

## ARTICLE VI.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE AS TO CICERO'S WRITINGS,  
AND PAUL'S.

BY MRS. C. M. MEAD, BERLIN, GERMANY.

THOSE who question the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles lay great stress on the want of early historical testimony to their existence. It is very unlikely, they contend, that these Epistles should have been written so long a time as they were, before there was mention of them, or quotation from them, by some other writer whose work is indisputably accredited. But, in the first place, this kind of authentication, it will be admitted, can hardly be looked for outside of *Christian* literature, of which belonging to the period in question we have very little; and, in the second place, this early Christian literature, meagre as it is, these same critics in order to make out their case endeavor to transfer to a period later than that to which it has been commonly assigned. They do not seem to consider, however, that by so doing they destroy, at one and the same time, both their own argument from silence and their opponents' argument from testimony.

This argument from silence, if it has any validity, must be applied to all ancient authors in like degree, and it must be tested by facts. But the facts show that many of the classical works whose genuineness is commonly admitted are wholly destitute of any such authentication as these critics demand. Numerous instances of this might be given. To mention two or three, for example: Quintus Curtius Rufus' history of Alexander the Great is accepted as a genuine work

on manuscript testimony alone, although nothing definite is known of its author, and critics have assigned to him a variety of periods from the time of Augustus to that of Theodosius the Great! He was first quoted by John of Salisbury in the twelfth century. Velleius Paterculus, who wrote about 30 A. D., is mentioned by no ancient extant author except in a solitary passage by Priscian early in the sixth century. Boethius, who wrote early in the sixth century, is first quoted by Hincmar in 850. Phædrus is mentioned only by Martial in a single passage, and again by Avienus in the latter part of the fourth century. The works of Tacitus are not quoted till some two hundred years after his time, and very rarely even after that. The "Annals" are not alluded to until the first half of the fifteenth century, unless (as is maintained by Mr. Furneaux) <sup>1</sup> Jerome made allusion to them three hundred years after the historian.

I. But to take the most noted of all Latin authors; what external testimony is there of the genuineness of the writings of Cicero? He was certainly far more likely to be quoted by his contemporaries than even Paul the apostle. Paul was only a Jew; the sect of which he was a leader was obscure and despised even among the Jews; he lived and wrote mostly in provinces deemed barbarous by the men of letters of that day. Cicero, on the contrary, was the consummate flower of Rome's golden age. He was conspicuous as a statesman at the time when Cæsar was conquering the world. He was the Roman Demosthenes who moulded the Latin tongue,—the "standard of classicality," acknowledged, admired, and imitated in his own day, revived and studied as a model in later centuries. His genius and literary activity

Greek poetry, and was himself a poet of no mean merit. To say nothing of this variety of his writings, their mere bulk, as compared with those of Paul's, makes the chances of their being quoted incomparably greater. Of letters alone, between seven and eight hundred, either entire or in part, have come down to us from Cicero, over against Paul's thirteen. And Cicero, again, from his prominence in the world of letters at the time of his country's great literary activity, himself gave powerful impulse to this activity. He was followed by a galaxy of authors the most gifted and eminent in all Roman literature. Many of them, and in various departments of letters, looked upon him as their model and authority. When, therefore, the eminence and the reputation of Cicero, the number and the variety of his writings, the time when he wrote, and the authors who surrounded and followed him, are considered, there is no other ancient author who should seem so likely as he to be promptly and frequently quoted.

What, now, are the facts? What quotations can be found from Cicero's voluminous writings in such works as have come down to us from the multitude of authors who lived in his time or immediately after him? It would be interesting to have these quotations, if some thorough classical scholar would look them up. So far as I can find, the attempt has never been made.<sup>1</sup> A survey of the authors from Cicero to Quintilian will here be given, by way merely of a tentative effort in this direction.

1. The *Golden Period* of Roman Literature first claims attention.

(1) The writers of the *Ciceronian age* of whom we have extant works are Varro, Julius Cæsar, Hirtius, Cornelius Nepos, Sallust, Lucretius, Catullus, and Varro Atacinus. The authors whose only extant writings are included in the cor-

<sup>1</sup> Bruno Nake, in his *Historia Critica M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistolarum*, Bonn, 1861, gives a list of the authors who quoted from Cicero's letters.

respondence of Cicero are purposely omitted, as the genuineness of these letters is involved with the genuineness of Cicero's own epistles.

M. Terentius Varro (B.C. 116–28), called “the most learned of the Romans,” was born ten years earlier than Cicero, and, although he too was included in the proscription of the blood-thirsty Antony under which Cicero was murdered, he escaped, and survived Cicero fifteen years. Of Varro's many works we have but two, and only one of these is entire. They are the “*De Re Rustica*,” which contains no reference to Cicero, and the greater part of six out of his twenty-five books, “*De Lingua Latina*,” viz. libri v. to x. This last work from the fifth book to the twenty-fifth was dedicated to Cicero. It is supposed to have been published a little before Cicero's death, i. e. between 45 and 43 B. C.<sup>1</sup> It was written after Cicero had attained his fame as a writer and speaker, and after his influence in moulding Latin style was generally acknowledged. It gives numerous quotations, and discusses the use of words by various authors, some of whom are hardly known at present except through Varro's reference to them. A number of these authors are his contemporaries; as, for example, Catulus, Aelius Stilo (the teacher in grammar and rhetoric of both Varro and Cicero), Matus, Pompilius, Procillius, Sisenna, Quintus Scævola, and Hortensius (one of Cicero's chief rivals in oratory). The seventh book, indeed, has been styled “a repertory of interesting quotations;”<sup>2</sup> yet not one citation from Cicero himself, and no allusion to his works, is found. In consideration of the subject of which Varro treats, of Cicero's relation to that subject, and of the fact that the book is dedicated to Cicero, is not this omission striking? Would it not be easy for one

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Roman Literature.* By W. S. Teuffel. Translated by W. Wagner. London: George Bell and Sons. 1873. Vol. i. p. 248 (§ 155, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Roman Literature.* By Charles Thomas Cruttwell. London: Charles Griffin and Company. 1877. Page 153.

so disposed to argue from it that the volumes which come down to us bearing the name of Cicero had probably not yet been published when Varro wrote?

Among the extant works of Julius Cæsar (100-44 B. C.) may here be included those of Hirtius (the probable author of the eighth book of the Gallic Wars and of the Alexandrine war), and those of the unknown author of the African and Spanish wars. There is no mention of Cicero the orator in them; but from the subject this is hardly to be expected. If Cæsar's "De Analogia," a treatise on grammar, had come down to us, the case would be very different, but unfortunately only a few fragments of it preserved in the quotations of other writers remain. Among them is an extract from its dedication to Cicero, in which Cæsar calls Cicero "well-nigh prince and originator of affluent diction."

Cornelius Nepos is known to have been a friend of Cicero, of Atticus, and of Catullus, but the date of his birth and of his death is uncertain. He was a voluminous and highly-esteemed writer, but not one of his numerous works which are mentioned by the ancients has come down to us. All are lost, unless the "Lives of Eminent Commanders," which at present commonly bear his name, are a part of one of these works. But the authorship of these Lives has been, as is well known, the subject of much dispute. The manuscripts seem to assign them to Probus, a brief dedication to Theodosius written in verse by Probus being found in them after the Life of Hannibal. Accordingly, till the latter half of the sixteenth century, Aemilius Probus was assumed to be

for the time of Theodosius; at least two of the manuscripts of the *Life of Atticus* bear the name of Nepos, and the style of the other *Lives* resembles that of this one. Much has been argued on both sides of the vexed question. Many critics argue, against Lambinus, that the style of the *Lives* is inferior to that warranted by the reputation which Nepos had in his day. Still, the majority of scholars agree that very probably the *lives of Atticus and Cato* were written by Nepos himself; the others are thought by many to have been abridged or edited by Probus. In the *Life of Atticus*, about whose genuineness there is the least doubt, mention is made of Cicero's great affection for Atticus, as evinced by the books in which he mentions him and by the eleven books of letters written to him.<sup>1</sup> But no quotation is given. Moreover Cicero's letters to Atticus and this *Life of Atticus* ascribed to Nepos are found together in some manuscripts; as, for example, in the Burney manuscript 146, in the British Museum. It might easily be argued, therefore, by those who hold that Probus is the author of the *Lives*, that both the *Life of Atticus* and the letters were spurious compositions of a later period than the time of Cicero and Nepos. To strengthen this view, such facts might be alleged as that the author of the *Life of Atticus* speaks of eleven books of letters, while we have sixteen; and that author says that the letters were written from Cicero's consulship to the close of his life, whereas the letters we have all date from a period some years later than Cicero's consulship. Again, although there are upwards of seventy manuscripts of the *Lives*, not one of them is older than the twelfth century, and the majority are of the fifteenth.<sup>2</sup> If, on the other hand, Nepos be

Cicero which he speaks of, it cannot be ascertained whether, or not, he alludes to those we now have; or whether, indeed, these might not have been composed in consequence of his statement. In fact, it is the general opinion that not all of the letters included among our epistles of Cicero are genuine; for instance, the one to Octavianus is spurious; the two books to Brutus, also, are held by some to be "unquestionably the fabrications of a later time."<sup>1</sup> The dispute about the authorship of the works ascribed to Nepos, together with the mention in them of Cicero's letters, suggests a sort of parallel with the mention in Second Peter of the "epistles" of "our beloved brother Paul." In both cases the existence of letters is mentioned ostensibly by a contemporary. In both cases the genuineness of the voucher has been called in question.

C. Sallustius Crispus (*c.* 86–34 B. C.), sometimes called the earliest of the Roman historians, in his history of the conspiracy of Catiline makes, of course, frequent mention of Cicero; but he gives no quotation from him. This fact is all the more noticeable, inasmuch as Sallust, according to his manner, gives at length the speeches and letters of other men. His long speech of Cæsar on the fate of the conspirators, and that of Cato in opposition to it, are well known; yet not one word of Cicero's famous fourth oration, commonly said to have been delivered on the same occasion, is given, and no mention of its delivery is made. Sallust does not mention that Cicero made any speech in connection with the whole conspiracy, except the oration delivered at

people,—words which are familiar to every school-boy of the nineteenth century? Cicero was pre-eminently the hero of this stirring history, and on his utterances hung the fate of Rome. His grateful countrymen gave him the unusual honor of a public thanksgiving for having preserved “the city from conflagration, the citizens from massacre, Italy from war.” The “father of his country,” Cato entitled him; and Plutarch tells us that “Cicero was the first on whom this title had been conferred.” But if his words had such weight, and if they had been spoken on four different and conspicuous occasions, would Sallust mention only one? By a rigid application of the argument from silence, it must be inferred that the doubting critics are right, and one can hardly be surprised to learn that the genuineness of each of the four orations has been called in question by one or another scholar.<sup>1</sup> Of the “Declamation of Sallust against Cicero” and of the “Reply of Cicero,” it is not necessary to speak, as they are generally accounted spurious productions of a later period. The other extant works of Sallust seem to make no reference to Cicero.

T. Lucretius Carus (B. C. 95–51?), the author of the didactic and philosophic poem in six books entitled “*De Rerum Natura*,” was another contemporary of Cicero. Almost nothing is known about him. But Jerome in his additions to the Eusebian Chronicle says, probably on the authority of Seutonius, that his work was edited by Cicero (“*emendavit Cicero*”). Careful scholars think they trace verbal resemblances between his work and the writings of Cicero. Mr. Munro, for example, thinks that Cicero’s philosophical works “afford many proofs that Cicero was familiar with” the language of the poem of Lucretius, and he also points out instances in which he thinks Lucretius has imitated the style of Cicero’s poetical translation of the

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel, § 166, n. 2 (Vol. i. p. 271, Eng. Trans.).

Phænomena of Aratus.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing like direct quotation, however, and the resemblances are not so close as to constitute any proof of connection. Both Lucretius and the translator of Aratus may have naturally hit upon similar expressions independently from a study of the same Greek poem which treated of a cognate subject.

C. Valerius Catullus of Verona (B. C. 77-47?) addressed an ode to Cicero as "the best of all patrons," but does not quote him or mention his writings.

P. T. Varro Atacinus was an epic poet of this period, a few fragments of whose works are extant, but they do not quote Cicero or allude to him.

(2) There are, next, the writers of the *Augustan age*. A long line of poets leads the list: P. Virgilius Maro (B. C. 70-19); Albius Tibullus (B. C. 65-19); Domitius Marsus, whose epitaph on Tibullus and a few other fragments are all we have; Q. Horatius Flaccus (B. C. 65-8 A. D.); S. Propertius; P. Ovidius Naso (B. C. 43-18 A. D.); Cornelius Severus, contemporary with Ovid; M. Manilius, of whom very little is known except that he belongs to this period; Peto Albinovanus, fragments of whose poems are extant; and Gratius Faliscus, of whose "Cynegetico" we have the greater part.

Only two of these poets refer to Cicero. Manilius in the first book of his "Astronomica," has the words,—

"et censu Tullius oris,  
Emeritus coelum."

A fragment of twenty-five lines, being part of a poem on the death of Cicero, by Cornelius Severus, has been pre-

17 A. D.) The thirty-five books of Livy's history of Rome which have come down to us make no mention of Cicero, that part of the work which relates to Cicero's time being lost. In the *Suasoriæ* of the elder Seneca, however, there is an account of Cicero's death given as quoted from Livy.<sup>1</sup> The epitomes of the lost books are by some ascribed to Florus, from the fact that they are found in manuscripts containing his work. But it is very doubtful whether he is their author. And it is equally doubtful who Florus was, or when he lived. Some place him in the second century, but all is conjecture about him. The manuscripts of his "Abridgment of Roman History" vary in respect to his name; some give it L. Annæus Florus, some L. Julius Florus, some even L. Annæus Seneca. The unknown author of the epitomes of the lost books of Livy mentions a few facts of Cicero's life, and cites him as authority for an anecdote of M. Aquilius which is found for substance in "De Oratore."<sup>2</sup> Livy himself is quoted by Quintilian<sup>3</sup> as having written to his son to "read Demosthenes and Cicero."

Contemporaneous with Livy was Pompeius Trogus, whose "Historiæ Philippicæ" is known to us through the table of its contents and through the abridgment of it by Justinus, who is presumed to have lived in the time of the Antonines. The abridgment mentions neither Cicero nor his works.

Vitruvius Pollio, the author of a work on architecture written not far from B. C. 14, makes mention of Cicero as a master of rhetoric in a way which implies that Cicero had written on the subject. He says: "Many born after our memory may seem, as it were, to discuss in the presence of Lucretius, the nature of things, with Cicero the art of rhetoric, and to confer with Varro on the Latin language." But he does not mention the title of any work by which it might be identified with any of those we have, and he makes no quotation.

<sup>1</sup> Sua. vi. [vii.] 17, 22.    <sup>2</sup> ii. 47.    <sup>3</sup> x. i. 39.

Julius Hyginus was the freedman of Augustus and the director of the Palatine library. He was the author of a number of works which are lost. Two works are extant which bear his name, the "Fabulæ" and the "De Astronomia," but the genuineness of them is disputed, and the preponderance of authorities is against it. They are supposed by many critics to have been put together, only in part from the works of Hyginus, by some unskilful author of a much later period. In the "Fabulæ" ten lines of Cicero's translation of Aratus are given, and in "De Astronomia" are two other quotations from the same work of Cicero's. Of course it is impossible to fix the date of these quotations; but the passages agree pretty accurately with those found in the translation commonly called Cicero's.

M. Verrius Flaccus was a learned freedman who lived in the reign of Augustus, and died at an advanced age in the reign of Tiberius. Most of his works are lost, but fragments of an abridgment of his valuable treatise "De Verborum Significatu" have been preserved. This book, according to Teuffel, "would appear to be one of the latest of Verrius." The abridgment was made by S. Pomponius Festus, who, Teuffel thinks, lived probably in the second century, but others, as Bähr, place him later than that. Festus made alterations in the work of Verrius, and inserted numerous extracts from other authors; as, for instance, from Martial, from Verrius himself, etc. The work of Festus was again abridged, probably by Paulus Diaconus, towards the end of the eighth century. Of this threefold work a single manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century—the Codex Farnesianus, now in Naples—was discovered, in a very much mutilated condition, in the fifteenth century. Many of the blanks in the manuscript have been conjecturally filled in by Scaliger and Ursinus. A careful edition of this work has been prepared by Karl Otfried Müller.<sup>1</sup> It contains some

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1839.

half dozen quotations from Cicero; as, for example, an exact quotation of a line and a half from his oration "In Verrem," and the words "tandem aliquando" from the second oration "In Catilinam;" another quotation from the oration "In Pisonem," the sentence being mutilated in the manuscript and filled out by Scaliger or Ursinus, as is the case with two or three of the other quotations ascribed to Cicero. Here, again, no one can determine the date of the quotations.

Rutilius Lupus was the author of a rhetorical treatise, "De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis." He lived probably in the reigns of Augustus and of Tiberius. In lib. i. § 3, on Paronomasia, he gives a quotation of a passage which is not by him ascribed to any author, but which is also found in Charisius and in Diomedes, grammarians of the fourth and of the fifth century, and is by them both attributed to Cicero.<sup>1</sup> But the quotation cannot be found in Cicero's extant works.

(3) There are a few *Greek authors* of this period who should be taken account of. Meleager, a writer of epigrams, some one hundred and thirty of which are preserved, wrote not far from 60 B. C. There is no mention of Cicero in his Epigrams. Philodemus of Gadara, the Epicurean, was a contemporary of Cicero, and is mentioned by him. A considerable number of his writings are extant, some having been exhumed at Herculaneum. They make no reference to Cicero. Dionysius of Halicarnassus was born a few years before the death of Cicero, and lived till a few years before the Christian era. His extant works treat of history and of rhetoric, but he does not refer to Cicero. Nicolaus Damascenus, a writer of history in the time of Augustus, and author of a Life of Augustus, likewise has no reference to Cicero. Parthenius of Nicæa, a poet, in the age of Augus-

<sup>1</sup> H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*. Leipzig. 1857. Charisius, Vol. iv. p. 282; Diomedes, Vol. ii. p. 446.

tus; Didymus, a grammarian, of nearly the same date; Antipater Thessalonicus, who lived a little later and wrote epigrams; and his contemporary, Lesbonax, the sophist, two of whose orations are extant, make no reference to Cicero. Diodorus Siculus, in his "Bibliothecæ Historicæ," speaks of Catiline's conspiracy,<sup>1</sup> of a speech of Cicero the consul concerning the impending danger, and of Catiline's consequent expulsion from Rome; but he makes no mention of Cicero's writings.

*Summary.* A review has now been made of the period extending to some sixty years after the death of Cicero. Its results may be summed up as follows: The works of twenty-four Latin, and of nine Greek, authors have been examined. In the Greek authors there is but one mention of Cicero, and none of him as a writer. Twelve of the Latin authors make no reference to him. Livy might be counted among these as a thirteenth, so far as his extant works go. But Seneca quotes Livy's account of Cicero's death, and Quintilian quotes him as writing to his son to read Demosthenes and Cicero. Five authors speak of Cicero, but mention no writings of his; viz. Varro and Cæsar in dedications, Catullus, Manilius, and Cornelius Severus in poems. Vitruvius Pollio implies that Cicero probably wrote on rhetoric; Nepos speaks of his mention of Atticus in books and of eleven books of letters to Atticus; Sallust says he published his oration against Catiline, but is apparently ignorant of there being more than one oration; Rutilius Lupus quotes something which by later writers is ascribed to Cicero, but which is hitherto unverified in Cicero's extant works. The quotations in the works attributed to Hyginus and to Ver-

The "Letters to Atticus" and the "First Oration against Catiline" are specifically mentioned but no other of Cicero's writings; and these are not quoted so as to identify those referred to with those now extant.

2. In the so-called *Silver Age* of Roman Literature, allusions to Cicero's writings become more frequent than before. Singularly enough the *first known quotation from Cicero's extant works* seems to be that of a Greek author. Strabo in his work on Geography<sup>1</sup> quotes what "Cicero in a certain book" says concerning an orator Menippus, whom Cicero praises. The substance of what Strabo gives is to be found in Cicero's *Brutus*, 91. Strabo mentions<sup>2</sup> what Cicero had said "in a certain speech," but this speech is not extant. The date of Strabo's work is somewhat uncertain, but it is generally thought to have been probably finished near 25 A. D., just before its author's death. This would make the date of the quotation, which is in one of the later books of Strabo's work, some sixty-five years after the death of Cicero (43 B. C.).

There is mention of certain works of Cicero by two Latin authors who wrote more than seventy years after his death. Velleius Paterculus (19 B. C.—31 A. D.?) wrote a *History of Rome* in two books, which has come down to us in only one manuscript, which had been both corrupted and mutilated. The date of the history, as determined by the facts it mentions, is about 30 A. D. The author appreciates Cicero warmly and refers to him many times, praising his oratory and his patriotism. He twice speaks of Cicero's "Philippics." First, he says,<sup>3</sup> "These are the times in which Marcus Tullius in a series of indictments branded the memory of Antony for all ages,"—an apparent allusion to Cicero's "Philippics."<sup>4</sup> but, at any rate, a reference to these speeches

tells Antony, "All posterity will admire his writings against you, and execrate your deed against him,"—thus implying that the "Philippics" had been published. Contemporary with Velleius is Valerius Maximus, the author of a work which was finished about 32 A. D. He mentions<sup>1</sup> the speech of Cicero "Pro Gallio," which has not come down to us; and speaks<sup>2</sup> of "the book which Cicero has written on 'Old Age.'" He mentions Cicero, though not his writings, in other passages.

Seneca the elder, whose long life extended from about 54 B. C. to about 39 A. D., prepared in his extreme old age a work, part of which has come down to us, viz. the "Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiæ, Divisiones, Colores." The manuscripts of it are derived from one source, "which was itself, however, depraved and incomplete."<sup>3</sup> There is evidence in the work that at least parts of it were written after the death of Tiberius, which occurred in 37 A. D., that is, eighty years after that of Cicero. Seneca, at the request of his children, set himself to recall and to write out what he knew of the rhetoricians who had been noted in his lifetime. He says, in his preface, that he applies himself to the task the more readily inasmuch as the records of these eminent rhetoricians are for the most part lost or preserved in a corrupt form, and for their sakes he is glad to have his recollections of them saved from oblivion. He sometimes represents the rhetoricians as discussing topics relating to Cicero and makes them either utter or quote passages which in several instances correspond with those to be found in the extant orations of Cicero. They are as follows: Sua. vi. 5

Con. vii. 2, 3 in Pro Roscio 26. 72. A passage in the fourth oration In Cat. is twice cited, viz. in Sua. vi. 12, and in Con. vii. 2, 10. In Sua. i. 6 Seneca also quotes, as from a letter of Cassius to Cicero, an expression which is contained in the letter of Cassius found in Cic. ad Fam. xv. 19. Seneca gives, as quotations from Cicero, one or two other passages which have not as yet been verified in Cicero's works. Seneca does not generally mention the speeches from which he quotes, and it would of course be possible for a captious critic to contend that the orations were later compositions into which these so-called reminiscences of Seneca's were incorporated.

The extant works of eighteen other Latin authors have been consulted with reference to their testimony to the genuineness of Cicero's works. The following ten make no mention of him: Germanius, in the "Aratea;" Cornelius Celsus and Scribonius Largus, in their works on medicine; Phædrus, in his fables; Pomponius Mela, in his "Chronographia;" Curtius Rufus, in his history; Persius Flaccus, in his satires; Calpurnius Siculus, in his eclogues; Valerius Flaccus and Statius, in their poems.

The younger Seneca makes frequent allusion to Cicero, and gives some quotations from him. The date of Seneca's birth is uncertain, but his death occurred in 65 A. D., one hundred and eight years after Cicero's. Seneca gives<sup>1</sup> a quotation introduced by, "to use the words of Cicero;" but neither Lipsius nor Ruhkopf has been able to identify the passage with anything in Cicero's extant works. In Ep. 21 he says. "The letters of Cicero do not allow the name of

his style. In Ep. 107 he says he follows the example of Cicero in translating from Greek poetry into Latin. In Ep. 108 he cites Cicero's "De Republica,"—a work the greater part of which is lost. He gives, in Ep. 118, a free quotation of what is found, about Cæcilius, in Cicero's Ad At. i. 12. In De Tranquillitate Animi xi. he gives a free quotation of something to be found in Cicero's "Pro Milone." In De Ira iii. 37 he mentions Cicero's verses, and in De Beneficiis vii. 6 he speaks of Cicero as an author of books. In De Brevitate Vitæ v. he quotes Cicero as having written to Atticus something which cannot be verified in the extant letters. Thus we have, from Seneca the younger, two allusions to Cicero as a writer, or translator, of verse; three, to him as an author of books; mention of the "De Republica;" one mention of Cicero's letters to Atticus; two quotations from the letters to Atticus to be found in those which now bear Cicero's name; one citation from the oration for Milo; and two unverified quotations.

The twelve books "De Re Rustica" of Columella have come down to us. They were written, according to Teuffel, "perhaps about 62." Columella, in lib. i. 29, quotes Cicero as saying in his "Orator," "Par est eos qui generi humano res utilissimas conquirere, et perpensas exploratusque memoriæ tradere concupiverunt, cuncta tentare. Nec si vel illa præstantis ingenii vis, vel inclytarum artium defecerit instrumentum, confestim debemus ad otium et inertiam devolvi; sed quod sapienter speravimus perseveranter consecrari." This is thought to be derived from Cicero's Orator i. 4, where he says, "Sed par est omnes omnia experiri, qui res magnas et magno opere expetendas concupiverunt. Quod si quem aut natura sua, aut illa præstantis ingenii vis forte deficiet, aut minus instructus erit magnarum artium disciplinis, teneat tamen eum cursum quem poterit. Prima enim sequentem, honestum est in secundis tertiisque consistere." This is certainly a free quotation! If an early Christian

writer gave so loose a quotation as this from the New Testament, it would be confidently asserted by some that it was no quotation from our New Testament, but from some earlier kindred work,—some lost Gospel or Epistle.

Quintus Asconius Pedianus, who died A. D. 88, has left us commentaries, addressed to his sons, on five of the speeches of Cicero; viz. the orations "In Pisonem," "Pro Scauro," "Pro Milone," "Pro Cornelio," and "in toga candida." They are in a fragmentary condition, and were found at St. Gall by Poggio early in the fifteenth century. He made a hasty copy of them, which is now at Florence, and the St. Gall original was soon afterwards lost. These commentaries are very valuable, as being the earliest that we have on Cicero.

Lucan, the nephew of the younger Seneca, who died in the same year as he (65 A. D.), in his unfinished epic, "Pharsalia,"<sup>1</sup> alludes to Cicero as the author of Roman eloquence.

The satirical novel of Petronius Arbiter is a work about whose date and authorship there has been much dispute. The probability seems to be that it was written in the time of Nero. In the third chapter, speaking of "doctores," he says, "Nam nisi dixerint quæ adolescentuli probent, ut ait Cicero, soli in scholis relinquentur." The passage here referred to is found in Cicero's "Pro Cœlio."<sup>2</sup> "Illud unum directum iter ad laudem cum labore qui probaverunt, prope jam soli in scholis sunt relictæ."

The elder Pliny (23–79 A. D.) in his "Natural History" speaks of Cicero a number of times, and quotes both what he said and what he wrote. But in only two cases can the passages be found which he has reference to; viz. in lib. xviii. 61. 1, he quotes three lines from Cicero, which are translated from Aratus, and found in "De Divinatione."<sup>3</sup> And in lib. xxxvi. 4. 11, he refers to something which Cicero said in the oration "In Verrem"<sup>4</sup> about a Cupid of Praxiteles.

<sup>1</sup> vii. 63 seq.    <sup>2</sup> xvii. 41.    <sup>3</sup> i. 15.    <sup>4</sup> iv. 2, 4.

Besides these two references to passages in Cicero's extant works he speaks<sup>1</sup> of a country-seat which was called Academia by Cicero, where he composed the treatises that were named after it (i. e. the "Questiones Academicæ"). He also quotes,<sup>2</sup> as from Cicero, something about Ventidianus which Cicero nowhere says; but something similar is said by Plancus in a letter to Cicero.<sup>8</sup> In lib. xiii. 26. 1, he speaks of the handwriting of Cicero as frequently seen. He alludes two or three times to a lost work, "Admiranda," by Cicero, and also quotes once from his "De Republica," but the quotation is not in the extant fragments of that work. Besides this there are three or four other quotations which cannot be found in Cicero's extant works.

Silius Italicus and the anonymous author of a Panegyric on Piso make complimentary mention of Cicero, but do not speak of his writings. This brings us down to the time of Quintilian.

The works of the following Greek authors of this period, besides Strabo, have been consulted: Menander (the historian), Philo the Jew, Nicomachus Gerasenus, Damocrates (the Pythagorean), Memnon (the historian), Xenocrates, Onosander, Agathemerus, Leonidas (the Sophist), Aretæus, Musonius Rufus (the philosopher), and Cornutus (author of "De Natura Deorum"). None of them refers to Cicero. \*

*Summary.* Thirty-five authors of the Silver Age have now been examined,—twenty-one Latin, and fourteen Greek: twenty-three make no reference to Cicero; three mention him but not his works; two mention extant works of his, but do not quote from them; Strabo, the two Senecas, Columella, Asconius, Petronius Arbitrator, and Pliny the elder,

writers might discover, have been overlooked. Effort has been made to consult various editions; still indexes and notes, even in good editions, are often defective and inaccurate. But it is hoped that the data are here furnished for a tolerably fair estimate of the external evidence for the genuineness of Cicero's writings.

II. We turn now to consider what early attention there is to the genuineness of Paul's Epistles. Paul is supposed to have been martyred between 64 and 67 A. D. Now of early Christian literature there is, first, that of Clement of Rome. His Epistle to the Corinthians is thought by some to have been written as early as 70 A. D. But the more common opinion is that it was written about 96 A. D. He expressly<sup>1</sup> refers to the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, and he frequently quotes from his Epistles, though without formally introducing the quotations as such. As illustrations may be taken the following: Chap. xxxv. 6, cf. Rom. i. 32; xxxvii. 5, cf. 1 Cor. xii. 12 *seq.*; xxxii. 2, cf. Rom. ix. 5; xlix., cf. 1 Cor. xiii. No one doubts that the author must have been acquainted with Paul's Epistles.

The seven Epistles of the Shorter Recension by Ignatius of Antioch are well authenticated. They were written not later than 118, and, according to a very probable view, as early as 106.<sup>2</sup> They have fewer quotations than Clement's Epistle, and none of them is expressly ascribed to Paul. But Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians,<sup>3</sup> speaks of Paul and of his having written to the Ephesians. Instances of quotations and of verbal resemblances are the following:

<sup>1</sup> xlvi. 1.

Ign. Ep. Rom. v. 1, cf. 1 Cor. iv. 4; Ign. Ep. Mag. viii. 1, cf. 1 Tim. i. 4; ditto xi., cf. 1 Tim. i. 1. In the Epistle to the Philadelphians<sup>1</sup> is an apparent reference to the Gospels and the apostolic writings in general; also, cf. chap. vii. with 1 Cor. iii. 16; vi. 19. In the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp cf. i. 3 with 1 Thess. v. 17; v. 2 with Eph. v. 25; vi. 2 with Eph. vi. 11 *seq.*; 1 Thess. v. 8.

Polycarp of Smyrna wrote his Epistle to the Philippians a year or so after Ignatius wrote, and refers to the epistles of Ignatius. In chapter third he expressly refers to Paul's letter to the Philippians; his letter is full of quotations from the Epistles of Paul, and not only from the four generally acknowledged to be Paul's, but also from the Epistles to Timothy and other minor Epistles. For example, in chap. iv. 1. he quotes 1 Tim. vi. 10, "The love of money is a root of all kinds of evil," and also 1 Tim. vi. 7, "For we brought nothing into the world, for neither can we carry anything out." In chap. xii. 1 he quotes, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath" (Eph. iv. 26); there are others equally explicit too numerous to mention.

The Epistle of Barnabas is of uncertain date. It has been put all the way from 70 A. D. to 138 A. D. It seems most probable (according to Harnack),<sup>2</sup> that it was written near 120 A. D. Instances of uses of Paul's Epistles are few and not very pointed. Yet it is generally acknowledged that Barnabas must have been acquainted with them. Compare, for instance, chap. xii. 7 with Col. i. 16.

Fragments of the writings of Papias of Hierapolis in Phrygia are preserved in the works of Eusebius, Irenæus, and others. There is no distinct reference to Paul or his Epistles in them.

The anonymous Epistle to Diognetus belongs probably to the first part of the second century. The last two chap-

<sup>1</sup> Chap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Herzog and Plitt, *Real-Encyc.*, article "Barnabas."

ters (viz. xi., xii.) are presumed to be by a different author from that of the others. The author of these two chapters, however, calls himself<sup>1</sup> "a disciple of the apostles." Some critics try to show that the letter belongs to the third century. It is addressed to a Greek who desires to know what Christianity is. The letter contains one express quotation from Paul, viz. chap. xii. 5 of 1 Cor. viii. 1, and other manifest instances of use of Paul's Epistles; for example, chap. v. 12, 13, cf. 2 Cor. vi. 9, 10; chap. ix. 1. *seq.*, cf. Rom. iii. 21-26; also ix. 2, cf. Tit. iii. 4.

The date of the *Didache* is also uncertain, and has been placed by different scholars all the way from 50 A. D. to the third or fourth century. Perhaps it may with probability be placed not far from 120 A. D. It contains no distinct quotation from Paul, but there are two or three passages which seem to be allusions to his writings.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* was very probably written between 130 and 140 A. D., but again the date is uncertain. It contains no distinct reference to any passage of Paul's Epistles.

Justin Martyr wrote not far from 150 A. D. He nowhere names Paul, and from the character of his writings, which were addressed to heathen and Jews, specific quotations from the New Testament are not to be expected. Yet it is generally conceded that they show familiarity with the Epistles; for instance, compare the *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. xxviii. with Rom. iv. 9-11 and Gal. iii. 9; chap. cxi. with 1 Cor. v. 7.

Marcion flourished some hundred and fifty years after the Christian era. His writings are not preserved. But all authorities agree that he distinctly accepted all of Paul's Epistles except the Pastoral Epistles, and that he made Paul his chief authority as over against the Ebionites. Tertullian and other early authorities are unanimous in their testimony.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xi.

Tatian wrote his "Address to the Greeks" about 150 or 160 A. D. The work is not of a character to call for quotation from the New Testament. Yet in chap. iv. there occurs an expression which appears to be an echo of Rom. i. 20. Jerome, in his preface to his Commentary on Titus, affirms that Tatian ascribed that Epistle to Paul. Tatian's Diatesaron, being a harmony of the Gospels, is important as an attestation of them, but of course would not contain any special reference to Paul.

Only fragments of the works of Dionysius of Corinth are extant. They were probably written about 170 A. D. There is no express quotation from Paul in them; but there is an adoption of a phrase found in 1 Thess. ii. 11.

Fragments of the works of Hegesippus are preserved by Eusebius. Hegesippus wrote not far from 170 A. D. The fragments contain no trace of distinct use of the writings of Paul.

The Muratorian Canon also dates from about 170 A. D. It ascribes the thirteen Epistles of our New Testament distinctly and by name to Paul.

Melito of Sardis wrote, about 170 A. D., an apology addressed to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, but only a fragment of it is preserved, and this contains no reference to Paul.

Theophilus of Antioch wrote at about the same period as Melito. In book iii. 14 of his address to Autolychus he distinctly quotes Rom. xiii. 7, 8 and 1 Tim. ii. 2, as being from "the divine word." In book i. 14 he quotes from Rom. ii. 6, 8.

Athenagoras of Athens wrote, about 175-180 A. D., a "Plea for the Christians," and on "The Resurrection." In the "Plea"<sup>1</sup> is an apparent allusion to Rom. xii. 1. In the treatise on the Resurrection<sup>2</sup> is a distinct quotation of 1 Cor. xv. 54 as from "the Apostle."

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xiii.    <sup>2</sup> Chap. xviii.

This brings us to Irenaeus, who, as is well known, quotes Paul largely; and it is generally conceded that the Pauline Epistles were in existence by this time.

*Summary.* We thus have, in about one hundred and fifteen years from the probable date of Paul's death, seventeen Christian authors. Of five of them we have only fragments. All but four of the seventeen—viz. Papias, Hermas, Hegesippus, Melito—have more or less distinct allusion to Paul's writings. Eight—viz. Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Marcion, the author of the Muratorian Canon, Theophilus, and Athenagoras—give distinct quotation or other direct attestation to their genuineness. The remaining five—viz. Barnabas, Justin Martyr, the author of the Didache, Tatian, and Dionysius—have more or less decided instances of echoes of passages in Paul's Epistles.

A comparison of this summary with the two preceding ones will show at a glance how much more strongly attested by external evidence the writings of the obscure Apostle to the Gentiles are than those of the chief classic author. It will also show how much harder the argument from silence presses upon Cicero than upon Paul. The period under review for Cicero comprises some one hundred and thirty years as over against one hundred and fifteen for Paul. The earliest direct quotation from Cicero found is about sixty-five years after his death. The earliest from Paul's Epistles is about thirty years after his death. The earliest classic authors make little allusion to Cicero's writings, and give no citation from them. The earlier Christian authors give quotations from Paul both unmistakable and frequent. But it is not necessary to draw out the points of contrast, such as the far greater number of authors examined in the case of Cicero, the wider range of topics which invite quotation, etc.; some of these have been previously touched on, and all of them are obvious to any one who thoughtfully and impartially compares the results in the case of the two authors.