

11

(1) *exercebat*: virtually equivalent to *vexabat*: "troubled," "disturbed" (contrast 9.2 where *exerceo*= "to practice," "carry on"). If the meaning of *exerceo* in this context is properly understood, the present statement need not be viewed as contradicting the assertion above (10.3) that first *avaritia* and then *ambitio* increased. S. wishes to point out here that *ambitio* is the more insidious of the two evils since it is more nearly related to *virtus* and hence likely to captivate and lead astray men who might otherwise remain upright. *quod tamen vitium*: the presence of *tamen* indicates that the description of *ambitio* as a *vitium* is to be taken concessively: "a failing, <to be sure>, yet one which ..." The gender of the relative is determined by *vitium*, which is grammatically the antecedent standing in apposition with *ambitio*. It is normal for such an appositive to be incorporated into the relative clause. (Ramsey)

propius virtutem: the comparative adj. *propius*, agreeing with *vitium*, is much like a preposition (cf. *prope*) and may be construed with the acc.: "closer (in aspect) to virtue." (Ramsey)

quod...vitium: i.e. "which vice"

proprius virtutem: "nearer to virtue; comparative adv. *prope* as preposition" (Steadman); "Like its positive form *prope* (e.g. *BJ* 21.2) *propius* can govern the accus., e.g. Caesar, *BG* 4.9.1, 5.37.1;" (McGushin ad loc).

(2)

(*et*) *honōrem (et) imperium*: as Steadman notes, an example of asyndeton (missing conjunctions).

ignāvos: "=*ignavus*"; the MSS of S. preserve traces of the archaic spelling -*os* for -*us* and -*om* for -*um* in the second declension after consonantal *u* (e.g., 23.6 *novos*; 51.18 *novom*; 61.4 *vivos*; Jug. 25.8 *pravom*) and *qu* (59.1 *aequom*). (Ramsey)

sibi: for themselves; dat. of interest (Steadman).

ille: "the former" (*bonus*) in contrast with *huic* (*ignavos*), the nearer of the two persons mentioned in the previous sentence. (Ramsey)

vera via: "i.e., *virtutis via*, expressing the "way by which" with *nititur*= "strive" (Ramsey).

huic: belongs to both of the following clauses; its case (dat.) is determined by the nearer verb (*desunt*), while the nom. (*hic*) must be understood as subject of *contendit*. (Ramsey)

dolīs...fallāciīs: abl. of means (Steadman).

sed ille ... fallaciis contendit: "With the removal of *metus hostilis*, *ingenium* was debased to *imperi cupido* employing the wrong methods, *dolis atque fallaciis*. Before the fall of Carthage (chs. 6-9) *ingenium* was exercised for the right ends and by the right means - *vera via* = *bonis artibus*." (McGushin, ad loc.)

(3)

habet: "'involves" (lit., "has"), from the simple notion of possession." (Ramsey).

concupivit: pf. used in a present sense: "covets" (lit., "has longed for"). The negative statement makes a generalization about the past with the implication that what has not happened does not happen and never will happen. Called the gnomic pf., it is frequently found in broad negative statements that express a general truth. (Ramsey)

concupivit: gnomic perfect.

ea: i.e., *avaritia* (Ramsey)

“unlike *ambitio*, *avaritia* makes no attempt to conceal its real nature. This vice, which transforms *honoris cupido* into *ambitio*, is the one on which S. now concentrates and with which he connects the stage of degeneration which contemporary society has reached.” (McGushin, *ad loc.*).

imbūta: perfect passive participle of *imbuō*.

venēnīs malīs: “*uenenum* was originally a neutral word, e.g. it included *medicamenta*. Hence, in legal and archaic styles, we find a defining adj.” (Summers (1900), *ad loc.*); “S.’s use of the adjective here may be taken as part of his deliberate archaising tendency” (McGushin, *ad loc.*). “lit., “harmful drugs”—*venenum* by itself originally signified a drug or medicine of any kind, not necessarily good or bad. By the time S. was writing, however, the word had generally assumed the meaning of a “poison” (synonymous with *virus*), and the addition of the epithet *malis* is therefore an archaic affectation.” (Ramsey)

uenenis ... effeminat: “The expression may owe something to the well-known tragic theme of Hercules destroyed by the blood of Nessus. [OCD 269-270, s.v. “Heracles”, particularly the 3rd last para.] The use of *effeminare* instead of a more usual word like *delere* points to the allegorisation of Hercules’ death by the Cynics. Our chief source for this is the 60th speech of Dio Chrysostom where the garment [smeared with the blood of Nessus] is taken as the symbol of the effemination of Hercules under the influence of Deianira (Dio, 60.8). The moralising application of this experience was common in Rome by S.’s time.” (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

virilem effeminat: “the collocation of these two words is deliberate, producing an antithesis of sense as well as a play on their literal meanings; this is the only occurrence of *effeminare* (= *debilitare*) in S. S.’s reason for saying that greed weakens the body, as well as the mind, puzzled ancient critics (a lengthy discussion in Gellius 3.1). Perhaps the notion is best explained by the reference to *venenis malis*, which conjures up the effect of harmful drugs that can in fact destroy both the mind and body.” (Ramsey)

infinita, insatiabilis: “the effectiveness of this alliterative pair of virtually synonymous adjs. is increased by asyndeton.” (Ramsey)

neque copia neque inopia: “paronomasia adds forcefulness to this paradoxical observation which forms a *topos*; rich or poor, the greedy man is never satisfied and always wants a bit more.” (Ramsey)

(4)

Sed, postquam: “marks the transition to the topic of *luxuria* which caused *avaritia* to surpass *ambitio* as the more prominent evil in contrast with 11.1 *sed primo...*” (Ramsey)

L. Sulla : Cornelius Sulla Felix, Lucius. “as he has already indicated at 5.6, S. attached particular importance to Sullae dominatio. He couples the introduction of *luxuria* into Rome with the army of Sulla; this was an aspect of *avaritia* which affected the younger men in particular and on which he dwells in chs. 12 and 13. Once again he ignores the strict chronology of historical events and uses incident only to illustrate his moral theme. The Sullan regime was one which loomed large in contemporary political thinking, both with regard to the immediate past, the career of Julius Caesar, and to the problems of the present, the uncertainty as to the outcome of Triumviral intrigues.” (McGushin, *ad loc.*).

recepta re publica: abl. absol.; *armis* abl. of means with *recepta* is made prominent by its position, a not unusual arrangement of words in an abl. absol. in S. When Sulla (cf. 5.6 n) led his army back to Italy in 83 B.C. after concluding the war with Mithridates in Asia (11.5), he put forward the claim that he was rescuing the state from his political enemies who had usurped power in his absence. After his final victory in the Civil War at the battle of the Colline Gate (1 Nov. 82 B.C.), Sulla began a ruthless purge of all those who had opposed him. A general blood bath followed, known as the Sullan proscriptions, in which many

innocent victims were put to death so that their confiscated property might be used to reward Sulla's soldiers and partisans." (Ramsey)

receptā rē publicā: ablative absolute.

bonis initiis: "best treated as an abl. absol. (cf. 6.1 *sedibus incertis*) rather than a dat.

depending on *eventus habuit*. The sense is concessive = *cum bona initia fuissent*: "despite good beginnings, he brought about (lit., had) bad results." (Ramsey)

omnes: "nom. subj. of the historical inf. *rapere* and *trahere*, in asyndeton, which are used absolutely without reference to a specific direct object. These two verbs form a stock expression." (Ramsey)

domum alius, alius agros: "chiasmus contributes to the forcefulness of this allusion to the fact that many suffered in the proscriptions because their property excited the greed of Sulla's henchmen." (Ramsey)

cupere: one desired...another desired...;historical infinitive.

neque modum neque modestiam: nb alliteration. "these two nouns are virtually synonymous, and they are paired elsewhere by S. and in other authors for the sake of alliteration. The former refers especially to moderation in conduct, while the latter denotes moderation in character. Normally *modestia* results in *modus*. (Ramsey). "neque modum neque modestiam: a catch-word phrase, reversed in 38-4- Cf. BJ 41.9; Plautus, Bae eh. 613; Livy, 26.48.II; Thes. LL. 8.1223.29. On the archaic character of such combinations see Fraenkel, *Plautinische im Plautus*, 36ff.; Hofmann, *Umgangssprache*, 93." (McGushin ad loc).

in cīvīs: against (*in* plus acc) citizens.

facinora facere: nb figura etymologica. "*foeda* further adds to the alliteration. (Ramsey)

(5)

"because of his insistence that concordia assured the strength of Rome down to 146 B.C., S. postdates the introduction of luxuria. He is in agreement with the annalistic tradition in stating that the first importation of luxuria was due to an army from Asia. The annalistic account, represented by Livy, 39.6.5ff., ascribes this to the army of Manlius Vulso; both accounts show a remarkable similarity of description of lax discipline and in listing articles of luxury. S.'s statement: *ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani* etc. cannot be true. There is ample evidence in Polybius, Livy and the annalists (see p. 87) that this was not the first time that a Roman army had so acted. The close similarity in concept and expression between S. and Livy on this theme suggests a common store of annalistic material. S.'s *luxuriōse nimisque liberaliter habuerat* is closely paralleled by Livy, 39.1.4: (*exercitum*) *sub imperio C. Manti solute ac neglegenter habiti sunt*; cf. 2.22.7 *liberaliter habiti*; 39.6.7 *luxuriae ... peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico inuenta in urbem est*. Corresponding to S.'s *loca amoena voluptaria ... animos molliverant* is Livy's frequent use of *animum mollire*, e.g. 23.16.1 and the ideas contained in the doublet *amoenus-voluptarius*, which had already appeared in Plautus, *Miles*, 641, occur in Livy, e.g. 23.4.4. */bi primum ... sacra profanaque polluere* has a remarkably clear echo in Livy, 25.40. 1-2, especially in the list of items of luxury sought. Livy's *omnia simul divina humanaque iura polluerit* (31.30.4) has a familiar ring, and likewise his use of *mirari* in the same sense as S. (34. 4.4)." (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

hūc adcedēbat quod: "introducing a further consideration: "to this there was added (lit., came in addition) the fact that," i.e., "moreover"; the subject of *accedebat* is provided by the substantive *quod* clause (cf. 9.4)." (Ramsey)

in Asia: "whither he proceeded in 84, after all the serious fighting had been finished in Greece." (Summers, *ad loc.*)

ductaverat: "this frequentative is common in S., always to describe the leading of troops; according to Quintilian (8.3.44), it had acquired a vulgar sense (perhaps from being used in the comic poets to describe the bringing home of a prostitute)." (Ramsey)

quo: quō...faceret: so that he might make (it/the army)...; purpose (*quō = ut*) with impf. subj. *faceret*. "normally introduces a purpose clause that contains a comparative adj. or adv. This archaic use of *quo* (= simply *ut*) also occurs at 33.1, 38.3, 58.3. The usual construction where *quo=ut eo* with a comparative is found at 22.2, 39.2, 40.6, 48.7, 49.4, 59.1 and in a mixed construction with two verbs at 48.4." (Ramsey)

fidum: "a predicate adj. in agreement with *eum* (= *exercitum*) which is to be supplied as the object of *faceret*. Three phrases in succession produce a powerful accumulation of alliteration that gives this crucial statement a sonorous quality: *fidum faceret, morem maiorum, luxuriose ... liberaliter*." (Ramsey)

habuerat: vid. 5.9n. "Observe that *habere* is used in this chapter in four different senses in close succession: 11.3 "involve," 11.4 with *eventus*="bring about,"

with *modestiam*="observe." (Ramsey)

amoena, voluptaria: "two adjs. in asyndeton agreeing with *loca*. The province of Asia was notorious for its corrupting influence." (Ramsey)

(6)

Ibi: "in *eis (locis)*" (Ramsey)

primum insuevit: "vid. 10.1 note on *ab stirpe* for the corresponding annalistic tradition that traced the introduction of luxury to the return of Manlius Vulso's army from Asia at a much earlier date in 187 B.C." (Ramsey)

Note lack of connectives.

potare: "often used in a frequentative sense meaning "to drink habitually." The assonance of *-are* is aptly rendered by Merivale: "to indulge in wine and women." (Ramsey)

signa: statues.

vasa caelata: "vessels decorated with raised relief work in gold or silver." (Ramsey)

mirari: "'to wonder at," in the sense of "to admire the artistic value," i.e., to appreciate in an artistic sort of way." (Ramsey); takes three objects. "Livy refers the beginning of this outlook to the capture of Syracuse (25.40.2)" (McGushin, *ad loc.*).

privatim et publice: "describing the source of their plunder: from private owners and communities—esp. from temples where state treasures consisting of statues, works of art, and bullion were kept." (Ramsey)

delubra: "a frequent synonym in poetry for *templum*—usu. pl.—and also found in elevated prose." (Ramsey)

delubra spoliare ... omnia polluere: "in strong contrast to the religio of the early Romans (9.2). It is a point taken up again in detail by S. in 12.3f." (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

(7)

īī: those.

adepti sunt: from deponent, *adispīscor* (perfect).

nihil reliquī ... fēcēre: *fēcēre = fecerunt*. "left nothing to the vanquished" (lit., "made nothing of a remainder"), more forceful than *nihil reliquere*. The gen. *relicui* may be classified as partitive, but in contrast with the more usual partitive gen. (e.g., 20.13, here and elsewhere with the verb *facio* (e.g., 28.4, 52.4, *relicui* is best regarded as adverbial since it supplies the predicate complement." (Ramsey)

victīs: "dat. of reference; contrast the former treatment of the conquered described at 9.3 and 12.4 below." (Ramsey)

(8)

Quippe: "S. uses this word several times in the archaic sense of *nam* to offer an explanation for a previous assertion." (Ramsey); *quippe*: used as equivalent to *nam* frequently in S. It adds an element of "as is well known"," (McGushin ad loc).

sapientium animos fatigant: "lit., "disturb the spirit of wise men," i.e., weaken their high-minded principles; *sapientium* is put before *animos* for emphasis and is crucial to the sense since a contrast is being drawn between this class and the lawless soldiers (*illi*) in Sulla's army." (Ramsey)

ne: "standing for *nedum*, which is found in a few MSS, mostly in a correcting hand: ="still less." This use of *ne* for *nedum* with the potential subj. is rare and usually follows a negative statement (which is implied in *fatigant*, i.e., *quippe sapientium animi secundas res ferre non possunt*)." (Ramsey)

corruptis moribus: "abl. of quality or description with *illi*: "depraved," "lawless."" (Ramsey)

victoriae: "dat. depending on *temperarent* meaning "set a limit to," "use moderately.""(Ramsey)

12

(1)

postquam divitiae ... coepit: "S. comes to the contemporary scene, to the moral climate wherein ambitio is a prostitution of honoris cupido. The total picture recalls the gloomy description of the breakdown in moral values in Thucydides, 3.82." (McGushin ad loc).

honori: "predicate dat. in place of a predicate nom. with *esse coepere*; likewise *probro* with *haberi* ("to be regarded as")." (Ramsey)

coepere = contracted 3rd person plural perfect.

gloria ... potentia: "a triad in asyndeton; *potentia* is a more general word for power—often excessive or illegitimate political influence—as opposed to *imperium* or *potestas*, which is conferred by office." (Ramsey); "to be distinguished from *potestas*. The former denotes power attained by personal means, wealth, influence etc., and used largely for personal ends. The latter is used of power that is associated with public office, properly constituted authority. S.'s selection of the term here further underlines his meaning." (McGushin ad loc).

sequebatur: "for the impf., here in combination with the pf. in the same *postquam* clause, vid.6.3*videbatur*. The verb is singular probably because *gloria*, *imperium*, *potentia* are viewed as forming a single concept (cf. 9.1 n.). *Sequor* is used in the sense of "follow spontaneously/of its own accord." (Ramsey)

hebescere uirtus, paupertas ... haberi: chiasmus. Historical infinitives.

hebescere: "to lose its keenness"; to make sense of the metaphor, it must be extended to the subject *virtus*,="the edge of virtue." (Ramsey)

paupertas: "moderate means," rather than poverty (*egestas*, *inopia*). The Romans of S.'s day looked back with admiration to the time when their countrymen took pride in a simple existence. (Ramsey)

probrō: as a disgrace; abl. quality as pred (Steadman).

innocentia: "esp. as characterized by self-restraint in the acquisition of wealth." (Ramsey).; "*Innocentia* is contrasted with *avaritia* and is equivalent to *pecuniae abstinentia*." (McGushin, ad loc.)

innocentia pro malevolentia: "abstinence was considered by the prodigal as a reflection on themselves". (McGushin ad loc).

pro malivolentia: "a bad motive (viz., the desire to find fault with others) is assigned even to good conduct. The notion that the original meaning of moral terms is distorted when society undergoes a radical change is borrowed from Thucydides' description of the revolution on the Greek island of Corcyra in 427 B.C. (3.82)." (Ramsey); *malivolentia*: "It was assumed that

anyone who let slip a chance of enriching himself must do so in order to enjoy the equivalent pleasure of censuring those who had less scruple." (Summers, *ad loc.*)

dūcī: to be considered; pass. inf. (Steadman)

coepit: "normally a pass. inf. attracts *coepi* into the pass, voice, but S. seems to prefer this less common usage which is also found occasionally in Livy and the poets. The passive construction is attested only once (*Jug.* 27.1)." (Ramsey)

(2)

ex divitiis: lit., "from," i.e., "in consequence of," "as a result of." The addition of the preposition emphasizes the source as well as the cause which is expressed by the word in the abl. (Ramsey); "The simple ablative of cause gives the immediately operative cause while the addition of *ex* indicates the influence of something over the passage of time." (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

iuventūtem: "The view that *iuvenes* are ultimately responsible for the failure of the state is due rather to the influence of Greek philosophical thinking as reflected, e.g. in Polybius, 31.25 and Posidonius (Diodorus, 37.3), than to any partisan bias incorporated from contemporary political thinking. In S. the *iuventus* includes the young men, without regard to their origin, who have become the victims of sloth and prodigality. This concept is not confined to the *nobiles*. Ch. 17 makes the first specific mention of the *nobiles*; all that was said before applies to the state as a whole, and to its younger citizens as such, not as members of a party or a class." (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

invāsere = *invaserunt*.

rapere, consumere ... pendere ... cupere: "the statement made with the historic perfect is amplified by a series of historical infs. whose subject is to be supplied from *iuventutem* (used in a collective sense, vid. 5.2n.). The first pair of infs. is used absolutely without a direct object. The pairs are arranged to form a chiasmus: *rapere* and *cupere* refer to the property of others; *consumere* and *pendere* describe the way those young men managed their own property. The description recalls what was said earlier about Catiline (5.4): *alieni adpetens, sui profusus*." (Ramsey)

sua parvī pendere: they weighed their own possessions of little worth; gen. of value. (Steadman). Not the same as *pendere*.

parvi: "gen. of price or value with *pendere*="value" (lit., "weigh"). The word in the gen. is usually an adj. which is treated as a substantive. Just the opposite attitude was described at 2.1 (*sua cuique satis placebant*)." (Ramsey)

pudorem, pudicitiam: "paired for the sake of alliteration and virtually synonymous (cf. 11.4 *modum ... modestiam*). *Pudor* is the more general word for "shame" or "decency"; *pudicitia* refers especially to "chastity" or "purity" arising out of *pudor*." (Ramsey)

pudōrem...prōmiscua: acc. obj. of *habēre* (Steadman).

divina atque humana: "an expression used several times by S. to include all aspects of life: "things in heaven and on earth."" (Ramsey)

promiscua: "'without distinction," a predicate adj. to be taken with *habere* (= "treat"). It seems to modify all four objects which are arranged as usual with *atque* joining the words in the second pair only (cf. 6.1n. *sine legibus*). There is an apparent zeugma, however, in construing *promiscua* with the first pair, with which an adj. such as *vilia* would be more appropriate, since *pudor* and *pudicitia* are virtually synonymous and not opposites as *divina* and *humana* are. In order to bridge this logical gap, it is perhaps best to render freely "they had no regard for."" (Ramsey); "promiscua ... habere: goes with *pudorem pudicitiam, divina atque humana*. It does not mean "they made no distinction between" but rather "they cared for neither ... nor ... ". Probably influenced by the expression *susque deque*

habere (e.g. Plautus, *Amph.* 886) "to be indifferent about", *promiscua* here means roughly the same as *vilia*" (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

nihil pensi neque moderati: "'no scruples and no moderation" (vid. 5.6 n.). This acc. is to be taken as a separate object of *habere*; it summarizes and expands the previous statement concerning their conduct with respect to themselves and towards others." (Ramsey)

nihil pēnsī neque moderātī: nothing of value nor of self-restraint; gen. of value and partitive, two substantives formed from PPP (Steadman).; "*pensi* is a normal value genitive, *moderati*, a partitive, is drawn from zeugma [PDLT 1051] into S.'s favourite construction, *pensi habere*." (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

(3)

Operae pretium est: "'it is worthwhile," "worth the effort" (lit., "a reward for the effort"—obj. gen.). The subject of *est* is provided by the inf. *visere* ("to visit," "behold")." (Ramsey).

cognoveris: "best taken as pf. act. subjn. of the indefinite second person sing. (vid.

1.6.n. *incipias*): "when you have become acquainted with." (Ramsey). Contra: "cognoveris: this coupling of a principal clause in the present tense with a subordinate clause in the future perfect is a favourite construction of S. (Introd. p. 19)." (McGushin).

in urbium modum: in the manner of cities (Steadman).

(4)

Verum illi: "lit., "but those men of old"—*illi* contrasted with *hi* below, "the present-day Romans." The strong adversative (*verum*) is due to the implied statement that the temples built by the pious generation of Romans were insignificant compared with private mansions in S.'s day. "(Ramsey)

delubra: "vid. 11.6n.; it contributes to the solemnity of the alliteration produced by *deorum ... domos ... decorabant*." (Ramsey)

victis: "dat. of separation with *quicquam ... eripiebant*." (Ramsey)

(5)

hī contrā: these (descendants) on the contrary (Steadman).

ignāvissumī: contrast *fortissumī*.

sociis: "technically "allies" bound to R. by treaties, but often in S. an all-inclusive word for cities or nations which were subject to Roman authority and not admitted to full Roman citizenship." (Ramsey)

sociis: dative of disadvantage.

proinde quasi: "'just as if," used ironically in a conditional clause of comparison. The tense of the subjn. in clauses of this type obeys the normal rule of sequence (secondary here referring to a contemporaneous act) and does not conform to the rules governing ordinary conditions." (Ramsey)

id demum: "*id* stands in apposition with *iniuriam facere*, the subject of *esset*; the predicate nom. is a second inf. phrase *imperio uti*. S. is fond of using the demonstrative pronoun—usu. accompanied by *vero* or *demum*—to repeat a word or phrase for the sake of emphasis. This type of pleonasm is colloquial. On *demum*, vid. 2.2 n." (Ramsey)

iniūriam facere...ūtī: to inflict injury were the only use of power; 'to use power were this alone, (namely) to inflict injury' (Steadman).