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Selections from

CICERO

Speeches

Philosophical Works

and Letters

Read in Latin by

John F. C. Richards

Folkways Records

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Selections from Cicero

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Read in Latin by John F. C. Richards

M. TULLIUS CICERO (106-43 B.C.)

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1. In Verrem, translated by L.H.G. Greenwood (1935)
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11. Epistulae ad Familiares, translated by W. Glynn Williams (1929)

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Band 1: (70 B.C.) In Verrem (2) 4, 51, 115

Unius etiam urbis omnium pulcherrimae atque ornatissimae, Syracusarum, direptionem commemorabo et in medium proferam, iudices, ut aliquando totam huius generis orationem concludam atque definiam. Nemo fere vestrum est quin quem ad modum captae sint a M. Marcello Syracusae saepe audierit, non numquam etiam in annalibus legerit. Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, huius libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit captas dicetis Syracusas.

There is still one city, Syracuse, the richest and fairest of all, the tale of whose plundering I will bring forward and relate to you, and thus round off and complete at last all this portion of my speech. There can hardly be any among you who has not often heard, and on occasion read in the history books, how Syracuse was captured by Marcus Marcellus. Compare, then, this time of peace with that time of war; the visits of this Roman governor with the victory of that Roman general; this man's filthy retinue with that man's invincible army; this man's self-indulgence with that man's self-control: and you will say that Syracuse was founded by the man who captured it, captured by the man who took it over a well-ordered community.

Band 2: (70 B.C.) In Verrem (2) 5, 66, 170

Facinus est vincere civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest. Non fuit his omnibus iste contentus; "spectet," inquit, "patriam; in conspectu legum libertatisque moriatur." Non tu hoc loco Gavius, non unum hominem nescio quem, sed communem libertatis et civitatis causam in illum cruciatum et crucem egisti. Iam vero videte hominis audaciam! Nonne eum graviter tulisse arbitramini quod illam civibus Romanis crucem non posset in foro, non in comitio, non in rostris defigere? Quod enim his locis in provincia sua celebritate simillimum, regione proximum potuit, elegit; monumentum sceleris audaciaeque suae voluit esse in conspectu Italiae, vestibulo Siciliae, praetervectione omnium qui ultro citroque navigarent.

To bind a Roman citizen is a crime, to flog him is an abomination, to slay him is almost an act of murder^a: to crucify him is—what? There is no fitting word that can possibly describe so horrible a deed. Not satisfied with all the cruelty I have told you of, "Let him be in sight of his native land," he cries, "let him die with justice and freedom before his eyes." It was not Gavius, not one obscure man, whom you nailed upon that cross of agony: it was the universal principle that Romans are free men.—Nay, do but mark the villain's shamelessness! One can imagine how it vexed him to be unable to set up that cross to crucify us Roman citizens in our Forum, in our place of public assembly and public speech: for he picked out the corner of his province that should be most like Rome in its populousness, and nearest to Rome in its position; he would have this memorial of his abandoned wickedness stand in sight of Italy, at the entrance-gate of Sicily, in a place where all who came or went that way by sea must pass close by it.

Band 3: (66 B.C.) Pro lege Manilia, 21, 61-63

Quid tam novum quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? confecit. Huic praeesse? praefuit. Rem optime ductu suo gerere? gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradulescenti, cuius aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute, bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? missus est. Quo quidem

What so novel as that a mere youth, holding no office, should raise an army at a time of crisis in the State? Yet he did raise one. Or that he should command it? Yet he did command it. Or that he should achieve a great success under his own direction? Yet he did achieve it. What so contrary to custom as that one who was little more than a youth and far too young to hold senatorial rank should be given a military command and be entrusted with the province of Sicily and Africa and the conduct of a campaign there? He displayed in the performance of these duties remarkable integrity, dignity and capacity: the campaign in Africa, a very serious one, he brought to an end and led his army home victorious. What, indeed, so unheard of as that a Roman knight should hold a triumph? Yet even that the Roman People not merely witnessed but thought fit to attend, and to join in celebrating it with universal enthusiasm. What so unprecedented at that, though there were available two distinguished and valiant consuls, a Roman knight should be sent in place of a consul to a great

tempore cum esset non nemo in senatu, qui diceret "non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule," L. Philippus dixisse dicitur "non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere." Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adulescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine vidimus. Atque haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum eiusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

Band 4: (63 B.C.) In Catilinam 2, 1, 1

Tandem aliquando, Quirites, I. Catilinam furem audacia, scelus anhelantem pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla iam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur; non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus.

Band 5: (63 B.C.) In Catilinam 3, 1, 1-3

Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, coniuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et si non minus nobis iucundi atque inlustres sunt ii dies quibus conservamur quam illi quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit ad deos immortalis benevolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subiectos prope iam ignis circumdatosque restinximus, idemque gladios in rem publicam destrectos retrusimus mucronesque eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus. Quae quoniam in senatu inlustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis iam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut

and perilous war? Yet he was sent. And on that occasion, though there were not a few in the Senate who said it was not right to send a private citizen in the place of a consul, Lucius Philippus is said to have remarked: "I give my vote to send him not in place of a consul but in place of both consuls!" So great were the hopes reposed in him of a successful administration, that the function of two consuls was entrusted to the capacity of one youth. What so unparalleled as that he should be exempted from the laws by a decree of the Senate and be made a consul before he would have been entitled by the laws to hold any lower office? What so incredible as that a second triumph should be awarded by a decree of the Senate to a Roman knight? All the departures from precedent which, since history began, have been made in individual cases, are less in number than these which our own eyes have seen in the case of this one individual. And all these important and striking innovations were brought about in favour of Pompeius on the initiative of Quintus Catulus and the other honourable men of the same rank.

At last, citizens, we have either cast out of the city or dismissed or said farewell to Lucius Catiline, as he departed blazing with audacity, breathing forth crime, wickedly plotting the destruction of his country, threatening you and his city with sword and fire. He has gone, he has departed, he has escaped, he has flung himself out of the city. Now that misbegotten monster from within our walls will plot no destruction against them. Beyond question we have vanquished this one leader of this civil war. For no longer will that dagger of his be plunged into our sides. We shall be afraid neither in the Campus Martius, nor in the forum, nor in the senate-house, and finally not within the walls of our own homes. He was driven from his post of advantage when he was expelled from the city.

THE state, citizens, the lives of you all, your property, your fortunes, your wives, and your children, this home of the most glorious government, this most fortunate and magnificent city—on this day the love of the gods for you, and my own efforts, my plans and perils have rescued from fire and sword, and almost from the jaws of death, and restored to you safe and sound—as you see. And if those days are no less pleasant and illustrious in our sight on which we are saved, than those on which we are born—because the joy of being saved is certain, and the condition to which we are born is uncertain, and because we are born without perception, and we are saved with pleasure—certainly since we have raised to the immortal gods with affection and praise that man^a who founded this city, he who preserved this same city, then founded and now grown great, ought to be held in honour by you and your posterity. For we have extinguished the fires which were kindled and which almost surrounded the whole city, the temples, the shrines, the dwellings, and the walls, and we also have struck down the swords which were drawn against the state, and have turned aside their points from your throats. Since I have disclosed, made clear, and fully recounted these events in the senate

et quanta et quam manifesta et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint vos qui et ignoratis et expectatis scire possitis.

I will now briefly lay all before you, citizens, in order that you who are uninformed and are eager for news may know how great and how manifest are the things which have been discovered and by what means they have been sought out and suppressed.

Band 6: (52 B.C.) Pro Archia 7, 15-16

Quaeret quispiam: quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare sed tamen est certum quod respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse et sine doctrina naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor: etiam illud adiungo, saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam et illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere exsistere. Ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem Africanum, ex hoc C. Laelium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos, ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, numquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi aversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam iudicaretis. Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum: haec studia adolescentiam acuunt,¹ senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

"But," an objector may ask, "were these great men, whose virtues are perpetuated in literature, themselves adepts in the learning which you describe in such fulsome terms?" It would be difficult to make a sweeping and categorical reply, but at the same time I have my answer ready. Many there have been, no doubt, exceptionally endowed in temperament and character, who, without any aid from culture, but only by a heaven-born light within their own souls, have been self-schooled in restraint and fortitude; I would even go so far as to say that natural gifts without education have more often attained to glory and virtue than education without natural gifts. Yet I do at the same time assert that when to a lofty and brilliant character is applied the moulding influence of abstract studies, the result is often inscrutably and unapproachably noble. Such a character our fathers were privileged to behold in the divine figure of Scipio Africanus^a; such were those patterns of continence and self-control, Gaius Laelius and Lucius Furius; such was the brave and venerable Marcus Cato, the most accomplished man of his day. These surely would never have devoted themselves to literary pursuits, had they not been aided thereby in the appreciation and pursuit of merit. But let us for the moment waive these solid advantages; let us assume that entertainment is the sole end of reading; even so, I think you would hold that no mental employment is so broadening to the sympathies or so enlightening to the understanding. Other pursuits belong not to all times, all ages, all conditions; but this gives stimulus^b to our youth and diversion to our old age; this adds a charm to success, and offers a haven of consolation to failure. In the home it delights, in the world it hampers not. Through the night-watches, on all our journeying, and in our hours of country ease, it is our unfailing companion.

Band 7: (52 B.C.) Pro Milone 4, 10-11

Insidiatori vero et latroni quae potest inferri iniusta nex? Quid comitatus nostri, quid gladii volunt? Quos habere certe non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret. Est igitur haec, iudices, non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa adripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus, ut, si vita nostra in aliqua insidias, si in vim et in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidisset, omnis honesta ratio esset expediendae salutis; silent enim leges inter arma nec se expectari iubent, cum ei, qui expectare velit, ante iniusta poena luenda sit quam iusta repetenda: etsi persapienter et quodam modo tacite dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi, quae non

But against an assassin and a brigand what murderous onslaught can want justification? What is the meaning of the bodyguards that attend us and the swords that we carry? We should certainly not be permitted to have them, were we never to be permitted to use them. There does exist therefore, gentlemen, a law which is a law not of the statute-book, but of nature; a law which we possess not by instruction, tradition, or reading, but which we have caught, imbibed, and sucked in at Nature's own breast; a law which comes to us not by education but by constitution, not by training but by intuition—the law, I mean, that, should our life have fallen into any snare, into the violence and the weapons of robbers or foes, every method of winning a way to safety would be morally justifiable. When arms speak, the laws are silent; they bid none to await their word, since he who chooses to await it must pay an undeserved penalty ere he can exact a deserved one. And yet most wisely, and, in a way, tacitly, the law itself authorizes self-defence; it forbids not homicide, but the carrying of a weapon

hominem occidi, sed esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat, ut, cum causa, non telum quaereretur, qui sui defendendi causa telo esset usus, non hominis occidendi causa habuisse telum iudicaretur.

Band 8: (44 B.C.) *Orationes Philippicae*, 2, 46, 118-119

Resipisce, quaeso, aliquando;¹ quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera; mecum, ut voles, redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris, ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non deseram senex; contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter optulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu parturit. Etenim, si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est perfuncto rebus iis, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto, unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam (hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest), alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

with a view to homicide, and consequently when the circumstances of the case and not the carrying of the weapon was being investigated, the man who had employed a weapon in self-defence was not held to have carried that weapon with a view to homicide.

Recover your senses, at length, I beseech you; consider those from whom you are sprung, not those with whom you live; treat me as you will; be reconciled to the State. But you must look to your own conduct: for myself I will make my own profession. I defended the State in youth, I will not desert it in old age; I despised the swordsmen of Catiline, I will not dread yours. Aye, and even my body will I gladly offer if the liberty of the State can be realised by my death, so that the anguish of the Roman people may some time bring to birth that with which it has so long travailed. For if nearly twenty years ago in this very temple I said that death could not come untimely to a consular,¹ with how much greater truth shall I say it in old age! By me indeed, Conscript Fathers, death is even to be wished for, now that the honours I have won and the deeds I have performed are past. These two things only I pray for; one, that in my death I may leave the Roman people free—than this no greater gift can be given me by the immortal Gods—the other, that each man's fortune may be according to his deserts toward the State.

Band 9: (43 B.C.) *Orationes Philippicae*, 14, 12, 31-32

O fortunata mors, quae naturae debita pro patria est potissimum reddita! Vos vero patriae natos iudico, quorum etiam nomen a Marte est, ut idem deus urbem hanc gentibus, vos huic urbi genuisse videatur. In fuga foeda mors est, in victoria gloriosa; etenim Mars ipse ex acie fortissimum quemque pignerari solet. Illi igitur impii, quos cecidistis, etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent, vos vero, qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti. Brevis a natura vita nobis data est, at memoria bene redditae vitae sempiterna. Quae si non esset longior quam haec vita, quis esset tam amens, qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad summam laudem gloriamque contenderet? Actum igitur praeclare vobiscum, fortissimi, dum vixistis, nunc vero etiam sanctissimi milites, quod vestra virtus neque oblivione eorum, qui nunc sunt, nec reticentia posterorum sepulta,¹ esse poterit, cum vobis immortale monumentum suis paene manibus senatus populusque Romanus extruxerit. Multi saepe exercitus Punicis, Gallicis, Italicis bellis clari et magni fuerunt, nec tamen ullis tale genus honoris tributum est. Atque utinam maiora possemus, quandoquidem a vobis maxima accepimus! Vos ab urbe furentem Antonium avertistis, vos redire molientem reppulistis. Erit igitur exstructa moles opere magnifico incisaeque litterae divinae virtutis testes sempiternae, numquamque de vobis eorum, qui aut videbunt vestrum monumentum aut audient, gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali condicione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti.

O fortunate death, the debt to nature, best paid on behalf of country! you I verily regard as born for your country; your very name is from Mars, so that it seems the same God begot this city for the world, and you for this city. In flight death is disgraceful; in victory glorious; for Mars himself is wont to claim out of the battle-line the bravest as his own.¹ Those impious wretches then whom you have slain will even among the shades below pay the penalty of their treason; but you who have poured out your last breath in victory have won the seats and abodes of the pious. Brief is the life given us by nature; but the memory of life nobly resigned is everlasting. And if that memory had been no longer than this life of ours, who would be so mad as, by the greatest labour and peril, to strive for the utmost height of honour and glory? It has been well then with you, most valiant while you lived, but now also soldiers most revered; for your virtue cannot be entombed, either in the forgetfulness of those who now are, or in the silence of posterity, when, almost with their own hands, the Senate and the Roman people have reared to you an immortal monument. There have been in the Punic, Gallic, and Italian wars many armies glorious and great, yet on none of these has honour of such a kind been bestowed. And would that we could bestow greater, since from you we have received what is greatest! You turned from the city the furious Antonius; you, while he was striving to return, repelled him. There shall therefore be erected a mass of splendid workmanship and an inscription cut, an everlasting witness to your divine valour; and in your praise, whether men shall behold your monument or shall hear of it, never shall language of the deepest gratitude be silent. Thus, in exchange for life's mortality, you will have gained for yourselves immortality.

Nam quod semper movetur, aeternum est; quod autem motum adfert alicui, quodque ipsum agitur aliunde, quando finem habet motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est. solum igitur, quod sese movet,¹ quia numquam deseritur a se, numquam ne moveri quidem desinit; quin etiam ceteris, quae moventur, hic fons, hoc principium est movendi. principii autem nulla est origo; nam ex principio oriuntur omnia, ipsum autem nulla ex re alia nasci potest; nec enim esset id principium, quod gignere- tur aliunde; quodsi numquam oritur, ne occidit quidem umquam. nam principium extinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aliud creabit, siquidem necesse est a principio oriri omnia. ita fit, ut motus principium ex eo sit, quod ipsum a se movetur; id autem nec nasci potest nec mori; vel concedat omne caelum omnisque natura et consistat necesse est nec vim ullam nanciscatur, qua a primo impulsu moveatur.

XXVI. Cum pateat igitur aeternum id esse, quod a se ipso moveatur,² quis est, qui hanc naturam animis esse tributam neget?

Quae est igitur eius oratio, qua facit eum Plato usum apud iudices iam morte mul- tatum?

XLI. "Magna me" inquit "spes tenet, iudices, bene mihi evenire, quod mittar ad mortem; necesse est enim sit alterum de duobus, ut aut sensus omnino omnes mors auferat aut in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur. Quam ob rem sive sensus exstinguitur morsque ei somno similis est, qui non numquam etiam sine visis somniorum placatissimam quietem adfert, di boni, quid lucri est emori! aut quam multi dies reperiri possunt, qui tali nocti anteponantur, cui si¹ similis futura est perpetuitas omnis consequentis temporis, quis me beatior? Sin vera sunt quae dicuntur, migrationem esse mortem in eas oras, quas qui e vita excesserunt incolunt, id multo iam beatius est. Tene, cum ab iis, qui se iudicum numero haberi volunt, evaseris, ad eos venire, qui vere iudices appellantur, Minoem, Rhadamanthum, Aeacum, Triptolemum, convenireque eos, qui iuste et cum fide vixerint: haec peregrinatio mediocris vobis videri potest? Ut vero colloqui cum Orpheo, Musaco, Homero, Hesiodo liceat, quanti tandem aestimatis? Equidem saepe emori, si fieri posset, vellem, ut ea, quae dico, mihi liceret invenire. Quanta delectatione autem adficerer, cum Palamedem, cum Aiace, cum alios iudicio iniquo circum- ventos convenirem! Temptarem etiam summi regis, qui maximas copias duxit ad Troiam, et Ulixi Sisyphique prudentiam, nec ob eam rem, cum haec exquirerem, sicut hic faciebam, capite damnarer. Ne vos quidem, iudices ii, qui me absolvistis, mortem timueritis. Nec enim cuiquam bono mali quidquam evenire potest nec vivo nec mortuo, nec umquam eius res a dis immortalibus negliguntur, nec mihi ipsi hoc accidit fortuito. Nec vero ego iis, a quibus accusatus aut a quibus condemnatus sum, habeo

"For that which is always in motion is eternal, but that which communicates motion to something else, but is itself moved by another force, necessarily ceases to live when this motion ends. Therefore only that which moves itself never ceases its motion, because it never abandons itself; nay, it is the source and first cause of motion in all other things that are moved. But this first cause has itself no beginning, for everything originates from the first cause, while it can never originate from anything else; for that would not be a first cause which owed its origin to anything else. And since it never had a beginning, it will never have an end. For if a first cause were destroyed, it could never be reborn from anything else, nor could it bring anything else into being; since everything must originate from a first cause. Thus it follows that motion begins with that which is moved of itself; but this can neither be born nor die, or else all the heavens must fall and all nature perish, possessing no force from which they can receive the first impulse to motion.

XXVI. "Therefore, now that it is clear that what moves of itself is eternal, who can deny that this is the nature of spirits?"

What then is the speech which Plato represents Socrates as having given before his judges when the death sentence had been pronounced?¹

XLI. "I entertain, gentlemen of the jury, high hopes," said he, "that it is for my good that I am sent to death; for there must follow one of two consequences, either that death takes away all sensation altogether, or that by death a passage is secured from these regions to another place. Accordingly, if sensation is obliterated and death resembles the sleep which sometimes brings the calmest rest, untroubled even by the appearances of dreams, good gods, what gain it is to die! or how many days can be found preferable to such a night, and if the coming endless succession of ensuing time resembles this sleep, who can be happier than I? But if there is truth in the tale that death is a passage to those shores which are inhabited by the departed dead, that is surely happier still. To think that, when thou hast escaped from those who wish to be reckoned judges, thou art coming to those who can really be called judges, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus and Triptolemus,² and meetest the men who have lived righteous and faithful lives: does this seem to you an ordinary pilgrimage? What value, pray, do you set upon the privilege of actually conversing with Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer and Hesiod? For my part I could feel in my heart the wish to die many times, that I might have the privilege of finding what I am speaking of. What delight now should I feel at meeting Palamedes, at meeting Ajax¹ and at meeting others overthrown by an unjust sentence! I might test the wisdom of the supreme king who led the mighty host to Troy, and the wisdom of Ulysses and Sisyphus, without risk of a capital sentence for putting my questions to them as I used to do here. Do not you either, the judges who have voted for my acquittal, have fear of death. For no evil can befall any good man either in life or in

quod suscenseam, nisi quod mihi nocere se crediderunt." Et haec quidem hoc modo; nihil autem melius extremo: "Sed tempus est" inquit "iam hinc abire me, ut moriar, vos, ut vitam agatis. Utrum autem sit melius di immortales sciunt: hominem quidem scire arbitror neminem."

Band 3: (44 B.C.) De Senectute 21, 78

Audiebam Pythagoran Pythagoriosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio. cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem; cumque semper agitur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

Band 4: (44 B.C.) De Senectute 23, 85

His mihi rebus, Scipio, id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti, levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortalis esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen extinguere homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Band 5: (44 B.C.) De Amicitia 6, 20-22

Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensus, qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nil quicquam melius homini sit a diis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt,

death, nor will his troubles ever be disregarded by the immortal gods, nor has my own lot come by accident. In truth I have no ground for anger with my accusers or those who have condemned me, except that they have believed that they are doing me an injury." So much he said in this fashion; yet nothing is better than the close: "but the time has now come," he says, "for departure, I to die, you to go on with your lives. Which of the two, however, is better the immortal gods know; no human being, I think, does know."

I used to be told that Pythagoras and his disciples, —who were almost fellow-countrymen of ours, inasmuch as they were formerly called "Italian philosophers,"—never doubted that our souls were emanations of the Universal Divine Mind. Moreover, I had clearly set before me the arguments touching the immortality of the soul, delivered on the last day of his life by Socrates, whom the oracle of Apollo had pronounced the wisest of men. Why multiply words? That is my conviction, that is what I believe—since such is the lightning-like rapidity of the soul, such its wonderful memory of things that are past, such its ability to forecast the future, such its mastery of many arts, sciences, and inventions, that its nature, which encompasses all these things, cannot be mortal; and since the soul is always active and has no source of motion because it is self-moving, its motion will have no end, because it will never leave itself; and since in its nature the soul is of one substance and has nothing whatever mingled with it unlike or dissimilar to itself, it cannot be divided, and if it cannot be divided it cannot perish. And a strong argument that men's knowledge of numerous things antedates their birth is the fact that mere children, in studying difficult subjects, so quickly lay hold upon innumerable things that they seem not to be then learning them for the first time, but to be recalling and remembering them. This, in substance, is Plato's teaching.

For these reasons, Scipio, my old age sits light upon me (for you said that this has been a cause of wonder to you and Laelius), and not only is not burdensome, but is even happy. And if I err in my belief that the souls of men are immortal, I gladly err, nor do I wish this error which gives me pleasure to be wrested from me while I live. But if when dead I am going to be without sensation (as some petty philosophers think), then I have no fear that these seers, when they are dead, will have the laugh on me! Again, if we are not going to be immortal, nevertheless, it is desirable for a man to be blotted out at his proper time. For as Nature has marked the bounds of everything else, so she has marked the bounds of life. Moreover, old age is the final scene, as it were, in life's drama, from which we ought to escape when it grows wearisome and, certainly, when we have had our fill.

For friendship is nothing else than an accord in all things, human and divine, conjoined with mutual goodwill and affection, and I am inclined to think that, with the exception of wisdom, no better thing has been given to man by the immortal

bonam alicuius valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extremum, illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem, sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. Iam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae nostrae sermonisque nostri interpretemur nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur, virosque bonos eos qui habentur numeremus—Paulos Catones Gallos Scipiones Philos—his communis vita contenta est; eos autem committamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur.

Talis igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse vita vitalis, ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiretur? Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes qui illis aequae ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res, quae expetuntur, opportuna sunt singulae rebus fere singulis—divitiae, ut utare; opes, ut colare; honores, ut laudare; voluptates, ut gaudere; valetudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungere corporis; amicitia res plurimas continet: quoquo te verteris praesto est, nullo loco excluditur, numquam intempestiva, numquam molesta est. Itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, pluribus locis utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiore facit amicitia, et adversas, partiens communicansque, leviores.

gods. Some prefer riches, some good health, some power, some public honours, and many even prefer sensual pleasures. This last is the highest aim of brutes; the others are fleeting and unstable things and dependent less upon human foresight than upon the fickleness of fortune. Again, there are those who place the "chief good" in virtue and that is really a noble view; but this very virtue is the parent and preserver of friendship and without virtue friendship cannot exist at all. To proceed then, let us interpret the word "virtue" by the familiar usage of our everyday life and speech, and not in pompous phrase apply to it the precise standards which certain philosophers use; and let us include in the number of good men those who are so considered—men like Paulus, Cato, Gallus, Scipio, and Philus—who satisfy the ordinary standard of life; but let us pass by such men as are nowhere to be found at all.¹

Therefore, among men like those just mentioned, friendship offers advantages² almost beyond my power to describe. In the first place, how can life be what Ennius calls "the life worth living," if it does not repose on the mutual goodwill of a friend? What is sweeter than to have someone with whom you may dare discuss anything as if you were communing with yourself? How could your enjoyment in times of prosperity be so great if you did not have someone whose joy in them would be equal to your own? Adversity would indeed be hard to bear, without him to whom the burden would be heavier even than to yourself. In short, all other objects of desire are each, for the most part, adapted to a single end—riches, for spending; influence, for honour; public office, for reputation; pleasures, for sensual enjoyment; and health, for freedom from pain and full use of the bodily functions; but friendship embraces innumerable ends; turn where you will it is ever at your side; no barrier shuts it out; it is never untimely and never in the way. Therefore, we do not use the proverbial¹ "fire and water" on more occasions than we use friendship. I am not now speaking of the ordinary and commonplace friendship—delightful and profitable as it is—but of that pure and faultless kind, such as was that of the few whose friendships are known to fame. For friendship add a brighter radiance to prosperity and lessens the burden of adversity by dividing and sharing it.

Band 6: (44 B.C.) De Officiis 3, 3, 11

Nam, sive honestum solum bonum est, ut Stoicis placet, sive, quod honestum est, id ita summum bonum est, quem ad modum Peripateticis vestris videtur, ut omnia ex altera parte collocata vix minimi momenti instar habeant, dubitandum non est, quin numquam possit utilitas cum honestate contendere. Itaque accepimus Socratem execrari solitum eos, qui primum haec natura coherentia opinione distraxissent. Cui quidem ita sunt Stoici assensi, ut et, quicquid honestum esset, id ut esse censerent nec utile quicquam, quod non honestum.

For whether moral goodness is the only good, as the Stoics believe, or whether, as your Peripatetics think, moral goodness is in so far the highest good that everything else gathered together into the opposing scale would have scarcely the slightest weight, it is beyond question that expediency can never conflict with moral rectitude. And so, we have heard, Socrates used to pronounce a curse upon those who first drew a conceptual distinction between things naturally inseparable. With this doctrine the Stoics are in agreement in so far as they maintain that if anything is morally right, it is expedient, and if anything is not morally right, it is not expedient.

M. T. C. ET CICERO MEUS ET FR. ET FRATRIS FIL.
S. P. D. TIRONI

Inter Patras et Alyziam, A.U.C. 704.

Paullo facilius putavi posse me ferre desiderium tui, sed plane non fero; et quamquam magni ad honorem nostrum interest, quam primum ad Urbem me venire, tamen peccasse mihi videor, qui a te discesserim; sed quia tua voluntas ea videbatur esse, ut prorsus, nisi confirmato corpore, nolles navigare, approbavi tuum consilium, neque nunc muto, si tu in eadem es sententia. Sin autem postea quam cibum cepisti, videris tibi posse me consequi, tuum consilium est. Marionem ad te eo misi, ut aut tecum ad me quam primum veniret, aut, si tu morarere, statim ad me rediret. Tu autem hoc tibi persuade, si commodo valetudinis tuae fieri possit, nihil me malle, quam te esse mecum; si autem intelleges opus esse te Patris convalescendi causa paullum commorari, nihil me malle, quam te valere. Si statim navigas, nos Leucade consequere; sin te confirmare vis, et comites et tempestates et navem idoneam ut habeas, diligenter videbis. Unum illud, mi Tiro, videto, si me amas, ne te Marionis adventus et hae litterae moveant. Quod valetudini tuae maxime conducet, si feceris, maxime obtemperaris voluntati meae. Haec pro tuo ingenio considera. Nos ita te desideramus, ut amemus; amor, ut valentem videamus, hortatur, desiderium, ut quam primum. Illud igitur potius, Cura ergo potissimum, ut valeas; de tuis innumerabilibus in me officiis erit hoc gratissimum. III. Nonas Novembres.

CICERO TO TIRO^a

Between Patrae and Alyzia, November 3, 50 B.C.

I, Tullius, my son Cicero, and my brother and his son, send warmest greetings to Tiro.

I imagined I could bear the loss of your company somewhat easily, but I simply cannot bear it; and although it is highly important in view of my triumph that I should reach the City as soon as possible, still I think it was a mistake on my part to have left your side; and as you seemed to be absolutely unwilling to take ship except when you had recovered your strength, I approved your decision, and I am not now changing my mind, if you are still of the same opinion. If however, after you have taken nourishment, you think you can catch me up, well, that is for you to decide. My object in sending Mario^b to you was in order that he might join me as soon as possible and bring you with him, or else, if you made any stay, that that he might immediately return to me.

You must, however, convince yourself of this, that if it can be managed without detriment to your health, nothing would please me more than to have you with me; if, on the other hand, you feel sure that a short stay at Patrae is essential to your convalescence, that nothing would please me more than to have you well. If you take ship at once, you will catch me up at Leucas; but if you desire to establish your health, you must see to it very carefully that you get the fellow-passengers, the weather, and the ship that exactly suit you. Be particularly mindful, my dear Tiro, as you love me, not to let Mario's arrival, and this letter, influence your plans. If you do what is most conducive to your health, you will best obey my wishes. Think it over, and use your own judgment. For myself, I long for your presence, but it is as one who loves you; love urges "Let me see you in good health"; longing "Let it be with all speed." The former consideration then should come first. Above everything, therefore, take care of your health; of all your countless kindnesses to me this will be the most gratifying. Nov. 3rd.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE ET PATER TULLIOLAE DUABUS ANIMIS
SUIS ET CICERO MATRI OPTIMAE SUAVISS. SORORI
S. P. D.

Minturnis, A.U.C. 705.

Si vos valetis, nos valemus. Vestrum iam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. Si ille Romam modeste venturus est, recte in praesentia domi esse potestis; sin homo amens diripiendam Urbem daturus est, vereor, ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit. Etiam illud metuo, ne iam intercludamur, ut, cum velitis exire, non liceat. Reliquum est, quod ipsae optime considerabitis, vestri similes feminae sintne Romae. Si enim non sunt, videndum est, ut honeste vos esse possitis. Quomodo quidem nunc se res habet, modo ut haec nobis loca tenere liceat, bellissime vel mecum, vel in nostris

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Minturnae, Jan. 25th, 49 B.C.

Tullius sends his best love to Terentia and her father to Tullia, the two darlings of his heart, as does Cicero to his best of mothers and sweetest of sisters.

If you two are well, so are we. It lies with you now, and not with me alone, to consider what we should do. If Caesar is going to enter Rome in an orderly manner, you can quite well remain at home for the present; but if in his frenzy the man is going to give up the city to plunder, I fear that even Dolabella may not be able to help us enough. I am afraid also that we may be presently cut off from you, so that when you wish to leave the city, you may not be allowed to do so. There remains the question, which nobody can discuss better than yourselves, whether ladies like you are staying in Rome. For if they are not, we must consider whether you can do so with any propriety. As matters now stand, pro-

praediis, esse poteritis. Etiam illud verendum est, ne brevi tempore fames in Urbe sit. His de rebus velim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo, cum quibus vobis videbitur. consideretis; ad summam, animo fortis sitis. Labienus rem meliorem fecit. Adiuvat etiam Piso, quod ab Urbe discedit et sceleris condemnat generum suum. Vos, meae carissimae animae, quam saepissime ad me scribite, et vos quid agatis, et quid istic agatur. Quintus pater et filius et Rufus vobis salutem dicunt. Valet. VIII. Kalend. Quintil. Minturnis.

vided I am allowed to retain those places of mine, you can quite nicely stay either with me, or on one of our estates. Another reason for apprehension is, that before long there may be a famine in the city.

I should like you both to consider these matters with Pomponius, with Camillus, with whomever you think best; above all be of good courage. Labienus has improved the position.^a Piso^b too is helping us by quitting the city and condemning his own son-in-law of criminal conduct. You, the darlings of my soul, must write to me as often as possible, and tell me how you are and what is going on at Rome. Quintus and his son and Rufus^c send you their regards. Good-bye. Minturnae, Jan. 25th.

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