The purpose of this paper is not to inventory each and every one of the 850 or so Greek words, phrases, and quotations in Cicero's letters. Apart from the indexes provided in Shackleton Bailey's editions, that has been done, and on the whole well done, at least twice this century, respectively by R.B. Steele and H.J. Rose. But it is nearly a hundred years since Steele did his work. His lexical information and statistics are explicitly based on Stephanus, not in itself a bad thing since the latter was often more vigilant than Liddell and Scott; but Steele did not have the advantages of 20th century progress in Greek lexicography. Rose, for his part, excluded by deliberate policy the Greek of Cicero's correspondents from his register. Hence, enhancement and improvement of some details is possible, and will be provided for the enrichment of word fanciers. My principal aim, however, is to study the deployment of some of this epistolary Greek, to recast the raw statistics of Steele and Rose into more human and individual terms, and to tackle the bigger issues posed but not answered or even much elaborated by predecessors. For easy instance, do Cicero and company use Greek merely to show off their command of that tongue? To what extent is their impulse 'patrii sermonis egestas'? What kind of Greek is it that Romans employ? Was Steele right in concluding that 'we may safely assume that there is little or no originality in the Greek of the Epistles, excepting, perhaps, where Cicero has formed punning Greek adjectives and nouns for the names of men'? Or Rose when he pronounced, 'not a few words are unexampled elsewhere, i.e. formed part of the current vocabulary of his day, for that he should coin them is most unlikely'? Does Cicero deserve the generous compliment bestowed upon him by Horsfall: 'Cicero's love of Greek is beyond question; the Greek in his letters show him a master of elegant contemporary conversational idiom'?

In what follows, the letters to Atticus will not be overlooked. But the main focus is on those to and from Cicero's other friends and to his brother
Quintus. For two pragmatic reasons. The Greek of Cicero’s one-way epistolary traffic to Atticus has been well treated by Shackleton Bailey, not only in his commentary but in two articles,5 the results of which were incorporated into the Supplement to LSJ. And the wider sweep of Ad Familiares provides an obviously better chance to observe the breadth, depth, and dissemination of Greek amongst educated Roman gentlemen of the late Republic.6

At the risk of doing a Queen of Hearts, I preface the analysis with some general and suggestive conclusions. There are around 100 Greek words, phrases, and quotations in Ad Fam., compared with over 700 in Ad Att. Meaningless as it may be, one cannot help noticing the absence of words beginning with β, τ, ξ, or ρ, whilst the only ones beginning with ψ or ο occur in quotations (1 each). Virtually no single words are repeated in Ad Fam., albeit some phrases and quotations are. In Ad Att. there are quite a few more repetitions, but they are still a small proportion of the whole. Cicero, then, does not have a large number of overworked favourites, nor is there much by way of unconscious Greek style into which he keeps slipping. Only a dozen or so words, phrases, and quotations are shared between Ad Fam. and Ad Att. Cicero employs Greek in letters to almost 20 different correspondents, though to very different degrees; he receives letters with Greek in them from about half a dozen people. There is a good deal of Greek in the letters to his brother Quintus, whereas those to Brutus contain but a single word.

Some cognate exordial propositions may also be advanced. Cicero’s outstanding command of Greek is vouchsafed in the narrative and anecdotes of Plutarch’s biography of him.7 Any extra help or polish that he might require was available from two intimate friends. Atticus spoke Greek like a native;8 his own letters may also have provided Cicero with current cant and slang terms from Athens which the orator could and did recycle. The other source of help and inspiration was Tiro. Whatever his origins, his Greek was up to penning Sophoclean verse, and he helped Cicero in various literary ways, from proof reading to poetic inspiration to procuring a suitable Greek ‘librarius’ for his son Marcus.9 For his own part, Cicero was a stylist capable of such comic coinages as ‘Sullaturio’ and ‘proscripturio’, as well as bilingual flourishes along the lines of ‘facteon’ and ‘tocullio’; we can reasonably extend his logodaedaly to straightforward Greek innovations.10

As to the letters themselves. The correspondence between Cicero and Cassius is the most fruitful place to begin. A letter (15.14 = SB 106) from the orator to the future assassin of Caesar written in 51 contains no Greek. Neither do the exchanges between the pair that make up the first dozen letters of Book 12 (10 from Cicero, 2 from Cassius), all written in the period 44–43. Greekless also is 15.15 (SB 174), from Cicero to Cassius in 47.

In the remaining four letters, however, three (15,16–18 = SB 213–15)
being from Cicero and the other (15.19 = SB 216) from Cassius, there is a flurry of Hellenisms. All were composed in December 46 and January 45. The one by Cassius is a reply to two of Cicero's — all in January. It is no coincidence that the pair start to lard their letters to each other with Greek at the very time that Cassius became an adherent of Epicureanism. In the earliest of the quartet, Cicero quietly restricts himself in the opening sentence to a contrast between epistolary levity and seriousness, employing the Greek words φαντασίας and σπούδαζειν, a philosophical commonplace.\(^{11}\) There is no more Hellenic vocabulary in this letter, but the ideological context is made clear when he goes on, 'ubi igitur, inquies, philosophia? tua quidem in culina,\(^{12}\) mea molesta est'.

The novelty and ardour of Cassius' Epicureanism are made clear in 15.16 (SB 215) where Cicero twits him with the words 'neque id κακίς εἰσίν άλλων φαντασίας ut dicunt tui amici novi, quia putat etiam διανοητικάς φαντασίας spectris Catianis excitari'. The first of these Greek phrases is made up of standard Epicurean vocabulary; the second one as such seems unexampled elsewhere.\(^{13}\) Another rarity here is the Latin term 'spectrum', being restricted to the present passage and Cassius' reply. Significantly, it is not a Lucretian word. If Shackleton Bailey is right in supposing that Catius himself coined it, we have a further testimony to the linguistic and intellectual facility of these Roman salons.

Cicero may seem in danger of running his joke into the ground when he goes on with two repetitions of 'eidolon' in as many paragraphs. But in point of fact, one of these may comport a nice contemporary pleasantry. He wonders if an 'eidolon' of Britain 'mihi advolabit ad pectus', should he think of that island. This could allude to previous theories that Britain did not actually exist, a notion perhaps not altogether dispelled by Caesar's excursions there.\(^{14}\)

A contemporary point may also reside in Cicero's double mention in this same letter of the αἵρεσις to which Cassius now belonged. Obviously a Latinism such as 'secta' could have been used. The choice of this particular Greek term might be owed to Varro's Menippean satire περὶ αἵρεσεων.

The related letter 16.17 (SB 214) pokes good natured fun at the newly Epicurean Cassius' questioning of the Stoic precept τὸ καλὸν δι' αὑτοῦ αἵρετόν. It also promises Cassius epistolary πάντα περὶ πάντων, a phrase also found in a short note (12.20 = SB 339) to Cornificius, one that seems to mean 'full amends',\(^{15}\) but it was possibly conditioned by such favourite Lucretian collocations as 'omnia'.\(^{16}\)

In this letter, the range of Cicero's Greek to Cassius is more diverse. A further joke about the latter's beliefs is put in Latin — 'hoc tu pro sapientia tua feres aequo animo'. This has to do with the recent decease of Publius Sulla, nephew of the dictator. Cicero, whose uncongenial client he had been in a law suit, here describes him as a πρόσωπον πόλεως, a strikingly
unusual expression.\(^\text{17}\) Unauthenticated rumours are branded as \(\hat{\aleph}\hat{\delta}\hat{\epsilon}\hat{o}\hat{\sigma}\hat{o}\hat{t}o\hat{i}\), a relatively infrequent idiom\(^\text{18}\) according to \(LSJ\), which (see above) makes it all the more interesting that Plutarch should use it in his \textit{Life of Cicero} (15.3) of a letter to Crassus. Finally, Cassius is advised that his wisest course of action would be to remain \(\hat{\alpha}\hat{\kappa}\hat{e}\nu\hat{o}\hat{n}\hat{o}\hat{s}\hat{o}\hat{p}\hat{o}u\hat{d}o\zeta\). The context is political, the word unusual but a pretty obvious joke on Epicurean ‘ataraxia’ and the like.\(^\text{19}\)

In his rejoinder (15. 19 = SB 216), Cassius shows himself equal to Cicero’s raillery and Græcisms. The light-hearted element is emphasised in his very first sentence: ‘videor enim cum praesente loqui et iocari’. This bears keeping in mind, since such circumstances encourage linguistic amusements and daring or comic coinages. Cassius throws back in the same Greek Cicero’s own quoting of the Stoic maxim that the good is to be chosen for its own sake. He also drops in a pertinent one-liner from Epicurus himself. A sentence is strung together containing the compounds \(\varphi\lambda\lambda\hat{o}\hat{d}o\hat{v}o\hat{i}\), \(\varphi\lambda\hat{o}\hat{\lambda}\chi\hat{a}\hat{l}o\i\), and \(\varphi\lambda\hat{o}\hat{d}\hat{i}\hat{k}a\hat{i}o\i\); Cassius crowns his letter with a joke involving an unparalleled Greek verb: ‘vereor ne nos rustice gladio \(\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\mu\nu\xi\nu\tau\rho\sigma\alpha\iota\)’.\(^\text{20}\)

The individual here ridiculed is Gnaeus, elder son of Pompey the Great, dubbed in Cassius’ previous sentence as ‘stupid and cruel’, also as a thin-skinned fellow who was always worried that he was being laughed at by Cassius and Cicero. No doubt he was. This provides a cue for mentioning his famous father’s distaste for literary matters; there is no Greek in Cicero’s one extant letter (5. 7 = SB 3) to him.\(^\text{21}\)

‘There is a conspicuous date in the history of Roman Epicureanism: the date (46 B.C.) at which Cassius turned Epicurean’. Thus Momigliano,\(^\text{22}\) whose repertoire and analysis of this particular breed remains unsurpassed. A good number of them feature amongst Cicero’s correspondents. This present analysis of how they wrote to each other will serve to enhance Momigliano’s adumbration of a coterie with its shared culture and wit.

One fascinating member of this group was L. Papirius Paetus, a wealthy man of affairs, usually resident in Naples, a possibly pertinent point in the present context; Cicero may have got some Neapolitan Greek \textit{argot} from him. A dozen letters (9. 15–26, variously distributed in SB) survive from the period 50–43; in \textit{Ad Att.} 1. 20 (SB 20), Cicero calls him ‘vir bonus amatorque noster’. Shackleton Bailey well characterizes the tone of these letters as ‘intimate, but nearly always jocular’. About half of them contain some Greek. A reference (9. 16. 4 = SB 190) to Caesar’s collection of \textit{bons mots} may or may not have the word ‘apophthegms’ in Hellenic dress.\(^\text{23}\) At 9. 18. 3 (SB 191), Cicero invites Paetus, ‘veni igitur, si vires, et disce iam \(\pi\rho\alpha\lambda\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\varsigma\), quas quaeris’. Shackleton Bailey, venturing no explanation, says ‘The word is not found thus elsewhere, but that is true of a number of Cicero’s Greek expressions’.\(^\text{24}\) Given the jocular context of gastronomy and puns on words for foods and sauces, along with Cicero’s
carefully and neatly (in context) chosen proverb ‘sus Minervam’, the Greek term suggests a play on the sense of *hors-d’oeuvre* (legal, philosophical, or rhetorical). Gastronomy is also the setting for a standard joke (9. 20–2 = SB 193) about the defeat of ὀψιμαθείς. In the opening to 9. 21 (SB 188), Cicero, again in comic vein, speaks of ‘ἀπότευγμα meum’. Shackleton Bailey is inclined to see ‘*Umgangssprache* in connexion with games or shooting or fighting'; but passages adduced by *LSJ* for the word and its cognates seem rather to suggest a medical or electoral image. 9. 24. 3 (SB 362) contains, yet again in culinary mode, two related nouns in the same sentence, one (συμπόσια) common, the other (σύνδειτον) somewhat less so. Food is also the context for employment (9. 26. 1 = SB 197) of the common technical term ξήτημα.

The one other letter from Cicero to Paetus with Greek in it is 9. 22 (SB 189), his celebrated discussion of Stoic and other notions of obscenity in Latin. It is obviously piquant that an Epicurean should be the recipient of such a light-hearted tract. Apart from a bilingual play on ‘bini’/βινεῖν, Cicero’s examples are all Latin. There seems to be no sign that Roman gentlemen used Greek vulgarities as anglophones often use French ones, e.g. *merde*. However, Cicero chose to sum up the point of his letter in Greek: ὁ σοφός εὐθυρημόνης. The verb in this sense is restricted by *LSJ* to the phrase in question, cited by them as Zeno, *Stoic.1. 22*; it is otherwise adduced only from Plutarch, *Demetr. 22*, in the sense of offhand speaking.

Writing to Cicero (12. 16. 3 = SB 328), Trebonius uses the cognate adjective of the above verb (in the comparative) to describe some Lucilian verses he has recently penned. This passage apart, the word is confined by *LSJ* to Pollux (who also has the adverb) and a Pindar scholiast; adjective and adverb occur in Christian Greek, but not the verb. It may be too daring to establish Trebonius as an Epicurean on this stylistic basis alone, but he clearly shared the literary and philosophical interests of Cicero and Paetus.

In one of his letters to Paetus (9. 26), Cicero describes in a studiedly jocular tone a dinner party he had attended with Atticus at the house of Volumnius Eutrapelus; other guests included that scarlet woman Cytheris, freedwoman of Volumnius, actress, and mistress of Mark Antony. This deipnosophistic narrative helps to confirm the notion that P. Volumnius Eutrapelus belonged to the Epicurean circle. At all events, we have a couple of letters from Cicero to him (7. 32–3 = SB 113, 192). The second one contains no Greek, the first teems with it in a central disquisition on types of humour, an appropriate topic to one nicknamed Eutrapelus, whose letters Cicero commends (7. 32. 3) as ‘valde facetae elegantesque’.

Some of the Greek terms in Cicero’s letter to Volumnius are distinctive. For instance, ἄχριδής, apparently only here and in Eunapius, *VS* 457, where Giangrande wrongly designates it as a *hapax*. Likewise ἄμφιβολος,
confined in this sense of double entendre\textsuperscript{32} to Cicero and Philostratus, \textit{VS} 609. The only Graecism in this epistle not discussed by Shackleton Bailey is $\varepsilon\nu\tau\varepsilon\chi\nu\alpha$, though \textit{LSJ} adduce only Plato and Aristotle.\textsuperscript{33} Finally, $\pi\alpha\rho\digamma\chi\rho\omicron\varphi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha$ (if it is the right reading\textsuperscript{34}) seems unique in the sense of ‘pun’.

This is a letter about oratory and wit, not Epicureanism. Volumnius is clearly well versed in Greek terminology for such matters. He may have owed some of his expertise to Atticus, who had helped him and whose life in turn he had saved.\textsuperscript{35} Volumnius was an accomplished epistolographer — ‘iucundus est mihi sermo litterarum tuarum’, observes Cicero — and it is a pity that no specimen of his letters survives.

Another adherent was the lawyer C. Trebatius Testa,\textsuperscript{36} to whom 17 letters (7. 6–22 = \textit{SB} 27–39, 331–4) from Cicero survive. His conversion may have been transitory or a very thin veneer. Cicero’s letters to him contain very little Greek. They are, however, larded with quotations from early Roman literature (especially Ennius), implying that Trebatius was a fan of such stuff. His literary tastes are later confirmed by Horace’s satire (2. 1) to him.

On the other hand, the few Graecisms are suggestive. In the opening of 7. 16 (\textit{SB} 32), Trebatius is described as an unenthusiastic $\varphi\lambda\iota\omicron\delta\theta\omicron\varphi\omicron\rho\omicron$, apparently unique here in the sense of sightseer.\textsuperscript{37} This might suggest an air of ‘ataraxia’, especially as there is a jokey allusion later in the same letter to Stoic views on the free pleasures of earth and sky. When Cicero rallies Trebatius (7. 12. 2 = \textit{SB} 35) for (in his first flush of conversion) telling people $\pi\omicron\alpha\tau\iota\nu\tau\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, we are bound to recall \textit{Ad Att.} 14. 20 (\textit{SB} 374), ‘Epicuri mentionem facis et audes dicere $\mu\eta$ $\pi\omicron\alpha\tau\iota\nu\tau\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$’. In 7. 20 (\textit{SB} 333) Sextus Fadius’ monograph $\Nu\iota\kappa\omega\nu\omicron\zeta$ $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron\phi\alpha\gamma\iota\varsigma$ might have comported Epicurean sentiment.\textsuperscript{38}

It is not always clear whether Cicero’s letters to M. Gallus are to Fabius or Fadius.\textsuperscript{39} But the recipient of 7. 26 (\textit{SB} 210) has his philosophical sympathies clearly designated: ‘Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiant’. This letter contains a welter of medical terminology, including what is apparently a direct quotation from Epicurus himself.\textsuperscript{40} It also has the term $\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\iota\nu\tau\alpha$, usually (outside this passage and one in Diodorus Siculus) found in philosophical authors. At 7. 23. 3 (\textit{SB} 209), Cicero probably wrote ‘trapezophorum’ as a Latin rather than a Greek word; he would seem to be the first to use it in either language.\textsuperscript{41} Perhaps he wanted to dazzle the art connoisseur Gallus with his own expertise. The choice of the expression $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\varphi\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\nu$ (7. 25. 1 = \textit{SB} 261) is more than mechanical; it suits the Sardinian pedigree of Tigellius who is here under discussion.

Momigliano hesitantly ascribed Epicurean tendencies to Dolabella on the basis of Cicero’s remark in one of his letters to Volumnius (7. 33. 2 = \textit{SB} 192) that he and Cassius ‘studii iisdem tenentur’. It may be hard to believe that that rascal’s interest in anything intellectual ran very
deep. But Momigliano could have enhanced his notion by appealing to another letter (9. 10 = SB 217), from Cicero to Dolabella himself. It was written in late December 46 or January 45, around the time (see earlier) that Cassius converted to Epicureanism, and contains a number of Greek words and phrases. Most striking in the present connection would be the witty and unusual σοφίς πεπτική, alluding to a banquet of mushrooms and giant prawns. This naturally suits an Epicurean ambience, as does Cicero’s conclusion to this letter with its postscript of political news: ‘ego animo aequo fero’. Another allusion to the coterie may be seen in the word συμβωτήν.

This seems irresistibly the right place to attach Cicero’s letter (13. 1 = SB 63) to C. Memmius in Athens, begging him not to pull down and build upon the site of an old house once belonging to Epicurus, with the followers of whom he is said to be at loggerheads. This Memmius is generally equated with Lucretius’ dedicatee. On the consequent irony, Shackleton Bailey cannot be improved upon: ‘he must have changed his views, or else Lucretius was sadly mistaken in him’. Still, Cicero trusts him to appreciate the term ὑποψιματσμόν in application to Areopagite decrees, a word used in the same connection in Ad Att. 5. 11 (SB 104), but elsewhere (on the evidence of LSJ) restricted to inscriptions. Athens was obviously the right place to be to improve one’s knowledge of this kind of Greek technical term.

Despite the recent publication of Lucretius’ De Rerum Natura, these Roman Epicureans by and large imbibed their beliefs from the master himself as well as from their contemporary Philodemus. Cicero and Cassius despised the rough style (unfairly making no allowance for ‘patrii sermonis egestas’) of the first Latin pundits, Amafinius and Catius. Lucretius himself must have been read, but he is never quoted in any of these Epicurean exchanges. Among the salons and Epicurean votaries, a knowledge of Greek was indispensable, and its use in the letters of Cicero and his correspondents is rarely gratuitous.

A number of Cicero’s letters to other Roman acquaintances contain Greek; in some cases it is reciprocated. Thirteen letters to Appius Claudius Pulcher constitute Book 3 of Ad Fam. (SB 64–76). They deal largely with Cilicia, where Appius had preceded Cicero as governor. Most of what little Greek there is in this dossier is crowded together near the end of 3. 7 (SB 71), with the obvious purpose of smoothing and disarming Appius’ reactions to Cicero’s careful but palpable reproaches about the state of their relationship at the time. Apart from paying Appius the compliment of an Homeric comparison (Il. 1. 174 is quoted), two or three Greek words are used: the unexceptionable εὐγένεια, the adjective φιλαύτος, which he employs more than once elsewhere, and perhaps εξοχή in the figurative sense of ‘eminence’, apparently restricted to Cicero.
In the opening section of the first letter to Appius (SB 64), Cicero is angling for the gift of a statue of Minerva from the former’s notable art collection. If he gets it, he pledges that (as it is printed in most editions) ‘non solum Pallada sed etiam Appiada nominabo’. Shackleton Bailey, however, in an elaborate note, makes out a good case for the jocular Graecisms Πολιάδα and 'Αππιάδα. The argument may be enhanced by context (as above, Cicero is using Greek in an emollient request), and by detecting a pun on the rare noun ἄππαξ which denotes a religious official.50

In separate letters (13. 53, 67 = SB 130, 296) to the provincial administrators Thermus and Servilius, Cicero drops the technical Greek term for an assize district, διοίκησις; any Roman official in the East would know this word, a much commoner one than LSJ imply.51

A lengthy letter to Servius Sulpicius (4. 4 = SB 203) makes rather heavy weather in its opening of a joke on false modesty, using the verb ἐφονεύεσθαι in both its infinitive form and as a participle in the same sentence. It is a common enough word in philosophical Greek, and there seems no particular need to see an allusion to Aristotle.52

The succinct style of Decimus Brutus is termed λαξιωνισμόν in 11. 25. 2 (SB 420), an apparently unique sense of the word, though clearly developed from its use in related meanings by Xenophon.53 Another relatively infrequent word addressed to this Brutus is σκιασάχα (11. 14. 1 = SB 413). Cicero’s figurative use has few parallels in LSJ, and Rose credited him with its origin. But should innovation or influence be sought in Varro’s satire of that title?

In all the letters to Marcus Brutus, there is only one Greek word,54 ἐμφατικάτερον (13. 1), missed by Rose and illustrated only from Hesychius by LSJ. The word actually recurs in Aulus Gellius 13. 29. 4, suggestively also in the context of Roman style and accompanied by a part of the verb ‘dicere’. One might perhaps have expected more Greek in these letters, suitable quotations from Homer, tragedians, and philosophers, if nothing else. At first blush, its lack might seem consonant with Syme’s judgement on Brutus (The Roman Revolution 57): ‘Yet it is in no way evident that the nature of Brutus would have been very different had he never opened a book of Stoic or Academic philosophy ... Hellenic culture does not explain Cato; and the “virtus” about which Brutus composed a volume was a Roman quality, not an alien importation’. However, on the evidence of Plutarch (Brut. 2. 5–8; 23. 5–6), Brutus was in his element trading impromptu Homeric tags, whilst his ‘remarkable’ letters were (like those of Decimus Brutus) notable for their effectively laconic style. Perhaps for once Cicero was in some awe of another Roman’s command of Greek, and so rationed his Hellenisms to avoid being outdone.

In a letter to Caelius Rufus (2. 13 = SB 93), a certain Phania is dubbed κωμικὸς μάρτυς for confirming Cicero’s benevolent feelings for Appius Pul-
cher. There seems to be no precise equivalent for the idiom. Cicero's qualifying 'ut opinor' might betoken a neologism or boldness of expression. Given the frequency of 'comicus' in similar turns of phrase, might this be a case of Greek influenced by Latin? Or a piece of local patois from Laodicea, where the letter was written? In 2. 8 (SB 80), written from Athens, Cicero includes the epithet πολυωκάτερον in a compliment to Caelius' political shrewdness. For his part, Caelius (8. 3 = SB 79) concludes one letter with a couple of unremarkable Greek terms.

The businessman Manius Curius, in his one extant letter (7. 29 = SB 264), opens with a smart (in context) contrast, χρήσε μὲν ... κτήσα: δὲ, a common juxtaposition, according to Shackleton Bailey, though he offers no actual examples. One possibly relevant example is in Plato, Menex. 238b — not that a literary inspiration is necessary. On Cicero's own evidence, Curius was an urbane fellow, whose style was his own — Shackleton Bailey well emphasizes the high degree of colloquialism in his Latin. In his three surviving letters to Curius, Cicero uses no Greek.

Finally, letters to various people who played a special role in Cicero's life and emotions. A short letter of reference (13. 15 = SB 317) to Julius Caesar on behalf of the son of a mutual friend, Praecilius, is crammed with Greek quotations: two from the Ῥιάδ, three from the Οδυσσεία, and a tag common to both; also a fragment of Euripides. As remarked before, Cicero is far more sparing with Greek literature quotations in Ad Fam. than in Ad Att. This one letter contains a very high proportion of them.

It was composed not long after the death of Tullia. Everybody quotes Tyrrell and Purser to the effect that 'it has a strained and unnatural tone of gaiety'. Rightly so, but Shackleton Bailey's suggested political nuances in the choice of quotations are cogent. Especially in view of the way in which Cicero ends this letter: 'genere novo sum litterarum ad te usus, ut intellegeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem'. None of the other letters of recommendation in the collection is written in this style; they contain no Greek quotations of any sort. The note to Caesar was evidently a 'one-off'.

Rose felt that 'we may assume that a passage of plain Greek written by Cicero, and one written, for example, by his old tutor, Antonius Molon of Rhodes, would differ only in an almost imperceptible degree'. Now, Apollonius Molon of Rhodes was the teacher of both Caesar and Cicero, a point emphasized by Plutarch. He may have left a permanent impression upon their Greek, favourite quotations as well as how to compose in it. Caesar's literary skills and interests are well known from Suetonius (Jul. 55–6). A tragedy on the theme of Oedipus stands out here, whichever language it may have been written in. No Homeric quotations are ascribed to Caesar in the biographies, but he did like to quote Euripides, Phoen. 524–5. It is hardly surprising to find a fair amount of Greek in Cicero's 8 ex-
tant letters (9.1–8 = SB 175–81, 254) to the scholarly Terentius Varro. Its deployment may help to cast more light on the nature of their relationship, a matter of some debate.63 One quite jolly note (9. 7 = SB 178), replete with comic self-deprecation on Cicero’s part, contains a tag from the Iliad, a tragic line of unknown authorship to the effect that pupils often outstrip their masters (here applied to himself and Dolabella), and the Stoic term ἀμπεξομημένον, used along with a line from Ennius to describe recent military news from Africa. The ten lines that make up 9. 4 (SB 180) contain about half a dozen Greek words and phrases, all technical terms from and about the sages Chrysippus and Diodorus. As Shackleton Bailey (ad loc.) says, ‘this badinage is, of course, a compliment to Varro’s expertise in Greek philosophy’. Another letter (9. 2. 3 = SB 177) has the adverb ἔληθότως in the same casual vein as in Ad Att. 6. 5 (119), whilst the proverb ‘owls to Athens’ which closes 9. 3 (SB 176) is also found in letters to Torquatus (6. 3 = SB 243) and Quintus Cicero (2. 16. 4). All in all, the ways in which Cicero uses Greek in his letters to Varro are not to the slightest degree consonant with Reid’s view (quoted with approval in the Loeb edition 2, 185) of a ‘cold, forced, and artificial’ correspondence.

About a quarter of the 26 letters to Tiro that make up the final book of Ad Fam. (SB 40–4, 120–7, 143, 146–7, 184–6, 219–20, 330, 337–8, 350–2) contain some Greek.64 Expressing concern (16. 4. 1 = SB 123) over the regimen of soup prescribed by his doctor for the freedman’s digestive problems, Cicero uses the adjective χασοπτόμαχος, elsewhere in this sense65 only in the medical writer Aetius. Another letter (16. 17 = SB 186) that is partly concerned with Tiro’s health has a very rare verb,66 and adjective67 in an uncommon sense, and a jocular application of the term χασών. Yet another screed on the same subject (16. 18 = SB 219) comports διαφόρους in the rare68 sense of evaporation or perspiration, also a list of 6 things that make for healthy living. Apart from a couple of unexampled terms (ἅκοσία and εὐλαυσία), it is interesting that 2 of the others (τρίψις and περίπατος) turn up in Plutarch’s description of Cicero’s own physical regimen.69 Tiro had learned the hard way about health and medicine; Cicero’s use of the Greek technical vocabulary is not at all gratuitous. The freedman was also well placed to appreciate the Euripidean fragment about cold being the bitterest foe of a tender skin, quoted at the end of a letter (16. 8 = SB 47) to him from Quintus Cicero. As Shackleton Bailey quips, ‘presumably Quintus knew that Tiro had a sense of humour’.70

There is no Greek in Quintus’ other two letters to Tiro (16. 26–7 = SB 351–2), nor in his letter to his brother (16. 16 = SB 44) concerning the freedman. But there is a good deal in Marcus’ letters to Quintus, two of which (2. 4. 3; 2. 15. 3) disclose at least one cant Hellenic term71 flourished by the latter. Given the number of words and phrases to be considered, simple tabulation will be the most economical demonstration.72
1. 2. 1. The Homeric Polyphemus’ description of Odysseus’ looks (Od. 9. 513) is facetiously applied to Quintus’ freedman and amanuensis, Statius. The tag is dropped in, *en passant*, without preamble; Quintus was expected to recognize it.

1. 2. 3. According to *LSJ*, Cicero’s use here of the adverb ἀφελῶς in the sense of ‘naively’ is unique. The Loeb edition translation follows this. Cicero also uses the word in *Ad Att.* 6. 1. 8 (SB 115) and 6. 7. 1 (SB 120); in both places, Shackleton Bailey translates ‘sans arrière pensée’.

1. 2. 13. Cicero reproaches Quintus for using in his letter expressions that were ‘graviora quam vellem’, citing ὅρθαν τὰν ναῦν and ἡπαξ θαυμᾶν. The first is proverbial. Glynn Williams in his Loeb edition sees Aeschylus, *PV* 769, as the inspiration for the second one; Homer, *Od.* 12. 22, 350 are also possible. It is not clear whether Quintus himself had used these phrases or if they are Cicero’s comical Greek equivalents or comments on some Latin expressions employed by his brother.

2. 3. 6. In describing his defence of Bestia, Cicero wrote ‘ hic προφονομησάμην’. According to *LSJ* and Rose, this middle form is without parallel; How in his commentary73 dubs it Hellenistic, giving no examples.

2. 9. 1. ‘Non mehercule quisquam μουσοπάταχτος libentius sua recentia poemata legit, quam ego te audio’. Given the jocular vein, Cicero may reasonably be thought to have coined this *hapax*. Quintus would not have had any trouble seeing its humorous point.74 A couple of sentences later, Cicero calls the health of his son a cause of delay that was ἄναντικεκτον, a word not found before this passage, and only rarely in later Greek.

2. 14. 5. Cicero rounds off this letter by quoting Euripides, *Suppl.* 119, ‘Such is the havoc caused by woeful war’, to describe his recent speeches in senatorial debates; Quintus again is expected to recognise the tag.

2. 15. 2. Cicero commends, perhaps not without a touch of irony, Quintus for his short letter, written πραγματικῶς. This adverbial sense of businesslike is unique to the present passage according to *LSJ* who also accord Cicero priority in several uses of the cognate adjective in both its Greek and Latin forms.

2. 16. 5. Cicero rather worriedly asks Quintus what Caesar thought about some verses he had written, mentioning that the latter had previously criticized others as ᾧπθυμότερα, i.e. slipshod. Rose calls this an Atticism, but *LSJ* confine it to this passage. The term is Caesar’s, as Cicero’s own gloss, ‘hoc enim utitur verbo’, makes clear. An interesting glimpse of Caesar as literary critic, and of his bilingual expertise (‘sic ut neget se ne Graecae quidem meliora legisse’).

In this same passage, Cicero goes on to ask Quintus to tell him the truth about Caesar’s literary reactions, φιλαληθῶς, as a brother should. *LSJ* give no other example of the adverb in this sense of ‘frankly’; Rose calls it Hellenistic. Interestingly, in view of the earlier discussion, the cognate
adjective (on the evidence of LSJ) has a distinctly Epicurean tinge, being used to describe the sect by Diogenes Laertius 1. 17 and also something of a favourite with Philodemus.

3. 1. 18. In telling Quintus that he has no δευτέρας φροντίδας about Caesar, Cicero might be alluding to Euripides, Hipp. 436, where the phrase occurs. If so, the casual allusion75 is another implied tribute to Quintus’ knowledge of Greek literature. Later on (23) in the same letter, however, he is not trusted to pick up a tag from Epicharmus; Cicero prefaces it with the author’s name. Then in the next section, he casually drops in ἐμβόλιον, seemingly unique in the sense of ‘interlude’.76

3. 4. 6. Cicero’s description of Scaevola as Ἀρη πνεόν may be a conscious allusion to Aeschylus, Ag. 375–6, τὸν Ἀρη πνεόντων.

3. 5. 4. 8. Homer is jokingly quoted in the contexts of Cicero’s political weariness, the recent rainstorms and floods in Rome, and the acquittal of Gabinius.77

3. 7. 1. τὸτε μοι χάνων, observes Cicero drily, again in connection with Gabinius. He assumes Quintus will recognize the Homeric tag. Given Virgil’s ‘sed mihi vel tellus optem prius dehiscat’ (Aen. 4. 24), it looks (predictably enough) as though it was a familiar one amongst educated Romans.

Cicero goes on in this same letter to quote Iliad 8. 355, ‘And now he is mad beyond endurance’, to describe Milo’s alarm over the cost of the games he was planning to give. It is a modern commonplace to call Homer the Bible of the Greeks, but Cicero’s use of him is one of many things that make Shakespeare a better point of comparison.

Still in the same epistle, Gabinius attracts yet one more Graecism, the Thucydidean and tragic phrase ἐν παρέργῳ, whilst a just completed long letter to Caesar is smilingly called an ἔπος, and a certain Felix whose mistake over his own will seems to have cost Cicero an inheritance is dismissed with the Aristophanic ἄλλ’ ὀμωξεῖτω.

Cicero’s letters disclose a good deal about the Hellenic expertise of both brothers. Quintus was not only a good correspondent (as Marcus frequently confirms), but an indefatigable littérateur. His brother does not disbelieve a claim (3. 5. 7) that he wrote 4 tragedies in 16 days, though one does wonder about the possible extent of borrowings from others in such rushed productions. It is unclear whether these plays were in Greek or Latin, or indeed (in the latter case) if they were originals or translations. His apparently separate Greek and Latin libraries (3. 4. 5) may be unusual.78

Cicero’s wife Terentia makes an agreeable end to this investigation. Of the 24 letters written to her and his family (together they make up book 14 of Ad Fam.), only one (14. 7 = SB 155) contains any Greek. It is the unremarkable snippet χολὴν ἄφρατον, used in the opening paragraph to describe his bout of bad health, not hers or Tullia’s. Shackleton Bailey
remarks that ‘as often, Cicero uses Greek in a medical context’. True, of course. It should, however, be added that nowhere else does Cicero employ Greek in his letters to Terentia, who is presumed capable of understanding this particular phrase. This is especially noteworthy, since most of his letters to her raise the question of her and Tullia’s health. Did he have no confidence in her command of Greek, not even basic medical or pharmaceutical terms which one might expect a Roman mother to know? Or was it protocol amongst Roman gentlemen to avoid foreign expressions in letters to their womanfolk? And why is this one particular phrase admitted? Perhaps it was intended as a kindly bowdlerisation, to spare Terentia’s sensibilities. Vomiting bile is not the pleasantest of topics. Cicero rushes on in the same sentence to conclude his account with the euphemistic ‘nocte eieci’. 79

No elaborate finale is called for. The above enquiry has provided statistics and offered suggestions, if not always conclusions. A precise and all-embracing result is not possible. On balance, the deployment of Greek in Cicero’s letters to and from his friends and brother may partly confirm and partly temper Horsfall’s somewhat downbeat view of Roman knowledge of Greek and Greek literature, especially poetry. At all events, one is left with the feeling that Cicero was not the only Roman who would have agreed with Samuel Johnson: ‘Greek, Sir, is like lace; every man gets as much of it as he can’. 80

Notes


3. ‘The Greek of Cicero,’ JHS 41 (1921) 91–116. Before Steele, there were a couple of 19th century dissertations, in Latin and now not easy to obtain: R. Bolzenthal, De graeci sermonis proprietatibus quae in Ciceronis epistolis inventantur, Küstrin 1884; J. Font, De Cicerone graeca verba usurpante, Paris 1894. For remarks on these, and the handling of his Greek by Cicero’s earlier editors, cf. Rose, art. cit. p. 91.

4. N. Horsfall, ‘Doctus Sermones Utriusque Linguae,’ EMC/CV 23 (1979) 79–95, a characteristically incisive study; see p. 84 for the quoted remark.


6. On which topic at large, see Horsfall, art. cit.

7. In particular, Cic. 4. 6–7.

8. Nepos, Att. 4.

9. For discussion and references, see S. Treggiari, Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic, Oxford 1969, 1, 262.

10. Ad Att. 9. 10. 6 (SB 177); Ad Att. 1. 16. 13 (SB 16); Ad Att. 2. 1. 12 (SB 21).

Here, and in the balance of this paper, Cicero’s letters will go by their traditional
sequence, with cross reference to Shackleton Bailey’s numbering where expedient. Regarding ‘tocullio’, Shackleton Bailey wonders if this is not so much a hybrid as straight Latinisation of Greek τοκυλλίων. Either way, it illustrates Cicero’s verbal élan.

11. LSJ furnish countless examples of this sort of thing. Also, if Shackleton Bailey was right to gloss σπουδάζειν as ‘de re publica scribere’, then Cicero can be seen as selecting a Greek word in order to save several in Latin. Regarding φλάσαρον, it is interesting to see this word turn up in a similar sequence, also comporting a ‘phasma’ and a related quotation from Plato’s Republic, in Plutarch, Cic. 2. 1–3. One or two other such concordances will be reported later. Do they betoken familiarity with Ad Fam. on Plutarch’s part? The possibility is not canvassed in the relevant discussions of Shackleton Bailey (1. 24) or C.P. Jones, Plutarch and Rome, Oxford 1971, 82–7.

12. Or ‘iucunda’; see Shackleton Bailey’s note on the history of this textual crux.

13. At least, it is the only passage cited by LSJ. The rarity, unacknowledged by Shackleton Bailey, may well be a statistical freak.

14. Plutarch, Caes. 23. 2–3. One thinks of the many Americans who for years refused to believe in Russian Sputniks, or for that matter in America’s own moon landings.


16. Many examples of this and similar juxtapositions are on display in L. Roberts, A Concordance Of Lucretius, Berkeley 1968.

17. Albeit not remarked as such by Shackleton Bailey; LSJ register the idiom only from this passage.

18. The word is omitted from Rose’s inventory.

19. Marcus Aurelius, Medit. 1. 6, acknowledges it to be a virtue he learned from Diogenetus. LSJ otherwise cite the word only from Antipater of Tarsus, Steic. 3. 254. The rarity of Cicero’s term is noted neither by Shackleton Bailey nor by R.B. Rutherford, The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius: A Study, Oxford 1989, 90. At Ad Att. 9. 1. 1., Cicero uses the opposite term κενόςποιός, on which see Shackleton Bailey’s note (the letter is 167 in his edition), also his aforementioned article in CQ 12 (1962) 162–3.

20. Despite his stated intention to exclude the Greek of Cicero’s correspondents, Rose listed all of these, as well as the hapax ἄνωνυχτηρίζω (see below), crediting it to Cicero. It is just possible that Cassius’ coinage (if it was) was playfully inspired by colloquial usage of the Latin ‘emungere’.

21. As Syme, The Roman Revolution, Oxford 1939, 137, remarked, ‘A common taste for literature, to which Pompeius was notoriously alien, might (sc. amongst many things) have brought Cicero and Caesar together’. As will be seen, a letter from Cicero to Caesar pullulates with quotations from Greek literature.


23. Shackleton Bailey printed the word as Latin, leaving the matter open in his note. Others (e.g. Glynn Williams in his Loeb edition) have it in Greek form. Neither Lewis & Short nor the OLD acknowledge it as a Latinism. Suetonius’ reference to ‘dicta collectanea’ may suggest a Latin title.

24. Another word missed by Rose.


26. Elsewhere only in Plato’s Symposium and fragments of Aristophanes and Lysias.

27. Shackleton Bailey plausibly guesses Antony to be their target.

28. Cf. Lampe’s Patristic Greek Lexicon for examples; adjective and verb earn an entry in the Suda (E 3521 Adler).
29. Which would add him to Momigliano's gallery; Shackleton Bailey seems not to include him amongst Cicero's Epicurean acquaintances.

30. Tentatively held by Momigliano and Shackleton Bailey on the basis of Cicero's letter (7. 32 = SB 113) to him. The disapproving anecdote told about him by Horace (Ep. 1. 18. 31 f.) reinforces the idea. Volumnius got too short shrift in Syme's Roman Revolution, winning only two desultory references (195, 252) that say nothing about his Greek or Epicurean interests.


32. Again, no hint of infrequency in Shackleton Bailey.

33. See Lampe for its patristic history.

34. Shackleton Bailey, following L. Whibley in CR 37 (1923) 164, was tempted to emend to παρὰ γράμμα. The noun in the sense of pun made its debut in the Supplement to LSJ. Rose absurdly calls it Aristotelian, blurring its nuances of meaning; LSJ, anyway, adduce only Demosthenes and Aeneas Tacticus.

35. Nepos, Att. 9–10. Momigliano noted only Volumnius' saving of Atticus' life.

36. If one agrees with Momigliano and Shackleton Bailey that his conversion to Epicureanism in 7. 12. 1 (SB 35) is genuine and not just a Ciceronian joke as some have thought (e.g. C. Sonnet in his PW notice). As both observe, it is suggestive that the news came from Pansa, a fellow sectarian.

37. A fact not remarked by Shackleton Bailey; Rose blithely called the epithet Hellenistic.

38. Which is not to deny Shackleton Bailey's equation of Nico with the doctor mentioned by Celsus and Herennius Philo, a supposition helped by Cicero's next words, 'O medicum suavem!'

39. See Shackleton Bailey's note on 2. 14 (SB 89); Momigliano referred to him as Fadius Gallus, under the influence of earlier editors.

40. Shackleton Bailey prints στραγγωματα και δουκεντερια παθη. Glynn Williams has δουοεμασι as the first word, but still translates as 'strangury;' neither editor acknowledges any textual issue. LSJ adduce this passage as the only incidence of δουοεμακον, but dismiss it as a false reading, and it was not read by Steele or Rose.

41. Shackleton Bailey treats it as a Latin word, without comment. So does the OLD. It is not in Rose's register. LSJ and Lewis & Short treat it as a Ciceronian Graecism; so does Glynn Williams in the Loeb edition. Subsequent examples occur in Pollux 10. 69 and Digest 33. 10. 3.

42. If, of course, this is what Cicero wrote. The phrase is a conjecture by Tyrrell, one of many. It is adopted by Glynn Williams, ignored by Shackleton Bailey who prints 'sophia' as a Latin word and dismisses the rest as hopeless. It is pretty clear that Cicero is making some sort of joke about (as we might put it) food for thought and thought for food.

43. Or snails; this is part of the corrupt sentence discussed in the previous note.

44. The word is uncommon before the imperial period (LSJ could muster only Cicero and Polybius) when it hardened into a regular term for emperor's confidant, although not one admitted into H.J. Mason, Greek Terms For Roman Institutions, Toronto 1974.

45. See Momigliano 155–7 on all of this.

46. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. 2. 7; 4. 6; Cassius to Cicero, Ad Fam. 15. 19 = SB 216.

47. As we earlier saw, both Cicero and Cassius use Catius' term 'spectrum', not Lucretius' 'simulacrum' or 'imago', for the Epicurean ειδωλον. Cicero's judgement on Lucretius, made in February, 54, in a letter (2. 11. 5) to his brother Quintus is well known: 'Lucreti poemata, ut scribis, ita sent, multis luminibus ingeni, multae
tarnen artis'. The text, however, is not beyond dispute. It should be remembered that it was Quintus who had raised the topic. And what was Marcus Cicero's view of Lucretius a decade later, when Cassius and company were now calling themselves Epicureans?

48. See below for Cicero's use of Homeric and other quotations.

49. The word in this sense is definite at Ad Att. 4. 15. 7 (SB 90), and is so cited from there by both LSJ and Rose. In the present passage, Shackleton Bailey, who has no discussion of the word in either of his commentaries, has the Latin 'nobilitas' rather than the Greek. Whatever the true reading (the Greek is read in, e.g., Glynn Williams' Loeb edition), someone is expanding εὐγενεία. Shackleton Bailey regards 'quid sit nobilitas' as 'a blatant gloss'. However, εὐγενεία and ἔξοχη are not pure synonyms; and in any case, Cicero himself could well be the glossator.

50. As an expert on augury and divination (cf. Shackleton Bailey's Atticus commentary 1. 396, for this side of the man), Appius can fairly be presumed to know such a term, the evidence for which in LSJ is sparse and epigraphic.

51. Cf. Mason, op. cit. 38; the second of these Ciceroan usages is omitted from Shackleton Bailey's index.

52. As do Shackleton Bailey and some other commentators.

53. E.g. Hell. 4. 15. 4. Both LSJ and Rose restrict the present meaning to Cicero, the latter suspecting Hellenistic origins. Shackleton Bailey has nothing on the matter.

54. A statistic pointed out by Steele 390.

55. The precise nuance of which has been debated; for a repertoire see the note of Shackleton Bailey whose use of Occam's razor on the matter is to be commended.


57. The frequency of this adjective, in simple and comparative though not superlative form, in Ad Att. is worth remarking.

58. The expression was conceivably popular in the business circle of Patrae, where Curius was.

59. Full references are available in Steele, also in the indexes of Shackleton Bailey.

60. Overall in Ad Fam., Cicero has 4 quotations each from the Iliad and Odyssey, as opposed to 22 and 13 respectively in Ad Att. There are a couple of Euripidean fragments and 1 tragic adespoton (contrast 7. 6 = SB 17, a note to Trebatius Testa with no less than 3 quotations from Ennius' Medea); single items from Hesiod and Epicurus, and 2 paraepigraphical flourishes. The range of quotation in Ad Att. is much wider with (apart from Homer) citations of and allusions to Hesiod, Stesichorus, Heraclitus, Pindar, Epicharmus, Aristophanes, the three tragedians, Thucydides, Plato, Menander, Callimachus, and various poetic adespota. Full and precise references can be found in Shackleton Bailey's indexes.

61. Cic. 3. 1; not by Suetonius, Jul. 4. 1.

62. Suetonius, Jul. 38. 5; Cicero, De Off. 3. 82.

63. For instance, Glynn Williams 2, 185, n. maintains that 'Cicero had no great liking for him', whereas Shackleton Bailey in his Atticus commentary (1. 392) thinks that Varro was 'a close friend, at any rate on paper, of Cicero, who however stood in some awe of him'.

64. This collection includes a letter from Quintus to Marcus about Tiro (see below), also notes to Tiro from Marcus' son.

65. Glynn Williams and Shackleton Bailey are clearly right to take it as referring to a stomach that is out of order rather than (as Rose) a fastidious one. Shackleton Bailey does not indicate the rarity of the epithet.
66. ἀφομιλησα, designated as a hapax by Rose; LSJ add a gloss from Hesychius; no comment by Shackleton Bailey.

67. ἄκυρος, in the sense of improper, is cited only from here and John Philoponus by LSJ; Lampe adds some cognate usages.

68. Elsewhere, according to LSJ, only in a fragment of Plutarch who interestingly has the word in a different sense ('plundering') in Cic. 14. 2 and Cariol. 9. 1. Medical writers use the cognate adjective in Cicero's meaning quite frequently.

69. Cic. 8. 5, a point made by Shackleton Bailey who did not mention the rarity of the other terms.

70. It may here be subjoined that in 16. 21 (SB 337) Cicero's son Marcus uses quite a few Greek words and phrases, including the rare verb συμψυκλογεῖν. Marcus junior was now 21, and was learning Greek and philosophy from contemporaries such as Cratippus, Epicrates, and Leonides. He was also practising Greek declamation with Cassius. It is, however, significant that the letter should end with his request for a Greek amanuensis to be sent to him to help him with his lecture notes: 'multum mihi enim eripitur opera in exscribendis hypomnematis'.

71. The word was ἡμιλαφιάν ('quam tu soles dicere...; illam tuam!'), cited by LSJ only from the second of these passages along with Hesychius and the Geoponica; the cognate adjective, however, is common enough.

72. Common terms will not be registered, but in fact the inventory is nearly complete since virtually every word and phrase has something striking. These letters are cited from the OCT of W.S. Watt: reference should also be made to Shackleton Bailey's Teubner.


74. Cf. such patristic coinages as μουσόπνευστος and μουσόπνευκτος, neither in LSJ.

75. Rose missed it completely.

76. According to LSJ; Rose does not include it.

77. In other editions, this letter is subdivided into 3 separate notes.


79. Trimalchio, in the course of a longish disquisition (Sat. 47. 1–6) on his bowel problems does not spare the details, but is on occasion strikingly euphemistic in how he words natural functions. Before Cicero, Theophrastus (Char. 20. 6) had deplored the Disgusting Man's habit of going on about such things at dinner. Cicero might conceivably have had this passage in mind (the presence of χολή in both authors is noteworthy, though certainly not conclusive); whether Terentia was up to such allusions is quite another matter.

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