SELECT LETTERS

OF

SENECA

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTIONS AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

WALTER C. SUMMERS, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLL, CAMBRIDGE FIRTH PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

> Multa enim, ut dixi, probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt: eligere modo curae sit.

Quintil. 10. 1. 131

LONDON
MACMILLAN & CO LTD
NEW YORK · ST MARTIN'S PRESS
1965

VII

EVIL COMMUNICATIONS

SENECA LVCILIO SVO SALVTEM

1 QUID tibi uitandum praecipue existimem, quaeris? turbam. nondum illi tuto committeris. I always feel the 25 ego certe confitebor imbecillitatem meam: out.

7

quod composui turbatur, aliquid ex iis quae fugaui redit. quod aegris euenit quos longa imbecillitas usque eo affecit ut nusquam sine offensa proferantur, hoc accidit nobis, quorum animi ex longo morbo 5 2 reficiuntur. inimica est multorum conversatio: nemo The bigger the non aliquod nobis uitium aut commendat erthe danger. aut imprimit aut nescientibus allinit. utique quo maior est populus cui miscemur, hoc periculi plus est. nihil uero tam damnosum bonis moribus 10 quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere. tunc enim per 3 uoluptatem facilius uitia surrepunt. quid me existimas dicere? 'auarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior'? immo uero crudelior et inhumanior, quia inter homines fui. casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi, 15 I have in mind just now the butchery of the midday games. lusus exspectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti quo hominum oculi ab humano cruore acquiescant. contra est: quicquid ante pugnatum est, misericordia fuit; nunc omissis nugis mera homicidia sunt. nihil habent quo tegantur: ad ictum 20 totis corporibus expositi numquam frustra manum 4 mittunt. hoc plerique ordinariis paribus et postulaticiis praeferunt. quidni praeferant? non galea. non scuto repellitur ferrum. quo munimenta? quo artes? omnia ista mortis morae sunt. mane leonibus 25 et ursis homines, meridie spectatoribus suis obiciuntur. interfectores interfecturis jubent obici et nictorem in aliam detinent caedem: exitus pugnantium mors est. ferro et igne res geritur. haec fiunt, dum uacat 5 harena. 'sed latrocinium fecit aliquis.' quid ergo ? 30

SELECT LETTERS OF SENECA

numquam mores quos extuli refero. aliquid ex eo

occidit hominem? 'occidit hominem.' quia occidit, ille meruit ut hoc pateretur: tu quid meruisti miser, ut hoc spectes? 'occide, uerbera, ure! quare tam timide incurrit in ferrum? quare parum audacter occidit? quare parum libenter moritur et plagis agitur in 5 uulnera? mutuos ictus nudis et obuiis pectoribus excipiant. intermissum est spectaculum: interim iugulentur homines, ne nihil agatur.' age, ne hoc quidem intellegitis: mala exempla in eos redundare qui faciunt? agite dis immortalibus gratias, quod eum 10 6 docetis esse crudelem qui non potest discere. subducendus populo est tener animus et parum tenax recti: facile transitur ad plures.

^{1.} For my insertion of a second occidit hominem see the notes. I am also responsible for the insertion of et after moritur and the changes of punctuation which it entails: C.Q. 1908 p. 23.

VII

With this letter should be compared the De Otio and the letters in which Sen, urges Lucilius to retire (see on XXI). That Lucilius interpreted ours as having the same object appears from 8. 1, and Sen. does not contradict him. The picture in Ot. 1 is very similar to that drawn here: in otio nemo intervenit qui iudicium adhuc imbecillum populo adiutore detorqueat. Cowley's Essay 'On the dangers of an honest man in much company' handles the same theme, but does not seem to owe anything to Sen. In his references to gladiatorial exhibitions, it is not surprising that the author of XLVII should anticipate modern views. Cicero had no taste for these entertainments, but has also no very decided censure for their cruelty: see Tusc. 2. 41 crudele et inhumanum nonnullis uideri solet, et haud scio an ita sit ut nunc fit. cum uero sontes ferro depugnabant (the very point Sen. meets at § 5) ... nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina; Fam. 7.1 (a very interesting letter, written in reference to the very shows of Pompey against which Sen. is so bitter in B.V. 13. 7). The chief argument urged in defence of the institution was one which still does duty in support of less objectionable exhibitions: the sight was one guod ad pulchra uulnera contemptumque mortis accenderet (Plin. P. 33). Seneca's views are further expressed in some of the passages quoted in the note on § 3. Like Cicero he often draws examples from the gladiators, but in LXX his instances of the contempt they shewed for death all involve suicide committed in order to escape the arena. The influences of these exhibitions is clearly seen in the ghastly battlescenes of Lucan. Celsus tells us (1. pr.) that many of the opponents of vivisection (i.e. the dissection of living human beings) urged that the knowledge necessary could be gained by watching the gladiatorial shows. For the 'generous boldness' of the monk Telemachus, which brought about the abolition of an institution against which Constantine had spoken in vain, see Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xxx.

§ 1. l. 24. quaeris] Seneca does his best to make the *Epistulae* appear the outcome of a genuine correspondence: the words ita fac with which they open imply that Sen. has before him a letter from Lucilius, II begins 'ex eis quae mihi scribis', III 'epistulas ad me perferendas tradidisti', and so on.

PAGE 6

- 1. 1. refero] 'bring back home': Ira 2. 7. 1 desinet ille Socrates posse eundem uultum domum referre quem domo extulerat, Epict. 3. 5. 16 τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον ἀεὶ καὶ ἐκφέρειν καὶ εἰσφέρειν. For the absolute use of referre op. Quint. 2. 2. 8 multa cotidie dicat (sc. the teacher) quae secum auditores referant. Gray, writing to Wharton, Dec. 11, 1746: 'It is no wonder then ... if my spirits, when I returned to my cell, should sink for a time. ... Besides, Seneca says (and my pitch of philosophy does not pretend to be much above Seneca) numquam etc.'.
- ex eo quod composui] 'the peace I have made for myself', componere being constantly used by Sen. to denote the effect of philosophic training in producing tranquillity and resignation (see on 11.9, 55.8). Quod is cognate acc.: cp. 110.4 quod gaudes, quod times contrahe. For the sense cp. Tranq. 17. 3 conversatio dissimilium bene composita disturbat.
- 1. 4. offensa] 'ill effects'; the word seems to belong to the colloquial sphere: this use seems to occur first in Celsus, and was probably technical: in *Tranq.* 2. 1, Petr. 131 the context is similar, and ep. offensio in Cic. Fam. 16. 10. 1. For the thought, ep. 28. 3 below.
- 1. 5. morbo] The conception of sin as a disease of the mind and of the philosopher as a physician was especially common with the Cynics: cp. Antisthenes in D.L. 6. 4 έρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί πικρῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπιπλήττει, καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, φησί από 6 καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, φησί, μετὰ τῶν νοσούντων εἰσίν, ἀλλ' οὐ πυρέττουσιν. But the germ of it appears already in Plato (Gorg. 36 ὅπως μὴ ἐγχρονισθὲν τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀδικίας ὕπουλον τὴν ψυχὴν ποιήσει) and even Epicurus adopts the illustration: Fr. 221 Us. ὥσπερ ἰατρικῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος μὴ τὰς νόσους τῶν σωμάτων ἐκβαλλούσης, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀφιλοσοφίας, εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλει πάθος. Cp. Intr. p. Ixxiii, and the passage from de Ira cited on oderis in § 8 below.
- § 2. l. 6. conversatio] 'intercourse', ὁμιλία. The word, like conversari itself, is post-Augustan. Cic. uses consuetudo and usus with much the same force.

nemo non] a favourite expression of Seneca's; similarly numquam non (11. 4).

1. 7. commendat] 'makes attractive', as often in Cicero: cp. 55. 8.

158

1. 8. imprimit] 'stamps on us': 114. 20 uitia quae alicui impressit imitatio.

allinit] 'befouls us with it'; cp. Epict. 3. 16, esp. § 3 ἀμήχανον τὸν συνανατριβόμενον τῷ ἡσβολωμένω μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀσβολῆς. The word is rare, but occurs in one of Cicero's speeches.

utique] seems to have been a colloquial particle: it is common before Sen. only in Cicero's letters and Livy. I have noted over 40 exx. in the Epistulae alone, where it generally denotes 'necessarily' (so here: op. 85. 21 utique enim quo prudentior est, hoc magis se ad id quod est optimum extendet), but the meanings 'at any rate' and 'especially' are also very common.

- 1. 12. surrepunt] of stealthy, insidious attack, not really very different from fallere: op. $i\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\bar{\nu}$. The use may have been common in the spoken language, as Catullus uses it (77. 3): in literature it is uncommon outside the Senecas and Quintilian.
- § 3. 1. 14. inhumanior, quia inter homines fui] Cp. Thomas à Kempis, Imit. Christ. 1. 20 dixit quidam 'quoties inter homines fui, minor homo redii'. Sen. never wearies of the paradox: cp. e.g. 90. 45 below, 95. 33 homo, sacra res homini, per lusum occiditur, 115. 3 in homine rarum humanitas bonum (90 l.c. and 95 l.c. in conn. with gladiators). His master Fabianus indulges in it in Sen. Contr. 2. 1. 10 quae causa hominem aduersus hominem in facinus coegit?
- 1. 15. meridianum spectaculum] The matutinum spectaculum consisted mainly of wild beast hunts and fights (Ou. M. 11.26, Sen. Ep. 70. 20, Ira 3. 43. 2, Mart. 13. 95 and cp. § 4 mane leonibus obiciuntur). Then, most people went home to the midday meal, so that the luncheon interval of modern cricket has its ancient parallel (Dio 37. 46). Our passage shews that the performances did not come to a complete standstill; to tide over the interval, it was arranged that there should be an encounter between not regular gladiators but condemned criminals, who had no defensive armour and often had to be driven by force to face their opponents. This quite tallies with what Suetonius says of Claudius (Vita 34): he took such pleasure in bestiarii (i.e. the performers at the matutinum) and these meridiani, ut et prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet (i.e. to see the bestiarii) et meridie, dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet (to see the convicts).

- 1. 17. ab ... cruore acquiescant] I have found this constr. of the verb besides only in Vell. 2. 99.
 - 1. 18. ante] at the morning show.
- 1. 19. mera homicidia] 'plain and simple murder'. This use of merus was doubtless quite common in colloquial Latin, being found in Plautus, Cicero (Dial. and Corr.), Petronius and the Apocolocynthosis. Examples with plural abstract nouns are mera monstra (Cic.), merae fuyae or tricae (Petr.), mera hilaria (Petr.). In Petr. 37 we have mero meridie; here the whole phrase is probably a play on meridiana: see Intr. p. lxxxii.
- 1. 21. expositi] They are at the mercy of their adversary, and themselves inflict a wound at every thrust. An *ipsi* after *expositi* would make the sense clearer.
 - § 4. l. 22. ordinariis] consisting of regular gladiators.

postulaticiis] These seem to have played in the arena much the same part as is played in modern farces by the 'encore' verses of the topical song: they were choice men kept in reserve for an audience that shewed itself appreciative. For similar prudence on the part of the 'management' cp. Sen. Contr. 4. pr. 1 munerarii ad exspectationem populi detinendam ('keep up the interest') noua paria per omnes dies dispensant, ut sit quod populum delectet et reuocet (i.e. make them attend each day).

- 1. 23. quidni praeferant] 'Of course they do.' Such phrases with quidni are very common in Sen.: they correspond to those with $\pi \hat{\omega} s$ ov in Greek. The probability is that ni at one time existed side by side with ne as a negative particle. In 40. 8 and elsewhere the verb is not expressed: ep. $\pi(un)$; in e.g. Soph. Aias 668.
- 1. 24. quo] 'What is the use of', 'What do you want with': Intr. p. liv.

munimenta] 'defensive armour', as in 76. 14 and perhaps nowhere else in literature: it must however have been a technical term.

- 1. 27. interfectores] 'those who have slain their men'.
- 1. 29. ferro et igne res geritur] apparently means 'the whole business needs fire and steel to keep it going': these men are not regular gladiators, and have to be kept in the ring with brands, pikes and the lash (uerbera § 5). For the phrase res geritur 'it is a case of ...' cp. B. 1. 5. 2 'a benefit is not tangible: animo res geritur', Liv. 10. 39. 12 (where Papirius

scoffs at the foe's gay armour, saying that white tunies grow red ubi res ferro geritur). Vacat harena means that the show is really at a standstill: see on § 3.

§ 5. l. 30. quid ergo etc.] 'What of that? Did he kill a man?' (as you are doing in the amphitheatre). To this Sen.'s interlocutor says 'Well, for the matter of that this particular malefactor is more than a mere robber: he is a murderer.'

PAGE 7

- 1. 2. tu quid meruisti ... ut] 'What have you done to deserve having to ...' A very rare use of the verb, for which I can only quote Sen. Med. 646 meruere cuncti | morte quod crimen tener expiauit 'all committed the crime that the young Hylas atoned for with his life', Vell. 2. 130 quid hic (Tiberius) meruit ut ... Libo iniret consilia (sc. of assassinating him)? and perhaps Verg. A. 7. 307. In Plautus and Cic. we find the verb used with an acc. to denote the requiring a price in consideration of which one undertakes something (quid merearis ut ... dicas?): in our passage the idea is extended to that of committing a crime, in consequence of which one must be prepared to suffer something.
 - 1. 3. occide etc.] said to the attendants with the spears etc.
- 1. 6. obuiis pectoribus] Med. 138 debuit ferro obuium | offerre pectus.
- 1. 9. mala exempla in eos redundare qui faciunt] a favourite Senecan thought: cp. Thy. 311 saepe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua.
- 1.10. eum] So far from being angry, the audience should be glad to find a man qui parum audacter occidit (§ 5) and is slow to learn the lesson they would teach him. The contrast of docere and discere is a favourite of Sen.'s.
- § 6. 1. 11. subducendus] 'saved from': 119. 11 quem populo et fortunae subduximus, Sen. Contr. 2. pr. 3 subduc fortunae magnam tui partem. The verb is rather a favourite with Sen.: this sense 'withdraw for protection', a very natural outcome of its use in reference to the drawing off of troops, seems mainly poetic or post-Augustan.
 - 1. 12. tener] 'easily impressed', 'susceptible', as in 108. 12.