turpius videri nihil
commit than-which indeed to-me more-shameful to-seem nothing
 solet, quam quod ex oratoris dicto aliquo aut responso
is-wont than that from of-an-orator a-saying some or from-an-answer
 aut rogato sermo ille sequitur: "occidit." "Adversariumne?"
or from-a-question talk that follows he-has-killed the-adversary-whether
 "Immo vero" aiunt "se et eum, quem defendit."

nay indeed they-say himself and him whom he-defends
 Hoc Crassus non putat nisi perfidia accidere posse; ego 303
this Crassus not thinks except by-treachery to-happen to-be-able I
 autem saepissime video in causis aliquid mali facere homines
however very-often see in cases something of-bad to-do men
 minime malos. Quid, illud, quod supra dixi, solere me
least bad what that which above I-have-said to-be-wont me
 cedere et, ut planius dicam, fugere ea, quae valde causam
to-yield and that more-plainly I-may-say to-flee those which greatly the-case
 meam premerent, cum id non faciunt alii versanturque in
my pressed when that not do others and-they-are-engaged in
 hostium castris ac sua praesidia dimittunt, mediocriterne
of-the-enemy the-camp and their-own defenses dismiss slightly-whether
 causis nocent, cum aut adversariorum adiumenta confirmant
the-cases they-harm when either of-the-adversaries the-supports they-strengthen
 aut ea, quae sanare nequeunt, exulcerant?

or those which to-heal they-cannot they-make-sore
 Quid, cum personarum, quas defendunt, rationem non habent, 304
what when of-the-persons whom they-defend the-account not they-have
 si, quae sunt in eis invidiosa, non mitigant extenuando, sed
if what are in them invidious not they-soften by-extenuating but
 laudando et efferendo invidiosiora faciunt, quantum est in
by-praising and by-exalting more-invidious they-make how-much is in

eo tandem mali? Quid, si in homines caros iudicibusque
that pray of-bad what if against men dear and-to-the-judges
 iucundos sine ulla praemunitione orationis acerbius et
pleasing without any fore-defense of-speech too-bitterly and
 contumeliosius invehare, nonne a te iudices abalienes?

too-insultingly you-should-inveigh surely from you the-judges you-would-alienate

305 Quid, si, quae vitia aut incommoda sunt in aliquo iudice

what if what faults or drawbacks are in some judge

uno aut pluribus, ea tu in adversariis exprobrando non

one or in-more those you in the-adversaries by-reproaching not

intellegas te in iudices invehi, mediocrene peccatum

you-perceive yourself against the-judges to-inveigh a-slight-whether fault

est? Quid, si, cum pro altero dicas, litem tuam facias

is what if when for another you-speak the-suit your-own you-make

aut laesus efferare iracundia, causam relinquis,

or when-injured you-are-carried-away by-anger the-case you-abandon

nihilne noceas? In quo ego, non quo libenter

nothing-at-all-whether do-you-harm in which I not because gladly

male audiam, sed quia causam non libenter relinquo,

ill I-may-bear but because the-case not gladly I-abandon

nimum patiens et lentus existimor; ut, cum te ipsum,

too enduring and slow I-am-thought as when you yourself

Sulpici, obiurgabam, quod ministratorem peteres, non

Sulpicius I-was-rebuking because the-attendant you-attacked not

adversarium; ex quo etiam illud adsequor, ut, si quis

the-adversary from which even that I-gain that if anyone

mihi male dicat, petulans aut plane insanus esse videatur.

to-me ill speaks impudent or plainly mad to-be he-may-seem

306 In ipsis autem argumentis si quid posueris aut

in the-very however arguments if anything you-shall-have-placed either

aperte falsum aut ei, quod dixeris dicturusve sis,

openly false or to-that which you-shall-have-said or-going-to-say you-are

contrarium aut genere ipso remotum ab usu iudiciorum
contrary or by-the-kind itself removed from the-usage of-the-courts
 ac foro, nihilne noceas? Quid multa? Omnis
and from-the-forum nothing-at-all-whether do-you-harm what many-things all
 cura mea solet in hoc versari semper — dicam enim
the-care my is-wont in this to-be-engaged always I-shall-say for
 saepius — si possim ut boni efficiam aliquid dicendo;
more-often if I-can that of-good I-may-effect something by-speaking
 sin id minus, ut certe ne quid mali.

but-if that less that certainly not anything of-bad

Itaque nunc illuc redeo, Catule, in quo tu me paulo ante 307

and-so now thither I-return Catulus in which you me a-little before
 laudabas, ad ordinem conlocationemque rerum ac locorum;

were-praising to the-order and-the-placing of-matters and of-topics

cuius ratio est duplex; altera, quam adfert natura

of-which the-method is twofold the-one which brings the-nature

causarum, altera, quae oratorum iudicio et prudentia

of-the-cases the-other which of-the-orators by-the-judgment and by-practical-wisdom

comparatur: nam ut aliquid ante rem dicamus, deinde ut

is-gained for that something before the-matter we-may-say then that

rem exponamus, post ut eam probemus nostris praesidiis

the-matter we-may-set-forth afterward that it we-may-prove our defenses

confirmandis, contrariis refutandis, deinde ut concludamus

by-confirming the-opposite by-refuting then that we-may-conclude

atque ita peroremus, hoc dicendi natura ipsa praescribit;

and so we-may-perorate this of-speaking the-nature itself prescribes

ut vero statuamus ea, quae probandi et docendi causa 308

that indeed we-may-settle those which of-proving and of-teaching for-the-sake

dicenda sunt, quem ad modum componamus, id est vel

to-be-said are in-what to way we-may-arrange that is even

maxime proprium oratoris prudentiae. Multa enim occurrunt

chiefly proper of-the-orator of-practical-wisdom many for occur

309

argumenta; multa, quae in dicendo profutura videantur; sed
arguments many which in speaking going-to-profit may-seem but
 eorum partim ita levia sunt, ut contemnenda sint; partim,
of-them some so slight are that to-be-despised they-are some
 etiam si quid habent adiumenti, sunt non numquam eius
even if anything they-have of-help are not never of-that
 modi, ut insit in eis aliquid viti neque tanti sit
sort that there-may-be-in in them something of-fault and-not of-so-much may-be
 illud, quod prodesse videatur, ut cum aliquo malo coniungatur;
that which to-profit may-seem that with some evil it-may-be-joined
 quae autem utilia sunt atque firma, si ea tamen, ut saepe
which however useful are and strong if they still as often
 fit, valde multa sunt, ea, quae ex eis aut levissima sunt
happens greatly many are those which from them either the-slightest are
 aut aliis gravioribus consimilia, secerni arbitror oportere
or to-others to-weightier very-similar to-be-set-apart I-think it-behooves
 atque ex oratione removeri: equidem cum conligo argumenta
and from the-speech to-be-removed for-my-part when I-gather the-arguments
 causarum, non tam ea numerare soleo quam expendere.
of-the-cases not so-much them to-count I-am-wont as to-weigh

II.40 • WHERE THE STRONGEST GOES

Only the wish to instruct should show; goodwill and passion must run through the whole speech as blood runs through a body. A digression to move the hearer may follow the narrative or the proofs. Weak arguments must not stand first, nor the weakest advocate speak first where several plead, since a case that does not mend at once is in a bad way. The opening is composed last, gentle rather than combative, and drawn from the case's own vitals.

Et quoniam, quod saepe iam dixi, tribus rebus homines ad 310
and since what often now I-have-said by-three by-things men to
 nostram sententiam perducimus, aut docendo aut conciliando
our opinion we-bring either by-teaching or by-conciliating
 aut permovendo, una ex tribus his rebus res prae
or by-stirring one from three from-these things the-thing before
 nobis est ferenda, ut nihil aliud nisi docere velle videamur;
us is to-be-carried that nothing else except to-teach to-wish we-may-seem
 reliquae duae, sicuti sanguis in corporibus, sic illae in
the-remaining two just-as blood in bodies so those in
 perpetuis orationibus fusae esse debebunt; nam et principia
continuous speeches spread to-be will-be-obliged for both the-openings
 et ceterae partes orationis, de quibus paulo post pauca
and the-other parts of-a-speech about which a-little afterward few-things
 dicemus, habere hanc vim magno opere debent, ut ad eorum
we-shall-say to-have this force with-great with-effort ought that to of-those
 mentis, apud quos agetur, movendas pertinere possint.
the-minds before whom it-will-be-pleaded to-be-moved to-pertain they-may-be-able
 Sed his partibus orationis quae, etsi nihil docent 311
but to-these to-parts of-speech which although nothing they-teach
 argumentando, persuadendo tamen et commovendo perficiunt
by-arguing by-persuading still and by-stirring accomplish
 plurimum, quamquam maxime proprius est locus et in
most although chiefly proper is the-place both in
 exordiando et in perorando, digredi tamen ab eo, quod
beginning and in perorating to-digress still from that which
 proposueris atque agas, permovendorum animorum causa
you-have-proposed and you-plead of-to-be-stirred of-minds for-the-sake
 saepe utile est;
often useful it-is

312 itaque vel re narrata et exposita saepe datur ad
and-so either the-matter when-narrated and set-forth often is-given for
 commovendos animos digrediendi locus, vel argumentis
stirring the-minds of-digressing a-place or when-the-arguments
 nostris confirmatis vel contrariis refutatis vel utroque
our have-been-confirmed or when-the-opposite have-been-refuted or in-each
 loco vel omnibus, si habet eam causa dignitatem atque
in-place or in-all if has that the-case dignity and
 copiam, recte id fieri potest; eaeque causae sunt ad
fullness rightly that to-be-done can and-those cases are for
 augendum et ad ornandum gravissimae atque plenissimae,
magnifying and for adorning the-weightiest and the-fullest
 quae plurimos exitus dant ad eius modi digressionem,
which the-most outlets give for of-that sort a-digression
 ut eis locis uti liceat, quibus animorum impetus
that those topics to-use it-may-be-allowed by-which of-the-minds the-impulses
 eorum, qui audiant, aut impellantur aut reflectantur.
of-those who hear either may-be-driven or may-be-turned-back

313 Atque etiam in illo reprehendo eos, qui, quae minime firma
and even in that I-blame those who what least strong
 sunt, ea prima conlocant; in quo illos quoque errare arbitror,
are those first place in which them also to-err I-think
 qui, si quando — id quod mihi numquam placuit — pluris
who if ever that which to-me never has-pleased more
 adhibent patronos, ut in quoque eorum minimum putant esse,
employ advocates as in each of-them least they-think to-be
 ita eum primum volunt dicere: res enim hoc postulat, ut
so him first they-wish to-speak the-matter for this demands that
 eorum expectationi, qui audiunt, quam celerrime succurratur;
of-those to-the-expectation who hear as most-quickly it-be-met
 cui si initio satis factum non sit; multo plus sit in
to-which if at-the-outset enough done not may-be much more may-be in

reliqua causa laborandum; male enim se res habet, quae

the-remaining case to-be-labored badly for itself the-matter has which

non statim, ut dici coepta est, melior fieri videtur.

not at-once as to-be-said begun it-has-been better to-be-made seems

Ergo ut in oratore optimus quisque, sic in oratione 314

therefore as in an-orator the-best each so in a-speech

firmissimum quodque sit primum; dum illud tamen in

the-strongest each let-it-be first provided that still in

utroque teneatur, ut ea, quae excellent, servantur etiam ad

each be-held that those which shall-excel be-kept even for

perorandum; si quae erunt mediocria, nam vitiosis nusquam

perorating if any shall-be middling for for-faulty nowhere

esse oportet locum, in mediam turbam atque in gregem

to-be it-behooves a-place into the-middle throng and into the-herd

coniciantur.

let-them-be-thrown

Hisce omnibus rebus consideratis tum denique id, quod 315

these all things when-considered then at-last that which

primum est dicendum, postremum soleo cogitare, quo

first is to-be-said last I-am-wont to-think with-what

utar exordio. Nam si quando id primum invenire

I-may-use with-an-opening for if ever that first to-find

volui, nullum mihi occurrit nisi aut exile aut nugatorium

I-have-wished nothing to-me occurred except either thin or trifling

aut vulgare aut commune. Principia autem dicendi semper cum

or common or shared the-openings however of-speaking always both

accurata et acuta et instructa sententiis, apta verbis, tum

careful and sharp and furnished with-thoughts fitted with-words then

vero causarum propria esse debent; prima est enim quasi

indeed of-the-cases proper to-be ought first is for as-it-were

- cognitio et commendatio orationis in principio, quaeque
the-acquaintance and the-commendation of-the-speech in the-opening and-which
 continuo eum, qui audit, permulcere atque allicere debet;
at-once him who hears to-soothe and to-attract ought
- 316 in quo admirari soleo non equidem istos, qui nullam huic
in which to-wonder I-am-wont not for-my-part at-those who no to-this
 rei operam dederunt, sed hominem in primis disertum
to-thing effort have-given but at-a-man among the-first eloquent
 atque eruditum, Philippum, qui ita solet surgere ad dicendum,
and learned at-Philippus who so is-wont to-rise for speaking
 ut quod primum verbum habiturus sit, nesciat; et
that what first word going-to-have he-is he-does-not-know and
 ait idem, cum brachium concalfecerit, tum se solere
says the-same when the-arm he-shall-have-warmed then himself to-be-wont
 pugnare; neque attendit eos ipsos, unde hoc simile ducat,
to-fight and-not he-notices those themselves whence this comparison he-draws
 primas illas hastas ita iactare leniter, ut et venustati vel
the-first those spears so to-burl gently that both to-grace even
 maxime serviant et reliquis viribus suis consulant.
chiefly they-serve and for-the-remaining for-strength their-own they-provide
- 317 Nec est dubium, quin exordium dicendi vehemens et
nor is-it doubtful but-that the-opening of-speaking vehement and
 pugnax non saepe esse debeat; sed si in ipso illo
combative not often to-be ought but if in the-very that
 gladiatorio vitae certamine, quo ferro decernitur, tamen
gladiatorial of-life in-the-contest in-which by-steel it-is-decided still
 ante congressum multa fiunt, quae non ad vulnus, sed
before the-encounter many-things are-done which not to a-wound but
 ad speciem valere videantur, quanto hoc magis in oratione
to show to-avail seem how-much this more in a-speech
 est spectandum, in qua non vis potius quam delectatio
is to-be-looked-to in which not force rather than delight

postulatur! Nihil est denique in natura rerum omnium,
is-demanded nothing is finally in the-nature of-things of-all
 quod se universum profundat et quod totum repente
which itself whole pours-out and which wholly suddenly
 evolvat; sic omnia, quae fiunt quaeque aguntur acerrime,
unrolls so all-things which are-done and-which are-carried-on most-keenly
 lenioribus principiis natura ipsa praetexuit.

with-gentler with-beginnings nature itself has-fringed

Haec autem in dicendo non extrinsecus alicunde quaerenda, 318

these however in speaking not from-outside from-somewhere to-be-sought

sed ex ipsis visceribus causae sumenda sunt; idcirco

but from the-very the-vitals of-the-case to-be-taken are therefore

tota causa pertemptata atque perspecta, locis

when-the-whole case has-been-tested and examined when-the-topics

omnibus inventis atque instructis considerandum est

all have-been-found and equipped to-be-considered it-is

quo principio sit utendum.

with-what with-an-opening it-is to-be-used

Sic et facile reperientur; sumentur enim ex eis 319

so both easily they-will-be-found they-will-be-taken for from those

rebus, quae erunt uberrimae vel in argumentis vel in

things which will-be the-richest either in arguments or in

eis partibus, ad quas dixi digredi saepe oportere; et

those parts to which I-have-said to-digress often it-behooves and

momenti aliquid adferent, cum erunt paene ex intima

of-weight something they-will-bring when they-will-be almost from the-inmost

defensione deprompta, et apparebit ea non modo non

the-defense drawn and it-will-appear they not only not

esse communia nec in alias causas posse transferri, sed

to-be common nor into other cases to-be-able to-be-transferred but

penitus ex ea causa quae agatur, effloruisse.

deeply from that the-case which is-pleaded to-have-flowered

An opening should show the whole matter, prepare a way in, or lend dignity, and stand to the case as a porch stands to a house. Its matter comes from the client, the adversary, the case, or the jury, and it must join the speech as a limb, not like a lyre-player's prelude. A narrative cut to the bone loses the pleasure that persuades, and it must be clear, or it darkens the whole speech.

320 Omne autem principium aut rei totius, quae agetur,
 every however opening either of-the-thing whole which will-be-pleaded
 significationem habere debebit aut aditum ad causam et
 an-indication to-have will-be-obliged or an-approach to the-case and
 communionem aut quoddam ornamentum et dignitatem;
 a-preparing-of-the-way or a-certain ornament and dignity
 sed oportet, ut aedibus ac templis vestibula et aditus, sic
 but it-behooves as to-houses and to-temples porches and approaches so
 causis principia pro portione rerum praeponere; itaque
 to-cases openings in proportion of-the-matters to-set-before and-so
 in parvis atque infrequentibus causis ab ipsa re est
 in small and ill-attended cases from the-very thing it-is
 exordiri saepe commodius;
 to-begin often more-convenient

321 sed cum erit utendum principio, quod plerumque erit,
 but when it-shall-be to-be-used with-an-opening which mostly it-will-be
 aut ex reo aut ex adversario aut ex re aut ex
 either from the-defendant or from the-adversary or from the-thing or from
 eis, apud quos agetur, sententias duci licebit.
 those before whom it-will-be-pleaded thoughts to-be-drawn it-will-be-allowed
 Ex reo (reos appello, quorum res est), quae
 from the-defendant defendants I-call whose the-matter is which
 significant bonum virum, quae liberalem, quae calamitosum,
 may-signify a-good man which a-generous which unfortunate

quae misericordia dignum, quae valeant contra falsam
which of-pity worthy which may-avail against a-false
 criminationem; ex adversario eisdem ex locis fere contraria;
accusation from the-adversary the-same from topics generally the-opposite
 ex re, si crudelis, si nefanda, si praeter opinionem, si 322
from the-thing if cruel if wicked if beyond expectation if
 immerito, si misera, si ingrata, si indigna, si nova, si quae
undeservedly if wretched if thankless if unworthy if new if any
 restitui sanarique non possit; ex eis autem, apud quos
to-be-restored and-to-be-healed not can from those however before whom
 agetur, ut benevolos beneque existimantis efficiamus,
it-will-be-pleaded that well-disposed and-well judging we-may-make
 quod agendo efficitur melius quam rogando. Est id quidem
which by-acting is-effected better than by-asking is that indeed
 in totam orationem confundendum nec minime in
into the-whole speech to-be-diffused and-not least into
 extremam; sed tamen multa principia ex eo genere gignuntur.
the-last but still many openings from that kind are-born
 Nam et attentum monent Graeci ut principio faciamus 323
for both attentive advise the-Greeks that at-the-opening we-may-make
 iudicem et docilem; quae sunt utilia, sed non principi
the-judge and teachable which are useful but not of-the-opening
 magis propria quam reliquarum partium; faciliora etiam in
more proper than of-the-remaining of-the-parts easier even in
 principiis, quod et attenti tum maxime sunt, cum omnia
the-openings because both attentive then chiefly they-are when all-(things)
 exspectant, et dociles magis in initiis esse possunt;
they-await and teachable more in the-beginnings to-be they-can
 inlustriora enim sunt, quae in principiis quam quae in
more-brilliant for are which in the-openings than which in
 mediis causis dicuntur aut arguendo aut refellendo.
the-middle cases are-said either by-proving or by-refuting

324 Maximam autem copiam principiorum ad iudicem aut
the-greatest however store of-openings for the-judge either
 adliciendum aut incitandum ex eis locis trahemus, qui
for-attracting or for-rousing from those topics we-shall-draw which
 ad motus animorum conficiendos inerunt in causa,
for the-movements of-minds for-producing will-be-in in the-case
 quos tamen totos explicare in principio non oportebit, sed
which still whole to-unfold in the-opening not it-will-behoove but
 tantum impelli iudicem primo leviter, ut iam inclinato
only to-be-driven the-judge at-first lightly that already on-(him)-inclined
 reliqua incumbat oratio.

the-remaining may-press speech

325 Conexum autem ita sit principium consequenti orationi,
connected however so let-be the-opening to-the-following to-the-speech
 ut non tamquam citharoedi prooemium adfictum aliquid,
that not as-if of-a-lyre-player a-prelude fastened-on something
 sed cohaerens cum omni corpore membrum esse videatur.
but cohering with the-whole the-body a-limb to-be it-may-seem
 Nam non nulli, cum illud meditati ediderunt, sic ad
for not none when that having-rehearsed they-have-uttered so to
 reliqua transeunt, ut audientiam fieri sibi non
the-rest pass-over that a-hearing to-be-made for-themselves not
 velle videantur. Atque eius modi illa prolusio debet esse,
to-wish they-may-seem and of-that sort that prelude ought to-be
 non ut Samnitium, qui vibrant hastas ante pugnam, quibus
not as of-the-Samnites who brandish spears before the-fight which
 in pugnando nihil utuntur, sed ut ipsis sententiis,
in fighting nothing they-use but that by-the-very by-thoughts
 quibus proluserint, vel pugnare possint.
with-which they-may-have-preluded even to-fight they-may-be-able

Narrare vero rem quod breviter iubent, si brevis 326

to-narrate indeed the-matter that briefly they-bid if brevity

appellanda est, cum verbum nullum redundat, brevis est

to-be-called it-is when a-word not-one overflows brief is

L. Crassi oratio; sin tum est brevis, cum tantum

of-Lucius of-Crassus the-speech but-if then is brevity when so-much

verborum est quantum necesse est, aliquando id opus est;

of-words there-is as-much-as necessary is sometimes that need is

sed saepe obest vel maxime in narrando, non solum quod

but often it-harms even chiefly in narrating not only because

obscuritatem adfert, sed etiam quod eam virtutem, quae

obscurity it-brings but even because that merit which

narrationis est maxima, ut iucunda et ad persuadendum

of-the-narrative is the-greatest that pleasing and for persuading

accommodata sit, tollit. Videant illa

fitted it-may-be it-removes let-them-see those

nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis...

for he after he-came-out from the-ephebes

quam longa est narratio! Mores adolescentis ipsius et 327

how long is the-narrative the-character of-the-youth himself and

servilis percontatio, mors Chrysidis, vultus et forma et

the-servant's questioning the-death of-Chrysis the-face and the-form and

lamentatio sororis, reliqua pervarie iucundeque narrantur.

the-lament of-the-sister the-rest very-variously and-pleasantly are-told

Quod si hanc brevitatem quaesisset:

which if this brevity he-had-sought

effertur, imus, ad sepulcrum venimus,

she-is-carried-out we-go to the-tomb we-come

in ignem imposita est,

on the-fire placed she-was

decem versiculis totum conficere potuisset; quamquam hoc

in-ten in-little-verses the-whole to-finish he-could-have although this

ipsum “effertur, imus,” concisum est ita, ut non

very-(thing) she-is-carried-out we-go clipped is so that not

brevitati servitum sit, sed magis venustati.

to-brevity served it-may-be but rather to-charm

328 Quod si nihil fuisset, nisi “in ignem imposita est,”

which if nothing there-had-been except on the-fire placed she-was

tamen res tota cognosci facile potuisset. Sed et

still the-matter whole to-be-known easily could-have but both

festivitatem habet narratio distincta personis et interpuncta

liveliness has a-narrative marked-out by-persons and punctuated

sermonibus, et est et probabilius, quod gestum esse

by-speeches and is both more-credible what done to-have-been

dicas, cum quem ad modum actum sit exponas, et

you-say when in-what to way carried-on it-was you-set-forth and

multo apertius ad intellegendum est, si †constituitur

much clearer for understanding it-is if it-is-set-up

aliquando ac non ista brevitate percurritur.

sometimes and not with-that with-brevity is-run-through

Apertam enim narrationem tam esse oportet quam cetera; 329

clear for a-narrative so to-be it-behooves as the-rest
 sed hoc magis in hac elaborandum est, quod et difficilius
but by-this more in this to-be-labored is because both harder
 est non esse obscurum in re narranda quam aut
it-is not to-be obscure in a-thing being-narrated than either
 in principio aut in argumentando aut in perorando; et
in the-opening or in arguing or in perorating and
 maiore etiam periculo haec pars orationis obscura est
with-greater even with-danger this part of-a-speech obscure is
 quam ceterae, vel quia, si quo alio in loco est dictum
than the-others either because if some other in place has-been said
 quid obscurius, tantum id perit, quod ita dictum est,
something more-obscurely only that perishes which so said has-been
 narratio obscura totam occaecat orationem; vel quod alia
a-narrative obscure the-whole darkens speech or because others
 possis, semel si obscurius dixeris, dicere alio loco
you-can once if more-obscurely you-shall-have-said to-say in-another in-place
 planius, narrationis unus est in causa locus. Erit autem
more-plainly of-the-narrative one is in the-case place it-will-be however
 perspicua narratio, si verbis usitatis, si ordine temporum
clear the-narrative if with-words customary if by-the-order of-times
 servato, si non interrupte narrabitur.
when-kept if not interruptedly it-shall-be-told

Whether to narrate at all is a matter of judgment, and the narrative is the spring of everything after it. Then the issue is stated, proof and refutation are joined, and the close inflames or softens. Giving counsel takes a man of real weight, with wisdom to see and authority to carry, with less display in the senate than before the people. The question is always what is expedient, what is honorable, and what is possible.

- 330 Sed quando utendum sit aut non sit narratione, id est
but when to-be-used it-is or not it-is with-a-narrative that is
 consili; neque enim si nota res est nec dubium quid
of-judgment nor for if known the-matter is nor doubtful what
 gestum sit, narrare oportet, nec si adversarius narravit, nisi
done has-been to-narrate it-behooves nor if the-adversary has-narrated except
 si refellemus; ac si quando erit narrandum, nec illa, quae
if we-shall-refute and if ever it-shall-be to-be-narrated and-not those which
 suspicionem et crimen efficient contraque nos erunt, acriter
suspicion and a-charge will-produce and-against us will-be keenly
 persequemur et, quicquid potuerit, detrahemus; ne
we-shall-pursue and whatever it-shall-have-been-possible we-shall-take-away lest
 illud, quod Crassus, si quando fiat, perfidia, non stultitia
that which Crassus if ever it-happens by-treachery not by-folly
 fieri putat, ut causae noceamus, accidat. Nam ad summam
to-happen thinks that the-case we-may-harm may-befall for to the-sum
 totius causae pertinet, caute an contra demonstrata res
of-the-whole of-the-case it-pertains cautiously or contrariwise set-forth the-thing
 sit, quod omnis orationis reliquae fons est narratio.
may-be because of-all of-the-speech of-the-remaining the-spring is the-narrative
- 331 Sequitur, ut causa ponatur, in quo videndum est, quid in
it-follows that the-case be-stated in which to-be-seen it-is what into
 controversiam veniat; tum suggerenda sunt firmamenta causae
dispute comes then to-be-supplied are the-props of-the-case

coniuncte et infirmandis contrariis et tuis confirmandis.

jointly both by-weakening the-opposite and your-own by-confirming

Namque una in causis ratio quaedam est eius orationis,

for-indeed one in cases method a-certain is of-that of-speech

quae ad probandam argumentationem valet; ea autem et

which for proving the-argumentation avails it however both

confirmationem et reprehensionem quaerit; sed quia neque

confirmation and refutation seeks but because neither

reprehendi, quae contra dicuntur, possunt, nisi tua

to-be-refuted what against are-said can unless your-own

confirmes, neque haec confirmari, nisi illa reprehendas, idcirco

you-confirm nor these to-be-confirmed unless those you-refute therefore

haec et natura et utilitate et tractatione coniuncta sunt.

these both in-nature and in-usefulness and in-handling joined are

Omnia autem concludenda sunt plerumque rebus augendis 332

all-(things) however to-be-concluded are mostly by-things by-amplifying

vel inflammando iudice vel mitigando; omniaque cum

either by-inflaming the-judge or by-softening and-all-(things) both

superioribus orationis locis tum maxime extremo ad mentis

in-the-earlier of-the-speech parts then chiefly in-the-last for the-minds

iudicum quam maxime permovendas et ad utilitatem

of-the-judges as-much-as possible to-be-stirred and for the-advantage

nostram vocandas conferenda sunt.

our to-be-called to-be-brought they-are

Neque sane iam causa videtur esse cur secernamus 333

nor indeed now a-reason seems to-be why we-should-separate

ea praecepta, quae de suasionibus tradenda sunt aut

those precepts which about speeches-of-advice to-be-taught are or

laudationibus, sunt enim pleraque communia, sed tamen

about-panegyrics they-are for most common but still

suadere aliquid aut dissuadere gravissimae mihi personae

to-advise something or to-dissuade of-the-weightiest to-me of-a-person

videtur esse; nam et sapientis est consilium explicare suum
it-seems to-be for both of-a-wise-man it-is counsel to-unfold his-own
 de maximis rebus et honesti et disertī, ut mente
about the-greatest matters and of-an-honorable and of-an-eloquent that in-mind
 providere, auctoritate probare, oratione persuadere possis.

to-foresee by-authority to-prove by-speech to-persuade you-may-be-able

Atque haec in senatu minore apparatu agenda sunt; sapiens
and these in the-senate with-less with-display to-be-handled are wise
 enim est consilium multisque aliis dicendi relinquendus
for is the-council and-for-many for-others of-speaking to-be-left
 locus, vitanda etiam ingeni ostentationis suspicio:

the-place to-be-avoided even of-talent of-display the-suspicion

334 contio capit omnem vim orationis et gravitatem

a-public-meeting takes all the-force of-speech and weight

varietatemque desiderat. Ergo in suadendo nihil est

and-variety requires therefore in advising nothing is

optabilius quam dignitas; nam qui utilitatem petit, non

more-desirable than dignity for who advantage seeks not

quid maxime velit suasor, sed quid interdum magis

what chiefly he-may-wish the-adviser but what at-times more

sequatur, videt. Nemo est enim, praesertim in tam clara

he-may-follow sees no-one is for especially in so illustrious

civitate, quin putet expetendam maxime dignitatem,

a-state but-that he-thinks to-be-sought chiefly dignity

sed vincit utilitas plerumque, cum subest ille timor ea

but conquers advantage mostly when underlies that fear it

neglecta ne dignitatem quidem posse retineri.

when-neglected not dignity even to-be-able to-be-kept

335 Controversia autem est inter hominum sententias aut in

the-dispute however is among of-men the-opinions either in

illo, utrum sit utilius; aut etiam, cum id convenit,

that which-of-the-two may-be more-useful or even when that is-agreed

certatur, utrum honestati potius an utilitati consulendum
it-is-contested whether to-honor rather or to-advantage to-be-looked-to
 sit; quae quia pugnare inter se saepe videntur, qui
it-is which because to-fight among themselves often they-seem who
 utilitatem defendet, enumerabit commoda pacis, opum,
advantage will-defend will-enumerate the-goods of-peace of-resources
 potentiae, vectigalium, praesidi militum, ceterarum rerum,
of-power of-revenues of-defense of-soldiers of-the-other of-things
 quarum fructum utilitate metimur, itemque incommoda
of-which the-fruit by-advantage we-measure and-like-wise the-drawbacks
 contrariorum; qui ad dignitatem impellit, maiorum exempla,
of-the-opposites who to dignity urges of-forefathers the-examples
 quae erant vel cum periculo gloriosa, conliget, posteritatis
which were even with peril glorious will-gather of-posterity
 immortalē memoriā augebit, utilitatem ex laude nasci
the-immortal memory will-magnify advantage from praise to-be-born
 defendet semperque eam cum dignitate esse coniunctam.
will-maintain and-always it with dignity to-be joined

Sed quid fieri possit aut non possit quidque etiam
but what to-be-done can or not can and-what even
 sit necesse aut non sit, in utraque re maxime est
may-be necessary or not may-be in each matter chiefly is
 quaerendum; inciditur enim omnis deliberatio, si intellegitur
to-be-asked is-cut-off for the-whole deliberation if it-is-understood
 non posse fieri aut si necessitas adfertur; et qui id
not to-be-able to-be-done or if necessity is-brought and who that
 docuit non videntibus aliis, is plurimum vidit.
has-shown not when-seeing the-others he most has-seen

Ad consilium autem de re publica dandum caput
for counsel however about the-thing public for-giving the-chief-point
 est nosse rem publicam; ad dicendum vero probabiliter
is to-know the-thing public for speaking indeed acceptably

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nosse mores civitatis, qui quia crebro mutantur, genus
to-know the-character of-the-state which because repeatedly are-changed the-kind
 quoque orationis est saepe mutandum; et quamquam una
also of-speech is often to-be-changed and although one
 fere vis est eloquentiae, tamen quia summa dignitas
generally the-force is of-eloquence still because the-highest dignity
 est populi, gravissima causa rei publicae, maximi
is of-the-people the-weightiest the-cause of-the-thing public the-greatest
 motus multitudinis, genus quoque dicendi grandius
the-stirrings of-the-multitude a-kind also of-speaking grander
 quoddam et inlustrius esse adhibendum videtur; maximaque
a-certain and more-brilliant to-be to-be-employed seems and-the-greatest
 pars orationis admovenda est ad animorum motus non
part of-the-speech to-be-directed is to of-minds the-movements not
 numquam aut cohortatione aut commemoratione aliqua
never either by-exhortation or by-a-recalling by-some
 aut in spem aut in metum aut ad cupiditatem aut ad
or into hope or into fear or to desire or to
 gloriam concitandos, saepe etiam a temeritate, iracundia,
glory for-rousing often even from rashness anger
 spe, iniuria, invidia, crudelitate revocandos.
hope wrong ill-will cruelty for-recalling

II.43 • THE CROWD, AND SPEECHES OF PRAISE

The assembly is the orator's great stage, and a speaker without a crowd is a piper without pipes. Hostile shouting is met by rebuke, warning, promise, or entreaty, and nothing turns a crowd like a short witty word. Greek eulogies were written to be read; Roman ones are bare testimony or funeral speeches. Fortune's gifts earn praise for their moderate use, and virtues that serve others please most.

Fit autem ut, quia maxima quasi oratoris scaena 338
it-happens however that because the-greatest as-it-were of-the-orator the-stage
 videatur contionis esse, natura ipsa ad ornatus dicendi
seems of-a-public-meeting to-be by-nature itself to a-more-adorned of-speaking
 genus excitemur; habet enim multitudo vim quandam
kind we-are-roused has for a-multitude a-force a-certain
 talem, ut, quem ad modum tibicen sine tibiis canere, sic
such that in-what to way a-flute-player without flutes to-play so
 orator sine multitudine audiente eloquens esse non possit.
an-orator without a-multitude bearing eloquent to-be not can
 Et cum sint populares multi varique lapsus, vitanda est 339
and since there-are popular many and-various slips to-be-avoided is
 acclamatio adversa populi, quae aut orationis peccato aliquo
a-shout adverse of-the-people which either of-the-speech by-a-fault by-some
 excitatur, si aspere, si arroganter, si turpiter, si sordide,
is-roused if harshly if arrogantly if basely if meanly
 si quo animi vitio dictum esse aliquid videtur, aut
if by-any of-mind by-a-fault said to-have-been something seems or
 hominum offensione vel invidia, quae aut iusta est aut
of-men by-the-offense or by-the-ill-will which either just is or
 ex criminatione atque fama, aut res si displicet, aut si
from a-charge and report or the-matter if displeases or if
 est in aliquo motu suae cupiditatis aut metus multitudo.
it-is in some stirring of-its-own of-desire or of-fear the-multitude
 His quattuor causis totidem medicinae opponuntur: tum
to-these to-four to-causes as-many remedies are-opposed then
 obiurgatio, si est auctoritas; tum admonitio quasi lenior
rebuke if there-is authority then warning as-it-were a-gentler
 obiurgatio; tum promissio, si audierint, probaturos;
rebuke then a-promise if they-shall-have-listened going-to-approve
 tum deprecatio, quod est infirmum, sed non numquam utile.
then entreaty which is weak but not never useful

340 Nullo autem loco plus facetiae prosunt et celeritas et breve
in-no however in-place more wit profit and quickness and a-brief
 aliquod dictum nec sine dignitate et cum lepore; nihil enim
some saying and-not without dignity and with charm nothing for
 tam facile quam multitudo a tristitia et saepe ab acerbitate
so easily as a-multitude from gloom and often from bitterness
 commode et breviter et acute et hilare dicto deducitur.
fitly and briefly and shrewdly and merrily by-a-saying is-brought-away
 Exposui fere, ut potui, vobis in utroque genere causarum
I-have-set-forth generally as I-could to-you in each kind of-cases
 quae sequi solem, quae fugere, quae spectare quaque
what to-follow I-was-wont what to-flee what to-watch and-by-what
 omnino in causis ratione versari.
altogether in cases by-method to-be-engaged

341 Nec illud tertium laudationum genus est difficile, quod ego
nor that third of-panegyrics kind is difficult which I
 initio quasi a praeceptis nostris secreveram; sed et
at-the-outset as-it-were from the-precepts our had-separated but both
 quia multa sunt orationum genera et graviora et maioris
because many are of-speeches the-kinds and weightier and of-greater
 copiae, de quibus nemo fere praeciperet, et quod nos
of-fullness about which no-one generally would-teach and because we
 laudationibus non ita multum uti solemus, totum hunc
panegyrics not so much to-use were-wont whole this
 segregabam locum; ipsi enim Graeci magis legendi et
I-was-setting-aside topic themselves for the-Greeks more of-reading and
 delectationis aut hominis alicuius ornandi quam utilitatis
of-delight or of-a-man of-some of-adorning than of-usefulness
 huius forensis causa laudationes scriptitaverunt; quorum
of-this of-forensic for-the-sake panegyrics have-written-repeatedly of-whom
 sunt libri, quibus Themistocles, Aristides, Agesilaus,
there-are books in-which Themistocles Aristides Agesilaus

Epaminondas, Philippus, Alexander alique laudantur; nostrae

Epaminondas Philip Alexander and-others are-praised our

laudationes, quibus in foro utimur, aut testimoni brevitatem

panegyrics which in the-forum we-use either of-testimony the-brevity

habent nudam atque inornatam aut scribuntur ad funebrem

have bare and unadorned or are-written for a-funeral

contionem, quae ad orationis laudem minime accommodata est.

a-public-meeting which for of-speech the-merit least fitted is

Sed tamen, quoniam est utendum aliquando, non numquam

but still since it-is to-be-used sometime not never

etiam scribendum, vel ut Q. Tuberoni Africanum

even to-be-written either as for-Quintus for-Tubero Africanus

avunculum laudanti scripsit C. Laelius, vel ut nosmet

the-uncle praising wrote Gaius Laelius or that we-ourselves

ipsi ornandi causa Graecorum more, si quos velimus,

ourselves of-adorning for-the-sake of-the-Greeks in-the-manner if any we-may-wish

laudare possimus, sit a nobis quoque tractatus hic locus.

to-praise we-may-be-able let-be by us also handled this topic

Perspicuum est igitur alia esse in homine optanda, alia

plain it-is therefore some to-be in a-man to-be-wished others

laudanda: genus, forma, vires, opes, divitiae cetera, quae

to-be-praised birth beauty strength resources riches the-rest which

fortuna dat aut extrinsecus aut corpori, non habent in

fortune gives either from-without or to-the-body not have in

se veram laudem, quae deberi virtuti uni putatur;

themselves true praise which to-be-owed to-virtue to-one is-thought

sed tamen, quod ipsa virtus in earum rerum usu et

but still because the-very virtue in of-those of-things the-use and

moderatione maxime cernitur, tractanda in laudationibus

the-restraint chiefly is-discerned to-be-handled in panegyrics

etiam haec sunt naturae et fortunae bona; in quibus

even these are of-nature and of-fortune the-goods in which

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est summa laus non extulisse se in potestate, non
is the-highest praise not to-have-exalted oneself in power not
 fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se praetulisse aliis
to-have-been insolent in money not oneself to-have-preferred to-others
 propter abundantiam fortunae, ut opes et copiae non
on-account-of the-abundance of-fortune that the-resources and the-stores not
 superbiae videantur ac libidini, sed bonitati ac moderationi
to-pride may-seem and to-lust but to-goodness and to-restraint
 facultatem et materiam dedisse.

the-means and the-material to-have-given

343 Virtus autem, quae est per se ipsa laudabilis et sine
virtue however which is through itself it-itself praiseworthy and without
 qua nihil laudari potest, tamen habet pluris partis,
which nothing to-be-praised can still has more parts
 quarum alia est alia ad laudationem aptior; sunt
of-which one is than-another for panegyric fitter there-are
 enim aliae virtutes, quae videntur in moribus hominum
for some virtues which seem in the-characters of-men
 et quadam comitate ac beneficentia positae; aliae, quae in
and in-a-certain in-courtesy and in-beneficence placed others which in
 ingeni aliqua facultate aut animi magnitudine ac robore;
of-talent some faculty or of-mind greatness and strength
 nam clementia, iustitia, benignitas, fides, fortitudo in
for clemency justice kindness good-faith courage in
 periculis communibus iucunda est auditu in laudationibus;
perils common pleasant is in-the-hearing in panegyrics

344 omnes enim hae virtutes non tam ipsis, qui eas habent,
all for these virtues not so-much for-themselves who them have
 quam generi hominum fructuosae putantur. Sapientia et
as for-the-race of-men fruitful are-thought wisdom and
 magnitudo animi, qua omnes res humanae tenues ac pro
greatness of-mind by-which all things human slight and for

nihilo putantur, et in excogitando vis quaedam ingeni et
nothing are-thought and in devising a-force a-certain of-talent and
 ipsa eloquentia admirationis habet non minus, iucunditatis
the-very eloquence of-admiration has not less of-pleasantness
 minus: ipsos enim magis videntur, quos laudamus, quam
less themselves for more they-seem whom we-praise than
 illos, apud quos laudamus, ornare ac tueri. Sed tamen in
those before whom we-praise to-adorn and to-protect but still in
 laudando iungenda sunt etiam haec genera virtutum; ferunt
praising to-be-joined are even these kinds of-virtues bear
 enim aures hominum cum illa, quae iucunda et grata,
for the-ears of-men both those which pleasant and welcome
 tum etiam illa, quae mirabilia sunt in virtute, laudari.
and even those which wonderful are in virtue to-be-praised

II.44 • PRAISE, BLAME, AND SIMONIDES

Every virtue has its own duties, and the warmest praise goes to deeds done without profit, warmer still when they cost their doer labor or danger, and to misfortune borne without loss of dignity. Blame is drawn from the opposite vices. Antonius then takes up memory, thanking Simonides, who left Scopas' hall before it fell and named the crushed guests by recalling where each had lain, and so found that order gives memory its light.

Et quoniam singularum virtutum sunt certa quaedam officia 345
and since of-single of-virtues there-are fixed certain duties
 ac munera et sua cuique virtuti laus propria debetur,
and functions and its-own to-each to-virtue praise proper is-owed
 erit explicandum in laude iustitiae, quid cum fide,
it-will-be to-be-unfolded in the-praise of-justice what with good-faith
 quid cum aequabilitate, quid cum eius modi aliquo officio
what with fairness what with of-that sort some duty

is, qui laudabitur, fecerit; itemque in ceteris res gestae ad
be who will-be-praised has-done and-likewise in the-others the-deeds done to
 cuiusque virtutis genus et vim et nomen accommodabuntur.
of-each of-virtue the-kind and the-force and the-name will-be-fitted

346 Gratissima autem laus eorum factorum habetur, quae
most-welcome however praise of-those of-deeds is-held which
 suscepta videntur a viris fortibus sine emolumento ac
undertaken seem by men brave without profit and
 praemio; quae vero etiam cum labore ac periculo ipsorum,
reward which indeed even with toil and peril of-themselves
 haec habent uberrimam copiam ad laudandum, quod et
these have the-richest store for praising because both
 dici ornatissime possunt et audiri facillime; ea enim
to-be-said most-elegantly they-can and to-be-heard most-easily that for
 denique virtus esse videtur praestantis viri, quae est
at-last virtue to-be seems of-an-outstanding of-a-man which is
 fructuosa aliis, ipsi aut laboriosa aut periculosa aut
fruitful to-others to-himself either toilsome or perilous or
 certe gratuita. Magna etiam illa laus et admirabilis videri
at-least unpaid great even that praise and admirable to-seem
 solet tulisse casus sapienter adversos, non fractum
is-wont to-have-borne mishaps wisely adverse not broken
 esse fortuna, retinuisse in rebus asperis dignitatem;
to-have-been by-fortune to-have-kept in matters harsh the-dignity

347 neque tamen illa non ornant, habiti honores, decreta virtutis
nor still those not adorn paid honors decreed of-virtue
 praemia, res gestae iudiciis hominum comprobatae;
rewards deeds done by-the-judgments of-men approved
 in quibus etiam felicitatem ipsam deorum immortalium
in which even good-fortune itself of-the-gods immortal
 iudicio tribui laudationis est. Sumendae autem res
to-the-judgment to-be-ascribed of-a-panegyric it-is to-be-taken however things

erunt aut magnitudine praestabiles aut novitate primae aut
will-be either in-greatness outstanding or in-novelty first or
 genere ipso singulares; neque enim parvae neque usitatae
by-the-kind itself singular nor for small nor customary
 neque vulgares admiratione aut omnino laude dignae videri
nor common of-admiration or at-all of-praise worthy to-seem
 solent.

are-wont

Est etiam cum ceteris praestantibus viris comparatio in 348
is even with the-other outstanding men a-comparison in
 laudatione praeclara. De quo genere libitum mihi est paulo
a-panegyric splendid about which kind it-has-pleased to-me it-is a-little
 plura quam ostenderam dicere, non tam propter usum
more than I-had-shown to-say not so-much on-account-of the-use
 forensem, qui est a me omni hoc sermone tractatus, quam
forensic which has-been by me in-all in-this in-talk handled as
 ut hoc videretis, si laudationes essent in oratoris officio,
that this you-might-see if panegyrics were in of-the-orator the-duty
 quod nemo negat, oratori virtutum omnium cognitionem,
which no-one denies for-the-orator of-the-virtues of-all the-knowledge
 sine qua laudatio effici non possit, esse necessariam.
without which a-panegyric to-be-made not can to-be necessary

Iam vituperandi praecepta contrariis ex vitiis sumenda 349
now of-blaming the-precepts from-the-opposite from vices to-be-taken
 esse perspicuum est; simul est illud ante oculos,
to-be plain it-is at-the-same-time is that before the-eyes
 nec bonum virum proprie et copiose laudari sine
neither a-good man properly and fully to-be-praised without
 virtutum nec improbum notari ac vituperari sine
of-the-virtues nor a-wicked to-be-branded and to-be-blamed without
 vitiorum cognitione satis insignite atque aspere posse.
of-the-vices the-knowledge enough markedly and sharply to-be-able

Atque his locis et laudandi et vituperandi saepe nobis
and these with-topics both of-praising and of-blaming often by-us
 est utendum in omni genere causarum.

is to-be-used in every kind of-cases

350 Habetis de inveniendis rebus disponendis quid sentiam;

you-have about finding matters and-arranging what I-think

adiungam etiam de memoria, ut labore Crassum

I-shall-add even about memory that of-toil Crassus

levem neque ei quicquam aliud, de quo disserat,

I-may-lighten and-not for-him anything else about which he-may-discourse

relinquam nisi ea, quibus haec exornentur.' 'Perge vero,'

I-may-leave except those by-which these may-be-adorned go-on indeed

inquit Crassus 'libenter enim te cognitum iam artificem

said Crassus gladly for you known now a-craftsman

aliquandoque evolutum illis integumentis dissimulationis

and-at-last unrolled from-those from-the-coverings of-dissembling

tuae nudatumque perspicio; et quod mihi nihil aut non

of-your and-stripped I-behold and because to-me nothing or not

multum relinquis, percommode facis estque mihi gratum.'

much you-leave very-conveniently you-do and-it-is to-me pleasing

351 'Iam istuc, quantum tibi ego reliquerim,' inquit Antonius

now that how-much to-you I may-have-left said Antonius

'erit in tua potestate; si enim vere agere volueris,

will-be in your power if for truly to-act you-shall-have-wished

omnia tibi relinquo; sin dissimulare, tu quem ad

all-(things) to-you I-leave but-if to-dissemble you in-what to

modum his satis facias, videris. Sed, ut ad rem

way to-these enough you-may-do you-will-see but that to the-matter

redeam, non sum tanto ego' inquit 'ingenio, quanto

I-may-return not am of-so-great I said of-talent as-great-as

Themistocles fuit, ut oblivionis artem quam memoriae

Themistocles was that of-forgetting the-art than of-memory

malim; gratiamque habeo Simonidi illi Cio, quem
I-should-prefer and-gratitude I-have to-Simonides to-that to-the-Cean whom
 primum ferunt artem memoriae protulisse.

first they-report the-art of-memory to-have-produced

Dicunt enim, cum cenaret Crannone in Thessalia Simonides 352

they-say for when was-dining at-Crannon in Thessaly Simonides

apud Scopam fortunatum hominem et nobilem cecinissetque

at Scopas a-fortunate man and noble and-had-sung

id carmen, quod in eum scripsisset, in quo multa

that poem which about him he-had-written in which many-things

ornandi causa poetarum more in Castorem scripta

of-adorning for-the-sake of-poets in-the-manner about Castor written

et Pollucem fuissent, nimis illum sordide Simonidi dixisse

and Pollux had-been too he meanly to-Simonides to-have-said

se dimidium eius ei, quod pactus esset, pro illo

himself the-half of-that to-him which agreed he-had-been for that

carmine daturum; reliquum a suis Tyndaridis, quos

poem going-to-give the-remainder from his-own Tyndarids whom

aeque laudasset, peteret, si ei videretur.

equally he-had-praised he-should-seek if to-him it-seemed-good

Paulo post esse ferunt nuntiatum Simonidi, ut 353

a-little afterward to-have-been they-report announced to-Simonides that

prodiret; iuvenis stare ad ianuam duo quosdam, qui

he-should-come-out young-men to-stand at the-door two certain who

eum magno opere evocarent; surrexisse illum, prodisse,

him with-great with-effort called-out to-have-risen he to-have-come-out

vidisse neminem: hoc interim spatio conclave illud,

to-have-seen no-one this meanwhile in-the-interval the-hall that

ubi epularetur Scopas, concidisse; ea ruina ipsum cum

where was-feasting Scopas to-have-fallen-in by-that by-the-ruin himself with

cognatis oppressum suis interisse: quos cum humare

kinsmen crushed his-own to-have-perished whom when to-bury

vellent sui neque possent obtritros internoscere ullo
wished his-own and-not could the-crushed to-tell-apart in-any
 modo, Simonides dicitur ex eo, quod meminisset quo
way Simonides is-said from that that he-remembered in-what
 eorum loco quisque cubuisset, demonstrator unius cuiusque
of-them in-place each had-reclined the-indicator of-one of-each
 sepeliendi fuisse; hac tum re admonitus invenisse
of-to-be-buried to-have-been by-this then by-the-thing warned to-have-found
 fertur ordinem esse maxime, qui memoriae lumen adferret.
is-reported the-order to-be chiefly which to-memory light brought

354 Itaque eis, qui hanc partem ingeni exercerent, locos esse
and-so for-those who this part of-talent should-exercise places to-be
 capiendos et ea, quae memoria tenere vellent effingenda
to-be-taken and those which in-memory to-hold they-wished to-be-molded
 animo atque in eis locis conlocanda; sic fore, ut
in-mind and in those places to-be-placed so to-be-going-to-be that
 ordinem rerum locorum ordo conservaret, res autem
the-order of-things of-the-places the-order should-keep the-things however
 ipsas rerum effigies notaret atque ut locis pro
themselves of-the-things the-images should-mark and that with-places for
 cera, simulacris pro litteris uteremur.
wax with-images for letters we-should-use

Memory holds what a speaker learned when he took the case, what he has thought out, his whole array of words, and what the other side has just said. Nature comes first here as everywhere, but training draws the power out. Sight is the keenest sense, so what is heard should be given to the mind through the eyes: many bright, open places at moderate intervals, holding striking images, with which Charmadas and Metrodorus wrote what they wished to remember.

Qui sit autem oratori memoriae fructus, quanta utilitas, 355
what may-be however for-the-orator of-memory the-fruit how-great the-usefulness
 quanta vis, quid me attinet dicere? tenere, quae
how-great the-force what me does-it-concern to-say to-hold what
 didiceris in accipienda causa, quae ipse cogitaris?
you-have-learned in taking-in a-case what you-yourself have-thought-out
 omnis fixas esse in animo sententias? omnem descriptum
all fixed to-be in the-mind the-thoughts the-whole set-out
 verborum apparatus? ita audire vel eum, unde discas,
of-words the-array so to-hear either him from-whom you-may-learn
 vel eum, cui respondendum sit, ut illi non infundere
or him to-whom to-be-answered it-is that they not to-pour
 in auris tuas orationem, sed in animo videantur inscribere?
into the-ears your the-speech but in the-mind may-seem to-inscribe
 Itaque soli qui memoria vigent, sciunt quid et
and-so alone-(those) who in-memory are-strong know what and
 quatenus et quo modo dicturi sint, quid responderint,
how-far and in-what way going-to-say they-are what they-have-answered
 quid supersit: eidemque multa ex aliis causis aliquando
what remains and-the-same many-things from other cases sometime
 a se acta, multa ab aliis audita meminerunt.
by themselves pleaded many-things by others heard they-remember

- 356 Qua re confiteor equidem huius boni naturam esse
for-which reason I-confess for-my-part of-this of-good the-nature to-be
 principem, sicut earum rerum, de quibus ante locutus
the-chief just-as of-those of-things about which before spoken
 sum, omnium; sed haec ars tota dicendi, sive artis imago
I-have of-all but this art whole of-speaking or of-an-art an-image
 quaedam et similitudo est, habet hanc vim, non ut totum
a-certain and likeness is has this force not that a-whole
 aliquid, cuius in ingeniis nostris pars nulla sit, pariat
something of-which in the-talents our a-part none may-be it-may-bear
 et procreet, verum ut ea, quae sunt orta iam in nobis
and may-beget but that those which are born now in us
 et procreata, educet atque confirmet;
and begotten it-may-rear and may-strengthen
- 357 verum tamen neque tam acri memoria fere quisquam est,
but still neither of-so keen memory generally anyone is
 ut, non dispositis notatisque rebus, ordinem verborum
that not when-arranged and-when-marked with-things the-order of-words
 omnium aut sententiarum complectatur, neque vero tam hebeti,
of-all or of-thoughts he-may-embrace nor indeed of-so dull
 ut nihil hac consuetudine et exercitatione adiuvetur. Vedit
that nothing by-this by-habit and by-practice he-may-be-helped saw
 enim hoc prudenter sive Simonides sive alius quis invenit,
for this wisely either Simonides or another someone found
 ea maxime animis effingi nostris, quae essent a sensu
those chiefly in-minds to-be-molded our which were by sense
 tradita atque impressa; acerrimum autem ex omnibus nostris
transmitted and stamped the-keenest however from all our
 sensibus esse sensum videndi; qua re facillime animo
senses to-be the-sense of-seeing for-which reason most-easily in-the-mind
 teneri posse ea, quae perciperentur auribus aut cogitatione, si
to-be-held to-be-able those which were-taken-in by-the-ears or by-thought if

etiam commendatione oculorum animis traderentur; ut res
even by-the-commendation of-the-eyes to-the-minds were-handed that things
 caecas et ab aspectus iudicio remotas conformatio quaedam
unseen and from of-sight the-judgment removed a-shaping a-certain
 et imago et figura ita notaret, ut ea, quae cogitando
and an-image and a-figure so might-mark that those which by-thinking
 complecti vix possemus, intuendo quasi teneremus.

to-embrace scarcely we-could by-gazing as-it-were we-might-hold

His autem formis atque corporibus, sicut omnibus, quae 358

to-these however to-forms and to-bodies just-as to-all which

sub aspectum veniunt, sede opus est, etenim corpus

under sight come a-seat need there-is for-indeed a-body

intellegi sine loco non potest. Qua re ne in re

to-be-understood without a-place not can for-which reason lest in a-thing

nota et pervulgata multus et insolens sim, locis est

known and widespread lengthy and tiresome I-may-be with-places it-is

utendum multis, inlustribus, explicatis, modicis intervallis;

to-be-used with-many with-bright with-open with-moderate with-intervals

imaginibus autem agentibus, acribus, insignitis, quae occurrere

with-images however with-acting with-sharp with-marked which to-meet

celeriterque percutere animum possint; quam facultatem et

and-quickly to-strike the-mind may-be-able which faculty both

exercitatio dabit, ex qua consuetudo gignitur, et similium

practice will-give from which habit is-born and of-like

verborum conversa et immutata casibus aut traducta ex

of-words the-turned and altered by-cases or transferred from

parte ad genus notatio et unius verbi imagine totius

a-part to a-class marking and of-one of-word by-the-image of-the-whole

sententiae informatio pictoris cuiusdam summi ratione

of-the-thought the-shaping of-a-painter of-a-certain of-the-highest by-the-method

et modo formarum varietate locos distinguentis.

and by-the-manner of-forms by-the-variety the-places distinguishing

359 Sed verborum memoria, quae minus est nobis necessaria,
but of-words the-memory which less is for-us necessary
 maiore imaginum varietate distinguitur; multa enim sunt
by-a-greater of-images by-variety is-distinguished many for there-are
 verba, quae quasi articuli conectunt membra orationis,
words which as-it-were joints connect the-limbs of-a-speech
 quae formari similitudine nulla possunt; eorum fingendae
which to-be-formed by-likeness by-none can of-them to-be-fashioned
 sunt nobis imagines, quibus semper utamur; rerum memoria
are by-us images which always we-may-use of-things the-memory
 propria est oratoris; eam singulis personis bene positis
proper is of-the-orator it by-single by-persons well by-placed
 notare possumus, ut sententias imaginibus, ordinem locis
to-mark we-can that the-thoughts by-images the-order by-places
 comprehendamus.

we-may-embrace

360 Neque verum est, quod ab inertibus dicitur, opprimi
nor true is which by the-idle is-said to-be-crushed
 memoriam imaginum pondere et obscurari etiam id, quod
the-memory of-images by-the-weight and to-be-darkened even that which
 per se natura tenere potuisset: vidi enim ego summos
through itself nature to-hold could-have I-have-seen for I the-highest
 homines et divina prope memoria, Athenis Charmadam, in
men and with-divine nearly with-memory at-Athens Charmadas in
 Asia, quem vivere hodie aiunt, Scepsium Metrodorum, quorum
Asia whom to-live today they-say the-Scepsian Metrodorus of-whom
 uterque tamquam litteris in cera, sic se aiebat imaginibus
each just-as with-letters on wax so himself said with-images
 in eis locis, quos haberet, quae meminisse vellet, perscribere.
in those places which he-had what to-remember he-wished to-write-out

Qua re hac exercitatione non eruenda memoria est, si
for-which reason by-this by-practice not to-be-dug-out the-memory is if
 est nulla naturalis; sed certe, si latet, evocanda est.
there-is none natural but certainly if it-lies-hidden to-be-called-out it-is

II.46 • ANTONIUS HANDS OVER TO CRASSUS

Antonius ends, and admits why he has talked so long: to leave Crassus no excuse, since a man four years younger and far better taught can plead neither age nor rank nor ignorance. Catulus says he is cured of his old wonder at Antonius' power in court, which rests on study after all. Crassus protests that only the words have been left him, and the company breaks up until the afternoon.

Habetis sermonem bene longum hominis, utinam non 361
you-have a-discourse quite long of-a-man would-that not
 impudentis! Illud quidem certe, non nimis verecundi;
of-a-shameless-one that indeed certainly not too of-a-modest-one
 qui quidem, cum te, Catule, tum etiam L. Crasso
who indeed both you Catulus and even Lucius Crassus
 audiente, de dicendi ratione tam multa dixerim; nam
while-hearing about of-speaking the-method so many-things have-said for
 istorum aetas minus me fortasse movere debuit. Sed mihi
of-those the-age less me perhaps to-move should-have but to-me
 ignoscetis profecto, si modo, quae causa me nunc ad
you-will-pardon assuredly if only what cause me now to
 hanc insolitam mihi loquacitatem impulerit, acceperitis.
this unaccustomed to-me talkativeness has-driven you-sball-have-heard
 'Nos vero,' inquit Catulus 'etenim pro me hoc et pro meo 362
we indeed said Catulus for-indeed for myself this and for my
 fratre respondeo, non modo tibi ignoscimus, sed te diligimus
brother I-answer not only to-you we-pardon but you we-love

magnamque tibi habemus gratiam; et cum humanitatem
and-great to-you we-have gratitude and both the-kindness
 et facilitatem agnoscimus tuam, tum admiramur istam
and the-affability we-acknowledge your and-also we-admire that
 scientiam et copiam. Equidem etiam hoc me adsecutum
knowledge and store for-my-part even this me to-have-attained
 puto, quod magno sum levatus errore et illa
I-think because from-a-great I-have-been relieved from-error and from-that
 admiratione liberatus, quod multis cum aliis semper admirari
from-wonder freed which with-many with others always to-wonder
 solebam, unde esset illa tanta tua in causis divinitas;
I-was-wont whence was that so-great your in cases divinity
 nec enim te ista attigisse arbitrabar, quae diligentissime
nor for you those to-have-touched I-thought which most-diligently
 cognosse et undique conlegisse usuque doctum
to-have-learned and from-everywhere to-have-gathered and-by-experience taught
 partim correxisse video, partim comprobasse;
partly to-have-corrected I-see partly to-have-approved
 neque eo minus eloquentiam tuam et multo magis virtutem
nor by-that less the-eloquence your and much more the-virtue
 et diligentiam admiror et simul gaudeo iudicium animi
and the-diligence I-admire and at-the-same-time I-rejoice the-judgment of-mind
 mei comprobari, quod semper statui neminem sapientiae
my to-be-approved because always I-have-held no-one of-wisdom
 laudem et eloquentiae sine summo studio et labore et
the-praise and of-eloquence without the-highest zeal and toil and
 doctrina consequi posse. Sed tamen quidnam est quod
learning to-attain to-be-able but still what-then is-it which
 dixisti fore, ut tibi ignosceremus, si cognossemus,
you-have-said to-be-going-to-be that to-you we-should-pardon if we-had-learned
 quae te causa in sermonem impulsisset? Quae est enim alia
what you cause into the-talk had-driven which is for another

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causa, nisi quod nobis et horum adolescentium studio,
cause except that to-us and of-these of-the-young-men to-the-zeal
 qui te attentissime audierunt, morem gerere voluisti?
who you most-attentively have-heard compliance to-show you-have-wished
 Tum ille 'adimere' inquit 'omnem recusationem Crasso
then he to-take-away he-said every refusal from-Crassus
 volui, quem ego paulo ante sciebam vel pudenter vel
I-wished whom I a-little before I-knew either more-modestly or
 invitatus, nolo enim dicere de tam suavi homine
more-unwillingly I-do-not-wish for to-say about so pleasant a-man
 fastidiosius, ad hoc genus sermonis accedere. Quid enim
too-fastidiously to this kind of-discourse to-approach what for
 poterit dicere? Consularem se hominem et censorium?
will-he-be-able to-say of-consular-rank himself a-man and of-censorial-rank
 Eadem nostra causa est. An aetatem adferet? Quadriennio
the-same our case is or the-age will-be-bring by-four-years
 minor est. An se haec nescire? Quae ego sero, quae
younger he-is or himself these not-to-know which I late which
 cursim arripui, quae subsicivis operis, ut aiunt, iste a
hastily I-snatched-up which with-spare with-labors as they-say he from
 puero, summo studio, summis doctoribus. Nihil dicam
boyhood with-the-highest with-zeal with-the-highest with-teachers nothing I-shall-say
 de ingenio, cui par nemo fuit: etenim me dicentem
about the-talent to-which equal no-one has-been for-indeed me speaking
 qui audiret, nemo umquam tam sui despicere fuit quin
who heard no-one ever so of-himself despising was but-that
 speraret aut melius aut eodem modo se posse dicere;
he-hoped either better or in-the-same way himself to-be-able to-speak
 Crasso dicente nemo tam arrogans, qui similiter se
with-Crassus speaking no-one so arrogant who similarly himself

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umquam dicturum esse confideret. Quam ob rem ne
ever going-to-speak to-be trusted which on-account-of thing lest
 frustra hi tales viri venerint, te aliquando, Crasse, audiamus.’

in-vain these such men have-come you at-last Crassus let-us-bear

365 Tum ille ‘ut ita ista esse concedam,’ inquit ‘Antoni, quae sunt

then he that so those to-be I-may-grant he-said Antonius which are
 valde secus, quid mihi tandem hodie aut cuiquam homini
greatly otherwise what to-me pray today or to-any to-man

quod dici possit reliquisti? Dicam enim vere, amicissimi
which to-be-said can have-you-left I-shall-say for truly most-friendly
 homines, quod sentio: saepe ego doctos homines, quid dico

men what I-think often I learned men what do-I-say

saepe? immo non numquam; saepe enim qui potui, qui

often nay not never often for how could-I who

puer in forum venerim neque inde umquam diutius quam
a-boy into the-forum came and-not thence ever longer than

quaestor afuerim? Sed tamen audiui, ut heri dicebam, et

as-quaestor was-away but still I-have-heard as yesterday I-was-saying both

Athenis cum essem, doctissimos viros et in Asia istum ipsum

at-Athens when I-was the-most-learned men and in Asia that very

Scepsium Metrodorum, cum de his ipsis rebus disputaret;

Scepsian Metrodorus when about these very matters he-argued

neque vero mihi quisquam copiosius umquam visus est

nor indeed to-me anyone more-fully ever seemed has

neque subtilius in hoc genere dicendi quam iste hodie esse

nor more-finely in this kind of-speaking than he today to-have

versatus: quod si esset aliter et aliquid intellegerem ab

been-engaged which if it-were otherwise and something I-perceived by

Antonio praetermissum, non essem tam inurbanus et paene

Antonius passed-over not I-should-be so discourteous and almost

inhumanus, ut in eo gravarer, quod vos cupere sentirem.’

unkind that in it I-should-be-reluctant which you to-desire I-perceived

Tum Sulpicius 'an ergo' inquit 'oblitus es, Crasse, 366
then Sulpicius or then he-said having-forgotten you-have Crassus
 Antonium ita partitum esse tecum, ut ipse instrumentum
Antonius so divided to-have with-you that he-himself the-equipment
 oratoris exponeret, tibi eius distinctionem atque ornatum
of-the-orator should-set-forth to-you of-it the-marking-out and the-adornment
 relinqueret?' Hic ille 'primum quis Antonio permisit,' inquit 'ut
should-leave here he first who to-Antonius permitted he-said that
 et partis faceret et utram vellet prior ipse sumeret?
both the-parts he-should-make and whichever he-wished first he-himself should-take
 Deinde, ego si recte intellexi, cum valde libenter audirem,
then I if rightly I-understood since greatly gladly I-was-listening
 mihi coniuncte est visus de utraque re dicere.' 'Ille
to-me jointly he-has seemed about each matter to-speak he
 vero' inquit Cotta 'ornamenta orationis non attigit neque eam
indeed said Cotta the-ornaments of-speech not touched nor that
 laudem, ex qua eloquentia nomen suum invenit.' 'Verba igitur
praise from which eloquence the-name its-own found the-words therefore
 inquit Crassus 'mihi reliquit Antonius, rem ipse sumpsit.'
said Crassus to-me has-left Antonius the-matter he-himself has-taken
 Tum Caesar 'si, quod difficilius est, id tibi reliquit, est 367
then Caesar if what harder is that to-you he-has-left there-is
 nobis' inquit 'causa, cur te audire cupiamus; sin, quod facilis,
for-us he-said a-reason why you to-hear we-should-desire but-if what easier
 tibi causa non est, cur recuses.' Et Catulus 'quid, quod
for-you a-reason not is why you-should-refuse and Catulus what that
 dixisti,' inquit 'Crasse, si hodie apud te maneremus,
you-have-said he-said Crassus if today at your-house we-stayed
 te morem nobis esse gesturum, nihilne ad fidem tuam
you compliance to-us to-be going-to-show not-at-all to the-good-faith your
 putas pertinere?' Tum Cotta ridens 'possem tibi,' inquit
do-you-think to-pertain then Cotta laughing I-could to-you he-said

'Crasse, concedere: sed vide ne quid Catulus attulerit
Crassus to-yeild but see lest something Catulus has-brought
 religionis: opus hoc censorium est, id autem committere
of-scruple a-task this censorial is that however to-commit
 vides quam homini censorio conveniat.' 'Agite vero' inquit 'ut
you-see how for-a-man for-censorial it-may-suit act indeed he-said as
 vultis. Sed nunc quidem, quoniam est id temporis, surgendum
you-wish but now indeed since is that of-time to-be-risen
 censeo et requiescendum; post meridiem, si ita vobis est
I-judge and to-be-rested after midday if so for-you it-is
 commodum, loquemur aliquid, nisi forte in crastinum
convenient we-shall-speak something unless perhaps into tomorrow
 differre mavultis.' Omnes se vel statim vel si ipse post
to-put-off you-prefer all themselves either at-once or if he-himself after
 meridiem mallet, quam primum tamen audire velle dixerunt.
midday preferred as soon-as-possible still to-bear to-wish said

BOOK III

III.1 • THE DEATH OF CRASSUS

Recording this third conversation for Quintus, Cicero is stopped by grief: Crassus died scarcely ten days after it. Roused by Philippus, he spoke in the senate as never before, mourned its orphanhood, and answered the threat to seize his property: Philippus must cut out his tongue, and even then his very breath would refute that caprice. It was a swan song; his side ached as he spoke, and on the seventh day he was dead. Fortune spared him what came after.

Instituenti mihi, Quinte frater, eum sermonem referre
to-(me)-setting-about to-me Quintus brother that conversation to-relate

et mandare huic tertio libro, quem post Antoni
and to-entrust to-this to-the-third to-book which after of-Antonius

disputationem Crassus habuisset, acerba sane recordatio
the-discussion Crassus had-held a-bitter indeed recollection

veterem animi curam molestiamque renovavit. Nam illud
an-old of-mind care and-vexation renewed for that

immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus
of-immortality worthy talent that culture that virtue

L. Crassi morte extincta subita est vix diebus decem
of-Lucius of-Crassus by-death quenched by-sudden was scarcely by-days by-ten

post eum diem, qui hoc et superiore libro continetur.
after that day which in-this and in-the-earlier in-book is-contained

Ut enim Romam rediit extremo ludorum scaenicorum die, 2
as for to-Rome he-returned on-the-last of-the-games of-the-stage on-day
 vehementer commotus oratione ea, quae ferebatur habita
strongly stirred by-the-speech by-that which was-reported delivered
 esse in contione a Philippo, quem dixisse constabat
to-have-been in a-public-meeting by Philippus whom to-have-said it-was-agreed
 videndum sibi esse aliud consilium; illo senatu
to-be-looked-for for-himself to-be another council with-that with-the-senate

se rem publicam gerere non posse, mane Idibus
himself the-thing public to-conduct not to-be-able early on-the-Ides
 Septembribus et ille et senatus frequens vocatu Drusi
on-September both he and the-senate crowded at-the-summons of-Drusus
 in curiam venit; ibi cum Drusus multa de Philippo
into the-senate-house came there when Drusus much about Philippus
 questus esset, rettulit ad senatum de illo ipso, quod in
complained had be-referred to the-senate about that very that against
 eum ordinem consul tam graviter in contione esset invecus.
that order the-consul so gravely in a-public-meeting had inveighed

- 3 Hic, ut saepe inter homines sapientissimos constare vidi,
here as often among men the-wisest to-be-agreed I-have-seen
 quamquam hoc Crasso, cum aliquid accuratius dixisset, semper
although this for-Crassus when anything more-carefully he-had-said always
 fere contigisset, ut numquam dixisse melius putaretur,
generally had-befallen that never to-have-spoken better he-was-thought
 tamen omnium consensu sic esse tum iudicatum ceteros
still of-all by-the-agreement so to-have-been then judged the-others
 a Crasso semper omnis, illo autem die etiam ipsum a se
by Crassus always all on-that however on-day even himself by himself
 superatum. Deploravit enim casum atque orbitatem
to-have-been-surpassed he-lamented for the-misfortune and the-orphanhood
 senatus, cuius ordinis a consule, qui quasi parens bonus
of-the-senate of-which of-order by the-consul who as-it-were a-parent a-good
 aut tutor fidelis esse deberet, tamquam ab aliquo nefario
or a-guardian faithful to-be ought as-if by some wicked
 praedone diriperetur patrimonium dignitatis; neque vero
a-robber was-being-plundered the-patrimony of-(its)-dignity nor indeed
 esse mirandum, si, cum suis consiliis rem publicam
to-be to-be-wondered-at if when by-bis-own by-counsels the-thing public
 profligasset, consilium senatus a re publica repudiaret.
he-had-ruined the-counsel of-the-senate from the-thing public he-rejected

Hic cum homini et vehementi et disertio et in primis 4
here when to-a-man both to-a-vehement and to-an-eloquent and among the-first
 forti ad resistendum Philippo quasi quasdam verborum faces
to-a-bold for resisting to-Philippus as-it-were certain of-words torches
 admovisset, non tulit ille et graviter exarsit pigneribusque
be-had-applied not bore he and gravely be-blazed-up and-when-pledges
 ablatis Crassum instituit coercere. Quo quidem ipso
had-been-taken Crassus be-set to-coerce in-which indeed in-the-very
 in loco multa a Crasso divinitus dicta esse ferebantur,
in place many-things by Crassus divinely said to-have-been were-reported
 cum sibi illum consulem esse negaret, cui senator
when for-himself him consul to-be be-denied to-whom a-senator
 ipse non esset. 'An tu, cum omnem auctoritatem universi
be-himself not was or you when all the-authority of-the-whole
 ordinis pro pignere putaris eamque in conspectu
of-the-order for a-pledge you-have-reckoned and-it in the-sight
 populi Romani concideris, me his existimas pigneribus
of-the-people Roman you-have-cut-up me by-these do-you-think by-pledges
 terreri? Non tibi illa sunt caedenda, si L. Crassum
to-be-frightened not for-you those are to-be-cut if Lucius Crassus
 vis coercere: haec tibi est incidenda lingua, qua vel
you-wish to-coerce this for-you is to-be-cut-out the-tongue which even
 evulsa spiritu ipso libidinem tuam libertas mea refutabit.'
when-torn-out by-the-breath itself the-caprice your the-freedom my will-refute
 Permulta tum vehementissima contentione animi, ingeni, 5
very-many-things then with-the-most-vehement with-straining of-mind of-talent
 virium ab eo dicta esse constabat sententiamque
of-strength by him said to-have-been it-was-agreed and-the-motion
 eam, quam senatus frequens secutus est ornatissimis et
that which the-senate crowded followed has with-the-most-elegant and
 gravissimis verbis, ut populo Romano satis fieret,
with-the-weightiest with-words that to-the-people to-the-Roman enough might-be-done

numquam senatus neque consilium rei publicae neque
never of-the-senate neither counsel to-the-thing public nor
 fidem defuisse ab eo dictam et eundem, id quod
good-faith to-have-been-lacking by him spoken and the-same that which
 in auctoritatibus perscriptis exstat, scribendo adfuisse.

in the-records written-out survives in-the-writing to-have-been-present

- 6 Illa tamquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio,
that as-it-were swan-like was of-the-godlike of-the-man the-voice and the-speech
 quam quasi expectantes post eius interitum veniebamur
which as-it-were awaiting after his death we-were-coming
 in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille
into the-senate-house that the-spot that very in which he
 postremum institisset, contueremur: namque tum latus ei
last had-stood we-might-gaze-at for-indeed then the-side to-him
 dicenti condoluisse sudoremque multum consecutum esse
speaking to-have-ached and-a-sweat much followed to-have
 audiebamur; ex quo cum cohorrisset, cum febris domum
we-were-hearing from which when he-had-shuddered with a-fever home
 rediit dieque septimo lateris dolore consumptus est.

he-returned and-on-the-day on-the-seventh of-the-side by-the-pain consumed he-was

- 7 O fallacem hominum spem fragilemque fortunam et
o deceitful of-men the-hope and-frail the-fortune and
 inanis nostras contentiones, quae medio in spatio
empty our the-strivings which in-the-middle in the-course
 saepe franguntur et corruunt aut ante in ipso cursu
often are-broken and fall-down or before in the-very the-running
 obruuntur, quam portum conspiciere potuerunt! Nam quam
are-overwhelmed than the-harbor to-describ they-could for as
 diu Crassi fuit ambitionis labore vita districta, tam diu
long of-Crassus was of-ambition by-the-toil the-life occupied so long
 privatis magis officiis et ingeni laude floruit quam
by-private more by-duties and of-talent by-the-praise he-flourished than

fructu amplitudinis aut rei publicae dignitate; qui
by-the-fruit of-eminence or of-the-thing public by-the-dignity which
 autem annus ei primus ab honorum perfuntione aditum
however year to-him the-first from of-the-honors the-completion the-approach
 omnium concessu ad summam auctoritatem dabat, is eius
of-all by-the-consent to the-highest authority was-giving that of-him
 omnem spem atque omnia vitae consilia morte pervertit.
all the-hope and all of-life the-plans by-death overturned
 Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave 8
was this mournful for-bis-own bitter for-the-fatherland grievous
 bonis omnibus; sed ei tamen rem publicam casus
for-the-good for-all but those still the-thing public misfortunes
 secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta L. Crasso a
followed have that to-me not snatched-away from-Lucius from-Crassus by
 dis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur.
the-gods immortal life but given death to-be may-seem
 Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia
not he-saw blazing with-war Italy not burning with-ill-will
 senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos,
the-senate not of-a-crime of-a-wicked the-chief-men of-the-state defendants
 non luctum filiae, non exilium generi, non
not the-mourning of-a-daughter not the-exile of-a-son-in-law not
 acerbissimam C. Mari fugam, non illam post reditum
the-most-bitter of-Gaius of-Marius the-flight not that after the-return
 eius caedem omnium crudelissimam, non denique in
of-him the-slaughter of-all the-cruellest not finally in
 omni genere deformatam eam civitatem, in qua ipse
every kind disfigured that state in which he-himself
 florentissima multum omnibus praestitisset.
when-most-flourishing much to-all had-excelled

- 9 Et quoniam attigi cogitatione vim varietatemque
and since I-have-touched in-thought the-force and-the-changefulness
 fortunae, non vagabitur oratio mea longius atque eis
of-fortune not will-wander speech my further and by-those
 fere ipsis definietur viris, qui hoc sermone, quem
generally by-the-very it-will-be-bounded by-men who in-this in-conversation which
 referre suscepimus, continentur. Quis enim non iure
to-relate we-have-undertaken are-contained who for not rightly
 beatam L. Crassi mortem illam, quae est a multis
blessed of-Lucius of-Crassus the-death that which is by many
 saepe defleta, dixerit, cum horum ipsorum sit, qui
often bewailed would-call when of-these of-the-very he-may-be who
 tum cum illo postremum fere conlocuti sunt, eventum
then with him last generally conversed have the-outcome
 recordatus? Tenemus enim memoria Q. Catulum, virum
having-recalled we-bold for in-memory Quintus Catulus a-man
 omni laude praestantem, cum sibi non incolumem
with-every with-praise excelling when for-himself not unbarmed
 fortunam, sed exilium et fugam deprecaretur, esse
fortune but exile and flight he-begged-for to-have-been
 coactum, ut vita se ipse privaret.
compelled that of-life himself he-himself he-might-deprive

Crassus was spared more: the head of Antonius on the rostra where he had defended the state, the Julii's heads nearby, his kinsman Publius dead by his own hand, Vesta's image splashed with his colleague the chief pontiff's blood, Cotta driven out, and Sulpicius cut down. Divine counsel, Cicero tells him, both adorned and ended his life. Quintus was right to call his brother back from strife. Readers should suspect more of Crassus than this sketch, drawn from what Cotta handed on, can show.

Iam M. Antoni in eis ipsis rostris, in quibus ille 10
now of-Marcus of-Antonius on those very the-rostra on which he
 rem publicam constantissime consul defenderat quaeque
the-thing public most-steadfastly as-consul had-defended and-which
 censor imperatoris manubiis ornat, positum caput illud
as-censor with-a-general's with-spoils he-had-adorned set the-head that
 fuit, a quo erant multorum capita servata; neque vero
was by which had-been of-many the-heads saved nor indeed
 longe ab eo C. Iuli caput hospitis Etrusci scelere
far from it of-Gaius of-Julius the-head of-a-host of-an-Etruscan by-the-crime
 proditum cum L. Iuli fratris capite iacuit, ut
betrayed with of-Lucius of-Julius of-the-brother with-the-head lay so-that
 ille, qui haec non vidit, et vixisse cum re publica
he who these not saw both to-have-lived with the-thing public
 pariter et cum illa simul exstinctus esse videatur.
equally and with that at-the-same-time quenched to-have-been may-seem
 Neque enim propinquum suum, maximi animi virum,
nor for a-kinsman his-own of-the-greatest of-spirit a-man
 P. Crassum, suapte interfectum manu neque conlegae
Publius Crassus by-his-own slain by-hand nor of-a-colleague
 sui, pontificis maximi, sanguine simulacrum Vestae
of-his-own of-the-pontiff of-the-greatest with-the-blood the-image of-Vesta

respersum esse vidit; cui maerori, qua mente
besprinkled to-have-been he-saw to-whom for-a-grief with-what with-mind
 ille in patriam fuit, etiam C. Carbonis, inimicissimi
he toward the-fatherland was even of-Gaius of-Carbo of-a-most-hostile
 hominis, eodem illo die mors fuisset nefaria;
of-a-man on-the-same on-that on-day the-death would-have-been abominable

- 11 non vidit eorum ipsorum, qui tum adulescentes Crasso se
not he-saw of-those of-the-very who then as-young-men to-Crassus themselves
 dicarant, horribilis miserosque casus; ex quibus Cotta,
had-dedicated the-dreadful and-pitiable misfortunes from whom Cotta
 quem ille florentem reliquerat, paucis diebus post mortem
whom he flourishing had-left in-a-few in-days after the-death
 Crassi depulsus per invidiam tribunatu non multis
of-Crassus driven through ill-will from-the-tribunate not in-many
 ab eo tempore mensibus eiectus est e civitate; Sulpicius
from that time in-months cast-out was from the-state Sulpicius
 autem, qui in eadem invidiae flamma fuisset, quibuscum
however who in the-same of-ill-will the-flame had-been with-whom
 privatus coniunctissime vixerat, hos in tribunatu spoliare
as-a-private-man most-closely he-had-lived these in the-tribunate to-despoil
 instituit omni dignitate; cui quidem ad summam gloriam
he-set-about of-every of-rank from-whom indeed to the-highest glory
 eloquentiae efflorescenti ferro erepta vita est et poena
of-eloquence from-(him)-flowering by-the-sword snatched life was and a-penalty
 temeritatis non sine magno rei publicae malo constituta.
of-rashness not without a-great of-the-thing public harm established

- 12 Ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore tum mortis
I indeed you Crassus both of-life by-the-flower and of-death
 opportunitate divino consilio et ornatum et extinctum
by-the-timeliness by-divine by-counsel both adorned and quenched
 esse arbitror; nam tibi aut pro virtute animi
to-have-been I-think for for-you either in-keeping-with the-courage of-mind

constantiaque tua civilis ferri subeunda fuit crudelitas

and-the-firmness your of-civil of-the-sword to-be-undergone was the-cruelty

aut, si qua te fortuna ab atrocitate mortis vindicasset, eadem

or if any you fortune from the-savagery of-death had-rescued the-same

esse te funerum patriae spectatorem coegisset;

to-be you of-the-funerals of-the-fatherland a-spectator would-have-compelled

neque solum tibi improborum dominatus, sed etiam propter

nor only for-you of-the-wicked the-domination but even on-account-of

admixtam civium caedem bonorum victoria maerori fuisset.

the-mingled of-citizens slaughter of-the-good the-victory for-grief would-have-been

Mihi quidem, Quinte frater, et eorum casus, de quibus 13

to-me indeed Quintus brother both of-those the-misfortunes about whom

ante dixi, et ea, quae nosmet ipsi ob amorem

before I-have-spoken and those which we-ourselves ourselves on-account-of the-love

in rem publicam incredibilem et singularem pertulimus

toward the-thing public incredible and singular have-endured

ac sensimus, cogitanti sententia saepe tua vera ac sapiens

and have-felt to-(me)-pondering the-opinion often your true and wise

videri solet, qui propter tot tantos tam praecipitisque

to-seem is-wont who on-account-of so-many so-great so and-headlong

casus clarissimorum hominum atque optimorum virorum me

the-falls of-the-most-illustrious of-men and of-the-best of-men me

semper ab omni contentione ac dimicatione revocasti.

always from every strife and struggle you-have-called-back

Sed quoniam haec iam neque in integro nobis esse 14

but since these now neither in the-untouched for-us to-be

possunt et summi labores nostri magna compensati

can and the-highest toils our by-great when-compensated

gloria mitigantur, pergamus ad ea solacia, quae non

by-glory are-softened let-us-go-on to those consolations which not

modo sedatis molestiis iucunda, sed etiam haerentibus

only when-calmed when-the-vexations pleasant but even when-clinging

salutaria nobis esse possint, sermonemque L. Crassi
wholesome for-us to-be may-be-able and-the-talk of-Lucius of-Crassus
 reliquum ac paene postremum memoriae prodamus, atque
remaining and almost last to-memory let-us-band-on and
 ei, si nequaquam parem illius ingenio, at pro
to-him if by-no-means equal of-that-man to-the-talent yet in-keeping-with
 nostro tamen studio meritam gratiam debitamque referamus.
our still zeal deserved gratitude and-owed let-us-render

- 15 Neque enim quisquam nostrum, cum libros Platonis
nor for anyone of-us when the-books of-Plato
 mirabiliter scriptos legit, in quibus omnibus fere Socrates
wonderfully written reads in which all generally Socrates
 exprimitur, non, quamquam illa scripta sunt divinitus,
is-portrayed not although those written are divinely
 tamen maius quiddam de illo, de quo scripta sunt,
still greater something about him about whom written they-are
 suspicatur; quod item nos postulamus non a te quidem,
suspects which likewise we ask not from you indeed
 qui nobis omnia summa tribuis, sed a ceteris, qui haec
who to-us all the-highest assign but from the-rest who these
 in manus sumunt, maius ut quiddam de L. Crasso,
into hands will-take greater that something about Lucius Crassus
 quam quantum a nobis exprimitur, suspicentur.
than as-much-as by us shall-be-portrayed they-may-suspect

- 16 Nos enim, qui ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus et
we for who at-the-very at-conversation not had-been-present and
 quibus C. Cotta tantum modo locos ac sententias huius
to-whom Gaius Cotta only merely the-topics and the-thoughts of-this
 disputationis tradidisset, quo in genere orationis utrumque
of-the-discussion had-banded-on in-which in kind of-speech each
 oratorem cognoveramus, id ipsum sumus in eorum
orator we-had-known that very-(thing) we-have in of-them

sermone adumbrare conati: quod si quis erit, qui ductus
the-talk to-sketch tried which if anyone there-shall-be who led
 opinione vulgi aut Antonium ieiuniorem aut Crassum
by-the-opinion of-the-crowd either Antonius leaner or Crassus
 pleniorē fuisse putet, quam quo modo a nobis uterque
fuller to-have-been thinks than in-what in-way by us each
 inductus est, is erit ex eis, qui aut illos non audierit aut
brought-in has-been he will-be from those who either them not has-heard or
 iudicare non possit; nam fuit uterque, ut exposui antea,
to-judge not can for was each as I-have-set-forth before
 cum studio atque ingenio et doctrina praestans omnibus,
both in-zeal and in-talent and in-learning excelling all
 tum in suo genere perfectus, ut neque in Antonio
and in his-own kind finished so-that neither in Antonius
 deesset hic ornatus orationis neque in Crasso redundaret.
was-lacking this adornment of-speech nor in Crassus overflowed

III.3 • WORDS AND MATTER CANNOT BE PARTED

Cotta recalled that Crassus had passed the whole midday in intense thought, silent some two hours. When the company gathered again, Caesar proposed the shady wood, and there they sat down. Crassus protests that Antonius has divided what will not divide: words have no place if you take the matter away, and matter no light if you take the words. The old philosophers made all things one; eloquence too is one, wherever it goes.

Ut igitur ante meridiem discesserunt paulumque requierunt, in 17
as therefore before midday they-departed and-a-little rested in
 primis hoc a se Cotta animadversum esse dicebat,
the-first-place this by himself Cotta noticed to-have-been he-was-saying
 omne illud tempus meridianum Crassum in acerrima atque
all that time midday Crassus in the-keenest and

attentissima cogitatione posuisse seseque, qui vultum eius,
the-most-attentive in-thought to-have-spent and-himself who the-face of-him
 cum ei dicendum esset, obtutumque oculorum in cogitando
when for-him to-be-spoken it-was and-the-fixed-gaze of-the-eyes in thinking
 probe nosset atque in maximis causis saepe vidisset, tum dedita
well he-knew and in the-greatest cases often had-seen then with-set
 opera quiescentibus aliis in eam exedram venisse, in
with-purpose while-resting the-others into that recess to-have-come in
 qua Crassus posito lectulo recubisset, cumque eum defixum
whicb Crassus when-set a-couch had-reclined and-when him fixed
 in cogitatione esse sensisset, statim recessisse atque in
in thought to-be he-had-perceived at-once to-have-withdrawn and in
 eo silentio duas horas fere esse consumptas. Deinde
that silence two hours nearly to-have-been spent then
 cum omnes inclinato iam in posmeridianum tempus die
when all when-inclined now toward the-afternoon time the-day
 venissent ad Crassum, 'quid est, Crasse,' inquit Iulius 'imusne
had-come to Crassus what is-it Crassus said Julius are-we-going
 sessum? Etsi admonitum venimus te, non flagitatum.'

to-sit although to-remind we-have-come you not to-demand

- 18 Tum Crassus 'an me tam impudentem esse existimatis, ut
then Crassus or me so shameless to-be do-you-think that
 vobis hoc praesertim munus putem me diutius posse
to-you this especially duty I-should-think myself longer to-be-able
 debere?' 'Quinam igitur' inquit 'ille locus? An in media silva
to-owe which-then therefore said that place or in the-middle the-wood
 placet? Est enim is maxime et opacus et frigidus.' 'Sane,'
does-it-please is for it chiefly both shady and cool indeed
 inquit Crassus 'etenim est in eo loco sedes huic nostro non
said Crassus for-indeed there-is in that place a-seat for-this for-our not

importuna sermoni.' Cum placuisset idem ceteris, in silvam
unsuited for-talk when it-had-pleased the-same to-the-rest into the-wood
 venit et ibi magna cum audiendi expectatione considitur.

it-is-come and there great with of-hearing expectation it-is-sat-down

Tum Crassus 'cum auctoritas atque amicitia vestra
then Crassus both the-authority and the-friendship your
 tum Antoni facilitas eripuit' inquit 'mihi in optima

and-especially of-Antonius the-obligingness has-snatched he-said from-me in the-best

mea causa libertatem recusandi: quamquam in partienda

my cause the-liberty of-refusing although in dividing

disputatione nostra, cum sibi de eis, quae dici

the-discussion our when for-himself about those which to-be-said

ab oratore oporteret, sumeret, mihi autem relinqueret,

by an-orator it-behooved he-took to-me however he-left

ut explicarem, quem ad modum illa ornari oporteret,

that I-should-unfold in-what to way those to-be-adorned it-behooved

ea divisit, quae seiuncta esse non possunt. Nam cum

those he-divided which separated to-be not can for since

omnis ex re atque verbis constet oratio, neque verba

all from substance and words consists speech neither words

sedem habere possunt, si rem subtraheris, neque

a-seat to-have can if the-substance you-shall-have-taken-away nor

res lumen, si verba semoveris.

the-substance light if the-words you-shall-have-removed

Ac mihi quidem veteres illi maius quiddam animo complexi

and to-me indeed the-ancient those a-greater something in-mind having-embraced

plus multo etiam vidisse videntur, quam quantum nostrorum

more much even to-have-seen seem than as-much-as of-our

ingeniorum acies intueri potest, qui omnia haec, quae supra

of-talents the-edge to-gaze can who all these which above

et subter, unum esse et una vi atque consensione naturae

and beneath one to-be and by-one by-force and by-agreement of-nature

19

20

constricta esse dixerunt; nullum est enim genus rerum, quod
bound to-be have-said no is for kind of-things which
 aut avulsum a ceteris per se ipsum constare aut quo cetera
either torn-away from the-rest by itself alone to-stand or of-which the-rest
 si careant, vim suam atque aeternitatem conservare possint.
if they-lack the-force their-own and the-eternity to-keep may-be-able

- 21 Sed si haec maior esse ratio videtur, quam ut hominum
but if this greater to-be a-system seems than that of-men
 possit sensu aut cogitatione comprehendi, est etiam
it-may-be-able by-sense or by-thought to-be-grasped there-is even
 illa Platonis vera et tibi, Catule, certe non inaudita
that of-Plato true and to-you Catulus certainly not unheard
 vox, omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum et humanarum
saying every learning of-these of-liberal and of-human
 artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri; ubi enim
of-arts by-one by-a-certain of-fellowship by-a-bond to-be-bound when for
 perspecta vis est rationis eius, qua causae rerum
perceived the-force is of-the-method of-that by-which the-causes of-things
 atque exitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidam omnium
and the-outcomes are-learned a-wonderful a-certain of-all
 quasi consensus doctrinarum concentusque reperitur.
as-it-were agreement of-learnings and-a-harmony is-found

- 22 Sed si hoc quoque videtur esse altius, quam ut id
but if this also seems to-be higher than that that
 nos humi strati suspicere possimus, illud certe
we on-the-ground stretched to-look-up-at we-may-be-able that certainly
 tamen, quod amplexi sumus, quod profitemur, quod
still which having-embraced we-are which we-profess which
 suscepimus, nosse et tenere debemus. Una est enim, quod
we-have-undertaken to-know and to-hold we-ought one is for which
 et ego hesterno die dixi et aliquot locis antemeridiano
both I on-yesterday's on-day said and in-several in-places in-the-forenoon

sermone significavit Antonius, eloquentia, quascumque in
in-talk indicated Antonius eloquence whatever into
 oras disputationis regionesve delata est;

shores of-discussion or-regions carried it-has-been

nam sive de caeli natura loquitur sive de terrae, sive 23

for whether about of-the-sky the-nature it-speaks or about of-the-earth or

de divina vi sive de humana, sive ex inferiore loco

about divine power or about human or from a-lower place

sive ex aequo sive ex superiore, sive ut impellat homines

or from equal or from higher or that it-may-drive men

sive ut doceat sive ut deterreat sive ut concitet sive ut

or that it-may-teach or that it-may-deter or that it-may-rouse or that

reflectat sive ut incendat sive ut leniat, sive ad paucos

it-may-turn-back or that it-may-kindle or that it-may-soothe or to few

sive ad multos sive inter alienos sive cum suis sive secum,

or to many or among strangers or with one's-own or with-oneself

rivis est diducta oratio, non fontibus, et, quocumque

in-streams it-is led-off speech not in-springs and whithersoever

ingreditur, eodem est instructu ornatuque comitata.

it-goes with-the-same it-is with-equipment and-with-adornment attended

Sed quoniam oppressi iam sumus opinionibus non modo 24

but since overwhelmed now we-are by-the-opinions not only

vulgi, verum etiam hominum leviter eruditorum, qui,

of-the-crowd but even of-men lightly of-educated who

quae complecti tota nequeunt, haec facilius divulsa et

what to-embrace whole they-cannot these more-easily torn-apart and

quasi discerpta contrectant, et qui tamquam ab animo

as-it-were mangled they-handle and who just-as from the-soul

corpus, sic a sentiis verba seiungunt, quorum sine

the-body so from the-thoughts the-words they-separate of-which without

interitu fieri neutrum potest, non suscipiam oratione

the-destruction to-be-done neither can not I-shall-take-on in-speech

mea plus quam mihi imponitur; tantum significabo brevi
my more than on-me is-laid only I-shall-indicate in-brief
 neque verborum ornatum inveniri posse non partis
neither of-words the-adornment to-be-found to-be-able not with-brought-forth
 expressisque sententiis, neque esse ullam sententiam
and-with-expressed with-thoughts nor to-be any thought
 inlustrem sine luce verborum.
brilliant without the-light of-words

III.4 · MANY KINDS, ALL PRAISEWORTHY

Before treating ornament, Crassus observes that in every class unlike things win equal praise. Myron, Polyclitus, and Lysippus differ, so do Zeuxis and Apelles, so do Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius. Isocrates had sweetness, Lysias fineness, Hyperides point, Aeschines sound, Demosthenes force. Among the living, Catulus' purity, Caesar's light handling of grave matters, Cotta's precision, and Sulpicius' vehemence are each first in their own kind.

- 25 Sed prius quam illa conor attingere, quibus orationem
but before than those I-try to-touch by-which speech
 ornari atque inluminari putem, proponam breviter quid
to-be-adorned and to-be-lighted-up I-think I-shall-set-forth briefly what
 sentiam de universo genere dicendi.
I-think about the-whole kind of-speaking
 Natura nulla est, ut mihi videtur, quae non habeat in
a-nature none is as to-me it-seems which not has in
 suo genere res compluris dissimilis inter se, quae
its-own kind things several unlike among themselves which
 tamen consimili laude dignentur; nam et auribus
still with-similar with-praise are-deemed-worthy for both with-the-ears
 multa percipimus, quae etsi nos vocibus delectant,
many-things we-perceive which although us with-sounds they-delight

tamen ita sunt varia saepe, ut id, quod proximum audias,
still so are varied often that that which latest you-hear
 iucundissimum esse videatur; et oculis conliguntur paene
most-pleasing to-be may-seem and with-the-eyes are-gathered almost
 innumerabiles voluptates, quae nos ita capiunt, ut unum
countless pleasures which us so take that one
 sensum in dissimili genere delectent; et reliquos sensus
sense in an-unlike kind they-may-delight and the-remaining senses
 voluptates oblectant dispares, ut sit difficile iudicium
pleasures charm unequal that may-be difficult the-judgment
 excellentis maxime suavitatis.

of-an-excelling chiefly of-sweetness

Atque hoc idem, quod est in naturis rerum, transferri 26
and this same which is in the-natures of-things to-be-transferred
 potest etiam ad artis; una fingendi est ars, in qua praestantes
can even to the-arts one of-modeling is the-art in which outstanding
 fuerunt Myro, Polyclitus, Lysippus, qui omnes inter se
were Myron Polyclitus Lysippus who all among themselves
 dissimiles fuerunt, sed ita tamen, ut neminem sui
unlike were but so still that no-one of-himself
 velis esse dissimilem; una est ars ratioque picturae,
you-would-wish to-be unlike one is the-art and-the-method of-painting
 dissimillimique tamen inter se Zeuxis, Aglaophon,
and-the-most-unlike still among themselves Zeuxis Aglaophon
 Apelles, neque eorum quisquam est, cui quicquam in
Apelles nor of-them anyone is to-whom anything in
 arte sua deesse videatur. Et si hoc in his quasi mutis
the-art his-own to-be-lacking may-seem and if this in these as-it-were mute
 artibus est mirandum et tamen verum, quanto admirabilius
in-arts is to-be-wondered-at and still true how-much more-admirable
 in oratione atque in lingua? Quae cum in eisdem sententiis
in speech and in the-tongue which although in the-same thoughts

verbisque versetur, summas habet dissimilitudines; non sic,
and-in-words is-engaged the-highest has unlikenesses not so
 ut alii vituperandi sint, sed ut ei, quos constet esse
that others to-be-blamed may-be but that those whom it-is-agreed to-be
 laudandos, in dispari tamen genere laudentur.

to-be-praised in an-unequal still kind may-be-praised

- 27 Atque id primum in poetis cerni licet, quibus est
and that first in poets to-be-seen it-is-allowed to-whom is
 proxima cognatio cum oratoribus: quam sunt inter sese
the-nearest kinsbip with orators how are among themselves
 Ennius, Pacuvius Acciusque dissimiles, quam apud Graecos
Ennius Pacuvius and-Accius unlike how among the-Greeks
 Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, quamquam omnibus par
Aeschylus Sophocles Euripides although to-all equal
 paene laus in dissimili scribendi genere tribuitur!

almost praise in an-unlike of-writing kind is-assigned

- 28 Aspicite nunc eos homines atque intuemini, quorum de
look-at now those men and gaze-at of-whom about
 facultate quaerimus: suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias,
the-faculty we-ask sweetness Isocrates fineness Lysias
 acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes
sharpness Hyperides resonance Aeschines force Demosthenes
 habuit. Quis eorum non egregius? tamen quis cuiusquam
bad who of-them not outstanding still who of-anyone
 nisi sui similis? Gravitationem Africanus, lenitatem Laelius,
except of-himself like weight Africanus smoothness Laelius
 asperitatem Galba, profluens quiddam habuit Carbo et
roughness Galba a-flowing something bad Carbo and
 canorum. Quis horum non princeps temporibus illis fuit?
melodious who of-these not the-chief in-the-times in-those was
 et suo tamen quisque in genere princeps.
and his-own still each in kind the-chief

Sed quid ego vetera conquirem, cum mihi liceat uti 29
but why I old-things should-I-hunt-up when to-me it-is-allowed to-use
 praesentibus exemplis atque vivis? Quid iucundius auribus
with-present with-examples and with-living what more-pleasing to-the-ears
 nostris umquam accidit huius oratione Catuli? quae est pura
our ever has-befallen of-this than-the-speech of-Catulus which is pure
 sic, ut Latine loqui paene solus videatur, sic autem gravis,
so that in-Latin to-speak almost alone may-seem so however weighty
 ut in singulari dignitate omnis tamen adsit humanitas
that in a-singular dignity all still may-be-present culture
 ac lepos. Quid multa? istum audiens equidem sic iudicare
and charm what many-things that-man hearing for-my-part so to-judge
 soleo, quicquid aut addideris aut mutaris aut
I-am-wont whatever either you-shall-have-added or you-shall-have-changed or
 detraxeris, vitiosius et deterius futurum.

you-shall-have-taken-away more-faulty and worse going-to-be
 Quid, noster hic Caesar nonne novam quandam rationem 30
what our this Caesar surely a-new a-certain method
 attulit orationis et dicendi genus induxit prope
has-brought of-speech and of-speaking a-kind has-introduced almost
 singulare? Quis umquam res praeter hunc tragicas paene
singular who ever things besides this-man tragic almost
 comice, tristis remisse, severas hilare, forensis scaenica prope
comically sad relaxedly severe cheerfully forensic with-stage-like almost
 venustate tractavit atque ita, ut neque iocus magnitudine
with-grace has-handled and so that neither the-jest by-the-greatness
 rerum excluderetur nec gravitas facetiis minueretur?

of-the-matters might-be-shut-out nor the-weight by-wit might-be-lessened
 Ecce praesentes duo prope aequales Sulpicius et Cotta. 31
behold present two nearly contemporaries Sulpicius and Cotta
 Quid tam inter se dissimile? quid tam in suo genere
what so among themselves unlike what so in his-own kind

praestans? Limatus alter et subtilis, rem explicans propriis
outstanding polished the-one and fine the-matter unfolding with-proper
 aptisque verbis; haeret in causa semper et quid iudici
and-with-fit with-words he-clings in the-case always and what for-the-judge
 probandum sit cum acutissime vidit, omissis ceteris
to-be-proved is when most-keenly he-has-seen when-omitted the-other
 argumentis in eo mentem orationemque defigit; Sulpicius
the-arguments in that the-mind and-the-speech he-fixes Sulpicius
 autem fortissimo quodam animi impetu, plenissima et
however with-a-most-vigorous with-a-certain of-mind with-impulse with-the-fullest and
 maxima voce, summa contentione corporis et dignitate
with-the-greatest with-voice with-the-highest with-straining of-body and with-dignity
 motus, verborum quoque ea gravitate et copia est, ut
of-movement of-words also such with-weight and with-fullness is that
 unus ad dicendum instructissimus a natura esse videatur.
alone for speaking the-best-equipped by nature to-be may-seem

III.5 • TEACHING ACCORDING TO NATURE

Crassus sets his own manner against Antonius', which is forceful, various, and fenced at every point, and admits that no man knows his own well. If speakers are numberless in kind, one training can still serve, so long as the teacher follows each pupil's nature: Isocrates used the spur on Ephorus and the bridle on Theopompus. Speech must be Latin, clear, adorned, and fitted to whatever is in hand.

- 32 Ad nosmet ipsos iam revertor, quoniam sic fuimus semper
to ourselves the-very now I-return since so we-have-been always
 comparati, ut hominum sermonibus quasi in aliquod
paired that of-men by-the-talk as-if into some
 contentionis iudicium vocaremur. Quid tam dissimile quam
of-rivalry judgment we-might-be-called what so unlike as

ego in dicendo et Antonius? cum ille is sit orator, ut nihil
I in speaking and Antonius since he such is an-orator that nothing
 eo possit esse praestantius, ego autem, quamquam memet
than-him can to-be more-excellent I however although myself
 mei paenitet, cum hoc maxime tamen in comparatione
of-myself it-dissatisfies with this chiefly still in comparison
 coniungar. Videtisne, genus hoc quod sit Antoni? Forte,
I-am-joined do-you-see the-kind this what it-may-be of-Antonius bold
 vehemens, commotum in agendo, praemunitum et ex
vehement stirred in pleading fore-fortified and from
 omni parte causae saeptum, acre, acutum, enucleatum,
every part of-the-case hedged keen sharp stripped-to-the-kernel
 in sua quaque re commorans, honeste cedens, acriter
on his-own each point lingering honorably yielding keenly
 insequens, terrens, supplicans, summa orationis varietate,
pursuing terrifying entreating with-the-highest of-speech with-variety
 nulla nostrarum aurium satietate.
with-no of-our of-ears with-satiety

Nos autem, quicumque in dicendo sumus, quoniam esse aliquo 33
we however whoever in speaking we-are since to-be in-some
 in numero vobis videmur, certe tamen ab huius multum
in number to-you we-seem certainly still from of-this-man much
 genere distamus; quod quale sit, non est meum dicere,
the-kind we-differ which of-what-sort it-may-be not is mine to-say
 propterea quod minime sibi quisque notus est et difficillime
for-the-reason that least to-himself each known is and most-difficultly
 de se quisque sentit; sed tamen dissimilitudo intellegi
about himself each feels but still the-unlikeness to-be-understood
 potest et ex motus mei mediocritate et ex eo, quod,
can both from of-the-movement of-my the-moderateness and from that because
 quibus vestigiis primum institi, in eis fere soleo
in-what in-footsteps first I-have-stood-on in those generally I-am-wont

perorare et quod aliquanto me maior in verbis eligendis labor

to-conclude and because somewhat me greater in words in-choosing toil

et cura torquet verentem, ne, si paulo obsoletior fuerit

and care torments fearing lest if a-little more-worn shall-have-been

oratio, non digna expectatione et silentio fuisse videatur.

the-speech not worthy of-expectation and of-silence to-have-been it-may-seem

34 Quod si in nobis, qui adsumus, tantae dissimilitudines sunt,

which if in us who are-present so-great unlikenesses are

tam certae res cuiusque propriae et in ea varietate fere

so fixed things of-each proper and in that variety generally

melius a deteriore facultate magis quam genere distinguitur

the-better from the-worse by-capacity more than by-kind is-distinguished

atque omne laudatur, quod in suo genere perfectum est,

and everything is-praised which in its-own kind finished is

quid censetis, si omnis, qui ubique sunt aut fuerunt oratores,

what do-you-judge if all who anywhere are or have-been orators

amplecti voluerimus, nonne fore ut, quot oratores,

to-embrace we-shall-have-wished surely to-be-going-to-be that as-many orators

totidem paene reperiantur genera dicendi? Ex qua mea

just-as-many almost may-be-found kinds of-speaking from which my

disputatione forsitan occurrat illud, si paene innumerabiles

argument perhaps may-occur that if almost countless

sint quasi formae figuraeque dicendi, specie dispares,

are as-it-were the-forms and-the-figures of-speaking in-appearance unlike

genere laudabiles, non posse ea, quae inter se

in-kind praiseworthy not to-be-able those which among themselves

discrepant, eisdem praeceptis atque una institutione formari.

disagree by-the-same by-precepts and by-one by-training to-be-shaped

35 Quod non est ita, diligentissimeque hoc est eis, qui

which not is so and-most-carefully this is by-those who

instituunt aliquos atque erudiunt, videndum, quo sua

train some and instruct to-be-seen whither his-own

quemque natura maxime ferre videatur. Etenim videmus
each the-nature chiefly to-carry may-seem for-indeed we-see
 ex eodem quasi ludo exisse discipulos dissimilis
from the-same as-it-were the-school to-have-gone-out pupils unlike
 inter se ac tamen laudandos, cum ad cuiusque naturam
among themselves and still to-be-praised since to of-each the-nature
 institutio doctoris accommodaretur.

the-training of-the-teacher was-fitted

Cuius est vel maxime insigne illud exemplum, ut ceteras 36
of-which is even chiefly notable that example that the-other
 artis omittamus, quod dicebat Isocrates doctor singularis
arts we-may-omit which said Isocrates a-teacher singular
 se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo
himself with-spurs on Ephorus on-the-contrary however on Theopompus
 frenis uti solere: alterum enim exsultantem verborum
with-reins to-use to-be-wont the-one for exulting of-words
 audacia reprimebat alterum cunctantem et quasi
with-the-boldness he-was-checking the-other hanging-back and as-it-were
 verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos similis effecit inter
being-bashful he-was-urging nor them alike he-made among
 se, sed tantum alteri adfinxit, de altero limavit, ut
themselves but only to-the-one he-added-on from the-other he-filed-away that
 id conformaret in utroque, quod utriusque natura pateretur.

that he-might-shape in each which of-each the-nature would-allow
 Haec eo mihi praedicenda fuerunt, ut, si non 37
these on-that-account by-me to-be-said-beforehand were that if not
 omnia, quae proponerentur a me, ad omnium vestrum
all-(things) which were-set-forth by me to of-all of-you
 studium et ad genus id, quod quisque vestrum in
the-taste and to the-kind that which each of-you in

dicendo probaret, adhaerescerent, id a me genus exprimi
speaking approved should-cling that by me the-kind to-be-expressed
 sentiretis, quod maxime mihi ipsi probaretur.

you-might-perceive which chiefly to-me myself was-approved

Ergo haec et agenda sunt ab oratore, quae explicavit
therefore these both to-be-done are by an-orator which unfolded

Antonius, et dicenda quodam modo. Quinam igitur dicendi
Antonius and to-be-said in-a-certain way which-then therefore of-speaking
 est modus melior, nam de actione post videro, quam
is the-manner better for about delivery afterward I-shall-see than
 ut Latine, ut plane, ut ornate, ut ad id, quodcumque
that in-Latin that plainly that elegantly that to that whatever
 agetur, apte congruenterque dicamus?

shall-be-pleaded fitly and-suitably we-may-speak

38 Atque eorum quidem, quae duo prima dixi, rationem
and of-those indeed which two first I-have-said the-method
 non arbitror exspectari a me puri dilucidique sermonis,
not I-think to-be-expected from me of-pure and-clear of-speech
 neque enim conamur docere eum dicere, qui loqui nesciat;
nor for we-try to-teach him to-speak who to-talk does-not-know
 nec sperare, qui Latine non possit, hunc ornate esse
nor to-hope who in-Latin not can this-man elegantly to-be
 dicturum; neque vero, qui non dicat quod intellegamus,
going-to-speak nor indeed who not says what we-may-understand
 hunc posse quod admiremur dicere. Linquamus igitur
this-man to-be-able what we-may-admire to-say let-us-leave therefore
 haec, quae cognitionem habent facilem, usum necessarium.
these which the-learning have easy the-use necessary

Nam alterum traditur litteris doctrinaque puerili, alterum
for the-one is-handed-on by-letters and-by-learning by-boyish the-other
 adhibetur ob eam causam, ut intellegatur quid
is-employed on-account-of that cause that it-may-be-understood what

quisque dicat, quod videmus ita esse necessarium, ut
each says which we-see so to-be necessary that
 tamen eo minus nihil esse possit.

still than-it less nothing to-be can

Sed omnis loquendi elegancia, quamquam expolitur
but all of-speaking the-elegance although is-polished
 scientia litterarum, tamen augetur legendis oratoribus

by-the-knowledge of-letters still is-increased by-reading orators

et poetis; sunt enim illi veteres, qui ornare nondum
and poets are for those old who to-adorn not-yet
 poterant ea, quae dicebant, omnes prope praeclare locuti;

could those which they-said all almost splendidly having-spoken

quorum sermone adsuefacti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem
by-whose by-speech accustomed who shall-be not desiring even
 poterunt loqui nisi Latine. Neque tamen erit utendum

will-be-able to-talk except in-Latin nor still it-will-be to-be-used

verbis eis, quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur,
with-words with-those which now the-usage our not uses

nisi quando ornandi causa parce, quod ostendam; sed
except when of-adorning for-the-sake sparingly which I-shall-show but

usitatis ita poterit uti, lectissimis ut utatur, is,
with-customary so he-will-be-able to-use with-the-most-choice as may-use be
 qui in veteribus erit scriptis studiose et multum volutatus.

who in old shall-be writings eagerly and much steeped

Atque, ut Latine loquamur, non solum videndum est, ut 40

and that in-Latin we-may-speak not only to-be-seen it-is that

et verba efferamus ea, quae nemo iure reprehendat, et
both words we-may-utter those which no-one rightly may-censure and
 ea sic et casibus et temporibus et genere et numero

them so both in-cases and in-tenses and in-gender and in-number

conservemus, ut ne quid perturbatum ac discrepans

we-may-keep that not anything confused and discordant

aut praeposterum sit, sed etiam lingua et spiritus et
 or reversed may-be but even the-tongue and the-breath and
 vocis sonus est ipse moderandus.
 of-the-voice the-sound is itself to-be-governed

III.6 · THE SOUND OF THE CITY

Letters should be neither mouthed nor slurred, words neither thinly lifeless nor puffed out with panting. Some men cultivate a country tone, thinking it sounds ancient; Crassus prefers the sound proper to Rome, as the Attic was to Athens, where an unlettered citizen outdoes a learned Asiatic. His mother-in-law Laelia keeps the old speech uncorrupted, and hearing her is like hearing Plautus. Lucius Cotta's broad vowels imitate reapers, not old orators.

- 41 Nolo exprimi litteras putidius, nolo obscurari
I-do-not-wish to-be-articulated the-letters too-affectedly I-do-not-wish to-be-blurred
 neglegentius; nolo verba exiliter exanimata exire,
too-carelessly I-do-not-wish the-words thinly lifeless to-go-out
 nolo inflata et quasi anhelata gravius. Nam de voce
I-do-not-wish puffed-up and as-it-were panted too-heavily for about the-voice
 nondum ea dico, quae sunt actionis, sed hoc, quod mihi
not-yet those I-say which are of-delivery but this which to-me
 cum sermone quasi coniunctum videtur: sunt enim certa
with speech as-it-were joined seems there-are for certain
 vitia, quae nemo est quin effugere cupiat; mollis vox aut
faults which no-one is but-that to-escape he-desires a-soft voice or
 muliebris aut quasi extra modum absona atque absurda.
womanish or as-it-were beyond measure discordant and absurd
- 42 Est autem vitium, quod non nulli de industria consecantur:
is however a-fault which not none of set-purpose pursue
 rustica vox et agrestis quosdam delectat, quo magis
a-rustic voice and boorish certain-men delights whereby more

antiquitatem, si ita sonet, eorum sermo retinere videatur;
antiquity if so it-sounds of-them the-speech to-keep may-seem
 ut tuus, Catule, sodalis, L. Cotta, gaudere mihi videtur
as your Catulus companion Lucius Cotta to-rejoice to-me seems
 gravitate linguae sonoque vocis agresti et illud,
in-the-heaviness of-the-tongue and-in-the-sound of-the-voice boorish and that
 quod loquitur, priscum visum iri putat, si plane
which he-speaks ancient seeming to-be-going he-thinks if plainly
 fuerit rusticanum. Me autem tuus sonus et subtilitas
it-shall-have-been countrified me however your sound and fineness
 ista delectat, omitto verborum, quamquam est caput;
that delights I-omit of-words although it-is the-chief-point
 verum id adfert ratio, docent litterae, confirmat consuetudo
but that brings reason teach letters confirms usage
 et legendi et loquendi; sed hanc dico suavitatem, quae
both of-reading and of-speaking but this I-mean sweetness which
 exit ex ore; quae quidem ut apud Graecos Atticorum,
goes-out from the-mouth which indeed as among the-Greeks of-the-Athenians
 sic in Latino sermone huius est urbis maxime propria.
so in Latin speech of-this is of-the-city chiefly proper
 Athenis iam diu doctrina ipsorum Atheniensium interiit, 43
at-Athens now long the-learning of-the-very Athenians has-perished
 domicilium tantum in illa urbe remanet studiorum, quibus
the-dwelling-place only in that city remains of-studies from-which
 vacant cives, peregrini fruuntur capti quodam modo
are-free the-citizens foreigners enjoy captivated in-a-certain way
 nomine urbis et auctoritate; tamen eruditissimos homines
by-the-name of-the-city and by-the-prestige still the-most-learned men
 Asiaticos quivis Atheniensis indoctus non verbis, sed
Asiatic any-you-please Athenian unlearned not in-words but
 sono vocis nec tam bene quam suaviter loquendo facile
in-the-sound of-the-voice nor so well as sweetly by-speaking easily

superabit. Nostri minus student litteris quam Latini; tamen
will-surpass our-men less are-eager for-letters than the-Latins still
 ex istis, quos nostis, urbanis, in quibus minimum
from those whom you-know from-the-city-men in whom the-least
 est litterarum, nemo est quin litteratissimum togatorum
is of-letters no-one is but-that the-most-lettered of-the-gowned
 omnium, Q. Valerium Soranum, lenitate vocis atque
of-all Quintus Valerius Soranus in-the-smoothness of-voice and
 ipso oris pressu et sono facile vincat.
in-the-very of-the-mouth in-the-precision and in-the-sound easily may-surpass

44 Qua re cum sit quaedam certa vox Romani generis
for-which reason since there-is a-certain fixed voice of-the-Roman of-the-race
 urbisque propria, in qua nihil offendi, nihil displicere,
and-of-the-city proper in which nothing to-be-objected-to nothing to-displease
 nihil animadverti possit, nihil sonare aut olere peregrinum,
nothing to-be-noticed can nothing to-sound or to-smell-of foreign
 hanc sequamur neque solum rusticam asperitatem, sed
this let-us-follow and-not only rustic harshness but
 etiam peregrinam insolentiam fugere discamus.
even foreign strangeness to-flee let-us-learn

45 Equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam — facilius
for-my-part when I-hear mother-in-law my Laelia more-easily
 enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod
for women unspoiled antiquity preserve because
 multorum sermonis expertes ea tenent semper, quae
of-many of-talk unacquainted-with those they-hold always which
 prima didicerunt — sed eam sic audio, ut Plautum mihi
first they-have-learned but her so I-hear that Plautus to-me
 aut Naevium videar audire, sono ipso vocis ita recto
or Naevius I-seem to-hear by-the-sound itself of-the-voice so straight
 et simplici est, ut nihil ostentationis aut imitationis adferre
and simple she-is that nothing of-display or of-imitation to-bring

videatur; ex quo sic locutum esse eius patrem iudico, sic
she-seems from which so having-spoken to-be her father I-judge so
maiores; non aspere ut ille, quem dixi, non vaste, non
the-forefathers not harshly as he whom I-have-named not broadly not
rustice, non hiulce, sed presse et aequabiliter et leniter.
rustically not with-biatus but compactly and evenly and gently
Qua re Cotta noster, cuius tu illa lata, Sulpici, 46
for-which reason Cotta our whose you those broad-(sounds) Sulpicius
non numquam imitaris, ut Iota litteram tollas et
not never imitate that the-Iota letter you-take-away and
E plenissimum dicas, non mihi oratores antiquos, sed
E fullest you-say not to-me orators ancient but
messores videtur imitari.' Hic cum adrisisset ipse Sulpicius,
reapers seems to-imitate here when had-smiled himself Sulpicius
'sic agam vobiscum' inquit Crassus 'ut quoniam me loqui
so I-shall-deal with-you said Crassus that since me to-speak
voluistis, aliquid de vestris vitiis audiat.' 'Utinam
you-have-wished something about your faults you-may-hear would-that
quidem!' inquit ille 'id enim ipsum volumus, idque si
indeed said he that for very-(thing) we-wish and-that if
feceris, multa, ut arbitror, hic hodie vitia ponemus.'
you-shall-have-done many as I-think here today faults we-shall-lay-aside
'At enim non sine meo periculo' Crassus inquit 'possum, 47
but for not without my peril Crassus said I-can
Sulpici, te reprehendere, quoniam Antonius mihi te
Sulpicius you to-censure since Antonius to-me you
simillimum dixit sibi videri.' Tum ille 'tu vero, quod
most-like said to-himself to-seem then he you indeed because
monuit idem, ut ea, quae in quoque maxima essent,
he-advised the-same that those which in each greatest were
imitaremur; ex quo vereor ne nihil sim tui nisi
we-should-imitate from which I-fear lest nothing I-may-be of-yours except

supplosionem pedis imitatus et pauca quaedam verba et
the-stamping of-the-foot having-imitated and a-few certain words and
 aliquem, si forte, motum.' 'Ergo ista,' inquit Crassus 'quae
some if by-chance movement therefore those said Crassus which
 habes a me, non reprehendo, ne me ipsum inrideam —
you-have from me not I-censure lest me myself I-mock
 sunt autem ea multo et plura et maiora, quam dicis —
are however they much both more and greater than you-say
 quae autem sunt tua plane aut imitatione ex aliquo expressa,
what however are yours plainly or by-imitation from someone expressed
 de his te, si qui me forte locus admonuerit, commonebo.
about these you if any me by-chance occasion shall-have-reminded I-shall-remind

III.7 · CLEAR LATIN WINS NO PRAISE

The rules for speaking Latin and speaking plainly Crassus passes over as school-room matters, though advocates like Fufius so muddle a case that the client would tell it better. Nobody was ever admired for speaking Latin, or praised for being understood; he is only despised when he is not. Wonder is kept for the speaker who is distinct, full, and luminous, and who fits his manner to his matter and his men.

- 48 Praetereamus igitur praecepta Latine loquendi quae puerilis
let-us-pass-over therefore the-precepts in-Latin of-speaking which boyish
 doctrina tradit et subtilior cognitio ac ratio litterarum
learning transmits and a-finer learning and method of-letters
 alit aut consuetudo sermonis cotidiani ac domestici, libri
nourishes or the-habit of-talk of-daily and of-domestic books
 confirmant et lectio veterum oratorum et poetarum; neque
confirm and the-reading of-old of-orators and of-poets nor

vero in illo altero diutius commoremur, ut disputemus, quibus

indeed in that the-other longer let-us-linger that we-may-argue by-what

rebus adsequi possimus, ut ea, quae dicamus, intellegantur:

by-means to-attain we-may-be-able that those which we-say may-be-understood

Latine scilicet dicendo, verbis usitatis ac proprie

49

in-Latin of-course by-speaking with-words with-customary and properly

demonstrantibus ea, quae significari ac declarari volumus,

indicating those which to-be-signified and to-be-made-clear we-shall-wish

sine ambiguo verbo aut sermone, non nimis longa

without an-ambiguous word or phrase not too with-a-long

continuatione verborum, non valde productis eis, quae

with-a-run of-words not greatly when-drawn-out those which

similitudinis causa ex aliis rebus transferuntur, non

of-likeness for-the-sake from other things are-transferred not

discerptis sentiis, non praeposteris temporibus, non

with-torn-apart with-thoughts not with-reversed with-tenses not

confusis personis, non perturbato ordine. Quid multa? Tam

with-confused with-persons not with-disturbed with-order what many-things so

facilis est tota res, ut mihi permirum saepe videatur, cum

easy is the-whole matter that to-me very-strange often it-may-seem since

difficilius intellegatur, quid patronus velit dicere, quam si

more-difficultly is-understood what the-advocate wishes to-say than if

ipse ille, qui patronum adhibet, de re sua diceret.

himself that-man who an-advocate employs about matter his-own should-speak

Isti enim, qui ad nos causas deferunt, ita nos plerumque

50

those for who to us the-cases bring so us mostly

ipsi docent, ut non desideres planius dici; easdem

themselves instruct that not you-would-want more-plainly to-be-said the-same

res autem simul ac Fufius aut vester aequalis Pomponius

things however as-soon as Fufius or your contemporary Pomponius

agere coepit, non aequè quid dicant, nisi admodum attendi,

to-plead has-begun not equally what they-say unless quite I-have-attended

intellego; ita confusa est oratio, ita perturbata, nihil ut
I-understand so confused is the-speech so disordered nothing that
 sit primum, nihil ut secundum, tantaque insolentia ac
may-be first nothing that second and-so-great strangeness and
 turba verborum, ut oratio, quae lumen adhibere rebus
throng of-words that the-speech which light to-bring to-things
 debet, ea obscuritatem et tenebras adferat atque ut quodam
ought it obscurity and darkness may-bring and that in-a-certain
 modo ipsi sibi in dicendo obstrepere videantur.
way they-themselves to-themselves in speaking to-drown-out may-seem

- 51 Verum, si placet, quoniam haec satis spero vobis quidem
but if it-pleases since these enough I-hope to-you indeed
 certe maioribus molesta et putida videri, ad reliqua
certainly to-the-elders tiresome and stale to-seem to the-rest
 aliquanto odiosiora pergamus.' 'Atqui vides' inquit Antonius
somewhat more-irksome let-us-go-on and-yet you-see said Antonius
 'quam alias res agamus, qui adduci possimus — de
how other things we-do who to-be-brought we-may-be-able about
 me enim conicio — relictis ut rebus omnibus te sectemur;
myself for I-infer when-left that things all you we-may-follow
 ita de horridis rebus nitida, de ieiunis plena, de
so about rough matters polished about meager full about
 pervulgatis nova quaedam est oratio tua.'
very-common new a-certain is speech your

- 52 'Faciles enim,' inquit 'Antoni, partes eae fuerunt duae, quas
easy for he-said Antonius the-parts those were two which
 modo percucurri vel potius paene praeterii, Latine loquendi
just-now I-ran-through or rather almost I-passed-by in-Latin of-speaking
 planeque dicendi; reliquae sunt magnae, implicatae, variae,
and-plainly of-speaking the-remaining are great involved varied
 graves, quibus omnis admiratio ingeni, omnis laus
weighty by-which all the-admiration of-talent all the-praise

eloquentiae continetur; nemo enim umquam est oratorem,
of-eloquence is-contained no-one for ever has an-orator
 quod Latine loqueretur, admiratus; si est aliter, inridet,
because in-Latin he-spoke admired if it-is otherwise they-mock
 neque eum oratorem tantum modo, sed hominem non
nor him an-orator only merely but a-man not
 putant; nemo extulit eum verbis, qui ita dixisset, ut,
they-think no-one has-extolled him with-words who so had-spoken that
 qui adessent, intellegerent quid diceret, sed contempsit
those-who were-present might-understand what he-said but has-despised
 eum, qui minus id facere potuisset.

him who less that to-do had-been-able

In quo igitur homines exhorrescunt? Quem stupefacti
in what therefore men shudder whom astounded
 dicentem intuentur? In quo exclamant? Quem deum,
speaking do-they-gaze-at at what do-they-cry-out whom a-god
 ut ita dicam, inter homines putant? Qui distincte,
that so I-may-say among men do-they-think those-who distinctly
 qui explicite, qui abundanter, qui inluminare et rebus
who clearly who richly who brilliantly both in-things
 et verbis dicunt et in ipsa oratione quasi quendam
and in-words speak and in the-very speech as-it-were a-certain
 numerum versumque conficiunt, id est, quod dico, ornate.

rhythm and-verse make that is which I-call elegantly

Qui idem ita moderantur, ut rerum, ut personarum
those-who the-same so control-(it) as of-things as of-persons
 dignitates ferunt, ei sunt in eo genere laudandi laudis,
the-dignities require those are in that kind to-be-praised of-praise
 quod ego aptum et congruens nomino.

which I fitting and suitable name

53

54 Qui ita dicerent, eos negavit adhuc se vidisse Antonius
who so should-speak them he-denied hitherto himself to-have-seen Antonius
 et eis hoc nomen dixit eloquentiae solis esse
and to-those this name he-said of-eloquence to-them-alone to-be
 tribuendum. Qua re omnis istos me auctore deridete
to-be-assigned for-which reason all those with-me as-adviser mock
 atque contemnite, qui se horum, qui nunc ita appellantur,
and despise who themselves of-these who now so are-called
 rhetorum praeceptis omnem oratoriam vim complexos esse
of-rhetoricians by-the-precepts all the-oratorical force having-embraced to-be
 arbitrantur neque adhuc quam personam teneant aut quid
think and-not hitherto what part they-hold or what
 profiteantur intellegere potuerunt. Vero enim oratori, quae
they-profess to-understand have-been-able for-a-true for orator what
 sunt in hominum vita, quandoquidem in ea versatur orator
are in of-men the-life since-indeed in it is-engaged the-orator
 atque ea est ei subiecta materies, omnia quaesita,
and it is for-him underlying material all-(things) sought
 audita, lecta, disputata, tractata, agitata esse debent.
heard read discussed handled turned-over to-be ought

III.8 · ELOQUENCE AND WISDOM, ONCE ONE

Eloquence is one of the highest virtues, and the greater its power the more it must be joined to honesty and judgment, or we are handing weapons to madmen. The Greeks once called this power wisdom, and the men who held it governed cities. Then leisure broke learning up: some turned to the poets, some to geometry, some invented dialectic, and philosophy came to despise speaking, with Socrates dividing wise thought from fine speech.

Est enim eloquentia una quaedam de summis virtutibus; 55

is for eloquence one a-certain of the-highest virtues

quamquam sunt omnes virtutes aequales et pares, sed tamen

although are all virtues equal and matched but still

est specie alia magis alia formosa et inlustris,

is in-appearance one more than-another shapely and brilliant

sicut haec vis, quae scientiam complexa rerum sensa

just-as this force which the-knowledge having-embraced of-things the-thoughts

mentis et consilia sic verbis explicat, ut eos, qui audiant,

of-the-mind and the-designs so in-words unfolds that those who hear

quocumque incubuerit, possit impellere; quae quo

whithersoever it-shall-have-learned it-may-be-able to-drive which by-how-much

maior est vis, hoc est magis probitate iungenda

greater is the-force by-this it-is more with-uprightness to-be-joined

summaque prudentia; quarum virtutum expertibus

and-with-the-highest with-practical-wisdom of-which of-virtues to-(those)-lacking

si dicendi copiam tradiderimus, non eos quidem oratores

if of-speaking the-fullness we-shall-have-banded-on not them indeed orators

effecerimus, sed furentibus quaedam arma dederimus.

we-shall-have-made but to-madmen certain arms we-shall-have-given

Hanc, inquam, cogitandi pronuntiandiue rationem vimque 56

this I-say of-thinking and-of-uttering the-method and-the-force

dicendi veteres Graeci sapientiam nominabant; hinc illi

of-speaking the-old Greeks wisdom named hence those

Lycurgi, hinc Pittaci, hinc Solones atque ab hac similitudine

Lycurguses hence Pittacuses hence Solons and from this likeness

Coruncanii nostri, Fabricii, Catones, Scipiones fuerunt, non

the-Coruncanii our Fabricii Catos Scipios were not

tam fortasse docti, sed impetu mentis simili et voluntate.

so perhaps learned but in-the-impulse of-mind alike and in-the-will

Eadem autem alii prudentia, sed consilio ad

with-the-same however others with-practical-wisdom but with-a-purpose toward

vitae studia dispari quietem atque otium secuti, ut
of-life the-pursuits unequal quiet and leisure having-followed as
 Pythagoras, Democritus, Anaxagoras, a regendis civitatibus
Pythagoras Democritus Anaxagoras from governing states
 totos se ad cognitionem rerum transtulerunt; quae
wholly themselves to the-knowledge of-things transferred which
 vita propter tranquillitatem et propter ipsius scientiae
life on-account-of the-tranquility and on-account-of of-the-very of-knowledge
 suavitatem, qua nihil est hominibus iucundius, pluris,
the-sweetness than-which nothing is for-men more-pleasing more-(men)
 quam utile fuit rebus publicis, delectavit.
than useful it-was for-things for-public delighted

- 57 Itaque, ut ei studio se excellentissimis ingeniis
and-so as to-that to-pursuit themselves with-the-most-outstanding with-talents
 homines dederunt, ex ea summa facultate vacui ac
men gave-over from that the-highest abundance of-vacant and
 liberi temporis multo plura, quam erat necesse, doctissimi
of-free of-time much more than was necessary the-most-learned
 homines otio nimio et ingeniis uberrimis adfluentes
men by-leisure by-excessive and by-talents by-the-richest overflowing
 curanda sibi esse ac quaerenda et investiganda
to-be-cared-for by-themselves to-be and to-be-sought and to-be-investigated
 duxerunt. Nam vetus quidem illa doctrina eadem videtur
they-reckoned for old indeed that learning the-same seems
 et recte faciendi et bene dicendi magistra; neque disiuncti
both rightly of-doing and well of-speaking the-mistress nor separate
 doctores, sed eidem erant vivendi praeceptores atque dicendi,
teachers but the-same were of-living the-instructors and of-speaking
 ut ille apud Homerum Phoenix, qui se a Peleo patre
as that in Homer Phoenix who himself by Peleus the-father

Achilli iuveni comitem esse datum dicit ad bellum,
to-Achilles to-the-young-man a-companion to-be given says for the-war
 ut efficeret oratorem verborum actoremque rerum.

that he-might-make an-orator of-words and-a-doer of-deeds

Sed ut homines labore adsiduo et cotidiano adsueti, cum 58
but as men to-toil to-constant and to-daily accustomed when
 tempestatis causa opere prohibentur, ad pilam se

of-weather for-the-sake from-work are-kept to ball themselves

aut ad talos aut ad tesseras conferunt aut etiam novum
or to knucklebones or to dice betake or even a-new

sibi ipsi aliquem excogitant in otio ludum, sic illi
for-themselves themselves some devise in leisure game so those

a negotiis publicis tamquam ab opere aut temporibus
from affairs public as-if from work either by-the-times

exclusi aut voluntate sua feriatu totos se alii ad
shut-out or by-the-will their-own on-holiday wholly themselves some to

poetas, alii ad geometras, alii ad musicos contulerunt,
poets others to geometers others to musicians betook

alii etiam, ut dialectici, novum sibi ipsi studium
others even as logicians a-new for-themselves themselves study

ludumque pepererunt atque in eis artibus, quae repertae
and-game begot and in those arts which found

sunt, ut puerorum mentes ad humanitatem fingerentur atque
were that of-boys the-minds to culture might-be-shaped and

virtutem, omne tempus atque aetates suas consumpserunt.
virtue all time and the-ages their-own spent

Sed quod erant quidam eique multi, qui aut in re 59
but because there-were certain and-they many who either in the-thing

publica propter ancipitem, quae non potest esse seiuncta,
public on-account-of the-twofold which not can to-be separated

faciendi dicendique sapientiam florerent, ut Themistocles, ut
of-doing and-of-speaking wisdom flourished as Themistocles as

Pericles, ut Theramenes, aut, qui minus ipsi in re
Pericles as Theramenes or who less themselves in the-thing
 publica versarentur, sed huius tamen eiusdem sapientiae
public were-engaged but of-this still of-the-same of-wisdom
 doctores essent, ut Gorgias, Thrasy-machus, Isocrates, inventi
teachers were as Gorgias Thrasy-machus Isocrates found
 sunt, qui, cum ipsi doctrina et ingeniis abundarent,
were who although themselves in-learning and in-talents abounded
 a re autem civili et a negotiis animi quodam
from the-thing however civil and from affairs of-mind by-a-certain
 iudicio abhorrerent, hanc dicendi exercitationem exagitarent
by-judgment shrank this of-speaking practice assailed
 atque contemnerent;
and despised

60 quorum princeps Socrates fuit, is qui omnium eruditorum
of-whom the-chief Socrates was he who of-all of-the-learned
 testimonio totiusque iudicio Graeciae cum prudentia
by-the-testimony and-of-the-whole by-the-judgment of-Greece both in-practical-wisdom
 et acumine et venustate et subtilitate tum vero
and in-acuteness and in-charm and in-refinement and-especially indeed
 eloquentia, varietate, copia, quam se cumque in partem
in-eloquence in-variety in-fullness whatever himself soever into direction
 dedisset omnium fuit facile princeps, eisque, qui haec,
he-had-given of-all was easily the-chief and-from-those who these
 quae nunc nos quaerimus, tractarent, agerent, docerent, cum
which now we seek handled dealt-with taught whereas
 nomine appellarentur uno, quod omnis rerum optimarum
by-a-name they-were-called by-one because all of-things of-the-best
 cognitio atque in eis exercitatio philosophia nominaretur,
the-knowledge and in those the-practice philosophy was-named
 hoc commune nomen eripuit sapienterque sentiendi et
this common name he-took-away and-wisely of-thinking and

ornate dicendi scientiam re cohaerentis disputationibus
elegantly of-speaking the-knowledge in-fact cohering in-discussions
 suis separavit; cuius ingenium variosque sermones
in-his-own he-separated of-whom the-talent and-the-varied conversations
 immortalitati scriptis suis Plato tradidit, cum ipse
to-immortality by-the-writings by-his-own Plato handed-on although himself
 litteram Socrates nullam reliquisset.
a-letter Socrates none had-left

III.9 • THE SCHOOLS AFTER SOCRATES

Out of Socrates' scattered talk grew households of philosophers at odds with one another: Aristotle and Xenocrates from Plato, the Cynics and then the Stoics from Antisthenes, the Cyrenaics from Aristippus. The philosophy that pleads for pleasure is no use to a leader of the state and may keep to its little garden. The Stoics alone call eloquence a virtue, yet they call everyone mad, and their thin speech is useless before a crowd.

Hinc discidium illud exstitit quasi linguae atque cordis, 61
hence the-split that arose as-it-were of-the-tongue and of-the-heart
 absurdum sane et inutile et reprehendendum, ut alii
absurd indeed and useless and to-be-blamed that some
 nos sapere, alii dicere docerent. Nam cum essent plures
us to-be-wise others to-speak should-teach for since there-were several
 orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius variis et diversis
sprung generally from Socrates because from of-that varied and from-diverse
 et in omnem partem diffusis disputationibus alius
and into every direction from-spread from-discussions one
 aliud apprehenderat, proseminatae sunt quasi familiae
one-thing had-seized sown-forth were as-it-were households
 dissentientes inter se et multum disiunctae et dispare,
disagreeing among themselves and much divided and unequal

cum tamen omnes se philosophi Socraticos et dici
although still all themselves the-philosophers Socratics both to-be-called
 vellent et esse arbitrentur.

wished and to-be thought

- 62 Ac primo ab ipso Platone Aristoteles et Xenocrates,
and first from the-very Plato Aristotle and Xenocrates
 quorum alter Peripateticorum, alter Academiae nomen
of-whom the-one of-the-Peripatetics the-other of-the-Academy the-name
 obtinuit, deinde ab Antisthene, qui patientiam et duritiam
obtained then from Antisthenes who endurance and hardness
 in Socratico sermone maxime adamarat, Cynici primum,
in Socratic discourse chiefly had-loved the-Cynics first
 deinde Stoici, tum ab Aristippo, quem illae magis
then the-Stoics then from Aristippus whom those more
 voluptariae disputationes delectarant, Cyrenaica philosophia
voluptuary discussions had-delighted the-Cyrenaic philosophy
 manavit, quam ille et eius posterī simpliciter defenderunt,
flowed which he and of-him the-successors plainly defended
 hi, qui nunc voluptate omnia metiuntur, dum verecundius
these who now by-pleasure all-(things) measure while more-bashfully
 id agunt, nec dignitati satis faciunt, quam non
that they-do neither to-dignity enough they-do which not
 aspernantur, nec voluptatem tuentur, quam amplexari volunt.
they-spurn nor pleasure they-guard which to-embrace they-wish
 Fuerunt etiam alia genera philosophorum, qui se omnes
there-were even other kinds of-philosophers who themselves all
 fere Socraticos esse dicebant, Eretriorum, Erilliorum,
generally Socratics to-be said of-the-Eretrians of-the-Herillians
 Megariorum, Pyrrhoneorum; sed ea horum vi et
of-the-Megarians of-the-Pyrrhonians but those of-these by-the-force and
 disputationibus sunt iam diu fracta et extincta.
by-the-arguments have-been now long broken and quenched

Ex illis autem quae remanent, ea philosophia, quae 63
from those however which remain that philosophy which
 suscepit patrocinium voluptatis, etsi cui vera videatur,
has-taken-up the-patronage of-pleasure although to-anyone true it-may-seem
 procul abest tamen ab eo viro, quem quaerimus et quem
far is-away still from that man whom we-seek and whom
 auctorem publici consili et regendae civitatis ducem et
the-author of-public of-counsel and of-governing of-the-state the-leader and
 sententiae atque eloquentiae principem in senatu, in populo,
of-opinion and of-eloquence the-chief in the-senate in the-people
 in causis publicis esse volumus. Nec ulla tamen ei
in cases public to-be we-wish nor any still to-that
 philosophiae fiet iniuria a nobis; non enim repelletur
to-philosophy will-be-done wrong by us not for it-will-be-driven-off
 inde, quo adgredi cupiet, sed in hortulis quiescet
thence whither to-approach it-shall-desire but in the-little-gardens it-will-rest
 suis, ubi vult, ubi etiam recubans molliter et delicate
its-own where it-wishes where even reclining softly and daintily
 nos avocat a Rostris, a iudiciis, a curia,
us it-calls-away from the-Rostra from the-courts from the-senate-house
 fortasse sapienter, hac praesertim re publica.
perhaps wisely with-this especially with-the-thing with-public
 Verum ego non quaero nunc, quae sit philosophia 64
but I not seek now which may-be philosophy
 verissima, sed quae oratori coniuncta maxime; qua re
truest but which for-the-orator joined chiefly for-which reason
 istos sine ulla contumelia dimittamus; sunt enim et boni
those without any insult let-us-dismiss they-are for both good
 viri et, quoniam sibi ita videntur, beati; tantumque
men and since to-themselves so they-seem blessed and-only
 eos admoneamus, ut illud, etiam si est verissimum,
them let-us-advise that that even if it-is truest

tacitum tamen tamquam mysterium teneant, quod negant

silent still as-if a-mystery they-should-keep which they-deny

versari in re publica esse sapientis; nam si hoc

to-be-engaged in the-thing public to-be of-a-wise-man for if this

nobis atque optimo cuique persuaserint, non poterunt

to-us and to-the-best to-each they-shall-have-persuaded not they-will-be-able

ipsi esse, id quod maxime cupiunt, otiosi.

themselves to-be that which chiefly they-desire at-leisure

65 Stoicos autem, quos minime improbo, dimitto tamen nec

the-Stoics however whom least I-disapprove I-dismiss still nor

eos iratos vereor, quoniam omnino irasci nesciunt;

them angry I-fear since at-all to-be-angry they-know-not

atque hanc eis habeo gratiam, quod soli ex omnibus

and this to-them I-have gratitude because alone from all

eloquentiam virtutem ac sapientiam esse dixerunt. Sed

eloquence a-virtue and wisdom to-be have-said but

nimirum est in his, quod ab hoc, quem instruimus

doubtless there-is in these what from this whom we-are-equipping

oratore, valde abhorreat; vel quod omnis, qui sapientes

from-the-orator greatly may-shrink either because all who wise

non sint, servos, latrones, hostis, insanos esse dicunt,

not are slaves robbers enemies mad to-be they-say

neque tamen quemquam esse sapientem: valde autem est

nor still anyone to-be wise greatly however it-is

absurdum ei contionem aut senatum aut ullum coetum

absurd to-him a-public-meeting or the-senate or any gathering

hominum committere, cui nemo illorum, qui adsint,

of-men to-entrust to-whom no-one of-those who are-present

sanus, nemo civis, nemo liber esse videatur.

sane no-one a-citizen no-one free to-be may-seem

Accedit quod orationis etiam genus habent fortasse subtile et 66
it-is-added that of-speech even a-kind they-have perhaps fine and
 certe acutum, sed, ut in oratore, exile, inusitatum, abhorrens
certainly sharp but as in an-orator thin unfamiliar shrinking
 ab auribus vulgi, obscurum, inane, ieiumum, ac tamen
from the-ears of-the-crowd obscure empty meager and still
 eius modi, quo uti ad vulgus nullo modo possit: alia
of-that sort by-which to-use for the-crowd in-no way he-could other
 enim et bona et mala videntur Stoicis et ceteris civibus
for both goods and evils seem to-the-Stoics and to-the-other to-citizens
 vel potius gentibus; alia vis honoris, ignominiae, praemi,
or rather to-nations another the-force of-honor of-disgrace of-reward
 supplici; vere an secus nihil ad hoc tempus; sed ea si
of-punishment truly or otherwise nothing to this time but those if
 sequamur, nullam umquam rem dicendo expedire possimus.
we-should-follow no ever matter by-speaking to-settle we-could

III.10 · CARNEADES OR ARISTOTLE

There remain the Peripatetics and the Academics. Arcesilas drew from Plato's books the doctrine that nothing can be known, and made a practice of arguing against whatever anyone asserted; from him came Carneades, whom Scaevola and Metellus heard. Philosophy and oratory parted like rivers off the Apennines. Whoever is content with the handbooks may keep his narrow ring; whoever wants Pericles or Demosthenes must master Aristotle's power or Carneades.'

Reliqui sunt Peripatetici et Academici; quamquam 67
remaining are the-Peripatetics and the-Academics although
 Academicorum nomen est unum, sententiae duae; nam
of-the-Academics the-name is one the-opinions two for
 Speusippus Platonis sororis filius et Xenocrates, qui
Speusippus of-Plato of-the-sister the-son and Xenocrates who

Platonem audierat, et qui Xenocratem Polemo et Crantor,
Plato had-heard and who Xenocrates Polemo and Crantor
 nihil ab Aristotele, qui una audierat Platonem, magno
nothing from Aristotle who together had-heard Plato very
 opere dissensit; copia fortasse et varietate dicendi pares non
much dissented in-fullness perhaps and in-variety of-speaking equal not
 fuerunt: Arcesilas primum, qui Polemonem audierat, ex variis
they-were Arcesilas first who Polemo had-heard from various
 Platonis libris sermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime adripuit,
of-Plato books and-discourses Socratic this chiefly seized
 nihil esse certi quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi
nothing to-be certain which either by-the-senses or by-the-mind to-be-grasped
 possit; quem ferunt eximio quodam usum
can whom they-report with-an-exceptional with-a-certain having-used
 lepore dicendi aspernatum esse omne animi sensusque
with-charm of-speaking having-spurned to-be every of-the-mind and-of-sense
 iudicium primumque instituisse — quamquam id fuit
the-judgment and-first to-have-established although that was
 Socraticum maxime — non quid ipse sentiret ostendere,
Socratic chiefly not what he-himself thought to-show
 sed contra id, quod quisque se sentire dixisset, disputare.
but against that which each himself to-think had-said to-argue

68 Hinc haec recentior Academia manavit, in qua exstitit divina
hence this more-recent Academy flowed in which arose with-divine
 quadam celeritate ingeni dicendique copia Carneades;
with-a-certain with-quickness of-talent and-of-speaking with-fullness Carneades
 cuius ego etsi multos auditores cognovi Athenis, tamen
of-whom I although many hearers I-have-known at-Athens still
 auctores certissimos laudare possum et socerum meum
authorities most-certain to-cite I-can both father-in-law my
 Scaevolam, qui eum Romae audivit adulescens, et Q.
Scaevola who him at-Rome heard as-a-young-man and Quintus

Metellum L. F. familiarem meum, clarissimum virum,
Metellus of-Lucius the-son a-friend my a-most-illustrious man
 qui illum a se adulescente Athenis iam adfectum
who him by himself as-a-young-man at-Athens now afflicted
 senectute multos dies auditum esse dicebat.
by-old-age many days heard to-have-been said

Haec autem, ut ex Appennino fluminum, sic ex communi 69
these however as from the-Apennine of-rivers so from the-common
 sapientiae iugo sunt doctrinarum facta divortia, ut
of-wisdom the-ridge are of-the-learnings made the-partings that
 philosophi tamquam in superum mare defluerent Graecum
the-philosophers as-if into the-upper sea might-flow-down Greek
 quoddam et portuosum, oratores autem in inferum
a-certain and full-of-harbors the-orators however into the-lower
 hoc, Tuscum et barbarum, scopulosum atque infestum
this Tuscan and barbarous rocky and hostile
 laberentur, in quo etiam ipse Ulixes errasset.
might-slide-down into which even himself Ulysses would-have-strayed

Qua re, si hac eloquentia atque hoc oratore 70
for-which reason if with-this with-eloquence and with-this with-an-orator
 contenti sumus, qui sciat aut negare oportere, quod
content we-are who may-know either to-deny to-be-fitting what
 arguare, aut, si id non possis, tum ostendere, quod
you-are-charged-with or if that not you-can then to-show what
 is fecerit, qui insimuletur, aut recte factum aut alterius
he has-done who is-accused either rightly done or of-another
 culpa aut iniuria aut ex lege aut non contra
by-the-fault or by-a-wrong or according-to law or not against
 legem aut imprudentia aut necessario, aut non eo nomine
law or by-inadvertence or necessarily or not by-that by-name
 usurpandum, quo arguatur, aut non ita agi, ut debuerit
to-be-so-termed by-which he-is-charged or not so to-be-done as it-ought

ac licuerit; et, si satis esse putatis ea, quae isti scriptores
and it-was-allowed and if enough to-be you-think those which those writers
 artis docent, discere, quae multo tamen ornatius, quam
of-the-art teach to-learn which much still more-elegantly than
 ab illis dicuntur, et uberius explicavit Antonius — sed,
by those are-said and more-fully has-unfolded Antonius but
 si his contenti estis atque eis etiam, quae dici
if with-these content you-are and with-those even which to-be-said
 voluistis a me, ex ingenti quodam oratorem immensoque
you-have-wished by me from a-huge a-certain the-orator and-boundless
 campo in exiguum sane gyrum compellitis.
a-field into a-narrow indeed circle you-drive

- 71 Sin veterem illum Periclem aut hunc etiam, qui familiarior
but-if the-old that Pericles or this even who more-familiar
 nobis propter scriptorum multitudinem est, Demosthenem
to-us on-account-of of-writings the-multitude is Demosthenes
 sequi vultis et si illam praeclaram et eximiam speciem
to-follow you-wish and if that splendid and exceptional appearance
 oratoris perfecti et pulcritudinem adamastis, aut
of-an-orator of-a-finished and the-beauty you-have-fallen-in-love-with either
 vobis haec Carneadia aut illa Aristotelia vis comprehendenda
by-you this Carneadean or that Aristotelian power to-be-grasped
 est.

is

- 72 Namque, ut ante dixi, veteres illi usque ad Socratem
for-indeed as before I-have-said the-old those right up-to Socrates
 omnem omnium rerum, quae ad mores hominum, quae
all of-all of-things which to the-characters of-men which
 ad vitam, quae ad virtutem, quae ad rem publicam
to life which to virtue which to the-thing public
 pertinebant, cognitionem et scientiam cum dicendi ratione
pertained the-knowledge and the-science with of-speaking the-method

iungebant; postea dissociati, ut exposui, a Socrate et
joined afterward separated as I-have-set-forth by Socrates and
 deinceps a Socraticis item omnibus philosophi eloquentiam
thereafter by the-Socratics likewise all the-philosophers eloquence
 despexerunt, oratores sapientiam, neque quicquam ex
despised the-orators wisdom nor anything from
 alterius parte tetigerunt, nisi quod illi ab his aut ab
of-the-other the-part touched except what those from these or from
 illis hi mutuarentur; ex quo promisce haurirent, si
those these might-borrow from which indiscriminately they-would-draw if
 manere in pristina communione voluissent.

to-remain in the-former fellowship they-had-wished

Sed ut pontifices veteres propter sacrificiorum multitudinem 73

but as the-pontiffs the-old on-account-of of-the-sacrifices the-multipitude
 tris viros epulones esse voluerunt, cum essent ipsi
three men banqueters to-be wished although they-were themselves
 a Numa, ut etiam illud ludorum epulare sacrificium
by Numa that even that of-the-games banqueting sacrifice
 facerent, instituti, sic Socratici a se causarum
they-should-perform appointed so the-Socratics from themselves of-cases
 actores et a communi philosophiae nomine separaverunt,
the-pleaders and from the-common of-philosophy the-name separated
 cum veteres dicendi et intellegendi mirificam societatem
although the-old of-speaking and of-understanding a-wonderful fellowship
 esse voluissent.

to-be had-wished

Crassus asks that what he says be taken of the orator, not of himself: taught by his father, he came to the forum at twenty-one with practice, the laws, and ancestral custom for masters, and tasted philosophy only as quaestor in Asia. Yet he yields little to men settled in one school, since eloquence must hold the origin and changes of all things; the true orator joins Aristotle's or Carneades' power to practice in speaking.

- 74 Quae cum ita sint, paululum equidem de me deprecabor
which since so are a-little for-my-part about myself I-shall-beg-off
et petam a vobis, ut ea, quae dicam, non de memet
and I-shall-ask from you that those which I-shall-say not about myself
ipso, sed de oratore dicere putetis. Ego enim sum is, qui
myself but about the-orator to-say you-may-think I for am he who
cum summo studio patris in pueritia doctus essem et
although with-the-highest with-zeal of-a-father in boyhood taught I-had-been and
in forum ingeni tantum, quantum ipse sentio, non tantum,
into the-forum of-talent so-much as-much-as I-myself feel not so-much
quantum forsitan vobis videar, detulissem, non possim
as-much-as perhaps to-you I-may-seem I-had-brought not I-can
dicere me haec, quae nunc complector, perinde, ut dicam
to-say myself these which now I-embrace just-as as I-shall-say
discenda esse, didicisse; quippe qui omnium maturrime ad
to-be-learned to-be to-have-learned since-indeed who of-all earliest to
publicas causas accesserim annosque natus unum et viginti
public cases I-approached and-years old one and twenty
nobilissimum hominem et eloquentissimum in iudicium
a-most-noble man and most-eloquent into court
vocarim; cui disciplina fuerit forum, magister usus et
I-summoned for-whom the-training was the-forum the-master experience and
leges et instituta populi Romani mosque maiorum.
the-laws and the-institutions of-the-people Roman and-the-custom of-the-forefathers

Paulum sitiens istarum artium, de quibus loquor, gustavi, 75
a-little thirsting of-those of-arts about which I-speak I-tasted
 quaestor in Asia cum essem, aequalem fere meum ex
as-quaestor in Asia when I-was a-contemporary nearly my from
 Academia rhetorem nactus, Metrodorum illum, de cuius
the-Academy a-rhetorician having-obtained Metrodorus that about whose
 memoria commemoravit Antonius; et inde decedens Athenis,
memory has-spoken Antonius and thence departing at-Athens
 ubi ego diutius essem moratus, nisi Atheniensibus,
where I longer would-have-been having-tarried unless with-the-Athenians
 quod mysteria non referrent, ad quae biduo serius
because the-mysteries not they-were-repeating to which by-two-days later
 veneram, suscensuissem; qua re hoc, quod complector
I-had-come I-had-been-angry for-which reason this which I-embrace
 tantam scientiam vimque doctrinae, non modo non pro
so-great knowledge and-force of-learning not only not for
 me, sed contra me est potius — non enim quid ego, sed
me but against me is rather not for what I but
 quid orator possit disputo — atque hos omnis, qui artis
what an-orator may-be-able I-argue and these all who arts
 rhetoricas exponunt, perridiculos; scribunt enim de litium
rhetorical set-forth very-ridiculous they-write for about of-suits
 genere et de principiis et de narrationibus;
the-kind and about the-openings and about the-narratives
 illa vis autem eloquentiae tanta est, ut omnium rerum, 76
that force however of-eloquence so-great is that of-all of-things
 virtutum, officiorum omnisque naturae, quae mores
of-virtues of-duties and-of-all of-nature which the-characters
 hominum, quae animos, quae vitam continet, originem,
of-men which the-minds which the-life contains the-origin
 vim mutationesque teneat, eadem mores, leges,
the-force and-the-changes it-may-bold the-same the-characters the-laws

iura describat, rem publicam regat, omniaque, ad

the-rights it-may-describe the-thing public it-may-govern and-all-things to

quamcumque rem pertineant, ornate copioseque dicat.

whatever matter may-pertain elegantly and-fully it-may-say

77 In quo genere nos quidem versamur tantum quantum

in which kind we indeed are-engaged so-much as-much-as

possumus, quantum ingenio, quantum mediocri doctrina,

we-can as-much-as by-talent as-much-as by-middling by-learning

quantum usu valemus; neque tamen istis, qui in una

as-much-as by-practice we-avail nor still to-those who in one

philosophia quasi tabernaculum vitae suae conlocarunt,

philosophy as-it-were the-tent of-life of-their-own have-pitched

multum sane in disputatione concedimus.

much indeed in argument we-yeild

78 Quid enim meus familiaris C. Velleius adferre potest, quam

what for my friend Gaius Velleius to-bring can what

ob rem voluptas sit summum bonum, quod ego

on-account-of thing pleasure may-be the-highest good which I

non copiosius possim vel tutari, si velim, vel refellere ex

not more-fully could either to-defend if I-wished or to-refute from

illis locis, quos exposuit Antonius, hac dicendi exercitatione,

those topics which set-forth Antonius by-this of-speaking by-practice

in qua Velleius est rudis, unus quisque nostrum versatus?

in which Velleius is raw one each of-us engaged

Quid est, quod aut Sex. Pompeius aut duo Balbi aut

what is-it which either Sextus Pompeius or the-two Balbi or

meus amicus, qui cum Panaetio vixit, M. Vigellius de

my friend who with Panaetius lived Marcus Vigellius about

virtute hominum Stoici possint dicere, qua in disputatione

the-virtue of-men Stoics could to-say which in argument

ego his debeam aut vestrum quisquam concedere?

I to-these ought or of-you anyone to-yeild

Non est enim philosophia similis artium reliquarum: nam quid 79
not is for philosophy like of-the-arts of-the-remaining for what
 faciet in geometria qui non didicerit? quid in musicis?
will-be-do in geometry who not shall-have-learned what in music
 Aut taceat oportebit aut ne sanus quidem iudicetur. Haec
either he-be-silent it-will-behoove or not sane even he-be-judged these
 vero, quae sunt in philosophia, ingeniis eruuntur ad id, quod
indeed which are in philosophy by-talents are-dug-out for that which
 in quoque veri simile est, eliciendum acutis atque acribus
in each of-truth like is to-be-drawn-out by-sharp and by-keen
 eaque exercitata oratione poliuntur. Hic noster vulgaris orator,
and-they by-practiced by-speech are-polished this our common orator
 si minus erit doctus, at tamen in dicendo exercitatus,
if less he-shall-be learned yet still in speaking practiced
 hac ipsa exercitatione communi istos quidem verberabit
by-this by-the-very by-practice by-the-common those indeed he-will-beat
 neque se ab eis contemni ac despici sinet;
and-not himself by them to-be-despised and to-be-looked-down-on will-allow
 sin aliquis exstiterit aliquando, qui Aristotelio more 80
but-if someone shall-have-arisen sometime who in-the-Aristotelian in-manner
 de omnibus rebus in utramque partem possit dicere et
about all matters on each side may-be-able to-speak and
 in omni causa duas contrarias orationes, praeceptis illius
in every case two opposite speeches the-precepts of-that-man
 cognitis, explicare aut hoc Arcesilae modo et Carneadi
when-known to-unfold or in-this of-Arcesilas in-the-way and of-Carneades
 contra omne, quod propositum sit, disserat, quique ad eam
against everything which proposed may-be may-argue and-who to that
 rationem adiungat hunc usum exercitationemque dicendi, is
method may-join this practice and-exercise of-speaking he
 sit verus, is perfectus, is solus orator. Nam neque sine
may-be true he finished he alone an-orator for neither without

forensibus nervis satis vehemens et gravis nec sine varietate

forensic sineus sufficiently vehement and weighty nor without the-variety

doctrinae satis politus et sapiens esse orator potest.

of-learning sufficiently polished and wise to-be an-orator can

81 Qua re Coracem istum veterem patiamur nos quidem

for-which reason Corax that old let-us-allow we indeed

pullos suos excludere in nido, qui evolent clamatores odiosi

chicks his-own to-hatch in the-nest which may-fly-out bawlers hateful

ac molesti, Pamphilumque nescio quem sinamus in infulis

and troublesome and-Pamphilus I-know-not whom let-us-allow on fillets

tantam rem tamquam puerilis delicias aliquas depingere;

so-great a-matter as-if boyish trinkets some to-paint

nosque ipsi hac tam exigua disputatione hesterni et

and-ourselves ourselves by-this so by-slight by-discussion of-yesterday's and

hodierni diei totum oratoris munus explicemus, dum modo

of-today's of-day the-whole of-the-orator office let-us-unfold provided only

illa res tanta sit, ut omnibus philosophorum libris, quos

that thing so-great may-be that with-all of-philosophers with-books which

nemo istorum umquam attigit, comprehensa esse videatur.

no-one of-those ever has-touched embraced to-be it-may-seem

III.12 • WHEN DID YOU LEARN IT?

Catulus wonders when Crassus can have found the time for such learning. Crassus answers that in describing an orator, as in describing an actor, one speaks of the perfect example and not of oneself. He has set aside no time for study beyond boyhood and the courts' vacations. These things come easily to a man who takes only what he needs, has an honest teacher, and knows how to learn.

Tum Catulus 'haudquaquam hercule' inquit 'Crasse,
then Catulus by-no-means by-Hercules he-said Crassus
 mirandum est esse in te tantam dicendi vel vim vel
to-be-wondered-at it-is to-be in you so-great of-speaking either force or
 suavitatem vel copiam; quem quidem antea natura rebar
sweetness or fullness whom indeed before by-nature I-was-thinking
 ita dicere, ut mihi non solum orator summus, sed etiam
so to-speak that to-me not only an-orator the-highest but even
 sapientissimus homo viderere; nunc intellego illa te semper
a-most-wise man you-seemed now I-understand those you always
 etiam potiora duxisse, quae ad sapientiam spectarent,
even preferable to-have-reckoned which to wisdom looked
 atque ex his hanc dicendi copiam fluxisse. Sed tamen
and from these this of-speaking fullness to-have-flowed but still
 cum omnis gradus aetatis recordor tuae cumque vitam tuam
when all the-stages of-age I-recall your and-when the-life your
 ac studia considero, neque, quo tempore ista didiceris,
and the-pursuits I-consider nor at-what time those you-have-learned
 video, nec magno opere te istis studiis, hominibus, libris
I-see nor with-great with-effort you to-those to-studies to-men to-books
 intellego deditum. Neque tamen possum statuere, utrum
I-perceive devoted nor still I-can to-decide whether
 magis mirer te illa, quae mihi persuades maxima
more I-should-wonder you those which to-me you-persuade the-greatest
 esse adiumenta, potuisse in tantis tuis occupationibus
to-be aids to-have-been-able in so-great your occupations
 perdiscere, an, si non potueris, posse isto modo dicere.'
to-learn-thoroughly or if not you-have-been-able to-be-able in-that in-way to-speak
 Hic Crassus 'hoc tibi' inquit 'Catule, primum persuadeas
here Crassus this to-you he-said Catulus first you-should-persuade
 velim, me non multo secus facere, cum de oratore
I-could-wish me not much otherwise to-do when about an-orator

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83

disputem, ac facerem, si esset mihi de histrione
I-argue than I-should-do if there-were for-me about an-actor
 dicendum. Negarem enim posse eum satis facere in gestu,
to-be-spoken I-should-deny for to-be-able him enough to-do in gesture
 nisi palaestram, nisi saltare didicisset; neque, ea cum
unless the-wrestling-school unless to-dance he-had-learned nor those when
 dicerem, me esse histrionem necesse esset, sed fortasse
I-said me to-be an-actor necessary it-would-be but perhaps
 non stultum alieni artificii existimatorem.
not a-foolish of-another's of-craft an-appraiser

- 84 Similiter nunc de oratore vestro impulsu loquor, summo
similarly now about an-orator at-your at-urging I-speak about-the-biggest
 scilicet; semper enim, quacumque de arte aut facultate
of-course always for about-whatever about art or faculty
 quaeritur, de absoluta et perfecta quaeri solet. Qua re
it-is-asked about the-absolute and the-perfect to-be-asked it-is-wont for-which reason
 si iam me vultis esse oratorem, si etiam sat bonum, si bonum
if now me you-wish to-be an-orator if even fairly good if good
 denique, non repugnabo; quid enim nunc sim ineptus?
finally not I-shall-resist why for now should-I-be foolish
 Ita me existimari scio: quod si ita est, summus tamen certe
so me to-be-thought I-know which if so is the-biggest still certainly
 non sum; neque enim apud homines res est ulla difficilior
not I-am nor for among men a-thing is any harder
 neque maior neque quae plura adiumenta doctrinae desideret.
nor greater nor which more aids of-learning requires

- 85 Ac tamen, quoniam de oratore nobis disputandum est, de
and still since about an-orator by-us to-be-argued it-is about
 summo oratore dicam necesse est; vis enim et natura
the-biggest orator I-should-speak necessary it-is the-force for and the-nature
 rei, nisi perfecta ante oculos ponitur, qualis et quanta sit
of-a-thing unless finished before the-eyes is-set of-what-sort and how-great it-is

intellegi non potest. Me autem, Catule, fateor neque hodie
to-be-understood not can me however Catulus I-confess neither today
 in istis libris et cum istis hominibus vivere nec vero, id quod
in those books and with those men to-live nor indeed that which
 tu recte commeministi, ullum umquam habuisse sepositum
you rightly have-remembered any ever to-have-had set-aside
 tempus ad discendum ac tantum tribuisse doctrinae temporis,
time for learning and so-much to-have-given to-learning of-time
 quantum mihi puerilis aetas, forenses feriae concesserint.
as-much-as to-me boyish age forensic holidays have-granted
 Ac, si quaeris, Catule, de doctrina ista quid ego sentiam, 86
and if you-ask Catulus about the-learning that what I think
 non tantum ingenioso homini et ei, qui forum, qui
not so-much for-a-gifted for-a-man and for-him who the-forum who
 curiam, qui causas, qui rem publicam spectet, opus
the-senate-house who cases who the-thing public regards need
 esse arbitror temporis, quantum sibi ei sumpserunt,
to-be I-think of-time as-much-as for-themselves those took
 quos discentis vita defecit: omnes enim artes aliter ab eis
whom while-learning life failed all for arts otherwise by those
 tractantur, qui eas ad usum transferunt, aliter ab eis, qui
are-handled who them to use transfer otherwise by those who
 ipsarum artium tractatu delectati nihil in vita sunt aliud
of-the-very arts by-the-handling delighted nothing in life are other
 acturi. Magister hic Samnitium summa iam senectute
going-to-do the-master this of-the-Samnites in-the-highest now in-old-age
 est et cotidie commentatur, nihil enim curat aliud: at
is and daily practices nothing for he-cares else but

Q. Velocius puer addidicerat, sed quod erat aptus
Quintus Velocius as-a-boy had-learned-in-addition but because he-was fitted
 ad illud totumque cognorat, fuit, ut est apud Lucilium,
for that and-the-whole he-had-learned he-was as it-is in Lucilius

quamvis bonus ipse

however-much good himself

Samnis in ludo ac rudibus cuivis satis asper;

a-Samnite in the-school and with-foils for-anyone quite rough

sed plus operae foro tribuebat, amicis, rei

but more of-effort to-the-forum he-was-giving to-friends to-the-property

familiari. Valerius cotidie cantabat; erat enim scaenicus:

to-household Valerius daily was-singing he-was for an-actor

quid faceret aliud?

what should-be-do else

87 At Numerius Furius, noster familiaris, cum est commodum,

but Numerius Furius our friend when it-is convenient

cantat; est enim paterfamilias, est eques Romanus; puer

sings is for a-head-of-a-household is a-knight Roman as-a-boy

didicit quod discendum fuit. Eadem ratio est harum artium

he-learned what to-be-learned was the-same method is of-these of-arts

maximarum; dies et noctis virum summa virtute et

of-the-greatest days and nights a-man with-the-highest with-virtue and

prudencia videbamus, philosopho cum operam daret,

with-practical-wisdom we-were-seeing to-a-philosopher when effort he-was-giving

Q. Tuberone; at eius avunculum vix intellegeres id

Quintus Tubero but his uncle scarcely you-would-perceive that

agere, cum ageret tamen, Africanum. Ista discuntur facile, si

to-do although he-did still Africanus those are-learned easily if

et tantum sumas, quantum opus sit, et habeas qui docere

both so-much you-take as-much-as need may-be and you-have who to-teach

fideliter possit et scias etiam ipse discere, sed si tota 88
faithfully may-be-able and you-know even yourself to-learn but if in-a-whole
 vita nihil velis aliud agere, ipsa tractatio et quaestio
in-life nothing you-wish else to-do the-very handling and inquiry
 cotidie ex se gignit aliquid, quod cum desidiosa delectatione
daily from itself begets something which with idle delight
 vestiges. Ita fit, ut agitatio rerum sit infinita,
you-may-track so it-happens that the-working of-things may-be endless
 cognitio facilis, si usus doctrinam confirmet, mediocris opera
the-learning easy if practice learning confirms middling effort
 tribuatur, memoria studiumque permaneat. Libet autem
is-given memory and-zeal remains it-pleases however
 semper discere; ut si velim ego talis optime ludere
always to-learn as if I-should-wish I at-knucklebones best to-play
 aut pilae studio teneam, etiam fortasse, si adsequi non
or of-ball by-the-zeal I-should-be-held even perhaps if to-attain not
 possim; at alii, quia praeclare faciunt, vehementius, quam
I-could but others because splendidly they-do more-strongly than
 causa postulat, delectantur, ut Titius pila, Brulla talis.
the-case demands are-delighted as Titius at-ball Brulla at-knucklebones
 Qua re nihil est quod quisquam magnitudinem artium 89
for-which reason nothing is why anyone the-greatness of-the-arts
 ex eo, quod senes discunt, pertimescat, namque aut
from that because old-men learn should-dread for-indeed either
 senes ad eas accesserunt aut usque ad senectutem in
old to them have-come or right up-to old-age in
 studiis detinentur aut sunt tardissimi; res quidem
studies are-detained or they-are the-slowest the-matter indeed
 se mea sententia sic habet, ut, nisi quod quisque cito
itself in-my in-opinion so has that unless what each quickly
 potuerit, numquam omnino possit perdiscere.
shall-have-been-able never at-all be-may-be-able to-learn-thoroughly

The stock of ideas the forum supplies is beggarly, and what the teachers of rhetoric add is little better; a speaker needs matter fetched in from everywhere. As censor Crassus closed the new Latin schools, which taught nothing but effrontery. Style should carry its own color and sap throughout, with the flowers set at intervals rather than spread evenly, since whatever strikes the senses hardest at first cloyes soonest.

- 90 'Iam, iam,' inquit Catulus 'intellego, Crasse, quid dicas; et
now now said Catulus I-understand Crassus what you-say and
hercule adsentior; satis video tibi homini ad perdiscendum
by-Hercules I-agree enough I-see for-you for-a-man for learning-thoroughly
acerrimo ad ea cognoscenda, quae dicis, fuisse temporis.'
for-the-keenest for those to-be-learned which you-say to-have-been of-time
'Pergisne' inquit Crassus 'me, quae dicam, de me, non
do-you-go-on said Crassus me what I-say about myself not
de re putare dicere? Sed iam, si placet, ad instituta
about the-matter to-think to-say but now if it-pleases to the-plan
redeamus.' 'Mihi vero' Catulus inquit 'placet.'
let-us-return to-me indeed Catulus said it-pleases
- 91 Tum Crassus 'quorsum igitur haec spectat' inquit 'tam longa
then Crassus whither therefore this looks he-said so long
et tam alte repetita oratio? Hae duae partes, quae mihi
and so deeply fetched a-speech these two parts which to-me
supersunt, inlustrandae orationis ac totius eloquentiae
remain of-lighting-up of-speech and of-the-whole of-eloquence
cumulandae, quarum altera dici postulat ornate, altera
of-crowning of-which the-one to-be-spoken demands elegantly the-other
apte, hanc habent vim, ut sit quam maxime iucunda,
fitly this have force that it-may-be as most pleasing

quam maxime in sensus eorum, qui audiunt, influat et
as most into the-senses of-those who bear it-may-flow and
 quam plurimis sit rebus instructa;
as with-most it-may-be with-things furnished
 instrumentum autem hoc forense, litigiosum, acre, tractum 92
the-equipment however this forensic litigious harsh drawn
 ex vulgi opinionibus exiguum saneque mendicum est;
from of-the-crowd the-opinions scanty and-indeed beggarly is
 illud rursus ipsum, quod tradunt isti, qui profitentur
that again very-(thing) which hand-on those who profess
 se dicendi magistros, non multum est maius quam
themselves of-speaking masters not much is greater than
 illud vulgare ac forense: apparatu nobis opus est et
that common and forensic of-apparatus for-us need there-is and
 rebus exquisitis, undique conlectis, arcessitis, comportatis,
of-things choice from-everywhere gathered fetched brought-together
 ut tibi, Caesar, faciendum est ad annum; ut ego in
as for-you Caesar to-be-done is for (next)-year as I in
 aedilitate laboravi, quod cotidianis et vernaculis rebus
the-aedilesbip labored because with-daily and with-homely with-things
 satis facere me posse huic populo non putabam.
enough to-do me to-be-able for-this for-the-people not I-thought
 Verborum eligendorum et conlocandorum et concludendorum 93
of-words of-choosing and of-arranging and of-closing
 facilis est vel ratio vel sine ratione ipsa exercitatio;
easy is either the-method or without method the-very practice
 rerum est silva magna, quam cum Graeci iam non tenerent
of-things is a-forest great which since the-Greeks now not held
 ob eamque causam iuventus nostra dediceret paene
on-account-of and-that cause the-youth our was-unlearning almost
 discendo, etiam Latini, si dis placet, hoc biennio
by-learning even Latin if to-the-gods it-pleases in-this in-the-two-years

magistri dicendi exstiterunt; quos ego censor edicto meo
masters of-speaking arose whom I as-censor by-an-edict my
 sustuleram, non quo, ut nescio quos dicere aiebant,
had-removed not because as I-know-not whom to-say they-said
 acui ingenia adolescentium nollem, sed contra
to-be-sharpened the-talents of-the-young-men I-was-unwilling but on-the-contrary
 ingenia obtundi nolui, conrobore impudentiam.
the-talents to-be-blunted I-was-unwilling to-be-strengthened shamelessness

- 94 Nam apud Graecos, cuicumque essent, videbam tamen esse
for among the-Greeks of-whatever-sort they-were I-saw still to-be
 praeter hanc exercitationem linguae doctrinam aliquam et
besides this practice of-the-tongue learning some and
 humanitatem dignam scientiam, hos vero novos magistros
of-culture worthy a-knowledge these indeed new masters
 nihil intellegebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent; quod
nothing I-perceived to-be-able to-teach except that they-should-dare which
 etiam cum bonis rebus coniunctum per se ipsum est
even with good things joined through itself it-itself is
 magno opere fugiendum: hoc cum unum traderetur et
with-great with-effort to-be-shunned this since one was-handed-on and
 cum impudentiae ludus esset, putavi esse censoris, ne
since of-shamelessness a-school it-was I-thought to-be of-a-censor lest
 longius id serperet, providere.
further that should-creep to-provide

- 95 Quamquam non haec ita statuo atque decerno, ut
although not these so I-lay-down and I-decide that
 desperem Latine ea, de quibus disputavimus, tradi
I-despair in-Latin those about which we-have-argued to-be-handed-on
 ac perpoliri posse, patitur enim et lingua nostra et
and to-be-polished to-be-able it-allows for both the-tongue our and
 natura rerum veterem illam excellentemque prudentiam
the-nature of-things the-old that and-excellent practical-wisdom

Graecorum ad nostrum usum moremque transferri, sed
of-the-Greeks to our use and-custom to-be-transferred but
 hominibus opus est eruditis, qui adhuc in hoc quidem
of-men need there-is of-learned who hitherto in this indeed
 genere nostri nulli fuerunt; sin quando exstiterint,
kind of-ours none have-been but-if ever they-shall-have-arisen
 etiam Graecis erunt anteponendi.

even to-the-Greeks they-will-be to-be-preferred

Ornatur igitur oratio genere primum et quasi colore 96
is-adorned therefore speech by-a-kind first and as-it-were by-a-color
 quodam et suco suo; nam ut gravis, ut suavis, ut
by-a-certain and by-a-sap by-its-own for that weighty that sweet that
 erudita sit, ut liberalis, ut admirabilis, ut polita, ut
cultivated it-may-be that liberal that admirable that polished that
 sensus, ut doloris habeat quantum opus sit, non est
of-feeling that of-passion it-may-have as-much need may-be not is
 singulorum articulorum; in toto spectantur haec corpore.

of-single of-joints in the-whole are-looked-at these in-the-body

Ut porro conspersa sit quasi verborum sententiarumque
that further sprinkled it-may-be as-it-were of-words and-of-thoughts
 floribus, id non debet esse fusum aequabiliter per
with-the-flowers that not ought to-be spread evenly through
 omnem orationem, sed ita distinctum, ut sint quasi
the-whole speech but so marked-out that there-may-be as-it-were
 in ornatu disposita quaedam insignia et lumina.

in the-adornment placed certain badges and lights

Genus igitur dicendi est eligendum, quod maxime teneat 97
a-kind therefore of-speaking is to-be-chosen which chiefly may-bold
 eos, qui audiant, et quod non solum delectet, sed etiam
those who hear and which not only may-delight but even
 sine satietate delectet; non enim a me iam exspectari
without satiety may-delight not for from me now to-be-expected

puto, ut moneam, ut caveatis, ne exilis, ne inculta
I-think that I-should-warn that you-take-care lest thin lest uncultivated
 sit vestra oratio, ne vulgaris, ne obsoleta; aliud quiddam
may-be your speech lest common lest worn-out another something
 maius et ingenia me hortantur vestra et aetates.
greater both the-talents me urge your and the-ages

- 98 Difficile enim dictu est, quatenus causa sit, cur
difficult for in-the-saying it-is what-then the-cause may-be why
 ea, quae maxime sensus nostros impellunt voluptate et
those which chiefly the-senses our strike with-pleasure and
 specie prima acerrime commovent, ab eis celerrime
with-appearance first most-keenly stir from them most-quickly
 fastidio quodam et satietate abalienemur. Quanto colorum
by-a-loathing by-a-certain and by-satiety we-are-estranged how-much of-colors
 pulcritudine et varietate floridiora sunt in picturis novis
by-the-beauty and by-the-variety more-florid are in paintings new
 pleraque quam in veteribus! Quae tamen, etiam si primo
most than in old which still even if at-first
 aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delectant; cum eidem nos
at-sight us have-taken longer not they-delight although the-same we
 in antiquis tabulis illo ipso horrido obsoletoque teneamur.
in ancient panels by-that very by-the-rough and-worn-out are-held
 Quanto molliores sunt et delicatiora in cantu flexiones et
how-much softer are and daintier in singing the-turns and
 falsae voculae quam certae et severae! Quibus tamen non
false little-notes than the-fixed and severe against-which still not
 modo austeri, sed, si saepius fiunt, multitudo ipsa reclamatur.
only the-austere but if more-often they-are-done the-crowd itself cries-out

- 99 Licet hoc videre in reliquis sensibus, unguentis minus
it-is-allowed this to-see in the-remaining senses by-perfumes less
 diu nos delectari summa et acerrima suavitate conditis
long us to-be-delighted with-the-highest and with-the-keenest with-sweetness seasoned

quam his moderatis, et magis laudari quod terram quam
than by-these by-moderate and more to-be-praised what earth than
 quod crocum olere videatur; in ipso tactu esse modum
what saffron to-smell-of may-seem in the-very touch to-be a-measure
 et mollitudinis et levitatis. Quin etiam gustatus, qui est
both of-softness and of-smoothness nay even taste which is
 sensus ex omnibus maxime voluptarius quique dulcitudine
a-sense from all most voluptuary and-which by-sweetness
 praeter ceteros sensus commovetur, quam cito id, quod
beyond the-other senses is-stirred how quickly that which
 valde dulce est, aspernatur ac respuit! Quis potione uti aut
greatly sweet is it-spurns and rejects who a-drink to-use or
 cibo dulci diutius potest? cum utroque in genere ea, quae
food sweet longer can since in-each in kind those which
 leviter sensum voluptate moveant, facillime fugiant satietatem.
lightly the-sense with-pleasure move most-easily flee satiety

III.14 · SWEETNESS THAT DOES NOT CLOY

Satiety stands next door to the greatest pleasures, in speech as in everything else, so Crassus warns against ornament that cloy. Roscius throws a strong line away rather than act it fully, saving his force for the one that follows. The orator's charm should be austere and solid, not sweet. Amplification is eloquence's highest praise, and with it come the commonplaces the ancients named: attacks on vice, appeals for pity, and arguments on both sides of a general question.

Sic omnibus in rebus voluptatibus maximis fastidium finitimum 100
so all in things to-pleasures the-greatest satiety neighboring
 est; quo hoc minus in oratione miremur in qua vel ex
is wherefore this the-less in speech let-us-wonder in which either from
 poetis vel oratoribus possumus iudicare concinnam, distinctam,
poets or orators we-are-able to-judge harmonious marked-out

ornatam, festivam, sine intermissione, sine reprehensione,
ornate lively without pause without restraint

sine varietate, quamvis claris sit coloribus picta vel
without variety however with-bright it-may-be colors painted either

poesis vel oratio, non posse in delectatione esse diuturna.
poetry or speech not to-be-able in delight to-be long-lasting

Atque eo citius in oratoris aut in poetae cincinnis ac
and by-so-much the-sooner in of-an-orator or in of-a-poet the-curly and

fuco offenditur, quod sensus in nimia voluptate natura, non
paint one-is-offended because the-senses in excessive pleasure by-nature not

mente satiantur; in scriptis et in dictis non aurium solum,
by-mind are-glutted in writings and in spoken-(words) not of-the-ears only

sed animi iudicio etiam magis infucata vitia noscuntur.
but of-the-mind by-the-judgment even more painted-over faults are-detected

101 Qua re “bene et praeclare” quamvis nobis saepe dicatur;
for-which reason well and excellently however to-us often it-may-be-said

“belle et festive” nimium saepe nolo; quamquam illa
prettily and wittily too often I-do-not-wish although that

ipsa exclamatio “non potest melius” sit velim crebra;
very exclamation not it-is-possible better let-it-be I-could-wish frequent

sed habeat tamen illa in dicendo admiratio ac summa
but let-it-have still that in speaking admiration and highest

laus umbram aliquam et recessum, quo magis id, quod
praise shadow some and recess whereby the-more that which

erit inluminatum, exstare atque eminere videatur.
will-be lit-up to-stand-out and to-be-prominent it-may-seem

Numquam agit hunc versum Roscius eo gestu, quo
never acts this verse Roscius with-that gesture with-which
 potest:
he-is-able

nam sapiens virtuti honorem praemium, haud praedam petit:
for the-wise for-virtue honor reward not booty seeks

sed abicit prorsus, ut in proximo:
but he-throws-(it)-away utterly so-that in the-next-(line)

set quid video? Ferro saeptus possidet sedis sacras,
but what do-I-see with-steel hedged he-holds the-seats sacred

incidat, aspiciat, admiretur, stupescat. Quid, ille
he-may-fall-upon-(it) he-may-look he-may-marvel he-may-be-stunned what that
 alter
other

quid petam praesidi?
what am-I-to-seek of-protection

quam leniter, quam remisse, quam non actuose! instat
how gently how quietly how not theatrically there-presses-close
 enim
for

o pater, o patria, o Priami domus!
o father o fatherland o of-Priam house

in quo tanta commoveri actio non posset, si esset
in which so-great to-be-stirred delivery not could if it-had
 consumpta superiore motu et exhausta. Neque id actores
been-spent by-the-earlier movement and drained nor that the-actors
 prius viderunt quam ipsi poetae, quam denique illi etiam,
sooner saw than the-very poets than finally those also
 qui fecerunt modos, a quibus utrisque summittitur aliquid,
who made the-measures by whom both is-lowered something
 deinde augetur, extenuatur, inflatur, variatur, distinguitur.
then is-raised is-thinned is-swelled is-varied is-marked-off

103 Ita sit nobis igitur ornatus et suavis orator — nec
so let-him-be for-us therefore adorned and charming the-orator nor
 tamen potest aliter esse — ut suavitatem habeat
still it-is-possible otherwise to-be that charm he-may-have
 austeram et solidam, non dulcem atque decoctam. Nam
austere and solid not sweet and boiled-down for
 ipsa ad ornandum praecepta, quae dantur, eius modi sunt,
the-very for adorning precepts which are-given of-that kind are
 ut ea quisvis vel vitiosissimus orator explicare possit; qua
that them anyone even the-most-faulty orator to-unfold could for-which
 re, ut ante dixi, primum silva rerum comparanda est,
reason as before I-said first a-forest of-matters to-be-got-together is
 qua de parte dixit Antonius; haec formanda filo ipso
which about part spoke Antonius this to-be-shaped by-the-thread itself
 et genere orationis, inluminanda verbis, varianda sentiis.
and by-the-kind of-speech to-be-lit-up by-words to-be-varied by-thoughts

104 Summa autem laus eloquentiae est amplificare rem ornando,
the-highest however praise of-eloquence is to-amplify the-thing by-adorning
 quod valet non solum ad augendum aliquid et tollendum
which avails not only for enlarging something and raising
 altius dicendo, sed etiam ad extenuandum atque abiciendum.
higher by-speaking but also for belittling and casting-down

Id desideratur omnibus eis in locis, quos ad fidem orationis
that is-needed in-all those in topics which for credit of-the-speech
 faciendam adhiberi dixit Antonius, vel cum explanamus
making to-be-employed said Antonius either when we-explain
 aliquid vel cum conciliamus animos vel cum concitamus,
something or when we-win-over minds or when we-rouse
 sed in hoc, quod postremum dixi, amplificatio potest
but in this which last I-said amplification avails
 plurimum, eaque una laus oratoris est propria maxime.
most and-that alone praise of-the-orator is proper especially
 Etiam maior est illa exercitatio quam extremo sermone
also greater is that exercise which in-(bis)-last talk
 instruxit Antonius, primo reiciebat, laudandi et vituperandi;
taught Antonius at-first he-rejected of-praising and of-blaming
 nihil est enim ad exaggerandam et amplificandam orationem
nothing is for for heightening and amplifying a-speech
 accommodatius, quam utrumque horum cumulatissime facere
more-suited than each of-these most-abundantly to-do
 posse.

to-be-able

Consequentur etiam illi loci, qui quamquam proprii
there-will-follow also those topics which although proper
 causarum et inhaerentes in earum nervis esse debent, tamen
of-cases and inhering in their sinews to-be ought still
 quia de universa re tractari solent, communes a
because about the-whole matter to-be-handled they-are-wont common by
 veteribus nominati sunt; quorum partim habent vitiorum et
the-ancients named they-are of-which some have of-vices and
 peccatorum acrem quandam cum amplificatione incusationem
of-offenses a-sharp certain with amplification accusation
 aut querelam, contra quam dici nihil solet nec potest,
or complaint against which to-be-said nothing is-wont nor is-possible

ut in depeculatorem, in proditorem, in parricidam;

as against a-plunderer against a-traitor against a-parricide

quibus uti confirmatis criminibus oportet, aliter enim

which to-use when-proved the-charges it-behooves otherwise for

ieiuni sunt atque inanes;

meager they-are and empty

107 alii autem habent deprecationem aut miserationem; alii

others however have deprecation or appeal-to-pity others

vero ancipitis disputationes, in quibus de universo genere

indeed two-sided discussions in which about the-whole kind

in utramque partem disseri copiose licet. Quae

on each side to-be-argued fully it-is-allowed which

exercitatio nunc propria duarum philosophiarum, de quibus

exercise now proper of-the-two philosophies about which

ante dixi, putatur, apud antiquos erat eorum, a quibus

before I-spoke is-thought among the-ancients it-was of-those from whom

omnis de rebus forensibus dicendi ratio et copia

all about matters forensic of-speaking the-method and the-fullness

petebatur; de virtute enim, de officio, de aequo et

was-sought about virtue for about duty about the-equitable and

bono, de dignitate, utilitate, honore, ignominia, praemio,

the-good about worth advantage honor disgrace reward

poena similibusque de rebus in utramque partem dicendi

punishment and-the-like about matters on each side of-speaking

etiam nos et vim et artem habere debemus.

also we both the-force and the-art to-have ought

Driven off the orator's estate, Crassus borrows what he needs from the philosophers who seized it. Every dispute has one nature, whether it is tied to persons and dates or left general, and belongs either to knowing or to doing. Knowing divides into conjecture, definition, and consequence, each with its kinds; doing concerns duty, or the rousing and quieting of feeling, with exhortation, rebuke, consolation, and appeals for pity under it.

Sed quoniam de nostra possessione depulsi in parvo et 108
 but since from our possession driven-off on a-small and
 eo litigioso praediolo relictī sumus et aliorum patroni
 that litigious little-farm left we-are and of-others patrons
 nostra tenere tuerique non potuimus, ab eis, quod
 our to-hold and-to-guard not we-have-been-able from those which
 indignissimum est, qui in nostrum patrimonium inruperunt,
 most-unworthy is who into our patrimony have-burst-in
 quod opus est nobis mutuemur.

what needful is for-us let-us-borrow
 Dicunt igitur nunc quidem illi, qui ex particula parva 109
 say therefore now indeed those who from a-part small
 urbis ac loci nomen habent et Peripatetici philosophi
 of-the-city and of-the-place the-name have and Peripatetic philosophers
 aut Academici nominantur, olim autem propter eximiam
 or Academic are-named formerly however on-account-of the-exceptional
 rerum maximarum scientiam a Graecis politici philosophi
 of-things of-the-greatest the-knowledge by the-Greeks political philosophers
 appellati universarum rerum publicarum nomine vocabantur,
 called of-universal of-things of-public by-the-name were-styled
 omnem civilem orationem in horum alterutro genere versari:
 every civil speech in of-these one-or-other kind to-be-engaged
 aut de finita controversia certis temporibus ac reis;
 either about a-limited dispute with-fixed with-times and with-persons

hoc modo: placeatne a Karthaginiensibus captivos nostros

in-this way whether-it-pleases from the-Carthaginians the-captives our

redditis suis recuperari? aut infinite de universo

when-returned their-own to-be-recovered or without-limit about the-whole

genere quaerentis: quid omnino de captivo statuendum

kind asking what at-all about a-captive to-be-settled

ac sentiendum sit? Atque horum superius illud genus

and to-be-thought may-be and of-these the-earlier that kind

causam aut controversiam appellant eamque tribus, lite

a-case or a-controversy they-call and-it by-three by-a-suit

aut deliberatione aut laudatione, definiunt; haec autem altera

or by-a-deliberation or by-a-panegyric they-define this however the-other

quaestio infinita et quasi proposita consultatio nominatur.

question unlimited and as-it-were a-proposed inquiry is-named

110 Atque etiam hac in instituendo divisione utuntur, sed ita,

and even this in setting-up division they-use but so

non ut iure aut iudicio, vi denique recuperare amissam

not that by-law or by-judgment by-force finally to-recover the-lost

possessionem, sed ut surculo defringendo usurpare videantur.

possession but that by-a-twig by-breaking-off to-lay-claim they-seem

Nam illud alterum genus, quod est temporibus, locis, reis

for that the-other kind which is by-times by-places by-persons

definitum, obtinent, atque id ipsum lacinia — nunc enim

defined they-hold and that very-(thing) by-a-fringe now for

apud Philonem, quem in Academia vigere audio, etiam

with Philo whom in the-Academy to-flourish I-hear even

harum iam causarum cognitio exercitatioque celebratur —

of-these now of-cases the-study and-practice is-frequented

alterum vero tantum modo in prima arte tradenda nominant

the-other indeed only merely in the-first the-art handing-on they-name

et oratoris esse dicunt; sed neque vim neque naturam

and of-the-orator to-be they-say but neither the-force nor the-nature

eius nec partis nec genera proponunt, ut praeteriri
of-it nor the-parts nor the-kinds they-set-forth so-that to-be-passed-over
 omnino fuerit satius quam attactum deseri; nunc
altogether it-would-have-been better than when-touched to-be-abandoned now
 enim inopia reticere intelleguntur, tum iudicio viderentur.
for from-poverty to-be-silent they-are-understood then by-judgment they-would-seem
 Omnis igitur res eandem habet naturam ambiendi, de qua 111
every therefore matter the-same has nature of-disputing about which
 quaeri et disceptari potest, sive in infinitis consultationibus
to-be-asked and to-be-debated can whether in unlimited inquiries
 disceptatur sive in eis causis, quae in civitate et forensi
it-is-debated or in those cases which in the-state and forensic
 disceptatione versantur; neque est ulla, quae non aut ad
debate are-engaged nor is any which not either to
 cognoscendi aut ad agendi vim rationemque referatur;
of-knowing or to of-acting the-force and-the-method may-be-referred
 nam aut ipsa cognitio rei scientiaque perquiritur, ut 112
for either the-very knowledge of-a-thing and-the-science is-sought-out as
 virtus suamne propter dignitatem an propter fructum
virtue whether-its-own on-account-of worth or on-account-of a-profit
 aliquem expetatur; aut agendi consilium exquiritur, ut
some is-sought or of-acting the-plan is-inquired-into as
 sitne sapienti capessenda res publica.
whether-it-is by-a-wise-man to-be-taken-up the-thing public
 Cognitionis autem tres modi, coniectura, definitio et, ut 113
of-knowledge however three the-modes conjecture definition and as
 ita dicam, consecutio: nam quid in re sit, coniectura
so I-may-say consequence for what in a-thing may-be by-conjecture
 quaeritur, ut illud, sitne in humano genere sapientia,
is-asked as that whether-there-is in human race wisdom
 quam autem vim quaeque res habeat, definitio explicat,
what however force each thing may-have a-definition unfolds

ut si quaeratur, quid sit sapientia; consecutio autem
as if it-should-be-asked what may-be wisdom consequence however
 tractatur, cum quid quamque rem sequatur, anquiritur, ut
is-handled when what each thing follows is-inquired as
 illud, sitne aliquando mentiri boni viri.
that whether-it-is sometimes to-lie of-a-good of-man

- 114 Redeunt rursus ad coniecturam eamque in quattuor genera
they-return again to conjecture and-it into four kinds
 dispertunt; nam aut quid sit quaeritur, hoc modo:
they-divide for either what it-may-be is-asked in-this way
 naturane sit ius inter homines an in opinionibus; aut,
whether-by-nature is right among men or in opinions or
 quae sit origo cuiusque rei, ut quod sit initium
what may-be the-origin of-each of-thing as what may-be the-beginning
 legum aut rerum publicarum; aut causa et ratio, ut si
of-laws or of-things of-public or the-cause and the-reason as if
 quaeratur, cur doctissimi homines de maximis rebus
it-should-be-asked why the-most-learned men about the-greatest matters
 dissentiant; aut de immutatione, ut, si disputetur, num
disagree or about change as if it-should-be-argued whether
 interire virtus in homine aut num in vitium possit convertere.
to-perish virtue in a-man or whether into vice it-can to-turn

- 115 Definitionis autem sunt disceptationes aut, cum quaeritur,
of-definition however are the-debates either when it-is-asked
 quid in communi mente quasi impressum sit, ut si
what in the-common mind as-it-were stamped may-be as if
 disseratur, idne sit ius, quod maximae parti
it-should-be-argued whether-that may-be right which to-the-greatest to-the-part
 sit utile; aut, cum quid cuiusque sit proprium
may-be useful or when what of-each may-be proper
 exquiritur, ut ornate dicere propriumne sit oratoris an
is-inquired-into as elegantly to-speak whether-proper it-may-be of-an-orator or

id etiam aliquis praeterea facere possit, aut, cum res
that even someone besides to-do may-be-able or when the-thing
 distribuitur in partis, ut si quaeratur, quot sint
is-divided into parts as if it-should-be-asked how-many may-be
 genera rerum expetendarum, ut sintne tria, corporis,
the-kinds of-things to-be-sought as whether-they-are three of-the-body
 animi externarumque rerum, aut, cum, quae forma et
of-the-mind and-of-external of-things or when what the-form and
 quasi naturalis nota cuiusque sit, describitur, ut si
as-it-were natural mark of-each may-be is-described as if
 quaeratur avari species, seditiosi, gloriosi.

it-should-be-asked of-a-miser the-look of-a-seditious-man of-a-boastful-man

Consecutionis autem duo prima quaestionum genera ponuntur; 116

of-consequence however two first of-questions kinds are-set
 nam aut simplex est disceptatio, ut si disseratur,
for either simple is the-debate as if it-should-be-argued
 expetendane sit gloria, aut ex comparatione, laus
whether-to-be-sought may-be glory or from a-comparison praise
 an divitiae magis expetendae sint; simplicium autem
or riches more to-be-sought may-be of-the-simple however
 sunt tres modi: de expetendis fugiendisve rebus, ut
are three the-modes about to-be-sought or-to-be-shunned things as
 expetendine honores sint, num fugienda paupertas; de
whether-to-be-sought honors may-be whether to-be-shunned poverty about
 aequo aut iniquo, ut aequumne sit ulcisci iniurias etiam
the-fair or the-unfair as whether-fair it-may-be to-avenge wrongs even
 propinquorum; de honesto aut turpi, ut hoc, sitne
of-kinsmen about the-honorable or the-base as this whether-it-is
 honestum gloriae causa mortem obire.
honorable of-glory for-the-sake death to-meet

117 Comparationis autem duo sunt modi: unus, cum idemne
of-comparison however two are the-modes one when whether-the-same
 sit an aliquid intersit quaeritur; ut metuere et vereri,
it-may-be or something may-differ is-asked as to-fear and to-revere
 ut rex et tyrannus, ut adsentator et amicus; alter, cum
as a-king and a-tyrant as a-flatterer and a-friend the-other when
 quid praestet aliud alii quaeritur, ut illud, optimine
in-what excels one-thing another is-asked as that whether-of-the-best
 cuiusque sapientes an populari laude ducantur. Atque eae
of-each the-wise or by-popular by-praise are-led and those
 quidem disceptationes, quae ad cognitionem referuntur, sic
indeed debates which to knowledge are-referred so
 fere a doctissimis hominibus describuntur.
generally by the-most-learned men are-described

118 Quae vero referuntur ad agendum, aut in officii disceptatione
which indeed are-referred to acting either in of-duty debate
 versantur, quo in genere quid rectum faciendumque sit
are-engaged which in kind what right and-to-be-done may-be
 quaeritur, cui loco omnis virtutum et vitiorum est
is-asked to-which to-topic all of-virtues and of-vices is
 silva subiecta, aut in animorum aliqua permotione aut
the-forest subjected or in of-minds some stirring either
 gignenda aut sedanda tollendave tractantur. Huic generi
to-be-begotten or to-be-calmed or-to-be-removed are-handled to-this to-kind
 subiectae sunt cohortationes, obiurgationes, consolationes,
subjected are exhortations rebukes consolations
 miserationes omnisque ad omnem animi motum et impulsio
appeals-to-pity and-all to every of-mind emotion both the-driving
 et, si ita res feret, mitigatio.
and if so the-matter shall-bring the-softening

The richest speeches are those that rise from a private quarrel to the whole class of the question, so that a hearer who has grasped the general nature can settle the particular charge. This is no work for a few little handbooks: the breast must be loaded with matter. All that store of wisdom belongs to the orator by right, and idle men seized it while he was busy; he should borrow back only what each occasion needs.

Explicatis igitur his generibus ac modis disceptationum 119
when-unfolded therefore these kinds and modes of-debates
 omnium nihil sane ad rem pertinet, si qua in re
of-all nothing indeed to the-matter pertains if in-any in respect
 discrepavit ab Antoni divisione nostra partitio: eadem sunt
has-differed from of-Antonius the-division our the-partition the-same are
 membra in utriusque disputatione, sed paulo secus a me
the-limbs in of-each the-argument but a-little otherwise by me
 atque ab illo partita ac tributa. Nunc ad reliqua progrediar
and by him divided and assigned now to the-rest I-shall-go-on
 meque ad meum munus pensumque revocabo. Nam ex
and-myself to my task and-portion I-shall-recall for from
 illis locis, quos exposuit Antonius, omnia sunt ad quaeque
those topics which set-forth Antonius all are for each
 genera quaestionum argumenta sumenda; sed aliis generibus
kinds of-questions the-arguments to-be-taken but for-other for-kinds
 alii loci magis erunt apti; de quo non tam quia longum
other topics more will-be fitted about which not so-much because long
 est quam quia perspicuum est, dici nihil est necesse.
it-is as because plain it-is to-be-said nothing is necessary
 Ornatissimae sunt igitur orationes eae, quae latissime vagantur 120
the-most-adorned are therefore speeches those which most-widely range
 et a privata controversia se ad universi generis
and from a-private controversy themselves to of-the-universal of-kind

vim explicandam conferunt et convertunt, ut ei, qui
the-force for-unfolding bring and turn that those who
 audiant, natura et genere et universa re cognita de
hear when-the-nature and the-kind and the-whole matter is-known about
 singulis reis et criminibus et litibus statuere possint.
single defendants and charges and suits to-decide they-may-be-able

- 121 Hanc ad consuetudinem exercitationis vos, adolescentes,
to-this to the-practice of-exercise you young-men
 est cohortatus Antonius atque a minutis angustisque
has exhorted Antonius and from minute and-narrow
 concertationibus ad omnem vim varietatemque vos disserendi
wranglings to every force and-variety you of-arguing
 traducendos putavit; qua re non est paucorum libellorum
to-be-led-across he-thought for-which reason not is of-a-few of-little-books
 hoc munus, ut ei, qui scripserunt de dicendi ratione,
this task as those who have-written about of-speaking the-method
 arbitrantur, neque Tusculani atque huius ambulationis
think nor of-the-Tusculan-(villa) and of-this of-walk
 antemeridianae aut nostrae posmeridianae sessionis; non
of-forenoon or of-our of-afternoon of-sitting not
 enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est,
for only to-be-sharpened by-us nor to-be-forged the-tongue is
 sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum
but to-be-loaded and-to-be-filled the-breast of-the-greatest of-things
 et plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate.
and of-the-most with-sweetness with-fullness with-variety

- 122 Nostra est enim — si modo nos oratores, si in civium
ours is for if only we orators if in of-citizens
 disceptationibus, si in periculis, si in deliberationibus publicis
the-debates if in perils if in deliberations public
 adhibendi auctores et principes sumus — nostra est, inquam,
to-be-employed authorities and chiefs we-are ours is I-say

omnis ista prudentiae doctrinaeque possessio, in quam
all that of-practical-wisdom and-of-learning the-possession into which
 homines quasi caducam atque vacuum abundantes otio, nobis
men as-if a-lapsed and vacant abounding in-leisure while-we
 occupatis, involaverunt atque etiam aut inridentes oratorem, ut
were-busy have-flown-in and even either mocking the-orator as
 ille in Gorgia Socrates, cavillantur aut aliquid de oratoris
he in the-Gorgias Socrates they-scoff or something about of-the-orator
 arte paucis praecipunt libellis eosque rhetoricos inscribunt,
the-art in-a-few teach in-little-books and-them rhetorical they-entitle
 quasi non illa sint propria rhetorum, quae ab eisdem de
as-if not those were proper of-rhetoricians which by the-same about
 iustitia, de officio, de civitatibus instituendis et regendis,
justice about duty about states about-establishing and about-governing
 de omni vivendi denique etiam de naturae ratione dicuntur.
about all of-living finally even about of-nature the-system are-said
 Quae quoniam iam aliunde non possumus, sumenda sunt 123
which since now from-elsewhere not we-can to-be-taken are
 nobis ab eis ipsis, a quibus expilati sumus; dum modo
by-us from those themselves by whom plundered we-are provided only
 illa ad hanc civilem scientiam, quo pertinent et quam
those to this civil knowledge whither they-pertain and which
 intuentur, transferamus, neque, ut ante dixi, omnem
they-regard we-may-transfer nor as before I-have-said all
 teramus in his discendis rebus aetatem; sed cum fontis
we-may-wear in these in-learning things the-lifetime but when the-springs
 viderimus, quos nisi qui celeriter cognorit, numquam
we-shall-have-seen which unless who quickly shall-have-learned never
 cognoscet omnino, tum, quotienscumque opus erit, ex
will-learn at-all then as-often-as need there-shall-be from
 eis tantum, quantum res petet, hauriemus;
them so-much as-much-as the-matter shall-seek we-shall-draw

124 nam neque tam est acris acies in naturis hominum
for neither so is keen the-edge in the-natures of-men
 et ingeniis, ut res tantas quisquam nisi monstratas
and in-talents that things so-great anyone unless when-shown
 possit videre, neque tanta tamen in rebus obscuritas,
may-be-able to-see nor so-great still in things the-obscurity
 ut eas non penitus acri vir ingenio cernat, si modo
that them not deeply of-keen a-man talent may-discern if only
 aspexerit. In hoc igitur tanto tam immensoque campo
he-shall-have-looked in this therefore so-great so and-boundless in-a-field
 cum liceat oratori vagari libere atque ubicumque
since it-is-allowed to-the-orator to-range freely and wherever
 constiterit, consistere in suo, facile suppeditat omnis
he-shall-have-halted to-stand in his-own easily is-at-hand all
 apparatus ornatusque dicendi;
the-apparatus and-the-adornment of-speaking

125 rerum enim copia verborum copiam gignit; et, si est
of-things for the-store of-words the-store begets and if there-is
 honestas in rebus ipsis, de quibus dicitur, existit ex
nobility in the-things themselves about which it-is-spoken arises from
 re naturalis quidam splendor in verbis. Sit modo is, qui
the-thing a-natural a-certain splendor in words let-be only he who
 dicet aut scribet, institutus liberaliter educatione doctrinaque
will-speak or will-write trained liberally by-upbringing and-by-learning
 puerili et flagret studio et a natura adiuvetur et in
by-boyish and let-him-burn with-zeal and by nature let-him-be-helped and in
 universorum generum infinitis disceptationibus exercitatus
of-universal of-kinds the-boundless in-debates practiced
 ornatissimos scriptores oratoresque ad cognoscendum
the-most-adorned writers and-orators for learning
 imitandumque delegerit, ne ille haud sane, quem ad
and-imitating let-him-have-chosen surely he not indeed in-what to

modum verba struat et inluminet, a magistris istis
 way words he-may-build and may-light-up from masters those
 requiret; ita facile in rerum abundantia ad orationis ornamenta
 will-seek so easily in of-things the-abundance to of-speech the-ornaments
 sine duce natura ipsa, si modo est exercitata, delabitur.
 without a-guide nature itself if only it-is practiced glides-down

III.17 · THE OLD TEACHERS KNEW EVERYTHING

Catulus recalls that the old teachers thought no kind of discussion foreign to them. Hippias boasted at Olympia that he knew every art and had made his own ring, cloak, and slippers; Prodicus, Thrasymachus, and Protagoras wrote on nature, and Gorgias offered to speak on any question. Crassus answers that dividing the arts has shrunk them, and that Cato lacked nothing but Greek polish.

Hic Catulus ‘di immortales,’ inquit ‘quantam rerum varietatem, 126
 here Catulus gods immortal he-said how-great of-things a-variety
 quantam vim, quantam copiam, Crasse, complexus es
 how-great a-force how-great a-store Crassus having-embraced you-are
 quantisque ex angustiis oratorem educere ausus es
 and-from-how-great from straits the-orator to-lead-out dared you-have
 et in maiorum suorum regno conlocare! Namque
 and in of-bis-forefathers of-bis-own the-kingdom to-place for-indeed
 illos veteres doctores auctoresque dicendi nullum genus
 those old teachers and-authorities of-speaking no kind
 disputationis a se alienum putasse accepimus
 of-discussion from themselves alien to-have-thought we-have-heard
 semperque esse in omni orationis ratione versatos;
 and-always to-have-been in every of-speech the-method engaged

127 ex quibus Elius Hippias, cum Olympiam venisset
from whom the-Elean Hippias when to-Olympia he-had-come
 maxima illa quinquennali celebritate ludorum, gloriatus
at-the-greatest at-that at-five-yearly at-the-festival of-the-games boasted
 est cuncta paene audiente Graecia nihil esse ulla in arte
he-has the-whole almost while-hearing Greece nothing to-be in-any in art
 rerum omnium quod ipse nesciret; nec solum has artis,
of-things of-all which he-himself did-not-know nor only these arts
 quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur,
by-which liberal learnings and gentlemanly were-contained
 geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum
geometry music of-letters the-knowledge and of-poets
 atque illa, quae de naturis rerum, quae de hominum
and those which about the-natures of-things which about of-men
 moribus, quae de rebus publicis dicerentur, se tenere
the-characters which about things public were-said himself to-hold
 sed anulum, quem haberet, pallium, quo amictus,
but the-ring which he-had the-cloak with-which clothed
 soccos, quibus indutus esset, sua manu confecisse.
the-slippers with-which shod he-was by-his-own by-hand to-have-made

128 Scilicet nimis hic quidem est progressus, sed ex eo ipso
of-course too-far this-man indeed has advanced but from that very
 est coniectura facilis, quantum sibi illi oratores de
is the-inference easy how-much for-themselves those orators from
 praeclarissimis artibus appetierint, qui ne sordidiores quidem
the-most-splendid arts claimed who not the-meaner even
 repudiarint. Quid de Prodico Cio, de Thrasy-macho
rejected what about Prodicus the-Cean about Thrasy-machos
 Calchedonio, de Protagora Abderita loquar? quorum
the-Chalcedonian about Protagoras the-Abderite should-I-speak of-whom

unus quisque plurimum ut temporibus illis etiam de
one each very-much as for-the-times for-those even about
 natura rerum et disseruit et scripsit.

the-nature of-things both discoursed and wrote

Ipse ille Leontinus Gorgias, quo patrono, ut Plato 129

himself that Leontine Gorgias with-whom as-patron as Plato

voluit, philosopho succubuit orator, qui aut non est victus
wished to-a-philosopher succumbed an-orator who either not was conquered

umquam a Socrate neque sermo ille Platonis verus est; aut,
ever by Socrates and-not the-talk that of-Plato true is or

si est victus, eloquentior videlicet fuit et disertior Socrates
if he-was conquered more-eloquent evidently was and more-fluent Socrates

et, ut tu appellas, copiosior et melior orator — sed hic in
and as you call fuller and a-better orator but he in

illo ipso Platonis libro de omni re, quaecumque in
that very of-Plato in-the-book about every matter whatever into

disceputationem quaestionemque vocetur, se copiosissime
debate and-question may-be-called himself most-fully

dicturum esse profitetur; isque princeps ex omnibus ausus est
going-to-speak to-be professes and-he first from all dared has

in conventu poscere qua de re quisque vellet audire;
in an-assembly to-demand about-what about matter each wished to-bear

cui tantus honos habitus est a Graecia, soli ut ex
to-whom so-great an-honor paid was by Greece to-him-alone that from

omnibus Delphis non inaurata statua, sed aurea statueretur.
all at-Delphi not a-gilded statue but a-golden was-set-up

Sed hi, quos nominavi, multique praeterea summique dicendi 130

but these whom I-have-named and-many besides and-the-highest of-speaking
 doctores uno tempore fuerunt; ex quibus intellegi potest

teachers at-one at-time were from whom to-be-understood can

ita se rem habere, ut tu, Crasse, dicis, oratorisque

so itself the-matter to-have as you Crassus say and-of-the-orator

nomen apud antiquos in Graecia maiore quadam vel
the-name among the-ancients in Greece with-a-greater a-certain either
 copia vel gloria floruisse.

with-fullness or with-glory to-have-flourished

- 131 Quo quidem magis dubito tibine plus laudis an
whereby indeed more I-doubt whether-to-you more of-praise or
 Graecis vituperationis statuum esse tribuendum: cum tu
to-the-Greeks of-blame I-should-judge to-be to-be-assigned since you
 in alia lingua ac moribus natus occupatissima in civitate
in another tongue and in-customs born in-the-most-busy in a-state
 vel privatorum negotiis paene omnibus vel orbis terrae
either of-private-men by-the-affairs almost by-all or of-the-globe of-the-earth
 procuratore ac summi imperi gubernatione distractus
by-the-management and of-the-highest of-empire by-the-governance distracted
 tantam vim rerum cognitionemque comprehenderis eamque
so-great a-force of-things and-the-knowledge you-have-grasped and-it
 omnem cum eius, qui consilio et oratione in civitate
whole with of-that-man who by-counsel and by-speech in the-state
 valeat, scientia atque exercitatione sociaris; illi
prevails with-the-knowledge and with-the-practice you-have-joined those
 nati in litteris ardentesque his studiis, otio vero
born in letters and-burning with-these with-studies with-leisure indeed
 diffuentes, non modo nihil acquisierint, sed ne relictum
melting-away not only nothing have-acquired but not what-was-left
 quidem et traditum et suum conservarint.'

even and handed-down and their-own have-preserved

- 132 Tum Crassus 'non in hac' inquit 'una, Catule, re, sed in
then Crassus not in this he-said one Catulus in-thing but in
 aliis etiam compluribus distributione partium ac separatione
others even several by-the-division of-parts and by-the-separation
 magnitudines sunt artium deminutae. An tu existimas,
the-magnitudes are of-the-arts lessened or you think

cum esset Hippocrates ille Cous, fuisse tum alios
when there-was Hippocrates that Coan to-have-been then other
 medicos, qui morbis, alios, qui vulneribus, alios, qui oculis
physicians who diseases others who wounds others who eyes
 mederentur? Num geometriam Euclide aut Archimede,
healed surely-not geometry with-Euclid or with-Archimedes
 num musicam Damone aut Aristoxeno, num ipsas
surely-not music with-Damon or with-Aristoxenus surely-not the-very
 litteras Aristophane aut Callimacho tractante tam discerptas
letters with-Aristophanes or with-Callimachus handling so torn-apart
 fuisse, ut nemo genus universum complecteretur atque
to-have-been that no-one the-kind whole embraced and
 ut alius aliam sibi partem in qua elaboraret seponeret?
that one another for-himself part in which he-might-labor set-aside
 Equidem saepe hoc audiui de patre et de socero
for-my-part often this I-have-heard from father and from father-in-law
 meo, nostros quoque homines, qui excellere sapientiae gloria
my our also men who to-excel of-wisdom in-glory
 vellent, omnia, quae quidem tum haec civitas nosset,
wished all-(things) which indeed then this state knew
 solitos esse complecti. Meminerant illi Sex. Aelium; M'.
accustomed to-be to-embrace they-remembered those Sextus Aelius Manius
 vero Manilium nos etiam vidimus transverso ambulantiem
indeed Manilius we even have-seen crosswise walking
 foro; quod erat insigne eum, qui id faceret, facere
in-the-forum which was a-sign him who that did to-make
 civibus suis omnibus consili sui copiam; ad quos olim
for-citizens for-his for-all of-counsel of-his the-access to whom once
 et ita ambulantis et in solio sedentis domi sic
both so to-(them)-walking and on a-chair to-(them)-sitting at-home so
 adibatur, non solum ut de iure civili ad eos, verum
it-was-approached not only that about the-law civil to them but

etiam de filia conlocanda, de fundo emendo, de agro
 even about a-daughter about-placing about an-estate about-buying about a-field
 colendo, de omni denique aut officio aut negotio referretur.
 about-tilling about every finally either duty or business it-was-referred

- 134 Haec fuit P. Crassi illius veteris, haec Ti.
 this was of-Publius of-Crassus of-that of-the-old this of-Tiberius
 Coruncani, haec proavi generi mei Scipionis
 of-Coruncanius this of-the-great-grandfather of-the-son-in-law of-mine of-Scipio
 prudentissimi hominis sapientia, qui omnes pontifices
 of-the-most-prudent of-man the-wisdom who all pontiffs
 maximi fuerunt, ut ad eos de omnibus divinis atque
 greatest were so-that to them about all divine and
 humanis rebus referretur; eidemque in senatu et apud
 about-human about-matters it-was-referred and-the-same in the-senate and before
 populum et in causis amicorum et domi et militiae
 the-people and in the-cases of-friends and at-home and in-the-field
 consilium suum fidemque praestabant.
 counsel their-own and-good-faith furnished

- 135 Quid enim M. Catoni praeter hanc politissimam doctrinam
 what for to-Marcus to-Cato besides this most-polished learning
 transmarinam atque adventiciam defuit? Num, quia ius
 overseas and imported was-lacking surely-not because the-law
 civile didicerat, causas non dicebat? aut quia poterat dicere,
 civil he-had-learned cases not he-pleaded or because he-could to-plead
 iuris scientiam neglegebat? Utroque in genere et elaboravit
 of-law the-knowledge he-neglected in-each in kind both he-labored
 et praestitit. Num propter hanc ex privatorum negotiis
 and he-excelled surely-not on-account-of this from of-private-men the-affairs
 conlectam gratiam tardior in re publica capessenda
 gathered favor slower in the-thing public in-taking-up
 fuit? Nemo apud populum fortior, nemo melior senator;
 was-he no-one before the-people braver no-one a-better senator

et idem facile optimus imperator; denique nihil in hac
and the-same easily the-best general finally nothing in this
 civitate temporibus illis sciri discive potuit, quod
state in-the-times in-those to-be-known or-to-be-learned could which
 ille non cum investigarit et scierit tum etiam conscripserit.
he not both investigated and knew then even wrote-down

III.18 · NAKED INTO PUBLIC LIFE

Now men come to office unarmed, with one accomplishment at best, never seeing how the good arts hang together. The Seven Sages, Thales excepted, governed their cities; Pisistratus put Homer in order; Pericles, taught by Anaxagoras, left stings in his hearers' minds; Plato armed Dion, Isocrates Timotheus, Lysis Epaminondas. Aristotle joined the knowledge of things to the practice of speech. Call the man philosopher or orator as you please: the palm goes to the learned orator.

Nunc contra plerique ad honores adipiscendos et ad 136
now on-the-contrary most to honors for-gaining and to
 rem publicam gerendam nudi veniunt atque inermes, nulla
the-thing public for-conducting naked come and unarmed with-no
 cognitione rerum, nulla scientia ornati. Sin aliquis excellit
with-knowledge of-things with-no with-science equipped but-if someone stands-out
 unus e multis, effert se, si unum aliquid adfert, aut
one from many raises himself if one something he-brings either
 bellicam virtutem aut usum aliquem militarem; quae sane
warlike valor or experience some military which indeed
 nunc quidem obsoleverunt; aut iuris scientiam, ne eius quidem
now indeed have-grown-obsolete or of-law the-knowledge not of-it even
 universi; nam pontificium, quod est coniunctum, nemo discit;
of-the-whole for the-pontifical which is joined no-one learns
 aut eloquentiam, quam in clamore et in verborum cursu
or eloquence which in shouting and in of-words the-rush

positam putant; omnium vero bonarum artium, denique
placed they-think of-all indeed of-good of-arts finally

virtutum ipsarum societatem cognationemque non norunt.
of-the-virtues themselves the-fellowship and-the-kinship not they-know

137 Sed ut ad Graecos referam orationem, quibus carere

but that to the-Greeks I-may-bring-back the-speech whom to-lack

hoc quidem in sermonis genere non possumus — nam

in-this indeed in of-discourse kind not we-can for

ut virtutis a nostris, sic doctrinae sunt ab illis exempla

as of-virtue from ours so of-learning are from those examples

petenda — septem fuisse dicuntur uno tempore, qui

to-be-sought seven to-have-been they-are-said at-one at-time who

sapientes et haberentur et vocarentur: hi omnes praeter

wise both were-held and were-called these all except

Milesium Thalen civitatibus suis praefuerunt. Quis

the-Milesian Thales over-states over-their-own governed who

doctior eisdem temporibus illis aut cuius eloquentia

more-learned at-the-same at-times at-those or of-whom the-eloquence

litteris instructor fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui

with-letters better-furnished to-have-been is-handed-down than of-Pisistratus who

primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur,

first of-Homer the-books confused before so to-have-arranged is-said

ut nunc habemus. Non fuit ille quidem civibus suis utilis,

as now we-have not was he indeed for-citizens for-his useful

sed ita eloquentia floruit, ut litteris doctrinaque praestaret.

but so in-eloquence he-flourished that in-letters and-in-learning he-excelled

138 Quid Pericles? de cuius vi dicendi sic accepimus, ut,

what Pericles about of-whom the-force of-speaking so we-have-heard that

cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute

although against the-will of-the-Athenians he-spoke for the-safety

patriae severius, tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra

of-the-fatherland too-severely still that very-thing which he against

popularis homines diceret, populare omnibus et iucundum
popular men said popular to-all and pleasant
 videretur; cuius in labris veteres comici, etiam cum illi male
seemed of-whom on the-lips the-old comic-poets even when at-him ill
 dicerent (quod tum Athenis fieri licebat), leporem habitasse
they-spoke which then at-Athens to-be-done was-allowed charm to-have-dwelt
 dixerunt tantamque in eodem vim fuisse, ut in eorum
said and-so-great in the-same force to-have-been that in of-those
 mentibus, qui audissent, quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret.
the-minds who had-heard as-it-were stings certain he-left
 At hunc non declamator aliqui ad clepsydrum latrare
but this-man not a-declamer some to the-water-clock to-bark
 docuerat, sed, ut accepimus, Clazomenius ille Anaxagoras vir
had-taught but as we-have-heard the-Clazomenian that Anaxagoras a-man
 summus in maximarum rerum scientia: itaque hic doctrina,
the-highest in of-the-greatest of-things the-knowledge and-so he in-learning
 consilio, eloquentia excellens quadraginta annis praeftit
in-counsel in-eloquence excelling for-forty for-years governed
 Athenis et urbanis eodem tempore et bellicis rebus.
at-Athens both over-city at-the-same at-time and over-warlike over-matters
 Quid Critias? quid Alcibiades? civitatibus quidem suis
what Critias what Alcibiades to-states indeed to-their-own
 non boni, sed certe docti atque eloquentes, nonne Socraticis
not good but certainly learned and eloquent surely by-Socratic
 erant disputationibus eruditi? Quis Dionem Syracosium
were by-discussions trained who Dion the-Syracusan
 doctrinis omnibus expolivit? Non Plato? Atque eum idem ille
with-learnings with-all polished not Plato and him the-same he
 non linguae solum, verum etiam animi ac virtutis magister
not of-tongue only but even of-mind and of-virtue the-master
 ad liberandam patriam impulit, instruxit, armavit. Aliisne
to freeing the-fatherland drove equipped armed with-other

igitur artibus hunc Dionem instituit Plato, aliis Isocrates

therefore with-arts this Dion trained Plato with-others Isocrates

clarissimum virum Timotheum Cononis praestantissimi

the-most-illustrious man Timotheus of-Conon of-the-most-outstanding

imperatoris filium, summum ipsum imperatorem hominemque

of-general the-son the-highest himself general and-a-man

doctissimum? aut aliis Pythagorius ille Lysis Thebanum

the-most-learned or with-others the-Pythagorean that Lysis the-Theban

Epaminondam, haud scio an summum virum unum omnis

Epaminondas hardly I-know whether the-highest man one of-all

Graeciae? aut Xenophon Agesilaum? aut Philolaus Archytam

of-Greece or Xenophon Agesilaus or Philolaus Archytas

Tarentinum? aut ipse Pythagoras totam illam veterem

the-Tarentine or himself Pythagoras the-whole that old

Italiae Graeciam, quae quondam magna vocitata est?

of-Italy Greece which once great called-repeatedly was

140 Equidem non arbitror; sic enim video, unam quandam

for-my-part not I-think so for I-see one a-certain

omnium rerum, quae essent homine erudito dignae

of-all of-things which were of-a-man of-a-cultivated worthy

atque eo, qui in re publica vellet excellere, fuisse

and of-him who in the-thing public wished to-excel to-have-been

doctrinam; quam qui acceperant, si eidem ingenio ad

learning which those-who had-received if the-same in-talent for

pronuntiandum valuissent et se ad dicendum quoque

uttering had-availed and themselves to speaking also

non repugnante natura dedissent, eloquentia praestitisse.

not with-resisting with-nature had-given in-eloquence to-have-excelled

141 Itaque ipse Aristoteles cum florere Isocratem nobilitate

and-so himself Aristotle when to-flourish Isocrates by-the-distinction

discipulorum videret, quod suas disputationes a causis

of-pupils he-saw because his-own discussions from cases

forensibus et civilibus ad inanem sermonis elegantiam

forensic and civil to an-empty of-speech elegance

transtulisset, mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinae

he-had-transferred he-changed suddenly the-whole shape almost of-the-training

suae versumque quendam Philoctetae paulo secus dixit:

of-his-own and-a-verse a-certain of-Philoctetes a-little otherwise he-uttered

ille enim turpe sibi ait esse tacere, cum barbaros,

he for base for-himself says to-be to-be-silent while barbarians

hic autem, cum Isocratem pateretur dicere; itaque

this-man however while Isocrates he-allowed to-speak and-so

ornavit et inlustravit doctrinam illam omnem rerumque

he-adorned and he-lighted-up the-learning that whole and-of-things

cognitionem cum orationis exercitatione coniunxit. Neque

the-knowledge with of-speech the-practice he-joined nor

vero hoc fugit sapientissimum regem Philippum, qui hunc

indeed this escaped the-most-wise king Philip who this-man

Alexandro filio doctorem accierit, a quo eodem ille

for-Alexander for-the-son as-teacher summoned from whom the-same he

et agendi acciperet praecepta et eloquendi.

both of-acting might-receive precepts and of-speaking

Nunc sive qui volet, eum philosophum, qui copiam nobis 142

now either who shall-wish him a-philosopher who the-store to-us

rerum orationisque tradat, per me appellet oratorem

of-things and-of-speech may-hand-on through me let-him-call an-orator

licet; sive hunc oratorem, quem ego dico sapientiam

it-is-allowed or this-man an-orator whom I say wisdom

iunctam habere eloquentiae, philosophum appellare malet, non

joined to-have to-eloquence a-philosopher to-call shall-prefer not

impediam; dum modo hoc constet, neque infantiam eius,

I-shall-binder provided only this may-be-agreed neither the-speechlessness of-him

qui rem norit, sed eam explicare dicendo non queat,

who the-matter may-know but it to-unfold by-speaking not may-be-able

neque inscientiam illius, cui res non suppetat,
nor the-ignorance of-that-man to-whom matter not may-be-at-hand
 verba non desint, esse laudandam; quorum si alterum
words not may-be-lacking to-be to-be-praised of-which if one-or-other
 sit optandum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam
may-be to-be-chosen I-should-prefer for-my-part an-inarticulate practical-wisdom
 quam stultitiam loquacem; sin quaerimus quid unum
than folly talkative but-if we-ask what one
 excellat ex omnibus, docto oratori palma danda est;
excels from all to-a-learned to-an-orator the-palm to-be-given is
 143 quem si patiuntur eundem esse philosophum, sublata
whom if they-allow the-same to-be a-philosopher removed
 controversia est; sin eos diiungent, hoc erunt inferiores,
the-dispute is but-if them they-shall-separate in-this they-will-be lower
 quod in oratore perfecto inest illorum omnis scientia,
because in an-orator a-finished is-in of-those all the-knowledge
 in philosophorum autem cognitione non continuo inest
in of-philosophers however the-understanding not at-once is-in
 eloquentia; quae quamvis contemnatur ab eis, necesse est
eloquence which however-much it-may-be-despised by them necessary it-is
 tamen aliquem cumulum illorum artibus adferre videatur.
still some crown of-those to-the-arts to-bring it-may-seem
 Haec cum Crassus dixisset, parumper et ipse conticuit
these when Crassus had-said for-a-little-while both he-himself fell-silent
 et a ceteris silentium fuit.
and by the-rest silence there-was

Cotta says Crassus gave more than was asked; a tide of his talent carried him far from land, out of almost everyone's sight, and drove Cotta into the Academy. Caesar is struck by the claim that a man who has not learned something quickly will never learn it thoroughly. Sulpicius wants no Aristotle and no Carneades, only the splendor of speech. Crassus returns to words, singly and joined: proper, transferred, or newly made, weighed by the ear.

Tum Cotta 'equidem,' inquit 'Crasse, non possum queri, 144
then Cotta for-my-part he-said Crassus not I-can to-complain
 quod mihi videre aliud quiddam, id quod non susceperis,
because to-me you-seem another something that which not you-had-undertaken
 disputasse; plus enim aliquanto attulisti, quam tibi
to-have-argued more for somewhat you-have-brought than to-you
 erat tributum a nobis ac denuntiatur; sed certe ut eae
was assigned by us and announced but certainly as those
 partes fuerunt tuae, de inlustranda oratione ut diceret,
parts were yours about lighting-up speech that you-should-speak
 et eras ipse iam ingressus atque in quattuor partis
and you-were yourself now entered and into four parts
 omnem orationis laudem discriperas, cum de duabus
all of-speech the-merit you-had-divided when about the-two
 primis nobis quidem satis, sed, ut ipse dicebas, celeriter
the-first for-us indeed enough but as yourself you-were-saying quickly
 exigueque dixisses, duas tibi reliquas feceras, quem
and-scantily you-had-spoken two for-yourself remaining you-had-made in-what
 ad modum primum ornate, deinde etiam apte diceremus:
to way first elegantly then also fitly we-should-speak
 quo cum ingressus esses, repente te quasi quidam 145
into-which when entered you-had-been suddenly you as-if a-certain
 aestus ingeni tui procul a terra abripuit atque in altum
tide of-talent of-your far from land carried-off and into the-deep

a conspectu paene omnium abstraxit; omnem enim rerum
from the-sight almost of-all drew-away all for of-things
 scientiam complexus non tu quidem eam nobis tradidisti;
the-knowledge having-embraced not you indeed it to-us have-handed-on
 neque enim fuit tam exigui temporis; sed apud hos
nor for it-was of-so of-scanty of-time but among these
 quid profeceris nescio, me quidem in Academiam totum
what you-have-gained I-know-not me indeed into the-Academy wholly
 compulisti. In qua velim sit illud, quod saepe
you-have-driven in which I-could-wish there-may-be that which often
 posuisti, ut non necesse sit consumere aetatem
you-have-laid-down that not necessary it-may-be to-spend a-lifetime
 atque ut possit is illa omnia cernere, qui tantum modo
and that may-be-able he those all to-discern who only merely
 aspexerit; sed etiam si est aliquando spissius aut si
shall-have-glanced but even if it-is sometimes rather-thick or if
 ego sum tardior, profecto numquam conquiescam neque
I am slower assuredly never shall-I-rest nor
 defatigabor ante, quam illorum ancipitis vias rationesque
shall-I-be-wearied before than of-those the-double-edged ways and-methods
 et pro omnibus et contra omnia disputandi percepero.
both for all and against all of-arguing I-shall-have-grasped
 Tum Caesar 'unum' inquit 'me ex tuo sermone maxime,
then Caesar one he-said me from your talk chiefly
 Crasse, commovit, quod eum negasti, qui non cito quid
Crassus has-stirred because him you-denied who not quickly anything
 didicisset, umquam omnino posse perdiscere; ut mihi
had-learned ever at-all to-be-able to-learn-thoroughly so-that to-me
 non sit difficile periclitari et aut statim percipere
not it-may-be difficult to-make-trial and either at-once to-grasp
 ista, quae tu verbis ad caelum extulisti, aut, si non
those which you in-words to heaven have-raised or if not

146

potuerim, tempus non perdere, cum tamen his
I-shall-have-been-able the-time not to-lose since still with-these
 nostris possim esse contentus.'

with-our I-may-be-able to-be content

Hic Sulpicius 'ego vero,' inquit 'Crasse, neque Aristotelem 147

here Sulpicius I indeed he-said Crassus neither Aristotle

istum neque Carneadem nec philosophorum quemquam

that nor Carneades nor of-philosophers anyone

desidero. Vel me licet existimes desperare ista posse

do-I-want either me it-is-allowed you-may-think to-despair those to-be-able

perdiscere vel, id quod facio, contemnere; mihi rerum

to-learn-thoroughly or that which I-do to-despise for-me of-things

forensium et communium vulgaris haec cognitio satis

of-forensic and of-common ordinary this knowledge enough

magna est ad eam, quam specto, eloquentiam; ex qua

great is for that which I-look-to eloquence from which

ipsa tamen permulta nescio; quae tum denique, cum

itself still very-many-things I-do-not-know which then at-last when

causa aliqua, quae a me dicenda est, desiderat, quaero.

a-case some which by me to-be-pleaded is requires I-seek

Quam ob rem, nisi forte es iam defessus et

which on-account-of thing unless perhaps you-are now wearied and

si tibi non graves sumus, refer ad illa te, quae ad

if to-you not burdensome we-are bring-back to those yourself which to

ipsius orationis laudem splendoremque pertinent; quae ego

of-the-very of-speech the-merit and-brilliance pertain which I

ex te audire volui, non ut desperarem me eloquentiam

from you to-hear have-wished not that I-should-despair myself eloquence

consequi posse, sed ut aliquid addiscerem.'

to-attain to-be-able but that something I-might-learn-in-addition

148 Tum Crassus ‘pervulgatas res requiris’ inquit ‘et tibi non
then Crassus commonplace things you-ask-for he-said and to-you not
 incognitas, Sulpici: quis enim de isto genere non docuit,
unknown Sulpicius who for about that kind not has-taught
 non instituit, non scriptum etiam reliquit? Sed geram
not has-instructed not written even has-left but I-shall-show
 morem et ea dumtaxat, quae mihi nota sunt, breviter
compliance and those at-least which to-me known are briefly
 exponam tibi; censebo tamen ad eos, qui auctores et
I-shall-set-forth to-you I-shall-advise still to those who authorities and
 inventores sunt harum sane minutarum rerum, revertendum.
inventors are of-these indeed of-minute of-matters to-be-returned

149 Omnis igitur oratio conficitur ex verbis; quorum primum
all therefore speech is-made-up from words of-which first
 nobis ratio simpliciter videnda est, deinde coniuncte.
by-us the-account singly to-be-seen is then jointly

Nam est quidam ornatus orationis, qui ex singulis verbis
for is a-certain adornment of-speech which from single words
 est; alius, qui ex continuatis constat. Ergo utimur verbis
is another which from continuous consists therefore we-use with-words
 aut eis, quae propria sunt et certa quasi vocabula
either with-those which proper are and fixed as-it-were the-names
 rerum, paene una nata cum rebus ipsis; aut eis,
of-things almost together born with things themselves or with-those
 quae transferuntur et quasi alieno in loco conlocantur;
which are-transferred and as-it-were in-another's in place are-placed
 aut eis, quae novamus et facimus ipsi.
or with-those which we-make-new and we-make ourselves

150 In propriis igitur est illa laus oratoris, ut abiecta atque
in the-proper therefore is that praise of-the-orator that the-abstract and
 obsoleta fugiat, lectis atque inlustribus utatur, in
worn-out he-may-shun the-choice and the-brilliant he-may-use in

quibus plenum quiddam et sonans inesse videatur. Sed
which a-full something and sounding to-be-in may-seem but
 in hoc verborum genere propriorum dilectus est habendus
in this of-words kind of-the-proper a-choosing is to-be-had
 quidam atque is aurium quodam iudicio ponderandus est;
a-certain and it of-the-ears by-a-certain by-judgment to-be-weighed is
 in quo consuetudo etiam bene loquendi valet plurimum.
in which the-habit even well of-speaking avails most
 Itaque hoc, quod vulgo de oratoribus ab imperitis dici 151
and-so this which commonly about orators by the-unskilled to-be-said
 solet “bonis hic verbis,” aut “aliquis non bonis utitur,”
is-wont with-good this-man with-words or someone not with-good uses
 non arte aliqua perpenditur, sed quodam quasi naturali sensu
not by-art by-any is-weighed but by-a-certain as-if by-natural by-sense
 iudicatur: in quo non magna laus est vitare vitium, quamquam
is-judged in which not great praise is to-avoid a-fault although
 est magnum, verum tamen hoc quasi solum quoddam
it-is great but still this as-it-were a-soil a-certain
 atque fundamentum est, verborum usus et copia bonorum.
and foundation is of-words the-use and the-store of-good

III.20 • OLD WORDS, NEW WORDS, METAPHOR

The orator builds with three kinds of single word: the unusual, mostly old words the poets handle more freely; the coined, made by compounding or otherwise; and above all the transferred. Metaphor was born of poverty and kept on for pleasure, like clothing invented against the cold and then worn for ornament. It makes a thing vivid, shows a whole design at once, or wins brevity, and its strongest appeal is to the eye.

152 Sed quid ipse aedificet orator et in quo adiungat
but what he-himself may-build the-orator and in what he-may-join
 artem, id esse nobis quaerendum videtur. Tria sunt igitur
art that to-be by-us to-be-asked seems three are therefore
 in verbo simplici, quae orator adferat ad inlustrandam
in a-word simple which the-orator may-bring for lighting-up
 atque exornandam orationem: aut inusitatum verbum aut
and adorning speech either an-unusual word or
 novatum aut translatum.
a-coined or a-transferred

153 Inusitata sunt prisca fere ac vetustate ab usu cotidiani
unusual are ancient generally and by-age from the-use of-daily
 sermonis iam diu intermissa, quae sunt poetarum licentiae
of-talk now long discontinued which are of-poets to-the-license
 liberiora quam nostrae; sed tamen raro habet etiam
freer than to-ours but still rarely has even
 in oratione poeticum aliquod verbum dignitatem. Neque
in speech a-poetic some word dignity nor
 enim illud fugerim dicere, ut Caelius “qua tempestate
for that I-would-shun to-say as Caelius at-which at-season
 Poenus in Italiam venit,” nec “prolem” aut “subolem”
the-Carthaginian into Italy came nor offspring or progeny
 aut “effari” aut “nuncupare” aut, ut tu soles, Catule, “non
or to-utter or to-name or as you are-wont Catulus not
 rebar” aut “opinabar”; aut alia multa, quibus loco
I-was-deeming or I-was-supposing or others many which in-place
 positis grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe videri solet.
when-set grander and older speech often to-seem is-wont

Novantur autem verba, quae ab eo, qui dicit, ipso gignuntur 154

are-coined however words which by him who speaks himself are-begotten

ac fiunt, vel coniungendis verbis, ut haec:

and are-made either by-joining by-words as these

tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat.

then dread wisdom all from-me terrified out-breasts

num non vis huius me versutiloquas malitias... videtis

surely not you-wish of-this me twist-tongued the-malices you-see

enim et “versutiloquas” et “expectorat” ex coniunctione

for both twist-tongued and out-breasts from a-joining

facta esse verba, non nata; sed saepe vel sine coniunctione

made to-be words not born but often even without a-joining

verba novantur ut “ille senius desertus,” ut “di genitales,”

words are-coined as that old-man deserted as gods generative

ut “bacarum ubertate incurvescere.”

as of-berries by-the-richness to-bend-down

Tertius ille modus transferendi verbi late patet, quem 155

the-third that manner of-transferring of-a-word widely extends which

necessitas genuit inopia coacta et angustiis, post

necessity begot by-poverty forced and by-straits afterward

autem iucunditas delectatioque celebravit. Nam ut vestis

however pleasantness and-delight made-frequent for as clothing

frigoris depellendi causa reperta primo, post adhiberi

of-cold of-driving-off for-the-sake found first afterward to-be-employed

coepta est ad ornatum etiam corporis et dignitatem, sic

began it-is for adornment even of-the-body and dignity so

verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata

of-a-word the-transfer established is of-poverty for-the-sake made-frequent

delectationis. Nam gemmare vitis, luxuriam esse in herbis,

of-delight for to-bud the-vines luxuriance to-be in the-grass

laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt. Quod enim declarari
joyful the-crops even countrymen say which for to-be-shown
 vix verbo proprio potest, id translato cum est dictum,
scarcely by-a-word by-proper can that by-a-transferred when it-is said
 inlustrat id, quod intellegi volumus, eius rei, quam
lights-up that which to-be-understood we-wish of-that of-thing which
 alieno verbo posuimus, similitudo.

by-an-alien by-word we-have-set the-likeness

- 156 Ergo haec translationes quasi mutuaciones sunt, cum
therefore these transfers as-it-were borrowings are since
 quod non habeas aliunde sumas, illae paulo audaciores,
what not you-have from-elsewhere you-take those a-little bolder
 quae non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid
which not poverty show but to-speech of-brilliance something
 arcessunt; quarum ego quid vobis aut inveniendi rationem
fetch of-which I why to-you either of-finding the-method
 aut genera ponam?

or the-kinds should-I-set

- 157 Sed ea transferri oportet, quae aut clariorem faciunt
but those to-be-transferred it-behooves which either clearer make
 rem, ut illa omnia:

the-thing as those all

inhorrescit mare,

shudders the-sea

tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbium occaecat nigror,

shadows are-doubled and-of-night and of-clouds blinds darkness

flamma inter nubis coruscat, caelum tonitru contremittit,

flame among clouds flashes sky in-thunder trembles

grando mixta imbri largifico subita praecipitans cadit,
hail mingled with-rain bountiful sudden plunging falls
 undique omnes venti erumpunt, saevi existunt turbines,
everywhere all winds burst-out fierce arise whirlwinds
 fervit aestu pelagus:
boils with-heat the-deep

omnia fere, quo essent clariora, translatis per 158
all-(things) almost whereby they-might-be clearer with-transferred through
 similitudinem verbis dicta sunt; aut quo significatur
likeness with-words said have-been or by-which is-signified
 magis res tota sive facti alicuius sive consili, ut ille,
more the-thing whole either of-a-deed of-some or of-a-plan as he
 qui occultantem consulto, ne id, quod ageretur, intellegi
who concealing on-purpose lest that which was-being-done to-be-understood
 posset, duobus translatis verbis similitudine ipsa indicat:
could by-two by-transferred by-words by-the-likeness itself indicates

quandoquidem is se circum vestit dictis, saepit se dolo.
since-indeed he himself round clothes in-words hedges himself by-guile

Non numquam etiam brevis translatione conficitur, ut
not never even brevity by-a-transfer is-achieved as
 illud "si telum manu fugit": imprudentia teli
that if the-weapon from-the-hand fled the-inadvertence of-the-weapon
 missi brevius propriis verbis exponi non potuit, quam
of-the-sent more-briefly by-proper by-words to-be-set-forth not could than
 est uno significata translato.
it-is by-one signified by-a-transferred

159 Hoc in genere persaepe mihi admirandum videtur quid
this in kind very-often to-me to-be-wondered-at seems what
 sit, quod omnes translatis et alienis magis delectentur
may-be that all with-transferred and with-alien more are-delighted
 verbis quam propriis et suis. Nam si res suum
with-words than with-proper and with-their-own for if a-thing its-own
 nomen et vocabulum proprium non habet, ut pes in navi,
name and appellation proper not has as a-foot in a-ship
 ut nexum, quod per libram agitur, ut in uxore divortium,
as a-bond which through a-balance is-done as in a-wife divorce
 necessitas cogit, quod non habeas, aliunde sumere; sed
necessity compels what not you-have from-elsewhere to-take but
 in suorum verborum maxima copia tamen homines
in of-their-own of-words the-greatest in-abundance still men
 aliena multo magis, si sunt ratione translata, delectant.

160 Id accidere credo, vel quod ingeni specimen est quoddam
that to-happen I-believe either because of-talent a-proof is a-certain
 transilire ante pedes posita et alia longe repetita sumere; vel
to-leap-over before the-feet placed and others far fetched to-take or
 quod is, qui audit, alio ducitur cogitatione neque tamen
because he who hears elsewhere is-led by-thought nor still
 aberrat, quae maxima est delectatio; vel quod in singulis
he-strays which the-greatest is the-delight or because in single
 verbis res ac totum simile conficitur; vel quod omnis
words a-thing and a-whole likeness is-achieved or because every
 translatio, quae quidem sumpta ratione est, ad sensus ipsos
transfer which indeed taken by-method is to the-senses themselves
 admovetur, maxime oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus.
is-brought chiefly of-the-eyes which is the-sense the-keenest

Nam et odor urbanitatis et mollitudo humanitatis et 161
 for both the-scent of-urbanity and the-softness of-humanity and
 murmur maris et dulcitus orationis sunt ducta a
 the-murmur of-the-sea and the-sweetness of-speech are drawn from
 ceteris sensibus; illa vero oculorum multo acriora, quae
 the-other senses those indeed of-the-eyes much keener which
 paene ponunt in conspectu animi, quae cernere et
 almost place in the-sight of-the-mind what to-discern and
 videre non possumus. Nihil est enim in rerum natura,
 to-see not we-can nothing is for in of-things nature
 cuius nos non in aliis rebus possimus uti vocabulo
 of-which we not in other things may-be-able to-use with-the-appellation
 et nomine. Unde enim simile duci potest, potest
 and with-the-name whence for a-likeness to-be-drawn can can
 autem ex omnibus, indidem verbum unum, quod
 however from all from-the-same-place a-word one which
 similitudinem continet, translatus lumen adferet orationi.
 a-likeness contains transferred light will-bring to-speech

III.21 • METAPHOR KEPT IN BOUNDS

A metaphor must first rest on a real likeness, which a sphere cannot lend a vault, and it must not lead the mind anywhere shameful: not the state gelded by Africanus' death, not Glaucia called the dung of the senate. It should be neither larger nor smaller than the thing it stands for, and a modest "so to speak" softens a hard one. Then allegory, riddling when obscure; Ceres for crops, Liber for wine; the part for the whole.

Quo in genere primum est fugienda dissimilitudo: "caeli 162
 in-which in kind first is to-be-shunned unlikeness of-the-sky
 ingentes fornices"; quamvis sphaeram in scaenam, ut
 huge vaults however-much a-sphere onto the-stage as

dicitur, attulerit Ennius, tamen in sphaera fornicis

it-is-said may-have-brought Ennius still in a-sphere of-a-vault

similitudo inesse non potest.

a-likeness to-be-in not can

Vive, Ulixes; dum licet:

live Ulysses while it-is-allowed

oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape!

with-the-eyes the-last light radiant seize

non dixit “pete” non “cape,” — haberet enim moram

not he-said seek not take it-would-have for a-delay

sperantis diutius esse victurum — sed “rape”: est hoc

of-(one)-hoping longer to-be going-to-live but seize is this

verbum ad id aptatum, quod ante dixerat, “dum licet.”

word to that fitted which before he-had-said while it-is-allowed

163 Deinde videndum est ne longe simile sit ductum: “Syrтим”

then to-be-seen it-is lest far a-likeness be drawn a-Syrтим

patrimoni, “scopulum” libentius dixerim; “Charybdim”

of-a-patrimony a-reef more-willingly I-should-say a-Charybdis

bonorum, “voraginem” potius; facilius enim ad ea, quae

of-goods a-whirlpool rather more-easily for to those which

visa, quam ad illa, quae audita sunt, mentis oculi

seen than to those which heard have-been of-the-mind the-eyes

feruntur; et quoniam haec vel summa laus est in verbis

are-carried and since this even the-highest praise is in words

transferendis, ut sensum feriat id, quod translatum sit,

in-transferring that the-sense it-strike that which transferred may-be

fugienda est omnis turpitudine earum rerum, ad quas eorum

to-be-shunned is all baseness of-those of-things to which of-those

animos, qui audient, trahet similitudo.

the-minds who will-bear will-draw the-likeness

Nolo dici morte Africani “castratam” esse rem
I-do-not-wish to-be-said by-the-death of-Africanus gelded to-be the-thing
 publicam, nolo “stercus curiae” dici Glauciam;
public I-do-not-wish the-dung of-the-senate-house to-be-called Glaucia
 quamvis sit simile, tamen est in utroque deformis
however-much it-may-be like still is in each an-ugly
 cogitatio similitudinis; nolo esse aut maius, quam res
thought of-the-likeness I-do-not-wish to-be either greater than the-thing
 postulet: “tempestas comissionis”; aut minus: “comissatio
demands a-tempest of-a-revel or smaller a-revel
 tempestatis”; nolo esse verbum angustius id, quod
of-a-tempest I-do-not-wish to-be a-word narrower that which
 translatum sit, quam fuisset illud proprium ac suum:
transferred may-be than would-have-been that proper and its-own

quidnam est, obsecro? Quid te adierit abnutas?
what-then is I-beseech why you to-be-approached do-you-refuse

melius esset vetas, prohibes, absterres; quoniam ille
better it-would-be you-forbid you-prevent you-frighten-off since he
 dixerat:
had-said

ilico istic,
right-there in-that-place
 ne contagio mea bonis umbrave obsit...
lest contagion my to-the-good or-a-shadow may-harm

Atque etiam, si vereare, ne paulo durior translatio esse
and even if you-may-fear lest a-little harsher a-transfer to-be
 videatur, mollienda est praeposito saepe verbo; ut si olim,
it-may-seem to-be-softened it-is by-a-prefixed often word as if once

M. Catone mortuo, “pupillum” senatum quis relictum

with-Marcus Cato dead an-orphan the-senate someone left

diceret, paulo durius; sin, “ut ita dicam, pupillum,”

were-to-say a-little more-harsbly but-if as so I-may-say an-orphan

aliquanto mitius: etenim verecunda debet esse translatio,

somewhat more-gently for modest ought to-be the-transfer

ut deducta esse in alienum locum, non inrupisse,

so-that led to-be into another's place not to-have-burst-in

atque ut precario, non vi, venisse videatur.

and so-that by-entreaty not by-force to-have-come it-may-seem

166 Modus autem nullus est florentior in singulis verbis neque

a-manner however none is more-florid in single words nor

qui plus luminis adferat orationi; nam illud, quod ex

which more of-light may-bring to-speech for that which from

hoc genere profluit, non est in uno verbo translato, sed

this kind flows-forth not is in one word transferred but

ex pluribus continuatis conectitur, ut aliud dicatur,

from more continued it-is-woven so-that one-thing may-be-said

aliud intellegendum sit:

another to-be-understood may-be

neque me patiar

nor me I-shall-allow

iterum ad unum scopulum ut olim classem Achivom offendere.

again on one reef as once fleet Achaeans' to-strike

atque illud,

and that

erras, erras; nam exultantem te et praefidentem tibi
you-err you-err for exulting you and over-trusting in-yourself
 repriment validae legum habenae atque imperi insistent iugo.
will-curb strong of-laws reins and of-rule will-lean by-yoke

Sumpta re simili verba illius rei propria deinceps 167

taken a-thing like the-words of-that thing proper thereafter
 in rem aliam, ut dixi, transferuntur. Est hoc magnum
into a-thing other as I-said are-transferred is this a-great
 ornamentum orationis, in quo obscuritas fugienda est; etenim
ornament of-speech in which obscurity to-be-shunned is for
 hoc fere genere fiunt ea, quae dicuntur aenigmata;
this generally by-kind are-made those-things which are-called riddles
 non est autem in verbo modus hic, sed in oratione, id
not is however in a-word the-manner this but in speech that
 est, in continuatione verborum. Ne illa quidem traductio
is in a-continuation of-words not that even a-transference
 atque immutatio in verbo quandam fabricationem habet:
and a-changing in a-word a-certain fashioning has

Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu;

Africa with-terrible trembles bristling land with-tumult

neque factum est verbum, ut “mare saxifragis undis”;

nor made is a-word as the-sea with-rock-breaking waves

neque translatum, ut “mollitur mare”; sed ornandi causa

nor transferred as is-softened the-sea but of-adorning for-the-sake

proprium proprio commutatum:

a-proper-word for-a-proper-word exchanged

desine, Roma, tuos hostis...

cease Rome your enemies

et

and

testes sunt campi magni...

witnesses are the-fields great

168 Gravis est modus in ornatu orationis et saepe sumendus;

weighty is the-manner in the-adornment of-speech and often to-be-taken

ex quo genere haec sunt, Martem belli esse communem,

from which kind these are Mars of-war to-be common

Cerem pro frugibus, Liberum appellare pro vino, Neptunum

Ceres for crops Liber to-call for wine Neptune

pro mari, curiam pro senatu, campum pro comitiis, togam

for the-sea the-senate-house for the-senate the-field for the-assemblies the-toga

pro pace, arma ac tela pro bello; quo item in genere et

for peace arms and weapons for war in-which likewise in kind both

virtutes et vitia pro ipsis, in quibus illa sunt, appellantur:

virtues and vices for those-themselves in which they are are-named

“luxuries quam in domum inrupit,” et “quo avaritia

luxury which into house burst-in and whither avarice

penetravit”; aut “fides valuit, iustitia confecit.” Videtis profecto

penetrated or good-faith prevailed justice accomplished you-see surely

genus hoc totum, cum inflexo immutatoque verbo res
kind this whole when with-a-turned and-changed word the-thing
 eadem enuntiatur ornatius; cui sunt finitima illa minus
the-same is-uttered more-ornately to-which are neighboring those less
 ornata, sed tamen non ignoranda, cum intellegi volumus
adorned but still not to-be-unknown when to-be-understood we-wish
 aliquid aut ex parte totum, ut pro aedificiis cum parietes aut
something either from a-part the-whole as for buildings when walls or
 tecta dicimus; aut ex toto partem, ut cum unam turmam
roofs we-say or from the-whole a-part as when one squadron
 equitatum populi Romani dicimus; aut ex uno pluris:
the-cavalry of-the-people Roman we-say or from one more

at Romanus homo, tamenetsi res bene gesta est
but a-Roman man although the-thing well done is
 corde suo trepidat; aut cum ex pluribus intellegitur unum:
in-heart his trembles or when from more is-understood one
 nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini;
we are Romans who were before Rudians

aut quocumque modo, non ut dictum est, in eo genere
or in-whatever way not as said it-is in that kind
 intellegitur, sed ut sensum est.
it-is-understood but as felt it-is

Abutimur saepe etiam verbo non tam eleganter quam
we-misuse often even a-word not so elegantly as
 in transferendo, sed etiam si licentius, tamen interdum
in transferring but even if more-freely still sometimes
 non impudenter; ut cum grandem orationem pro longa,
not shamelessly as when a-grand speech for a-long-one
 minutum animum pro parvo dicimus. Verum illa videtisne
a-minute mind for a-small-one we-say but those do-you-see

esse non verbi, sed orationis, quae ex pluribus, ut
to-be not of-a-word but of-speech which from more as
 exposui, translationibus conexa sunt? haec autem, quae aut
I-explained from-transfers joined are these however which either
 immutata esse dixi aut aliter intellegenda ac dicerentur,
changed to-be I-said or otherwise to-be-understood than they-were-said
 sunt translata quodam modo.
are transferred in-a-certain way

III.22 • SETTING WORDS TOGETHER

The merit of single words comes from three things: an old word that usage will still bear, a coined one, and above all a transferred one, which marks a speech as if with stars. Then the joining: words must neither collide roughly nor gape, a care Lucilius mocked in Albucius as a mosaic of little cubes. Speech also asks a measure of its own, which Isocrates first took from poetry; rhythm parts the orator from the untrained, and nothing follows a lead so easily as speech.

170 Ita fit, ut omnis singulorum verborum virtus atque
so it-happens that all of-single words the-excellence and
 laus tribus existat ex rebus: si aut vetustum verbum
the-praise three may-arise from things if either an-old word
 sit, quod tamen consuetudo ferre possit; aut factum
it-be which still usage to-bear may-be-able or made
 vel coniunctione vel novitate, in quo item est auribus
either by-joining or by-newness in which likewise it-is to-the-ears
 consuetudinique parcendum; aut translatum, quod maxime
and-to-usage to-be-spared or transferred which most
 tamquam stellis quibusdam notat et illuminat orationem.
as-if with-stars certain marks and lights-up speech

Sequitur continuatio verborum, quae duas res maxime,
follows the-continuation of-words which two things especially
 conlocationem primum, deinde modum quandam formamque
arrangement first then a-measure a-certain and-a-form
 desiderat. Conlocationis est componere et struere verba sic, ut
requires of-arrangement it-is to-compose and to-build words so that
 neve asper eorum concursus neve hiulus sit, sed quodam
neither rough of-them the-meeting nor gaping may-be but in-a-certain
 modo coagmentatus et levis; in quo lepide soceri mei
way joined and smooth in which wittily of-father-in-law my
 persona lusit is, qui elegantissime id facere potuit, Lucilius:
in-the-person jested he who most-elegantly it to-do was-able Lucilius

quam lepide λέξεις compostae! ut tesserulae omnes
how wittily the-words composed like little-cubes all
 arte pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato.
closely in-a-pavement and in-an-inlay worm-patterned

Quae cum dixisset in Albucium inludens, ne a me
which when he-had-said against Albucius mocking not from me
 quidem abstinuit:
even he-refrained

Crassum habeo generum, ne rhetoricoterus tu sis. Quid
Crassus I-have as-son-in-law lest more-rhetorical you may-be what
 ergo? Iste Crassus, quoniam eius abuteris nomine, quid
then that Crassus since of-him you-misuse the-name what
 efficit? Illud quidem; scilicet, ut ille vult et ego
does-be-accomplish that indeed of-course as he wishes and I
 vellem, melius aliquanto quam Albucius: verum in me
should-wish better somewhat than Albucius but at me
 quidem lusit ille, ut solet.
indeed jested he as he-is-accustomed

172 Sed est tamen haec conlocatio conservanda verborum, de
but is still this arrangement to-be-preserved of-words about
 qua loquor; quae vinctam orationem efficit, quae cohaerentem,
which I-speak which bound speech makes which coherent
 quae levem, quae aequabiliter fluentem; id adsequemini,
which smooth which evenly flowing that you-will-attain
 si verba extrema cum consequentibus primis ita iunguntur,
if words last with following first so will-be-joined
 ut neve aspere concurrant neve vastius diducantur.

that neither harshly they-may-clash nor too-widely they-may-be-drawn-apart

173 Hanc diligentiam subsequitur modus etiam et forma
this carefulness follows measure also and form
 verborum, quod iam vereor ne huic Catulo videatur
of-words which now I-fear lest to-this Catulus it-may-seem
 esse puerile; versus enim veteres illi in hac soluta
to-be childish verses for the-ancients those in this loosened
 oratione propemodum, hoc est, numeros quosdam nobis
speech almost this is rhythms certain by-us
 esse adhibendos putaverunt: interspirationis enim, non
to-be to-be-applied they-thought of-breathing-space for not
 defetigationis nostrae neque librariorum notis, sed verborum
of-weariness our nor of-copyists by-marks but of-words
 et sententiarum modo interpunctas clausulas in orationibus
and of-thoughts by-measure punctuated clauses in speeches
 esse voluerunt; idque princeps Isocrates instituisse
to-be they-wished and-that first Isocrates to-have-established
 fertur, ut inconditam antiquorum dicendi consuetudinem
is-said that the-unpolished of-the-ancients of-speaking practice
 delectationis atque aurium causa, quem ad modum scribit
of-delight and of-the-ears for-the-sake which to manner writes
 discipulus eius Naucrates, numeris astringeret.

the-pupil of-him Naucrates with-rhythms might-bind

Namque haec duo musici, qui erant quondam idem 174
for these two the-musicians who were once the-same
 poetae, machinati ad voluptatem sunt, versum atque
poets having-contrived for pleasure are verse and
 cantum, ut et verborum numero et vocum modo
song so-that both of-words by-the-rhythm and of-tones by-the-measure
 delectatione vincerent aurium satietatem. Haec igitur
by-delight they-might-overcome of-the-ears the-satiety these therefore
 duo, vocis dico moderationem et verborum conclusionem,
two of-the-voice I-mean the-regulation and of-words the-rounding
 quoad orationis severitas pati posset, a poetica ad
as-far-as of-speech the-severity to-endure could from poetry to
 eloquentiam traducenda duxerunt.
eloquence to-be-carried-over they-judged

In quo illud est vel maximum, quod versus in oratione si 175
in which that is even greatest that a-verse in speech if
 efficitur coniunctione verborum, vitium est, et tamen eam
is-produced by-the-joining of-words a-fault is and still that
 coniunctionem sicuti versum numerose cadere et quadrare
joining just-as a-verse rhythmically to-fall and to-square
 et perfici volumus. Neque est ex multis res una,
and to-be-completed we-wish nor is from many thing one
 quae magis oratorem ab imperito dicendi ignaroque
which more an-orator from an-unskilled-man of-speaking and-ignorant
 distinguat, quam quod ille rudis incondite fundit quantum
may-distinguish than that he untrained roughly pours-out as-much-as
 potest et id, quod dicit, spiritu, non arte determinat,
he-can and that which he-says by-breath not by-art he-bounds
 orator autem sic inligat sententiam verbis, ut eam numero
an-orator however so binds the-thought in-words that it by-rhythm
 quodam complectatur et astricto et soluto.
a-certain he-may-embrace both tight and loose

- 176 **Nam cum vinxit forma et modis, relaxat et liberat**
for when he-has-bound by-form and by-measures he-loosens and frees
immutatione ordinis, ut verba neque adligata sint quasi
by-a-changing of-order so-that words neither bound may-be as-if
certa aliqua lege versus neque ita soluta, ut vagentur.
by-a-fixed some law of-verse nor so loosed that they-may-wander
Quonam igitur modo tantum munus insitemus ut
in-what therefore way so-great a-task shall-we-undertake that
arbitremur nos hanc vim numerose dicendi consequi
we-may-think ourselves this power rhythmically of-speaking to-attain
posse? Non est res tam difficilis quam necessaria; nihil
to-be-able not is a-thing so difficult as necessary nothing
est enim tam tenerum neque tam flexibile neque quod
is for so tender nor so flexible nor which
tam facile sequatur quocumque ducas quam oratio.
so easily may-follow whithersoever you-may-lead as speech

III.23 · WHAT IS USEFUL TURNS OUT BEAUTIFUL

The same words serve conversation and the stage alike, and they are ours to mold like the softest wax. Nature makes the most useful also the most dignified, as in the round heaven and the earth held at the center, and art does the same: a ship's sides and sails, a temple's columns, the Capitol's gable, which rain required and dignity followed. So in speech the pauses breathing forced on us please the ear, and Aristotle allows the orator the heroic foot and, above all, the paean.

- 177 **Ex hac versus, ex hac eadem dispares numeri conficiuntur;**
from this verses from this same unequal rhythms are-made
ex hac haec etiam soluta variis modis multorumque
from this this also loosened in-various ways and-of-many
generum oratio; non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia
kinds speech not for are some of-conversation others

contentionis verba, neque ex alio genere ad usum
of-debate words nor from one kind for use
 cotidianum, alio ad scaenam pompamque sumuntur;
daily from-another for the-stage and-parade are-taken
 sed ea nos cum iacentia sustulimus e medio, sicut
but them we when lying-about we-have-picked-up from the-midst like
 mollissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et
the-softest wax to our judgment we-shape and
 fingimus. Itaque ut tum graves sumus, tum subtiles,
we-mold and-so as now weighty we-are now subtle
 tum medium quiddam tenemus: sic institutam nostram
now a-middle something we-bold so the-adopted our
 sententiam sequitur orationis genus idque ad omnem aurium
thought follows of-speech the-kind and-that to every of-the-ears
 voluptatem et animorum motum mutatur et vertitur.
pleasure and of-minds the-movement is-changed and is-turned
 Sed ut in plerisque rebus incredibiliter hoc natura est
but as in most things incredibly this nature has
 ipsa fabricata, sic in oratione, ut ea, quae maximam
herself contrived so in speech that those-things which the-greatest
 utilitatem in se continerent, plurimum eadem haberent
usefulness in themselves contained most the-same had
 vel dignitatis vel saepe etiam venustatis. Incolumitatis ac
either of-dignity or often even of-charm of-safety and
 salutis omnium causa videmus hunc statum esse huius
of-preservation of-all for-the-sake we-see this arrangement to-be of-this
 totius mundi atque naturae, rotundum ut caelum terraque
whole world and of-nature round that the-sky and-the-earth
 ut media sit eaque sua vi nutuque teneatur, sol
that in-the-middle may-be and-it by-its-own force and-inclination may-be-held the-sun
 ut eam circum feratur, ut accedat ad brumale signum
that it around may-be-carried that it-may-approach to the-winter sign

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et inde sensim ascendat in diversam partem; ut luna
and thence gradually may-climb into the-opposite part that the-moon
 accessu et recessu solis lumen accipiat; ut eadem
by-the-approach and by-the-retreat of-the-sun light may-receive that the-same
 spatia quinque stellae dispari motu cursuque conficiant.
courses five stars with-unequal motion and-course may-complete

- 179 Haec tantam habent vim, paulum ut immutata cohaerere non
these so-great have force a-little that changed to-hold-together not
 possint, tantam pulchritudinem, ut nulla species ne cogitari
they-can so-great beauty that no appearance not to-be-imagined
 quidem possit ornatior. Referte nunc animum ad hominum
even can more-adorned turn now the-mind to of-men
 vel etiam ceterarum animantium formam et figuram. Nullam
or even of-the-other living-things the-form and the-figure no
 partem corporis sine aliqua necessitate adfectam totamque
part of-the-body without some necessity attached and-the-whole
 formam quasi perfectam reperietis arte, non casu. Quid in
form as-if finished you-will-find by-art not by-chance what in
 eis arboribus? in quibus non truncus, non rami, non folia
those trees in which not the-trunk not the-branches not the-leaves
 sunt denique nisi ad suam retinendam conservandamque
are in-short except for their-own to-be-kept and-to-be-preserved
 naturam, nusquam tamen est ulla pars nisi venusta.
nature nowhere still is any part except graceful

- 180 Linquamus naturam artisque videamus. Quid tam in navigio
let-us-leave nature and-the-arts let-us-see what so in a-ship
 necessarium quam latera, quam cavernae, quam prora, quam
necessary as the-sides as the-hold as the-prow as
 puppis, quam antennae, quam vela, quam mali? quae tamen
the-stern as the-yards as the-sails as the-masts which still
 hanc habent in specie venustatem, ut non solum salutis,
this have in appearance grace that not only of-safety

sed etiam voluptatis causa inventa esse videantur.

but also of-pleasure for-the-sake invented to-have-been they-may-seem

Columnae templa et porticus sustinent; tamen habent non

columns temples and porticoes support still they-have not

plus utilitatis quam dignitatis: Capitoli fastigium illud et

more of-usefulness than of-dignity of-the-Capitol the-pediment that and

ceterarum aedium non venustas, sed necessitas ipsa fabricata

of-the-other buildings not charm but necessity herself having-contrived

est; nam, cum esset habita ratio, quem ad modum ex

is for when had-been taken account which to manner from

utraque tecti parte aqua delaberetur, utilitatem templi

each of-the-roof side the-water might-run-down the-usefulness of-the-temple

fastigi dignitas consecuta est; ut, etiam si in caelo

of-the-pediment the-dignity followed is so-that even if in the-sky

Capitolium statueretur, ubi imber esse non posset, nullam

the-Capitol were-set-up where rain to-be not could no

sine fastigio dignitatem habiturum fuisse videatur.

without a-pediment dignity going-to-have to-have-been it-may-seem

Hoc in omnibus item partibus orationis evenit, ut

this in all likewise parts of-speech happens that

utilitatem ac prope necessitatem suavis quaedam et lepos

the-usefulness and almost the-necessity a-sweetness certain and charm

consequatur; clausulas enim atque interpuncta verborum

may-follow the-closes for and the-pauses of-words

animae interclusio atque angustiae spiritus attulerunt: id

of-breath the-stopping and the-narrowness of-breath have-brought that

inventum ita est suave, ut, si cui sit infinitus spiritus

discovery so is sweet that if to-anyone were unlimited breath

datus, tamen eum perpetuare verba nolimus; id enim

given still him to-run-on words we-should-not-wish that for

auribus nostris gratum est, quod hominum lateribus non
to-the-ears our pleasing is which of-men to-the-lungs not
 tolerabile solum, sed etiam facile esse posset.

bearable only but also easy to-be could

- 182 Longissima est igitur complexio verborum, quae volvi
longest is therefore a-period of-words which to-be-rolled-out
 uno spiritu potest; sed hic naturae modus est, artis
in-one breath can but this of-nature the-limit is of-art
 alius. Nam cum sint numeri plures, iambum et trochaicum
another for since are rhythms several the-iamb and the-trochee
 frequentem segregat ab oratore Aristoteles, Catule, vester, qui
frequent separates from the-orator Aristotle Catulus your which
 natura tamen incurrunt ipsi in orationem sermonemque
by-nature still run themselves into speech and-conversation
 nostrum; sed sunt insignes percussiones eorum numerorum
our but are marked the-beats of-those rhythms
 et minuti pedes. Qua re primum ad heroum nos
and tiny the-feet for-which reason first to the-heroic us
 invitat: in quo impune progredi licet duo dumtaxat pedes
he-invites in which safely to-advance is-allowed two only feet
 aut paulo plus, ne plane in versum aut similitudinem versus
or a-little more lest plainly into a-verse or the-likeness of-a-verse
 incidamus. "Altae sunt geminae, quibus." Hi tres pedes in
we-fall high are twin to-whom these three feet at
 principia continuandorum verborum satis decore cadunt.
the-beginnings of-to-be-continued words fairly becomingly fall

- 183 Probatur autem ab eodem illo maxime paeon, qui est
is-approved however by the-same him especially the-paeon which is
 duplex: nam aut a longa oritur, quam tres breves
twofold for either from a-long it-arises which three shorts
 consequuntur, ut haec verba "desinite, incipite, comprimite,"
follow as these words cease begin restrain

aut a brevibus deinceps tribus, extrema producta atque
or from shorts in-succession three the-last drawn-out and
 longa, sicut illa sunt “domuerant, sonipedes”; atque illi
long just-as those are they-had-tamed the-steeds and to-that
 philosopho ordiri placet a superiore paeane, posteriore
philosopher to-begin it-pleases from the-former paeon with-the-latter
 finire; est autem paeon hic posterior non syllabarum numero,
to-end is however a-paeon this latter not of-syllables by-number
 sed aurium mensura, quod est acrius iudicium et certius,
but of-the-ears by-the-measure which is a-keener judgment and surer
 par fere cretico, qui est ex longa et brevi et longa: ut
equal nearly to-the-cretic which is from a-long and a-short and a-long as

Quid petam praesidi, aut exsequar? quove nunc...
what should-I-look for of-protection or should-I-pursue or-whither now

A quo numero exorsus est Fannius: “si, Quirites, minas
from which rhythm begun is Fannius if Romans the-threats
 illius.” Hunc ille clausulis aptiorem putat, quas vult
of-that-man this he for-closes more-fitting thinks which he-wishes
 longa plerumque syllaba terminari.
by-a-long generally syllable to-be-ended

Poets are bound by necessity; prose is freer, and Theophrastus held that it should be rhythmical, but loosely. Rhythm comes not from an unbroken flow but from the pauses that mark off equal or varied intervals, as falling drops can be counted and a rushing river cannot. The members of a period should answer one another, the later ones equal to the earlier or, better, longer. Catulus urges Crassus on, Antonius praises him, and he prescribes practice and the pen.

- 184 Neque vero haec tam acrem curam diligentiamque desiderant,
 nor indeed these so keen care and-diligence require
 quam est illa poetarum; quos necessitas cogit et ipsi numeri
 as is that of-poets whom necessity compels and the-very rhythms
 ac modi sic verba versu includere, ut nihil sit ne spiritu
 and measures so words in-a-verse to-enclose that nothing be not by-a-breath
 quidem minimo brevius aut longius, quam necesse est.
 even the-smallest shorter or longer than necessary it-is
 Liberior est oratio et plane, ut dicitur, sic est vere soluta, non
 freer is speech and plainly as it-is-said so it-is truly loosened not
 ut fugiat tamen aut erret, sed ut sine vinculis sibi
 that it-may-run-off still or may-wander but that without bonds for-itself
 ipsa moderetur. Namque ego illud adsentior Theophrasto, qui
 itself may-govern for I that I-agree with-Theophrastus who
 putat orationem, quae quidem sit polita atque facta quodam
 thinks speech which indeed is polished and wrought in-a-certain
 modo, non astrictae, sed remissius numerosam esse oportere.
 way not tightly but more-loosely rhythmical to-be ought
- 185 Etenim, sicut ille suspicatur, et ex istis modis, quibus
 for just-as he suspects also from those measures by-which
 hic usitatus versus efficitur, post anapaestus, procerior
 this customary verse is-made afterward the-anapaest a-longer
 quidam numerus, effloruit, inde ille licentior et divitior
 a-certain rhythm blossomed thence that freer and richer

fluxit dithyrambus, cuius membra et pedes, ut ait idem,
flowed the-dithyramb whose limbs and feet as says the-same
 sunt in omni locupleti oratione diffusa; et, si numerosum
are in every rich speech scattered and if rhythmical
 est in omnibus sonis atque vocibus, quod habet quasdam
it-is in all sounds and tones which has certain
 impressiones et quod metiri possumus intervallis aequalibus,
beats and which to-measure we-can by-intervals equal
 recte genus hoc numerorum, dum modo ne continui sint,
rightly the-kind this of-rhythms provided only not continuous they-be
 in orationis laude ponitur. Nam si rudis et impolita
among of-speech the-merits it-is-placed for if rude and unpolished
 putanda est illa sine intervallis loquacitas perennis et
to-be-thought is that without intervals talkativeness unending and
 profluens, quid est aliud causae cur repudietur, nisi
streaming what is other of-reason why it-should-be-rejected except
 quod hominum auribus vocem natura modulatur ipsa?
that of-men for-the-ears the-voice nature tunes herself
 Quod fieri, nisi inest numerus in voce, non potest.
which to-happen unless is-in rhythm in the-voice not can
 Numerus autem in continuatione nullus est; distinctio
rhythm however in a-continuous-flow none is a-marking-off
 et aequalium aut saepe variorum intervallorum percussio
and of-equal or often of-varied intervals the-beat
 numerum conficit, quem in cadentibus guttis, quod intervallis
rhythm makes which in falling drops because by-intervals
 distinguuntur, notare possumus, in amni praecipitante non
they-are-marked-off to-note we-can in a-river rushing not
 possumus. Quod si continuatio verborum haec soluta multo
we-can but if the-continuity of-words this loosened much
 est aptior atque iucundior, si est articulis membrisque
is more-fitting and more-pleasing if it-is by-joints and-by-limbs

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distincta, quam si continuata ac producta, membra illa
marked-off than if continued and drawn-out the-limbs those
 modificata esse debebunt; quae si in extremo breviora
measured to-be will-have-to which if at the-end shorter
 sunt, infringitur ille quasi verborum ambitus; sic enim
are is-broken that as-it-were of-words the-circuit so for
 has orationis conversiones Graeci nominant. Qua re
these of-speech the-turnings the-Greeks name for-which reason
 aut paria esse debent posteriora superioribus, et extrema
either equal to-be they-ought the-later to-the-earlier and the-last
 primis aut, quod etiam est melius et iucundius, longiora.
to-the-first or which even is better and more-pleasing longer

187 Atque haec quidem ab eis philosophis, quos tu maxime
and these indeed by those philosophers whom you most
 diligis, Catule, dicta sunt; quod eo saepius testifcor,
love Catulus said have-been which for-that-reason the-of-ten I-attest
 ut auctoribus laudandis ineptiarum crimen effugiam.
that by-authorities to-be-cited of-silliness the-charge I-may-escape
 ‘Quarum tandem?’ inquit Catulus ‘aut quid disputatione ista
of-what pray said Catulus or what than-the-discussion that
 adferri potest elegantius aut omnino dici subtilius?’
to-be-brought can more-elegantly or at-all to-be-said more-subtly

188 ‘At enim vereor,’ inquit Crassus ‘ne haec aut difficiliora istis
but for I-fear said Crassus lest these either more-difficult to-those
 ad persequendum esse videantur aut, quia non traduntur in
for pursuing to-be may-seem or because not they-are-taught in
 vulgari ista disciplina, nos ea maiora ac difficiliora videri
the-common that training we them greater and more-difficult to-seem
 velle videamur.’ Tum Catulus ‘erras,’ inquit ‘Crasse, si aut me
to-wish may-appear then Catulus you-err said Crassus if either me
 aut horum quemquam putas a te haec opera cotidiana et
or of-these anyone you-think from you these works everyday and

pervagata exspectare. Ista, quae dicis, dici volumus; neque
commonplace to-expect those-things which you-say to-be-said we-wish and-not
 tam dici quam isto dici modo; neque tibi hoc pro me
so to-be-said as in-that to-be-said way and-not to-you this for me
 solum, sed pro his omnibus sine ulla dubitatione respondeo.'

only but for these all without any hesitation I-answer

'Ego vero' inquit Antonius 'inveni iam, quem negaram 189

I indeed said Antonius I-have-found now whom I-had-denied
 in eo, quem scripsi, libello me invenisse eloquentem. Sed
in that which I-wrote little-book myself to-have-found the-eloquent-man but
 eo te ne laudandi quidem causa interpellavi, ne
for-that-reason you not of-praising even for-the-sake I-interrupted lest
 quid de hoc tam exiguo sermonis tui tempore verbo
anything from this so scanty of-discourse your time by-a-word
 uno meo deminueretur.'

one my should-be-lessened

'Hanc igitur' Crassus inquit 'ad legem cum exercitatione 190

this therefore Crassus said to rule both by-practice
 tum stilo, qui et alia et hoc maxime ornat ac
and by-the-pen which both other-things and this most adorns and
 limat, formanda nobis oratio est. Neque tamen hoc tanti
files to-be-shaped by-us speech is nor still this of-so-great
 laboris est, quanti videtur, nec sunt haec rhythmicorum

labor is as it-seems nor are these of-rhythmicians

aut musicorum acerrima norma dirigenda; efficiendum est
or of-musicians by-the-severest rule to-be-guided to-be-brought-about is
 illud modo nobis, ne fluat oratio, ne vagetur, ne insistat

that only by-us lest flow-loosely speech lest it-wander lest it-stop

interius, ne excurrat longius, ut membris distinguatur, ut
too-short lest it-run-on too-far that by-limbs it-be-marked-off that

conversiones habeat absolutas. Neque semper utendum est
turnings it-have complete and-not always to-be-used is

perpetuitate et quasi conversione verborum, sed saepe
a-continuous-flow and as-it-were a-rounding of-words but often
 carpenda membris minutioribus oratio est, quae tamen
to-be-broken into-limbs smaller speech is which still
 ipsa membra sunt numeris vincienda.
themselves limbs are by-rhythms to-be-bound

III.25 · THE CROWD HEARS THE RHYTHM

Do not be troubled by the paean or the heroic foot; they come unbidden to a man whose sentences end where the thought ends. The close matters more than the opening, since everyone listens hardest there, and the last two or three feet must be watched and varied. Antipater could pour out hexameters on the spot. Untrained crowds judge rhythm unerringly and hiss a syllable wrongly drawn out, for nature gave everyone that sense.

191 Neque vos paean aut herous ille conturbet: ipsi
and-let-not you the-paeon or the-heroic that disturb themselves
 occurrent orationi; ipsi, inquam, se offerent et
will-meet the-speech themselves I-say themselves will-present and
 respondebunt non vocati. Consuetudo modo illa sit scribendi
will-answer not called a-habit only that be of-writing
 atque dicendi, ut sententiae verbis finiantur eorumque
and of-speaking that thoughts by-words be-ended and-of-those
 verborum iunctio nascatur ab proceris numeris ac liberis,
words the-joining may-arise from long rhythms and free
 maxime heroo aut paeane priore aut cretico,
especially from-the-heroic or from-the-paeon the-former or from-the-cretic
 sed varie distincteque considat. Notatur enim maxime
but variedly and-distinctly may-settle is-noticed for most
 similitudo in conquiescendo. Et, si primi et postremi pedes
sameness in coming-to-rest and if the-first and the-last feet

sunt hac ratione servati, medii possunt latere, modo
are by-this method kept the-middle can lie-hidden only
 ne circuitus ipse verborum sit aut brevior, quam aures
not the-circuit itself of-words be either shorter than the-ears
 expectent, aut longior, quam vires atque anima patiatur.
may-expect or longer than the-strength and the-breath may-endure

Clausulas autem diligentius etiam servandas esse arbitror quam 192

the-closes however more-carefully even to-be-observed to-be I-think than
 superiora, quod in eis maxime perfectio atque absolutio
the-earlier-parts because in them most the-finish and the-completeness
 iudicatur. Nam versus aequae prima et media et extrema pars
is-judged for of-a-verse equally the-first and the-middle and the-last part
 attenditur, qui debilitatur, in quacumque est parte titubatum;
is-attended-to which is-weakened in whatever there-is part a-stumble

in oratione autem pauci prima cernunt, postrema plerique:
in speech however few the-openings notice the-endings most-people
 quae quoniam apparent et intelleguntur, varianda sunt, ne
which since appear and are-perceived to-be-varied are lest
 aut animorum iudiciis repudientur aut aurium satietate.
either of-minds by-the-judgments they-be-rejected or of-the-ears by-the-satiety

Duo enim aut tres fere sunt extremi servandi et 193

two for or three generally are the-last to-be-watched and
 notandi pedes, si modo non breviora et praecisa erunt
to-be-marked feet if only not shorter and clipped shall-be
 superiora; quos aut chorios aut heroos aut alternos esse
the-earlier-parts which either trochees or heroics or alternating to-be
 oportebit aut in paeane illo posteriore, quem Aristoteles
it-will-behoove or in the-paeon that latter which Aristotle
 probat, aut ei pari cretico. Horum vicissitudines efficient,
approves or to-it equal the-cretic of-these the-alternations will-bring-about

ut neque ei satientur, qui audient, fastidio similitudinis,
that neither they be-sated who will-bear by-the-tedium of-sameness

nec nos id, quod faciemus, opera dedita facere videamur.

nor we that which we-shall-do with-effort deliberate to-do may-seem

194 Quod si Antipater ille Sidonius, quem tu probe, Catule,

but if Antipater that Sidonian whom you well Catulus

meministi, solitus est versus hexametros aliosque variis

remember accustomed was verses hexameter and-others in-various

modis atque numeris fundere ex tempore tantumque

measures and rhythms to-pour-out on the-spot and-so-much

hominis ingeniosi ac memoris valuit exercitatio, ut,

of-a-man gifted and of-retentive-memory availed practice that

cum se mente ac voluntate coniecisset in versum, verba

when himself in-mind and in-will he-had-thrown into verse the-words

sequerentur; quanto id facilius in oratione, exercitatione

would-follow by-how-much that more-easily in speech practice

et consuetudine adhibita, consequemur!

and habit applied shall-we-attain

195 Illud autem ne quis admiretur, quonam modo haec

that however let-not anyone wonder in-what way these-things

vulgus imperitorum in audiendo notet, cum in omni genere

the-crowd of-the-unskilled in listening notices both in every kind

tum in hoc ipso magna quaedam est vis incredibilisque

and in this very-thing great a-certain is power and-incredible

naturae. Omnes enim tacito quodam sensu sine ulla

of-nature all for by-a-silent a-certain sense without any

arte aut ratione quae sint in artibus ac rationibus recta

art or reasoning what-things are in arts and reasonings right

ac prava diiudicant; idque cum faciunt in picturis et in

and wrong judge and-that when they-do in paintings and in

signis et in aliis operibus, ad quorum intellegentiam a

statues and in other works for of-which the-understanding from

natura minus habent instrumenti, tum multo ostendunt
nature less they-have of-equipment then by-much they-show
 magis in verborum, numerorum vocumque iudicio; quod
more in of-words of-rhythms and-of-tones the-judging because
 ea sunt in communibus infixa sensibus nec earum rerum
those are in the-common fixed senses and-not of-those things
 quemquam funditus natura esse voluit expertem.

anyone utterly nature to-be willed without-a-share

Itaque non solum verbis arte positis moventur omnes, 196

and-so not only by-words with-art placed are-moved all
 verum etiam numeris ac vocibus. Quotus enim quisque est
but also by-rhythms and by-tones how-few for each is
 qui teneat artem numerorum ac modorum? At in eis si
who holds the-art of-rhythms and of-measures but in them if
 paulum modo offensum est, ut aut contractione brevius
a-little only offended it-is so-that either by-contraction shorter
 fieret aut productione longius, theatra tota reclamant.

it-might-become or by-lengthening longer the-theaters whole cry-out

Quid, hoc non idem fit in vocibus, ut a multitudine
what this not the-same happens in tones that by the-multitude
 et populo non modo catervae atque concentus, sed etiam
and the-people not only choruses and harmonies but even
 ipsi sibi singuli discrepantes eiciantur?

themselves to-themselves individuals discordant may-be-hissed-off

Mirabile est, cum plurimum in faciendo intersit inter 197

wonderful it-is although very-much in doing differs between
 doctum et rudem, quam non multum differat in iudicando.
the-trained and the-untrained how not much differs in judging

Ars enim cum a natura profecta sit, nisi natura moveat ac
art for since from nature sprung has unless naturally it-move and
 delectet, nihil sane egisse videatur; nihil est autem tam
delight nothing indeed to-have-done it-may-seem nothing is however so

cognatum mentibus nostris quam numeri atque voces; quibus

akin to-minds our as rhythms and tones by-which

et excitamur et incendimur et lenimur et languescimus

both we-are-roused and we-are-fired and we-are-soothed and we-grow-faint

et ad hilaritatem et ad tristitiam saepe deducimur; quorum

and to gaiety and to sadness often we-are-led of-which

illa summa vis carminibus est aptior et cantibus,

that highest power for-poems is more-fitting and for-songs

non neglecta, ut mihi videtur, a Numa rege doctissimo

not neglected as to-me it-seems by Numa the-king most-learned

maioribusque nostris, ut epularum sollemnium fides ac tibiae

and-by-the-ancestors our as of-banquets solemn the-lyres and pipes

Saliorumque versus indicant; maxime autem a Graecia vetere

and-of-the-Salii the-verses show most however by Greece old

celebrata. Quibus utinam similibusque de rebus disputari

practiced which would-that and-similar about matters to-be-discussed

quam de puerilibus his verborum translationibus maluissetis!

than about childish these of-words metaphors you-had-preferred

198 Verum ut in versu vulgus, si est peccatum, videt, sic,

but as in a-verse the-crowd if there-is a-fault sees so

si quid in nostra oratione claudicat, sentit; sed poetae

if anything in our speech limps it-feels but to-a-poet

non ignoscit, nobis concedit: taciti tamen omnes non esse

not it-forgives to-us it-indulges silent still all not to-be

illud, quod diximus, aptum perfectumque cernunt. Itaque

that which we-said fitted and-finished perceive and-so

illi veteres, sicut hodie etiam non nullos videmus, cum

those ancients just-as today even not none we-see since

circuitum et quasi orbem verborum conficere non possent,

a-circuit and as-it-were a-circle of-words to-complete not they-could

nam id quidem nuper vel posse vel audere coepimus,

for that indeed lately either to-be-able or to-dare we-have-begun

terna aut bina aut non nulli singula etiam verba dicebant;
three-each or two-each or not none single even words spoke
 qui in illa infantia naturale illud, quod aures hominum
who in that inarticulateness natural that which the-ears of-men
 flagitabant, tenebant tamen, ut et illa essent paria, quae
demanded held still so-that both those might-be equal which
 dicerent, et aequalibus interspirationibus uterentur.
they-said and equal breathing-pauses they-might-use

III.26 • THE LIGHTS OF SPEECH

Crassus has covered the merit of single words, their joining, and rhythm; there remains the cast of the whole, full, spare, or middle, and colored by health rather than by paint. Words and thoughts are shaped almost past counting, but a figure of words dies if the words are changed while a figure of thought survives any wording. He lists the lights of thought: dwelling on a point, vivid narration, digression, irony, and dozens more.

Exposui fere, ut potui, quae maxime ad ornatum
I-have-set-forth roughly as I-could which most to the-adornment
 orationis pertinere arbitrabar. Dixi enim de singulorum
of-speech to-pertain I-thought I-spoke for about of-single
 laude verborum, dixi de coniunctione eorum, dixi de
the-merit of-words I-spoke about the-joining of-them I-spoke about
 numero atque forma; sed si habitum etiam orationis et
rhythm and form but if the-bearing also of-speech and
 quasi colorem aliquem requiritis, est et plena quaedam,
as-it-were a-color some you-ask-for there-is both a-full a-certain
 sed tamen teres, et tenuis, non sine nervis ac viribus, et
but still rounded and slender not without sinews and strength and
 ea, quae particeps utriusque generis quadam mediocritate
that which sharing of-each kind by-a-certain moderateness

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laudatur. His tribus figuris insidere quidam venustatis

is-praised on-these three styles to-sit a-certain of-charm

non fuco inlitus, sed sanguine diffusus debet color.

not with-rouge smeared but with-blood spread ought color

200 Tum denique hic nobis orator ita conformandus est et

then finally this by-us orator so to-be-fashioned is both

verbis et sentiis, ut, quem ad modum qui utuntur armis

in-words and in-thoughts that which to manner who use arms

aut palaestra, non solum sibi vitandi aut ferendi

or wrestling not only for-themselves of-avoiding or of-striking

rationem esse habendam putet, sed etiam, ut cum venustate

a-method to-be to-be-bad think but also that with grace

moveatur, ut ei qui in armorum tractatione versantur,

he-move as those who in of-arms the-handling are-engaged

sic verbis quidem ad aptam compositionem et decentiam,

so words indeed for a-fitting arrangement and seemliness

sentiis vero ad gravitatem orationis utatur. Formantur

thoughts indeed for weight of-speech he-may-use are-shaped

autem et verba et sententiae paene innumerabiliter, quod

however both words and thoughts almost innumerably which

satis scio notum esse vobis; sed inter conformationem

well-enough I-know known to-be to-you but between the-fashioning

verborum et sententiarum hoc interest, quod verborum

of-words and of-thoughts this differs that of-words

tollitur, si verba mutaris, sententiarum permanet,

it-is-removed if the-words you-have-changed of-thoughts it-remains

quibuscumque verbis uti velis.

with-whatever words to-use you-may-wish

201 Quod quidem vos etsi facitis, tamen admonendos puto,

which indeed you although you-do still to-be-reminded I-think

ne quid esse aliud oratoris putetis, quod quidem sit

lest anything to-be other of-an-orator you-think which indeed be

egregium atque mirabile, nisi in singulis verbis illa tria
outstanding and wonderful except in single words those three
 tenere, ut translatis utamur frequenter, interdum factis,
to-bold that transferred we-use often sometimes made
 raro autem etiam pervetustis. In perpetua autem oratione,
rarely however even very-old in continuous however speech
 cum et coniunctionis levitatem et numerorum, quam dixi,
when both of-the-joining the-smoothness and of-rhythms which I-said
 rationem tenuerimus, tum est quasi luminibus distinguenda
the-method we-have-kept then is as-if with-lights to-be-marked
 et frequentanda omnis oratio sententiarum atque verborum.
and to-be-thronged all speech of-thoughts and of-words
 Nam et commoratio una in re permultum movet et 202
for both a-dwelling one on a-point very-much moves and
 inlustris explanatio rerumque, quasi gerantur, sub
a-vivid setting-forth and-of-things as-if they-were-carried-on under
 aspectum paene subiecto; quae et in exponenda re
the-view almost a-placing which both in to-be-set-forth a-matter
 plurimum valent et ad inlustrandum id, quod exponitur,
most avail and for making-vivid that which is-set-forth
 et ad amplificandum; ut eis, qui audient, illud, quod
and for enlarging so-that to-those who will-hear that which
 augebimus, quantum efficere oratio poterit, tantum esse
we-shall-magnify as-much-as to-accomplish speech will-be-able so-much to-be
 videatur; et huic contraria saepe percursio est et plus
it-may-seem and to-this contrary often a-running-through is and more
 ad intellegendum, quam dixeris, significatio et distincte
for understanding than you-have-said a-binting and distinctly
 concisa brevitās et extenuatio et huic adiuncta inlusio
clipped brevity and a-belittling and to-this joined a-mockery
 a praeceptis Caesaris non abhorrens;
from the-precepts of-Caesar not departing

203 et ab re digressio, in qua cum fuerit delectatio,
and from the-subject a-digression in which when there-has-been delight
 tum reditus ad rem aptus et concinnus esse debet;
then a-return to the-subject fitting and neat to-be will-have-to
 propositioque quid sis dicturus et ab eo, quod est
and-a-statement what you-are going-to-say and from that which has-been
 dictum, seiunctio et reditus ad propositum et iteratio
said a-separating and a-return to the-proposition and a-repeating
 et rationis apta conclusio; tum augendi minuendive
and of-the-argument a-fitting rounding-off then of-enlarging or-of-diminishing
 causa veritatis supralatio atque traectio; et rogatio atque
for-the-sake of-the-truth an-overstatement and an-exceeding and a-question and
 huic finitima quasi percontatio expositioque sententiae
to-this neighboring as-it-were an-inquiry and-a-setting-forth of-opinion
 suae; tum illa, quae maxime quasi inreperit in hominum
one's-own then that which most as-it-were creeps into of-men
 mentis, alia dicentis ac significantis dissimulatio;
the-minds other-things of-one-saying and of-one-meaning a-dissembling
 quae est periucunda, cum orationis non contentione, sed
which is very-pleasant when of-speech not with-the-vehemence but
 sermone tractatur; deinde dubitatio, tum distributio,
with-conversation it-is-handled next a-hesitating then a-distributing
 tum correctio vel ante vel postquam dixeris vel cum
then a-correcting either before or after you-have-said or when
 aliquid a te ipso reicias; praemunitio etiam est
something from you yourself you-reject a-fortifying-beforehand also there-is
 ad id, quod adgrediari, et traectio in alium;
for that which you-may-approach and a-transferring onto another
 204 communicatio, quae est quasi cum eis ipsis, apud
a-taking-counsel which is as-it-were with those themselves before
 quos dicas, deliberatio; morum ac vitae imitatio vel
whom you-speak a-deliberating of-character and of-life an-imitating either

in personis vel sine illis, magnum quoddam ornamentum
in persons or without them a-great a-certain ornament
 orationis et aptum ad animos conciliandos vel maxime,
of-speech and fitted for minds to-be-won even most
 saepe autem etiam ad commovendos;
often however even for to-be-stirred
 personarum ficta inductio vel gravissimum lumen augendi; 205
of-persons a-feigned bringing-in even the-weightiest light of-enlarging
 descriptio, erroris inductio, ad hilaritatem impulsio,
a-describing of-error a-leading-into toward mirth a-driving
 anteoccupatio; tum duo illa, quae maxime movent, similitudo
a-forestalling then two those which most move a-likening
 et exemplum; digestio, interpellatio, contentio, reticentia,
and an-example a-sorting-out an-interrupting a-contrasting a-passing-over
 commendatio; vox quaedam libera atque etiam effrenatio
a-commending a-voice a-certain free and even an-unbridling
 augendi causa; iracundia, obiurgatio, promissio, deprecatio,
of-enlarging for-the-sake an-anger a-rebuking a-promising a-pleading-off
 obsecratio, declinatio brevis a proposito, non ut superior illa
an-entreating a-turning-aside brief from the-subject not like the-earlier that
 digressio, purgatio, conciliatio, laesio, optatio atque execratio.
digression an-excusing a-conciliating a-wounding a-wishing and a-cursing
 His fere luminibus inlustrant orationem sententiae.
with-these generally lights light-up speech the-thoughts

The figures of language follow, repetition and climax and antithesis and the rest, listed without definitions because the sun is going down. No one manner suits every case, hearer, speaker, and occasion. Then delivery, which Demosthenes ranked first, second, and third; Aeschines' Rhodian audience learned its worth, and Gracchus drew tears even from his enemies. Orators have left this art to the actors.

206 Orationis autem ipsius tamquam armorum est vel ad
of-speech however itself as-of arms there-is either for
 usum comminatio et quasi petitio vel ad venustatem ipsam
use a-threatening and as-it-were a-thrust or for grace itself
 tractatio. Nam et geminatio verborum habet interdum vim,
a-handling for both a-doubling of-words has sometimes force
 leporem alias, et paulum immutatum verbum atque
charm at-other-times and a-little changed a-word and
 deflexum et eiusdem verbi crebra tum a primo repetitio,
turned-aside and of-the-same word a-frequent now from the-beginning repeating
 tum in extremum conversio et in eadem verba impetus
now at the-end a-turning and onto the-same words an-onset
 et concursio et adiunctio et progressio et eiusdem verbi
and a-clasbing and an-adding and an-advancing and of-the-same word
 crebrius positi quaedam distinctio et revocatio verbi et illa,
rather-often placed a-certain distinguishing and a-recalling of-a-word and those
 quae similiter desinunt aut quae cadunt similiter aut quae
which alike end or which fall alike or which
 paribus paria referuntur aut quae sunt inter se similia.
to-equals equals are-matched or which are among themselves alike

207 Est etiam gradatio quaedam et conversio et verborum
there-is also a-climbing a-certain and a-turning and of-words
 concinna transgressio et contrarium et dissolutum et
a-neat transposing and a-contrary and a-loosened and

declinatio et reprehensio et exclamatio et imminutio
a-turning-aside and a-rebuking and an-exclaiming and a-lessening
 et quod in multis casibus ponitur et quod de
and that-which in many cases is-set and that-which about
 singulis rebus propositis ductum refertur ad singula et
single things proposed drawn is-referred to single-ones and
 ad propositum subiecta ratio et item in distributis
to the-proposition an-appended reason and likewise in distributed-parts
 supposita ratio et permissio et rursum alia dubitatio
a-placed-under reason and a-yielding and again another hesitating
 et improvisum quiddam et dinumeratio et alia correctio
and an-unforeseen something and a-numbering and another correcting
 et dissipatio et continuatum et interruptum et imago
and a-scattering and a-continued and an-interrupted and an-image
 et sibi ipsi responsio et immutatio et diiunctio et
and to-oneself oneself an-answering and a-changing and a-disjoining and
 ordo et relatio et digressio et circumscriptio.

an-ordering and a-referring and a-digressing and a-circumscribing

Haec enim sunt fere atque horum similia vel plura 208
these for are roughly and of-these like or more
 etiam esse possunt, quae sententiis orationem verborumque
even to-be can which by-thoughts speech and-of-words
 conformationibus inluminent.' 'Quae quidem te, Crasse,
by-the-fashionings may-light-up which indeed you Crassus
 video,' inquit Cotta 'quod nota esse nobis putes, sine
I-see said Cotta because known to-be to-us you-think without
 definitionibus et sine exemplis effudisse.' 'Ego vero'
definitions and without examples to-have-poured-out I indeed
 inquit Crassus 'ne illa quidem, quae supra dixi, nova vobis
said Crassus not those even which above I-said new to-you
 esse arbitrabar, sed voluntati vestrum omnium parui.
to-be I-thought but to-the-wish of-you all I-obeyed

209 His autem de rebus sol me ille admonuit, ut
these however about matters the-sun me that warned that
 brevior essem, qui ipse iam praecipitans me quoque haec
briefeŕ I-be which itself now sinking me also these
 praecipitem paene evolvere coegit. Sed tamen huius generis
headlong almost to-unroll has-forced but still of-this kind
 demonstratio est et doctrina ipsa vulgaris; usus autem
the-showing is and the-learning itself common the-practice however
 gravissimus et in hoc toto dicendi studio difficillimus.
weightiest and in this whole of-speaking pursuit most-difficult

210 Quam ob rem quoniam de ornatu omni orationis
which on-account-of thing since about the-adornment all of-speech
 sunt omnes, si non patefacti, at certe commonstrati loci,
are all if not thrown-open yet certainly pointed-out the-topics
 nunc quid aptum sit, hoc est, quid maxime deceat in
now what fitting is that is what most is-becoming in
 oratione, videamus. Quamquam id quidem perspicuum
speech let-us-see although that indeed clear
 est, non omni causae nec auditori neque personae neque
is not to-every case nor to-a-hearer nor to-a-person nor
 tempori congruere orationis unum genus; nam et causae
to-an-occasion to-suit of-speech one kind for both cases
 capitis alium quendam verborum sonum requirunt, alium
of-life another a-certain of-words tone require another
 rerum privatarum atque parvarum;
of-matters private and small

211 et aliud dicendi genus deliberationes, aliud laudationes,
and one of-speaking kind deliberations another eulogies
 aliud iudicia, aliud sermones, aliud consolatio, aliud
another trials another conversations another consolation another
 obiurgatio, aliud disputatio, aliud historia desiderat. Refert
rebuŕe another discussion another history requires it-matters

etiam qui audiant, senatus an populus an iudices: frequentes

also who hear the-senate or the-people or jurors crowded

an pauci an singuli, et quales: ipsique oratores qua

or few or single and of-what-sort and-themselves the-orators of-what

sint aetate, honore, auctoritate, debet videri; tempus,

they-are in-age in-office in-authority ought to-be-seen the-time

pacis an belli, festinationis an otii.

of-peace or of-war of-haste or of-leisure

Itaque hoc loco nihil sane est quod praecipi posse

212

and-so in-this place nothing indeed there-is which to-be-taught to-be-able

videatur, nisi ut figuram orationis plenioris et tenuioris et

may-seem except that the-form of-speech fuller and thinner and

item illius mediocris ad id, quod agemus, accommodatam

likewise of-that middling to that which we-shall-do fitted

deligamus. Ornamentis eisdem uti fere licebit alias

we-choose ornaments the-same to-use generally will-be-allowed at-times

contentius, alias summissius; omnique in re posse

more-forcefully at-times more-quietly and-every in matter to-be-able

quod deceat facere artis et naturae est, scire quid

what is-becoming to-do of-art and of-nature it-is to-know what

quandoque deceat prudentiae.

at-any-time is-becoming of-practical-wisdom

Sed haec omnia perinde sunt, ut aguntur. Actio,

213

but these all just-so are as they-are-delivered delivery

inquam, in dicendo una dominatur; sine hac summus

I-say in speaking alone rules without this the-greatest

orator esse in numero nullo potest, mediocris hac

orator to-be in a-rank none can a-middling by-this

instructus summos saepe superare. Huic primas dedisse

equipped the-greatest often to-surpass to-this the-first-place to-have-given

Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur, quid in dicendo esset

Demosthenes is-said when he-was-asked what in speaking was

primum; huic secundas, huic tertias; quo mihi melius
first to-this the-second to-this the-third wherefore to-me better
 etiam illud ab Aeschine dictum videri solet; qui cum
even that by Aeschines said to-seem is-accustomed who when
 propter ignominiam iudicii cessisset Athenis et se
because-of the-disgrace of-the-verdict he-had-withdrawn from-Athens and himself
 Rhodum contulisset, rogatus a Rhodiis legisse fertur
to-Rhodes had-betaken asked by the-Rhodians to-have-read is-said
 orationem illam egregiam, quam in Ctesiphontem contra
the-speech that excellent which against Ctesiphon opposing
 Demosthenem dixerat; qua perlecta petatum ab eo est
Demosthenes he-had-delivered which read-through asked from him it-was
 postridie, ut legeret illam etiam, quae erat contra ab
on-the-next-day that he-read that also which was on-the-other-side by
 Demosthene pro Ctesiphonte dicta: quam cum suavissima
Demosthenes for Ctesiphon spoken which when with-the-sweetest
 et maxima voce legisset, admirantibus omnibus “quanto”
and greatest voice he-had-read admiring all by-how-much
 inquit “magis miraremini, si audissetis ipsum!” ex quo
he-said more you-would-wonder if you-had-heard the-man-himself from which
 satis significavit, quantum esset in actione, qui orationem
enough he-showed how-much there-was in delivery who a-speech
 eandem aliam fore putarit actore mutato.
the-same another to-be-going-to-be thought with-the-performer changed

214 Quid fuit in Graccho, quem tu melius, Catule, meministi,
what was in Gracchus whom you better Catulus remember
 quod me puero tanto opere ferretur? “Quo me
which with-me a-boy with-so-great with-effort was-talked-of whither myself
 miser conferam? Quo vertam? In Capitoliumne? At
wretched shall-I-betake whither shall-I-turn to the-Capitol-then but
 fratris sanguine madet. An domum? Matremne ut
of-a-brother with-the-blood it-is-drenched or home (my)-mother-then that

miseram lamentantem videam et abiectam?" Quae sic ab
wretched lamenting I-may-see and cast-down which so by
 illo esse acta constabat oculis, voce, gestu,
him to-have-been acted it-was-agreed with-the-eyes with-the-voice with-the-gesture
 inimici ut lacrimas tenere non possent. Haec ideo
(his)-enemies that tears to-hold not could these for-that-reason
 dico pluribus, quod genus hoc totum oratores, qui sunt
I-say at-more-length because kind this whole the-orators who are
 veritatis ipsius actores, reliquerunt; imitatores autem
of-truth itself the-performers have-abandoned the-imitators however
 veritatis, histriones, occupaverunt.

of-truth the-actors have-seized

Ac sine dubio in omni re vincit imitationem veritas, 215
and without doubt in every matter conquers imitation truth
 sed ea si satis in actione efficeret ipsa per sese, arte
but it if enough in delivery accomplished itself through itself art
 profecto non egeremus; verum quia animi permotio,
surely not we-should-need but because of-the-mind the-stirring
 quae maxime aut declaranda aut imitanda est actione,
which chiefly either to-be-shown or to-be-imitated is by-delivery
 perturbata saepe ita est, ut obscuretur ac paene obruatur,
confused often so is that it-is-darkened and almost is-buried
 discutienda sunt ea, quae obscurant, et ea, quae sunt
to-be-scattered are those-things which darken and those which are
 eminentia et prompta, sumenda.
prominent and ready to-be-taken

Every movement of the mind has its own look, tone, and gesture, and the voice, strung like the string of a lyre, answers each touch: anger sharp and cutting, grief broken and tearful, fear low and hesitating, force strained, pleasure easy, vexation heavy and level. Gesture should express the whole thought and not the words, and comes from the wrestling school, not the stage. All is in the face, and in the face the eyes govern.

- 216 *Omnis enim motus animi suum quendam a natura habet*
every for movement of-the-mind its-own a-certain from nature has
vultum et sonum et gestum; corpusque totum hominis et
expression and tone and gesture and-the-body whole of-a-man and
eius omnis vultus omnesque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita
of-him all the-looks and-all the-tones as the-strings on a-lyre so
sonant, ut a motu animi quoque sunt pulsae. Nam
sound as by the-movement of-the-mind each are struck for
voces ut chordae sunt intentae, quae ad quemque tactum
the-tones like strings are stretched which to each touch
respondeant, acuta gravis, cita tarda, magna parva; quas
may-answer high low quick slow loud soft which
tamen inter omnis est suo quoque in genere mediocris,
still among all there-is in-its-own each in kind a-middle
atque etiam illa sunt ab his delapsa plura genera, leve
and also those are from these derived more kinds smooth
asperum, contractum diffusum, continenti spiritu intermisso,
rough contracted spread sustained in-breath interrupted
fractum scissum, flexo sono extenuatum inflatum;
broken split with-a-bent tone thinned swelled
- 217 *nullum est enim horum generum, quod non arte ac*
none is for of-these kinds which not by-art and
moderatione tractetur. Hi sunt actori, ut pictori, expositi
by-control is-handled these are to-an-actor as to-a-painter set-out

ad variandum colores. Aliud enim vocis genus iracundia

for varying the-colors one for of-voice kind anger

sibi sumat, acutum, incitatum, crebro incidens:

for-itself should-take sharp excited frequently cutting-in

ipsus hortatur me frater, ut meos malis miser

himself urges me the-brother that my to-jaws wretched

mandarem natos...

I-should-give-over sons

et ea, quae tu dudum, Antoni, protulisti

and those which you a-while-ago Antonius brought-forward

segregare abs te ausu's...

to-separate from you you-have-dared

et

and

ecquis hoc animadvortet? vincite...

will-anyone this notice bind-(him)

et Atreus fere totus. Aliud miseratio ac maeror, flexibile,

and Atreus almost whole another pity and grief flexible

plenum, interruptum, flebili voce:

full broken with-a-tearful voice

quo nunc me vortam? quod iter incipiam ingredi?

whither now myself shall-I-turn what road shall-I-begin to-enter

domum paternamne? ane ad Peliae filias?

home paternal-then or to of-Pelias the-daughters

et illa

and that

o pater, o patria, o Priami domus!

o father o fatherland o of-Priam house

et quae sequuntur

and what follows

haec omnia videi inflammare,

these all I-saw to-be-set-ablaze

Priamo vi vitam evitarei.

from-Priam by-force life to-be-taken-away

218 aliud metus, demissum et haesitans et abiectum:

another fear lowered and hesitating and downcast

multis sum modis circumventus, morbo, exsilio atque inopia:

in-many I-am ways beset by-disease by-exile and by-want

tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat;

then dread wisdom all from-me terrified drives-from-the-breast

mater terribilem minatur vitae cruciatum et necem,
(my)-mother a-dreadful threatens to-life torment and death
 quae nemo est tam firmo ingenio et tanta confidentia,
which no-one is of-so firm a-nature and of-so-great confidence
 quin refugiat timido sanguen atque exalbescat metu.
but-that flees-back for-the-fearful the-blood and he-pales with-fear

aliud vis, contentum, vehemens, imminens quadam 219
another force strained vehement pressing with-a-certain
 incitatione gravitatis:
urging of-weight

iterum Thyestes Atreum adtractatum advenit,
again Thyestes Atreus to-assail comes
 iterum iam adgreditur me et quietum exsuscitat.
again now he-attacks me and quiet he-rouses
 maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum,
a-greater for-me a-mass a-greater to-be-stirred-up-is an-evil
 qui illius acerbum cor contundam et comprimam.
so-that of-that-man the-bitter heart I-may-crush and I-may-squeeze

aliud voluptas, effusum, lene, tenerum, hilaratum ac
another pleasure poured-out gentle tender cheered and
 remissum:

relaxed

sed sibi cum tetulit coronam ob coligandas nuptias,
but for-himself when he-took a-garland for to-be-bound-together a-marriage
 tibi ferebat, cum simulabat se sibi alacriter dare,
to-you he-was-bringing when he-pretended himself to-himself eagerly to-give
 tum ad te ludibunda docte et delicate detulit.

then to you playful cleverly and daintily she-brought

aliud molestia, sine commiseratione grave quoddam et
another vexation without pity heavy a-certain and
 uno pressu ac sono obductum:

with-one pressure and tone drawn-over

qua tempestate Helenam Paris innuptis iunxit nuptiis,
at-which time Helen Paris in-unwedded joined wedlock
 ego tum gravida, expletis iam fui ad pariendum mensibus;
I then pregnant with-completed already was for bearing months
 per idem tempus Polydorum Hecuba partu postremo parit.

through the-same time Polydorus Hecuba in-birth last bears

220 Omnis autem hos motus subsequi debet gestus, non
all however these movements to-follow ought the-gesture not
 hic verba exprimens scaenicus, sed universam rem et
this the-words expressing stage-like but the-whole matter and
 sententiam non demonstratione, sed significatione declarans,
the-thought not by-pointing but by-suggestion making-clear
 laterum inflexione hac forti ac virili, non ab scaena
of-the-sides with-a-bending this strong and manly not from the-stage

et histrionibus, sed ab armis aut etiam a palaestra;
and from-actors but from arms or even from the-wrestling-school
 manus autem minus arguta, digitis subsequens verba,
the-hand however less expressive with-the-fingers following the-words
 non exprimens; brachium procerius proiectum quasi
not expressing the-arm rather-far thrown-out as-it-were
 quoddam telum orationis; suppositio pedis in contentionibus
a-certain weapon of-speech a-stamping of-the-foot in vehement-passages
 aut incipiendis aut finiendis.
either to-be-begun or to-be-ended

Sed in ore sunt omnia, in eo autem ipso dominatus est omnis 221
but in the-face are all-things in it however itself the-mastery is all
 oculorum; quo melius nostri illi senes, qui personatum
of-the-eyes wherefore better our those elders who masked
 ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant; animi est
not Roscius even with-great with-effort praised of-the-mind is
 enim omnis actio et imago animi vultus, indices oculi:
for all delivery and the-image of-the-mind the-face the-pointers the-eyes
 nam haec est una pars corporis, quae, quot animi motus
for this is one part of-the-body which as-many of-the-mind movements
 sunt, tot significationes possit efficere; neque vero
as-there-are so-many indications can produce and-not indeed
 est quisquam qui eadem conivens efficiat. Theophrastus
is anyone who the-same with-eyes-shut may-produce Theophrastus
 quidem Tauriscum quendam dicit actorem aversum solitum
indeed Tauriscus a-certain says an-actor turned-away accustomed
 esse dicere, qui in agendo contuens aliquid pronuntiaret.
to-have-been to-speak who in acting gazing-at something would-deliver

Qua re oculorum est magna moderatio; nam oris 222
for-which reason of-the-eyes is great the-control for of-the-face
 non est nimium mutanda species, ne aut ad ineptias aut
not is too-much to-be-changed the-look lest either into absurdities or

ad pravitatem aliquam deferamur; oculi sunt, quorum tum
into distortion some we-be-carried the-eyes are of-which now
 intentione, tum remissione, tum coniectu, tum hilaritate
by-the-tightening now by-the-slackening now by-the-glance now by-the-brightness
 motus animorum significemus apte cum genere ipso
the-movements of-minds we-may-signal fitly with the-kind itself
 orationis; est enim actio quasi sermo corporis, quo
of-speech is for delivery as-it-were the-speech of-the-body wherefore
 magis menti congruens esse debet; oculos autem natura
the-more with-the-mind agreeing to-be it-ought the-eyes however nature
 nobis, ut equo aut leoni saetas, caudam, auris, ad
to-us as to-a-horse or to-a-lion the-bristles the-tail the-ears for
 motus animorum declarandos dedit,
the-movements of-minds to-be-shown gave

223 qua re in hac nostra actione secundum vocem vultus
for-which reason in this our delivery next-to the-voice the-face
 valet; is autem oculis gubernatur. Atque in eis omnibus,
prevails it however by-the-eyes is-steered and in those all
 quae sunt actionis, inest quaedam vis a natura data; qua
which are of-delivery is-in a-certain force from nature given for-which
 re etiam hac imperiti, hac vulgus, hac denique barbari
reason even by-this the-unskilled by-this the-crowd by-this in-short foreigners
 maxime commoventur: verba enim neminem movent nisi eum,
most are-moved words for no-one move except him
 qui eiusdem linguae societate coniunctus est, sententiaeque
who of-the-same tongue by-the-fellowship joined is and-thoughts
 saepe acutae non acutorum hominum sensus praetervolant:
often keen not of-keen men the-perceptions fly-past
 actio, quae prae se motum animi fert, omnis movet;
delivery which before itself the-movement of-the-mind carries all moves

isdem enim omnium animi motibus concitantur et eos
by-the-same for of-all the-minds movements are-stirred and them
 isdem notis et in aliis agnoscunt et in se ipsi indicant.
by-the-same signs both in others they-recognize and in themselves they show

III.29 · THE PIPER BEHIND GRACCHUS

The voice holds the largest share in the practice and credit of delivery, and nothing keeps it like frequent change, nothing wears it out like unbroken strain. Gracchus kept a slave behind him with an ivory pipe to sound the note that would rouse him or call him back. Every voice has its middle, and to climb from it by degrees is sweet. Leave the piper at home, Crassus says. Catulus praises Hortensius, and Crassus, agreeing, bids the company rise.

Ad actionis autem usum atque laudem maximam sine 224
for of-delivery however the-practice and the-credit the-greatest without
 dubio partem vox obtinet; quae primum est optanda
doubt part the-voice holds which first is to-be-wisbed-for
 nobis; deinde, quaecumque erit, ea tuenda; de quo
by-us then whatever it-shall-be it to-be-guarded about which
 illud iam nihil ad hoc praecipiendi genus, quem ad modum
that now nothing to this of-teaching kind which to manner
 voci serviatur: equidem tamen magno opere censeo
the-voice may-be-served I-for-my-part still with-great with-effort I-judge
 serviendum; sed illud videtur ab huius nostri sermonis
to-be-served but that seems from of-tbis our discourse
 officio non abhorreere, quod, ut dixi paulo ante, plurimis
the-duty not to-be-alien that as I-said a-little before in-very-many
 in rebus quod maxime est utile, id nescio quo pacto
in matters which most is useful that I-know-not in-what way
 etiam decet maxime. Nam ad vocem obtinendam nihil
also is-becoming most for for the-voice to-be-kept nothing

est utilius quam crebra mutatio; nihil perniciosius quam
is more-useful than frequent change nothing more-ruinous than
 effusa sine intermissione contentio.

poured-out without a-break straining

225 Quid, ad auras nostras et actionis suavitatem quid est
what for the-ears our and of-delivery the-sweetness what is
 vicissitudine et varietate et commutatione aptius? Itaque
than-alternation and than-variety and than-change more-fitting and-so
 idem Gracchus, quod potes audire, Catule, ex Licinio cliente
the-same Gracchus which you-can bear Catulus from Licinius the-client
 tuo, litterato homine, quem servum sibi ille habuit ad
your lettered man whom as-a-slave for-himself he had at
 manum, cum eburneola solitus est habere fistula qui staret
hand with a-little-ivory accustomed was to-have pipe who would-stand
 occulte post ipsum, cum contionaretur, peritum
bidden behind him when he-was-addressing-the-assembly a-skilled
 hominem, qui inflaret celeriter eum sonum, quo illum
man who would-blow quickly that note by-which him
 aut remissum excitaret aut a contentione revocaret.'

either slackened he-would-rouse or from straining he-would-call-back

'Audi me hercule,' inquit Catulus 'et saepe sum admiratus
I-have-heard me by-Hercules said Catulus and often I-have admired
 hominis cum diligentiam tum etiam doctrinam et scientiam.'

of-the-man both the-diligence and also the-learning and the-knowledge

226 'Ego vero,' inquit Crassus 'ac doleo quidem illos viros in
I indeed said Crassus and I-grieve indeed those men into
 eam fraudem in re publica esse delapsos; quamquam
that harm in the-thing public to-have fallen although
 ea tela textitur et ea in civitate ratio vivendi posteritati
such a-web is-woven and such in the-state a-manner of-living to-posterity
 ostenditur, ut eorum civium, quos nostri patres non
is-shown that of-those citizens whom our fathers not

tulerunt, iam similis habere cupiamus.' 'Mitte, obsecro,'

bore now like to-have we-may-desire drop I-beg

inquit 'Crasse,' Iulius 'sermonem istum et te ad Gracchi

said Crassus Julius talk that and yourself to of-Gracchus

fistulam refer; cuius ego nondum plane rationem intellego.'

the-pipe bring-back of-which I not-yet fully the-method understand

'In omni voce' inquit Crassus 'est quiddam medium, sed 227

in every voice said Crassus is something middle but

suum cuique voci: hinc gradatim ascendere vocem et

its-own to-each voice from-here by-degrees to-climb the-voice both

suave est (nam a principio clamare agreste quiddam est),

sweet is for from the-beginning to-shout rustic something is

et idem illud ad firmandam est vocem salutare; deinde

and that-same that for to-be-strengthened is the-voice healthful then

est quiddam contentionis extremum, quod tamen interius

is something of-straining an-utmost which still further-in

est, quam acutissimus clamor, quo te fistula progredi non

is than the-shrillest shout whither you the-pipe to-advance not

sinet, et iam ab ipsa contentione revocabit; est item

will-allow and already from the-very straining will-call-back is likewise

contra quiddam in remissione gravissimum quoque

on-the-other-hand something in the-lowering deepest and-whither

tamquam sonorum gradibus descenditur. Haec varietas et

as-if of-notes by-steps one-descends this variety and

hic per omnis sonos vocis cursus et se tuebitur et

this through all the-notes of-the-voice the-course both itself will-guard and

actioni adferet suavitatem. Sed fistulatorem domi relinquetis,

to-delivery will-bring sweetness but the-piper at-home you-will-leave

sensum huius consuetudinis vobiscum ad forum deferetis.

the-feel of-this practice with-you to the-forum you-will-carry

228 Edidi, quae potui, non ut volui, sed ut me temporis
I-have-delivered what I-could not as I-wished but as me of-time
 angustiae coegerunt; scitum est enim causam conferre in
the-narrowness compelled shrewd it-is for the-blame to-lay on
 tempus, cum adferre plura, si cupias, non queas.' 'Tu
time when to-bring more if you-should-wish not you-could you
 vero' inquit Catulus 'conlegisti omnia, quantum ego possum
indeed said Catulus have-gathered all-things as-far-as I can
 iudicare, ita divinitus, ut non a Graecis sumpsisse, sed eos
to-judge so divinely that not from the-Greeks to-have-taken but them
 ipsos haec docere posse videare; me quidem istius
themselves these-things to-teach to-be-able you-may-seem myself indeed of-that
 sermonis participem factum esse gaudeo; ac vellem
discourse a-sharer having-been-made to-be I-rejoice and I-could-wish
 ut meus gener, sodalis tuus, Hortensius, adfuisset;
that my son-in-law the-comrade your Hortensius had-been-present
 quem quidem ego confido omnibus istis laudibus, quas tu
whom indeed I trust in-all those merits which you
 oratione complexus es, excellentem fore.'

in-(your)-speech embraced have outstanding to-be-going-to-be
 229 Et Crassus 'fore dicis?' inquit, 'ego vero esse iam
and Crassus going-to-be you-say said I indeed to-be already
 iudico et tum iudicavi, cum me consule in senatu
I-judge and then I-judged when with-me consul in the-senate
 causam defendit Africae nuperque etiam magis, cum pro
a-case be-defended of-Africa and-lately even more when for
 Bithyniae rege dixit. Quam ob rem recte vides,
of-Bithynia the-king be-spoke which on-account-of thing rightly you-see
 Catule; nihil enim isti adolescenti neque a natura
Catulus nothing for to-that young-man neither from nature
 neque a doctrina deesse sentio:
nor from learning to-be-lacking I-feel

quo magis est tibi, Cotta, et tibi, Sulpici, vigilandum 230
wherefore the-more it-is for-you Cotta and for-you Sulpicius to-be-watchful
 ac laborandum; non enim ille mediocris orator in vestram
and to-be-industrious not for that a-middling orator into your
 quasi succrescit aetatem, sed et ingenio peracri et studio
as-it-were grows-up generation but both in-talent very-keen and in-zeal
 flagranti et doctrina eximia et memoria singulari; cui
blazing and in-learning exceptional and in-memory singular to-whom
 quamquam faveo, tamen illum aetati suae praestare
although I-am-favorable still him the-generation his-own to-excel
 cupio, vobis vero illum tanto minorem praecurrere vix
I-desire than-you indeed him by-so-much younger to-outrun scarcely
 honestum est.' 'Sed iam surgamus' inquit 'nosque curemus
honorable is but now let-us-rise he-said and-ourselves let-us-tend
 et aliquando ab hac contentione disputationis animos
and at-last from this strain of-discussion the-minds
 nostros curamque laxemus.'
our and-the-care let-us-relax
