of the speaker in the oration was worth around thirteen talents and married a woman from a prestigious political family without a dowry, if the speaker can be believed. His father had the opportunity of marrying wealthy women but chose to marry the daughter of the general Xenophon, son of Euripides (Lys. 19.14).[17] Rather than marry his daughters without dowries to wealthy men, he dowered his daughters and gave them in marriage to men of lesser means. His son too, instead of marrying wealth, married into a family of character (19.14–16). These may well be rhetorical statements, but the oration is useful in showing us that sentiments about allying oneself to a family of small or smaller means but of good repute exist outside New Comedy.

These are a few examples of marriages in which there were differences in wealth. At the risk of losing sight of Sostratus and his family, I wish to suggest that there was an historical context for the marriages contracted by Callipides. The historical marriages show that the Athenians were aware of differences in wealth between the bride's family and the groom's. In the plays, and in some of the historical marriages, the neighbourhood allowed for alliances between families of differing wealth. There is some indication that the less wealthy affine was subordinate to the wealthier.

In the *Dyskolos,* Sostratus, although residing in the city, does not ignore his rural roots. His father and mother focus their attention in Phyle, and Callipides contracts marriages with rural neighbours just as the rustic Cnemon does. Wealthy individuals can reside in the city and in the country, but in the end the country with its landed holdings is a powerful draw.

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[17] Davies (n. 13), 199–200.

Q. CICERO, *COMMENTARIOLUM PETITIONIS* 33

Iam equitum centuriae multo facilius mihi diligentia posse teneri
videntur: primum <oportet> cognosci equites (pauci enim sunt),
deinde appeti (multo enim facilius illa adulescentulorum ad
amicitiam aetas adiungitur). Deinde habes tecum ex iuventute
optimum quemque et studiosissimum humanitatis; tum autem, quod
equester ordo tuus est, sequentur illi auctoritatem ordinis, si abs te
adhibebitur ea diligentia ut non ordinis solum voluntate sed etiam
singulorum amicitiis eas centurias confirmatas habeas. Nam studia
adulescentulorum in suffragando, in obeundo, in nuntiando, in
adsectando mirifice et magna et honesta sunt. (*Comm. Pet*. 33)

2 oportet *addidit Watt*: oportet *post* equites *Shackleton Bailey*
cognosci HFDV: cognoscendi sunt B: cognosce *vel* cognoscito *Orelli*:
cognoscendi *Nardo* ap(p)eti HFD: adpeti V: adipiscendi B: appete
vel appetito *Orelli*: adipiscendi *Nardo*

Now it seems to me that the centuries of the Knights can, with assiduousness, be secured much more easily. First you must get to know the Knights (for they are few). Then you must visit them personally (for young men are at an age when it is very easy to win their friendship). Then you will have on your side the best of our youth and the most enthusiastic supporters of culture. In addition, because you originated in the equestrian order, they will have regard for the authority of the order, if you have endeavored assiduously enough to secure these centuries not only by gaining the goodwill of the order as a whole but also by gaining the individual friendship of its members. For the zeal of the young in campaigning on your behalf, in meeting voters and in advertising their support for you, all redounds quite marvellously to your credit.

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The first obstacle to understanding *Comm. Pet*. 33 (here cited from Watt's edition with a somewhat amplified apparatus) derives from our own uncertainty as to the precise significations, in the late Republic, of the terminology associated with the equestrian order.[1] In this passage, *equitum centuriae* seems to be equivalent to *equites*, yet *iuventus*, which often refers to the youth (especially the sons of senators) amongst the *equites equo publico*, is clearly differentiated from *equester ordo*, the *auctoritas* of which the young are expected to respect.[2] In addition, and in fact this is the more serious difficulty, there is nothing in the passage to mark a transition from the author's concern with the *equites* as a whole to the *adulescentuli* amongst them, or from an apparent emphasis on winning the votes of the centuries to the benefits of public endorsements by youthful partisans. Discontinuites, however, are rare in the *Comm. Pet*. If anything, the author runs the risk of becoming tedious owing to his frequent resort to repetition and to fulsome transitions.[3] In fact, no other chapter in the *Comm. Pet*. displays so jarring a juxtaposition as this one. Nicolet is undoubtedly right when he observes that 'il s'agit essentiellement des réalitiés électorales, non seulement du vote, mais de la propagande', but that does not suffice to resolve matters.[4]

The terminology associated with the equestrian order was not used with consistent preciseness in Cicero's day: *equitum centuriae* was a specific term, but *equites* and *equester ordo* were potentially fluid in their application, which means that context is always vital for discerning between vague and technical usage.[5] The *Comm. Pet*. makes much of Cicero's equestrian origins and of that order's role in his campaign (3, 8, 13, 29, 50, 53, 55). Special emphasis is put on the backing of the *publicani* (3, 50), and on Cicero's influence with 'those who constitute the juries' (8), a group that in 64 included *tribuni aerarii*, though, at 55, when Cicero's influence in the courts is again mentioned (as a means of intimidating his rivals should they consider resorting to

[1] Text: W. S. Watt, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae* 3 (Oxford, 1958); references in the apparatus are to J. C. Orelli and J. G. Baiter, *Ciceronis Opera quae supersunt omnia* 3 (Zurich, 1845); D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem, Epistulae ad M. Brutum accedunt Commentariolum Petitionis, Fragmenta Epistularum* (Stuttgart, 1988); D. Nardo, *Il Commentariolum Petitionis: La propaganda elettorale nella ars di Quinto Cicerone* (Padua, 1970). Difficulties in *Comm. Pet*. 33: T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 3 (Leipzig, 1887), 484, n. 3; H. Sjögren, *Eranos* 13 (1913), 119; C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre a l'époque républicaine (312–43 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1966), 77–9; Nardo, *Il Commentariolum Petitionis*, 97–8. Equestrian terminology: J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la république* (Paris, 1963), 466ff.; Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre*, 162ff.; E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (Ithaca, 1972), 82ff.; T. P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies, Literary and Historical* (Liverpool, 1987), 57ff.; U. Hackl, *Festschrift Robert Werner* (Konstanz, 1989), 107ff.; E. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford, 1991), 530ff.; J. Linderski, *Roman Questions* (Stuttgart, 1995), 138ff. In my opinion, there is no compelling argument against *Comm. Pet*.'s being the work of Quintus Cicero (a recent appraisal, with further literature, is provided by R. Morstein-Marx, *CA* 17 [1998], 260–1). Since the matter does not affect the point of this paper, I have evaded explicit attribution in the body of its text. I am grateful to Jerzy Linderski for reading an earlier draft of this note and to the journal's anonymous reader, who made several very useful suggestions.

[2] *Iuventus*: see Hellegouarc'h (n. 1), 468ff.

[3] F. Buecheler, *Quinti Ciceronis Reliquae* (Leipzig, 1869), 6.

[4] Nicolet (n. 1), followed and elaborated by Wiseman (n. 1), 64–5.

[5] Several factors contributed to this, not the least the fact that the census of 70 was the last to be completed successfully during the Republic, which opened the door to the substitution of various criteria for defining, in the popular mind at least but sometimes at law, the meaning of *equites* and *ordo equester*: see above, n. 1.

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illegal electioneering), it is the *ordo equester* that is specified (*cum auctoritatem vimque dicendi, tum profecto equestris ordinis erga te studium pertimescent*).[6]

But while the equestrian order and certain of its members are often enough mentioned in the *Comm. Pet*., it remains impossible, apart from the author's mention of *equitum centuriae* in our passage, to be confident that one has to do with a technical expression. A certain degree of blurring seems to be at work: in a text so concerned with minimizing Cicero's *novitas*, for instance, the formula *ex iuventute optimum quemque* looks to be employed to underscore an important common ground between senators, including the nobility, and equestrians.[7] And, if *Comm. Pet*. 3 is at all a defining text for later references to equestrians, *quod equester ordo tuus est*, an expression that is already making a multiple reference (it indicates both Cicero's origins and his equestrian support), should recall the *publicani*.[8] But no degree of blurring will suffice to get around the very strong impression, given by the immediacy of *non enim facilius*, etc., that the *adulescentuli* of that clause are to be equated with the *equites* (otherwise the *Comm. Pet*. is here asking the reader to do a good deal more sorting out of categories of person than is normally the case). Nor can an appeal to blurring mitigate the awkwardness of the text's assertion that these *adulescentuli*, so strongly identified with the *equites* and the *equitum centuriae*, will follow the *auctoritas* of the *ordo equester*—if Cicero has established a friendly relationship with each member of the *equitum centuriae*.[9] And this returns us to the question—and the problem—of continuity.

This difficulty was observed by Baehrens, who posited a lacuna after *appeti* in which he believed that there must have been something to complete the syntax of the infinitives *cognosci* and *appeti* as well as some discussion that served as a means of transition from the topic of the equestrian centuries to the *adulescentes*.[10] Watt's *oportet*, wherever exactly it is to be placed, fills part of Baehrens's lacuna.[11] But this is not enough to correct the lack of continuity that has been discussed above (which, in my view, renders Baehrens's surmise of an extensive lacuna inevitable). The full particulars of the remainder of what has fallen out can, of course, only be the object of speculation. However, in what follows, I should like to give some indications of what was very likely, on the basis of the author's approach to the solicitation of voters elsewhere in the *Comm. Pet*., to have been included in his advice at 33.

At 29, Cicero is instructed to gain a secure hold on all the centuries: obviously he must first embrace the senators and equestrians, but he must also win over the *gratiosi*

[6] On the importance of the courts in constructing the identity of the equestrian order, see Badian (n. 1), 82ff. and 135, n. 68.

[7] W. Allen, *CJ* 23 (1937/38), 357ff.

[8] Long recognized: e.g. J. Hoffa, *Q. Ciceronis de petitione consulatus ad M. Tullium fratrem liber* (Leipzig, 1837), 46.

[9] Although it has been suggested that our passage is actually instructing Cicero to concentrate his *diligentia* on young nobles, because the 'equestrian order proper . . . was on Cicero's side already' (Wiseman [n. 1], 64–5), this fails to take into account the regular approach of the *Comm. Pet*.: if one looks at the groups that are said at 3 to be Cicero's supporters already, the only ones that are not thereafter revisited with an instruction (sometimes lengthy) on how to cultivate their support are 'all the *publicani*, nearly the whole of the equestrian order'. The ommission is unlikely to owe itself to the topic's unsuitability: cf. Cic. *Planc*. 23–24.

[10] E. Baehrens, *Miscellanea Critica* (Groningen, 1878), 30.

[11] Watt's addition is accepted by M. Henderson, 'Handbook of electioneering', in W. G. Williams, M. Cary, and M. Henderson, *Cicero: Letters to his Friends IV, Handbook of Electioneering, Letter to Octavian* (Cambridge, MA, 1972); Shackleton Bailey (n. 1); P. Fedeli, *Manualetto di campagna elettorale (Commentariolum Petitionis)* (Rome, 1987).

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in Rome and in the countryside, which is the main subject of 29–32. Finally, at 33, the author returns to the élite, when he turns his attention to the equestrian centuries (the nobility and the ex-consuls have already been dealt with at 5), a straightforward ring composition. Certain patterns of thought and expression repeat themselves: nobles, ex-consuls, *homines urbani industrii*, and *homines ex omni regione* are all to be solicited in the same ways.

5: Ii [nobles and ex-consuls] rogandi omnes sunt diligenter et ad eos adlegandum est persuadendumque est iis . . .

29: Multi homines urbani industrii. . . . quos per te, quos per communis amicos poteris, summa cura ut cupidi tui sint elaborato, appetito, adlegato . . .

31: homines ex omni regione, eos cognoscas, appetas, confirmes, cures ut in suis vicinitatibus tibi petant.

The same approach is urged at 33 (*diligentia . . . cognosci . . . appeti*). Moreover, the author's sudden reference to the *adulescentuli* and their usefulness as public supporters recalls another pattern: at 6, after his instructions on gaining the support of nobles and ex-consuls, the author turns (but not at all jarringly) to *adulescentis nobiles*:

Praeterea adulescentis nobilis elabora ut habeas, vel ut teneas studioso quos habes; multum dignitatis adferent. Plurimos habes; perfice ut sciant quantum in iis putes esse. (6)

There was no point in appealing to the prestige to be garnered from admiring sons of the *gratiosi* discussed at 29 or 31. But young equestrians, like young nobles (the two categories were in fact not mutually exclusive), could enhance Cicero's image during a campaign.[12] Consequently, we should expect at 33 a transition along the lines of 6.

It would be surprising if the equestrian centuries were treated so concisely as they are in what is extant of 33. It would be characteristic of the author's advice throughout the essay to encourage Cicero to remind the *equites* of the favours they had received from him—especially of his service to the *publicani* (for all their importance in the catalogues at 3 and 50, this remains a natural place for their specific reappearance).[13] Possibly, Cicero was advised to point out to the *equites* (as to so many others) that this was their chance to put him under an obligation (4, 19, 21, 22, 37). Thereafter, as in the earlier case of the *nobiles*, attention could shift, by means of an explicit expression of transition, to the attendance of the young and the advantages thereof.

It seems only fair that a more specific (if necessarily speculative) proposition be put forward, one that will give some indication of the likely location of the lacuna, its length, and of what it may have consisted. Consequently, and purely *exempli gratia*, let me offer, in the form of an English paraphrase (which allows some sense of the text's typical fulsomeness), what I believe are the characteristic elements missing from the text as it stands (the extant portion of 33 is presented in bold type):

Iam equitum centuriae multo facilius mihi diligentia posse teneri videntur: primum <oportet> cognosci equites (pauci enim sunt), deinde appeti. See to it that you keep these supporters by resorting to forceful reminders and solicitations and every other means of making it known that, so far as you are concerned, there will never be another opportunity for those indebted to you to express their gratitude. Nor will there be another opportunity to put you under an obligation for those who desire to do so [cf. 4]. Then you must see to it that the publicans are

[12] Young men active in politics: E. Eyben, *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome*, trans. R. Daly (London, 1993), 52ff.

[13] Cicero's previous services to the equestrians and, especially, the *publicani*: T. N. Mitchell, *Cicero, the Ascending Years* (New Haven, 1979), 100–1.

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your ardent supporters. These men must be solicited assiduously [cf. 5]. You must take the greatest pains, on your own behalf and through common friends, to make as many of these men as you can into your eager partisans. Make it plain to them how much you are touched by the great favour they do you [cf. 29]. Also, you must now demand that they meet their obligations; by frequent admonitions, entreaties, and assurances, you must make certain that they understand that they will have no other opportunity to express their gratitude. Indeed, men will be stirred to action on your behalf both by the expectation of your reciprocity in the future and by your recent favours to them [cf. 19]. Furthermore, take pains to secure the support of the young Knights, or rather, to keep the young Knights whose enthusiasm you have already secured. They will bring you considerable prestige [cf. 6]. Many young men are drawn to you already by their interest in oratory [cf. 3]. Get to know them, visit them personally, strengthen their loyalty [cf. 31]. **Multo enim facilius illa adulescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas adiungitur. Deinde habes tecum ex iuventute optimum quemque et studiosissimum humanitatis; tum autem, quod equester ordo tuus est, sequentur illi auctoritatem ordinis, si abs te adhibebitur ea diligentia ut non ordinis solum voluntate sed etiam singulorum amicitiis eas centurias confirmatas habeas. Nam studia adulescentulorum in suffragando, in obeundo, in nuntiando, in adsectando mirifice et magna et honesta sunt.**

If, as I suggest here, the text has suffered a gap of such length, it will not be too surprising if there was a lesser lacuna in its vicinity (hence Watt's *oportet*). Orelli's proposals (cited in the apparatus above), however, accepted by numerous editors, suffice to eliminate the necessity of that smaller, purely syntactical, omission.[14] The more substantial lacuna proposed above, however, is called for by the uncharacteristic conciseness and discontinuity of 33.

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[14] For example, F. Buecheler, *Quinti Ciceronis Reliquae* (Leipzig, 1869); C. F. W. Mueller, *M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia*, pars III, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1896); R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* 1 (Dublin, 1904[3]); L.-A. Constans, *Cicéron: Correspondence* 1 (Paris, 1940); A. Duplá, G. Fatás, and F. Pina, *El Manual del candidato de Quinto Ciceron (El Commentariolum Petitionis)* (Erandio, 1990). For what it is worth, all other instances of *oportet* in the *Comm. Pet*. follow the same pattern: *oportet* is placed immediately after the infinitive that is its compliment; cf. 16 (*parta esse oportet*); 25 (*esse oportet*); 28 (*esse oportet*); 35 (s*cire autem oportet*). Its proposed positions at 33 diverge.

LUCRETIUS 4.897

praeterea tum rarescit quoque corpus, et aer
(scilicet ut debet qui semper mobilis extat)
per patefacta venit penetratque foramina largus,
et dispargitur ad partis ita quasque minutas
corporis. hic igitur rebus fit utrimque duabus,
corpus ut, ac navis velis ventoque, feratur. (Lucretius 4.892–7)

So most modern editors print line 897, with the old correction *corpus* for the *corporis* of the MSS.[1] The sense is, to quote from the 1992 Loeb, 'Here then by two things acting in two ways it comes about that the body is carried along, as a ship by sails and wind.'

There should surely be doubts about the use of *ac* for 'in the same way as' without a preceding word expressing similarity. The nearest parallel seems to be Plautus, *Bacch.* 549 *sicut est hic quem esse amicum ratu' sum atque ipsus sum mihi*. But this is the

[1] Exceptions are Bailey (OCT 1900) and Ernout (Budé) who obelize *corporis*, and K. Müller, who prints *corpus ut aeque ac nauis* (*nauis* a monosyllable).

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