

CICERO, *POST REDITUM* SPEECHES



Cicero, *Post reditum* Speeches

Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary

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Preface

Cicero's 'exile' was a major event in his biography, but one that he would have preferred to be glossed over in certain contexts or to be considered only from the perspective from which he wanted it to be seen. The speeches composed for his return to Rome (*Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*) are important elements in the campaign for the latter, as they establish Cicero's interpretation of the reasons and circumstances for his departure and return. They are thus telling documents for Cicero's self-portrayal, and, as political speeches of thanks, they are also unique examples of a particular type of oratory at Rome. This volume, providing a general introduction, a reconsidered Latin text, a new English translation, and a full-scale commentary, aims to bring these orations and the issues arising from them back into the discussion, now that these speeches have been confirmed to be genuine. The book also includes the speech *Pridie quam in exilium iret*, doubtless a spurious item, so as to combine all the texts connected with Cicero's departure from and return to Rome in a single volume and enable comparisons between authentic and non-authentic texts from this context.

A number of people have directly or indirectly supported the preparation of this volume. Again I was able to work on this project in the collegial atmosphere of the Department of Greek and Latin at University College London (UCL) and had the opportunity to discuss various aspects of it with colleagues. Beyond London, particular thanks are due to Tom Keeline, who kindly read an earlier version of the entire manuscript and made numerous helpful comments, and to Anthony Corbeill, who generously shared thoughts on the corpus of Cicero's post-exile speeches and the spurious oration. The team at Oxford University Press, particularly Charlotte Loveridge, were enthusiastic about the project from the start and helpful throughout.

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G.M.



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Introduction

1. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP AND THIS COMMENTARY

In the two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* (RS) and *Post reditum ad Quirites* (RQ) Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) expresses gratitude towards the Senate and the People respectively after his return to Rome in 57 BCE, following his enforced absence ('exile') since spring 58 BCE, and presents his version of the events in those years with a view to re-establishing his position. Cicero's withdrawal from Rome had occurred in the context of a backlash, spearheaded by the Tribune of the People P. Clodius Pulcher, against the treatment of some of the Catilinarian conspirators at the end of Cicero's consular year of 63 BCE.

These two speeches belong to a group of four thematically linked Ciceronian orations (including also *De domo sua* and *De haruspicum responsis*), all of which were regarded as spurious for a long time; when their genuineness was questioned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these speeches were studied almost exclusively with respect to textual and linguistic issues in the context of this debate on authenticity (see Introduction, section 3.1). While scholars now consider these orations to be genuine (especially after T. Zielinski's studies on prose rhythm, published in 1904), they are still not widely read, perhaps because the authenticity debate has tarnished them and, even when viewed as genuine items, they are thought to be slightly unusual and not to be Cicero's best speeches. Therefore, it has been observed that these speeches have been fairly neglected and that no adequate commentaries exist,¹ while they feature as sources in historical works and biographies of Cicero.

¹ See, e.g., Courtney 1960, 95: 'Though no one now accepts the opinion of Markland and Wolf that the speeches *Post Reditum in Senatu*, *Post Reditum ad Quirites*, *De Domo*, *De Haruspicum Responso* are not by Cicero, and the reaction started early, yet the prosecution's case seems to have cast a shadow over them, and with the exception of the *De Domo* they have hardly been treated by Cicero's editors with the same care as the rest of his works.'; Webster 1992 (rev. of Shackleton Bailey 1991): 'The post-reditum speeches are among the most neglected, and most misunderstood, of Cicero's works.'; Berry 1995, 36: 'Until now, virtually nothing has been written on *Sen.* and *Pop.*, except as touching on the question of their genuineness (a matter finally settled only by Zielinski's *Clauselgesetz* in 1904). Unusually for Cicero, there is not even a Victorian school edition.'; Craig 1995, 70–1: 'Yet they have been largely ignored until very recently, in part because of the long-settled debate over their authenticity... the historical and rhetorical importance of these relatively neglected speeches'; Dyck 2004, 313: 'The speeches Cicero delivered within a year of his return from exile have found little favour with critics.'; 307 n. 38: 'One feels acutely the lack of a modern commentary on this speech [RQ], as on its counterpart, *Red. sen.*,...'; Boll 2019, 3: 'Bei der Rede *cum senatui gratias egit* zeigt sich eine ungerechtfertigte, große Lücke in der modernen Ciceroforschung. Sie wird—besonders im Vergleich zu den meisten anderen Werken in Ciceros Corpus—wohl schon wegen ihrer Kürze und der inhaltlichen Überschneidungen zu späteren, berühmteren

More recently, some researchers have stressed that these speeches are of historical and rhetorical interest as they show Cicero taking steps to regain his position in Rome, displaying his virtuosity in a less common rhetorical genre, operating sophisticated argumentative techniques to present himself as a hero rather than a victim, and adumbrating themes relevant in the following decade.² Accordingly, J. Nicholson (1992, 131) concludes: ‘For these reasons, the orations *Post reditum* deserve to be rescued from the oblivion to which the old critics mistakenly banished them.’

J. Nicholson’s monograph (1992; a revision of a 1991 PhD thesis) on the two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* as well as D. R. Shackleton Bailey’s translation (1991) of the group of four speeches (plus *Pro Sestio* and *In Vatinius*) represent important attempts to do justice to these speeches and make them more accessible. These works were followed by articles in the 1990s and 2000s, mainly on Cicero’s presentation of himself or the themes and motifs used across the group of speeches, and then the monograph by R. Racanelli (2012). Both books on these orations review the history of scholarship, consider aspects of the speeches’ rhetorical genre and argumentative structure, survey the individuals mentioned, and discuss Cicero’s relationship to them.

Since the publication of the Teubner edition of the Latin text of the four speeches by T. Maslowski (1981) there had hardly been any work on textual or linguistic issues. The only existing aids to reading the text until recently were Latin commentaries from the nineteenth century and brief Italian commentaries from the middle of the twentieth century, as well as annotated translations into various modern languages also from the twentieth century. In late 2019 a commentary on *Post reditum in senatu* in German by T. Boll (a revision of a PhD thesis) appeared, which includes detailed discussions of textual, rhetorical, and historical issues. The publication of this volume represents a step forward towards fully exploring these speeches, though it only covers one of the orations and does not have sufficient space for in-depth analysis throughout.

Thus, the time seems ripe to bring together textual and linguistic observations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (valuable, even though often made in the context of the authenticity debate) and modern approaches to Ciceronian oratory and thus produce a commentary that will give both these speeches an up-to-date scholarly tool and thus hopefully encourage people interested in Republican oratory and history to engage with them more thoroughly. This commentary focuses on the two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*, since these are immediately connected with

Reden bisher immer noch stiefmütterlich behandelt. Ein moderner Kommentar liegt zu ihr, wie auch zu der Parallelrede an das Volk, nicht vor.’

² See, e.g., Nicholson 1992, 131; Webster 1992 (rev. of Shackleton Bailey 1991); Dyck 2004, 313–14.

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Cicero's return and display a specific rhetorical nature as a result of their context of delivery.³

The *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* also belongs to the thematic complex of Cicero's departure from and return to Rome in 58–57 BCE. This speech is generally taken to be spurious, and its peculiarities in language, style, and content confirm this assessment (see Introduction, section 4). Nevertheless, this text is a valuable complement to the orations *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*: it enables comparison between what might have been said before leaving (according to someone's imagination) and what was said upon Cicero's return; it allows an insight into how motifs perceived as characteristic of Cicero's presentation of his departure from Rome and its reasons have been adjusted to an earlier point in time within the same sequence of events (supplemented by further material); and the analysis of a truly inauthentic speech from the same context alongside the speeches now accepted as genuine can confirm the validity of this view.

This oration has attracted even less scholarly attention than the genuine *post reditum*-speeches, probably because of its spuriousness.⁴ At least there is a separate modern edition by M. De Marco (1991, developing an earlier edition of 1967). After a series of articles by L. Gamberale (1979; 1997; 1998) the speech has recently been discussed in a study by T. J. Keeline (2018) and an article by A. Corbeill (2020). Its resurfacing may be linked to increasing interest in the early reception of Cicero and in issues of authorship.

Therefore, including the speech in this edition should help to open up further avenues of enquiry and assemble all oratorical material immediately connected with Cicero's leaving Rome and returning to the city in a single volume.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* illustrate Cicero's reaction to his return to Rome in September 57 BCE. His departure and subsequent return ultimately were a consequence of events during Cicero's consulship in 63 BCE.⁵

³ Commentaries on *De domo sua* and *De haruspicum responsis* are currently being prepared by other scholars. – This commentary was begun before the work by T. Boll (2019) appeared.

⁴ See, e.g., Rouse/Reeve 1983, 58 n. 11: 'Altogether it has aroused remarkably little curiosity'; Nicholson 1992, 7 n. 17 (p. 134): '... , but the *Ante iret in exilium* remains very little noticed.'

⁵ For modern biographies of Cicero covering his entire life (including further bibliography and references to ancient sources), see, e.g., Shackleton Bailey 1971; Rawson 1975; Mitchell 1979/1991; Fuhrmann 1992; Lintott 2008; Tempest 2011; for a chronology of events relating to Cicero's life and activities, see Marinone 2004.

The political and social framework, the main events, and the major trials of the 60s and 50s BCE are fairly well documented; yet almost all the evidence derives from the writings of Cicero or later sources based on these. Thus, it is possible to establish most of the historical facts; in terms of identifying reasons, motivations, and characteristics of the main figures involved, Cicero's tendentious interpretation and presentation have to be taken into account. Moreover, Cicero's comments were made over a period of time, with changing political circumstances, and in a variety of contexts with their individual constraints and with different aims. Thus, nuances and emphases vary; nevertheless, one may establish a core version (with some divergences that can be explained) by putting the various pieces of evidence together. Cicero's account of the sequence of events promoted after his return is what R. A. Kaster (2006, 1) has called the 'standard version', to indicate that it is a sketch created by Cicero, and what Kaster (2009) elsewhere describes as a passionate performance, highlighting its choreography designed for maximum impact for pragmatic reasons and for Cicero to present himself as a 'figure of consensus' within Republican ideology. In what follows both what can be regarded as historical facts and Cicero's view and presentation of them will be outlined as far as possible.⁶

When Cicero was elected as one of the consuls for 63 BCE, as a 'new man' (*homo novus*), unanimously, and at the earliest possible opportunity after reaching the required minimum age, as he stresses (*Cic. Leg. agr.* 2.3), he was proud of this achievement. In the febrile political atmosphere of the period, however, the consulship did not proceed as smoothly as he might have wished: at the beginning of the year he had to deal with a bill on land distribution proposed by the Tribune of the People P. Servilius Rullus just before Cicero came into office, which forced Cicero to take a stand on the contentious issue of land assignation in his inaugural speeches as consul (*Cic. Leg. agr.* 1–3); towards the end of the year he was faced with the Catilinarian Conspiracy organized by L. Sergius Catilina (*Cic. Cat.* 1–4; *Sall. Cat.*). On the basis of information conveyed to him, Cicero managed to have some of the Catilinarian conspirators captured and revealed as guilty in a meeting of the Senate on 3 December 63 BCE (*Cic. Cat.* 3). In a further meeting on 5 December 63 BCE, after some controversial discussion, the Senate decreed the death penalty for these men (*Cic. Cat.* 4; *Sall. Cat.* 50.3–53.1); Cicero made arrangements for the executions to happen the same evening (*Sall. Cat.* 55). While this procedure was backed by a *senatus consultum ultimum* passed on 21 October 63 BCE (*Sall. Cat.* 29.2–3; cf. *Cic. Cat.* 1.7) and authorized by the Senate decree of 5 December 63 BCE,

⁶ For a chronology and summary of events from 63 to 56 or 58–57 BCE relevant to Cicero's situation, see, e.g., De Benedetti 1929; Nicholson 1992, 19–23; Kaster 2006, 1–14; 393–408; Kelly 2006, 110–25; Boll 2019, 6–42; 247–8; for a detailed chronology of events in 58 and 57 BCE (with references to the sources), see Grimal 1967; for an overview of the Senate meetings and their topics in 58–57 BCE, see Stein 1930, 28–37; see also Christopherson 1989.

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criticism was soon voiced because Roman citizens were put to death without trial, against *Lex Sempronia de capite civis Romani* of 123 BCE (*LPPR*, pp. 309–10). Already on his final day in office at the end of 63 BCE Cicero was not given the opportunity to deliver the customary resignation speech; instead, he was merely allowed to make the standard oath: Cicero changed the wording of the oath to express the view that he had preserved the Republic by his activities against the Catilinarian Conspiracy (*Cic. Pis.* 6–7; *Plut. Cic.* 23.2–3).

Initiatives against Cicero gathered momentum when P. Clodius Pulcher achieved his goal of being adopted into a plebeian family—with the help of C. Iulius Caesar as *pontifex maximus* and consul in 59 BCE (*Cic. Prov. cons.* 42; *Suet. Caes.* 20.4; *Cass. Dio* 38.12.2)⁷ and while Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great) was one of the augurs (*Cic. Att.* 2.12.1)⁸—and was then elected Tribune of the People for 58 BCE (*MRR* II 195–6). Clodius was opposed to Cicero since the Bona Dea scandal of 62 BCE, when Clodius joined (in disguise) celebrations open only to women, was discovered, and taken to court, with Cicero testifying against him, though Clodius was acquitted as a result of bribery.⁹ In 58–57 BCE C. Iulius Caesar and Cn. Pompeius Magnus did not support Clodius openly, yet initially did not intervene to stop him either (*Cic. Sest.* 39–40); thus, it was and is widely thought that Clodius acted with their approval. Later, when Clodius' tactics changed and he interfered with their policies, Cn. Pompeius Magnus in particular contributed to arranging Cicero's recall to Rome (*Cic. RS* 29; *Dom.* 25; 66–7; *Prov. cons.* 43; *Har. resp.* 48–9; *Sest.* 39–41; 67; *Pis.* 76–80; *Att.* 2.9.1; 3.15.1; 3.18; 3.22.2; 3.23.1; *Fam.* 14.1.2; 14.2.2; *Q Fr.* 1.4.4; *Vell. Pat.* 2.45.3; *Cass. Dio* 38.12–30; *Plut. Cic.* 31.2–3; 33.2–3; *App. B Civ.* 2.14–16; see *Cic. RS* 4 n.). Caesar showed some understanding in that he did not set off for his province in spring 58 BCE until Cicero had left Rome, giving him the option to take up the offer (*Cic. Prov. cons.* 42) to join him as one of his staff.

Early in 58 BCE, among other measures, Clodius promulgated a bill *Lex Clodia de capite civis Romani* (*LPPR*, pp. 394–5), announcing punishment for anyone putting Roman citizens to death without trial, which was to be applied retroactively and prospectively; the bill did not name Cicero, but was seen as being directed against him (*Cic. Dom.* 62; *Att.* 3.15.5; *Vell. Pat.* 2.45.1; *Liv. Epit.*

⁷ On C. Iulius Caesar's biography, see, e.g., Gelzer 1960; on the relationship between Cicero and Caesar, see Klass 1939, in relation to the situation in 58–57 BCE, esp. pp. 82–7.

⁸ On Cn. Pompeius Magnus' biography, see, e.g., Gelzer 1984; Seager 2002; Christ 2004; on the relationship between Cicero and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, see Johannemann 1935, with regard to the situation in 58–57 BCE, esp. pp. 35–55, see also, e.g., Seager 1965; 2002, 101–9; Spielvogel 1993, 61–77; Tatum 1999, 166–8; Rollinger 2019, 125–7.

⁹ On the biography and activities of P. Clodius Pulcher, see Gruen 1966; Lintott 1967; Benner 1987; Tatum 1999; Nippel 2000; Stabryla 2006; Fezzi 2008; on Clodius' activities in 58 BCE, see also Rundell 1979; Fezzi 2001; on the role of the Tribunes of the People in the late Roman Republic, see Bleicken 1981; Thommen 1989; on the social make-up, role, and organization of Clodius' followers, see Nowak 1973, 102–46. – For Cicero's thoughts on the plans of and the relationship between Clodius, Caesar, and Pompeius in 59 BCE, see, e.g., *Cic. Att.* 2.12; 2.15; 2.22.

103; Plut. *Cic.* 30.5–6; Cass. Dio 38.14.4–6). The consuls of 58 BCE, A. Gabinius and L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (*MRR* II 193–4), did not take any action (*Cic. Har. resp.* 47; *Sest.* 30; *Pis.* 30), allegedly because Clodius promulgated another bill arranging advantageous provincial assignments for them (*Lex Clodia de provinciis consularibus, Lex Clodia de permutatione provinciarum: LPPR*, pp. 393–4): Piso was to receive Macedonia and Gabinius Cilicia, later changed to Syria (e.g. *Cic. RS* 10; 18; 32; *RQ* 11; 13; 21; *Dom.* 23–4; 55; 60; 66; 70; 93; 124; *Sest.* 24–5; 33; 53–4; 55; 69; *Prov. cons.* 2–3; 17; *Har. resp.* 58; *Pis.* 28; 30–1; 37; 49; 56–7; *Att.* 3.1; 3.22.1; Schol. Bob. ad *Cic. Planc.* 86 [p. 168.2–4 Stangl]; *Vir. ill.* 81.4; Plut. *Cic.* 30.2; App. *Syr.* 51).

In reaction to the publication of *Lex Clodia de capite civis Romani*, Cicero changed his attire to mourning dress and tried to provoke pity as if he had been given notice of prosecution; later, he regretted that thereby (and by his subsequent departure), partly on the advice of others, he showed too quickly that he felt affected by the bill, rather than ignoring it (*Cic. Att.* 3.8.4; 3.9.2; 3.14.1; 3.15.4–5; 3.15.7; *Fam.* 14.1.2; 14.3.1; *Q Fr.* 1.3.8; 1.4.1; Plut. *Cic.* 30.6–7; Cass. Dio 38.14.7; App. *B Civ.* 2.15). Senators and knights changed their clothes in sympathy; and the Senate passed a decree on the assumption of mourning dress, against which the consuls then issued edicts (*Cic. RS* 12; 31; *RQ* 8; 13; *Dom.* 26; 99; *Pis.* 17; *Sest.* 26–7; Plut. *Cic.* 31.1). According to later comments, Cicero initially contemplated armed resistance, or it was suggested to him; eventually, he says, he decided to leave Rome, again also on the advice of others, and thus to perform a patriotic deed (in his view) to ensure welfare and peace for the Republic and to avoid an armed confrontation (*Cic. RS* 33–4; *Dom.* 5; 63–4; 88; 91–2; 95–6; *Sest.* 43–9; Plut. *Cic.* 31.4–5; Cass. Dio 38.16.5–6; 38.17.4). Prior to Cicero's departure would have been the time at which an oration like the spurious *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* could have been delivered if there was an occasion for such an intervention (see Introduction, section 4).

After having dedicated a statue of Minerva from his house to the goddess on the Capitoline Hill, Cicero left Rome in March 58 BCE, just before the bill proposed by Clodius was voted through and came into effect (*Cic. Sest.* 53; *Leg.* 2.42; Plut. *Cic.* 31.6; *Pomp.* 46.5; Cass. Dio 38.17.4–6; Obs. 68; Cassiod. *Chron.* ad a.u.c. 696 [*MGH*, AA XI, p. 133 Mommsen]). Immediately after Cicero's departure his possessions were confiscated, his house on the Palatine Hill was destroyed, and the plot was then partly turned into a shrine (*Cic. RS* 18; *Dom.* 45; 60–2; 100–10; 113; 116; 145–6; *Sest.* 54; *Pis.* 26; *Leg.* 2.42; Ascon. ad *Cic. Pis.* 26 [p. 10.15–19 C.]; Plut. *Cic.* 33.1; Cass. Dio 38.17.6; App. *B Civ.* 2.15). A few days later Clodius promulgated another bill, revised shortly afterwards (*Lex Clodia de exilio Ciceronis; LPPR*, pp. 395–6), applying official *aqua et igni interdictio* to Cicero from the day of his departure, for the reason that he had killed Roman citizens without due process and on the basis of a false decree of the Senate; this bill was voted through around 24 April 58 BCE (*Cic. RS* 4; 8; *Dom.* 26; 42–4; 47; 50; 58; 68; 70; 82; *Sest.* 54; 65; 73; *Prov. cons.* 45; *Pis.* 30; *Att.* 3.2; 3.4; 3.12.1; 3.23.2;

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Schol. Bob., arg. ad Cic. *Planc.* [p. 153.2–7 Stang]; Liv. *Epit.* 103; Plut. *Cic.* 32.1; Cass. Dio 38.17.7).¹⁰

As a result, Cicero was not to be received anywhere or by anyone within 400 or 500 miles of Italy, or the hosts would be equally punished (Cic. *Dom.* 51; 85; *Planc.* 96–7; *Fam.* 14.4.2; *Att.* 3.2; 3.4; 3.7.1; Plut. *Cic.* 32.1; Cass. Dio 38.17.7);¹¹ his property would be confiscated and sold at auction (Cic. *Dom.* 44; 51; *Sest.* 65; *Pis.* 30); and the matter was not to be taken up again in the Senate or before the People (Cic. *RS* 4; 8; *Dom.* 68–70; *Sest.* 69; *Pis.* 29–30; *Att.* 3.12.1; 3.15.6; 3.23.2–4). Cicero later stresses that there was no law instructing him to leave Rome, and, instead, the second bill just prescribed that he should not be hosted by anyone (Cic. *Dom.* 51).

For Cicero's absence from Rome the term 'exile' has become common in modern scholarship, although Cicero avoids the word and prefers more positive labels (see Introduction, section 3.4). Correspondingly, when he employs technical terms in public utterances, Cicero denies that Clodius' measure against him amounts to a proper *lex* (specifically a *plebiscitum*, voted through in a *concilium plebis* [Cic. *Sest.* 65]) and rather describes it as *privilegium* or *proscriptio* (Cic. *RS* 4 n.); he complains that no trial took place and legally required procedures were not followed (Cic. *RS* 4; 8; 29; *Dom.* 26; 33; 42–51; 57–8; 62; 68–70; 71; 72; 77–9; 83; 86–8; 95; 110; *Sest.* 53; 65; 73; 133; *Prov. cons.* 45; *Pis.* 23; 30; *Mil.* 36; *Att.* 3.15.5; *Leg.* 3.44–5). In fact, the first measure was a general law and the second one a follow-up interdiction after Cicero had left.¹² Since Cicero departed after the promulgation of the first bill, there was no opportunity for a trial.¹³

After leaving Rome, Cicero first travelled south through Italy towards Brundisium (modern Brindisi), then sailed to Dyrrhachium (in modern Albania), and moved on to Thessalonica (in Macedonia), where he arrived in

¹⁰ On these laws of Clodius and their context, see Benner 1987, 54–6, 86; Moreau 1987; Venturini [1990] 1996, 268–71; *Roman Statutes*, no. 56, pp. 773–4; Tatum 1999, 151–8; Fezzi 2001, 289–95, 300–7; Stroh 2004, 317–21; Kelly 2006, 225–37. – On the legal circumstances of Cicero's departure, see Bellemore 2008.

¹¹ On the *correctio* to the bill, which specified the required distance and area, and the differing figures in Cicero vs Plutarch and Cassius Dio, see, e.g., Gurlitt 1900; Sternkopf 1900; 1902; 1909, 41–3 (with different views); Marinone 2004, 105 n. 5 (with an overview of the discussion with references); Kaster 2006, 412–13.

¹² See Sternkopf 1900, 272–7; Gruen 1974, 244–6; on the legal terminology connected with Cicero's 'exile', esp. *privilegium*, see Venturini [1990] 1996. – Modern scholars follow Cicero's assessment to varying degrees: May (1988, 88) regards Clodius' bill as unconstitutional. Guerriero (1964, 33) points out that Cicero presents it as illegal because it violates constitutional conventions. Greenidge (1901, 359–66), providing an overview of the legal measures and their relation to standard procedures, illustrates that features such as banishment without a trial or a date are unusual, but that the entire procedure is not as unconventional as Cicero claims. Claassen (1999, 18 n. 49 [pp. 261–2]) notes that '[t]echnically, Clodius' action against him was later construed as *privilegium*' and (1999, 28 n. 95 [p. 264]) that 'Cicero was not *exiled*, but 'relegated', that is, *banished with retention of his property*, but the terms are used indiscriminately by modern authors.'

¹³ See, e.g., Nicholson 1992, 30; Boll 2019, 60.

May 58 BCE and, despite the restrictions in place after the approval of Clodius' bill, was hosted by Cn. Plancius, quaestor to the provincial governor at the time (Cic. *RS* 35; *Planc.* 78; 95–102; *Fam.* 14.4.2–3; *Att.* 3.8.1; 3.22.1). In November 58 BCE Cicero returned to Dyrrhachium (Cic. *Att.* 3.22.4; *Fam.* 14.1.6–7) and spent time there and at Buthrotum (in Epirus). During his absence from Rome Cicero was regularly informed by letters from friends about efforts for his recall.¹⁴ The majority of the Senate kept asking for a discussion of Cicero's situation, but the consuls rejected such a request with reference to Clodius' law, which Cicero refers to the one on the distribution of the consular provinces rather than to the one about himself (Cic. *RS* 4 and n.); the Senate even said that they would not make decisions on anything until the issue concerning Cicero was resolved, ignoring the law introduced by Clodius that forbade the discussion of Cicero's situation or regarding it as not valid (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 3.24.2; Plut. *Cic.* 33.3). In view of Clodius' political agitation, Cn. Pompeius Magnus abandoned his tolerance and indifference from May 58 BCE and became active in support of Cicero's recall (Cic. *Dom.* 66; Cass. Dio 38.30.1–3; Plut. *Cic.* 33.2–3; *Pomp.* 48.10–9.3; see Cic. *RS* 29 n.).

On 1 June 58 BCE the Tribune of the People L. Ninnius Quadratus initiated a discussion about Cicero's recall in the Senate, but his colleague Aelius Ligus interceded against a Senate decree (Cic. *RS* 3; *Sest.* 68; Cass. Dio 38.30.3–4). On 29 October 58 BCE eight (out of the ten) Tribunes of the People of the year promulgated a bill for Cicero's return (*Rogatio VIII tribunorum de reditu Ciceronis*: *LPPR*, p. 401; *Roman Statutes*, no. 57, pp. 775–6), supported by the consul designate P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther; as a result of the intervention of one of the remaining Tribunes of the People, the measure was not brought to a vote (Cic. *RS* 4; 8; 29; *Sest.* 69–70; *Att.* 3.23.1–4).

The election of new magistrates for 57 BCE and their entering office at the end of 58 BCE meant some progress for Cicero's case. The new Tribunes of the People (coming into office on 10 December 58 BCE) had announced that they would promulgate bills for Cicero's recall (Cic. *Sest.* 72; cf. *Fam.* 14.3.3); eventually, a measure was proposed in the names of eight of them (after two had defected). Their endeavours were supported by the initiative of the new consul P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther (*MRR* II 199–200) at the Senate's first meeting on 1 January 57 BCE, when Cicero's situation was discussed:¹⁵ it was decided to aim for a recall authorized by a meeting of the People rather than by a mere Senate decree, to remove any potential doubt, though this was not strictly necessary if Clodius' law was not regarded as valid (Cic. *Dom.* 68–9; *Sest.* 73–4;

¹⁴ In addition to the bills and motions reaching discussion stage, several others were drafted; some of these were conveyed to Cicero and are mentioned in his letters (Williamson 2005, 82–5). Williamson (2005, 82) counts at least ten proposals.

¹⁵ Strictly speaking, putting forward Cicero's case for debate was a violation of one of Clodius' laws. Yet this law was ignored or not regarded as valid by some (Cic. *Dom.* 68; 70).

2. Historical background

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Leg. 3.45; Att. 3.15.5). On that day no effective decree was passed because of the intercession of the Tribune of the People Sex. Atilius Serranus (Gavianus) (Cic. *RS 5; RQ 11–12; Pis. 34; Sest. 72–5; Fam. 5.4; Att. 3.26*).¹⁶ A popular assembly to vote on the bill (*Rogatio Fabricia/VIII tribunorum de reditu Ciceronis: LPPR*, p. 401), proposed in the name of the Tribune of the People Q. Fabricius (Cic. *Sest. 75*), was convened for 23 January 57 BCE (according to the pre-Julian calendar); it was violently disrupted by Clodius' followers (Cic. *RS 6; 22; RQ 14; Sest. 75–8; 85; Mil. 38; Cass. Dio 39.7.2–3; Plut. Cic. 33.4; Pomp. 49.3*).

After several months of further upheaval, the process ultimately leading to Cicero's recall was set in motion: in May 57 BCE, at a meeting in the Temple of Honos and Virtus, the Senate passed a decree saying that nobody should obstruct the next steps and asking the consuls to send letters to advise provincial governors and allies to support Cicero, to thank communities that had hosted Cicero, and to invite those who wanted the Republic to be safe to assemble in Rome (Cic. *RS 24; 27–8; Dom. 73; 85; Sest. 50; 116; 120; 128; Pis. 34; Planc. 78; Parad. 29; Plut. Cic. 33.6*).¹⁷

Accordingly, in early July 57 BCE crowds gathered in Rome, while the Senate met in the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill and passed a decree (with only Clodius opposing it) acknowledging Cicero as saviour of the country and thus the need for his recall (Cic. *RS 25–8; RQ 10; 15; Dom. 14; 30; Prov. cons. 22; Sest. 129–30; Pis. 25; 35; Mil. 39; Cass. Dio 39.8.2–3; Cassiod. Chron. ad a.u.c. 697 [MGH, AA XI, p. 133 Mommsen]*).¹⁸ On the following day further decrees were passed at another Senate meeting (held in the *curia*) to arrange for practical matters related to the previous day's decree (Cic. *RS 27; Sest. 129; Pis. 35*),¹⁹ and the consul Lentulus organized a *contio* to inform the People (Cic. *RS 16–17; 26; Sest. 107–8; 129; Pis. 34*). The resulting law on Cicero's recall (*Lex Cornelia Caecilia de revocando Cicerone: LPPR*, p. 403) was approved by the centuriate assembly on 4 August 57 BCE (Cic. *RS 27–8; RQ 17; Dom. 75; 90; 142; Sest. 109; 112; Pis. 35–6; Att. 4.1.4; Fam. 1.9.16; Cass. Dio 39.8.2; Plut. Cic. 33.5; Pomp. 49.4*).²⁰ Legally, this procedure meant that the laws put forward by Clodius were not repealed and rather that Cicero was exempted

¹⁶ On such techniques for delay and obstruction, see De Libero 1992, 25–6.

¹⁷ The temple of Honos and Virtus was built by C. Marius (*MRR I 570–1; LTUR III 33–5*), with whose fate Cicero compares his own (Cic. *RS 38 n.*). The choice of this venue evokes parallels between Cicero and Marius and alludes to *virtus* and *honor* as characteristics applying to Cicero (Taylor/Scott 1969, 580; Bonnefond-Coudry 1989, 125–30; *LTUR III 35*; see Cic. *Sest. 116; Div. 1.59*).

¹⁸ Taylor/Scott (1969, 582) assume that there was discussion and questioning of senators on that day, but no decree was passed. While Cicero does not mention a formal vote, his descriptions imply that an initial Senate decree was approved.

¹⁹ On the dates, venues, and sequence of these Senate meetings, see Taylor/Scott 1969, 580–2; Bonnefond-Coudry 1989, 63, 74–5; Ryan 1998, 32 n. 137; Kaster 2006, App. n. 26.

²⁰ Taylor (1949, 60–2) points out that the law for Cicero's banishment was passed by the tribal assembly, dominated by the urban population, and his recall was passed by the centuriate assembly, which was influenced by the Italians, whom the consuls and Cn. Pompeius Magnus had summoned. Cicero later highlights that he was recalled by *cuncta Italia* (Cic. *RS 24 n.*).

from that legislation, which was a workable compromise allowing more people to agree to this measure.²¹

Cicero had been informed of the proceedings and, expecting a positive outcome, had set off from Dyrrhachium on the same day; he arrived in Italy at Brundisium on the following day, on 5 August 57 BCE, and was welcomed by his daughter Tullia (Cic. *Sest.* 131; *Att.* 4.1.4). From Brundisium he travelled in a triumphant procession through Italy to Rome, which he reached on 4 September 57 BCE, the first day of the *Ludi Romani* (Cic. *Dom.* 75–6; *Sest.* 131; *Pis.* 51–2; *Att.* 4.1.4–6; Liv. *Epit.* 104; Vell. Pat. 2.45.3; Plut. *Cic.* 33.7–8; Ps.–Cic. *Inv. in Sall.* 10).

To the period immediately after his return to Rome belong Cicero's two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*. These demonstrate gratitude for his recall to all involved, while they are also intended to further the re-establishment of his status as a full member of the community and a respected ex-consul and to present his version of past events (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 4.1.3).²² Subsequently, Cicero had to address more specific issues connected with his return, such as the restoration of his confiscated fortune and especially of his house on the Palatine Hill (Cic. *De domo sua*; *Att.* 4.2).

A couple of days after the speech of thanks in the Senate Cicero spoke again at another meeting of the Senate in reaction to a shortage and the high price of grain: the proposal presented by Cicero, namely to endow Cn. Pompeius Magnus with a special command to take care of the matter, was approved. Afterwards Cicero addressed the People in a *contio* on this issue (Cic. *Dom.* 3; 5–21; 26–7; *Att.* 4.1.5–7; Cass. Dio 39.9.3; see RQ, Introduction).²³

Although Cicero was delighted at having been recalled and having enjoyed widespread support, he noticed soon after his return that opposition against him resurfaced (Cic. *Dom.* 27; *Att.* 4.1.8; 4.2.5; *Fam.* 1.9.5).

Over the course of his life up to the time of his return to Rome, Cicero had not only composed a large number of letters to family, friends, and colleagues

²¹ On the procedure followed for Cicero's recall, see Ryan 1998, 29–33.

²² See, e.g., Fuhrmann 1978, 151; Claassen 1992, 31; Nicholson 1992, 23–4; Webster 1992 (rev. of Shackleton Bailey 1991); Dyck 2004, 313–14; Steel 2007, 106–7; Raccanelli 2012, 12–15, 36, 47; Keeline 2018, 164; Boll 2019, 43–4, 58. – Grasmück (1977, 168, 170) emphasizes the political function of these speeches and singles out Cicero's ambition and eagerness for glory as the main motivation. While the intention to re-establish himself was most likely a motivating factor for Cicero, such an interpretation seems too focused on a single reason.

²³ The date of these speeches can be inferred from the letter to Atticus (Cic. *Att.* 4.1.5–7): a chronological sequence of events is indicated by *postridie...eo biduo* (background: *per eos dies*)... *postridie*. The first *postridie* refers to the day after Cicero's arrival in Rome and is defined as the Nones of September (i.e. 5 Sept.; cf. T 1); *eo biduo* means 'two days later' or 'after those two days', with inclusive reckoning referring to 5 and 6 September (K.-St. I 356–7). Thus, *eo biduo* is calculated from the day identified as the Nones of September and marks 7 September: on that day Cicero spoke in the Senate and to the People. A further Senate meeting took place on the following day (*postridie*). – Cicero highlights that this *contio* was granted by almost all magistrates present to illustrate the general support he is enjoying again. – For Cicero's speeches on the grain supply, see Crawford 1984, 134–5, nos. 40–1.

as well as many forensic and political speeches, but had also tried his hand at a rhetorical treatise in his youth (*De inventione rhetorica*), produced an epic (*De consulatu suo*: F 5–13 FPL⁴) and a brief memoir on his consulship in Greek, and contemplated one in Latin (Cic. *Att.* 1.19.10; 2.1.1–3; 2.3.4); he had not yet embarked on the major political, philosophical, and rhetorical treatises of the later 50s and the mid 40s BCE.

The various projects to document his consulship preceding his absence from Rome, exploiting a range of means and literary genres, demonstrate that Cicero was concerned with spreading his version of events and obtaining recognition for his deeds. After Cicero's return, further initiatives followed, such as the famous letter to L. Lucceius written in 55 BCE, asking the addressee to write a historical work on Cicero's consulship (Cic. *Fam.* 5.12). At that stage Cicero says (Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.23; *Q Fr.* 2.7.1; 3.1.24) that he was writing another epic about the period after his consulship, including his absence from Rome; whether this was shared with anyone other than his brother and thus reached any wider circulation is unclear (*De temporibus suis*: F 14–17 FPL⁴).²⁴

3. CICERO'S *POST REDITUM* SPEECHES

3.1. Definition, title, and authenticity

The term '*Post reditum speeches*', frequently found in scholarship, does not denote a group as clearly defined as Cicero's *Verrines*, *Agrarian Speeches*, *Catilinarians*, or *Philippics*. Thus, in the broadest sense, the label is applied to the fourteen surviving speeches Cicero delivered between his return to Rome in 57 BCE and Caesar's dictatorship and describes an oratorical period rather than a thematic group of speeches.²⁵ In the narrowest sense the expression refers to the two speeches having *post reditum* in a version of their traditional titles: *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*. In between these farthest points on the scale, the term can denote the four speeches given soon after Cicero's return and connected with his absence: the two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* plus *De domo sua* and *De haruspicum responsis*.²⁶ This last sense is perhaps the most common, and there are numerous shared motifs occurring in all four orations.

²⁴ On the evidence for *De temporibus suis*, see Harrison 1990. – On Cicero's literary efforts to promote his view of his role in the events of the 60s and 50s BCE, see Kelly 2006, 153–60; on Cicero's 'autobiographical' works and their context, see Tatum 2011, 176–81; on Cicero exploiting writings in a variety of literary genres to create a portrayal of himself and his activities, see Steel 2005, 61; 69.

²⁵ See, e.g., Riggsby 2002, 159; Grillo 2015, 7.

²⁶ See, e.g., Watts 1923, 43; MacKendrick 1995, 127.

Here, despite the similarities in this group of four speeches, the term will be employed in the narrow sense, referring to the two speeches bearing *post reditum* in a version of their titles, *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*, since only these are immediately connected with Cicero's return and display the unique rhetorical character of speeches of thanks upon being recalled, while *De domo sua* and *De haruspicum responsis* respond to specific subsequent developments and deal with aspects of the recovery of Cicero's property.

As for the title of the speech to the Senate, the following headings are found in the manuscripts: *M. Tulli Ciceronis incipit cum senatui gratias egit* (PG), <*Incipit cum*> *senatui gratias egit* (Schol.), *Incip(it) or(atio) M. T. Cicer(onis) cu(m) de reditu suo senatui gr(ati)as egit* (E), *M. Tullius gratias agit senatui* (H), *M. T. Cic(er)o in senatu(m) post reditu(m)* (X), *Oratio Marci Tullii Ciceronis in senatu post reditu [sic] ab exilio i(n)c(ipit)* (V), *M. Tullii Ciceronis oratio in senatu post reditum de exilio* (F); these titles identify the speech by defining the occasion of delivery in different ways by the location, the time, and/or the activity.²⁷ Similar variants exist for the speech before the People: *Inc(ipit) cum populo gratias egit* (PG), *Oratio Marci Tullii Ciceronis cum populo gratias egit* (T), <*Incipit*> *cum populo <gratias egit>* (Schol.), *Inc(ipit) orat(io) M. T. Cicer(onis) cu(m) de reditu suo p. R. gr(ati)as egit* (EV), *Cicero gratias egit populo* (H).

As there does not seem to be a single and straightforward designation for such a type of speech and the transmission is ambiguous (especially among the different manuscript families for the speech delivered in the Senate), several varieties of the title are in use in scholarship, mainly (*Oratio*) *cum senatui gratias egit*/(*Oratio*) *cum populo gratias egit* and (*Oratio*) *post reditum in senatu (habita)*/(*Oratio*) *post reditum ad Quirites (habita)*. Here, out of the versions suggested by the transmission and common in scholarship, the versions *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* are preferred (with *oratio... habita* understood) as these are concise and neutral descriptions identifying the occasion, but not defining the contents or Cicero's position.

The inauthenticity of *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*, along with *De domo sua* and *De haruspicum responsis*,²⁸ was first proposed by Jeremiah Markland, a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in *A Dissertation upon Four Orations Ascribed to M. T. Cicero*, published with other studies on Cicero in 1745: he believed that the speech was probably written by a foreign or provincial author not many years after Cicero's lifetime, using material mostly taken from Cicero's genuine speeches such as *Pro Sestio*, in an overblown style

²⁷ See, e.g., Boll 2019, 94.

²⁸ For an overview of the authenticity debate, see, e.g., Watts 1923, 46–7; Nisbet 1939, xxix–xxxiv; Guillen 1967, 16–19; Lenaghan 1969, 38–41; Nicholson 1992, 1–18.

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and including numerous passages without design or meaning.²⁹ Immediately, pamphlets asserting the contrary were published in Britain. A more substantial rejoinder soon followed: Johann Matthias Gesner, a professor and librarian at the University of Göttingen and a member of the Göttingen academy, argued against it in two essays entitled *Cicero restitutus* (1753; 1754). Friedrich August Christian Wilhelm Wolf, a professor in Halle and Berlin, a member of the Berlin academy, and a scholar often considered the founder of modern classical philology, revived the discussion in 1801 by publishing a commented edition in which he engaged with the arguments of Markland and Gesner and evaluated the speeches' language and argument in the commentary, confirming Markland's views. Wolf's prestige gave renewed authority to this sceptical position and the general question of authenticity; it influenced the work on these orations and the layout of Cicero editions over the coming century.

Thus, virtually all scholarship in the nineteenth century focused on confirming or refuting the inauthenticity of these speeches; there were a number of contributions, especially in Germany, on both sides of the debate. In terms of editions, the English classical scholar George Long included these speeches in his commentary on all of Cicero's orations, building on previous discussions and making 'such notes as were necessary for the double purpose of explaining them and proving them to be spurious' (1856, 296–9). Similarly, C. D. Beck (1795–1807) added a critical excursus on the four orations demonstrating their inauthenticity to his edition of Cicero's speeches (vol. IV, pp. 612–27). In the edition of J. C. Orelli (1826–30) the four speeches were printed in the section *M. Tullii Ciceronis scripta dubia et supposititia* (vol. I, 1826, pp. 563–648). In the revised version of J. C. Orelli's edition prepared by I. G. Baiter and C. Halm (1856) the speeches were moved back to their chronological position within the sequence of Cicero's speeches. In addition, the genuineness of the speeches was defended in a series of studies and commentaries over the course of the nineteenth century (e.g. Weiske 1807; Savels 1828, 1830; Lucas 1837; Lahmeyer 1850; Wagner 1857; Lange 1875; Hoffmann 1878; Rück 1881; Müller 1900). Towards the end of the century Theodor Mommsen declared (*StR* III 1037 n. 2 [p. 1038]): 'dass an die Unechtheit der Rede Ciceros für das Haus heutzutage kein Philolog und kein Historiker noch glaubt', and Friedrich Leo (1898, 177) pointed out that a difference in genre necessitates a difference in style. There was a final attack on the speeches' authenticity in 1900 by H. M. Leopold. The question then became regarded as settled after the studies of T. Zielinski (1904) on the rules for *clausulae* in Cicero's speeches, when he showed by significant examples that these

²⁹ One of Markland's arguments is that in *Pro Sestio* Cicero announces a full record and justification of the situation and his behaviour (*Cic. Sest.* 36), which would be odd if this was not the first time. In *Pro Sestio*, however, Cicero is speaking to a different audience, and he has not given a detailed full record in public before.

four speeches follow the same patterns of prose rhythm as the certainly genuine orations (esp. 1904, 218–21).

Moreover, Cicero mentions a speech delivered in the Senate immediately after his return in other writings (Cic. *Att.* 4.1.5 [T 1]; *Planc.* 74 [T 2]) and indicates that he produced a written version of it in advance (Cic. *Planc.* 74 [T 2]). Unless one assumes that the extant speech *Post reditum in senatu* is not a version of the one Cicero delivered on 5 September 57 BCE, there is Ciceronian evidence for its genuineness. Similarly, Cicero mentions the speech *De domo sua* in a letter to Atticus and says that he is sending him a copy (Cic. *Att.* 4.2.2 [Oct. 57 BCE]); again, there is confirmation that Cicero delivered a speech on that occasion and a written version existed. While it cannot be excluded that this speech has been replaced by a later forgery, most straightforwardly this is evidence for the authenticity of the extant speech. In addition, though less decisively, the *post reditum* speeches as they survive were accepted as authentic in antiquity; they were quoted and imitated by a range of ancient authors and were transmitted among Cicero's genuine speeches.

Nowadays the speeches connected with Cicero's return are regarded as genuine. While there are some peculiarities, which can be explained by the unique situation of their delivery (see Introduction, section 3.4), they equally display numerous characteristic features of Ciceronian oratory in style and content.

3.2. Rhetorical genre and structure

The genre and the structure of the speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* are unique: there are no extant parallels from ancient Rome for such orations of gratitude and repositioning after a politician's return from exile.³⁰

These speeches may be defined as political orations in the broadest sense because they were delivered in the Senate and in a *contio* respectively (not in a law court) and address the state of the Republic.³¹ Notwithstanding this formal

³⁰ There are not even unambiguous references to speeches given by other Romans upon return from exile. Pina Polo (1996, 103 with n. 35; tentatively followed by van der Blom 2010, 200 n. 95; see also van Ooteghem 1967, 176) assumes, on the basis of a passage quoted in Gellius (Gell. *NA* 13.29.1 [24 F 78 *FRHist*]: *verba sunt Claudii Quadrigarii ex Annalium eius XIII: 'contione dimissa Metellus in Capitolium venit cum mortalibus multis; inde domum proficiscitur, tota civitas eum reduxit.*'), that Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (see Cic. *RS* 25 n.) delivered a speech upon his return. Yet while the statement mentions a *contio*, its occasion cannot be inferred with certainty; the commentary on Claudius Quadrigarius in *FRHist* (III 324–5) doubts the link with the return from exile and rather suggests a connection with the events leading up to it. – An expression of gratitude for recall from exile can be found in a speech by C. Aurelius Cotta as consul to the People, as reported in Sallust (Sall. *Hist.* 2.47.5 M. = 2.43.5 R.:..., vos, Quirites, rursus mihi patriam deosque penatis cum ingenti dignitate dedistis. pro quibus beneficiis vix satis gratus videar, si singulis animam quam nequeo concesserim;...).

³¹ On ancient definitions of the three rhetorical genres, see, e.g., Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.7; *Rhet. Her.* 1.2.

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categorization, they are unusual political speeches since they were not given in the context of a debate in the Senate on a particular issue or to inform the People about specific political developments; their avowed purpose is to express gratitude for Cicero's recall (while contributing to Cicero's restoration). The orations are, therefore, more personal in an explicit way than most other Roman public speeches and are to a large extent epideictic in nature (Schol. Bob., arg. ad Cic. *RQ* [p. 110.9–12 Stangl]: T 4). The epideictic character becomes apparent in that they are ostensibly speeches of thanks, praising others for their great deeds on behalf of Cicero and expressing gratitude for their support (combined with criticism of opponents). While voicing thanks, Cicero intends to present himself not as a passive victim who was forced to leave and only able to return as a result of the efforts of others. Therefore, Cicero uses these speeches also to re-establish his position in Rome and to spread his version of events: he describes his departure as a deed of sacrifice on behalf of the Republic and all citizens. Thus, these speeches include self-praise and self-justification, although such a feature, which was not restricted to a particular rhetorical genre, was disapproved of by ancient rhetoricians, including Cicero (e.g. Cic. *Off.* 1.137; Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.15–17).³² Consequently, the orations display characteristics of political and epideictic speeches as well as features not linked to specific rhetorical genres.³³

All these elements are closely interwoven, so that it is difficult in most sections to define a dominant genre or to structure the speech into sections of different rhetorical character. What can be identified in the speech given in the Senate is the passage consisting of an invective against the consuls of the previous year (Cic. *RS* 10–18), which does not have a parallel in the speech delivered to the People.³⁴ Since this section is not only intended to condemn the two men, but also to set off the great efforts of others against them by attributing the departure and the delay in Cicero's recall basically to the consuls in order to remove responsibility from others and himself, it contributes to the positive portrayal of others. Throughout the rest of the speech praise of people

³² Yet in *De domo sua* Cicero claims that what he offers in the *post reditum* speeches is not self-praise but rather a statement in response to allegations (Cic. *Dom.* 93). – Still, the presence of self-glorification must have been an obvious characteristic of Cicero's oratory already in the ancient world, as Quintilian mentions that Cicero boasts of his deeds in his speeches (Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.17).

³³ To what extent this mixture is a transformation of the rhetorical genre (Wuilleumier 1952, 25: 'Ces deux actions de grâces montrent comment Cicéron a transformé le genre en mêlant à l'éloge d'autrui son apologie personnelle.') is difficult to establish in the absence of parallels. – Nicholson (1992, 99–100) and Boll (2019, 6, 43, 58) assign these speeches to the *genus demonstrativum*, though Nicholson (1992, 100–1, 131) qualifies this categorization and acknowledges a combination of elements from different rhetorical genres (see also Condom 1995, 27).

³⁴ On the invective section, see, e.g., Doblhofer 1987, 216–17. – On Roman invective and its standard elements, see, e.g., Opelt 1965, 128–59; Koster 1980; Corbeil 2002, esp. 200–1; Craig 2004, esp. 190–2; Arena 2007; Powell 2007. – For potential items to be adduced for praise or blame in oratory, see *Rhet. Her.* 3.10–15; Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 1.34–6; 2.177–8.

supporting Cicero and self-justification (as in forensic orations), evidenced by what is presented as great deeds for the Republic (taking up deliberative themes), are combined.

Because of the unique nature of these orations, the structural rules for the arrangement of forensic speeches developed in the schools of rhetoric cannot be applied, apart from the fact that, like almost any speech, each oration has a clearly identifiable effective beginning (*exordium*) and ending (*peroratio*) surrounding a more argumentative main section. Obviously, in composing these texts Cicero will have been influenced by his rhetorical training; yet these speeches are adjusted to such a specific set of circumstances and the particular needs of the moment, combining thanks with self-justification, that they cannot be explained only as a modification of models in the rhetorical tradition; they also demonstrate virtuosity in putting together rhetorical elements to form effective speeches for a unique context.

Both orations start with an expression of thanks (Cic. *RS* 1–2; *RQ* 1–5) and end with Cicero's promises for the Republic (Cic. *RS* 36–9; *RQ* 18–25), surrounding a review of his departure and recall in the middle (Cic. *RS* 3–35; *RQ* 6–17). Beyond that, the two speeches diverge in details of their structure and place the emphasis differently. In addition to the invective section (Cic. *RS* 10–18), the speech in the Senate devotes more space to describing the chaos and unsuccessful activities in 58 BCE (Cic. *RS* 3–7), contrasted with the actions of the supporters who were ultimately successful (Cic. *RS* 8–9; 18–31); it mentions the comparison with previous ex-consuls in the conclusion (Cic. *RS* 36–9), while the fate of these men is treated in a separate section early in the speech to the People, compared and contrasted with Cicero's situation (Cic. *RQ* 6–11).

3.3. Delivery, publication, and audiences

On two occasions Cicero states that he delivered a speech of thanks in the Senate immediately after his return to Rome (Cic. *Att.* 4.1.5 [T 1]; *Planc.* 74 [T 2]), which is confirmed by other sources (T 4–7). There is no further information about the details, for instance whether it was a Senate meeting called for the purpose of welcoming Cicero back or a meeting about another issue in which Cicero was given an opportunity to make a statement or appropriated the space to do so. Only Cassius Dio states that the consuls enabled Cicero to deliver a speech (Cass. Dio 39.9.1 [T 7]).

In *Pro Plancio* Cicero says that, unusually, the speech to the Senate was written out in advance (Cic. *Planc.* 74 [T 2]). Then there might have been little opportunity to adjust it according to the feelings in Rome gauged upon arrival or to audience reactions during delivery. Yet even a written outline ensuring that all important points are mentioned would not have prevented Cicero from deviating from the script. Moreover, it is uncertain whether the written text in

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existence agrees with what Cicero said on the day. It is often assumed that the speech survives in the form in which it was delivered.³⁵ Still, later adjustments, as for any speech prepared for circulation after delivery, could have been made if wider distribution was intended.

Since the speech to the Senate was delivered soon after his return, Cicero probably started preparing it prior to his arrival back in Rome. Many scholars assume that it was written during the return journey.³⁶ Some believe that it was drafted in the latter part of Cicero's stay away from Rome, once he had worked out a version of the events he wanted to spread and under the influence of rhetorical models.³⁷ The fact that Cicero presents the sequence of events in 58 and 57 BCE with a particular interpretation that remains essentially consistent in all speeches delivered after and connected with his return at least indicates that he had developed a certain version he carried on publicizing. When Cicero formed this view and when exactly he composed a draft of the Senate speech can no longer be determined.

That Cicero decided to deliver the speech on the basis of a written draft has been interpreted as a result of the fact that he suffered from a lack of self-confidence, was afraid of being overcome by emotions, was out of practice after a prolonged absence from Rome,³⁸ or did not have time to commit the speech to memory.³⁹ These views have led to the assumption that Cicero not only put together a full written draft, but also delivered the speech from a manuscript in the Senate.⁴⁰ Although this view has been challenged, it has been shown that delivering epideictic speeches from written drafts was not entirely unusual and that the wording of Cicero's remark as transmitted suggests that he wrote up a

³⁵ See, e.g., Savels 1828, vi–vii; Rauschen 1886, 10 n. 28 (pp. 34–5); Laurand 1936–8, 4. – For a brief summary and comments on the scholarly discussion on the extent of revisions in the extant published versions of speeches, see Lintott 2008, 15–31.

³⁶ See, e.g., Nicholson 1992, 15: 'We know from the speech *Pro Plancio* (74) that Cicero composed the *In senatu* in advance, while *en route* to Rome, and that he then read it "de scripto" upon arrival in the city, apparently without having first revised it in order to bring it perfectly into line with actual circumstances. The same is presumably true of the *Ad Quirites*.' – Lange (1875, 18–19, 24, 26) and Rauschen (1886, 10 n. 28 [p. 34]) posit that the speech was finished before Cicero reached Rome and not adapted to the circumstances he encountered there; this scenario is regarded as the reason why he does not mention the enthusiastic reception upon his return and says that he received his possessions back (see Cic. *RQ* 3 n.). For *De domo sua* Shackleton Bailey (1991, 38) still assumes (following Schaum 1889, esp. 8) that Cicero composed the speech in large part before his return and made some additions upon realizing the situation in Rome, but did not update the original text (Cic. *Dom.* 51; 106 vs *Dom.* 128; *Har. resp.* 11; 13). Claassen (1999, 158) talks of 'various speeches after his return, hurriedly composed in the first flush of ebullient victory', which suggests that writing only started after Cicero's recall had been approved.

³⁷ See Dyck 2004, 302; Kaster 2006, 8 n. 16.

³⁸ See Nicholson 1992, 125–6; Dyck 2004, 301, with n. 11; Lintott 2008, 9.

³⁹ See Haury 1955, 143.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., MacKendrick 1995, 135; Raccanelli 2012, 8; Boll 2019, 6 (sceptical again Corbeill's review at *BMCR* 2020.10.22).

draft in advance and took it to the Senate meeting.⁴¹ While the considerations mentioned may have played a role, the reason given by Cicero, the significance of the occasion, seems paramount: this oration was the only opportunity to re-establish himself as a respected consular and to render thanks to supporters without offending anyone who might feel that they contributed to his recall; thus it was important to find the right tone and include all relevant details.⁴²

The corresponding speech to the People is not mentioned elsewhere by Cicero. It is referred to in the scholia as a complement to the speech in the Senate; they imply that this oration was delivered soon after the speech given in the Senate. Such a presentation could only have taken place at a *contio*, as the scholia state (T 4; 5).⁴³ In 57 BCE Cicero would not have been in a position to call a *contio*: only magistrates in office could do so and then speak themselves or invite others.⁴⁴ Thus, one of the magistrates of the year would have had to call a *contio* for Cicero, perhaps P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, one of the consuls of 57 BCE and one of Cicero's supporters (Cic. RS 5 n.). This is what Cassius Dio suggests, the only source saying explicitly that the speech was delivered and providing information about the circumstances (T 7). Alternatively, if one doubts the reliability of Cassius Dio's evidence, one might consider the possibility that the speech to the People was never delivered⁴⁵ and was only written up and released as a complement to the speech to the Senate so as to demonstrate Cicero's eagerness to engage with both the Senate and the People, treat these two bodies equally, and make similar statements about his position in both venues (see RQ, Introduction). Additionally, it has been suggested that the speech to the People was also written out in advance of a potential delivery, on the assumption that, afterwards, it would not make much sense to write up a speech fairly similar to the speech given in the Senate.⁴⁶ Since Cicero edited two speeches on other occasions, this does not seem a decisive argument. As fewer names of contemporaries are mentioned in the speech delivered to the People,

⁴¹ See Vössing 2008 (in response to a different interpretation and suggestions to change the text at Cic. *Planc.* 74 by Bücher/Walter 2006): see T 2 n.

⁴² See also Raccanelli 2012, 8–10. – Soon after the delivery of this speech Cicero says about characteristics of his position in a letter to Atticus (Cic. *Att.* 4.1.3 [Sept. 57 BCE]): *nos adhuc, in nostro statu quod difficillime recipere posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam magis quam optaramus consecuti sumus.*

⁴³ Cicero delivered speeches to the *contio* as praetor (Cic. *Leg. Man.*) and as consul (Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2; 3; *Cat.* 2; 3); after his return to Rome the only *contio* speeches are this one and two of the *Philippics* towards the end of his life (Cic. *Phil.* 4; 6). – On the *contio* in Republican Rome, see, e.g., Mouritsen 2001; 2013; Morstein-Marx 2004; Pina Polo 2012; Flaig 2017 (with further references and different views on its political importance as a body and a venue for speeches of politicians).

⁴⁴ See, e.g., Kunkel/Wittmann 1995, 249–51.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Lange 1875, 26–7 (assuming publication after Cicero's death); Nicholson 1992, 127–8 (*contra* Fogel 1994, 229–30); Lintott 2008, 13–14, 15. – Lintott (2008, 9) believes that 'Cicero himself may have hesitated to ask a magistrate for the opportunity to deliver it.'

⁴⁶ See Nicholson 1992, 126; Lintott 2008, 9, 11. – Paratte (1963, 17) suggests that the speech to the People was written after 5 September 57 BCE because it takes up the main arguments of the speech to the Senate.

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it would have been easier to prepare it in the usual way and deliver it without a complete written script.⁴⁷

Written versions of the two speeches composed for delivery upon Cicero's return must have been in circulation from a fairly early period onwards: ancient authors mention, quote, and imitate them. There is no precise evidence on when and how Cicero might have 'published' the texts of the two orations.⁴⁸ What is known is that at the time of Cicero's defence of Plancius (54 BCE) a written version of *Post reditum in senatu* was available (Cic. *Planc.* 74 [T 2]) and that a version of *De domo sua* (delivered not much later) was to be sent to Atticus (Cic. *Att.* 4.2.2 [Oct. 57 BCE]). Thus, one can only assume that what survives (now shown to be genuine) is what Cicero saw as appropriate statements to each of the two bodies soon after his return to Rome.

As in other instances in Cicero's oratorical oeuvre, the two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* form a pair of speeches on the same issue delivered to the different audiences of the Senate and the People.⁴⁹ The situation and the aim are essentially the same for the two speeches (Cicero expressing gratitude for his recall, presenting his departure as a deliberate sacrifice for the community, and re-establishing his position as a senior statesman), and the content is comparable; beyond that, they show some differences in relation to the different audiences.⁵⁰

For instance, the speech to the People is shorter and less detailed, especially as regards the presentation of individuals: there is no separate passage criticizing the consuls of 58 BCE (Cic. *RS* 10–18); the section on individuals supporting Cicero (Cic. *RQ* 11–17; *RS* 18–31) is less elaborate; the expression of gratitude is more general and focused on the People; only important individuals such as

⁴⁷ Frenzel (1801, 11) believes that the speech in the Senate was delivered before the one to the People, since the repetitions and overlaps would otherwise have been embarrassing; in his view the Senate speech is less elaborately composed, and this matches an earlier point of delivery, as Cicero would have had less time for preparation. This conclusion does not agree with Cicero's statement that he composed a written draft for the speech in the Senate in advance (Cic. *Planc.* 74 [T 2]).

⁴⁸ Nicholson (1992, 126), Spielvogel (1993, 74), and Boll (2019, 7) assume prompt publication of the two orations of thanks, which would have been easily possible when both speeches were ready in written form even prior to delivery. Boll also considers that the process of publication might have started before delivery.

⁴⁹ On similarities and differences between Cicero's Senate and *contio* speeches within the respective pairs, see, e.g., Mack 1937; Thompson 1978; Fogel 1994; on the stylistic features, see also von Albrecht 1973, 1251–2; 2003, 25–6.

⁵⁰ See Guerriero 1955, 10; 1964, 12–13; Caprioli 1966, 69–71; Fuhrmann 1978, 151, 155; Nicholson 1992, 102–6; Spielvogel 1993, 74; Fogel 1994, 230; Claassen 1999, 159; Lintott 2008, 9 n. 17; Boll 2019, 43. – The statement that 'Cicero's speech of thanksgiving to the *Quirites* is for the most part a repetition of his address to the Senate' (Thompson 1978, 60), the description that it is a shortened version of the speech in the Senate (Nicholson 1992, 102; Boll 2019, 43), or the view that some passages were simply transferred from the speech given in the Senate into that given before the People (Spielvogel 1993, 74) illustrate the similarity of the content of the two orations, but require qualification with respect to the structure, tone, and emphasis of each speech.

the consul P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Cicero's relatives are singled out, which thus enhances the personal dimension (Cic. *RQ* 7–8; 11; 15; 18). In the Senate speech Cicero names a large number of supporters⁵¹ and some opponents,⁵² with their specific contributions acknowledged individually. Still, Cicero claims that even in the Senate speech he only mentions *causae nostrae duces et quasi signiferi* (Cic. *Planc.* 74 [T 2]); indeed, he focuses on office holders. Details about activities at senatorial level are presumably not deemed of interest to an audience of the People. Vice versa, in the *contio* speech figures likely to be popular with the People such as C. Marius and Cn. Pompeius Magnus are given prominent roles, though not entirely uncritically (Cic. *RQ* 7; 9–11; 16–18); while the focus of the gratitude is on the deeds of the People, activities of the Senate are not ignored (Cic. *RQ* 8; 10; 12; 13; 15–17). There is no separate section on Cicero's departure (Cic. *RS* 32–5): the speech concentrates on Cicero's recall, in which the People were involved and which is relevant to them. The comparison with earlier ex-consuls, given more prominence at the start of the speech (Cic. *RQ* 6–11), stresses that Cicero was recalled because of his own worth and thus reminds the audience that he is a man of the People. In turn, the expression of thanks is effusive and emphatic; Cicero emphasizes his debt to the People and the great joy they have brought to him by their deeds. Moreover, Cicero's position becomes more prominent in the speech to the People: for instance, he begins with his role in the events and only mentions the greatness of benefits, which cannot be matched in a speech, afterwards (Cic. *RQ* 5), while this is the starting point in the speech in the Senate (Cic. *RS* 1).⁵³ Thus, the entire speech is more triumphant and celebrates Cicero's return and the resumption of his activities for the Republic and the advantages for the People. Gods are mentioned more prominently in the *contio* speech;⁵⁴ tone and argumentative style are more emotional, the vocabulary is purer, and there are more repetitions and enumerations (on style, see Introduction, section 3.5).⁵⁵

Such differences are mostly in line with the divergences between Senate and *contio* speeches also observed for other pairs.⁵⁶ According to a list of characteristic

⁵¹ For an overview, see Nicholson 1992, 45–89 (including those not listed). – On the selection of individuals mentioned, see also Claassen 1999, 159; Raccanelli 2012, 47–9; for reasons why Atticus and Varro are not mentioned and thanked, see Desideri 1963. – On Cicero's 'exile' and his friends in this context, see Citroni Marchetti 2000, 141–212.

⁵² For the opponents referred to and their treatment in the speech, see Nicholson 1992, 90–7.

⁵³ See, e.g., Raccanelli 2012, 33.

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Nicholson 1992, 104–5; Boll 2019, 50.

⁵⁵ In light of the categories investigated, Cipriani (1975, 337) notes 'una perfetta coerenza stilistica' between the two speeches, though he states later (1975, 344) that 'per quanto le due orazioni obbediscano ad un identico gusto oratorio, quella rivolta al senato è senz'altro più ricca di figure retoriche'.

⁵⁶ For comparisons of the two speeches, see, e.g., Weiske 1807, 230–1; Mack 1937, 18–48; Claassen 1992, 32, 34; 1999, 159; Fogel 1994, 230–8; Boll 2019, 43–57. – Some characteristics of Senate and *contio* speeches and differences between them were already noted in the ancient

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features,⁵⁷ most of the typical elements of Cicero's *contio* speeches can be found here: rendering thanks for *beneficia* received from the People (Cic. *RQ* 2; 5–6; 22; 24); highlighting the self-sacrifice on behalf of the Republic and a promise to work hard for the community (Cic. *RQ* 1; 24); claims to be a true *popularis* and allusions to popular figures such as C. Marius or Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Cic. *RQ* 10–11; 16; 18; 19–20); references to divine support and protection (Cic. *RQ* 1); emotional mentions of family and homes (Cic. *RQ* 1–3; 8).

3.4. Argumentative and rhetorical strategies

In contrast to Cicero's more obviously political speeches, the speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* are not intended to prompt the respective audiences to take a particular course of action. Instead, they aim at persuading them of a certain attitude and view, namely a specific version of what happened in 58 and 57 BCE as well as a positive assessment of Cicero's role in these events and his relationship to the Republic.⁵⁸ Spreading his view of the events is a step towards re-establishing Cicero's position in Rome. Cicero works towards this goal by employing a number of related and frequently repeated themes and motifs. While in his first reflections in hindsight he regarded his reaction to P. Clodius Pulcher's bills as a mistake (see Introduction, section 2), Cicero here reinterprets his departure as a heroic deed coinciding with the absence of the *res publica* and avoiding civil war.

That this portrayal is adapted to the occasion upon Cicero's return emerges from the fact that his presentation of himself and other people in the letters written during his absence from Rome differs from that in these speeches: Cicero's letters include criticism for the lack of activity on his behalf, complaints about his fate, regrets about his absence from Rome, and grief at the situation (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 3.1–27; *Fam.* 14.1; 14.2; 14.3; 14.4; *Q Fr.* 1.3; 1.4).⁵⁹ That being in Rome was important to Cicero is confirmed by letters sent from Cilicia during his provincial governorship in 51–50 BCE, when he expresses his longing to be

rhetorical tradition, including adaptation to the respective audiences or the need for more rhetorical flourish before the People (e.g. Cic. *De or.* 2.333–4; 3.195; Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.45).

⁵⁷ See Fantham 2000, 104–5, 111.

⁵⁸ Already noted by the scholiast (Schol. Bob. on Cic. *RQ* 1 [p. 110.21–3 Stangl]): *vigilanter medellam pudori suo adhibuit dicendo tristem magis projectionem quam ignominiosum illud exilium fuisse, ut non sit infame, quod solam habuerit iniuriam.*

⁵⁹ See, e.g., Grasmück 1977, 170; 1978, 115, 118; Rundell 1979, 318; Spielvogel 1993, 75; Claassen 1999, esp. 158–63. – On aspects of Cicero's letters from 'exile', see Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1996; Citroni Marchetti 2000; Garcea 2005; on 'Cicero's letters of appeal', see Claassen 1999, 105–10. – On Cicero's attitudes to and presentation of his 'exile', see, e.g., Grasmück 1978, 110–27; May 1988, 88–127 (with reference to other speeches delivered after the return to Rome); Narducci 1997; Claassen 1999, 158–63; Kelly 2006, 154; Cohen 2007 (more generally on the concept); La Farina 2008; Rampulla 2008; on Cicero's presentation of himself after his return, see Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2006.

in the city of Rome (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 5.15.1 [3 Aug. 51 BCE]; *Fam.* 2.12.2–3 [June 50 BCE]; 2.13.3 [May 50 BCE]).

The most prominent of the strategies of positive presentation in the speeches after Cicero's return is the shaping of his departure and absence. Obviously, one function of the speeches is to express gratitude to the audiences and selected individuals for their contribution to his recall and the assistance provided during his absence; the need to convey elaborate thanks suggests that Cicero was in a position requiring support. At the same time it is implied that the term 'exile' does not apply to Cicero's circumstances, and Cicero's departure from Rome is presented as a positive action he was in control of: he decided to leave, along with the Republic, when there was no opportunity for political intervention, and thereby prevented civil unrest (Cic. *Dom.* 72–6; *Parad.* 4.27–32).

Such nuancing is clear from the terminology: to refer to the situation of being away from Rome and related feelings in the *post reditum* speeches or later texts, Cicero never employs the term 'exile' (unless to say that it does not apply; e.g. Cic. *Parad.* 30: *nescis exilium scelerum esse poenam, meum illud iter ob praeclarissimas res a me gestas esse susceptum?* – 'Don't you know that exile is a penalty for crimes, but that this journey of mine was undertaken because of the outstanding actions done by me?'),⁶⁰ but rather expressions (sometimes also covering the situation of family members)⁶¹ indicating the fact of departure and withdrawal or the emotions associated with that move, such as *discessus*,⁶² *digressus*,⁶³ *profectio*,⁶⁴ *excedo*,⁶⁵ *me absente*,⁶⁶ *cedo*,⁶⁷ *calamitas*,⁶⁸ *aerumna*,⁶⁹ *pernicies*,⁷⁰ *miseriae*,⁷¹ and *dolor*.⁷² Correspondingly, Cicero does not refer to his recall as a 'rescue', 'liberation', or 'removal of a banishment clause', but more

⁶⁰ See, e.g., Nicholson 1992, 30–1; Robinson 1994; Pina Polo 1996, 103 n. 38; Dyck 2004, 309; La Farina 2008, esp. 330–2; Raccanelli 2012, 37 n. 18; Grillo 2015, 5–6; Boll 2019, 61.

⁶¹ In the letters some of these characterizations are not just euphemisms for 'exile', but also convey feelings in line with the nuances of these terms (e.g. *aerumna*, *miseriae*). See also Schol. Bob. ad Cic. *De aere alieno Milonis* (p. 172.10–12 Stangl): *bene elocutus est de exilio suo, quod maluit discessionem vocare quam poenam. et aliis orationibus similiter coloravit neque metu neque ulla conscientia criminum se maluisse discedere, sed praecavisse potius ne ad arma per seditionem veniretur.*

⁶² E.g. Cic. *RS* 3; 19; *Dom.* 15; 17; 59; 60; 85; 95; 115; *Prov. cons.* 45; *Sest.* 49; 60; 128; 133; *Pis.* 21; 31; 32; *Vat.* 6; 7; *Planc.* 73; 86; *Mil.* 103. – *discessus* can denote Cicero's leaving or his staying abroad (Nisbet 1939, ad Cic. *Dom.* 15).

⁶³ E.g. Cic. *Pis.* 63. ⁶⁴ E.g. Cic. *RS* 23; *RQ* 1; cf. *profectus* at Cic. *Dom.* 86; 87.

⁶⁵ E.g. Cic. *RS* 7. ⁶⁶ E.g. Cic. *RQ* 8; *Dom.* 3; 57; *Sest.* 50; 69.

⁶⁷ E.g. Cic. *RS* 4; *Dom.* 5; 56; 58; 68; 99; *Pis.* 19.

⁶⁸ E.g. Cic. *RS* 20; 24; 36; *RQ* 6; 9; *Dom.* 30; 65; 72; 76; *Sest.* 32; *Fam.* 14.3.1; 15.4.13; *Att.* 3.7.2; 3.8.4; 3.10.2; 3.14.2; 3.25.1; *Q Fr.* 1.3.1; 1.3.3; 1.3.4; 1.3.8; 1.4.5; cf. *Dom.* 72–6.

⁶⁹ E.g. Cic. *RS* 34; *Sest.* 49; *Att.* 3.8.2; 3.11.2; 3.14.1. – See Schol. Bob. ad Cic. *Sest.* 49 (p. 131.29–30 Stangl): *notabiliter singulari numero, non pluralivo, aerumnam dixit, referens ad exilium scilicet, cuius patientiam inter glorias suas computat.*

⁷⁰ E.g. Cic. *Sest.* 25; 42; 53; *Pis.* 19; *Att.* 3.4; 3.10.2.

⁷¹ E.g. Cic. *Att.* 3.4; *Fam.* 14.3.1.

⁷² E.g. Cic. *RS* 35; *Dom.* 100; 103; *Sest.* 52.

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neutrally to concerns for or restoration of his *dignitas*⁷³ and *salus/salvus esse*,⁷⁴ and generally to *reditus/redire*,⁷⁵ *adventus*,⁷⁶ or the situation of *restitutio/restitutus*⁷⁷ and *conservare*.⁷⁸ Cicero even stresses that the recall did not state that he was now permitted to return (since this had been the case all along if Clodius' law was regarded as not valid), but that he was summoned back (Cic. *Dom.* 71: *quod idem tu, Lentule, vidisti in ea lege quam de me tulisti. nam non est ita latum ut mihi Romam venire liceret, sed ut venirem; non enim voluisti id quod licebat ferre ut liceret, sed me ita esse in re publica magis ut arcessitus imperio populi Romani viderer quam ad administrandam civitatem restitutus.* – 'And in the bill you carried concerning me, Publius Lentulus, you had the same point in mind. It provided, not that I should be free to return to Rome, but simply that I should return. You did not wish to propose that I should be free to do what I was free to do, but that I should resume my place in public life as one summoned by command of the Roman People rather than as one restored.' [trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey]). If the report on what Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (see Cic. *RS* 25 n.) says in a letter while in 'exile' from Rome is correct, his presentation of himself provides a precedent for ignoring that the condition of 'exile' formally comes into effect by removal from Rome and for the view that one's behaviour and attitude are more important (Gell. *NA* 17.2.7: *Q. Metellus Numidicus, qui caste pureque lingua usus Latina videtur, in epistula, quam exul ad Domitios misit, ita scripsit: 'illi vero omni iure atque honestate interdicti, ego neque aqua neque igni careo et summa gloria fruniscor.'* – 'Q. Metellus Numidicus, who seems to have used the Latin language in a faultless and pure way, wrote in a letter, which he, as an exile, sent to the Domitii, as follows: "They have been debarred from every right and honour; I lack neither water nor fire, and I enjoy the greatest glory."').⁷⁹ In *De domo sua* Cicero admits that he felt grief at leaving Rome (in an un-Stoic way): again, he does not present this as a sign of weakness but instead as an indication of the extent of his sacrifice; for if one left something behind one did not care about, it would not be a sacrifice (Cic. *Dom.* 97–8).

Moreover, Cicero presents his departure as a voluntary self-sacrifice for the sake of the community: while he claims that he could have offered resistance, he decided not to do so, since this might have led to civil war, and the welfare of the community was more important.⁸⁰ In his view, he thus saved Rome a

⁷³ E.g. Cic. *RS* 26; 31; *RQ* 6; 15; *Dom.* 7; 9; 14; 57; 74; *Har. resp.* 6.

⁷⁴ E.g. Cic. *RS* 3; 4; 5; 7; 8; 22; 24; 26; 28; 29; 34; *RQ* 13; 15; *Dom.* 7; 27; 30; 54; 74; 99; 147; *Sest.* 130; 147; *Prov. cons.* 43; *Har. resp.* 6; 46; 50; *Vat.* 10. – On the use and nuances of *salus* in these speeches, see MacKendrick 1995, 129, 131–2, 141, 142–3.

⁷⁵ E.g. Cic. *RS* 6; 23; *Dom.* 17; 64; 87; 99; 100; 143; 147; *Fam.* 14.4.3.

⁷⁶ E.g. Cic. *Dom.* 17.

⁷⁷ E.g. Cic. *Dom.* 27; 29; 100; 143.

⁷⁸ E.g. Cic. *RS* 8; 9; *RQ* 16; *Dom.* 9; 57.

⁷⁹ See Cohen 2007, 112 n. 9.

⁸⁰ E.g. Cic. *RS* 6; 32–4; 36; *RQ* 1; 13–14; *Dom.* 5; 30; 63–4; 68; 76; 88; 91–2; 95–6; 145; *Sest.* 35–6; 39; 42–9; 53; *Planc.* 86–90; *Mil.* 36; *Leg.* 3.25; comparing himself to the precedent of Metellus at *Sest.* 36–9; *Planc.* 89; cf. *Inv. in Sall.* 10.

second time; his recall acknowledged his role as a saviour of the Republic.⁸¹ This presentation of Cicero's actions was already noted by a scholiast;⁸² modern scholars have remarked that Cicero creates a 'myth' about himself.⁸³ Such a construct enables Cicero to assume a more self-confident position than beneficiaries usually do and to imply that the recall was a deserved response to what he did for the community.⁸⁴ In Cassius Dio Cicero's departure is not described heroically: he reports that Cicero had decided to let the issue be resolved by armed conflict with Clodius' adherents and was dissuaded from this course of action by Cato and Hortensius (Cass. Dio 38.17.4).⁸⁵

At some points in the speeches delivered after his return Cicero characterizes himself as a civilian general, taking up his descriptions in the *Catilinarian Orations* (*dux togatus*: Cic. *Cat.* 2.28; 3.23), stresses how he saved the Republic through non-violent action in agreement with the Senate, and highlights that he is undergoing a *devotio* for the community, adjusting to his situation the vow of Roman generals to sacrifice their own lives to obtain victory for the army and their country (e.g. Cic. *RS* 32–4; *RQ* 1). He thus transfers such actions carried out on the battlefield to the civil realm (see Cic. *RQ* 1 n.).⁸⁶ In a speech to the People included in Sallust's *Histories* the consul C. Aurelius Cotta willingly offers devotion for the sake of the Republic, which consists in death, just as in the military paradigm (Sall. *Hist.* 2.47.9–12 M. = 2.43.9–12 R.). Only in Cicero's case is a deed already committed (and not entirely voluntarily) redefined as a sacrifice, and it consists in leaving to avoid civil war.

A related aspect is that Cicero claims that he did not abandon the Republic. Instead, according to him, the Republic went away with him (there was no functioning political system), and they returned together.⁸⁷ In a slight variation

⁸¹ E.g. Cic. *RS* 33–4; 36; *RQ* 1; 16; 17; *Dom.* 63–4; 76; 96–9; 122; 132; 145; *Sest.* 43–9; 73; *Prov. cons.* 23; 45; *Pis.* 23; 78 (ironic statement of Piso); *Leg.* 3.25. – See, e.g., Grasmück 1977, 168; 1978, 116; Fuhrmann 1978, 157; Pina Polo 1996, 103–4, 109–10; Grillo 2015, 5–6; Boll 2019, 61–2.

⁸² Schol. Bob. ad Cic. *Sest.* 45 (p. 130.25–8 Stangl): *etiam ex hoc laudem discessui suo et gloriam veluti denuo conservatae rei p. temptat adsciscere, quod maluerit urbe decedere quam dimicationis obire fortunam. quanta haec igitur vis oratoria est, ut exilium quoque magis virtutis eius quam poenae fuerit!*; ad *Planc.* 89 (p. 168.20–2 Stangl): *verum sibi, ut coeperam dicere, ipse Tullius maximam laudem praestruxit, qui ad tutelam salutis publicae patientiam discessus illius, quamvis non mediocri cum dolore, susceperit, ut multo sit laudabilior Metello, ...* – Velleius Paterculus follows Cicero's portrayal of events when he says that Cicero suffered exile as a reward for having saved the Republic (as consul) (*Vell. Pat.* 2.45.2: *ita vir optime meritis de re publica conservatae patriae pretium calamitatem exili tulit.*)

⁸³ See Fuhrmann 1978, 157; MacKendrick 1995, 135.

⁸⁴ See also Raccanelli 2012, 34–5. – On the role of *beneficium* and associated connotations in Roman culture, see Lentano 2005. – Presenting his departure as a service to the community is in line with the requirements set out later in *De officiis* (44 BCE) that, if one is capable, one should be active for the state, preferably by aiming for peace and in the interests of everyone's welfare neglecting one's own (e.g. Cic. *Off.* 1.70–2; 1.79; 1.85–6).

⁸⁵ See Kelly 2006, 111. ⁸⁶ See Nicolet 1960; Dyck 2004.

⁸⁷ E.g. Cic. *RS* 34; 36; *RQ* 14; 18; *Dom.* 87; 141; *Parad.* 4.27–30. – See, e.g., Fantham 1972, 123; Doblhofer 1987, 243–7; Narducci 1997, 66–7; Cohen 2007, 111, 112.

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of this motif, Cicero sometimes even claims that he was recalled by the Republic (Cic. *Sest.* 52: *videtis me tamen in meam pristinam dignitatem brevi tempore doloris interiecto rei publicae voce esse revocatum* – ‘you see that the commonwealth has nonetheless called me back, after a brief interval of grief, to the worthy standing that I previously enjoyed’ [trans. R. A. Kaster]).⁸⁸ Thus, Cicero essentially identifies himself with the Republic⁸⁹ and establishes a close link between its welfare and his activities,⁹⁰ while, in a different context, he acknowledges that the *res publica* is everyone's business and he just took the lead as consul, followed by others (Cic. *Sull.* 9).⁹¹

Accordingly, somewhat paradoxically, Cicero is both an advocate of the Republic, having saved her, and a client receiving protection from the Republic.⁹² The underlying argument seems to be that political exile only exists by separation from a functioning political system; since this was not the case during Cicero's absence, he was not in ‘exile’, and those who forced him to leave were even responsible for creating this situation of non-exile because of their destruction of the political system at Rome.⁹³ When Cicero says that the Republic had also left and that leaving was the more beneficial deed for the Republic, his conduct is justified and given a positive interpretation.⁹⁴

At the same time Cicero introduces himself as a victim or martyr,⁹⁵ because he was forced to leave Rome as a result of him having saved the Republic for the first time (i.e. by combating the Catilinarian Conspiracy: e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 3.15; 3.25–6; *RS* 36; *Sest.* 49; *Pis.* 6), and he notes that he left without having been taken to court or found guilty (Cic. *Dom.* 26; 33; 43; 47; 83; 88; 110; *Sest.* 53). Cicero even calls the bill on his ‘exile’ a *proscriptio* (Cic. *RS* 4; 8; *Dom.* 48; 50; 58; *Sest.* 133; *Prov. cons.* 45; *Pis.* 30); this makes it seem arbitrary, harsh, and unlawful and alludes to the procedures under L. Cornelius Sulla, when Roman citizens were declared outlaws and could be killed and have their property

⁸⁸ The image of Cicero recalled by the Republic or the country (Cic. *RQ* 10) recurs with reference to his movements in 44 BCE (Cic. *Off.* 3.121; *Fam.* 10.1.1). Gucker (1988) suggests that this motif might have been used in Cicero's *De temporibus suis* as an element of his self-presentation.

⁸⁹ E.g. Cic. *RS* 4; 10; 16; 17–18; 25; 29; 34; 36; *RQ* 14; 16; *Dom.* 17; 42; 63; 73; 96; 99; 141; 146; *Sest.* 15; 24; 26; 31; 54; *Prov. cons.* 45; *Har. resp.* 3; 15; 45; *Pis.* 77; *Sest.* 83; *Vat.* 7–8; *Balb.* 58. – See Grasmück 1977, 168; 1978, 116; May 1981; Nicholson 1992, 32, 35–7; MacKendrick 1995, 129, 134, 139–40, 141, 145; Pina Polo 1996, 104; La Farina 2008, 336–7; Boll 2019, 62–3. – A certain parallelization between the fate of the speaking politician and the Republic also occurs in the speech by consul C. Aurelius Cotta in Sallust's *Histories* (Sall. *Hist.* 2.47.4 M. = 2.43.4 R.).

⁹⁰ In *Pro Milone* Cicero associates the *salus* of the defendant T. Annius Milo with the *salus* of the *res publica* (e.g. Cic. *Mil.* 1; 63).

⁹¹ See Hodgson 2017, 143–4. – On Cicero's argument based on his interpretation and presentation of his relationship to the *res publica*, see Hodgson 2017, 141–62.

⁹² See May 1981, 310. ⁹³ See Cohen 2007, 116, 126.

⁹⁴ See Dyck 2004, 303. – As Cicero departed before the second law, naming him, was passed, there was no legal requirement to leave at the time; therefore, in theory, his departure contradicted the obligations of a senator to be present in Rome and attend Senate meetings (on this duty, see Cic. *Dom.* 8; *Leg.* 3.11; 3.40; Gell. *NA* 14.7.10; see also, e.g., Bonnefond-Coudry 1989, 357–8).

⁹⁵ See Nicholson 1992, 37–9; Robinson 1994, 479; Pina Polo 1996, 103.

confiscated (Cic. *Dom.* 43).⁹⁶ Cicero also describes the bill as a *privilegium*, arguing that this, rather than *lex*, is the correct term for a measure directed against a named individual according to Roman law, going back to the Twelve Tables (Cic. *Dom.* 43; 58). Thereby, he takes up a term from the early days of the Roman Republic which had hardly been used since and presents an interpretation of it as a ban on specific laws against individuals, a reading not supported by the word's original use, but taken up by later Roman jurists.⁹⁷ Such a strategy avoids an emphasis on the lack of a trial, as this was the point of criticism concerning the treatment of the captured Catilinarian conspirators he was responsible for. Still, Cicero may have felt that the two situations were not comparable when in 63 BCE a *senatus consultum ultimum* was in place and the Catilinarian conspirators were convicted by the Senate after the presentation of unequivocal evidence at a meeting convened to decide their fate (Cass. Dio 37.38). Moreover, Cicero highlights his particular status by comparisons with historical examples: in contrast to others, he was called back without much family support, only because of his own worth and by a decree of the Senate and the People, and without any bloodshed and tumult (Cic. *RS* 37–8; *RQ* 6–11; *Dom.* 87).⁹⁸

In order to emphasize the significance of his recall, Cicero stresses throughout that he has been recalled unanimously by all orders and formal bodies of the Roman Republic and by the whole of Italy (e.g. Cic. *RS* 25; 26; 29; 39; *RQ* 1; 10; 12; 16; 18; *Dom.* 30; 57; 87; *Sest.* 128).⁹⁹ He also presents his return like a 'rebirth' (e.g. Cic. *Att.* 3.20.1; 4.1.8; *Sest.* 131): this second birth surpasses the first, natural birth; for, according to Cicero, one can appreciate everything more after having lived without it and because everything is now received back fully developed and simultaneously (Cic. *RS* 1; 27; *RQ* 2–5).¹⁰⁰ The notion that a recall from exile can be like a rebirth appears briefly in the speech of the consul C. Aurelius Cotta in Sallust's *Histories* (Sall. *Hist.* 2.47.3 M. = 2.43.3 R.): Cotta went into exile in 90 BCE in anticipation of a vote of condemnation under the *Lex Varia* and returned in 82 BCE (App. *B Civ.* 1.37).

Because the focus in these two speeches is on expressing gratitude and re-establishing Cicero's position, there is no specific reference to obtaining the remainder of his property. This matter is dealt with separately later (Cic. *Dom.*); at the time of composing the initial speeches Cicero might not have foreseen the extent of the argument required to regain his property.

⁹⁶ See, e.g., Claassen 1999, 160.

⁹⁷ See Bleicken 1975, 196–217.

⁹⁸ See, e.g., Riggsby 2002, 161–3.

⁹⁹ The emphasis on the agreement of various groups was already noted as a rhetorical strategy by C. Iulius Victor (*RLM*, pp. 402.33–403.4: *utimur autem iudicatu tum omnium, tum plurimorum, tum optimorum, praeterea eorum, qui in unaquaque arte peritissimi sunt. omnium iudicatu utitur Marcus Tullius cum dicit, nullum ordinem in civitate fuisse, quibus non libentibus ab exilio rediret: plurimorum autem iudicatu, cum ex senatus consulto sibi domum restitutam: optimorum iudicatu, cum Pompeium et ceteros auctores reditus sui nominat: scientium iudicatu, cum domum suam dicit a religione pontificum sententia liberatam.*)

¹⁰⁰ See Raccanelli 2012, 54–5; Cole 2013, 63–5.

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Cicero's presentation of himself is complemented by corresponding ones of his opponents and supporters, especially in the speech in the Senate. He puts the activities against him down to individuals, particularly the Tribune of the People P. Clodius Pulcher and the consuls of 58 BCE; by contrast, he singles out supportive actions of the Senate, the knights, and other magistrates, even if not all of these had a concrete result. This strategy allows Cicero to identify people responsible for his predicament and to acknowledge enmity towards men who are his known enemies and no longer in a powerful office, while he can claim unanimity with others and thus resume his role as a respected ex-consul within the Senate. Despite the opposition, in these speeches Cicero never mentions P. Clodius Pulcher by name (he is referred to either indirectly or as *inimicus*) and only refers to the consuls of 58 BCE by name once in the speech to the Senate (Cic. *RS* 16).¹⁰¹ The speech before the Senate underlines the contrast between Cicero's behaviour as a consul and consular and that of the consuls of 58 BCE. In the *contio* speech the criticism is more subdued: there is no extended section of invective against the consuls, and Clodius, a former Tribune of the People, is not described equally critically or marked as an enemy and criminal.¹⁰²

The voicing of profuse thanks in a carefully calibrated way to groups and a selection of individuals, contrasted with invective against others, ensures that the respective audiences can feel that they have contributed to the resolution of the conflict and the deeds beneficial for the Republic and that they are aligned with the 'right' side. Thus, not all expressions of gratitude might be heartfelt; some may have been included for political reasons.¹⁰³ By presenting his fate and his activities not just as a personal matter, but as affecting the Republic, Cicero makes the conflict relevant to both types of audiences and can enlist them as supporters of his policies for the future.

Cicero's self-justification, the assessment of friends and enemies, and the presentation of his role with regard to the *res publica* and his political ideals in the speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* adumbrate themes recurring in speeches of the subsequent decade.¹⁰⁴ When Cicero stresses that he was recalled by all orders and all parts of Italy (e.g. Cic. *RS* 38–9; *RQ* 1; 9–10; 16; 18; *Sest.* 107–8; *Pis.* 34–6), this can be regarded as a version of the ideal of *concordia omnium* and *consensus Italiae*. He also emphasizes the restoration of *otium* in connection with his return (e.g. Cic. *RQ* 1; 16), a concept here combined with *dignitas* for the first time in Cicero's works.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ See Nicholson 1992, 95–6; Morstein-Marx 2004, 216; Steel 2007; Lintott 2008, 9. – On the use of names, see esp. Steel 2007.

¹⁰² On the criticism of P. Clodius Pulcher in the speeches delivered after Cicero's return, see Seager 2014.

¹⁰³ See MacKendrick 1995, 135. ¹⁰⁴ See Nicholson 1992, 131.

¹⁰⁵ On the motifs of *concordia ordinum* and *otium cum dignitate* in Cicero's post-exile speeches, see Nicholson 1992, 32, 39–45. – Hodgson's (2017, 149) point that Cicero's oratory aims to conceal his weakness seems unspecific; more precisely, Cicero uses oratory to argue away any weaknesses and to present himself as being in a strong position.

The nature of exile had been discussed in the Greek tradition, for instance in the work *Περὶ φωνῆς* by the Hellenistic Cynic philosopher Teles (transmitted at Stob. 3.40.8). As emerges from later writings, Cicero was aware of this topic as an element of philosophical discussions (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.81 [45 BCE]). He adds further philosophical considerations on exile in *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (46 BCE); its fourth paradox is dedicated to exile (Cic. *Parad.* 4.27–32): attitude and circumstances are placed above location, so that one might be in exile while being in one's native country and not in exile while being abroad.¹⁰⁶ Cicero outlines that a *civitas* exists only where law and order are maintained and political institutions operate properly. Accordingly, he concludes that he was not expelled from a *civitas*, which did not exist at the time. On the contrary, he acted as an exemplary citizen, while Clodius was in exile, since not place, but attitude defines exile. The basis of such an argument can already be found in the speeches delivered upon his return, when Cicero denies that he was ever in 'exile' and brings his absence from Rome into parallelism with that of the Republic.

3.5. Language, style, and prose rhythm

The speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* belong to the larger group of orations delivered after Cicero's return to Rome throughout the 50s BCE (see Introduction, section 3.1). The following features have been identified for speeches of this period: they exhibit well-crafted regular periods and a rich, varied, and expressive syntax, with mutual influence among the works in different literary genres produced by Cicero; they display a greater variety of styles within single orations; they often include both sarcastic, ironic, and critical passages about opponents and more elevated passages about Cicero's achievements; they are marked by a large number of antitheses, historical examples, and particular constructions of indirect questions, participial phrases, and negated expressions.¹⁰⁷ The average sentence length in the two orations connected directly with Cicero's return (based on the analysis of a sample) is not unusual for speeches of this period.¹⁰⁸

In addition, the two speeches exhibit stylistic characteristics prompted by the specific circumstances and their generic peculiarity (see Introduction, section 3.2). The shared situation and content result in some similarities in expression, while the different audiences addressed lead to divergences in emphasis, tone, and style (see Introduction, section 3.3).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ On this concept, see Herescu 1961.

¹⁰⁷ See, e.g., von Albrecht 1973, 1305–8; 2003, 103–5. ¹⁰⁸ See Johnson 1971.

¹⁰⁹ On the style of these two speeches and differences between them, see, e.g., Wuilleumier 1952, 24, 25; Paratte 1963, 20–2; Bellardi 1975, 9–11; Nicholson 1992, 121–5; MacKendrick 1995, 129–35, 139–46.

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According to Cicero's description in the later treatise *Orator* (46 BCE), the style in epideictic speeches is different from that in forensic speeches (Cic. *Orat.* 207–11): in epideictic speeches almost the whole text should be periodic and rhythmic, whereas in forensic speeches such a style should only be used in selected passages. The two *post reditum* speeches belong to neither category exclusively, but the awareness of such stylistic differences and of their potential effect suggests that Cicero will have thought about the appropriate style to apply, especially when he prepared at least one of the speeches in writing in advance (Cic. *Planc.* 74 [T 2]).

In spite of some differences the tone and style of both speeches is mostly solemn and impressive, approximating the medium, temperate style, though it varies according to the content of particular passages.¹¹⁰ For instance, the invective section on Cicero's opponents in the speech to the Senate (Cic. *RS* 10–18) includes terms of abuse, foreign and colloquial words, and a high number of metaphors and comparisons not occurring in other parts of the oration to the same extent.¹¹¹ Thus, the speech in the Senate displays a more varied style, changing between the opening, the invective, the more narrative parts, and the concluding sections. In contrast, the speech to the People is rhetorically more coherent; there is only one diminutive (Cic. *RQ* 20), and it does not contain colloquial expressions or sustained irony. The tone of that speech is also more restrained in terms of criticism and more rhetorically elaborate and emotional; this is achieved, for instance, by more details about Cicero's family, more appeals to the gods, and more repetitions and sequences.¹¹²

While both speeches contain metaphors, those in the Senate speech tend to be more varied and allusive.¹¹³ One of the more striking and meaningful rhetorical features—generally more developed in the speech to the Senate—is the partial personification of the *res publica*, described as affected by the activities of opponents, in need of help, and even driven out (e.g. Cic. *RS* 3; 6; 17; 18; 34; 36; 39; *RQ* 11; 18).

As the speeches are intended to present the *beneficium* Cicero received from the Senate and the People as something extraordinary and to render effusive thanks in return, they include numerous hyperbolic expressions. For instance, the deeds of support for Cicero, the underlying attitude, and the appropriate reaction in response are described as *divinus* (Cic. *RS* 1; 28; 30; *RQ* 1; 2; 5; 15; 25),

¹¹⁰ See Laurand 1936–8, 310–11; Paratte 1963, 18 (on Cic. *RQ*); von Albrecht 1973, 1293; 2003, 20–5.

¹¹¹ On the syntactical structures and rhetorical figures in both speeches, see Cipriani 1975, 157–66, 175–9.

¹¹² See, e.g., von Albrecht 1973, 1251–2; 2003, 25–6; MacKendrick 1995, 136, 146.

¹¹³ On metaphors in both speeches and differences between them, see Fantham 1972, 121–5. – According to (slightly questionable) figures compiled by MacKendrick (1995, 131, 142), the speech in the Senate includes 278 metaphors (i.e. about seven per paragraph), and the speech before the People has 265 metaphors (i.e. about eleven per paragraph); both figures are well above average in comparison with other Ciceronian speeches analysed according to the same method.

incredibilis (Cic. RS 1; 26; RQ 2; 5), *inauditus* (Cic. RQ 7), or *immortalis* (Cic. RS 1; RQ 1); some of the most emphatic expressions are qualified by words such as *paene* or forms of *quidam*, toning down the bold transfer. There are frequent two-part expressions, as parallels or contrasts, perhaps to balance and lend more weight to these points (often marked by the structure *non modo/solum... sed etiam* and its variations). Numerous mentions of and addresses to *di immortales* intensify the impact of these orations, especially in the speech to the People (Cic. RS 2 [3x]; 9; 30; RQ 1 [2x]; 4; 5 [3x]; 14; 18 [3x]; 25). While some of these references to the gods are conventional, satisfying the assumed religious feelings of the audience, others present the positive developments affecting Cicero and the audience as being willed by the gods (e.g. Cic. RS 9; RQ 1; 18).¹¹⁴

In both speeches Cicero uses historical exempla to illustrate his situation in relation to other ex-consuls who had to leave Rome and later came back.¹¹⁵ The presentation is selective and ignores the wider context so that Cicero can make points conducive to his argument. The comparison is more prominent and occurs at an earlier stage in the speech to the People (Cic. RS 37–8; RQ 6–11). Such an organization suggests that the exempla are not simply introduced as ornaments but rather with a specific intention; for the emphasis of the juxtaposition is not so much on the peaceful return, endorsed by everyone, but on the fact that Cicero was basically on his own and had no relatives to lobby for him, being a ‘new man’ aligned with the People (as he outlines in the introduction of his inaugural speech as consul to the People: Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.1–10).

Some statistics suggest that the frequency of *clausulae* and rhetorical figures is low in both *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites*, that there are more ‘Attic *clausulae*’ than ‘Asiatic *clausulae*’, and that the number of subordinate clauses is high.¹¹⁶ These characteristics might have been seen as an argument for inauthenticity in earlier scholarship; now they are best interpreted as an indication of the nature of these speeches and the development of Cicero’s oratory in this period.

T. Zielinski’s studies on *clausulae* in Cicero’s speeches (1904) demonstrated that the patterns found in these orations do not substantially differ from those typical of his other speeches, while certain characteristics set off Cicero’s speeches from other Latin prose texts. The presentation of this evidence and the resulting conclusions were generally accepted and put the discussion of the authenticity of the *post reditum* speeches to rest.

Zielinski’s book still presents a lot of useful data on the identifiable types of *clausulae* and their relative distribution.¹¹⁷ Not much work on a similar scale

¹¹⁴ On the role of religion in Cicero’s speeches, see Heibges 1969, esp. 847–8.

¹¹⁵ For a list of historical exempla in both speeches, see Bücher 2006, 244.

¹¹⁶ See Cipriani 1975, esp. 15.

¹¹⁷ See Zielinski 1904; for further studies on the prose rhythm of Cicero’s speeches, see, e.g., Bornecque 1909; Primmer 1968; Nisbet 1990 (on *clausulae* in *cola*); Hutchinson 1995; for the role of prose rhythm for considering questions of authenticity, see Berry 1996. – For a recent

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had been done until recently, when T. Keeline and T. Kirby (2019) looked at prose rhythm in Latin literature again from a global perspective, this time with the help of digital methods. Although they are cautious and aware of the possible drawbacks of a computerized approach, which should be supplemented by other methods, their statistics demonstrate that there are broad tendencies of prose rhythm in Cicero's speeches distinguishing them from his writings in other literary genres and from the prose texts of other Latin writers, while there is also variation within the corpus of Ciceronian speeches, probably due to developments over time or the character of individual orations.

Within the framework of what can be observed for Cicero's speeches, the statistical analysis by Keeline and Kirby shows that the pattern of *clausulae* in the two speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* is not unusual.¹¹⁸ For instance, with respect to the most frequent types of *clausulae* (cretic plus trochee, double cretic, and ditrochee), *RS* and *RQ* have 39.41 per cent and 37.62 per cent cretic-trochee *clausulae*, 12.94 per cent and 10.89 per cent double cretic *clausulae*, and 32.94 per cent and 37.62 per cent double trochee *clausulae*, respectively. This compares with the following figures for all of Cicero's speeches: 28.70 per cent, 23.78 per cent, and 26.24 per cent. While these percentages differ, other Ciceronian speeches close in time to *RS* and *RQ* show distributions of *clausulae* similar to those of *RS* and *RQ* (e.g. *Arch.*: 34.85 per cent, 18.18 per cent, 36.36 per cent; *Sest.*: 33.22 per cent, 16.09 per cent, 28.97 per cent; *Scaur.*: 33.53 per cent, 14.45 per cent, 31.21 per cent). In light of the fact that the *clausulae* in these speeches cannot be regarded as particularly unusual, *clausulae* will be identified in the commentary only where they are relevant for the constitution of the text or have given rise to scholarly discussions.

In the spurious *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* (see Introduction, section 4) the *clausulae* are significantly different. In this speech the figures for the most frequent types of *clausulae* compiled in the same way are: 19.84 per cent cretic-trochee *clausulae*, 9.16 per cent double cretic *clausulae*, 36.64 per cent double trochee *clausulae*, showing a marked difference in the first group. More obviously, the percentages of spondaic *clausulae* are 10.58 per cent in *RS*, 4.95 per cent in *RQ*, and 17.55 per cent in the spurious speech, and the percentages for 'artistic' *clausulae* are 86.47 per cent in *RS*, 89.10 per cent in *RQ*, and 67.17 per cent in the spurious speech. Thus, if *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* was genuine, it would be Cicero's least rhythmic speech in terms of *clausulae*, except for the deliberately different *Pro Q. Roscio comoedo*; rather than being comparable to Cicero's speeches, this oration's rhythmic profile is closer to the (equally spurious) invective *In Sallustium*. Thus, renewed rhythmic analysis confirms

discussion of prose rhythm with respect to Greek prose literature, see Hutchinson 2018. – For an overview of *clausulae* in Cic. *RS* and *RQ*, see Cipriani 1975, 167–72, 181–4; for a discussion of *clausulae* in Cic. *RS*, see Novotný 1925.

¹¹⁸ See Keeline/Kirby 2019.

that *RS* and *RQ* can be regarded as Ciceronian, while it provides another reason for the inauthenticity of *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret*.¹¹⁹

4. THE SPURIOUS *ORATIO PRIDIE QUAM IN EXILIUM IRET*

The *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* has been transmitted with the speeches delivered by the historical Cicero after his return to Rome, presumably because of its content and the purported date of delivery (see Introduction, section 5.1). Yet the oddity of the presupposed situation, the inconsistencies in the speech, and the deviations from Cicero's typical style led to doubts about its authenticity from an early stage. The oration was first identified as spurious by Dionysius Lambinus (1520–72).¹²⁰ As a result of its acknowledged inauthenticity, the speech received hardly any attention for a long time. More recently, in line with renewed attention to the concepts of fake, forgery, pseudepigraphy, and the textual examples of such cases, interest in this speech has revived (see Introduction, section 1).

Beyond the fact that the speech is not by Cicero and is a product of the first few centuries CE, there are no agreed views on its precise date of composition or the author. Cicero's lifetime is the obvious *terminus post quem*, and the earliest extant manuscript (P, ninth century) provides the *terminus ante quem*.¹²¹ Several options for the date of composition within that range have been put forward: the text's most recent editor has suggested a date in the second century CE.¹²² Other scholars have favoured a later date, but still within late antiquity, such as the third or fourth centuries CE.¹²³ An earlier date, possibly the first or the early second century CE, within the context of rhetorical education and declamation, has now also been considered, while it has been noted that any date between the first and the fourth centuries CE has to be regarded as possible.¹²⁴ Parallels with expressions in datable authors from the first few centuries CE are too unspecific or too small in number to enable a narrowing down of the chronological range. The fact that there are no traces of the movement of

¹¹⁹ Many thanks to T. Keeline and T. Kirby, who, in addition to the data compiled for their article, have kindly provided the figures for *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* and suggested ways of analysis. – On the different patterns of prose rhythm in *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret*, see also Corbeill 2020, 19–20.

¹²⁰ See De Marco 1991, 5.

¹²¹ For a brief overview of the reception of Cicero's oratorical and rhetorical works (with further references), as the context in which this speech must be seen, see Kennedy 2002.

¹²² See De Marco 1967, 37; 1991, 5.

¹²³ See Gamberale 1997, 331; 1998, 54, 55, 70, 74; La Bua 2019, 83.

¹²⁴ See Keeline 2018, 150–1; Corbeill 2020, 20–1, with n. 12. – Wiseman (2004, 180, with n. 58) regards the text as 'undatable', while he is open to considering an early date.

4. *The spurious Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* xli

archaism popular in the second century CE might suggest that the text was composed before rather than after this period. Irrespective of the precise date, it is plausibly assumed that the speech is not an intentional fake and rather originated in the context of declamations in the schools of rhetoric as a piece composed for a particular historical occasion (and then became attached to Cicero's genuine orations);¹²⁵ in its recourse to an abundance of rhetorical figures the speech is line with the declamatory tradition.¹²⁶ As scholars have noted,¹²⁷ in parts the speech almost appears as a cento of Ciceronian phrases and motifs, as was common in the declamatory tradition. At the same time there are subtle differences from their use in genuine orations by Cicero, the speech draws on a wide range of sources, and also includes unique and rare phrases or expressions that do not occur elsewhere or are otherwise first attested in authors writing after Cicero's lifetime.

In view of the author's familiarity with classical history it has been proposed that *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* was inspired by information such as that given in a passage in Plutarch, describing how in response to Clodius' law-making activity Cicero put on mourning clothes and made suppliant entreaties to the People and how a large number of knights also changed their dress, escorted him, and joined his supplications (Plut. *Cic.* 30.6–31.1).¹²⁸ This narrative suggests a series of informal supplications to groups or individuals among the People, while the oration's text presupposes an occasion for the delivery of a one-off set-piece oration and mentions a *contio* (*Exil.* 19).¹²⁹ There is no evidence that Cicero delivered a proper speech before he left Rome in 58 BCE. Since in that year Cicero was not in a position to call a *contio*, one of the magistrates in office would have had to do this; in view of their hostility as described by the historical Cicero, it is unlikely that they would have created such an opportunity for him. Moreover, it is doubtful whether he would have delivered such a speech to mark his yielding. Cicero could have produced a pamphlet in the shape of a speech intended for written circulation and not for oral delivery, in order to create a more rounded record of his journey away from Rome and back.¹³⁰ If such a piece was not merely intended to gather support for Cicero at the time of his departure, but to have a longer life and spread Cicero's views, one might expect a version putting more emphasis on Cicero's achievements making a departure from Rome seem unjust and less emphasis on appeals for help.

¹²⁵ See, e.g., Gamberale 1998, 74; La Bua 2019, 83. – On early pseudepigraphic material on Cicero, see Keeline 2018, 147–95, esp. 164–77 on the role of the 'exile' in this tradition. – On the concept of the 'Roman fake', see Peirano 2012.

¹²⁶ See Keeline 2018, 168.

¹²⁷ See esp. De Marco 1991; Gamberale 1997; 1998; Keeline 2018, 167–71 (with examples); also Corbeill 2020, 24–7.

¹²⁸ See, e.g., De Marco 1967, 37; 1991, 5 (link to Plutarch doubted by Gamberale 1998, 54; esp. Keeline 2018, 151).

¹²⁹ See Keeline 2018, 151 and n. 17.

¹³⁰ Corbeill (2020, 17 n. 3) notes that this possibility has to be considered.

Still, as the speech fills a potential perceived gap in the texts documenting Cicero's departure from and return to Rome, it could be regarded as a 'creative supplement' to the genuine texts.¹³¹

In the speeches delivered after his return to Rome the historical Cicero presents his exile as a heroic deed and a sacrifice for the community, putting all the blame on P. Clodius Pulcher; this version is generally picked up by later authors.¹³² The reactions to *suasoria* themes connected with Cicero and reported by Seneca the Elder indicate that some declaimers were critical, for instance, of Cicero's dealing with adversity, but generally a positive presentation of Cicero was predominant (Sen. *Suas.* 6.14; 6.22; 6.24). The speech set at the point of Cicero's departure stands out by presenting Cicero at a point in his life when he does not address the challenge entirely heroically or at least does not create the impression that he is in charge. The speech thus is linked to a particular moment in Cicero's life, but in its vagueness as to what is required would perhaps not have been the most effective in this particular historical situation; at the same time the speech appears as a combination of elements taken from Cicero's writings composed in different literary genres and at different times combined with some historical facts and thus may be seen as a psychological description of his changing mood. This might be quite an accurate description of Cicero's feelings at the time, but is probably not what Cicero would have liked to have seen published.

Such a portrayal might be a deliberate variation illustrating another facet of Cicero's biography and personality. In addition, it has been observed that in style, language, and conventions the text of the speech displays features that are idiosyncratic, un-Ciceronian, and unusual in the declamatory tradition, and thus it has been suggested that the author might have included those on purpose 'to demonstrate that he knows how *not* to write like Cicero'.¹³³ While this is a potential explanation for the oration's characteristics, they or at least some of them could also be the result of someone making use of a variety of elements taken from the rhetorical tradition without being overly concerned about or fully aware of how these combine to create a portrayal the historical Cicero might have intended or relate to the motifs and stylistic conventions found in Cicero's genuine works.

In any case the author clearly engages with a wide range of classical and particularly Ciceronian sources and rehearses motifs common in the works of the historical Cicero (e.g. Cicero not guilty of any crime or having preserved the Republic), giving them a particular twist in that they are employed to request help from the audience and adding some moralistic reasoning as to why this is required and appropriate. At the same time the composition of the audience remains vague, and it is not clearly defined what they are meant to do.

¹³¹ For the terminology, see Peirano 2012, 10.

¹³² See Keeline 2018, 164, 171.

¹³³ See Corbeill 2020.

Further, the position of the speaker varies over the course of the speech: while he initially appears to hope for an arrangement allowing him to stay in Rome, there seems to be a tendency to become resigned to having to leave Rome towards the end. Still, he calls on the audience, asking that his memory be kept and praised, so that he emerges superior to his enemies. Such a tenor would agree with the assumption that the speech was written in hindsight by someone familiar with Cicero's writings and the history of the period, while not fully recreating Cicero's own style (on the content and argument of this speech, see *Exil.*, Introduction).

This speech is not the only spurious speech presented as an additional oration by Cicero elaborating on a historical and political situation he encountered. There is also, for instance, a *Quinta Catilinaria*, along with a *Responsio Catilinae*.¹³⁴ In contrast to *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* these texts are usually dated to the medieval period on the basis of a linguistic analysis revealing non-classical features. They might be declamation speeches produced in France in the context of a revival of classical oratory and rhetoric. The earliest manuscript in which these texts have survived (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 84, fol. 26r–29v) contains, besides the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, also a discussion of *modus loquendi*. Thus, these speeches are documents of the long-running impact Cicero's genuine speeches have had not only on practical oratory, but also on the rhetorical tradition. Unlike *Quinta Catilinaria* and *Responsio Catilinae*, *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* is transmitted within the context of Cicero's genuine speeches and a significantly earlier document of the reactions they created.

5. NOTE ON TEXT AND TRANSLATION

5.1. Transmission

Cicero's speeches from the years after his return to Rome seem to have been transmitted as a unit since late antiquity (*Post reditum in senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, *De domo sua*, *De haruspicum responsis*, *Pro Sestio*, *In Vatinius*, *Pro Caelio*, *De provinciis consularibus*, and *Pro Balbo*, along with Ps.-Cicero, *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret*).¹³⁵

¹³⁴ For the text of *Quinta Catilinaria*, see De Marco 1991, 29–49; for an analysis, see Haye 1999, 226–31.

¹³⁵ On aspects of the transmission history and textual issues of *RS* and *RQ*, see Stock 1888, Peterson 1910; Klotz 1912; 1913; Wuilleumier 1952, 28–37; Guillen 1967, 21–8; Lenaghan 1969, 42–5; Maslowski 1980; 1981, praef.; 1982; Maslowski/Rouse 1984; Boll 2019, 72–88; for a description of the manuscripts, see Rouse/Reeve 1983, 57–61, 83–5; on an additional manuscript, see F. De Marco 1957. – For some considerations on the origin of the corpus, see La Bua 2019, 82–4.

The three speeches *Post reditum in senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, and *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* in the main share the same transmission. The major sources for the text of all of them are the four manuscripts P (cod. Parisinus 7794), G (cod. Bruxellensis 5345, olim Gemblacensis), E (cod. Berolinensis 252, olim Erfurtensis), and H (cod. Harleianus 4927), which go back, directly or via intermediaries, to a common source (now lost), which T. Maslowski (1981) calls A (for RS and RQ) and De Marco marks as Ω (for *Exil.*).¹³⁶ In details, however, the manuscript evidence differs. The most extensive transmission exists for *Post reditum in senatu*, since, in addition to the manuscripts deriving from A, called the Paris family (because of manuscript P), there is another group, the so-called z-family.

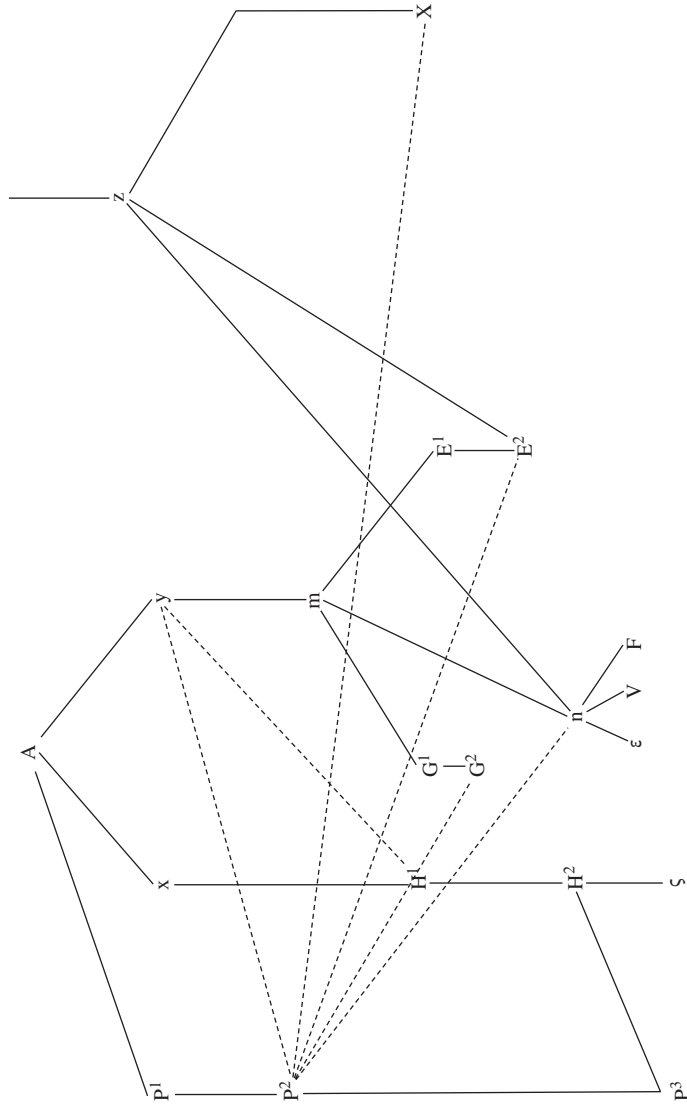
The relationships between the various manuscripts can be summarized for *Post reditum in senatu* as follows: P descends from A and was revised by a corrector at an early stage (P^2) and again later (P^3 , influenced also by H^2). G and E form a second branch: they are descended from A via a common exemplar (m) and an intermediate source (y). In addition to G and E, the later manuscripts ϵ (cod. Erlangensis 847), V (cod. Vaticanus 1525, olim Palatinus), and F (lectiones codicis Pithoeani) also belong to this branch; they are probably descended from m via a shared exemplar n. H represents a third branch of this family. This manuscript shares readings with P and GE (via y) and also includes readings from P^2 ; because of omissions, rearrangements, and emendations (some of them probably owing to deliberate interventions in the text), it is regarded as a problematic source.¹³⁷ P^2 consulted y (an ancestor of m); moreover, P^2 has had an influence on G's corrector G^2 and E's corrector E^2 and on the intermediate source n, which is dependent on m. Thus, there are various interrelations between the different manuscripts of this group. The z-family can be discerned from E^2 , ϵ , V, F, and X (fragmenta Parisina 18104); there is contamination between the A-family and the z-family, since ϵ , V, and F also depend on A via intermediate stages and the influence of P^2 is discernible in X.¹³⁸

The situation for *Post reditum ad Quirites* is basically similar, but different in so far as the z-family does not exist for this speech and E omits a large part of the text (and E^2 does not exist). For this section the second branch of the Paris

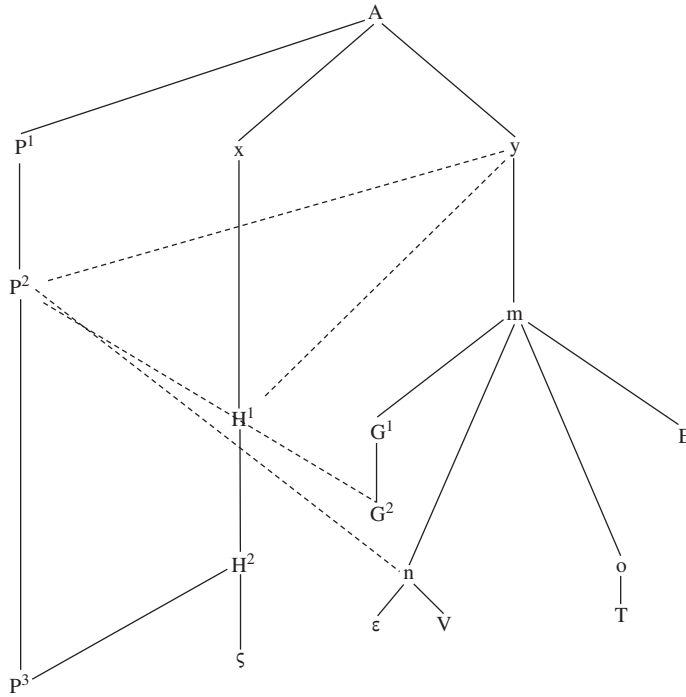
¹³⁶ The overview of the transmission situation is based on the editions of Maslowski (1981) and of De Marco (1991). – For a full explanation of textual sigla, see the lists just before the Latin text of each speech.

¹³⁷ See Maslowski 1981, xxvi–xxviii.

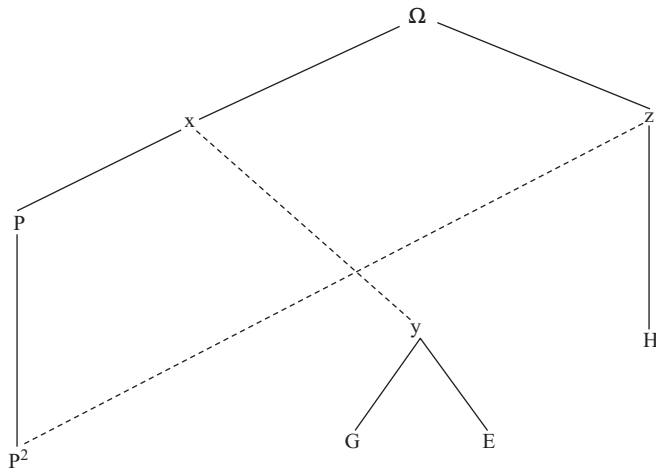
¹³⁸ See Maslowski 1981, xii–xiii: 'Horum omnium ratione habita persuasum mihi est duos quasi rivulos memoriae orationis *cum sen. gr. egit* ex antiquis temporibus ad nos deductos esse per codices duos, i.e. per (A) et archetypum familiae z. uterque codex non solum sua vitia sed etiam quandam recensionem exhibuit, i.e. quibusdam locis varias lectiones quae aetate Romana legentibus notae fuerint, atque suam inscriptionem. quae sententia per se spectata nullam dubitationem movere debet. ceterum non infitias eo olim unam editionem exstitisse ad quam utraque familia ultimo gradu redierit. sed ut hodie se res habent, duo archetypha in hac oratione sumenda mihi videntur, quorum ex uno PGEH, altero $XE^2\epsilon VF$ profluxerint.'



Stemma for *Post reditum in senatu* (based on Maslowski 1981)



Stemma for *Post reditum ad Quirites* (based on Maslowski 1981)



Stemma for *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* (based on De Marco 1991)

family is made up only of G, ϵ , V (F does not include this speech), and additionally T (cod. Trecensis 552), which derives from m via an intermediary o.

The Teubner edition of *Post reditum in senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, *De domo sua*, and *De haruspicum responsis* by T. Maslowski (1981) is based on the examination and collation of all relevant manuscripts and provides a full critical apparatus; on balance it often gives preference to the A-family, but also acknowledges that a number of important readings have been preserved in the z-family (codd. rec. are not fully documented).

The edition of the *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* relies only on the manuscripts deriving from A, namely P, G, E, and H, following the most recent editor of this speech, M. De Marco (1991), who disregards ϵ (p. 6: ‘minoris momenti’), but takes account of H in contrast to I. G. Baiter (1856). M. De Marco (1991) agrees with T. Maslowski (1981), the editor of the genuine *post reditum* speeches, in the assessment of the relative status of the manuscripts, the descent of the extant manuscripts ultimately from a common ancestor, and the close relationship of G and E. The two editors vary slightly in their dating of these manuscripts and differ in details of the stemmatic analysis: according to De Marco, the exemplar of G and E depends on an intermediary source between Ω (\sim A) and P, and P² is not influenced by H², but rather by an intermediate source, via which H goes back to Ω .

Two *editiones principes* of all of Cicero’s speeches were published in 1471, one in Rome and one in Venice.¹³⁹

The stemmata given here illustrate the relationship between all the manuscripts adduced by the respective editors for the various speeches.

5.2. The text and translation in this edition

The Latin text of the speeches *Post reditum in senatu* and *Post reditum ad Quirites* in this edition has been developed from that of the Teubner edition by T. Maslowski (1981);¹⁴⁰ the Latin text of the *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret* has been derived from the edition by M. De Marco (1991);¹⁴¹ information on the manuscripts and their readings has been taken from the *praefatio* and apparatus criticus of the respective edition (and occasionally earlier editions and studies

¹³⁹ Rome: ISTC ic00541000 (<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ic00541000>); Venice: ISTC ic00542000 (<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ic00542000>). – For a list of early editions, see Guillen 1967, 29.

¹⁴⁰ On his principles of orthography, see Maslowski 1981, xxxiv–xxxv. – See Nicholson 1992, 17: ‘The latest and best edition is T. Maslowski’s 1981 Teubner which provides a carefully updated recension with very full apparatus, based on an exhaustive reexamination of all the mss and a cautious sifting of generations of emendations.’

¹⁴¹ Previously, the speech *Pridie quam in exilium iret* was edited by Baiter (1856) and Müller (1890).

on the text).¹⁴² As discussed in the commentary and noted in the apparatus, the transmission is problematic in places; in some cases, therefore, readings or conjectures different from those printed in the reference editions have been adopted. A list of the major departures from the reference editions (not including minor differences in punctuation, spelling, paragraphing etc.) is provided at the end of this volume.

The sigla used in the critical apparatus (see lists just before the Latin text of each oration) have been taken from T. Maslowski's (1981) edition for the genuine speeches and from M. De Marco's (1991) edition for the spurious *Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret*. For all speeches the critical apparatus has the format of a positive apparatus, in the interests of clarity.

In terms of spelling conventions, this text follows the principles of T. Maslowski's edition, for instance by only capitalizing proper names and writing *v* for consonantal *u*.

The English translation is meant to be a guide to understanding the Latin text. Therefore, it is intended to be fairly literal and to capture the style and structure of the Latin as far as possible (with the usual adjustments due to the requirements of the English language). This version might, therefore, read less fluently than a free-standing, self-contained English translation, but seems appropriate as a means to elucidate the Latin in the context of a commentary.

¹⁴² For the testimonia (printed before the text of the speeches) only a limited apparatus criticus is provided.