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CICERO
ON THE ORATOR
BOOK III
ON FATE
STOIC PARADOXES
DIVISIONS OF ORATORY



Translated by
H. RACKHAM

CICERO

DE ORATORE

江苏工业学院图书馆

PARADOXA STOICORUM
DE PARTITIONE ORATORIA

藏书章

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

H. RACKHAM



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DE ORATORE
BOOK III

M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE ORATORE

DIALOGUS SEU LIBER TERTIUS

1 I. Instituenti mihi, Quinte frater, eum sermonem
referre et mandare huic tertio libro, quem post
Antonii disputationem Crassus habuisset, acerba sane
recordatio veterem animi curam molestiamque re-
novavit. Nam illud immortalitate dignum ingenium,
illa humanitas, illa virtus L. Crassi morte exstincta
subita est vix diebus decem post eum diem qui hoc
2 et superiore libro continetur. Ut enim Romam rediit
extremo scenicorum ludorum die, vehementer com-
motus ea oratione quae ferebatur habita esse in con-
tione a Philippo, quem dixisse constabat videndum
sibi aliud esse consilium, illo senatu se rempublicam
gerere non posse, mane idibus Septembribus et ille et
senatus frequens vocatu Drusi in curiam venit. Ibi
cum Drusus multa de Philippo questus esset, rettulit
ad senatum de illo ipso quod consul in eum ordinem
3 tam graviter in contione esset invecus. Hic, ut
saepe inter homines sapientissimos constare vidi

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR
BOOK THE THIRD

- ¹ I. WHEN I set about recalling and embodying in this Third Volume the discourse of Crassus that followed the remarks made by Antonius, I confess, brother Quintus, that the recollection was painful to me, renewing as it did an old sorrow and distress. For it was little more than a week after the day described in this and the preceding volume when that genius so deserving of immortality, the humane and virtuous Lucius Crassus, was snatched away by sudden death.
- ² Crassus had gone back to Rome on the concluding day of the dramatic festival, feeling deeply stirred by the speech reported to have been delivered at a meeting by Philip, who, it was said, had declared it to be incumbent on him to devise some other plan of action, as it was impossible for him to carry on the government with the present Senate; and on the morning of September 13, at the summons of Drusus he and a crowd of members came to the senate-house, where Drusus, after a long series of complaints against Philip, moved for a vote of the Senate on the definite issue that a consul had in public assembly delivered an extremely violent attack upon their
- ³ order. Hereupon, as I have frequently known men of great accomplishments to agree, although whenever

Introduction : death of Crassus soon after this discussion.

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quanquam hoc Crasso, cum aliquid accuratius dixisset, semper fere contigisset, ut nunquam dixisse melius putaretur, tamen omnium consensu sic esse tum iudicatum, ceteros a Crasso semper omnes, illo autem die etiam ipsum a sese superatum. Deploravit enim casum atque orbitatem senatus, cuius ordinis a consule, qui quasi parens bonus aut tutor fidelis esse deberet, tanquam ab aliquo nefario praedone diriperetur patrimonium dignitatis: neque vero esse mirandum si, cum suis consiliis rempublicam profligasset, consilium senatus a republica repudiaret. Hic cum homini et vehementi et disertio et in primis forti ad resistendum Philippo quasi quasdam verborum faces ammovisset, non tulit ille et graviter exarsit pignoribusque ablatis Crassum instituit coercere. Quo quidem ipso in loco multa a Crasso divinitus dicta esse ferebantur, cum sibi illum consulem esse negaret cui senator ipse non esset: An tu, cum omnem auctoritatem universi ordinis pro pignore putaris eamque in conspectu populi Romani concideris, me his pignoribus existimas posse terreri? Non tibi illa sunt caedenda si Crassum vis coercere: haec tibi est excidenda lingua; qua vel evulsa spiritu ipso libidinem tuam libertas mea refutabit.

* Property seized as security for payment of a fine, or as a pledge to enforce obedience to an order; in the latter case it might be restored on compliance or destroyed as a punishment for refusal. The present seems to be the only known case of its being used or threatened as a punishment for language used in debate.

Crassus delivered a specially prepared oration he almost invariably succeeded in giving the impression that he had never spoken better, nevertheless it was the unanimous verdict now that one who had always surpassed all the rest of the speakers had on this occasion surpassed even himself. He deplored the disaster and the bereavement that had befallen the senatorial order, whose hereditary dignities a consul whose duty it was to be its fostering parent or faithful guardian was plundering like some unprincipled brigand; but that nevertheless it was no matter for wonder if after his own policy had inflicted a disastrous blow on the state he was endeavouring to oust the wisdom of the Senate from the direction of public affairs. Philip was a headstrong person, a fluent orator and one of the most courageous of adversaries; and when Crassus's eloquence had put a match to the tinder, it was more than he could stand: he flared out violently, and took steps to coerce Crassus by seizing a pledge^a from him. At this particular juncture, it was reported, Crassus said a great deal that showed extraordinary sagacity. He protested that a consul who would not recognize him as a member of the Senate was to him no consul at all. "What, when you have reckoned all the authority of our whole order as a forfeited pledge and in the sight of the nation have destroyed it, do you imagine that these pledges can have any terrors for me? If your wish is to coerce Lucius Crassus, it is not those pledges that you have to destroy: you must cut out this tongue of mine—although even when this has been torn from my throat, my breath of itself will serve my liberty for the refutation of your licence."

- 5 II. Permulta tum vehementissima contentione animi, ingenii, virium ab eo dicta esse constabat; sententiamque eam quam senatus frequens secutus est ornatissimis et gravissimis verbis: ' Ut populo Romano satisfaceret, nunquam senatus neque consilium reipublicae neque fidem defuisse,' ab eo dictam; et eundem (id quod in auctoritatibus perscriptis¹ exstat) scribendo adfuisse.
- 6 Illa tanquam cynea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio, quam quasi expectantes post eius interitum veniebamus in curiam ut vestigium illud ipsum in quo ille postremum institisset contueremur; namque tum latus ei dicenti condoluisse sudoremque multum consecutum esse audiebamus; ex quo cum cohorrisset, cum febri domum rediit dieque septimo
- 7 lateris dolore consumptus est. O fallacem hominum spem fragilemque fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones, quae medio in spatio saepe franguntur et corruunt et ante in ipso cursu obruuntur quam portum conspicere potuerunt! Nam quamdiu Crassi fuit ambitionis labore vita districta, tamdiu privatis magis officiis et ingenii laude floruit quam fructu amplitudinis aut reipublicae dignitate: qui autem ei annus primus ab honorum perfunctione aditum omnium concessu ad summam auctoritatem dabat, is eius omnem spem atque omnia vitae consilia morte

¹ v.l. praescriptis.

5 II. This was followed by a great deal more, which was universally admitted to display a superlative energy of spirit, intellect and force; and Crassus moved a resolution expressed in most polished and dignified terms, which was passed by a crowded house: "That the nation should be assured that neither the advice nor the loyalty of the Senate had ever failed to support the state"; and it was said that he personally witnessed the minuting of the resolution, as appears in the list of resolutions recorded.

6 That oration was the swan-song of this inspired genius, the sound of whose voice we almost expected to hear when we used to come into the Senate-house after his death in order to gaze upon the spot on which he had stood for the last time; for while actually speaking on this occasion, we used to be told, he was seized with a violent pain in the side, followed by profuse perspiration; after which he trembled all over, and went back home with a fever, and a week later was carried off by pleurisy. Ah, how treacherous are men's hopes, how insecure their fortunes! How hollow are our endeavours, which often break down and come to grief in the middle of the race, or are shipwrecked in full sail before they have been able to sight the harbour! For throughout all the time that his life was racked by the toils of ambition, Crassus stood higher in point of his private services and his distinguished talents than in regard to the emoluments of high estate or public eminence; but the first year after the completion of his official career, the year which offered him by universal consent access to the highest grade of power, at one stroke overthrew by death all his hopes and all his

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8 pervertit. Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus ; sed ei tamen reipublicae casus secuti sunt ut mihi non erepta L. Crasso a diis immortalibus vita sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiae, non exsilium generi, non acerbissimam C. Mari fugam, non illam post reditum eius caedem omnium crudelissimam, non denique in omni genere deformatam eam civitatem in qua ipse florentissima multum omnibus¹ praestitisset.

9 III. Sed quoniam attigi cogitatione vim varietatemque fortunae, non vagabitur oratio mea longius atque eis fere ipsis definietur viris qui hoc sermone quem referre suscepimus continentur. Quis enim non iure beatam L. Crassi mortem illam, quae est a multis saepe defleta, dixerit cum horum ipsorum sit qui tum cum illo postremum fere collocti sunt eventum recordatus ? Tenemus enim memoria Q. Catulum virum omni laude praestantem, cum sibi non incolumem fortunam sed exsilium et fugam deprecatur, esse coactum ut vita se ipse privaret. Iam
10 M. Antoni, in eis ipsis rostris in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat quaeque censor imperatoriis manubiis ornat, positum caput illud fuit a quo erant multorum civium capita servata ; neque vero longe ab eo C. Iulii caput hospitis Etrusci

¹ *v.l.* omnibus gloria.

^a See Introduction, vol. i. p. xiii.

^b See *ibid.* p. xiv.

8 plans of life. This brought lamentation to his friends, sorrow to his country and regret to all good men ; but the national disasters that followed have been such as to make me feel that the powers above did not rob Lucius Crassus ^a of life but vouchsafed to him the gift of death. He did not see Italy ablaze with war, the Senate inflamed with passion, the leading citizens arraigned for a nefarious crime, his daughter's grief, her husband's exile, the utterly lamentable flight of Gaius Marius, the massacre unparalleled in savagery that followed his return, nor in fine the utter corruption in every respect of a country in which at the period of its supreme prosperity he had himself held by far the highest position.

9 III. But now that I have reached these reflections on the might and mutability of fortune, my discourse shall not roam further, but shall restrict itself for the most part to the actual persons figuring in the dialogue that we have undertaken to record. Many have often deplored the death of Lucius Crassus, but who will not be bound to pronounce it a happy end when he recalls the fate of these very persons who were in conversation with him almost for the last time on this occasion ! It remains in our memory that Quintus Catulus, ^b a man of eminent distinction, prayed to be granted not acquittal but exile and
 10 flight, and then was forced to take his own life. Next Marcus Antonius, on the very platform on which as consul he had most resolutely championed the cause of the state and which as censor he had decorated with the trophies of his military command, laid down the life that had preserved the lives of many men ; and indeed at no great distance from that spot lay the head of Gaius Julius, betrayed by the crime of his

Fate of the
other
characters.

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- scelere proditum cum L. Iulii fratris capite iacuit, ut ille, qui haec non vidit, et vixisse cum republica pariter et cum illa simul extinctus esse videatur. Neque enim propinquum suum, maximi animi virum, P. Crassum suapte interfectum manu neque collegae sui pontificis maximi sanguine simulacrum Vestae respersum esse vidit—cui maerori, qua mente ille in patriam fuit, etiam C. Carbonis inimicissimi hominis
- 11 eodem illo die mors nefaria fuisset; non vidit eorum ipsorum qui tum adolescentes Crasso se dicarant horribiles miserosque casus—ex quibus Cotta, quem ille florentem reliquerat, paucis diebus post mortem Crassi depulsus per invidiam tribunatu, non multis ab eo tempore mensibus eiectus est e civitate; Sulpicius autem, qui in eadem invidiae flamma fuisset, quibuscum privatus coniunctissime vixerat hos in tribunatu spoliare instituit omni dignitate; cui quidem ad summam gloriam eloquentiae florescenti ferro erepta vita est et poena temeritatis non sine magno reipublicae malo constituta.
- 12 Ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore, tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ornatum¹ et extinctum esse arbitror; nam tibi aut pro virtute animi constantiaque tua civilis ferri subeunda fuit crudelitas aut, si qua te fortuna ab atrocitate mortis vindicasset, eadem esse te funerum patriae spectatorem coegisset; neque solum tibi improborum dominatus

¹ v.l. ortum.