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CICERO  
PRO MILONE

EDITED BY  
THOMAS J. KEELINE  
*Washington University in St. Louis*



Cambridge University Press  
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*For Monica, as always*

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## MAPS

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Map 1 Latium. From *CAH* ix.188.

Map 2 Rome in the late Republic. From Ramsey 2003: xxvi–xxvii.

Map 3 Center of Rome in the late Republic. From *CAH* ix.370.

## PREFACE

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In my perhaps biased opinion, the *Pro Milone* is Cicero's best speech. And now that I've finished writing a commentary on it, well, I feel just about ready to start writing one. But life is short, and I've already spent more time thinking about this speech than Cicero himself ever did. So: *manum de tabula!*

My goal in this book is to help students and scholars understand the *Pro Milone* both as a literary masterpiece and as a historical document. Much of the commentary is an attempt to build a bridge between what we know today and what Cicero's contemporary audience would have known. Now this is ultimately an unbridgeable gap – Cicero's contemporaries were native speakers of Latin who knew the people involved in the trial and had an intuitive grasp of the social and political background to the case, to say nothing of their shared cultural knowledge of Roman life and the Roman world more generally *ca.* 52 BC. Today we can only do our best to reconstruct that knowledge by diligent philology, careful historical work, and constant attention to Cicero's rhetorical artistry. Our reconstruction will necessarily remain fragmentary and incomplete. But I don't think we should despair: even if the gap between us and them is unbridgeable, we can still make a lot of progress, and the journey itself has much to offer.

I've tried to provide notes on whatever seemed likely to need or benefit from explanation. The last full-scale English commentary on the *Pro Milone* was published 126 years ago, and while I doubt we'll have to wait that long for the next, I've attempted to write for a variety of possible audiences. Different readers will of course have very different needs and desires – and different people use commentaries for very different purposes – and so everyone will make their own selection of which notes to consult. Readers are good at skipping what they don't need or what doesn't interest them; I think that the much bigger danger is to fail someone who is looking to the commentary for help or further information on a particular point. While my own idiosyncratic interests will be clear, I've never consciously avoided a difficulty of any sort.

A commentary demands all kinds of knowledge from a commentator, and it's a great way to find out just how little you know. Suffice it to say that no one is more conscious of my deficiencies than I. These would have been far more visible but for the extraordinary generosity of a number of scholars, some of whom I've never even met. Kathy Coleman gave me the idea to write this commentary in the first place; she and Tim Moore both read the specimen that I sent to the Press as part of the proposal.

Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press has provided sage guidance from before a single word of the commentary was even written. The series editors, Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley, shepherded the commentary from first fumbling drafts through to completion, reading every word with meticulous care and attention. Iveta Adams has (again) been the best copy-editor I could imagine, improving almost every page of the manuscript with her editorial acumen and sense of style. Bethany Johnson has skillfully guided the book through production, and Raymond Howard has my gratitude for serving as proofreader for the press. The manuscript was also read in whole or in substantial parts by Dominic Berry, Tony Corbeill, Bob Kaster, Cathy Keane, Gesine Manuwald, Bob Morstein-Marx, John Ramsey, and Jim Zetzel. These kind souls also answered follow-up questions (sometimes quite a few!) and provided useful guidance of all sorts. Many others generously answered individual questions or helped in other ways, including David Armstrong, Sean Dolan, Daniel Pettersson, Tim Moore (again), Luis Alejandro Salas, Jeff Tatum, and James Townshend. A graduate seminar at Washington University in St. Louis in fall 2018 let me think hard about the speech in the company of some wonderful students, and a fellowship from the Center for the Humanities at the same institution let me finish a draft of the commentary in fall 2019. This bare list of names is scant acknowledgment of the enormous contribution that these scholars and friends have made to the commentary; they have been prodigal with their time and learning, and only those who saw my earlier drafts can understand how much they've been improved. The fact that mistakes and deficiencies remain in spite of such extraordinary help is only a testimony to the magnitude of the author's aforementioned shortcomings, and they are of course his responsibility alone.

My greatest debt – to the best of wives, best of women – is inadequately acknowledged in the dedication.



## ABBREVIATIONS, EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES, AND TRANSLATIONS

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### ABBREVIATIONS

- A–G Allen, J. H. and Greenough, J. B. *A new Latin grammar*. Boston 1903.
- BAtlas* Talbert, R. J. A. (ed.) *Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world*. Princeton 2000.
- BNP* Cancik, H. and Schneider, H. *Brill's new Pauly: encyclopaedia of the ancient world. Antiquity*, 15 vols., trans. C. F. Salazar and D. E. Orton. Leiden 2006–10.
- CAH<sup>2</sup>* *Cambridge ancient history*, 2nd edn., 14 vols. Cambridge 1970–2005.
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin 1861–.
- G–L Gildersleeve, B. L. and Lodge, G. *Latin grammar*. New York 1895.
- GL* Keil, H. (ed.) *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols. Leipzig 1855–80.
- H–S Hofmann, J. B. and Szantyr, A. *Lateinische Syntax und Stylistik*. Munich 1965.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1873–.
- ILS* Dessau, H. *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols. Berlin 1892–1916.
- Inscr. Ital.* *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Rome 1931–.
- K–S Kühner, R. and Stegmann, C. *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Band 2: Satzlehre*, 4th edn., 2 vols. Darmstadt 1966.
- Laurand Laurand, L. *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*, 4th edn., 2 vols. in 1. Amsterdam 1965 (reprint of Paris 1936–8).
- Lausberg Lausberg, H. *Handbook of literary rhetoric*, trans./ed. M. T. Blass *et al.* Leiden 1998.
- Lebreton Lebreton, J. *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*. Paris 1901.
- Leumann Leumann, M. *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Munich 1977.
- Löfstedt Löfstedt, E. *Syntactica: Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*, 2 vols. Lund 1933–42.

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xii ABBREVIATIONS, EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES, AND TRANSLATIONS

- L&S Lewis, C. T. and Short, C. *A Latin dictionary*. Oxford 1879.
- LTUR Steinby, E. M. (ed.) *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 6 vols. Rome 1993–2000.
- Merguet Merguet, H. *Lexikon zu den Reden des Ciceros*, 4 vols. Jena 1877–84.
- MRR Broughton, T. R. S. *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 3 vols. New York and Atlanta 1951–86.
- NLS Woodcock, E. C. *A new Latin syntax*. London 1959.
- NTDAR Richardson Jr., L. *A new topographical dictionary of ancient Rome*. Baltimore 1992.
- N–W Neue, C. F. and Wagener, C. *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3rd edn., 4 vols. Leipzig 1892–1905.
- OCD Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. (eds.) *Oxford classical dictionary*, 4th edn. Oxford 2012.
- OLD Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) *Oxford Latin dictionary*. Oxford 1982.
- ORF<sup>4</sup> Malcovati, E. *Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta*, 4th edn., 2 vols. Turin 1976.
- Otto Otto, A. *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Leipzig 1890.
- PHI Packard Humanities Institute Classical Latin Texts. Online at: <https://latin.packhum.org/>.
- PMG Page, D. L. (ed.) *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford 1962.
- RE Pauly, A., Wissowa, G., and Kroll, W. (eds.) *Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart 1893–1980.
- RLM Halm, K. *Rhetores Latini minores*. Leipzig 1863.
- RRC Crawford, M. H. *Roman Republican coinage*, 2 vols. Cambridge 1974.
- TLL *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. Munich 1900–.
- TLRR Alexander, M. C. *Trials in the late Roman Republic, 149 BC to 50 BC*. Toronto 1990.
- Weiss Weiss, M. *Outline of the historical and comparative grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor 2009.

SELECT CRITICAL EDITIONS AND COMMENTARIES

The list below includes editions containing conjectures mentioned in the apparatus criticus, as well as other editions that I have consulted in preparing the present commentary. It is arranged in chronological order.

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ABBREVIATIONS, EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES, AND TRANSLATIONS xiii

For a massive catalogue of editions before 1836, see Orelli 1826–38: VI.193–477.

*Editio Iuntina* = Angelius, N. 1515: *M. T. Ciceronis orationes a Nicolao Angelio Bucinensi nuper maxima diligentia recognitae et excusae*, Florence.

*Editio Aldina* = Naugerius, A. 1519: *M. T. Ciceronis orationes*, 3 vols., Venice.

Lambinus, D. 1565–66 (1st edn.), 1572–3 (2nd edn.): *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia quae extant*, Paris.

Fabricius, F. 1569: *M. Tullii Ciceronis de provinciis consularibus et pro Milone orationes*, Düsseldorf.

Gruter, J. 1618: *M. T. Ciceronis opera*, Hamburg.

Heumann, C. A. 1733: *M. Tullii Ciceronis oratio pro T. Annio Milone*, Hamburg.

Ernesti, J. A. 1774–7: *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia*, Halle.

Garatoni, G. 1777– (unfinished): *M. T. Ciceronis opera*, Naples. Notes to the *Mil.* reprinted in C. Orelli, *M. T. Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone oratio* (Leipzig 1826).

Peyron, A. 1824: *M. Tullii Ciceronis ... oratio pro T. A. Milone a lacunis restituta*, Stuttgart.

Orelli, J. C. 1826–38 (1st edn.), 1845–61 (2nd edn., ed. J. G. Baiter and K. Halm): *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia*, 8 vols., Zurich.

Purton, J. S. 1877: *M. T. Ciceronis oratio pro Tito Annio Milone*, Cambridge.

Novák, R. 1892: *M. Tullii Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone, pro Q. Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro orationes*, Prague.

Colson, F. H. 1893: *Cicero: Pro Milone*, London.

Reid, J. S. 1894: *M. Tullii Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices oratio*, Cambridge.

Clark, A. C. 1895: *Pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices oratio*, Oxford.

Plaisiowe, F. G. and Masom, W. F. n.d. [1895?]: *Cicero: Pro Milone*, London.

Wagener, J. and Wagener, A. 1898: *M. Tullii Ciceronis pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices oratio*, 3rd edn., Brussels.

Halm, K. and Laubmann, G. 1899: *Ciceros ausgewählte Reden. Fünfter Band: Die Reden für T. Annius Milo, für Q. Ligarius und für den König Deiotarus*, 10th edn., Berlin.

Poynton, A. B. 1902: *Cicero: Pro Milone*, 2nd edn., Oxford.

Butterwek, R. and Luterbacher, F. 1907: *Ciceros Rede für T. Annius Milo*, 3rd edn., Gotha.

Nohl, H., Richter, F., and Eberhard, A. 1907: *Ciceros Rede für T. Annius Milo*, 5th edn., Leipzig.

Wessner, P. 1911: *Ciceros Rede für T. Annius Milo mit dem Kommentar des Asconius und den Bobienser Scholien*, Bonn.

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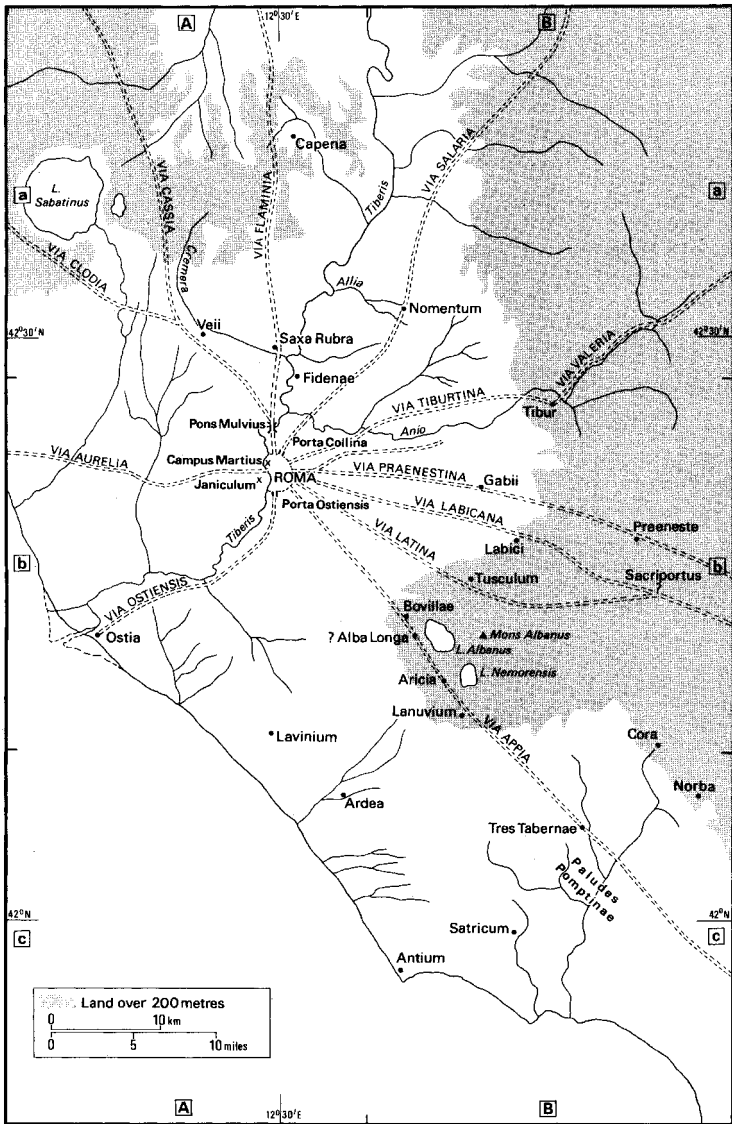
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- Klotz, A. 1914: *M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. 26: Oratio pro T. Annio Milone*, Leipzig.
- Colombo, S. 1917: *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro Milone – Pro Archia*, Turin.
- Clark, A. C. 1918: *M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes*, vol. II: *Pro Milone, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro rege Deiotaro, Philippicae I–XIV*, 2nd edn., Oxford.
- Donnelly, F. P. 1935: *Cicero's Milo: a rhetorical commentary*, New York.
- Guillemin, A.-M. 1938: *Pro Milone de Cicéron*, Paris.
- Vanderborght, E. 1943: *Cicéron: Pro Milone*, Brussels.
- Boulanger, A. 1949: *Cicéron: Discours*, vol. XVII: *Pour C. Rabirius Postumus, pour T. Annius Milon*, Paris.
- Faranda, R. 1968: *Cicerone: Pro Milone*, Turin.
- Gallo, I. 1969: *Cicerone: orazioni Clodiane. De domo sua, De haruspicum responso, Pro Milone*, Rome.
- Quémener, J. 1972: *Cicéron: Pro Milone*, Paris.
- Collin, P. 1972: *Cicéron: Pro Milone. Préparation annotée*, 7th edn., Paris.
- Fedeli, P. 1990: *Cicerone: In difesa di Milone*, Venice.
- Fotheringham, L. S. 2013: *Persuasive language in Cicero's Pro Milone: a close reading and commentary*, London.
- West, R. and Fotheringham, L. S. 2016: *Cicero: Pro Milone. A selection*, London.

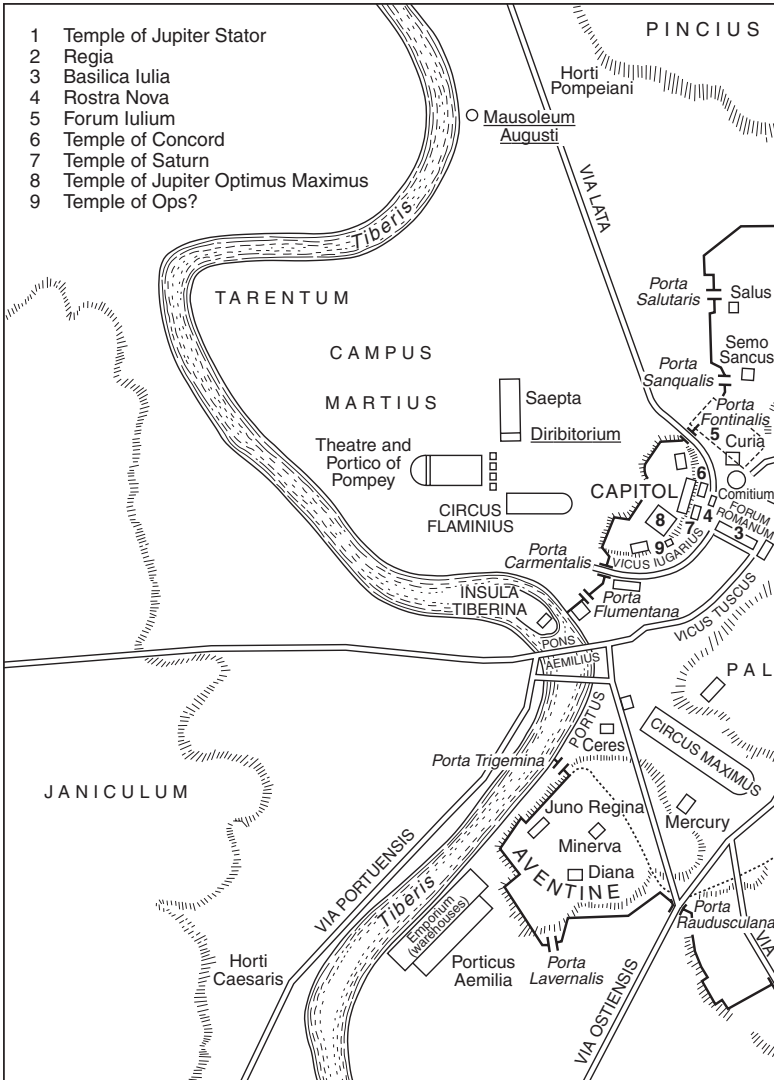
#### MODERN ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

- Watts, N. H. 1931: *Cicero: Pro Milone, In Pisonem, Pro Scauro, Pro Fonteio, Pro Rabirio Postumo, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro*, Cambridge, MA.
- Grant, M. 1969: *Selected political speeches of Cicero*, Harmondsworth.
- Berry, D. H. 2008: *Cicero: defence speeches*, corrected edn., Oxford.

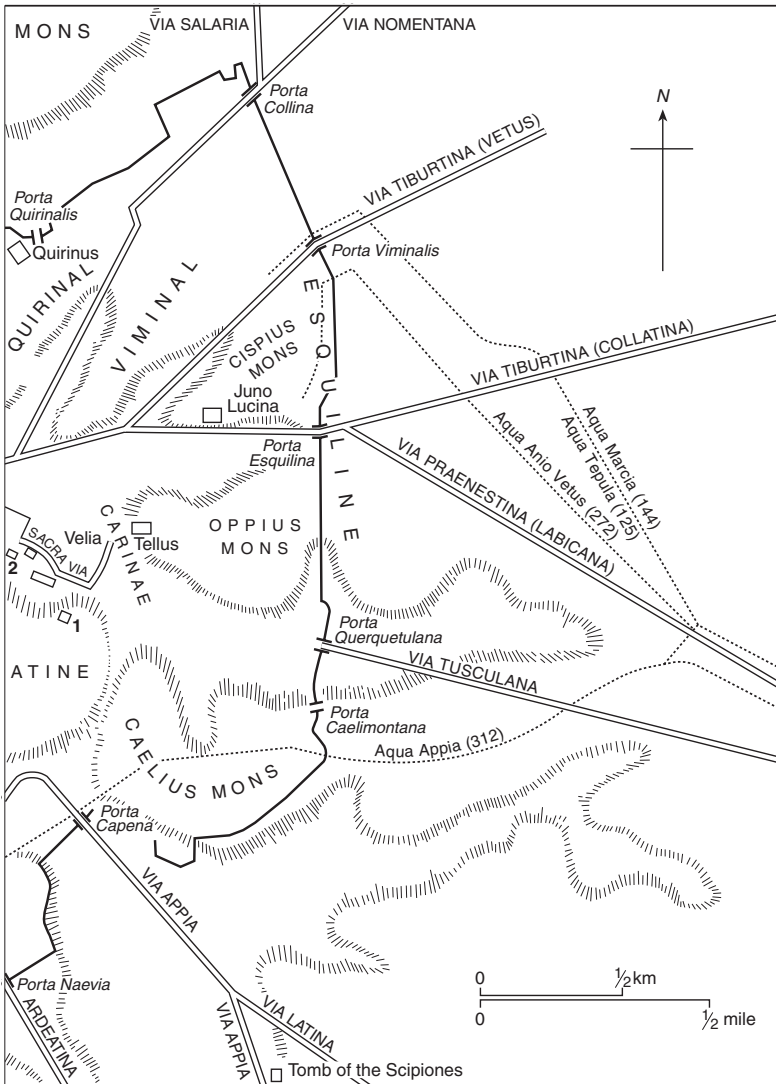
MAPS



Map 1 Latium. From *CAH* ix.188.

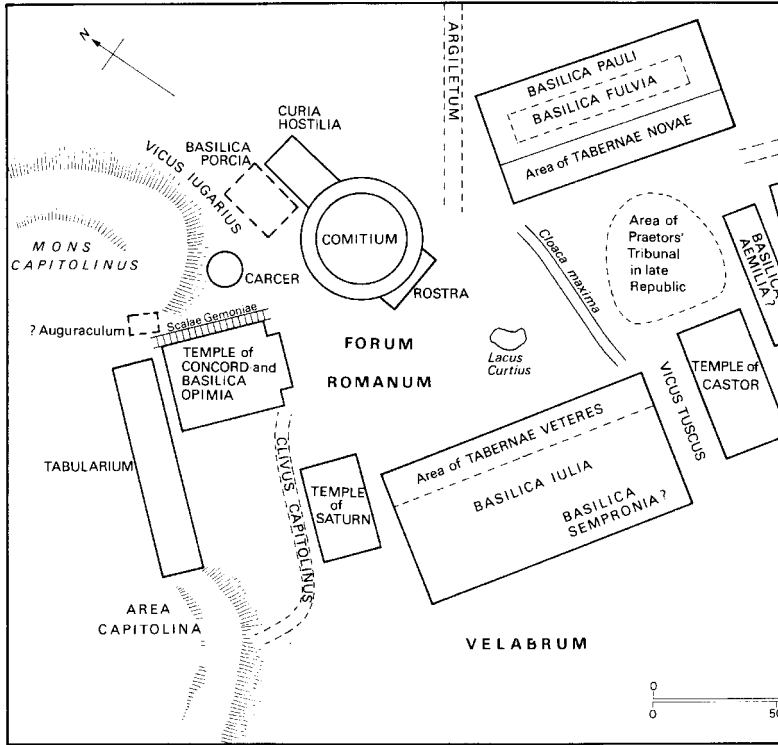


Map 2 Rome in the late Republic. Underlining denotes later, imperial structures. From Ramsey 2003: xxvi–xxvii.



Map 2 (cont.)

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Map 3 Center of Rome in the late Republic. From CA



## NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

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Classical Latin authors and titles are abbreviated as in the *OLD* or more explicitly; later Latin authors, where necessary, generally as in the *TLL*. Cicero is abbreviated “C.”; references to C.’s works consist of an abbreviated title with no author. A reference preceded by § is to the *Pro Milone*, which is cited without further indication; when such a reference is followed by an n., it indicates that the commentary contains a relevant note ad loc. (e.g.: “cf. §23n. *ut aliquando ad causam crimenque ueniamus*”; in such cross-references, longer lemmata are sometimes truncated). C.’s letters are cited by the vulgate numeration. Asconius is cited by page number of A. C. Clark’s Oxford Classical Text; the Scholia Bobiensia (Schol. Bob.) by page and line number of T. Stangl’s edition. Cassius Dio is abbreviated Dio; other Greek authors are abbreviated as in the *Greek–English Lexicon* of Liddell, Scott, and Jones. In the bibliography, modern periodicals are abbreviated as in *L’Année Philologique* with occasional slight modifications (e.g. *AJP* instead of *AJPh*), while “standard” commentaries (e.g. Austin ad *Cael.*) are not listed. Other abbreviations and references can be elucidated by consulting the List of Abbreviations, Editions, Commentaries, and Translations, and the Works Cited.