

CICERO
LETTERS ~~TO ATTICUS~~

EDITED ~~AND TRANSLATED~~ BY
D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY



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CICERO'S
LETTERS TO ATTICUS

CICERO

90 (IV.15)

Scr. Romae VI Kal. Sext. an. 54 (§ 8)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 De Eutychide gratum, qui vetere praenomine novo nomine T. erit Caecilius, ut est ex me et ex te iunctus Dionysius M. Pomponius. valde mehercule mihi gratum est¹ Euty-
chidem tua erga me benevolentia² cognosse suam³ illam
meo dolore *συμπάθειαν* neque tum mihi obscuram ne-
que post ingratam fuisse.
- 2 Iter Asiaticum tuum puto tibi suscipiendum fuisse,
numquam enim tu sine iustissima causa tam longe a tot tuis
et hominibus et rebus carissimis et suavissimis abesse
voluisses. sed humanitatem tuam amoremque in tuos redi-
tus celeritas declarabit. sed vereor ne lepore suo detineat
diutius praetor Clodius et homo pereruditus, ut aiunt, et
nunc quidem deditus Graecis litteris Pituanus. sed si vis
homo esse, recipe te ad nos ad quod tempus confirmasti.
cum illis tamen cum salvi venerint Romae vivere licebit.
- 3 Avere te scribis accipere aliquid a me litterarum. dedi,
ac multis quidem de rebus *ἡμερολογεῶν* perscripta omnia;
sed, ut conicio, quoniam mihi non videris in Epiro diu
fuisse, redditas tibi non arbitror. genus autem mearum ad
te quidem litterarum eius modi fere est ut non libeat

¹ si vel se (*Buecheler*)

² tuam . . . benevolentiam (*Baiter*)

³ cognosces suam *al.* (*Baiter*)

¹ In freeing Eutychides (it would seem at Cicero's request) Atticus had given him his own adoptive *nomen*, Caecilius, and his original praenomen, Titus (not Quintus). See Appendix on names.

90 (IV.15)

Rome, 27 July 54

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Thank you for the news about Eutychides. So he will be T. Caecilius¹ in future, the old forename with the new name, just as Dionysius is M. Pomponius, made up of me and you. I am really very much pleased that Eutychides has found out, through your kindness to me, that I noticed his sympathy in my dark days and have not forgotten it since.

I think your trip to Asia must have been necessary, for you would never without the best of reasons have wished to be so far away from all the people and things that are yours and that you most love and delight in. But your goodness of heart and affection for those near to you will be plain to see in the speed of your return. I'm afraid though that Praetor Clodius² wit and charm may detain you a long while, and Pituanus too, such a scholar, they tell me, and so devoted nowadays to Greek literature! But be a good fellow and come back to us by the time you promised. After all you will be able to see plenty of them in Rome when they are safely home again.

You say you are longing to get a line from me. I *did* write, with a full day-by-day account of all sorts of things. But as I suspect, since it looks as though you did not stay long in Epirus, I suppose the letter was never delivered. My letters to *you* being of the kind they generally are, I

² P. Clodius' brother Gaius (apparently an aristocratic boor) was governor of Asia. Pituanus was probably on his staff, concerned with business documents, which would mostly be in Greek.

cuiquam dare nisi de quo exploratum sit tibi eum redditurum.

4 Nunc Romanas res accipe. a. d. III<I>⁴ Non. Quint. Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus. ex quo intellectum est τρισαρεοπαγίτας ambitum, comitia, interregnum, maiestatem, totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere, patrem familia<s> domi suae occidi⁵ nolle, neque tamen id ipsum abunde; nam absolverunt XXII, condemnarunt XXVIII. Publius sane disertio epilogo <la>crim[in]ans⁶ mentis iudicium moverat. Hortalus in ea causa fuit cuius modi solet. nos verbum nullum; verita est enim pusilla, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publi offenderet.

5 His rebus actis Reatini me ad sua Τέμπη duxerunt ut agerem causam contra In<ter>amnatis apud consules⁷ et decem legatos, qua⁸ lacus Velinus a M'. Curio emissus interciso monte in Nar⁹ defluit; ex quo est illa siccata et umida tamen modice Rosia. vixi cum Axio; quin etiam me ad Septem Aquas duxit.

6 Redii Romam Fontei causa a. d. VII Id. Quint. veni spectatum,¹⁰ primum magno et aequabili plausu—sed hoc ne curaris, ego ineptus qui scripserim. deinde Antiphonti operam. is erat ante manu missus quam productus. ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit. sed nihil tam pusillum, nihil

⁴ add. Manutius, ⁵ occidere (Schütz)

⁶ cruminar vel criminans (SB) ⁷ consulem (SB)

⁸ quod (SB) ⁹ add. Lambinus

¹⁰ spectaculum (Graevius)

³ M'. Curius Dentatus as Censor in 272 built the second Roman aqueduct. The people of Interamna seem to have com-

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don't like giving them to anybody unless I can be sure that he will deliver them to you.

Now let me give you the news of the town. On 4 July Sufenas and Cato were acquitted, Procilius found guilty. We conclude that our triple-piled Daniels don't care a rap about bribery, or elections, or interregnum, or lese majesty, or indeed the entire body politic, but when it comes to slaughtering a paterfamilias in his own house, they disapprove—not, however, overwhelmingly even then; 22 voted 'Not Guilty' to 28 'Guilty.' The jury was moved by a really eloquent peroration from Publius, delivered with tears. Hortalus was in his usual form. I said not a word—my little girl, who is not very well at present, was afraid it might annoy Publius.

All this transacted, the good folk of Reate brought me to their Vale, wishing me to plead their case against the Interamnates before the Consuls and ten assessors. There Lake Velinus flows into the Nar through a cutting in the mountains made by M'. Curius,³ as a result of which the Plain of Rosia⁴ was drained, though remaining moderately moist. I stayed with Axius. Indeed he took me to see the Seven Waters.⁵

I returned to Rome for Fonteius' benefit on 9 July, and went to the theatre. To begin with, the applause was loud and steady as I entered—but never mind that, I am a fool to mention it. To proceed, I saw Antipho, who had been given his freedom before they put him on the stage. Not to keep you too long in suspense, he won the prize; but

plained of flooding from the lake due to the cutting into the river Nar. ⁴ Fertile plain to the north of Reate.

⁵ A group of lakes to the north of the plain.

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tam sine voce, nihil tam... verum haec tu tecum habeto. in Andromacha tamen maior fuit quam Astyanax, in ceteris parem habuit neminem. quaeris nunc de Arbuscula. valde placuit. ludi magnifici et grati; venatio in aliud tempus dilata.

- 7 Sequere nunc me in campum. ardet ambitus. 'σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω': faenus ex triente Id. Quint. factum erat bes-sibus. dices 'istuc quidem non moleste fero.' o virum! o civem! Memmium Caesaris omnes opes confirmant. cum eo Domitium consules iunxerunt, qua pactione epistulae committere non audeo. Pompeius fremit, queritur, Scauro studet; sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur. ἐξοχή in nullo est; pecunia omnium dignitatem exaequat. Messalla languet, non quo aut animus desit aut amici, sed coitio consulum <et> Pompeius obsunt. ea comitia puto fore ut ducantur. tribunicii candidati iurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petituros. apud eum HS quingena deposuerunt ut, qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet et competitoribus tribueretur. haec ego pridie scribebam quam comitia fore putabantur. sed ad te v Kal. Sext., si facta erunt et tabel-
- 8

⁶ So Horace Walpole to Horace Mann: 'His acting I have seen, and may say to you, who will not tell it again here, I see nothing wonderful in it, but it is heresy to say so.'

⁷ In the role of Hector's wife Antipho was at any rate taller (the Latin word can also mean 'better') than the child who represented Hector's baby son.

⁸ I.e., he was the *worst* actor on the stage.

⁹ An actress in mime (which, unlike tragedy, allowed of female performers), also mentioned in Horace's *Satires*.

¹⁰ The beast fight that normally followed the main show.

¹¹ *Iliad* 23.326.

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never have I seen such a weedy little object, not a scrap of voice, not a—but don't say I said so!⁶ As Andromache at any rate he stood head and shoulders above Astyanax.⁷ In the other roles he didn't have his equal.⁸ Now you'll want to know about Arbuscula.⁹ First-rate. The games were fine and much appreciated. The hunt¹⁰ was put off to another time.

Now follow me to the Campus. Bribery is running riot. 'A token I shall tell':¹¹ interest went up on the Ides of July from 1/3 to 2/3 percent.¹² 'That I can bear,' you'll say—you model of morality and public spirit! Caesar is backing Memmius for all he's worth. The Consuls have paired him with Domitius in an arrangement which I dare not commit to writing.¹³ Pompey is fuming and growling. Ostensibly Scaurus is his man, but does he mean it? We have our doubts. None of the four has any special prominence. Money levels standing all round. Messalla is lagging, not for lack of spirit or friends, but the Consuls' pact and Pompey are against him. I think these elections are likely to drag on. The tribunician candidates have taken an oath to conduct their campaign with Cato as umpire. Each of them has deposited HS 500,000 with him on the understanding that anyone found guilty of impropriety by Cato shall forfeit his deposit, which will be distributed among his rivals. I write this the day before the elections are expected to take place. If they do, and if the courier has not left, I shall write you the whole story of the elections on 28

¹² Roman interest was reckoned by the month.

¹³ See following letter, para. 2. The candidates for the Consulship this year were M. Aemilius Scaurus, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, C. Memmius, and M. Valerius Messalla Rufus.

CICERO

larius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam. quae si, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint, plus unus Cato potuerit quam <omnes leges>¹¹ omnesque¹² iudices.

9 Messius defendebatur a nobis de legatione revocatus; nam eum Caesari legarat Appius. Servilius edixit ut adesset. tribus habet Pomptinam, Velinam, Maeciam. pugnatur acriter; agitur tamen satis. deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. fortasse accedent etiam consules designati. in quibus si Scaurus non fuerit, in hoc iudicio valde laborabit.

10 Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia. suspenso animo exspecto quid agat. illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis indiciis possumus iudicare, nos Caesari et carissimos et iucundissimos esse.

Dionysium velim salvere iubeas et eum roges ut te hortetur quam primum venias, ut possit Ciceronem meum atque etiam me ipsum erudire.

91 (IV.17)

Scr. Romae Kal. Oct. an. 54 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1 Puto te existimare me non oblitum consuetudinis et instituti mei rarius ad te scribere quam solebam; sed cum loca

¹¹ *add. Wesenberg* ¹² omnes qui (*Wesenberg*)

¹⁴ The younger Isauricus, Praetor this year.

¹⁵ The anti-bribery law under which Messius was tried provided that the jury be chosen from three tribes.

¹⁶ Charged with extortion in Sardinia. Cicero's successful

LETTER 91 (IV.17)

July. If they go through without bribery, as it is believed they will, Cato will have done more single-handed than all the laws and all the jurymen.

I am defending Messius, who has been recalled from his Commissionership—Appius had given him one on Caesar's staff. Servilius¹⁴ issued an edict requiring him to attend. He has for tribes the Pomptine, the Veline, and the Maecian.¹⁵ We are making a game fight of it, but we have all we can do. Then I get ready for Drusus, from him to Scaurus.¹⁶ Fine titles for my speeches I'm collecting! Perhaps the Consuls-Designate will come next. If Scaurus is not one of them, he'll have a difficult passage in this trial.

From a letter of my brother's I guess that he is already in Britain. I am waiting in suspense to hear how he is getting on. One thing has been achieved anyhow, as I can judge by many substantial tokens—I stand very high in Caesar's regard and favour.

Remember me to Dionysius, and ask him to persuade you to come back as soon as possible, so that he can instruct my Marcus and myself too.

91 (IV.17)

Rome, 1 October 54

CICERO TO ATTICUS

If I write to you less often than I used, I feel sure you won't think it is because I have forgotten my old-established

speech in his defence is partially extant. Subsequently he was convicted on another charge. As to Drusus, see Letter 89, note 5. Both were nobles, whose fathers (adoptive in Drusus' case) ranked among the great names of Roman history.

et itinera tua nihil habere certi video, neque in Epirum neque Athenas neque in Asiam neque cuiquam nisi ad te ipsum proficiscenti dedi litteras. neque enim <eae> sunt epistulae nostrae quae si perlatae non sint nihil ea res nos offensura sit; quae tantum habent mysteriorum ut eas ne librariis quidem fere committamus ne quid¹ quo excidat.

- 2 Consules flagrant infamia quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit quam ipse <et> suus competitor Domitius cum consulibus fecisset, uti ambo HS ~~xxxx~~² consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tris augures dedissent qui se adfuisse dicerent cum lex curiata ferretur quae lata non esset, et duo consularis qui se dicerent in ormandis provinciis consularibus scribendo adfuisse cum omnino ne senatus quidem fuisset. haec pactione non verbis sed nominibus et perscriptionibus multorum <per>³ tabulas cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis auctore Pompeio. hic Appius erat idem; nihil sane iacturae. corruerat alter et plane, inquam,
- 3 iacebat. Memmius autem dirempta coitione invito Calvino plane refrixerat et eo magis nunc quod⁴ iam intellegebamus enuntiationem illam Memmi valde Caesari displicere. Messalla noster et eius Domitius competitor liberalis in populum⁵ valde fuit. nihil gratius. certi erant consules. at senatus decernit ut tacitum iudicium ante comitia fieret ab

¹ lepidum (O. E. Schmidt)

² quadragena ita interpret. Gelzer : quadringenties Watt, ut interpret. multi

³ add. SB

⁴ ita Sternkopf (vide Teubnerianam)

⁵ populo (Pius)

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habit. But as your addresses and routes seem to be quite uncertain, I have given no letters to travellers to Epirus or Athens or Asia or to anyone at all unless he is on his way to you personally. Mine are not the sort of letters which can miss their destination and no harm done. They contain so many secrets that I don't usually trust them even to my clerks for fear something might leak out.

The Consuls are in the thick of a tremendous scandal. The candidate C. Memmius read out in the Senate the text of a compact which he and his fellow candidate Domitius had made with the Consuls providing that, if they were themselves elected, they would furnish three Augurs who would state that they had been present at the passing of a *lex curiata* which had never been passed, and two Consulars who would state that they had witnessed a senatorial decree making provision for the consular provinces, though the Senate had not even met; failing this, they were both to forfeit the sum of HS 4,000,000 to the Consuls. The compact, which, as was stated, was not an oral one but had been entered in the account books of many persons with names and full details, was produced by Memmius on Pompey's advice with the names cancelled. This exposure leaves Appius where he was—nothing lost to be sure. But for his colleague it is a collapse, he is utterly discredited. Memmius, having broken up the coalition against Calvinus' wishes, looks a very tired horse, especially at this present, because we now gather that Caesar is very much annoyed at his making this disclosure. Our friend Messalla and his fellow candidate Domitius have treated the public very handsomely. Much popularity in consequence. They were certain of election. Then came a senatorial decree providing that before the elections a 'silent'

iis consiliis †quae erant omnibus sortita†⁶ in singulos candidatus. magnus timor candidatorum. sed quidam iudices, in his Opimius, Veiento, Rantius, tribunos pl. appellarunt ne iniussu populi iudicarent. †rescidit†.⁷ comitia dilata ex senatus consulto dum lex de tacito iudicio ferretur. venit legi dies. Terentius intercessit. consules, qui illud levi brachio egissent, rem ad senatum detulerunt. hic Abdera, non tacente me. dices 'tamen tu non quiescis?' ignosce, vix possum. verum tamen quid tam ridiculum? senatus decreverat ne prius comitia haberentur quam lex lata esset; <si> quis intercessisset, res integra referretur. coepta ferri leviter, intercessum non invitis, res ad senatum. 'de ea re ita censuerunt, comitia primo quoque tempore haberi. c.'⁸

4 Scaurus, qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus, cum ego partem eius⁹ ornatissime defendissem, obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque ad pr. Kal. Oct., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis, populo tributum domi suae satis fecerat. sed tamen, etsi uberior liberalitas huius, gratior esse videbatur eorum qui occuparant. cuperem vultum videre tuum cum haec legeres; nam profecto spem¹⁰ habes nullam haec negotia multarum nundinarum fore. sed senatus hodie erat futurus, id est Kal. Oct.;

⁶ sortito *coni.* SB

⁷ res cecidit *Madvig*

⁸ censere (SB)

⁹ causae *Watt* : causae eius *coni.* SB

¹⁰ rem (*Lambinus*)

¹ The nature of this special procedure is unknown.

² Now Tribune. He was probably trying to help Scaurus, with whom he had family ties, by holding up the elections.

³ Atticus would return too late to reap the moneylenders' harvest.

process¹ should be instituted against each candidate individually, the jury to be made up by lot from those already empanelled (?). Great alarm among the candidates. Certain jurors however, including Opimius, Veiento and Rantius, appealed to the Tribunes against being required to serve without the authority of the Assembly. Collapse(?) of project. The elections were then postponed by senatorial decree to allow time for a law concerning the 'silent' process to be submitted to the Assembly. Voting day arrived, Terentius cast his veto. The Consuls, who had handled the business very gingerly, referred the position to the Senate. All Fools Festival there, not without a protest from me. 'Still not keeping quiet?' you'll say. Sorry, I scarcely know how to. But really, is it not too fantastic? The Senate had forbidden elections until the presentation of the law, with the proviso that in the event of a veto the matter should be referred to them afresh. The machinery is set in motion, halfheartedly enough, the veto received without reluctance, the matter brought back to the House. 'Concerning this matter this House declared that the elections be held as soon as possible. Declared.'

A few days ago Scaurus was acquitted, part of him being defended by me in my best style. Every day up to 29 September, the day I write this letter, having been voided by Scaevola² with reports of bad auspices, he has given the public its due at his own house, tribe by tribe. But though his largesse has been more plentiful, it looks as if more popularity will go to those who got in first. I should love to see your face as you read this — for you really can't expect these goings-on to last many weeks.³ However, the Senate is to meet today, i.e. the Kalends of October, for it's now

CICERO

iam enim luciscit. ibi loque[re]tur praeter Ateium¹¹ et Favonium libere nemo; nam Cato aegrotat. de me nihil timueris; sed tamen promitto nihil.

- 5 Quid quaeris aliud? iudicia, credo. Drusus, Scaurus non fecisse videntur. tres candidati rei fore putabantur, Domitius a Memmio, Messalla a Q. Pompeio Rufo, Scaurus a Triario aut a L. Caesare. 'quid poteris' inquires 'pro iis dicere?' ne vivam <si> scio; in illis quidem tribus libris quos tu dilaudas nihil reperio.

92 (IV.18)

Scr. Romae inter IX Kal. et IV Non. Nov. an. 54 (§§ 4, 5)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 * * * nunc, ut opinionem habeas †rerum†,¹ ferendum est. quaeris ego me ut gesserim. constanter et libere. 'ille' inquires 'ut ferebat?' humaniter, meaeque dignitatis, quoad mihi satis factum esset, habendam sibi rationem putabat. quo modo ergo absolutus? omnino *πρῶτα πρῶμνα*² accusatorum incredibilis infantia, id est L. Lentuli L. f., quem fremunt omnes praevaricatum, deinde Pompei mira contentio, iudicum sordes. ac tamen³ xxxii condemnarunt, xxxviii absolverunt. iudicia reliqua impendent. nondum est plane expeditus.

¹¹ antium (SB)

¹ meam Purser : nostram coni. SB ² ΠΟΡΡΑΙΤΜΝΑ
vel sim. (Manutius: π- καὶ (et TP) π- coni. SB, Watt)

³ attamen (Wesenberg)

⁴ Probably the candidate (son of Lucius), not the Tribune (son of Gaius). ⁵ On the Orator.

LETTER 92 (IV.18)

getting light. No one will speak his mind except Ateius and Favonius—Cato's ill. As for me, don't be nervous. Still, I make no promises.

What else would you care to hear about, I wonder? The trials, perhaps. Well, Drusus and Scaurus are found not guilty. Three of the candidates are expected to have to face a prosecution, Domitius by Memmius,⁴ Messalla by Q. Pompeius Rufus, Scaurus by Triarius or L. Caesar. What am I going to say for them, you may ask? I'll be hanged if I know. Certainly I find nothing in those three volumes⁵ which you praise so generously.

92 (IV.18)

Rome, between 24 October and 2 November 54

CICERO TO ATTICUS

... As it is, to give you my (?) view of things, we must grin and bear it. You ask how I comported myself. Firmly and frankly. 'Well, how did he¹ take it?' Pleasantly enough—he seemed conscious of his obligation to consider my dignity until amends had been made to me. You wonder how Gabinius was acquitted? To be sure, the long and the short of it was the unbelievable oratorical incompetence of the prosecution, i.e. of L. Lentulus junior,² who is loudly and universally accused of collusion. Add Pompey's extraordinary efforts and a corrupt jury. Even so 32 voted 'Guilty' to 38 'Not Guilty.' The other trials are still hanging over him. He's not yet completely out of the woods.

¹ Pompey, who wanted to protect his old henchman Gabinius, who had just been acquitted of *lese majesty*.

² Son of the Flamen.

2 Dices 'tu ergo haec quo modo fers?' belle mehercule et in eo me valde amo. amisimus, mi Pomponi, omnem non modo sucum ac sanguinem sed etiam colorem et speciem pristinae⁴ civitatis. nulla est res publica quae delectet, in qua acquiescam. 'idne igitur' inquires 'facile fers?' id ipsum. recordor enim quam bella paulisper nobis gubernantibus civitas fuerit, quae mihi gratia relata sit. nullus dolor me angit unum omnia posse; dirumpuntur ii qui me aliquid posse doluerunt. multa mihi dant solacia, nec tamen ego de meo statu demigro, quaeque vita maxime est ad naturam, ad eam me refero, ad litteras et studia nostra. dicendi laborem delectatione oratoria consolor. domus me et rura nostra delectant. non recordor unde ceciderim sed unde surrexerim. fratrem mecum et te si habebō, per me isti pedibus trahantur; vobis ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι possum. locus ille animi nostri stomachus ubi habitabat olim concaluit. privata modo et domestica nos delectent,⁵ miram securitatem videbis; cuius plurimae mehercule partes sunt in tuo reditu. nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus.

3 Sed accipe alia. res fcaluit ad interregnum et est non nullus odor dictaturae, sermo quidem multus; qui etiam Gabinium apud timidos iudices adiuvit. candidati consulares omnes rei ambitus. accedit etiam Gabinius, quem P.

⁴ pristinam (Wesenberg)

⁵ delectant (SB)

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You'll wonder how I take all this. Pretty coolly, I assure you, and I plume myself highly on doing so. My dear friend, not only have we completely lost the vital essence of the free state—even its outward complexion and aspect is gone. There is no Republic any longer to give me joy and solace. Can I take that calmly? Why yes, I can. You see, I have the memory of the proud show she made for the short time that I was at the helm, and the thanks I got in return. My withers are unwrung by the spectacle of one man all-powerful, which chokes the persons who found it distasteful that *I* should have any power at all. I have many consolations. All the same, I do not move away from my position, but turn back to the life that is most congenial, to my books and studies. The labour of pleading is compensated by the pleasure that oratory gives me. My house in town and my places in the country are a source of delight. I do not remember the height from which I fell but the depth from which I have risen. If I can have my brother's company and yours, then so far as I am concerned these people can go to the devil. I can philosophize and you can listen. That place in my mental anatomy which used to contain my spleen grew a tough skin long ago. Providing only that my private and domestic circumstances give me pleasure, you will find my equanimity quite remarkable. It largely depends, believe me, on your return. There is no one in the world with whom I hit it off quite so happily.

Well, let me tell you of other matters. The situation is drifting towards an Interregnum and there is some whiff of a Dictatorship in the air, much talk anyhow—incidentally that helped Gabinius with the less courageous members of the jury. All the candidates for the Consulship are being prosecuted for corruption. Gabinius now joins them.

Sulla, non dubitans quin foris esset, postularat, contra dicente et nihil obtinente Torquato. sed omnes absolventur, nec posthac quisquam damnabitur nisi qui hominem occiderit. hoc tamen agitur severius, itaque indicia⁶ calent. M. Fulvius Nobilior condemnatus est; multi alii urbani ne respondent quidem.

- 4 Quid aliud novi⁹ etiam: absoluto Gabinio stomachantes alii iudices hora post Antiochum Gabinium nescio quem <de>⁷ Sopolidis pictoribus libertum, accensum Gabini, lege Papia condemnarunt. itaque dixit statim tres p. lege maiestatis *ουσοιμρισαμαφιη*†.⁸ Pomptinus vult a. d. IIII Non. Nov. triumphare. huic obviam Cato et Servilius praetor<es> ad portam et Q. Mucius tribunus. negant enim latum de imperio, et est latum hercule insulse. sed erit cum Pomptino Appius consul. Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum. id ego puto ut multa eiusdem ad nihil<um>⁹ recasurum. Appius sine lege suo sumptu in Ciliciam cogitat.

- 5 A Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a. d. VIII Kal. Nov. litteras datas a litoribus¹⁰ Britanniae proximae¹¹ a. d. VI Kal. Oct.¹² confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla

⁶ iudicia ς ⁷ *add. Mueller* ⁸ pro lex maiestatis! *οὐ σοὶ μέρις ἄμα Παφίη coni. SB, sane dubitanter*

⁹ *add. Siesbye* ¹⁰ litore Watt

¹¹ proximo (SB : -mis Bentivoglio)

¹² datas ... Oct. *huc transp. R. Klotz : post pecunia (infra) codd.*

³ Lucius. ⁴ I.e., they let their cases go by default. There is a play on the ordinary sense of *respondere*, 'to answer (a greeting, a question)'; Cicero indulges in it elsewhere.

LETTER 92 (IV.18)

P. Sulla, in the confidence that all was up with him, had brought the charge, Torquatus³ unsuccessfully contesting. But they'll all be let off, and nobody henceforward will ever be found guilty unless he's killed someone. This is still treated with some severity, so the informers are busy. M. Fulvius Nobilior has been convicted. Many others do not have the politeness to answer to their names.⁴

What other news? Oh yes, within an hour of Gabinius' acquittal, a freedman, his orderly, one Gabinius Antiochus, a pupil of Sopolis the painter, was found guilty by another jury under the *lex Papia*,⁵ in sheer irritation at the result. Said the prisoner right away, 'Poor law of lese majesty! "Thy portion is not with the Paphian"'(?).⁶ Pomptinus wants to celebrate his triumph on 2 November. Praetors Cato and Servilius are stopping him at the city gate with Tribune Q. Mucius. They say that no enabling law has been brought in, and it's true that the manner of its bringing in was less than tactful. But Consul Appius will be on Pomptinus' side. Cato, however, asseverates that he will triumph over his (Cato's) dead body—an utterance which I fancy will end in air like a good many from the same quarter. Appius plans to go to Cilicia at his own expense and do without a law.

On 24 October I received letters from my brother Quintus and from Caesar dispatched 'Shores of Nearer Britain, 25 September.' They had settled Britain, taken hostages but no booty (tribute, however, imposed), and

⁵ A law passed in 65 against persons falsely pretending to Roman citizenship.

⁶ The Paphian is Aphrodite. There seems to be a play on 'Papia' and 'Paphia,' but neither text nor meaning is certain.

CICERO

praeda, imperata tamen pecunia exercitum ex Britannia reportabant. Q. Pilius erat iam ad Caesarem profectus.

Tu, si aut amor in te est nostri ac tuorum aut ulla veritas, aut si etiam sapis ac frui tuis commodis cogitas, adventare et prope adesse iam debes. non mehercule aequo animo te careo; te autem quid mirum, qui Dionysium tanto opere desiderem? quem quidem abs te, cum dies venerit, et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit. abs te proximas litteras habebam Epheso a. d. v Id. Sext. datas.

93 (IV.19)

Scr. Romae ex. m. Nov. an. 54

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- I O exspectatas mihi tuas litteras! o gratum adventum! o constantiam promissi et fidem miram! o navigationem amandam! quam mehercule ego valde timebam recordans superioris tuae transmissionis *δέρρεις*. sed, nisi fallor, citius te quam scribis videbo. credo enim te putasse tuas mulieres in Apulia esse; quod cum secus erit, quid te - Apulia moretur? an¹ Vestorio dandi sunt dies et ille Latinus Ἀττικισμὸς ex intervallo regustandus? quin tu huc ad-

¹ nam (*Boot* : num *Pluygers*)

LETTER 93 (IV.19)

were bringing back the army from the island. Q. Pilius has already left to join Caesar.

As for yourself, if you have any affection for your folks and for me, any sincerity, any sound sense even or intention of enjoying the good things that are yours, you ought to be on your way and nearly home by now. Believe me, I do not find it easy to be without you—and no wonder I miss *you*, when I miss even Dionysius so keenly. My boy and I will both be demanding him from you when the time comes. The last letter I had from you was dispatched from Ephe-sus, 9 August.

93 (IV.19)

Rome, end of November 54

CICERO TO ATTICUS

At last the letter I have been longing for! Delighted to hear you are back! I salute you as a man of your word, a paragon of punctuality. And what a lovely voyage! I was really nervous about that I assure you, remembering those tarpaulins on your last crossing. But if I am not mistaken I shall see you sooner than you say, for I imagine you thought your womenfolk were in Apulia. When you find that this is not the case, what is to keep you in Apulia? Or do you have to spare some days for Vestorius¹ and resavour his Latin Atticism after the interval? No, no! Hurry back to Rome,

¹ A resident of Puteoli of whose lack of culture Cicero makes fun elsewhere. 'Atticism' plays on Atticus' name—Vestorius might have no pretensions to Attic wit or culture, but he was an 'Atticist' all the same.

CICERO

volas et invisis illius nostrae rei publicae germanae puta<mina>? vide² nummos ante comitia tributim uno loco divisos palam, vide absolutum Gabinium, olface³ dictaturam, fruire iustitia et omnium rerum licentia, perspice aequitatem animi mei et ludum et contemptionem - Selicianae unciae⁴ et mehercule cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem; haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat. qui quidem Quintum meum tuumque, di boni, quem ad modum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non secus ac si ego essem imperator. hibernam legionem⁵ eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me Quintus scribit. hunc tu non amas? quem igitur istorum?

Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi me esse legatum Pompeio et extra urbem quidem fore ex Id. Ian.? visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare. sed quid plura? coram, opinor, reliqua, ut tu tamen aliquid exspectes. Dionysio plurimam salutem; cui quidem ego non modo servavi sed etiam aedificavi locum. quid quaeris? ad summam laetitiam meam quam ex tuo reditu capio magnus illius adventus cumulus accedit. quo die [ad me]⁶ venies, fac,⁷ si me amas, apud me cum tuis maneat.

² putavi de (*Tucker*)

³ cociace *al.*, post nunc in *ep.* 91.3, v.2 (*Sternkopf*)

⁴ provinciae *codd.* *superstitis*

⁵ hiberna (*Ernesti*) legionis *Nipperdey*

⁶ *del. Manutius*

⁷ ut *vel et vel om.* (*Watt*)

LETTER 93 (IV.19)

come and look at the empty husks of the real old Roman Republic we used to know. For example, come and see money distributed before the elections tribe by tribe, all in one place openly, see Gabinius acquitted, get the whiff of a Dictatorship in your nostrils, enjoy the public holiday and the universal free-for-all, behold my equanimity, my amusement, my contempt for Selicius' 10 percent,² and, yes, my delectable rapprochement with Caesar. That does give me some satisfaction, the one plank left from the wreck. The way he treats my (and your) dear Quintus! Such distinction, such appreciation and favour! I couldn't do more if I were G.O.C. myself. He has just offered him the choice of a legion for the winter, so Quintus writes to me. Wouldn't you love such a man? If not, then which of your fine friends?

Now pay attention. Did I tell you that I have joined Pompey's staff³ and shall be out of town after the Ides of January? I thought this would fit in nicely from several points of view. But I won't ramble on. The rest, I think, when we meet—might as well leave you *something* to wait for! My kindest regards to Dionysius; I have not only kept a place for him, but, actually built one. In fact the prospect of his arrival makes no small addition to the great happiness I feel in your return. Do please stay with me your first night in Rome, you and your people.

² Or perhaps 8 1/3 percent (annual), depending on the interpretation of Cicero's expression.

³ As Legate, with nominal duties. Pompey was governing the Spanish provinces in absentia.

CICERO

94 (V.1)

Scr. Minturnis III aut prid. Non. Mai. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ego vero et tuum in discessu vidi animum et meo sum ipse testis; quo magis erit tibi videndum ne quid novi decernatur, ut hoc nostrum desiderium ne plus sit annuum.
- 2 De Annio Saturnino, curasti probe. de satis dando vero, te rogo, quoad eris Romae, tu ut satis des; et sunt aliquot satisfactiones secundum mancipium, veluti Mennianorum praediorum vel Atilianorum. de Oppio, factum est <ut> volui, et maxime quo<d de>¹ DCCC aperuisti; quae quidem ego utique vel versura facta solvi volo, ne extrema exactio nostrorum nominum exspectetur.
- 3 Nunc venio ad transversum illum extremae epistulae tuae versiculum in quo me admones de sorore. quae res se sic habet: ut veni in Arpinas, cum ad me frater venisset, in primis nobis sermo isque multus de te fuit; ex quo ego veni ad ea quae fueram ego et tu inter nos de sorore in Tusculano locuti. nihil tam vidi mite, nihil tam placatum quam tum meus frater erat in sororem tuam, ut, etiam si qua fuerat ex ratione sumpta offensio, non appareret. ille sic dies. postridie ex Arpinati profecti sumus. ut in Arcano Quintus maneret dies fecit; ego Aquini, sed prandimus in

¹ *add. Tyrrell*

¹ Cicero had just set out for his province of Cicilia.

² This refers to a sum of money borrowed by Cicero from Caesar. Oppius was handling the matter.

³ Probably the festival of the Lares (household gods) on 1 May, when, as here appears, slaves were entertained by their masters.

LETTER 94 (V.1)

94 (V.1)

Minturnae, 5 or 6 May, 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Yes indeed, I saw your feelings when we said good-bye¹ and can testify to my own. All the more reason for you to see to it that they don't pass some new decree, so that we may not have to do without one another for more than one year.

With regard to Annius Saturninus, I approve of what you have done. But about guarantees, may I ask you to give them yourself as long as you are in Rome?² And there are some guarantees in respect of sale, e.g. for the Mennius and Atilius properties. As for Oppius,² the steps taken are what I wished, especially in that you have explained about the 800,000. I particularly want this paid, by borrowing if necessary so as not to have to wait for the last penny to come in from my debtors.

I come now to the line in the margin at the end of your letter in which you remind me about your sister. This is how the matter stands. When I got to Arpinum, my brother came over and we talked first and foremost about you, at considerable length. From that I passed to what you and I had said between us at Tusculum anent your sister. I have never seen anything more gentle and pacific than my brother's attitude towards her as I found it. Even if he had taken offence for any reason, there was no sign of it. So much for that day. Next morning we left Arpinum. On account of the holiday³ Quintus had to stay the night at Arcanum. I stayed at Aquinum, but we lunched at Ar-

Arcano (nosti hunc fundum). quo ut venimus, humanissime Quintus 'Pomponia' inquit, 'tu invita mulieres, ego vero ascivero pueros.' nihil potuit, mihi quidem ut visum est, dulcius, idque cum verbis tum etiam animo ac vultu. at illa audientibus nobis 'ego ipsa sum' inquit 'hic hospita'; id autem ex eo, ut opinor, quod antecesserat Statius ut prandium nobis videret. tum Quintus 'en' inquit mihi,
 4 'haec ego patior cottidie.' dices 'quid, quaeso, istuc erat?' magnum; itaque me ipsum commoverat; sic absurde et aspere verbis vultuque responderat. dissimulavi dolens. discubuimus omnes praeter illam, cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit; illa reiecit. quid multa? nihil meo fratre lenius, nihil asperius tua sorore mihi visum est; et multa praetereo quae tum mihi maiori stomacho quam ipsi Quinto fuerunt. ego inde Aquinum. Quintus in Arcano remansit et Aquinum ad me postridie mane venit mihique narravit nec secum illam dormire voluisse et cum discessura esset fuisse eius modi qualem ego vidissem. quid quaeris? vel ipsi hoc dicas licet, humanitatem ei meo iudicio illo die defuisse. haec ad te scripsi. fortasse pluribus quam necesse fuit, ut videres tuas quoque esse partis instituendi et monendi.

5 Reliquum est ut ante quam proficiscare mandata nostra exhaurias, scribas ad me omnia, Pomptinum extrudas, cum profectus eris cures ut sciam, sic habeas, nihil mehercule te mihi nec carius esse nec suavius.

A. Torquatum amantissime dimisi Minturnis, optimum virum; cui me ad te scripsisse aliquid in sermone significes velim.

⁴ Servants and farmworkers.

LETTER 94 (V.1)

canum—you know the farm. When we arrived there Quintus said in the kindest way ‘Pomponia, will you ask the women in, and I’ll get the boys?’⁴ Both what he said and his intention and manner were perfectly pleasant, at least it seemed so to me. Pomponia however answered in our hearing ‘I am a guest myself here.’ That, I imagine, was because Statius had gone ahead of us to see to our luncheon. Quintus said to me ‘There! This is the sort of thing I have to put up with every day.’ You’ll say ‘What was there in that, pray?’ A good deal. I myself was quite shocked. Her words and manner were so gratuitously rude. I concealed my feelings, painful as they were, and we all took our places at table except the lady. Quintus however had some food sent to her, which she refused. In a word, I felt my brother could not have been more forbearing nor your sister ruder. And I have left out a number of things that annoyed me at the time more than they did Quintus. I then left for Aquinum, while Quintus stayed behind at Arcanum and came over to see me at Aquinum early the following day. He told me that Pomponia had refused to spend the night with him and that her attitude when she said good-bye was just as I had seen it. Well, you may tell her to her face that in my judgement her manners that day left something to be desired. I have told you about this, perhaps at greater length than was necessary, to show you that lessons and advice are called for from your side as well as from mine.

For the rest, make sure you execute all my commissions before you leave Rome, and write to me about everything, and get behind Pomptinus, and when you have left let me know, and don’t ever doubt how much I love and like you.

I parted very amicably from A. Torquatus at Minturnae, an excellent person. You might intimate to him in conversation that I have written something to you.

CICERO

95 (V.2)

Scr. in Pompeiano vi Id. Mai. an. 51 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 A. d. vi Id. Mai., cum has dabam litteras, ex Pompeiano proficiscebar, ut eo die manerem in Trebulano apud Pontium; deinde cogitabam sine ulla mora iusta itinera facere. in Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortensius; cui deposcenti mea mandata cetera universe mandavi, illud prop<ri>e, ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam; in quo eum tu velim confirmes gratumque mihi fecisse dicas quod et venerit ad me et hoc mihi praeterea si quid opus esset promiserit. confirmavi ad eam causam etiam Furnium nostrum, quem ad annum tribunum pl. videbam fore.
- 2 Habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam; tanta erat in iis locis multitudo; cum interim Rufio noster, quod se a Vestorio observari videbat, *στρατη<γη>ματίω*¹ hominem percussit; nam ad me non accessit. 'itane? cum Hortensius veniret et infirmus et tam longe et Hortensius, cum maxima praeterea multitudo, ille non venit?' non, inquam. 'non vidisti igitur hominem?' inquires. qui potui non videre cum per emporium Puteolanorum iter facerem? in quo illum agentem aliquid credo salutavi, post etiam iussi valere cum me exiens e sua villa num quid vellem rogasset. hunc hominem parum gratum quisquam putet, aut non in

¹ stragem alto (*Sandbach** : -gemate, -γήματι priores)

¹ C. Sempronius Rufus. Probably he owed Vestorius money, but how Cicero was mixed up in the affair is not clear from this or later allusions.

LETTER 95 (V.2)

95 (V.2)

Pompeii, 10 May 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am dispatching this letter on 10 May, just before leaving Pompeii for the Trebula country, where I am to stay the night with Pontius. After that I propose to travel by full normal stages without any delays. While I was at Cumae I was very much pleased to receive a visit from our friend Hortensius. When he asked if I had any commissions, I replied in general terms except on one point: I particularly requested him, so far as in him lay, not to let my term of office be extended. I should be grateful if you would drive this home, and tell him how much I appreciate his coming to see me and promising this and any other service that may be called for. I have confirmed our friend Furnius in the same cause; he is clearly going to be Tribune in a year's time.

My place at Cumae was a Rome in miniature—so many people about down here. Among them was our little Rufus,¹ who, finding himself under observation by Vestorius, foiled him by a little ruse—he came nowhere near or by me. Odd, you may think. Hortensius called—a sick man, such a long way, and Hortensius to boot—and a great multitude besides, but not Rufus? Not Rufus. Didn't I see him then? How could I help seeing him when I walked through Puteoli bazaar? I said good morning to him there (he had some business on hand no doubt), and on a later occasion good-bye—as he was coming out of his villa he took his leave of me. Who could accuse *him* of failing in gratitude?

CICERO

eo ipso laudandum, quod laudari non laborarit?

- 3 Sed redeo ad illud. noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse huius ingentis molestiae nisi quod spero non longiorem annua fore. hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum: tu, qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis, tum scilicet cum id agi debebit, cum ex Epiro redieris.

De re publica scribas ad me velim si quid erit quod op<us sit se> ire.² nondum enim satis huc erat adlatum quo modo Caesar ferret de auctoritate perscripta, eratque rumor de Transpadanis, eos iussos IIII viros creare; quod si ita est, magnos motus timeo. sed aliquid ex Pompeio sciam.

96 (V.3)

Scr. in Trebulano v Id. Mai. an. 51 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 A. d. v<I> Id. Mai. veni in Trebulanum ad Pontium; ibi mihi tuae litterae binae redditae sunt tertio abs te die. eodem autem exiens e Pompeiano Philotimo dederam ad te litteras; nec vero nunc erat sane quid scriberem. qui de re publica rumores scribe, quaeso; in oppidis enim summum video timorem, sed multa inania. quid de his¹ * * * cogites et quando scire velim.

² opere *vel* operare (*Watt* : operae est (*debuisset*) *Purser*)

¹ *excidisse aliquid, velut existimes et de itinere quid censuit SB*

² Thus giving the Transpadane Gallic towns the same constitution as Roman municipalities. Their claim to full Roman citizenship was an issue between Caesar and the optimates. The senator-

LETTER 96 (V.3)

Or rather, mustn't we commend him for his indifference to such commendations?

But I come back to this: you must believe that my one consolation in this colossal bore is that I expect it will only last a year. Many people don't believe I am sincere about this, judging me by others. But you, who know, must spare no pains, I mean naturally when the time for action comes, after you get back from Epirus.

I should be grateful if you would write to me about the political situation if there is anything I ought to know. Not enough has so far reached us here about how Caesar is taking the recorded resolution; and there is a rumour about the Transpadanes, that they have been told to set up Boards of Four.² If that is true I fear grave trouble. However I shall learn something from Pompey.

96 (V.3)

Near Trebula, 11 May 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 10 May I arrived at Pontius' place near Trebula. There I got two letters from you the third day after dispatch. I gave Philotimus a letter for you as I left Pompeii for this destination, and now I have nothing really to write about. Pray tell me what political rumours are afloat; I find intense anxiety in the towns, but there is a lot of empty chatter. I'd like to know what you think about all this, and what you propose about your trip (?), and when.

rial resolution (see Glossary) probably concerned the same matter.

CICERO

- 2 Ad quas litteras tibi rescribi velis nescio. nullas enim adhuc acceperam praeter quae mihi binae simul in Trebulano redditae sunt; quarum alterae edictum †publi mihi†² habebant (erant autem Non. Mai. datae), alterae rescriptae ad meas Minturnensis. quam vereor ne quid fuerit *σπουδαιότερον* in iis quas non accepi quibus rescribi vis!
- 3 <Apud>³ Lentulum⁴ ponam te in gratia. Dionysius nobis cordi est. Nicanor tuus operam mihi dat egregiam. iam deest quid scribam et lucet. Beneventi cogitabam hodie esse.⁵ nostra continentia et diligentia satis faciemus.
- A Pont<i>o ex Trebulano a. d. v Id. Mai.

97 (V.4)

Scr. Beneventi IV Id. Mai. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Beneventum veni a. d. v Id. Mai. ibi accepi eas litteras quas tu superioribus litteris significaveras te dedisse, ad quas ego eo ipso die dederam ex Trebulano <a> L. Pontio. ac binas quidem tuas Beneventi accepi, quarum alteras Funisulanus multo mane mihi dedit, alteras scriba Tullius. gratissima est mihi tua cura de illo meo primo et maximo mandato; sed tua profectio spem meam debilitat. ac †me ille illud¹ quod labat†,² non quo —, sed inopia cogimur eo

² P. Licinii s ³ *add. Victorious* ⁴ *Laenium coni. SB*

⁵ esse *ante* satis (*Watt*)

¹ de illo : illuc *Kayser* : de pusilla, i- *coni. SB*

² quidem (s) labor *Kayser*

¹ P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, governor of Asia in 131-130. But the reading is doubtful.

LETTER 97 (V.4)

I don't know which letter you want me to answer. I have not received any up to date except the two which were delivered to me here together, one of them containing P. Licinius'¹ (?) edict (it was dispatched the Nones of May), the other in reply to mine from Minturnae. I am greatly concerned in case there was something of importance in the one I didn't get and to which you want an answer.

I shall put you in Lentulus' good books. Dionysius is a man after my own heart. Your Nicanor² is a great help to me. Now I have nothing more to say and it is getting light. I mean to get to Beneventum today. I shall be disinterested and conscientious enough to satisfy expectations.

From Pontius' house near Trebula, 11 May.

97 (V.4)

Beneventum, 12 May 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I arrived at Beneventum on 11 May and there received the letter to which you referred in your earlier letter as having been dispatched—I replied to the latter on the same day, writing from L. Pontius' place near Trebula. Indeed I have received two letters from you at Beneventum, one brought by Funisulanus very early in the morning, the other by Secretary Tullius. I am most grateful for the trouble you are taking about my first and most important commission; but your departure weakens my hope of success. About my little girl (?), I am inclining that way (?), not that—but

² Probably a slave lent by Atticus, perhaps for bookkeeping or secretarial work.

CICERO

contenti esse. de illo altero quem scribis tibi visum esse non alienum, vereor adduci ut nostra possit, et tu <a>is δυσδιάγνωστον esse. equidem sum facilis, sed tu aberis et me absente res †habebis mirationem†.³ nam posset aliquid, si utervis nostrum adesset, agente Servilia⁴ Servio fieri probabile. nunc, si iam res placeat, agendi tamen viam⁵ non video.

- 2 Nunc venio ad eam epistulam quam accepi a Tullio. de Marcello fecisti diligenter. igitur senatus consultum si erit factum, scribes ad me; si minus, rem tamen conficies. mihi enim attribui oportebit, item Bibulo. sed non dubito quin senatus consultum expeditum sit, in quo praesertim sit compendium populi. de Torquato, probe. de Masone et Ligure, cum venerint. de illo quod Chaerippus (quoniam hic quoque πρόσνευσιν sustulisti), o provincia! etiamne hic mihi curandus est? curandus autem hactenus, ne quid⁶ ad senatum, 'consule!' aut 'numera!' nam de ceteris—sed tamen commode, quod cum Scrofa. de Pomptino recte scribis; est enim ita ut, si ante Kal. Iun. Brundisi futurus sit, minus urgendi fuerint M. Ann<e>ius⁷ et Tullius. quae
- 3

³ haerebit (*Palmer*). habes meam rationem *cont.* *Watt*

⁴ servilio (*Tunstall*) ⁵ aliam (s)

⁶ ne si quid *cont.* *SB* (*locus valde incertus*)

⁷ *add. Manutius*

¹ Tullia, now divorced from her second husband, needed a replacement. 'Him' is probably a young man of Arpinum (Pontidia's son) mentioned in Letters 114.14 and 115.10. The 'other man' is unidentified. ² The younger Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

³ Authorizing a grant to Cicero as Proconsul.

⁴ Recently appointed governor of Syria.

faute de mieux we must make the best of him.¹ As for the other man, whom you say you think not unsuitable, I doubt whether my girl could be brought to consent, and you say there's not much to choose. For my part I have no wish to be awkward, but you will be away and in my absence the thing will hang fire (?). If both of us were on the spot something acceptable might be made of Servius² through Servilia. As it is, even if I were to approve in principle, I see no way of going to work.

I now come to the letter I got from Tullius. Thank you for your efforts in connexion with Marcellus. If then a decree³ is passed, you'll let me know; if not, you'll get the thing through all the same, as I shall be entitled to a payment from the Treasury, Bibulus⁴ also. But I am sure the decree presents no difficulty, particularly as it means a saving to the public. Thank you about Torquatus. We'll see about Maso⁵ and Ligus when they arrive. As for Chaerippus' request—since here too you have ruled out 'consent'⁶—oh, who would be a governor? Must I really look after *him*? I suppose so, to the extent of making sure that nothing comes up before the Senate (?)—'Refer' or 'Count.'⁷ As for the rest—but I'm glad you had a word with Scrofa. You are right about Pomptinus. The position is that if he is going to be at Brundisium before the Kalends of June M. Anneius and Tullius won't need to be hurried so

⁵ This and the other matters cursorily mentioned here cannot be elucidated. ⁶ Atticus might be said to have taken Cicero's consent out of the question by committing him in advance.

⁷ By 'refer' members of the Senate demanded a discussion as opposed to a vote; by 'count,' a count to show the presence or absence of a quorum. The usual object was to block a decree.

CICERO

de Sicinio audisti etiam⁸ mihi probantur, modo ne illa exceptio in aliquem incurrat bene de nobis meritum; sed considerabimus, rem enim probo. de nostro itinere cum⁹ statuero, de quinque praefectis quid Pompeius facturus sit cum ex ipso cognoro, faciam ut scias. de Oppio, bene curasti quod ei de $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$ exposuisti, idque, quoniam Philotimum habes, perface et cognosce rationem et, ut <ne tecum>¹⁰ agam amplius, si me amas, prius quam proficiscaris effice; magna me cura levaris.

- 4 Habes ad omnia. etsi paene praeterii chartam tibi deesse. mea captio est, si quidem eius inopia minus multa ad me scribis. tu vero aufer CC;¹¹ etsi meam in eo parsimoniam huius paginae contractio significat. dum <ades, et>¹² acta et rumores, vel etiam¹³ si qua certa habes, de Caesare exspecto; litteras et aliis <et>¹⁴ Pomptino de omnibus rebus diligenter dabis.

98 (V.5)

Scr. Venustiae Id. Mai. an. 51 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Plane nil est quod scribam; nam nec quid mandem habeo (nihil enim praetermissum est) nec quid narrem (novi

⁸ *em al. (Watt)* ⁹ *quod (Wesenberg)*

¹⁰ *add. SB* ¹¹ *ducentos (Sjögren : -tas Wesenberg)*

¹² *add. SB (ades pro acta et Sternkopf)*

¹³ *vellet iam (Stinner)*

¹⁴ *add. Boot*

⁸ In Cicero's provincial edict.

LETTER 98 (V.5)

much. What you heard from Sicinius has my approval also, provided that the proposed saving clause⁸ does not impinge upon anyone to whom I owe a good turn. But I'll think it over, for in principle I agree. I'll let you know about my itinerary when I have decided it, and about what Pompey is going to do over the five Prefects⁹ when I learn it from himself. About Oppius, you did well to explain to him with regard to the 800,000; and as you have Philotimus with you, please get it done and examine the account and, not to go on urging you, just get it settled before you leave like a good fellow. It will be a great load off my mind.

Well, I have answered all your points—no I almost forgot, there's your shortage of paper. That's my funeral, if it means that you write less to me for lack of it. Do take a couple of hundred sheets, though my own parsimony in the matter will be evident from the way I have cramped this page. While you are on the spot I expect both the official news and the rumours, or reliable information if you have any, about Caesar. Mind you send fully discursive letters by Pomptinus among others.

98 (V.5)

Venusia, 15 May 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have really nothing to write about—no commissions for you since nothing has been overlooked, no news to tell since there is none; and jokes are not in season, there are

⁹ To be appointed by Pompey in each of his Spanish provinces; see Letter 100.

CICERO

enim nihil est) nec iocandi locus est; ita me multa sollicitant. tantum tamen scito, Id. Mai. nos Venusia mane proficiscentis has dedisse. eo autem die credo aliquid actum in senatu; sequantur igitur nos tuae litterae quibus non modo res omnis sed etiam rumores cognoscamus. eas accipiemus Brundisi; ibi enim Pomptinum ad eam diem quam tu scripsisti expectare consilium est.

- 2 Nos Tarenti quos cum Pompeio *διαλόγους* de re publica habuerimus ad te perscribemus; etsi id ipsum scire cupio, quod ad tempus recte ad te scribere possim, id est quam diu Romae futurus sis, ut aut quo dem¹ posthac litteras sciam aut ne dem frustra. sed ante quam proficiscare, utique explicatum sit illud HS XX et DCCC; hoc velim in maximis rebus et maxime necessariis habeas, ut quod auctore te velle coepi adiutore adsequar.

99 (V.6)

Scr. Tarenti XIV Kal. Iun., ut vid., an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Tarentum veni a. d. XV Kal. Iun. quod Pomptinum statueram expectare, commodissimum duxi dies eos quoad ille veniret cum Pompeio consumere, eoque magis quod ei gratum esse id videbam, qui etiam a me petierit ut secum et apud se essem cottidie. quod concessi libentur; multos enim eius praeclaros de re publica sermones accipiam, instruar etiam consiliis idoneis ad hoc nostrum negotium.

¹ cui dem *vel* quod est (*Manutius*)

¹ I.e., to repay Caesar's loan.

LETTER 99 (V.6)

too many things on my mind. However I can tell you this much, that the letter you are reading was dispatched on the Ides of May from Venusia early in the morning as I left. I imagine that something will be done in the Senate today, so I hope to be followed by a letter from you to tell me not only all the happenings but the rumours too. I shall receive it at Brundisium, where it is my plan to wait for Pomptinus up to the day you named.

At Tarentum I shall write you a full account of my Dialogues on the Republic with Pompey—though on this very point I am anxious to know up till when it will be all right for me to write to you, i.e. how long you are going to be in Rome, so that I either know where to send letters in future or else don't send them to no purpose. But before you leave do without fail get that matter of the 20,000 and the 800,000 straightened out. I should be grateful if you would look on it as something really important and urgent, so that what I came to want¹ with your prompting I may achieve with your assistance.

99 (V.6)

Tarentum, 19 May (?) 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I got to Tarentum on 18 May. Having decided to wait for Pomptinus I think it best to spend the days before his arrival with Pompey, especially as I see he would like it. Indeed he has asked me to spend every day with him at his house. I agreed willingly, for I shall have much fine discourse from him on public affairs and at the same time get some useful advice on this business of my own.

CICERO

- 2 Sed ad te brevior iam in scribendo incipio fieri dubitans Romaene sis an iam profectus; quod tamen quoad ignorabo, scribam aliquid potius quam committam ut tibi cum possint reddi a me litterae non reddantur. nec tamen iam habeo quid aut mandem tibi aut narrem. mandavi omnia; quae quidem tu, ut polliceris, exhausties. narrabo cum aliquid habebo novi. illud tamen non desinam, dum adesse putabo, de Caesaris nomine rogare ut confectum relinquas. avide exspecto tuas litteras, et maxime ut norim tempus perfectionis tuae.

100 (V.7)

Scr. Tarenti XI Kal. Iun. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cottidie vel potius in dies singulos breviores litteras ad te mitto; cottidie enim magis suspicor te in Epirum iam profectum. sed tamen ut mandatum scias me curasse quo de¹ ante, ait² se Pompeius quinos praefectos delaturum novos vacationis iudiciariae³ causa.

Ego cum triduum cum Pompeio et apud Pompeium fuissem, proficiscebam Brundisium a. d. XI[III]⁴ Kal. Iun. civem illum egregium relinquebam et ad haec quae timebantur propulsanda paratissimum. tuas litteras exspectabo cum ut quid agas tum <ut> ubi sis sciam.

¹ quod (*Francken*)

² antea id *vel -e* ad (*Victorius*)

³ iudiciariam (*Madvig*)

⁴ XII *vel* XIII (*Corradus*)

LETTER 100 (V.7)

But I am now getting more laconic in my letters to you, being uncertain whether you are in Rome or already gone. However as long as my ignorance on that point continues I shall write something rather than run the risk of your not getting a letter from me when you might have got one. Not that I have any more commissions to give you or anything to tell you. I gave you all my commissions, and I am sure they will be faithfully discharged, as you promise. I shall tell you news when I have any to tell. One thing I shall persist in as long as I think you are in town, and that is in soliciting you about Caesar's loan, to leave it settled. I am eagerly expecting a letter from you, more especially to learn the date of your departure.

100 (V.7)

Tarentum, 22 May 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Every day, or rather from day to day, my letters to you grow shorter, for every day I suspect more strongly that you have already left for Epirus. However, to let you know that I have not forgotten your commission about which I wrote the other day, Pompey says that he is going to appoint five new Prefects in either province to get them exemption from jury service.

As for me, after spending three days in Pompey's company and at Pompey's house I am setting out for Brundisium on 22 May. I leave him in the most patriotic dispositions, fully prepared to be a bulwark against the dangers threatening. I shall expect a letter to tell me how you are and also where you are.

CICERO

101 (V.8)

Scr. Brundisii IV Non. Iun. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Me et incommoda valetudo, e qua iam emerseram, utpote cum sine febris laborassem, et Pomptini exspectatio, de quo adhuc ne rumor quidem venerat, tenebat duodecimum iam diem Brundisi; sed cursum exspectabamus.
- 2 Tu, si modo es Romae (vix enim puto, sin es), hoc vehementer animadvertas velim. Roma acceperam litteras Milonem meum queri per litteras iniuriam meam quod Philotimus socius esset in bonis suis. id ego ita fieri volui de C. Duroni sententia, quem et amicissimum Miloni perspexeram et talem virum qualem tu iudicas cognoram; eius autem consilium meumque hoc fuerat, primum ut in potestate nostra esset res, ne illum malus emptor alienus mancipiis, quae permulta secum habet, spoliaret, deinde ut Faustae quod¹ cautum ille esse voluisset ratum esset; erat etiam illud, ut ipsi nos si quid servari posset quam facillime servaremus. nunc rem totam perspicias velim;
- 3 nobis enim scribuntur saepe maiora. si ille queritur, si scribit ad amicos, si idem Fausta vult, Philotimus, ut ego ei coram dixeram mihi que ille receperat, ne sit invito Milone in bonis; nihil nobis fuerat tanti. sin haec leviora sunt, tu iudicabis. loquere cum Duronio. scripsi etiam ad

¹ *quoi vel qui (SB)*

¹ As a result of his condemnation for Clodius' murder and exile his property, which was encumbered with debts, had sold for a song. Philotimus had bought some of it on Cicero's behalf.

² Milo's wife and Sulla's daughter.

LETTER 101 (V.8)

101 (V.8)

Brundisium, 2 June 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

This is my twelfth day at Brundisium. An indisposition from which I have now recovered (there was no fever) and the expectation of Pomptinus' arrival, of whom not so much as a rumour has yet reached me, has kept me here. But I am waiting for a passage.

If you are in Rome, which I hardly suppose, but *if* you are, I should be very grateful indeed if you would give your attention to the following: I am told in a letter from Rome that poor Milo¹ writes complaining of my ill-usage because Philotimus joined in the purchase of his estate. Now I so arranged this in consultation with C. Duronius, whom I well knew to be a very good friend of Milo's and of whose character I had formed just the same opinion as yourself. His idea and mine was in the first place that the business should be under our control, in case some sharp-dealing purchaser who did not know Milo might take away his slaves, of whom he has a great many with him; and in the second place to ensure for Fausta² the property which Milo wished reserved to her. There was the further point that in this way we should most easily salvage anything that could be salvaged for Milo himself. I should like you now to go into the whole business, for things often reach me by letter in an exaggerated form. If Milo is complaining and writing to his friends and Fausta feels the same way, then Philotimus must not hold the property against Milo's wishes, and so I told him verbally and so he promised. I would not have had that for the world. But if it is not so serious after all, then you must use your discretion. Talk to Duronius. I

CICERO

Camillum, <ad Caelium>,² ad Lamiam, eoque magis quod non confid<eb>am Romae te esse. summa erit haec: statues ut ex fide, fama reque mea videbitur.

102 (V.9)

Scr. Actii xvii Kal. Quint. an. 51 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Actium venimus a. d. xvii Kal. Quint., cum quidem et Corcyrae et Sybotis muneribus tuis, quae et Araus et meus amicus Eutyichides opipare et *φιλοπροσηνέστατα* nobis congesserant, epulati essemus Saliarem in modum. Actio maluimus iter facere pedibus, qui commodissime navigassemus; sed Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur, actuariis autem minutis Patras accedere sine impedimentis non satis visum est decorum.

Ego, ut saepe tu me currentem hortatus es, cottidie meditor, praecipio meis, facio denique ut summa modestia et summa abstinentia munus hoc ex<tra>ordinarium traducamus. Parthus velim quiescat et Fortuna nos iuvet: nostra praestabimus.

- 2 Tu, quaeso, quid agas, ubi quoque tempore futurus sis, qualis res nostras Romae reliqueris, maxime de $\overline{\text{xx}}$ et de $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$ cura ut sciamus; id unis diligenter litteris datis, quae ad me utique perferantur, consequere. illud tamen, quoniam nunc abes cum id non agitur, aderis autem ad

² *add. Schiche*

LETTER 102 (V.9)

have also written to Camillus and Caelius and Lamia, especially as I have no assurance that you are in Rome. The long and the short of it must be this: you will decide as you think best, having regard to my honour, reputation, and interest.

102 (V.9)

Actium, 14 June 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

We reached Actium on 14 June, after feasting like aldermen both at Corcyra and at Sybota on the fare provided by your bounty and assembled for us in most hospitable profusion by Araus and my good friend Eutyichides. From Actium we preferred to go by land, though the voyage had been excellent; but rounding Cape Leucata seemed too tiresome. Also I felt it would not be quite *convenable* to land at Patrae from small cargo boats without our luggage.

Every day I think of how to fulfil your often repeated exhortations (which fell on willing ears) to get through this abnormal duty with the strictest decency and propriety, and so I impress upon my companions and so in fact I do. Only let the Parthian keep quiet and luck be on my side, I'll answer for my part.

On your side, pray let me know how you are and where you are going to be, with dates, and in what condition you left my affairs in Rome, especially with reference to the 20,000 and the 800,000. You can do all that in a single letter, dispatched by careful arrangement so that it is certain to reach me. But remember one thing—you are away now when it doesn't arise but will return in time, so you

CICERO

tempus, ut mihi rescripsisti,¹ memento curare per te et per omnis nostros, in primis per Hortensium, ut annus noster maneat suo statu, ne quid novi decernatur. hoc tibi ita mando ut dubitem an etiam te rogem ut pugnes ne intercaletur. sed non audeo tibi omnia onera imponere; annum quidem utique teneto.

- 3 Cicero meus, modestissimus et suavissimus puer, tibi salutem dicit. Dionysium semper equidem, ut scis, dilexi, sed cottidie pluris facio, et mehercule in primis quod te amat nec tui mentionem intermitti sinit.

103 (V.10)

Scr. Athenis IV Kal. Quint., ut vid., an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ut Athenas a. d. VII¹ Kal. Quint. veneram, expectabam ibi iam quartum diem Pomptinum neque de eius adventu certi quicquam habebam. eram autem totus, crede mihi, tecum et, quamquam sine iis per me ipse, tamen acrius vestigiis tuis monitus de te cogitabam. quid quaeris? non mehercule alius ullus sermo nisi de te.
- 2 Sed tu de <me> ipso aliquid scire fortasse mavis. haec sunt. adhuc sumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim nec in quemquam comitum. nihil accipitur lege Iulia, nihil ab hospite. persuasum est omnibus meis serviendum esse famae meae. belle adhuc. hoc animadversum Graecorum

¹ recepisti *Lehmann*

¹ XVI vel XV (*Corradus*)

LETTER 103 (V.10)

have written back to me—to see personally and through all our friends, Hortensius first and foremost, that my year stays as it is and that no new decree is passed. Indeed, while I am about it, I am half inclined to ask you to resist any intercalation as well. But I must not put everything on your shoulders. The year then, hold fast to that whatever happens.

My boy sends you his love. He is a model of good behaviour and engaging manners. For Dionysius I always had a regard as you know, but I think more highly of him every day, not least, let me add, because he is so fond of you and sees to it that your name is continually cropping up.

103 (V.10)

Athens, 27 June (?) 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After reaching Athens on 24 June I have been here four days waiting for Pomptinus, and have still no definite news of his coming. But my thoughts, believe me, are all with you, and though I have no need of such admonitions the traces of your presence here call you the more vividly to my mind. In fact you are really our single topic of conversation.

But perhaps *you* prefer to hear something about myself. Here is what I have. Up to date no private individual or public body has been put to expense on my account or that of any member of my staff. We take nothing under the *lex Julia* or as private guests. All my people recognize that they must be careful of my good name. So far, so good. This has not gone unnoticed, and the Greeks are praising it and

laude et multo sermone celebratur. quod superest, elaboratur in hoc a me, sicut tibi sensi placere. sed haec tum laudemus cum erunt perorata.

- 3 Reliqua sunt eius modi ut meum consilium saepe reprehendam quod non aliqua ratione ex hoc negotio emersem. o rem minime aptam meis moribus! o illud verum 'ἔρδοι τις . . .'! dices 'quid adhuc?' nondum enim in negotio versaris.' <pla>ne scio,² et puto molestiora restare. etsi haec ipsa fero equidem, etiam fronte, ut puto et volo, bellis<sime>, sed angor intimis sensibus; ita multa vel iracunde vel insolenter vel in omni genere stulte, insulse, adroganter et dicuntur et aguntur³ cottidie; quae non quo te celem non perscribo sed quia δυσεκκάλητα sunt. itaque admirabere meam βαδύτητα cum salvi redierimus; tanta mihi μελέτη huius virtutis datur.
- 4 E<r>go⁴ haec quoque hactenus; etsi mihi nihil erat propositum ad scribendum, quia quid ageres, ubi terrarum esses, ne suspicabar quidem. nec hercule umquam tam diu ignarus rerum mearum fui, quid de Caesaris, quid de Milonis nominibus actum sit; ac non modo nemo domo,⁵ ne Roma quidem quisquam, ut sciremus in re publica quid ageretur. qua re si quid erit quod scias de iis rebus quas putabis scire me velle, per mihi gratum erit si id curaris ad me perferendum.
- 5 Quid est praeterea? nihil sane nisi illud: valde me Athenae delectarunt, urbe dumtaxat et urbis ornamento et hominum amore in te, in nos quadam benevolentia; sed

² nescio (SB : sane scio *Kahnt*)

³ tacentur (*Watt, duce Ernesti*)

⁴ *add. Victorius*

⁵ modo (*Kayser*)

LETTER 103 (V.10)

talking about it at large. As for the future, I am taking great pains over this point, as I saw you wished me to do. But let us save the applause till the end of the speech.

The rest is of such a nature that I often blame my un-wisdom in not having found some way of getting out of this job. It's so hopelessly uncongenial to me. Indeed and indeed 'let the cobbler . . .'¹ Early days, you may say, and point out that I'm not yet in harness. Too true, and I expect there is worse to come. But even here and now—well, I put up with it, even, as I think and hope, with an excellent grace, but in my heart of hearts I am on thorns. Irritability, rudeness, every sort of stupidity and bad manners and arrogance both in word and act—one sees examples every day. I won't give you details, not that I want to keep you in the dark but because they are hard to put into words. So you will admire my self-control when we get safely home again. I am getting plenty of practise in that virtue.

So much for this then too. Not that I have anything in mind to write about, for I have not so much as a notion as to how you are doing or where in the world you are. Indeed I have never in my life been so long without knowledge of my affairs, what for example has been done about the money matters relating to Caesar and to Milo. Not only has no one come to me from home, nobody from Rome even has come to tell me what is going on in the political world. So if you have any information on matters which you think would interest me I shall be most grateful if you will get it conveyed to me.

What else is there? Why nothing, except this. I have greatly enjoyed Athens, so far as the city is concerned and its embellishments and the affection the people have for

¹ A Greek proverb: 'Let each man practise the craft he knows.'

CICERO

mu<tata mu>lta.⁶ philosophia sursum deorsum. si quid est, est in Aristo, apud quem eram; nam Xenonem tuum vel nostrum potius Quinto concesseram, et tamen propter vicinitatem totos dies simul eramus. tu velim⁷ cum primum poteris tua consilia ad me scribas, ut sciam quid agas, ubi quoque tempore, maxime quando Romae futurus sis.

104 (V.11)

Scr. Athenis prid. Non. Quint. an. 51 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Hui, totiensne me litteras dedisse Romam, cum ad te nullas darem? at vero posthac frustra potius dabo quam, si recte dari potuerint, committam ut non dem.

Ne provincia nobis prorogetur, per fortunas, dum ades, quicquid provideri <poterit>¹ provide. non dici potest quam flagrem desiderio urbis, quam vix harum rerum insulsitatem feram.

- 2 Marcellus foede de Comensi.² etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus; ita mihi videtur non

⁶ mult(a)e a vel -ta a vel -tum ea (SB)

⁷ invecim al. (Boot)

¹ add. Schiche

² sedendi comes (Sigonius et Bostius)

² Brother of Antiochus of Ascalon, whom he succeeded as head of the Academy.

LETTER 104 (V.11)

you, the good will they seem to have for me. But many things have changed, and philosophy is all at sixes and sevens, anything of value being represented by Aristus,² with whom I am staying. I left your friend Xeno (I should say 'our') for Quintus, though as he lives so near by we are together all day. I hope you will write me your plans as soon as you can, so that I know what you are doing and where you will be at any particular time, and above all when you are going to be in Rome.

104 (V.11)

Athens, 6 July 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Oh dear! 'I have sent so many letters to Rome and never one to you!' In future I shall rather risk sending a letter to no purpose than fail to send one if there is a good opportunity.

For mercy's sake, take every means you can find, so long as you are in town, to guard against any extension of my tenure. I cannot tell you how passionately I long for Rome, how difficult I find it to endure the insipidity of my present environment.

That was an ugly gesture of Marcellus' over the man from Comum.¹ He may not have been an ex-magistrate, but he was at any rate a Transpadane, and so I imagine

¹ Novum Comum in Transpadane Gaul had been founded, probably as a Roman colony, under a law passed in Caesar's Consulship. The Consul M. Marcellus did not recognize the law as valid and ordered one of the townsmen to be flogged, a punishment from which Roman citizens were exempt.

minus stomachi nostro <quam>³ Caesari fecisse. sed hoc ipse viderit.

- 3 Pompeius mihi quoque videbatur, quod scribis Varonem dicere, in Hispaniam certe iturus. id ego minime probabam; qui quidem Theophani facile persuasi nihil esse melius quam illud nusquam discedere. ergo Graecus incumbet; valet autem auctoritas eius apud illum plurimum.
- 4 Ego has prid. Non. Quint. proficiscens Athenis dedi, cum ibi decem ipsos fuissem dies. venerat Pomptinus, una⁴ Cn. Volusius. aderat quaestor. tuus unus Tullius aberat. aphracta Rhodiorum et dicrota Mytilenaeorum habebam et aliquid ἐπικλώπων.⁵ de Parthis erat silentium. quod superest, di iuvent!
- 5 Nos adhuc iter per Graeciam summa cum admiratione fecimus, nec mehercule habeo quod adhuc quem accusem meorum. videntur mihi nosse [nos] nostram causam et condicionem profectionis suae; plane serviunt existimationi meae. quod superest, si verum illud est, ὅλαπερ ἡ δέσποινα . . .', certe permanebunt; nihil enim <a> me fieri ita videbunt ut sibi sit delinquendi locus. <s>in⁶ id parum profuerit, fiet aliquid a nobis se<ve>rius; nam adhuc lenitate dulces sumus, et, ut spero, proficimus aliquantum. sed ego hanc, ut Siculi⁷ dicunt, ἀνεξίαν in unum annum meditatus sum; proinde pugna ne, si quid prorogatum sit, turpis inveniar.
- 6 Nunc redeo ad ea quae mihi mandas. in praefectis excusatio ne s<it>;⁸ iis quos voles deferto. non ero tam

³ add. *Malaespina* ⁴ nam (*Bostius*)

⁵ ΕΠΙΚΩΝΔΕΙ vel *sim.* (*Gronovius*)

⁶ add. *Victorius* ⁷ singuli (*Gronovius*)

⁸ excusationes vel -onis vel -o (*SB*)

LETTER 104 (V.11)

Marcellus has irritated our friend² as much as Caesar. But that's his affair.

I too think Pompey is determined to go to Spain, as you say Varro says. I am not at all in favour of his doing so, and indeed I had no difficulty in persuading Theophanes that the policy of staying put is as good as any. So the Greek will exert his influence, to which Pompey much defers.

I am sending this letter as I leave Athens, on 6 July, after a stay of ten clear days. Pomptinus has arrived and Cn. Volusius with him. My Quaestor³ is here. Your friend Tullius is the only absentee. I have some Rhodian open vessels, some Mytilenian two-deckers, and a few rowing craft. Of the Parthians there is no whisper. As for the future, heaven be my help!

So far my journey through Greece has been the admiration of the country, and I must say that I have no complaint to make so far of any of my party. I think they know my position and the understanding on which they come. They are really jealous for my good name. As for the future, if there is anything in the old saying 'like master . . .' they will certainly keep it up, for they will see nothing in my behaviour to give them any pretext for delinquency. Should that not answer however, I am prepared for sterner measures. So far I am gaining their hearts by gentleness, and I hope that this is not without effect. But it is only for one year that I have steeled myself in this 'disinterest,' as they say in Sicily. So do your utmost, for fear that if my term is extended I may turn out a rascal after all.

Now I come back to your commissions. In the matter of the Prefects, let there be no excuses. Promise anyone

² Pompey.

³ L. Mescinius Rufus.

CICERO

μετέωρος quam in Appuleio fui. Xenonem tam diligo quam tu, quod ipsum sentire certo scio. apud Patronem et reliquos barones te in maxima gratia posui, et hercule merito tuo feci; nam mihi is [ter]⁹ dixit te scripsisse ad se mihi ex illius litteris rem illam curae fuisse, quod ei pergratum erat. sed cum Patron mecum egisset ut peterem a vestro Ariopago ὑπομνηματισμὸν tolleret quem Polycharmo praetore fecerant, commodius visum est et Xenoni me et post ipsi Patroni ad Memmium scribere, qui pridie quam ego Athenas veni Mytilenas profectus erat, ut is ad <s>uos¹⁰ scriberet posse id sua voluntate fieri; non enim dubitabat Xeno quin ab Ariopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset. Memmius autem aedificandi consilium abiecerat, sed erat Patroni iratus. itaque scripsi ad eum accurate; cuius epistulae misi ad te exemplum.

- 7 Tu velim Piliam meis verbis consolere. indicabo enim tibi (tu illi nihil dixeris): accepi fasciculum in quo erat epistula Piliae ad <Quintum; abs>tuli,¹¹ aperui, legi; valde scripta est συμπαδῶς. Brundisio quae tibi epistulae reditae sunt sine mea tum videlicet datas cum ego me non belle haberem; nam illam †νομαηαρια me† excusationem ne acceperis. cura ut omnia sciam, sed maxime ut valeas.

⁹ (h)ister *vel* his ter (SB)

¹⁰ si ad vos (Corradus)

¹¹ attuli (SB : abst- s)

⁴ Cicero uses this term (*barones*) for the Epicureans in allusion to their professed indifference to culture and the alleged ignorance or stupidity of their founder.

⁵ Concerning the ruins of Epicurus' house. See Cicero's letter to Memmius, *Ad Familiares* 63 (XIII.1), mentioned below.

LETTER 104 (V.11)

you like. I shall not be so absent-minded as I was about Appuleius. For Xeno I have as much regard as yourself, and I am sure he is aware of it. Thanks to me you are *persona gratissima* with Patro and the other dunderheads,⁴ and upon my word you deserve to be. He told me that you wrote to him saying I had taken care of that matter⁵ in accordance with his letter, for which he was very much obliged! Actually, after Patro requested me to ask your Areopagus to rescind the decree they passed when Polycharmus⁶ was General, it seemed best to Xeno (and later to Patro himself) for me to write to Memmius, who had left for Mytilene the day before my arrival in Athens, asking him to let his friends know that he had no objection. Xeno, you see, was certain that the Areopagites would not agree against Memmius' wishes. Memmius had given up the idea of building, but he was annoyed with Patro. Accordingly I have written to him with some care, and I enclose a copy of my letter.

Would you please say a word of comfort to Pilia *de ma part*? For I'll tell you, but you must not say anything to her: I received a parcel of letters in which there was one from Pilia to Quintus. I took it, opened it, and read it. It was very sympathetically written. The letters which were brought to you from Brundisium without one from me must have been dispatched when I was not so well—don't accept the excuse of *.⁷ Take care you send me all the news, but take special care of your health.

⁶ His name is used to date the year (which is unknown), like those of Roman Consuls.

⁷ A Greek word (presumably meaning something like 'pressure of business') is corrupt in the manuscripts.

CICERO

105 (V.12)

Scr. Deli med. m. Quint. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Negotium magnum est navigare atque id mense Quintili. sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. prid. Non. Quint. a Piraeo ad Zostera vento molesto, qui nos ibidem Nonis tenuit. a. d. VIII Id. ad Ceo iucunde. inde Gyarum saevo vento, non adverso. hinc Syrum,¹ inde Delum, utroque citius quam vellemus, cursum confecimus. iam nosti aphracta Rhodiorum: nihil quod minus fluctum ferre possit. itaque erat in animo nihil festinare, nec me Delo movere nisi omnia ἄκρα Γυρέων pura² vidissem.
- 2 De Messalla autem³ statim ut audiui, de Gyaro dedi litteras et ad ipsum †consilium nostrum†⁴ etiam ad Hortensium, cui quidem valde *συνηγωνίων*; sed tuas de eius iudici sermonibus et mehercule omni de rei publicae statu litteras exspecto, *πολιτικώτερον* quidem scriptas quoniam meos cum †Thalumeto†⁵ nostro pervolutas libros, eius modi, inquam, litteras ex quibus ego non quid fiat (nam id vel Helonius, vir gravissimus, potest efficere, cliens tuus) sed quid futurum sit sciam.⁶ cum haec leges,

¹ scyrum *vel sim.* (Moser) ² iura (Schneidewin)³ ad te (Watt) ⁴ ad (*vel id*) i- c- n-] ad i- et erat c- n- Watt: ad i- et (id c- n-) *coni.* SB ⁵ *nomen corruptum, ut vid.* (cf. ad ep. 81 *init.*) ⁶ etiam (Manutius)

¹ From Archilochus, fr. 56.2 (Diehl): 'Around the peaks of Gyrae a cloud stands upright, sign of storm.' Gyrae was the highest point in the mountains of Tenos, which closed the view from Delos to the north.

LETTER 105 (V.12)

105 (V.12)

Delos, mid-July 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Travelling by sea is no light matter, even in July. We have taken six days to get from Athens to Delos. On 6 July we sailed from Piraeus to Zoster with a troublesome wind which kept us there over the Nones. On the 8th to Ceos, pleasantly enough. Thence to Gyraos, under a savage gale, not blowing against us however. From there we made our way to Syros, thence to Delos, and to both faster than we should have liked. You know these Rhodian open ships—nothing makes heavier weather. So I don't intend to hurry or to leave Delos until I see all 'the peaks of Gyrae'¹ plain.

As soon as I heard from you about Messalla² I sent off a letter from Gyraos to himself, and it is my intention (?) to send another to Hortensius, in whose anxiety I strongly sympathized. But I am expecting a letter from you on what people are saying about the trial, indeed on the whole state of public affairs; it should be in good statesmanlike style since you are thumbing my book with our friend Thallumetus³ (?)—I mean the sort of letter which will tell me not what is actually happening (your weighty⁴ client Helonius can do that much), but what's going to happen. When

² He had been acquitted on a charge of corruption, his uncle Hortensius appearing for the defence (compare Letter 23, note 1). Later he was convicted on a similar charge.

³ See Letter 81, note 1.

⁴ The Latin word can mean (a) responsible, (b) tedious, (c) physically heavy. We know nothing about Helonius.

CICERO

habe<bi>mus consules; omnia perspicere poteris, de Caesare, de Pompeio, de ipsis iudiciis.

- 3 Nostra autem negotia, quoniam Romae commoraris, amabo te, explica. cui rei fugerat me rescribere, de strue laterum, plane rogo, de aqua si quid poterit fieri, eo sis animo quo soles esse de aqua;⁷ quam ego cum mea sponte tum tuis sermonibus aestimo plurimi. ergo tu id⁸ conficies. praeterea si quid Philippus rogav<er>it, quod in tua re faceres, id velim facias.

Plura scribam ad te cum constitero; nunc eram plane in medio mari.

106 (V.13)

Scr. Ephesi VII Kal. Sext. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ephesum venimus a. d. XI Kal. Sext., sexagesimo et quingentesimo¹ post pugnam Bovill<an>am. navigavimus sine timore et sine nausea, sed tardius propter aphractorum Rhodiorum imbecillitatem. de concursu legationum, privatorum et de incredibile multitudinem quae mihi iam Sami sed mirabilem in modum Ephesi praesto fuit aut audisse te puto aut quid ad te attinet? verum tamen decumani <quasi ad se>² venissem cum imperio, Graeci quasi Ephe-

⁷ de aqua *hic del. Manutius** ⁸ quid (*R. Klotz*)

¹ quinto (*Bosius*) ² *add. SB* (quasi *Gronovius*)

⁵ Probably at Tusculum. The following remark may perhaps be a joke at the expense of Atticus' simple and sober style of living.

⁶ Cicero's bailiff, or perhaps a contractor.

LETTER 106 (V.13)

you read this we shall have Consuls. You will be able to make it all out—Caesar, Pompey, even the trials.

Since you are staying on in Rome, be a good fellow and sort out my affairs. With regard to the matter about which I forgot to answer your query, the brick pile—yes, if anything can be done about the water,⁵ do please show your usual spirit where water is concerned. After your talk I attach great importance to it, as indeed I should in any case. So please get that settled. Further if Philippus⁶ asks you to help, I should be grateful if you would do what you would in your own case.

I shall write more to you when I settle down. At present I am right on the high seas.

106 (V.13)

Ephesus, 26 July 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

We arrived at Ephesus on 22 July, 559 days after the Battle of Bovillae.¹ Our voyage was free from danger and seasickness, but rather slow because of the unstalwart quality of the Rhodian open craft. As for the concourse of deputations and individuals and the huge crowds which welcomed me even at Samos and in quite astounding numbers at Ephesus, I expect you have already heard, or if not, why should you worry? However, the tithe farmers were as eagerly to the fore as though I had come to *them* with full powers and the Greeks as though I had been governor of

¹ I.e., after Clodius' murder, which took place near Bovillae on 18 January 52.

sio praetori, se alacres obtulerunt. ex quo te intellegere certo scio multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas. sed, ut spero, utemur ea palaestra quam a te didicimus omnibusque satis faciemus, et eo facilius quod in nostra provincia confectae sunt pactiones. sed hactenus, praesertim cum cenanti mihi nuntiarit Cestius se de nocte proficisci.

2 Tua negotiola Ephesi curae mihi fuerunt, Thermoque, tametsi ante adventum meum liberalissime erat pollicitus tuis omnibus, tamen Philogenem et Seium tradidi, Apollonidensem Xenonem commendavi. omnia se facturum recepit. ego praeterea rationem Philogeni permutationis eius quam tecum feci edidi. ergo haec quoque hactenus.

3 Redeo ad urbana. per fortunas, quoniam Romae manes, primum illud praefulci atque praemuni, quae<s>o, <ut>simus annui, ne intercaletur quidem. deinde exhauri mea mandata maximeque si quid potest de illo domestico scrupulo quem non ignoras, dein de Caesare; quam³ in cupiditatem te auctore incubui nec me piget. et si intellegis quam meum sit scire et curare quid in re publica fiat—fiat autem? immo vero etiam quid futurum sit, perscribe ad me omnia, sed diligentissime in primisque num quid iudiciorum status aut factorum aut futurorum etiam laboret. de aqua sit curae;⁴ et⁵ si quid Philippus aget, animadvertes.

³ cum (SB)

⁴ si cur(a)e vel scitur(e) (SB)

⁵ est (SB)

² The question of a husband for Tullia.

³ I.e., the repayment of his loan.

LETTER 106 (V.13)

Asia. I am sure you see from this that my professions of these many years past are now put to the test. Still I trust I shall practise the lessons you have taught me and satisfy everybody, which should be all the easier because the taxation agreements in my province have already been made up. But that will do, especially as Cestius sent me word during dinner that he is leaving before daybreak.

I have attended to your little affairs at Ephesus. Although Thermus had made very handsome promises to all your friends before I arrived, I introduced Philogenes and Seius to him and recommended Xeno of Apollonis. He undertook to do all that was asked of him. I further gave Philogenes particulars of the bill of exchange which I negotiated with you. So that will do for this subject, too.

To come back to the affairs of the town. For mercy's sake, as you are staying in Rome, do pray first and foremost build up a powerful defensive position to ensure that my term remains annual, without intercalation even. Secondly, mind you discharge all my commissions, in particular with regard to that domestic worry,² you know what I mean, if anything can be done, and further about Caesar.³ It was at your prompting I became so keen on that, and I don't regret it. And if you appreciate how much it is in my character to know and care about what is happening in public life (I say 'is happening,' but I should add 'what is going to happen'), give me full and comprehensive reports, really conscientious ones, and first whether the state of the trials, past or future too, is unsatisfactory. Please attend to the matter of the water, and if Philippus does anything keep an eye open.

CICERO

107 (V.14)

Scr. Trallibus, ut vid., VI Kal. Sext. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ante quam aliquo loco consero, neque longas a me neque semper mea manu litteras exspectabis; cum autem erit spatium, utrumque praestabo. nunc iter conficiebamus aestuosa et pulverulenta via. dederam Epheso pridie; has dedi Trallibus. in provincia mea fore me putabam Kal. Sext. ex ea die, si me <am>as,¹ παράπηγμα² ἐνιαύσιον commoveto. interea tamen haec [quae] mihi quae vellem adferebantur, primum otium Parthicum, dein confectae pactiones publicanorum, postremo seditio militum sedata ab Appio stipendiumque eis usque ad Id. Quint. persolutum.
- 2 Nos Asia accepit admirabiliter. adventus noster fuit nemini ne minimo quidem sumptui. spero meos omnis servire laudi meae; tamen magno timore sum, sed bene speramus. omnes iam nostri praeter Tullium tuum venerunt. erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, aestivos mensis reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos iuris dictioni.
- 3 Tu velim, si me nihilo minus nosti curiosum in re publica quam te, scribas ad me omnia, quae sint, quae futura sint. nihil mihi gratius facere potes; nisi tamen id erit mihi gratissimum, si quae tibi mandavi confeceris in primisque illud ἐνδόμυχον, quo mihi scis nihil esse carius.
Habes epistulam plenam festinationis et pulveris; reliquae subtiliores erunt.

¹ *add. Victorius*

² ΠΑΡΠΕΓΜΑ *vel sim. (Tunstall)*

LETTER 107 (V.14)

107 (V.14)

Tralles (?), 27 July 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Until I get settled somewhere you must not expect my letters to be long or always in my own hand, but when I have the leisure I shall guarantee both. At present we are en route, and it is a hot and dusty road. I sent off a letter from Ephesus yesterday and I am sending this from Tralles. I expect to be in my province on the Kalends of August. From that day, if you love me, start moving the calendar. Meanwhile certain welcome reports are coming in, first of quiet from the Parthian quarter, second of the conclusion of the tax farmers' agreements, lastly of a military mutiny pacified by Appius and arrears of pay discharged up to the Ides of July.

Asia has given me a marvellous reception. No one is a penny the poorer for my coming. I think that all my company are jealous for my good name. None the less I am very apprehensive, but hope for the best. All my party has now arrived with the exception of your friend Tullius. I propose to go straight to the army and devote the remaining summer months to campaigning, the winter ones to administering justice.

Knowing my curiosity about politics to be quite as keen as your own, I hope you will tell me everything, what is going on and what is to come. You can't do me a greater kindness, or rather only one, the greatest of all, and that is to dispatch my commissions, above all that 'domesticity' which you know lies nearest my heart.

Here then is a letter fully of hurry and dust. Those to follow will be more detailed.

CICERO

108 (V.15)

Scr. Laodiceae III Non. Sext. an. 51 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sext.; ex hoc die clavum anni movebis.¹ nihil exoptatus adventu meo, nihil c<1>arius;² sed est incredibile quam me negoti taedeat, <cum>³ non habeat satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi et industriae meae, praeclara opera cesset. quippe ius Laodiceae me dicere, cum Romae A. Plotius dicat! et, cum exercitum noster amicus habeat tantum, me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium! denique haec non desidero: lucem, forum, urbem, domum, vos desidero. sed feram ut potero, sit modo annuum; si prorogatur, actum est. verum perfacile resisti potest, tu modo Romae sis.
- 2 Quaeris quid hic agam. ita vivam ut maximos sumptus facio. mirifice delector hoc instituto. admirabilis abstinentia ex praeceptis tuis, ut verear ne illud quod tecum permutavi versura mihi solvendum sit. Appi vulnera non refrico, sed apparent nec oculi possunt.
- 3 Iter Laodicea faciebam a. d. III Non. Sext., cum has litteras dabam, in castra in Lycaoniam. inde ad Taurum cogitabam, ut cum Moeragene signis collatis, si possem, de servo tuo deciderem. 'clitellae bovi sunt impositae; plane non est nostrum onus'; sed feremus, modo, si me amas, sit

¹ animo verbis (*Bostius*) ² *add. SB* ³ *add. Mueller*

¹ Presumably as City Praetor. ² Pompey.

³ A local chieftain. Apparently a runaway slave of Atticus' named Amianus (see Letter 115.13) had taken refuge with him.

LETTER 108 (V.15)

108 (V.15)

Laodicea, 3 August 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I reached Laodicea on 31 July. From this day you must start your year's reckoning. My arrival was most eagerly awaited and widely acclaimed. But you cannot conceive how weary of the business I am, for it gives no adequate scope for the intellectual drive and industry which I think you will concede me, and has interrupted the work that is my pride. To think of it—me sitting on the bench in Laodicea while A. Plotius¹ sits in Rome! And to think that while our friend² has his huge army, I have a nominal force of two skeleton legions! And when all's said, it isn't this sort of thing I'm pining for, it's the world, the Forum, Rome, my house, my friends. But I'll stick it out as best I can so long as it's only for a year. If there is a prorogation, I give up. But that can be resisted very easily if only you are in Rome.

You ask how I am doing here. Spending the devil of a lot of money. I quite revel in this system. My strictness according to your precepts is so remarkable that I am afraid I may have to raise a loan to meet the bill I negotiated with you. I don't scratch Appius' sores, but they show and can't be hidden.

As I send off this letter, on 3 August, I am on my way from Laodicea to the army in Lycaonia. From there I mean to move to the Taurus to try for a settlement with Moeragenes³ (on the battlefield) about your slave. 'Now the ox is fairly pannier'd! Nay, 'tis not the load for me!'⁴ But I'll bear it, only if you love me let it be for one year and you

⁴ From an unknown Latin comedy.

CICERO

annus, adsis tu ad tempus ut senatum totum excites. mirifice sollicitus sum quod iam diu mihi ignota sunt ista omnia. qua re, ut ad te ante scripsi, cum cetera tum res publica cura ut mihi nota sit.

Plura scribam <alias. has sciebam>⁴ tarde tibi redditum iri, sed dabam familiari homini ac domestico, C. Andronico Puteolano. tu autem saepe dare tabellariis publicanorum poteris per magistros scripturae et portus [et] nostrarum dioecesium.

109 (V.16)

*Scr. in itinere inter Synnada et Philomelium XVII Kal. Sept.,
ut vid., an. 51*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Etsi in ipso itinere et via discedebant publicanorum tabellarii et eramus in cursu, tamen surripiendum aliquid putavi spatii, ne me immemorem mandati tui putares. itaque subsedi in ipsa via, dum haec, quae longiorem desiderant orationem, summatim tibi perscriberem.
- 2 Maxima exspectatione in perditam et plane eversam in perpetuum provinciam nos venisse scito prid. Kal. Sext., moratos triduum Laodiceae, triduum Apameae, totidem dies Synnade. audivimus nihil aliud nisi imperata ἐπικεφάλια solvere non posse, ὠνὰς omnium venditas, civitatum gemitus, ploratus, monstra quaedam non hominis sed ferae

⁴ *add. Orelli*

¹ The provincial communities had been forced to sell their prospective tax revenues to tax farmers for ready cash to meet Appius' demands.

LETTER 109 (V.16)

be on the spot at the crucial time to rouse the whole Senate. I am terribly anxious because for a long while now I have been in total ignorance of affairs in Rome. Therefore, as I asked you before, see that I am kept *au fait* with everything, particularly politics.

I shall write more another time. I know that this letter will be a long while reaching you, but I am giving it to a man I know well, one of our own people, C. Andronicus of Puteoli. You will have plenty of opportunities to send letters by the tax farmers' couriers through the Directors of Land Tax and Customs for my Districts.

109 (V.16)

*En route, between Synnada and Philomelium,
14 August (?) 51*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

The tax farmers' couriers are leaving as we are actually on our road, in full travel, but I felt I must steal a few minutes so that you should not think I had forgotten your injunction. Accordingly I have sat myself down in the road to write this letter, a summary of matters which deserve a longer description.

I must tell you then that on 31 July I made my eagerly awaited entry into this forlorn and, without exaggeration, permanently ruined province, and that I stayed three days in Laodicea, three in Apamea, and as many at Synnada. I have heard of nothing but inability to pay the poll taxes imposed, universal sales of taxes,¹ groans and moans from the communities, appalling excesses as of some savage beast rather than a human being. In a phrase, these people

CICERO

- 3 nescio cuius immanis. quid quaeris? taedet omnino eos¹ vitae. levantur tamen miserae civitates quod nullus fit sumptus in nos neque in legatos neque in quaestorem neque in quemquam. scito non modo nos faenum aut quod e lege Iulia dari solet non accipere sed ne ligna quidem, nec praeter quattuor lectos et tectum quemquam accipere quicquam, multis locis ne tectum quidem et in tabernaculo manere plerumque. itaque incredibilem in modum concursus fiunt ex agris, ex vicis, ex <oppidis>² omnibus;³ et [omnibus]⁴ mehercule etiam adventu nostro reviviscunt, iustitia, abstinentia, clementia tui Ciceronis <cogn>ita, quae⁵ opiniones omnium superavit.
- 4 Appius ut audivit nos venire, in ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum usque. ibi forum agit. de Partho silentium est, sed tamen concisos equites nostros a barbaris nuntiabant ii qui veniebant. Bibulus ne cogitabat quidem etiam nunc in provinciam suam accedere; id autem facere ob eam causam dicebant, quod tardius vellet decedere. nos in castra properabamus, quae aberant bidui.

110 (V.17)

Scr. in itinere XVI Kal. Sept., ut vid., an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Accepi Roma sine epistula tua fasciculum litterarum; in quo, si modo valuisti et Romae fuisti, Philotimi duco esse culpam, non tuam. hanc epistulam dictavi sedens in raeda

¹ omnium nos (*Manutius*) ² *add. Ernesti*

³ nominibus (*Ernesti*) ⁴ ex omnibus (*Kasten*)

⁵ itaque (*Watt*)

LETTER 110 (V.17)

are absolutely tired of their lives. However it is some relief to the wretched communities that no expense is incurred on my account or that of my Legates or my Quaestor or anyone whosoever. I may tell you that besides hay or what is customarily given under the *lex Julia* we even decline wood; and except for four couches² and a roof no one takes anything—in many places not even a roof; they usually sleep under canvas. So the way the people flock in from every country district, village, and town is hardly to be believed. Upon my word the mere fact of my arrival brings them back to life, knowing as they do the justice, the abstinence, and the clemency of your friend Cicero, which has surpassed all expectations.

When Appius heard I was coming he plunged into the furthest corner of the province, right to Tarsus, where he is holding an assize. Of the Parthian there is no whisper, but travellers say that some of our cavalry have been cut to pieces by the orientals. Bibulus is not so much as thinking of getting to his province even now; his motive is said to be that he wants to take his time about leaving it. I am hastening to join the army, which is two days' journey away.

110 (V.17)

En route, 15 August (?) 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have received a bundle of letters from Rome but none from you. The fault I take to be Philotimus', not yours, assuming you were well and in Rome. I am dictating this

² Three for dining and one for sleeping.

cum in castra proficiscerer, a quibus aberam bidui. paucis diebus habebam certos homines quibus darem litteras; itaque eo me servavi.

2 Nos tamen (etsi hoc te ex aliis audire malo) sic in provincia nos gerimus, quod ad abstinentiam attinet, ut nullus terruncius insumatur in quemquam. id fit etiam et legatorum et tribunorum et praefectorum diligentia; nam omnes mirifice *συμφιλοδοξοῦσιν* gloriae meae. Lepta noster mirificus est. sed nunc propero. perscribam ad te paucis diebus omnia.

3 Cicerones nostros Deiotarus filius, qui rex a senatu appellatus est, secum in regnum. dum in aestivis nos essemus, illum pueris locum esse bellissimum duximus.

4 Sestius ad me scripsit quae tecum esset de mea domestica et maxima cura locutus et quid tibi esset visum; amabo te, incumbe in eam rem et ad me scribe quid et possit et tu censeas.

5 Idem scripsit Hortensium de proroganda nostra provincia dixisse nescio quid. mihi in Cumano diligentissime se ut annui essemus defensurum receperat. si quicquam me amas, hunc locum muni. dici non potest quam invitus a vobis absim; et simul hanc gloriam iustitiae et abstinentiae fore illustriorem spero si cito decesserimus, id quod Scaevolae contigit, qui solos novem menses Asiae praefuit.

Appius noster cum me adventare videret, profectus est
6 Tarsum usque Laodicea. ibi forum agit, cum ego sim in

LETTER 110 (V.17)

letter as I sit in my carriage on my way to join the army, which is two days' journey away. In a few days' time I have got reliable persons to take letters, so I am reserving myself till then.

However, my conduct in my province (though I'd sooner you heard of it from others) is such, so far as financial strictness goes, that not a penny piece is spent on anyone. This is partly due to the conscientiousness of my Legates and Tribunes and Prefects, who are all admirably ambitious for my credit. Our friend Lepta is admirable. But I'm in a hurry now. In a few days I shall give you the whole story.

Our boys have been taken by the younger Deiotarus, who has been granted the title of king by the Senate, into the kingdom. We thought that would be the best place for the children while we are campaigning.

Sestius has sent me an account of his conversation with you about the domestic concern which is so much in my mind, and of your opinion thereon. Do be a good soul and give it your best attention and write to me both the possibilities and your own opinion.

Sestius also wrote that Hortensius had said something about my term being extended. At Cumae he undertook to do his utmost to keep it to one year. If you care for me at all, fortify this position. It is inexpressibly irksome to me to be away from you all. Besides I think the fame I'm winning for justice and integrity is likely to shine all the brighter if I lay down my office quickly, as Scaevola was lucky enough to do—he was governor of Asia for only nine months.

When our friend Appius saw me coming he made off from Laodicea all the way to Tarsus. There he is holding

CICERO

provincia. quam eius iniuriam non insector; satis enim habeo negoti in sanandis vulneribus quae sunt imposita provinciae, quod do operam ut faciam quam <minima cum¹ illius contumelia. sed hoc Bruto nostro velim dicas, illum fecisse non belle qui adventu meo quam longissime potuerit discesserit.

111 (V.18)

Scr. in castris ad Cybistra XI Kal. Oct. an. 51

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quam vellem Romae esses, si forte non es! nihil enim certi habebamus nisi accepisse nos tuas litteras a.d. XIII Kal. Sext. datas, in quibus scriptum esset te in Epirum iturum circiter Kal. Sext. sed sive Romae es sive in Epiro, Parthi Euphraten transierunt duce Pacoro, Orodís regis Parthorum filio, cunctis fere copiis. Bibulus nondum audiebatur esse in Syria; Cassius in oppido Antiochia est cum omni exercitu, nos in Cappadocia ad Taurum cum exercitu ad Cybistra; hostis in Cyrrestica, quae Syriae pars proxima est provinciae meae. his de rebus scripsi ad senatum; quas litteras, si Romae es, videbis putesne reddendas, et multa, immo omnia, quorum κεφαλαιον ne quid inter caesa et porrecta, ut aiunt, oneris mihi addatur aut temporis. nobis

¹ inimicum (s)

¹ M. Brutus had married Appius' daughter.

¹ C. Cassius (the future assassin of Caesar) was in charge of Syria as Proquaestor, pending Bibulus' arrival.

² This dispatch is extant: *Ad Familiares* 104 (XV.1).

LETTER 111 (V.18)

an assize though I am in the province, a piece of discourtesy which I am not taking up because I have enough on my hands in healing the hurts indicted on the province. This I try to do with as little reflexion on him as possible. But you might tell our friend Brutus¹ that he has not behaved very politely in getting as far as possible out of the way when I arrived.

111 (V.18)

Camp outside Cybistra, 20 September 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

How I wish you were in Rome, unless perhaps you are—I have no definite information except that I got your letter dispatched 19 July, in which you wrote you would be going to Epirus about the Kalends of August. However, whether you are in Rome or in Epirus, the Parthians have crossed the Euphrates under Pacorus, son of King Orodes of Parthia, with almost their entire force. There is no word so far of Bibulus being in Syria. Cassius¹ is the town of Antioch with his entire army. I am in Cappadocia in the Taurus region with my army near Cybistra. The enemy is in Cyrhastica, the part of Syria nearest my province. I am writing to the Senate² on these matters. Please see, if you are in Rome, whether you think my letter ought to, be delivered—and to many other points, all other points in fact, but first and foremost that nothing is added to my responsibilities or my tenure 'twixt the cup and the lip,³ as they

³ Lit. 'between slaughter and offering' (of sacrificial entrails). The idea seems to be simply of a 'danger period' in which what is feared may occur.

CICERO

enim hac infirmitate exercitus, inopia sociorum, praesertim fidelium, certissimum subsidium est hiems. ea si venerit nec illi ante in meam provinciam transierint, unum vereor ne senatus propter urbanarum rerum metum Pompeium nolit dimittere. quod si alium ad ver mittit, non laboro, nobis modo temporis ne quid prorogetur.

- 2 Haec igitur si es Romae; sin abes aut etiam si ades, haec negotia sic se habent. stamus animis et, quia consiliis, ut videmur, bonis utimur, speramus etiam manu. tuto con-sedimus, copioso a frumento, Ciliciam prope conspiciente, expedito ad mutandum loco, parvo exercitu sed, ut spero, ad benevolentiam erga nos consentiente; quem nos Deiotari adventu cum suis omnibus copiis duplicaturi eramus. sociis multo fidelioribus utimur quam quisquam usus est; quibus incredibilis videtur nostra et¹ mansuetudo et abstinentia. dilectus habetur civium Romanorum; frumentum ex agris in loca tuta comportatur. si fuerit occasio, manu, si minus, locis nos defendemus.

- 3 Qua re bono animo es; video enim te et, quasi coram adsis, ita cerno *συμπάθειαν* amoris tui. sed te rogo, si ullo pacto fieri poterit, si integra in senatu nostra causa ad Kal. Ian. manserit, ut Romae sis² mense Ianuario. profecto nihil accipiam iniuriae, si tu aderis. amicos consules habemus, nostrum tribunum pl. Furnium. verum tua est opus assiduitate, prudentia, gratia. tempus est necessarium. sed turpe est me pluribus verbis agere tecum.

¹ et nostra (*Kayser*)

² essent (*Pius*)

LETTER 111 (V.18)

say. For with an army as feeble as mine and so little in the way of allies, loyal ones particularly, my best resource is winter. If that comes without the enemy invading my province first, my only fear is that the Senate will not want to let Pompey go in view of the dangers at home. But if they send someone else by the spring I shall not worry, as long as my own term is not extended.

So much then if you are in Rome. But if you are away—or for that matter if you are there—this is how things stand here. There is nothing amiss with our morale, nor I hope with our military effectiveness, because our plans are, I believe, sound. I have taken up a strong position, with plenty of corn available, almost in sight of Cilicia. I can easily change my ground, and the army, though small, is, I think, unanimously well disposed towards me. When Deiotarus joins us with his full muster I shall double it. I have the loyalty of the provincials in far greater measure than any governor before me; my mildness and abstinence seem to them beyond belief. A levy of Roman citizens is in progress. Corn is being taken from the countryside to safe places. Come the occasion, we shall defend ourselves with our weapons; if not, by the strength of our positions.

So be of good cheer. I can see you and perceive your affectionate concern as though you were here beside me. But I do ask of you, if it can by any means be managed and if nothing happens in the Senate to prejudice my position before the New Year, to be in Rome in January. I am sure I shall take no harm if you are standing by. We have friendly Consuls and a Tribune, Furnius, on our side. But your assiduity and skill and influence are required. It is a crisis. But it would be indecent for me to urge you at greater length.

CICERO

- 4 Cicerones nostri sunt apud Deiotarum, sed, si opus erit, deducuntur Rhodum. tu si es Romae, ut soles, diligentissime, si in Epiro, mitte tamen ad nos de tuis aliquem tabellarium, et ut tu quid nos agamus et nos quid tu agas quidque acturus sis scire possimus. ego tui Bruti rem sic ago ut suam ipse non ageret. sed iam exhibeo pupillum neque defendo; sunt enim negotia et lenta et inania. faciam tamen satis, tibi quidem, cui difficilius est quam ipsi; sed certe satis faciam utrique.

112 (V.19)

Scr. in castris ad Cybistra x Kal. Oct. an. 51 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Obsignaram iam epistolam eam quam puto te modo perlegisse scriptam mea manu, in qua omnia continentur, cum subito Apellae¹ tabellarius a. d. XI Kal. Oct. septimo quadragesimo die Roma celeriter (hui tam longe!) mihi tuas litteras reddidit. ex quibus non dubito quin et Pompeium expectaris dum Arimino rediret et iam in Epirum profectus sis, magisque vereor, ut scribis, ne in Epiro sollicitus sis non minus quam nos hic sumus.
- 2 De Atiliano nomine scripsi ad Philotimum ne appelleret Messallam. itineris nostri famam ad te pervenisse

¹ apelli(t) (*Moll*)

⁴ Brutus was owed money by the King of Cappadocia, whom Cicero had been charged by the Senate to protect; see Letter 115.3. ¹ A freedman of Cicero's friend M. Fabius Gallus, who was in the East at this time and had presumably left Apella in charge of his affairs.

LETTER 112 (V.19)

Our boys are with Deiotarus, but if necessary will be sent away to Rhodes. If you are in Rome, write to me with your usual admirable diligence; if in Epirus, all the same send me one of your people as courier so that you may hear of my doings and I of yours, present and future. I am looking after your friend Brutus' interests⁴ more zealously than he would himself. But I am now producing my ward in court and make no defence—they are a dilatory lot and as poor as charity. However, I shall satisfy expectations, including yours, which are harder to meet than Brutus' own. But rest assured I shall satisfy you both.

112 (V.19)

Camp outside Cybistra, 21 September 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had already sealed the letter which I expect you have just read, written in my own hand and containing all my news, when Apella's¹ courier suddenly arrived with a letter from you—on 20 September, 46 days after setting out from Rome; a rapid journey, and oh, what a long one! The letter leaves me in no doubt both that you waited for Pompey's return from Ariminum and that you have now left for Epirus; rather I am afraid that, as you say, you will have as much on your mind in Epirus as I have here.

About the Atilius debt, I have written to Philotimus not to call on Messalla.² I am happy to know that the good report of my journey has reached your ears and shall be

² As surety.

CICERO

laetor magisque laetabor si reliqua cognoris. filiolarum tuarum tibi tam <ca>ram ac² iucundam esse gaudeo, eamque quam numquam vidi tamen et amo et amabilem esse certo scio. etiam atque etiam val<e>.

- 3 De³ Patrone et tuis condiscipulis, quae de parietinis in Melita⁴ laboravi ea tibi grata esse gaudeo. quod scribis libente te⁵ repulsam tulisse eum qui cum sororis tuae filii patruo certaret, magni amoris signum. itaque me etiam admonuisti ut gauderem; nam mihi in mentem non venerat. 'non credo' inquis. ut libet; sed plane gaudeo, quoniam τὸ νημεσᾶν interest τοῦ φθονεῖν.

113 (V.20)

Scr. in castris ad Pindenissum XII Kal. Ian. an. 51 (§ 5)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Saturnalibus mane se mihi Pindenissitae dediderunt, septimo et quinquagesimo die postquam oppugnare eos coepimus. 'quid, malum? isti Pindenissitae qui sunt?' inquis; 'nomen audivi numquam.' quid ego faciam? num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc iam sic habeto, [nec]¹ hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. quae cognosce ἐν ἐπιτομῇ: sic enim mihi concedis proximis litteris.

Ephesum ut venerim nosti, qui etiam mihi gratulatus es illius diei celebritatem, qua nihil me umquam delectavit

² iam rom(a)e (Koch) ³ valde (Victorius)

⁴ militia (Gassendus (Melite))

⁵ libenter (Lipsius)

¹ del. Kasten

LETTER 113 (V.20)

still happier when you learn the sequel. I am glad that your little daughter is so dear to you and such a pleasure, and never having set eyes on her I am very fond of her none the less and sure she deserves it. Once again, good-bye.

With regard to Patro and your fellow pupils, I am happy to hear you are pleased with the trouble I took over the ruins in Melita. It's a great sign of affection to say you are glad about the defeat of your sister's son's uncle's rival.³ Indeed it's a prompter to me to rejoice too—which hadn't occurred to me. You don't believe me? Just as you like, but frankly I do rejoice, since malice is one thing, righteous indignation another.

113 (V.20)

Camp at Pindenissum, 19 December 51

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Pindenissum surrendered to me on the Saturnalia, eight weeks after we began the siege. 'Pindenissum?' you'll say, 'And what the deuce may that be? Never heard of it.' Well, that's no fault of mine. I couldn't make Cilicia into Aetolia or Macedonia. You can take it from me here and now: with this army and in this place just so much could be done. Let me give you a resume, as you permit in your last letter.

You know about my arrival in Ephesus, indeed you have congratulated me on the assemblage that day, one of the most flattering experiences of my life. From there, get-

³ This refers to the noted orator M. Calidius, who had been defeated in the consular elections. Cicero was, of course, the uncle of young Quintus, whose mother was Atticus' sister Pomponia.

CICERO

magis. inde oppidis iis quae erant mirabiliter accep<t>i Laodiceam prid. Kal. Sext. venimus. ibi morati biduum perillustres fuimus honorificisque verbis omnis iniurias revellimus superiores; quod idem Apameae quinque dies morati et Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconi decem, fecimus. nihil ea iuris dictione aequabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius.

2 Inde in castra veni a. d. VII Kal. Sept. a. d. III exercitum lustravi apud Iconium. ex his castris, cum graves de Parthis †et ceris†² nuntii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam per Cappadociae partem eam quae Ciliciam attingit, eo consilio et ut Armenius Artavasdes et ipsi Parthi Cappadocia se excludi putarent. cum dies quinque ad Cybistra Cappadociae castra habuissem, certior sum factus Parthos ab illo aditu Cappadociae longe abesse, Ciliciae magis imminere; itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas.

3 Tarsum veni a. d. III Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum contendendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit; qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. hic a. d. III Id. Oct. magnum numerum hostium occidimus; castella munitissima nocturno Pomptini adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus; imperatores appellati sumus. castra paucos dies habuimus ea ipsa quae contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paulo melior quam aut tu aut ego. ibi dies quinque morati direpto et vastato Amano inde discessimus. interim (scis enim dici

² et crebri *coni. Watt*

¹ *Imperator* (see Glossary).

ting wonderful welcomes in such towns as there were, I reached Laodicea on 31 July. There I spent two days with great *réclame*, and by dint of courteous speeches effaced all earlier grievances. I did the same at Apamea, where I spent five days, and at Synnada (three days), at Philomelium (five days), at Iconium (ten). My administration of justice in these places lacked neither impartiality nor mildness nor responsibility.

Thence I arrived in camp on 24 August, and on the 28th reviewed the army near Iconium. As grave reports were coming in thick and fast about the Parthians, I marched from camp there to Cilicia through that part of Cappadocia which borders Cilicia, so that Artavasdes of Armenia and the Parthians themselves would feel that their way to Cappadocia was blocked. After encamping for five days at Cybistra in Cappadocia I received intelligence that the Parthians were a long way away from that approach to Cappadocia and that the threat was rather to Cilicia. I therefore marched forthwith into Cilicia through the Gates of Taurus.

I reached Tarsus on 5 October and pressed on to the Amanus which separates Syria from Cilicia at the watershed, a mountain range full of enemies of Rome from time immemorial. Here on 13 October we made a great slaughter of the enemy, harrying and burning places of great strength, Pomptinus coming up at night and myself in the morning. I received the title of general¹ from the army. For a few days we encamped near Issus in the very spot where Alexander, a considerably better general than either you or I, pitched his camp against Darius. There we stayed five days, plundering and laying waste the Amanus, and then left. Meanwhile—you have heard tell of panics and

CICERO

quaedam *πανικά*, dici item τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου) rumore adventus nostri et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit et Parthis timor iniectus est; itaque eos cedentis ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit; qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces dux Parthorum vulnus accepit eoque interiit paucis post diebus. erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia.

4 Venit interim Bibulus. credo, voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par: in eodem Amano coepit loreolam in mustaceo quaerere. at ille cohortem primam totam perdidit centurionemque primi pili, nobilem sui generis, Asinium Dentonem et reliquos cohortis eiusdem et Sex. Lucilium, T. Gavi Caepionis locupletis et splendidi hominis filium, tribunum militum; sane plagam odiosam acceperat cum re tum tempore.

5 Nos ad Pindenissum, quod oppidum munitissimum Eleutherocilicum omnium memoria in armis fuit; feri homines et acres et omnibus rebus ad defendendum parati. cinximus vallo et fossa; aggere maximo, vineis, turre altissima, magna tormentorum copia, multis sagittariis, magno labore, apparatu, multis sauciis nostris, incolumi exercitu, negotium confecimus. hilara sane Saturnalia militibus quoque, quibus exceptis <captivis>³ reliquam praedam concessimus. mancipia venibant Saturnalibus tertiis;⁴ cum haec scribebam, in tribunali res erat ad HS

³ *add. Wesenberg (ante exc- Boot) : mancipiis (ante exc-) TP*

⁴ *add. Victorius*

² A Greek phrase, meaning literally 'the illusions of war.'

³ I.e., to look for glory (the victor's, or Triumphantor's, laurel crown) on easy terms. The elder Cato's recipe for a wedding cake

LETTER 113 (V.20)

of nerve warfare²—the rumour of my advent encouraged Cassius, who was shut up in Antioch, and struck terror into the Parthians. Cassius pursued their retreat from the town and gained a success. Osaces, the highly respected Parthian general, died a few days later of a wound received in the flight. My name stood high in Syria.

Bibulus arrived meanwhile. I suppose he wanted to be even with me over this bauble of a title—he started looking for a sprig of laurel³ in the wedding cake in these same mountains of Amanus. The result was that he lost his entire First Cohort, including a Chief Centurion, Asinius Dento, a distinguished man in his own class, and the other Centurions of the cohort, also a Military Tribune, Sex. Lucilius, whose father T. Gavius Caepio is a man of wealth and standing. It was certainly a nasty reverse, both in itself and as coming when it did.

For my part I marched on Pindenissum, a strongly fortified town of the Free Cilicians which had been in arms as long as anyone can remember. The inhabitants were wild, fierce folk, fully equipped to defend themselves. We drew a rampart and moat round the town, erected a huge mound with penthouses and a high tower, plenty of siege artillery and a large number of archers. In the end, with a great deal of labour and apparatus and many of our own men wounded but none killed, we finished the job. The Saturnalia was certainly a merry time, for men as well as officers. I gave them the whole of the plunder excepting the captives, who are being sold off today, 19 December. As I write

contains laurel bark and the cake was cooked on laurel leaves (*De re rustica*, 121).

CXX. hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam; ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam.

- 6 Haec adhuc. sed ad praeterita revertamur. quod me maxime hortaris et quod pluris est quam omnia, in quo laboras ut etiam Ligurino Μώμω satis faciamus, moriar si quicquam fieri potest elegantius. nec tamen ego hanc continentiam appello, quae virtus voluptati resistere videtur; ego in vita mea nulla umquam voluptate tanta sum adfectus quanta adficior hac integritate, nec me tam fama, quae summa est, quam res ipsa delectat. quid quaeris? fuit tanti. me ipse non noram nec satis sciebam quid in hoc genere facere possem. recte πεφυσίωμαι: nihil est praeclarius. interim haec λαμπρά: Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat; ἐν παρόδῳ consilio et auctoritate et quod insidiatoribus eius ἀπρόσιτον me, non modo ἀδωροδόκητον, prae-bui regem regnumque servavi. interea e Cappadocia ne pilum quidem. Brutum abiectum quantum potui excitavi; quem non minus amo quam tu, paene dixi quam te. atque etiam spero toto anno imperi nostri terruncium sumptus in provincia nullum fore.

- 7 Habes omnia. nunc publice Romam litteras mittere parabam. uberiores erunt quam si ex Amano misissem. at te Romae non fore! sed est totum <in eo positum>,⁵ quid Kal. Mart. futurum sit; vereor enim ne, cum de provincia

⁵ *add. SB (in eo Boot)*

⁴ The fault-finding god. Perhaps the reference is to an old enemy, Aelius Ligus. ⁵ This incident is fully described in an extant dispatch: *Ad Familiares* 105 (XV.2). ⁶ See Letter 111, note 4. ⁷ The question of replacing Caesar in his command was due for debate on the coming 1 March.

LETTER 113 (V.20)

there is about HS 120,000 on the stand. I am handing over the army to my brother Quintus, who will take it into winter quarters in unsettled country. I myself am returning to Laodicea.

So far, so much. But to return to the past. So far as concerns the capital object of your exhortations, most important point of all, in which you are anxious that I should satisfy even that Ligurian Momus,⁴ well, confound me if anything could be more fastidiously correct! But I don't talk of 'restraint' in this connexion, a word which suggests virtuous resistance to pleasurable temptation. Never in all my life have I gained so much pleasure as I do from my integrity here, and it is not so much the *réclame*, which is enormous, as the practice itself that gratifies me. In a word, it has been worth it. I did not know myself, I never quite realized my capabilities in this line. I have a right to a swollen head. It is a fine achievement. Meanwhile here is a scintillation: Ariobarzanes owes his life and throne to me. Just en passant I rescued king and kingdom, by good judgment and influence and by showing those who were plotting against him that they could not get near me, much less their money.⁵ All the while not a straw was lifted from Cappadocia. I have cheered poor Brutus⁶ up as far as I could—I am as fond of him as yourself, I almost said 'as of yourself.' And I hope too that in my entire year of office the province will not be charged a penny.

That is all I have to tell. I am now setting about sending an official letter to Rome. There will be more matter in it than if I had written from the Amanus. But to think that you won't be in Rome! Everything depends however on what happens on the Kalends of March.⁷ I am afraid that if Caesar is recalcitrant when the question of his command

agetur, si Caesar resistet, nos retineamur. hic,⁶ tu si ades-
ses, nihil timerem.

8 Redeo ad urbana, quae ego diu ignorans ex tuis iucun-
dissimis litteris a. d. <X>v Kal. Ian. denique cognovi. eas
diligentissime Philogenes, libertus tuus, curavit perlonga
et non satis tuta via perferendas. nam quas Laeni pueris
scribis datas non acceperam. iucunda⁷ de Caesare et quae
senatus decrevit et quae tu speras; quibus ille si cedit, salvi
sumus. incendio Plaetoriano quod †Leius† adustus est mi-
nus moleste fero. Luceius de Q. Cassio cur tam vehemens
fuerit et quid actum sit aveo scire.

9 Ego cum Laodiceam venero Quinto sororis tuae filio
togam puram iubeor dare; cui moderabor diligentius.
Deiotarus, cuius auxiliis magnis usus sum, ad me, ut scrip-
sit, cum Ciceronibus Laodiceam venturus erat. tuas etiam
Epiroticas exspecto litteras, ut habeam rationem non
modo negoti verum etiam otii tui. Nicanor in officio est et
a me liberaliter tractatur; quem, ut puto, Romam cum
litteris publicis mittam, ut et diligentius perferantur et
idem ad me certa de te et a te referat. Alexis quod mihi
totiens salutem adscribit est gratum; sed cur non suis lit-
teris idem facit quod meus ad te Alexis facit? Phemio
quaeritur *κέρας*. sed haec hactenus. cura ut valeas et ut

⁶ his (*SB*)

⁷ iucunde (*Ernesti*)

⁸ The reference is obscure.

⁹ He had probably been prosecuted or threatened with prose-
cution for his conduct as Pompey's Quaestor in Spain. Luceius,
Pompey's intimate friend, seems to have been against him; hence,
perhaps, his support for Caesar in 49.

¹⁰ Tiro.

LETTER 113 (V.20)

comes up I may be kept on. If you were on the spot I should have no fears.

I come back to the affairs of the town, of which I had for a long while been in ignorance until I learned of them on 16 December from your most agreeable letter. Your freedman Philogenes took great trouble to ensure its safe delivery over a very long and not too safe route. The one you say you gave to Laenius' boys I have not received. The Senate's resolutions on Caesar and your own expectations make pleasant reading. If he yields to them, we are saved. I am the less distressed about Plaetorius' fire because *⁸ has been scorched. I'm longing to know why Lucceius took such a strong line about Q. Cassius⁹ and what happened.

I am under instructions to give your nephew Quintus his white gown when I get to Laodicea. I shall keep him on a tighter rein. Deiotarus, from whom I have had a large military contingent, has written that he will come to me at Laodicea with the boys. I am looking forward to a letter from Epirus, so that I can keep track of your holidays as well as of your business. Nicanor is doing good work and I am treating him handsomely. I think I shall send him to Rome with my official dispatch; that will ensure careful delivery and at the same time he can bring me back reliable news of you and from you. I am obliged to Alexis for so often adding his salutations, but why does he not do it in a letter of his own, as *my* Alexis¹⁰ does to you? We are looking for a *cor* for Phemius.¹¹ But enough. Look after your health and see that I am told when you mean to return to Rome.

¹¹A musical slave of Atticus', named no doubt after the minstrel in the *Odyssey*, wanted a local instrument which Cicero calls by the Greek word for 'horn.' It was probably a kind of flute.

CICERO

sciam quando cogites Romam. etiam atque etiam vale.

- 10 Tua tuosque Thermo et praesens Ephesi diligentissime commendaram et nunc per litteras ipsumque intellexi esse perstudiosum tui. tu velim, quod antea ad te scripsi, de domo Pammeni des operam ut quod tuo meoque beneficio puer habet cures ne qua ratione convellatur; utriusque nostrum honestum existimo, tum mihi erit pergratum.

114 (V.21)

Scr. Laodiceae Id. Febr. an. 50 (§ 9)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Te in Epirum salvum venisse et, ut scribis, ex sententia navigasse vehementer gaudeo, non esse Romae meo tempore pernecessario submoleste fero. hoc me tamen consolor uno:¹ spero te istic iucunde hiemare et libenter requiescere.
- 2 Cassius, frater Q. Cassi familiaris tui, pudenciores illas litteras miserat de quibus tu ex me requiris quid sibi voluerit quam eas quas postea misit, quibus per se scribit confectum esse Parthicum bellum. recesserant illi quidem ab Antiochia ante Bibuli adventum, sed nullo nostro *ἐν-ημερήματι*; hodie vero hiemant in Cyrrhastica, maximumque bellum impendet. nam et Orodi, regis Parthorum, filius in provincia nostra est nec dubitat Deiotarus (cuius filio pacta est Artavasdis filia, ex quo sciri potest) quin cum omnibus copiis ipse prima aestate Euphraten transiturus sit. quo autem die Cassi litterae victrices in senatu recitatae

¹ non (*Madvig*)

LETTER 114 (V.21)

Again best wishes for your health.

I was most careful to recommend your affairs and your people to Thermus when I saw him at Ephesus, and I have now done so again by letter; and I found Thermus himself most anxious to oblige you. I wrote to you some time ago about Pammenes' house; please do your best to see that nothing is done to upset the boy's tenure, which he owes to your favour and mine. I think this will be to our joint credit, moreover it will much oblige me.

114 (V.21)

Laodicea, 13 February 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am delighted to hear of your safe arrival in Epirus after a 'satisfactory passage,' but a little disappointed that you are away from Rome at what is for me a very critical time. However I have this one consolation: I hope you are passing a pleasant winter in Epirus and enjoying the rest.

You ask me what Cassius, your friend Q. Cassius' cousin, meant by that dispatch. It was more modest than the one he sent later, in which he claims to have brought the Parthian war to an end. True, they had retreated from Antioch before Bibulus arrived, but not because of any success on our part; and at this moment they are wintering in Cyrrestica and a major war is in the offing. The son of King Orodes of Parthia is in our province, and Deiotarus, whose son is to marry the daughter of Artavasdes, a good source of information, has no doubt that the king himself will cross the Euphrates with his whole power as soon as summer comes. The same day that Cassius' letter of victory

sunt, id est Non. Dec., eodem meae tumultum nuntiantes. Axius noster ait nostras auctoritatis plenas fuisse, illis negat creditum. Bibuli nondum erant adlatae; quas certo scio plenas timoris fore.

- 3 Ex his rebus hoc vereor, ne, cum Pompeius propter metum rerum novarum nusquam dimittatur, Caesari nullus honos a senatu habe<a>tur, dum hic nodus expediatur, non putet senatus nos ante quam successum sit oportere decedere nec in tanto motu rerum tantis provinciis singulos legatos praeesse. hic ne quid mihi prorogetur, quod ne intercessor quidem sustinere possit, horreo, atque eo magis quod tu abes, qui consilio, gratia, studio multis rebus occurreres. sed dices me ipsum mihi sollicitudinem struere. cogor; et velim ita sit, sed omnia metuo. etsi bellum ἀκροτελεύτιον habet illa tua epistula quam dedisti nauseans Buthroto, 'tibi, ut video et spero, nulla ad decedendum erit mora.' mallet 'ut video,' nihil opus fuit 'et² spero.'
- 4 Acceperam autem satis celeriter Iconi per publicanorum tabellarios a Lentuli triumpho datas. in his γλυκύπικρον illud: confirmas moram mihi nullam fore, deinde addis, si quid secus, te ad me esse venturum. angunt me dubitationes tuae; simul et vides quas acceperim litteras. nam quas Hermoni, centurionis Canulei ser<vo>,³ scribis

² ut (SB)

³ canuleiser *al.* (R. Klotz)

LETTER 114 (V.21)

was read out in the Senate, i.e. the Nones of December, my dispatch was read announcing a state of emergency. Our friend Axius says that mine carried a lot of weight and that Cassius' was not believed. No dispatch from Bibulus had then arrived. When one does I know that it will be full of trepidation.

What I am therefore afraid of is that, with Pompey not sent out abroad for fear of revolution and the Senate unwilling to make any concessions to Caesar, they may take the view that until this tangle is straightened out we ought not to leave before our successors arrive, and that at so unsettled a time provinces of such importance ought not to be left in charge of a couple of Legates. In this situation I am terrified of an extension of my term which even a Tribune's veto may not be able to hold up—all the more because you, whose policy, influence, and zeal might forestall many contingencies, are absent. But you will say that I am manufacturing worry for myself. I can't help it. I hope it may be so, but I'm afraid of all manner of things. Still that was a nice tailpiece to the letter you dispatched from Buthrotum with the sea in your stomach: 'As I see and hope, there won't be any difficulty about your leaving'—only I wish you had just said 'as I see.' No need for 'and hope.'

The letter you dispatched to me just after Lentulus' Triumph was delivered to me by the tax farmers' couriers at Iconium in pretty good time. There is a piece of sweet-and-sour in it: you affirm that there won't be any difficulty; then you add that if anything goes wrong you will join me. Your dubieties put me on the rack. Incidentally you see which letters have come to hand. I have not had the one which you say you gave to Hermo, Centurion Canuleius'

CICERO

te dedisse non accepi. Laeni pueris te dedisse saepe ad me scripseras. eas Laodiceae denique, cum eo venissem, III Id. Febr. Laenius mihi reddidit datas a. d. x Kal. Oct. Laenio tuas commendationes et statim verbis et reliquo tempore <re> probabo.

- 5 Illae litterae cetera vetera habebant, unum hoc novum de Cibratis pantheris. multum te amo quod respondisti M. Octavio te non putare; sed posthac omnia quae recta non erunt pro certo negato. nos enim et nostra sponte bene firmi et mehercule auctoritate tua inflammati vicimus omnis (hoc tu ita reperies) cum abstinentia tum iustitia, facilitate, clementia. cave putes quicquam homines magis umquam esse miratos quam nullum terruncium me obtinente provinciam sumptus factum esse nec in rem publicam nec in quemquam <m>eorum praeter quam in L. Tullium leg<atum>. is ceteroqui abstinens, sed Iulia lege †transitam†⁴ semel tamen in diem, non ut alii solebant omnibus vicis (praeter eum semel, nemo), accepit. hic facit ut mihi excipiendus sit cum terruncium nego sumptus factum; praeter eum accepit nemo. has a nostro Q. Titinio sordis accepimus.

- 6 Ego aestivis confectis Quintum fratrem hibernis et Ciliciae praefeci. Q. Volusium, tui Tiberi generum, certum hominem et mirifice abstinentem, misi in Cyprum ut ibi pauculos dies <es>set, ne cives Romani pauci qui illic negotiantur ius sibi dictum negarent; nam evocari ex insula

⁴ translaticia *coni. Watt*

¹ Caelius Rufus was continually pestering Cicero to send him panthers for the show he had to give as Aedile. His colleague M. Octavius had made a similar request; see Letter 115.21.

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slave. You had often mentioned having given a letter to Laenius' boys. This letter, dispatched 21 September, was finally handed to me by Laenius at Laodicea, when I arrived there on 11 February. My words to Laenius at the time and my actions later on will make him appreciate the value of your recommendation.

Most of the letter was ancient history, but there was one fresh item about the Cibyra panthers.¹ I am very much obliged to you for telling M. Octavius that you thought not. But in future please give a definite 'no' to any improper requests. For what with my own disposition, which is sufficiently resolute, and, let me add, the stimulus of your encouragement, I have broken all records (yes, you will find it is so) not only for integrity but for justice, affability, and clemency too. Believe me, people have had the surprise of their lives to find that during my governorship not a penny of expense has been incurred by the province either for public purposes or for any member of my staff, my Legate L. Tullius excepted. He is generally scrupulous, but he did take the ordinary (?) allowance under the *lex Julia*, only once a day, however, not at every village as used to be the practice of others, and apart from him on the one occasion nobody has done so. So he obliges me to make an exception of him when I say that not a penny of expense has been incurred. Him aside, no one has taken anything. This blot on my copybook I owe to our friend Q. Titinius.

At the end of the campaigning season I put my brother in charge of winter quarters and Cilicia. I sent Q. Volusius, your friend Tiberius' son-in-law, a reliable man and also exceptionally scrupulous, to Cyprus for two or three days so that the few Roman citizens who carry on business there should not say they had no one to try their cases—Cypriots

Cyprios non licet.

- 7 Ipse in Asiam profectus sum Tarso Non. Ian., non me-
hercule dici potest qua admiratione Ciliciae civitatum
maximeque Tarsensium. postea vero quam Taurum trans-
gressus sum, mirifica exspectatio Asiae nostrarum dio-
cesium, quae sex mensibus imperi mei nullas meas ac-
ceperat litteras, numquam hospitem viderat. illud autem
tempus quotannis ante me fuerat in hoc quaestu. civitates
locupletes ne in hiberna milites reciperent magnas pe-
cunias dabant, Cypri<i> talenta Attica CC; qua ex insula
(non ὑπερβολικῶς sed verissime loquor) nummus nullus
me obtinente erogabitur. ob haec beneficia, quibus illi
obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi nisi verborum decerni
sino; statuas, fana, τέθριππα prohibeo, nec sum in ulla re
alia molestus civitatibus—sed fortasse tibi qui haec prae-
dicem de me. perfer, si me amas; tu enim me haec facere
voluisti.
- 8 Iter igitur ita per Asiam feci ut etiam fames, qua nihil
miserius est, quae tum erat in hac mea Asia (messis enim
nulla fuerat), mihi optanda fuerit; quacumque iter feci,
nulla vi, nullo iudicio, nulla contumelia, auctoritate et co-
hortatione perfecti ut et Graeci et cives Romani qui fru-
mentum compresserant magnum numerum populis pol-
licerentur.
- 9 Id. Febr., quo die has litteras dedi, forum institueram
agere Laodiceae Cibyraticum et Apamense, ex Id. Mart.

² Referring to a territory which had been detached from the
province of Asia and added to that of Cilicia.

³ Four-horse chariots of bronze or marble containing a statue
of the person honoured.

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cannot legally be summoned out of the island.

I myself left Tarsus for Asia on the Nones of January amid really indescribable enthusiasm among the Cilician communities, especially the people of Tarsus. After crossing the Taurus I found a marvellous eagerness for my arrival in the districts of Asia under me,² which in the six months of my administration had not received a single letter of mine or seen a compulsory guest. Before my time that part of the year had regularly been occupied with profiteering of this sort. The richer communities used to give large sums to avoid having troops quartered on them. The Cypriots gave 200 Attic talents. While I am governor the island will not be asked for a penny—that is not hyperbole, it is the naked truth. In return for these benefits, which dumbfound the provincials, I allow none but verbal honours to be decreed to me. I forbid statues, temples, chariots.³ Nor do I impose myself upon the communities in any other way—but perhaps I do upon you when I blow my own trumpet like this. Put up with it if you love me; after all it was you who wanted me to act so.

Well then, I have travelled through Asia in such a fashion as to make even that most dreadful of calamities, famine, which was rampant in my part of Asia after the total failure of the harvest, a thing from my point of view to be desired. Wherever I passed I induced both natives and Roman citizens who had hoarded corn to promise large quantities to the public, not by any violence or legal proceedings or harsh language but by influence and encouragement.

On the Ides of February, the date of this letter, I have arranged to hold assize at Laodicea for the districts of Cibyra and Apamea; from the Ides of March, also at

ibidem Synnadense, Pamphylium (tum Phemio dispiciam κέρας), <Lyc>aonium, Isauricum; ex Id. Mai. in Ciliciam, ut ibi Iunius consumatur, velim tranquille a Parthis. Quintilis, si erit ut volumus, in itinere est per provinciam redeuntibus consumendus; venimus enim in provinciam Laodiceam Sulpicio et Marcello consulibus prid. Kal. Sext., inde nos oportet decedere a. d. III[1] Kal. Sext. primum contendam a Quinto fratre ut se praefici patiat, quod et illo et me invitissimo fiet. sed aliter honeste fieri non potest, praesertim cum virum optimum Pomptinum ne nunc quidem retinere possim; rapit enim hominem Postumius Romam, fortasse etiam Postumia.

- 10 Habes consilia nostra; nunc cognosce de Bruto. familiaris habet Brutus tuus quosdam creditores Salaminorum ex Cypro, M. Scaptium et P. Matinium, quos mihi maiorem in modum commendavit. Matinium non novi. Scaptius ad me in castra venit. pollicitus ei sum curaturum me Bruti causa ut ei Salamini pecuniam solverent. egit gratias; praefecturam petivit. negavi me cuiquam negotianti dare, quod idem tibi ostenderam (Cn. Pompeio petenti probaram institutum meum, quid dicam Torquato de M. Laenio tuo, multis aliis?); sin praefectus vellet esse syngraphae causa, me curaturum ut exigeret. gratias egit, discessit. Appius noster turmas aliquot equitum dederat huic Scaptio per quas Salamini coaceret, et eundem habuerat praefectum; vexabat Salamini. ego equites ex Cypro decedere iussi. moleste tulit Scaptius.

⁴ Probably D. Junius Brutus Albinus, who had been adopted by a Postumius, perhaps Postumia's brother. Cicero seems to be hinting at an intrigue between her and Pomptinus.

Laodicea, for Synnada, Pamphilia (I'll spy out a *cor* for Phemius then), Lycaonia, and Isauria. After the Ides of May I shall go to Cilicia to spend June there, I trust without interruption from the Parthians. July, if all goes well, will be occupied in the return journey through the province. I entered it at Laodicea on 31 July in the Consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus, so I ought to leave it on 30 July. In the first instance I shall try to get my brother to let himself be left in charge, though that will be very far from the wishes of either one of us. But it is the only seemly course, especially as I cannot keep the excellent Pomptinus even now. Postumius⁴ is hurrying him to Rome, perhaps Postumia also.

So much for my plans. Now let me tell you about Brutus. Your friend Brutus is on close terms with certain creditors of the people of Salamis in Cyprus, M. Scaptius and P. Matinius. He warmly recommended them to me. Matinius I don't know. Scaptius came to me in camp. I promised to see to it for Brutus' sake that the Salaminians paid him his money. He thanked me and requested an appointment as Prefect. I told him that I never gave these appointments to businessmen, just as I had told you (I explained my rule to Cn. Pompeius when he made a similar request and he approved it, not to mention Torquatus in the case of your friend M. Laenius, and many others). But I added that if it was because of his bond that he wanted a Prefecture I would see that he got his money. He thanked me and took his leave. Our friend Appius had given some squadrons of horse to this Scaptius with which to put pressure on the Salaminians, and had also made him a Prefect. He was oppressing the Salaminians, so I ordered the troopers to leave Cyprus. Scaptius was not pleased.

- 11 Quid multa? ut ei fidem meam praestarem, cum ad me Salamini Tarsum venissent et una Scaptius, imperavi ut pecuniam solverent. multa de syngrapha, de Scapti iniuriis. negavi me audire; hortatus sum, petivi etiam pro meis in civitatem beneficiis ut negotium conficerent, dixi denique me coacturum. homines non modo non recusare sed etiam hoc dicere, se a me solvere; quod enim praetori dare consuessent quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare, atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scapti nomine quam in vectigali praetorio. collaudavi homines. 'recte' inquit Scaptius, 'sed subducamus summam.' interim cum ego in edicto translaticio centesimas me observaturum haberem cum anatocismo⁵ anniversario, ille ex syngrapha postulabat quaternas. 'quid ais?' inquam, 'possumne contra meum <e>dictum?' at ille profert senatus consultum Lentulo Philippoque consulibus, 'ut qui Cili-
12 ciam obtineret [et] ius ex illa syngrapha diceret.' cohorrui primo; etenim erat interitus civitatis. reperio duo senatus consulta isdem consulibus de eadem syngrapha. Salamini cum Romae versuram facere vellent, non poterant, quod lex Gabinia vetabat. tum iis Bruti familiares freti gratia Bruti dare volebant quaternis,⁶ si sibi senatus consulto caveretur. fit gratia Bruti senatus consultum, 'ut neve Salaminis neve qui eis dedisset fraudi esset.' pecuniam numerarunt. at⁷ postea venit in mentem faeneratoribus

⁵ antiochi(i)s (*Corradus*)

⁶ quat(t)uor (*intellexit Victorius*)

⁷ et (*Ernesti*)

LETTER 114 (V.21)

To cut a long story short: in order to keep my word to him, when the Salaminians came to me at Tarsus and Scaptius too, I ordered them to pay the money. They had much to say about the bond and Scaptius' ill-usage. I refused to listen. I urged them, even besought them in return for my good offices to their community, to settle the business. Finally I threatened compulsion. Far from making any objection, they told me that they were paying out of my pocket, pointing out that as I had not taken what they customarily gave a governor I was in a sense footing the bill. In fact the amount owing to Scaptius was, they said, somewhat less than the governor's levy. I commended them. 'Very well' says Scaptius, 'but let us reckon up the sum.' Meanwhile, although I had put in my traditional edict that I should observe a rate of 1 percent interest compounded annually, Scaptius asked for 4 percent according to his bond. 'Come now' said I, 'do you expect me to contravene my own edict?' Scaptius however produced a senatorial decree passed in the Consulship of Lentulus and Philippus⁵ providing that 'the governor of Cilicia should give judgement in accordance with that bond.' This gave me a bad shock to start with, for it meant nothing less than ruin for the town. I found that there were two senatorial decrees passed in the same year concerning the same bond. When the Salaminians wanted to raise a loan in Rome they were unable to do so because the *lex Gabinia* forbade it. Then Brutus' friends, relying on his influence, agreed to lend at 4 percent providing they were safeguarded by a senatorial decree. Through Brutus' influence a decree was passed indemnifying both the Salaminians and any person from whom they borrowed the money. So they handed over the cash. But later on it occurred to the

nihil se iuvare illud senatus consultum, quod ex syngrapha ius dici lex Gabinia vetaret. tum fit senatus consultum ut ex ea syngrapha <ius diceretur, hoc est, ut nec deteriore nec meliore iure ea syngrapha>⁸ esset quam ceterae sed ut eodem. cum haec disseruissem, seducit me Scaptius; ait se nihil contra dicere, sed illos putare talenta CC se debere; ea se velle accipere; debere autem illos paulo minus. rogat ut eos ad ducenta perducam. 'optime' inquam. voco illos ad me remoto Scaptio. 'quid vos? quantum' inquam 'debetis?' respondent 'CVI.' refero ad Scaptium. homo clamare. 'quid opus est' inquam 'potius quam rationes conferatis?' adsidunt, subducunt; ad nummum convenit. illi se numerare velle, urgere ut acciperet. Scaptius me rursus seducit, rogat ut rem sic relinquam. dedi veniam homini impudenter petenti; Graecis querentibus, ut in fano deponerent postulantiibus non concessi. clamare omnes qui aderant nihil impudentius Scaptio, qui centesimis cum anatocismo contentus non esset, alii nihil stultius. mihi autem impudens magis quam stultus videbatur; nam aut bono nomine centesimis contentus <non>⁹ erat aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat.

- 13 Habes meam causam. quae si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus; sed avunculo eius certe probabitur, praesertim cum senatus consultum modo factum sit (puto, postquam tu es profectus) in creditorum causa ut

⁸ ius dic- *add. Malaespina, cetera Sternkopf*

⁹ *add. Purser (ante contentus Ernesti)*

⁶ Cato.

lenders that this decree was no use to them because the *lex Gabinia* made the bond legally invalid. Then the Senate passed the decree which provided that judgement should be given according to that bond—not thereby giving this bond a status better or worse than other bonds but the same. When I had explained all this, Scaptius took me on one side and said that he had no objection to offer, but the Salaminians were under the impression that they owed 200 talents. He was ready to accept that sum, but in fact they owed him slightly less. So he asked me to bring them up to 200. ‘Very good’ said I. Then I summoned the Salaminians, Scaptius having left the room. ‘Well gentlemen’ I said, ‘how much do you owe?’ ‘106 talents’ was the answer. I put this to Scaptius. Loud protest. So I said ‘The best thing you can do is to compare accounts.’ So they sat down together and totted everything up. The figures tallied to a penny. The Salaminians expressed their willingness to pay cash down and pressed Scaptius to accept. Then Scaptius took me aside again and asked me to leave the matter there. It was an impudent request, but I gave the man his way; and when the Greeks protested and demanded leave to deposit the money in a temple, I would not allow it. All present were loud in condemnation of Scaptius’ egregious impudence or, as others saw it, stupidity in refusing to be satisfied with 1 percent compound interest. For my part I thought him impudent rather than stupid, either as not satisfied with 1 percent on a good debt or as hoping for 4 percent on a bad one.

Well, there is my case, and if Brutus does not accept it I fail to see why we should care for him. But his uncle⁶ will certainly accept it, especially as the Senate recently passed a decree for creditors, after you left Rome, I think, fixing

centesimae perpetuo faenore ducerentur. hoc quid intersit, si tuos digitos novi, certe habes subductum; in quo quidem, ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, <L.> Lucceius M. f. queritur apud me per litteras summum esse periculum ne culpa senatus his decretis res ad tabulas novas perveniat; commemorat quid olim mali C. Iulius fecerit cum dieculam duxerit; numquam <quemquam>¹⁰ rei publicae plus. sed ad rem redeo. meditare adversus Brutum causam meam, si haec causa est contra quam nihil honeste dici possit,¹¹ praesertim cum integram rem et causam reliquerim.

- 14 Reliqua sunt domestica. de ἐνδομύχῳ probo idem quod tu, Postumiae filio,¹² quoniam Pon<t>idia nugatur; sed vellem adesses. a Quinto fratre his mensibus nihil exspectaris; nam Taurus propter nivis ante mensem Iunium transiri non potest. <T>hermum, ut rogas, creberrimis litteris fulcio. P. Valerium negat habere quicquam Deiotarus rex eumque ait <a> se sustentari. cum scies Romae intercalatum sit necne, velim ad me scribas certum quo die mysteria futura sint. litteras tuas minus paulo exspecto quam si Romae esses, sed tamen exspecto.

¹⁰ *add. coni. SB**

¹¹ *posse (Bayet)*

¹² *fili(a)e (Manutius: -ium Turnebus)*

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1 percent simple interest as the legal rate. If I know your arithmetical powers, you have already reckoned up the difference. Apropos and en passant, L. Lucceius, son of Marcus, complains in a letter to me that there is a serious risk, for which the Senate is to blame, of a general cancellation of debts resulting from these decrees. He recalls the damage C. Julius⁷ did when he allowed a tiny delay in payments—the worst blow, says he, ever dealt the state. But to return. Get up my case against Brutus, if one can speak of a case when there is nothing that can decently be said on the other side, particularly as I have left case and issue quite open.

The rest concerns domesticities. About the *arcanum*, I favour the same solution as you, Postumia's son,⁸ since Pontidia is trifling. But I wish you were on the spot. You must not expect anything from Quintus in the next few months. Snow makes the Taurus impassable before June. I am bolstering up Thermus as you ask with letters at frequent intervals. King Deiotarus says that P. Valerius hasn't a penny and is subvented by himself. When you know whether or not there has been an intercalation in Rome please write to me definitely the date of the Mysteries.⁹ I don't expect to hear from you quite so much as if you were in Rome; but still, expect I do.

⁷ Probably C. Julius Caesar Strabo, Curule Aedile in 90.

⁸ The younger Ser. Sulpicius Rufus. Pontidia's candidate seems to have been a man of equestrian rank. The Pontidii were an Arpinum family.

⁹ These remain mysterious; see end of next letter.

CICERO

115 (VI.1)

Scr. Laodiceae x Kal. Mart. an. 50 (§26)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Accepi tuas litteras a. d. V Terminalia Laodiceae; quas legi libentissime plenissimas amoris, humanitatis, officii, diligentiae. iis igitur respondebo, * * *¹ (sic enim postulas), nec *οἰκονομίαν* meam instituam sed ordinem conservabo tuum.

Recentissimas a Cybistris te meas litteras habere ais a.d. x Kal. Oct. datas et scire vis tuas ego quas acceperim: omnis fere quas commemoras, praeter eas quas scribis Lentuli pueris et quas Equo Tutico et Brundisio datas. qua re non *οἴχεται* tua industria, quod vereris, sed praeclare ponitur, si quidem id egisti, ut ego delectarer; nam nulla re sum delectatus magis.

- 2 Quod meam *βαδύτητα* in Appio tibi, liberalitatem etiam in Bruto probo, vehementer gaudeo; ac putaram paulo secus. Appius enim ad me ex itinere bis terve *ὑπομεψιμοίρους* litteras miserat quod quaedam a se constituta rescinderem. ut si medicus, cum aegrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico qui sibi successerit si quae ipse in curando constituerit immutet ille, sic Appius, cum *ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως* provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, quicquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, *προσανατρεφομένην* eam a me non libenter vidi<t>.² sed modo suscenset, [et] modo gratias agit; nihil enim a me fit cum ulla illius contumelia; tantum modo dissimilitudo meae

¹ κατὰ μίτον *supplevit* Boot

² *add.* SB (*videt* Manutius)

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Laodicea, 20 February 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I got a letter from you on 19 February at Laodicea, and read it with the greatest enjoyment—so full of affection, kindness, and friendly attentiveness. So I shall answer it in detail (?), since that is what you ask; nor shall I make my own arrangement of topics but shall keep to your order.

You say that the most recent letter you have had from me was dispatched on 21 September from Cybistra, and you want to know which of yours have reached me. Almost all you mention, the exceptions being the one you say you gave Lentulus' boys and those dispatched from Equus Tuticus and Brundisium. So your diligence, so far from going for nothing as you are afraid it may, is excellently invested, at any rate if your object was to give me pleasure. Nothing has ever given me more.

I am glad indeed that my self-restraint in the case of Appius and also my readiness to oblige in that of Brutus wins your approval. I had thought it might be somewhat otherwise, for Appius sent me two or three rather querulous letters on his way home, blaming me for rescinding some of his ordinances—as though a doctor whose patient has been handed over to another practitioner were to choose to take umbrage against his successor for changing the treatment. After having kept Cilicia under a lowering regime, cupping and reducing all he could, and handing her over to me in the last stages of exhaustion, he didn't much relish seeing her fed up again by me. But he takes offence one day and thanks me the next. I do nothing, you see, to cast reflexion upon him; it is simply the difference

rationis offendit hominem. quid enim potest esse tam dissimile quam illo imperante exhaustam esse sumptibus et iacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publice? quid dicam de illius praefectis, comitibus, legatis etiam? de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis? nunc autem domus mehercule nulla tanto consilio aut tanta disciplina gubernatur aut tam modesta est quam nostra tota provincia. haec non nulli amici Appi ridicule interpretantur, qui me idcirco putent bene audire velle ut ille male audiat et recte facere non meae laudis sed illius contumeliae causa. sin Appius, ut Bruti litterae quas ad te misit significabant, gratias nobis agit, non moleste fero, sed tamen eo ipso die quo haec ante lucem scribebam cogitabam eius multa inique constituta et acta tollere.

- 3 Nunc venio ad Brutum, quem ego omni studio te auctore sum complexus, quem etiam amare coeperam; sed <plane>³ dico, me revocavi ne te offenderem. noli enim putare me quicquam maluisse quam ut mandatis satis facerem nec ulla de re plus laborasse. mandatorum autem mihi libellum dedit, isdemque de rebus tu mecum egeras. omnia sum diligentissime persecutus. primum ab Ariobarzane sic contendi, ut talenta * * * quae mihi pollicebatur illi daret. quoad mecum rex fuit, perbono loco res erat; post a Pompei procuratoribus sescentis premi coeptus est. Pompeius autem cum ob ceteras causas plus potest unus quam ceteri omnes, tum quod putatur ad bellum Parthicum esse

³ *add. SB*

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in my system that disgruntles the man. In fact could any two systems differ more widely? When he was governor the province was drained dry with charges and disbursements, while since I took over not a sixpence has been paid out either privately or publicly. Need I speak of his Prefects and staff, his Legates too? The robberies, the outrages, the indignities? Whereas now I really don't think you could point to a private household so wisely and strictly run or so well behaved as my entire province. Certain friends of Appius put an absurd construction on all this, fancying that I am desirous of a good reputation in order to give him a bad one, and that I am an honest governor not to gain credit for myself but to cast reflexion on him. However if Appius says he's grateful to me, as intimated in Brutus' letter to you, so much the better. But this same day that is about to dawn as I write I propose to cancel many of his unjust ordinances and proceedings.

Now I come to Brutus, whose friendship at your prompting I eagerly embraced, of whom I had even begun to be fond—but I tell you plainly, I checked myself for fear of offending you. I do assure you that I wanted above all things to execute his commissions and that there is nothing over which I have taken greater trouble. He gave me a memorandum of these, and you had already raised the same matters with me. I have followed them all up most faithfully. First I persuaded Ariobarzanes to give Brutus the * talents which he was ready to promise to myself. As long as the king was with me the affair was in excellent train, but afterwards droves of Pompey's agents began to put pressure on him. Now Pompey can do more than the rest of the world put together because, besides all the other reasons, it is thought that he will be coming out to take

- venturus. ei tamen sic nunc solvitur: tricesimo quoque die talenta Attica XXXIII, et hoc ex tributis; nec id satis efficitur in usuram menstruam. sed Gnaeus noster clementer id fert; sorte caret, usura nec ea solida contentus est. alii neque solvit cuiquam nec potest solvere; nullum enim aereum, nullum vectigal habet. Appi instituto tributa imperat; ea vix in faenus Pompei quod satis sit efficiunt. amici regis duo tresve perdivites sunt, sed ii suum tam diligenter tenent quam ego aut tu. equidem non desino tamen per
- 4 litteras rogare, suadere, accusare regem. Deiotarus etiam mihi narravit se ad eum legatos misisse de re Bruti; eos sibi responsum rettulisse illum non habere. et mehercule ego ita iudico, nihil illo regno spoliatus, nihil rege egentius. itaque aut tutela cogito me abdicare aut, ut pro Glabrione Scaevola, faenus et impendium recusare. ego tamen quas per te Bruto promiseram praefecturas M. Scaetio, L. Gaudio, qui in regno rem Bruti procurabant, detuli; nec enim in provincia mea negotiabantur. tu autem meministi nos sic agere ut quot vellet praefecturas sumeret, dum ne negotiatori; itaque duas ei praeterea dederam, sed ii quibus petierat de provincia decesserant.
- 5 Nunc cognosce de Salaminis, quod video tibi etiam novum accidisse, tamquam mihi. numquam enim ex illo audivi illam pecuniam esse suam; quin etiam libellum ipsius habeo in quo est 'Salaminis pecuniam debent M. Scap-

¹ The incident is otherwise unrecorded. Scaevola will be the Augur, whose grandson M'. Acilius Glabrio was Consul in 67.

² To be distinguished from his namesake mentioned below.

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command against the Parthians. Yet he is now being paid at the rate of 33 Attic talents every 30 days, and that out of taxes, which is not enough to cover the monthly interest. However our Gnaeus is being quite reasonable about it—he foregoes his principal and is content with interest, and less than the full interest. The king is paying nobody else, nor can he—he has no treasury, no regular revenue. He levies taxes on Appius' model and they hardly produce enough to pay Pompey's interest. Two or three of his friends are very wealthy men, but they take as good care to keep their own as you or I. For my part I am none the less constantly writing to the king with requests and persuasions and reproaches. Deiotarus also told me that he had sent envoys to him about Brutus' affair, and that they had come back with the reply that the king did not have the wherewithal. My own honest opinion is that the kingdom is stripped to the bone and the king an absolute pauper. So I am thinking of renouncing my trusteeship, or else of doing what Scaevola did for Glabrio¹ and refusing to pay interest or let it accumulate (?). However I gave M. Scaptius² and L. Gavius, who are looking after Brutus' interests in Cappadocia, the Prefectures which I had promised Brutus through you, seeing that they are not doing business in my province. You remember the line I took, that he could have as many Prefectures as he wanted so long as they were not for businessmen. I had accordingly granted him two others as well, but the persons for whom he asked them had left the province.

Now let me tell you about the Salaminians—I see it has come as a surprise to you just as it did to me. I never once heard him say that the money was his own. In fact I have his own memorandum which says: "The Salaminians owe

CICERO

tio et P. Matinio, familiaribus meis.' eos mihi commendat; adscribit etiam et quasi calcar admovet intercessisse se pro iis magnam pecuniam. confeceram ut solverent centesimis †sexenni† ductis cum renovatione singulorum annorum. at Scaptius quaternas postulabat. metui, si impetrasset, ne tu ipse me amare desineres; nam ab edicto meo recessissem et civitatem in Catonis et in ipsius Bruti fide locatam meisque beneficiis ornatam funditus perdissem.

- 6 Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistulam Scaptius <a>⁴ Bruto rem illam suo periculo esse, quod nec mihi umquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi, etiam ut praefecturam Scaptio deferrem. id vero per te exceperamus, <ne>⁵ negotiatori; quod si cuiquam, huic tamen non. fuerat enim praefectus Appio, et quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curia senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur. itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati Ephesum obviam venissent, litteras misi ut equites ex insula statim decederent. his de causis credo Scaptium iniquius de me aliquid ad Brutum scripsisse. sed tamen hoc sum animo: si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, cum tota provincia singulas observarem itaque edixissem idque etiam acerbissimis faeneratoribus probaretur, si praefecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego

⁴ *add. Watt*

⁵ *add. Manutius*

³ Cato, assisted by Brutus, had supervised the annexation of Cyprus in 58-56.

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money to my friends M. Scaptius and P. Matinius.' He recommends them to me and adds by way of extra stimulus that he had gone surety for them for a large sum. I had arranged for payment by the debtors with interest calculated at 1 percent per month for * years, interest to be added to the principal annually. Scaptius however demanded 4 percent. I was afraid if I let him have it you yourself would turn against me. It would have meant departing from my edict and utterly ruining a community which was under Cato's and Brutus' own patronage³ and on which I had conferred favours.

Now just at this present juncture Scaptius thrusts a letter of Brutus' into my hand stating that he himself was the party concerned, a thing Brutus had never told me nor you either, and asking me to offer Scaptius a Prefecture. But I had already through you made the reservation that no businessman should be appointed; and if I had been prepared to make an exception it would not have been for Scaptius. He had been Prefect under Appius and had some squadrons of horse at his disposal, with which he had shut up the senate at Salamis in their senate house and besieged them, so that five senators starved to death. The day I set foot in my province (the Cypriot envoys having met me at Ephesus) I sent a letter ordering the troopers to leave the island immediately. For these reasons I suppose Scaptius has written something unpleasant about me to Brutus. However, my feeling is as follows: if Brutus is going to think that I ought to have imposed a rate of 4 percent when I recognized 1 percent all over the province and had so stated in my edict to the contentment of even the harshest usurers, if he is going to complain of my refusing a Prefecture to a businessman as I refused our friend Torquatus in

Torquato nostro in tuo Laenio, Pompeio ipsi in Sex. Statio negavi et iis probavi, si equites deductos moleste feret, accipiam equidem dolorem mihi illum irasci sed multo maiorem non esse eum talem qualem putassem.

- 7 Illud quidem fatebitur Scaptius, me ius dicente sibi omnem pecuniam ex edicto meo auferendi potestatem fuisse. addo etiam illud, quod vereor tibi ipsi ut probem: consistere usura debuit, quae erat in edicto meo; deponere volebant: impetravi a Salaminis ut silerent. veniam illi quidem mihi dederunt, sed quid iis fiet si huc Paulus venerit? sed totum hoc Bruto dedi; qui de me ad te humanissimas litteras scripsit, ad me autem, etiam cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, adroganter, ἀκοινονοήτως solet scribere. tu autem velim ad eum scribas de his rebus, ut sciam quo modo haec accipiat; facies enim me certiolem.

- Atque haec superioribus litteris diligenter ad te perscripseram, sed plane te intellegere volui mihi non excidisse illud quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scripsisses, si nihil aliud de hac provincia nisi illius benevolentiam deportassem, mihi id satis esse. sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis, sed tamen cum eo, credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat. igitur meo decreto soluta res Scaptio statim. quam id rec-
8 tum⁶ sit tu iudicabis; ne ad Catonem quidem provocabo. sed noli me putare ἐγκελεύσματα illa tua abiecisse, quae mihi in visceribus haerent. flens mihi meam famam commendasti; quae epistula tua est in qua mentionem <non>

⁶ decretum (*Manutius*)

⁴ L. Aemilius Paulus, Consul this year, was apparently expected to be Cicero's successor.

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the case of your friend Laenius and Pompey himself in that of Sex. Staius, both approving my action, if he is going to make a grievance of the recall of the troopers—why, I shall be sorry to have incurred his displeasure, but far sorer to find that he is not the man I took him for.

Scaptius will at least admit that under my ruling he had the chance of taking the whole of the money on the terms laid down in my edict. I will add another thing, of which I doubt whether you yourself will approve. The interest, the rate in my edict, ought to have stopped. The Salaminians wanted to deposit the money; I got them to keep quiet. They agreed as a favour to me, but what will become of them if Paulus⁴ comes out here? But I did this entirely as a concession to Brutus. And Brutus, who writes about me so kindly to you, is apt in his letters to me to take a brusque, arrogant, ungracious tone even when he is asking a favour. I should be glad if you would write to him about these matters so that I know how he reacts—you'll inform me.

In my last letter I gave you a detailed account of all this, but I wanted you fully to realize that I have not forgotten the remark in one of yours that if I bring nothing back from this province but Brutus' good will I may be well satisfied. So be it, since you will have it so, but with the proviso surely that I keep my hands clean. Accordingly by my ruling Scaptius was paid on the nail. Of its propriety you shall be the judge. I shall not even appeal to Cato. But you must not suppose I have put out of mind those tallyhos of yours—they have sunk deep into my heart. You appealed to me with tears in your eyes to take care of my good name. Is there a single one of your letters which does not mention it? Very well then. Take offence who will; I shall put up

facias? itaque irascatur qui volet, patiar; 'τὸ γὰρ εἶ μετ' ἐμοῦ,' praesertim cum sex libris tamquam praedibus me ipse obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. e quibus unum ἱστορικὸν requiris de Cn. Flavio, Anni filio. ille vero ante decemviros non fuit, quippe qui aedilis curulis fuerit, qui magistratus multis annis post decemviros institutus est. quid ergo profecit, quod protulit fastos? occultatam putant quodam tempore istam tabulam, ut dies agendi peterentur a paucis; nec vero pauci sunt auctores Cn. Flavium scribam fastos protulisse actionesque composuisse, ne me hoc vel potius Africanum (is enim loquitur) commentum putes. οὐκ ἔλαιδέ σ<ε> illud de gestu histrionis? tu sceleste suspicaris, ego ἀφελῶς scripsi.

9 De me imperatore scribis te ex Philotimi litteris cognosse; sed credo te, iam in Epiro cum esses, binas meas de omnibus rebus accepisse, unas a Pindenisso capto, alteras Laodicea, utrasque tuis pueris datas. quibus de rebus propter casum navigandi per binos tabellarios misi Romam publice litteras.

10 De Tullia mea tibi adsentior scripsique ad eam et ad Terentiam mihi placere; tu enim ad me iam ante scripseras 'ac vellem te in tuum veterem gregem rettulisses.' correctae vero epistulae Memmianae nihil negotii fuit; multo enim

⁵ From Euripides (fr. 918, Nauck). ⁶ Of the treatise *On the Republic*.

⁷ The lawgivers who produced the Twelve Tables, earliest code of Roman law, about 400 years previously. The relevant passage in Cicero's treatise is lost.

⁸ It has been suggested that Atticus thought he had detected somewhere in the treatise a covert hint at Hortensius' theatrical style of delivering his speeches.

⁹ With reference to Pontidia's candidate as opposed to the two

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with it. 'For right is with me,'⁵ particularly as I have in a manner of speaking pledged myself with six volumes⁶ as my guarantors—I'm glad you like them so much. You raise a historical query in one of them concerning Cn. Flavius, son of Annus. He did *not* live before the Decemvirs,⁷ for he became Curule Aedile, an office created long after their time. So what did he achieve by publishing the Calendar? The answer is that at one time the list is supposed to have been kept a secret so that business days could only be known by application to a few persons. There are plenty of authorities for the statement that Cn. Flavius the Secretary published the Calendar and drew up a list of the formulae of judicial procedure, so you need not think that I, or rather Africanus since he is talking, made this up. It did not escape you, didn't it, that bit about the actor's miming? Your suspicions are villainous; I wrote quite without *arrière pensée*.⁸

You say you have learned from a letter of Philotimus' about my having been saluted general. But I think you will now have got two letters after your arrival in Epirus containing all my news, both given to your boys, one after the capture of Pindenissum, the other from Laodicea. I sent an official dispatch about these matters to Rome by two sets of couriers, having regard to the hazard of the voyage.

I agree with what you say about my Tullia, and have written to her and to Terentia to say that I approve—you had already written to me 'but I wish you had gone back to your old gang.'⁹ Once the Memmius letter was corrected

noblemen to whom Tullia had previously been married. We know nothing about the Memmius letter. Perhaps Memmius was the name of the bearer.

malo hunc a Pontidia quam illum a Servilia. qua re adiunges <S>auf<e>ium⁷ nostrum, hominem semper amantem me<i>, nunc credo eo magis quod debet etiam fratris Appi amorem erga me cum reliqua hereditate crevisse, qui declaravit quanti me faceret cum saepe tum in Bursa. ne tu me sollicitudine magna liberaris.

11 Furni exceptio mihi non placet; nec enim ego ullum aliud tempus timeo nisi quod ille solum excipit. sed scriberem ad te de hoc plura si Romae esses. in Pompeio te spem omnem oti ponere non miror; ita res est, removendumque censeo illud 'dissimulantem.' sed [enim]⁸ οἰκονομία si perturbatior est, tibi adsignato; te enim sequor σχεδιάζοντα.

12 Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur; sed alter, ut Isocrates dixit in Ephoro et Theopompo, frenis eget, alter calcaribus. Quinto togam puram Liberalibus cogitabam dare; mandavit enim pater. ea sic observabo quasi intercalatum non sit. Dionysius mihi quidem in <a>moribus est. pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci; sed homo nec doctior nec sanctior fieri potest nec tui meique amantior.

13 Thermum, Silium vere audis laudari; valde se honeste gerunt. adde M. Nonium, Bibulum, me si voles. iam Scrofa vellem haberet ubi posset; est enim lautum negotium.

⁷ aufium (*Buecheler*)

⁸ *del. Wesenberg*

¹⁰ Furnius, now Tribune, seems to have told Atticus that he would block any extension of Cicero's term of office unless a certain contingency, probably a Parthian attack in the summer, were to arise. ¹¹ I.e., of avoiding civil war.

¹² Probably governor of Macedonia.

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there was no difficulty, for I much prefer Pontidia's candidate to Servilia's. So please get our friend Saufeius to help you. He was always a good friend of mine, all the better now, I imagine, because he has presumably inherited his brother Appius' affection for me along with the rest of his estate. Appius showed his regard for me on many occasions, notably over Bursa. You will certainly be lifting a big load off my mind.

I don't like Furnius' saving clause,¹⁰ for the single contingency which he reserves is the only one I am afraid of. But I should write more on this head if you were in Rome. I don't wonder you put all your hopes of peace¹¹ on Pompey. That's the way it is, and in my opinion the word 'insincerely' ought to be deleted. If my arrangement of topics is rather confused, you must blame yourself. I am following your impromptu.

The boys are fond of one another, are learning their lessons and practising. But as Isocrates said about Ephorus and Theopompus, one of them needs the rein, the other the spur. I propose to give Quintus his white gown at the Liberalia, as his father asked me to do. I shall keep the day on the assumption that there has been no intercalation. I am delighted with Dionysius. The boys say he has a furious temper; but no one could be more learned or high principled or more attached to you and me.

What you hear about Thermus and Silius being well spoken of is true enough. They are doing very creditably. Add M. Nonius,¹² Bibulus, myself if you will. As for Scrofa,¹³ I wish he had somewhere that gave him an oppor-

¹³ Probably governor of Crete.

ceteri firmant⁹ *πολίτευμα* Catonis. Hortensio quod causam meam commendas valde gratum. de Amiano, spei nihil putat esse Dionysius. Terenti nullum vestigium agnovi. Moeragenes certe periit; feci iter per eius possessionem, in qua animal reliquum nullum est. haec non noram tum cum <de ea re cum>¹⁰ Democrito tuo locutus sum. Rhosica vasa mandavi. sed heus tu, quid cogitas? in felicatis lancibus et splendidissimis canistris holusculis nos soles pascere: quid te in vasis fictilibus appositurum putem? *κέρας* Phemio mandatum est. reperietur; modo aliquid illo dignum canat.

- 14 Parthicum bellum inpendet. Cassius ineptas litteras misit, necdum Bibuli erant adlatae; quibus recitatis puto fore ut aliquando commoveatur senatus. equidem sum in magna animi perturbatione. si, ut opto, non prorogatur nostrum negotium, habeo Iunium et Quintilem in metu. esto; duo quidem mensis sustinebit Bibulus. quid illo fiet quem reliquero, praesertim si fratrem? quid me autem, si non tam cito decedo? magna turba est. mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit ut ille in meis castris esset cum suis copiis omnibus; habet autem cohortis quadringenarias nostra armatura XXX, equitum CIO CIO. erit ad sustentandum quoad Pompeius veniat, qui litteris quas ad me mittit significat suum negotium illud fore. hiemant in nostra provincia Parthi; exspectatur ipse Orodes. quid quaeris? aliquantum est negoti.

⁹ ceter(i) inf- vel ceterum f- (SB)

¹⁰ add. Lehmann (cum iam Bostus)

¹⁴ To improve administration in the provinces.

¹⁵ See Letter 108.3. Terentius seems to have been somehow mixed up with Amianus.

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tunity—he's an excellent creature. The rest are strengthening Cato's policy.¹⁴ I am very grateful to you for commending my cause to Hortensius. As to Amianus,¹⁵ Dionysius thinks there is no hope. I have not found a trace of Terentius. Moeragenes is certainly dead. I marched through his country, and there isn't a living thing left. I did not know this when I talked about the matter to your man Democritus. I have ordered the Rhosian ware¹⁶—but see here, what are you up to? You give us bits of cabbage for dinner on fern-pattern dishes and in magnificent baskets. What can I expect you to serve up on earthenware? A *cor* has been ordered for Phemius and will be found. His playing had better be worthy of it.

A Parthian war is threatening. Cassius sent a silly dispatch, and none had by then arrived from Bibulus. When his is read out I think the Senate will at last sit up and take notice. For my part I am in great anxiety of mind. If, as I pray, my job is not extended, I have June and July to fear. All right—Bibulus will hold out for a couple of months anyway. But what about the man I leave in charge, especially if he is my brother? And what about me if I don't leave so soon? It's a pretty kettle of fish. However I have agreed with Deiotarus that he and his whole forces shall serve in my army. He has 30 cohorts of 400 men armed Roman fashion and 2,000 horse. There will be enough to hold the fort until Pompey comes. He indicates in a letter to me that this is going to be his concern. The Parthians are wintering in our province and Orodes in person is expected. Yes, it's quite a coil.

¹⁶ Expensive, gaily decorated pottery from Rhosus in Syria.

15 De Bibuli edicto, nihil novi praeter illam exceptionem de qua tu ad me scripseras 'nimis gravi praeiudicio in ordinem nostrum.' ego tamen habeo *ισοδυναμοῦσαν* sed tectiorem ex Q. Muci P. f. edicto Asiatico, 'extra quam si ita negotium gestum est ut eo stari non oporteat ex fide bona'; multaque sum secutus Scaevolae, in iis illud in quo sibi libertatem censent Graeci datam, ut Graeci inter se disceptent suis legibus. breve autem edictum est propter hanc meam *διαίρεσιν*, quod duobus generibus edicendum putavi; quorum unum est provinciale, in quo inest de rationibus civitatum, de aere alieno, de usura, de syngraphis, in eodem omnia de publicanis; alterum quod sine edicto satis commode transigi non potest, de hereditatum possessionibus, de bonis possidendis, magistris faciendis, <bonis>¹¹ vendendis, quae ex edicto et postulari et fieri solent. tertium de reliquo iure dicundo *ἄγραφον* reliqui. dixi me de eo genere mea decreta ad edicta urbana accommodaturum, itaque curo, et satis facio adhuc omnibus. Graeci vero exsultant quod peregrinis iudicibus utuntur. 'nugatoribus quidem' inquires. quid refert? ii se *ἀυτονομίαν* adeptos putant. nostri¹² enim, credo, gravis habent, Turpionem sutorium et Vettium mancipem.

16 De publicanis quid agam videris quaerere. habeo in deliciis, obsequor, verbis laudo, orno: efficio ne cui molesti sint. *τὸ παραδοξότατον*: usuras eorum quas pactionibus adscripserant servavit etiam Servilius; ego sic: diem statuo

¹¹ *add. Watt* ¹² vestri (s)

¹⁷ The equestrian, i.e., the tax farmers. ¹⁸ I.e., from other 'Greek' communities (according to a widespread Hellenistic practice). The word may mean either 'judge' or 'juryman.'

LETTER 115 (VI.1)

About Bibulus' edict, the only novelty is the saving clause of which you wrote to me that it constituted 'a very serious precedent against our order.'¹⁷ But I have a clause to the same effect, only more guardedly phrased, which I took from Quintus (son of Publius) Mucius' edict in Asia: 'except the transaction has been such that in good faith its terms ought not to be respected.' Indeed I have followed many of Scaevola's provisions, including that one which the natives regard as their charter of liberty, that cases between natives should be tried under their own laws. The edict is short because of the way I divided it up. I thought best to make it up under two heads. One is specifically provincial, including municipal finances, debt, interest, bonds, also all items connected with tax farmers. The other comprises such matters as cannot conveniently be handled without an edict, as possession of inheritances, possession of property, appointment of receivers, sale of property, things which are usually both litigated and otherwise transacted in accordance with edict. The third category, containing all else to do with the administration of justice, I left unwritten, stating that my rulings under this head would conform to the edicts published in Rome; and so I manage, and so far everyone is satisfied. The natives indeed are jubilant because they have alien judges.¹⁸ Irresponsibles, you may say. Well, what of it? They feel they have won home rule just the same. And our countrymen have such very impressive ones—Turpio the shoemaker and Vettius the broker!

You seem to want to know how I manage about the tax farmers. I dote upon them, defer to them, butter them up with compliments—and arrange so that they harm nobody. Most surprising of all: the rates of interest specified in their agreements with the provincials were maintained even by

satis laxam, quam ante si solverint, dico me centesimas ducturum, si non solverint, ex pactione. itaque et Graeci solvunt tolerabili faenore et publicanis res est gratissima, si illa iam habent pleno modio, verborum honorem, invitationem crebram. quid plura? sunt omnes ita mihi familiares ut se quisque maxime putet; sed tamen μηδὲν αὐτοῖς—scis reliqua.

- 17 De statua Africani (ὦ πραγμάτων ἀσυγκλώστων! sed me id ipsum delectavit in tuis litteris), ain tu? Scipio hic Metellus proavum suum nescit censorem non fuisse? atqui nihil habuit aliud inscriptum nisi 'cos.' ea¹³ statua quae ab Opis parte pos<t>ica¹⁴ in excelso est. in illa autem quae est ad Πολυκλέους¹⁵ Herculem inscriptum est 'cos. <cens.>';¹⁶ quam esse eiusdem status, amictus, anulus, imago ipsa declarat. at mehercule ego, cum in turma inauratarum equestrium quas hic Metellus in Capitolio posuit animadvertissem in Sarapionis subscriptione Africani imaginem,
- 18 erratum fabrile putavi, nunc video Metelli. ο ἀμιστορησίαν turpem! nam illud de Flavio et fastis, si secus est, commune erratum est; et tu belle ἠπόρησας et nos publicam prope opinionem secuti sumus, ut multa apud Graecos. quis enim non dixit Εὐπολιν τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας ab Alcibiade navigante in Siciliam deiectum esse in mare?

¹³ censorea *vel sim.* (*Malaespina*)

¹⁴ posita (*Urlichs*)

¹⁵ ΠΟΔΑΤ- *vel sim.* (*Mommsen*)

¹⁶ *add.* Purser

¹⁹ The elder Isauricus, governor of Cilicia in 78-74, and evidently a good one. ²⁰ We do not, but the (Greek) saying evidently amounted to 'don't trust them a yard.'

²¹ For elucidation of this paragraph see my commentary in *CLA* and note in *American Journal of Ancient History* 14 (1998): 70-72.

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Servilius.¹⁹ My system is this: I fix a date, giving plenty of time, and say that if they pay before that date I shall apply a rate of 1 percent; if not, then the rate in the agreement. So the natives pay a tolerable interest and the tax farmers are delighted with the arrangement, since they now get verbal compliments and frequent invitations to their hearts' content. In a word they are all my friends and each man thinks himself preeminently so. All the same 'in them let not . . . '—you know²⁰ how it goes on.

About Africanus' statue²¹ (what a ragbag this is! But that was just what I liked about your letter), you don't say so! Doesn't this Scipio Metellus know that his great-grandfather never held the Censorship? While the statue which stands on the high ground behind the Temple of Ops has no caption except 'cos.', the one that stands by the Hercules of Polycles is inscribed 'cos. cens.'; and the stance, the drapery, the ring, the likeness itself declares it to be of the same man. Upon my word, when I saw Africanus' likeness over Sarapio's²² name in the cavalcade of gilded equestrian statues which this Metellus set up on the Capitol, I thought it was a workman's blunder. Now I see the blunder was Metellus'. What disgraceful ignorance! That statement of mine about Flavius and the Calendar, if it is wrong, is an error in common currency. You were right to be puzzled, while on my side I followed the more or less received opinion. There are many such things in Greek authors, e.g. everybody spoke of Eupolis (him of the Old Comedy) as having been thrown into the sea by Alcibiades on the voy-

²² P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio or Sarapio, Consul in 138, was the great-grandfather in question.

redarguit Eratosthenes; adfert enim quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit. num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, irridetur? quis Zaleucum leges Locris scripsisse non dixit? num igitur iacet Theophrastus si id a Timaeo, tuo familiari, reprehensum est? sed nescire proavum suum censorem non fuisse turpe est, praesertim cum post eum consulem nemo Cornelius illo vivo censor fuerit.

19 Quod de Philotimo et de solutione HS $\overline{\text{XXDC}}$ scribis, Philotimum circiter Kal. Ian. in Chersonesum audio venisse; at mi ab eo nihil adhuc. reliqua mea Camillus scribit se accepisse. ea quae sint nescio et aveo scire. [sed] verum haec posterius et coram fortasse commodius.

20 Illud me, mi Attice, in extrema fere parte epistulae commovit; scribis enim sic, 'τί λοιπόν;,' deinde me obsecras amantissime ne obliviscar vigilare et ut animadvertam quae fiant. num quid de quo inaudisti? etsi nihil eius modi est; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. nec enim me fefellisset nec falleret. sed ista admonitio tua tam accurata nescio quid mihi significare visa est.

21 De M. Octavio, iterum iam tibi rescribo te illi probe respondisse; paulo vellem fidentius. nam Caelius libertum ad me misit et litteras accurate scriptas et de pantheris et * * *¹⁷ a civitatibus. rescripti <ad>¹⁸ alterum me moleste

¹⁷ ut sibi pecuniam conciliarem *supplendum censuit Sjögren*
¹⁸ *add. SB*

²³ In 415. ²⁴ The veiled wording and the emphatic assurance that all is well suggest that Cicero had his brother in mind (cf. Letter 126.8). ²⁵ See Letter 114.5. The provinces were sometimes taxed in the form of 'voluntary' subsidies to raise money for Roman shows; see the first letter to Quintus, para. 26.

LETTER 115 (VI.1)

age to Sicily.²³ Eratosthenes disproved the story by instancing plays which he says were produced by him after that time. We don't on that account laugh at Duris of Samos, a conscientious historian, because he made the same mistake as many others. Everybody spoke of Zaleucus as the author of the legal code at Locri. Is Theophrastus discredited because your friend Timaeus found fault with that tradition? But it *is* disgraceful not to know that one's great-grandfather was never Censor, especially as no Cornelius became Censor after his Consulship and during his lifetime.

With regard to what you say about Philotimus and the payment of the HS 20,600, I hear that Philotimus arrived in the Chersonese about the Kalends of January, but I have had no word from him as yet. Camillus writes that he (Camillus) has received the sums due to me. What these are I don't know, and am very anxious to know. But of this later, and better perhaps when we meet.

I was disturbed by a phrase almost at the end of your letter. You write '*quoi encore?*' and then beg me affectionately to remember to keep my eyes open and to watch what goes on. Have you heard something about somebody? Not that there is anything of the kind, *il s'en faut beaucoup*. It would not have escaped my notice, nor will. But I felt that so deliberate an admonition from you pointed *some-where*.²⁴

As for M. Octavius, I answer you once again, your reply to him was right and proper—I could wish it had been a little more confidently put. Caelius has sent me a freedman and an elaborate letter both about panthers and about raising money from the townships.²⁵ I replied to the latter

ferre si ego in tenebris laterem nec audiretur Romae nullum in mea provincia nummum nisi in aes alienum erogari, docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere nec illi capere, monuique eum, quem plane diligo, ut cum alios accusasset cautius viveret; illud autem alterum alienum esse existimatione mea, Cibratas imperio meo publice venari.

- 22 Lepta¹⁹ tua epistula gaudio exsultat; etenim scripta belle est meque apud eum magna in gratia posuit. filiola tua gratum mihi fecit quod tibi diligenter mandavit ut mihi salutem adscriberes, gratum etiam Pilia, sed illa officiosius quod me,²⁰ quem iam pridem <amat>,²¹ numquam vidit; igitur tu quoque salutem utrique adscribito. litterarum datarum dies prid. Kal. Ian. suavem habuit recordationem clarissimi iuris iurandi quod ego non eram oblitus; Magnus enim praetextatus illo die fui. habes ad omnia; non, ut postulasti, 'χρύσεια χαλκείων' sed paria paribus respondimus.

- 23 Ecce autem alia pusilla epistula, quam non relinquam ἀναντιφώνητον. bene mehercule <pro>posuit²² Luceius Tusculanum, nisi forte (solet enim) cum suo tibicine; et velim scire qui sit eius status. Lentulum quidem nostrum

¹⁹ lepta vel lecta codd. : L- L- coni. SB ²⁰ mihi (SB)

²¹ add. Watt (ante iam Koch) ²² potuit (Bentivoglio)

²⁶ I.e., by the provincial communities for the benefit of Romans.

²⁷ Was this letter ever sent? *Ad Familiares* 90 (II.11).2 of 4 April to Caelius strikes a very different note.

²⁸ The oath was sworn by Cicero on the last day of his Consulship (29 December 63) 'that he alone had saved the state and the city of Rome.' For the circumstances see *Ad Familiares* 2 (V.2).7.

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point that I was sorry to find that my light was so much under a bushel and that people in Rome were unaware of the fact that in my province not a sixpence is disbursed except in payment of debt;²⁶ and I told him that I was not entitled to raise money nor he to take it and advised him (for I really like him) that as one who had prosecuted others he should be more careful of his conduct. As for the panthers I said it would not help my reputation to have the people of Cibyra hunting publicly on my orders.²⁷

Lepta is perfectly delighted by your letter. Indeed it is admirably phrased and has put me very high in his good books. I am much beholden to your little daughter for so carefully instructing you to give me her love, and to Pilia also; but the former's attention is more remarkable in that she is so affectionate all this time to someone she has never seen. So on your side please give my love to both. The date of your letter, 29 December, contained an amiable reminder of the famous oath, which I had not forgotten.²⁸ That day I was Magnus in mufti. Well, there is all answered, not in 'gold for bronze'²⁹ as you asked, but *quid pro quo*.

But here comes another tiny letter! I shall not leave it *sans réponse*. Upon my word Lucceius has done well to put up his place at Tusculum for sale—unless perhaps he was just talking at large (?),³⁰ as he is apt to do. I should like to know how he stands. I hear that our friend Lentulus³¹ has

²⁹ In allusion to the exchange of armour in *Iliad*, 6.236 between Diomedes and Glaucus.

³⁰ Lit. 'with his flute player' (see commentary in *CLA*).

³¹ Spinther.

CICERO

praeter Tusculanum * * *²³ proscripisse audio. cupio hos expeditos videre, cupio etiam Sestium, adde sis Caelium; in quibus omnibus est 'αἴδεσθαι μὲν ἀνήρασθαι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.' de Memmio restituendo ut Curio cogitet te audisse puto. de Egnati Sidicini nomine nec nulla nec magna spe sumus. Pinarium, quem mihi commendas, diligentissime Deiotarus curat graviter aegrum. respondi etiam minori.

- 24 Tu velim dum ero Laodiceae, id est ad Id. Mai., quam saepissime mecum per litteras colloquare et cum Athenas veneris (iam enim sciemus de rebus urbanis, de provinciis, quae omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata) utique ad
25 me tabellarios mittas. et heus tu, †genua† vos²⁴ a Caesare per Herodem talenta Attica L extorsistis? in quo, ut audio, magnum odium Pompei suscepistis; putat enim suos nummos vos comedisse, Caesarem in Nemore aedificando diligentiore fore. haec ego ex P. Vedio, magno nebulone sed Pompei tamen familiari, audivi. hic Vedius mihi obviam venit cum duobus essedis et raeda equis iuncta et lectica et familia magna, pro qua, si Curio legem pertulerit, HS centenos pendat necesse est; erat praeterea cynocephalus

²³ Pompeianum *vel sim. add. coni. Watt*

²⁴ genuarios *codd. (vide CLA)*

³² From *Iliad*, 7.93. Cicero is probably thinking of the reluctance of his embarrassed friends to part with their property, though some understand 'accept from Caesar.' Either way the quotation is loosely applied.

³³ Memmius was Curio's cousin.

³⁴ I.e., for some Athenian public purpose.

LETTER 115 (VI.1)

advertised * , besides his Tusculan place. I very much want to see them out of the woods, and Sestius too, and Caelius if you like. With all of them it's a case of 'Durst not for shame refuse, for fear accept.'³² I expect you have heard how Curio is thinking about restoring Memmius.³³ About Egnatius Sidicinus' debt I have some hope but not much. Deiotarus is taking great care of Pinarius, whom you recommend to me. He is seriously ill. The smaller letter too is answered.

I hope you will talk to me by letter as often as you can so long as I am in Laodicea, i.e. until the Ides of May, and that when you come to Athens (we shall know soon about affairs in Rome, including the provinces, all of which are down for settlement in March) you will send me couriers without fail. And look here, has Herodes really squeezed 50 Attic talents out of Caesar on behalf of your adopted country?³⁴ I hear that you Athenians have got into very bad odour with Pompey because of that. He thinks you have squandered *his* cash and that Caesar will press on all the harder with his building in the Forest.³⁵ I heard all this from P. Vedius,³⁶ a feather-brained ass but a friend of Pompey's. This Vedius met me with two gigs and a coach and horses and a litter and a crowd of servants, for which if Curio carries his law³⁷ he will have to pay 100 sesterces per head. There was a baboon as well in one of the gigs,

³⁵ At Nemi, where Caesar was building a luxurious villa. He owed Pompey money.

³⁶ Probably the Vedius Pollio who later displeased the Emperor Augustus by feeding slaves to his fish.

³⁷ It evidently limited the number of servants a traveller could take with him without penalty.

in essedo nec deerant onagri. numquam vidi hominem nequiores. sed extremum audi. deversatus est Laodiceae apud Pompeium Vindillum;²⁵ ibi sua deposuit cum ad me profectus est. moritur interim Vindillus. quod res ad Magnum Pompeium pertinere putabatur, C. Vennonius domum Vindilli venit. cum omnia obsignaret, in Vedianas res incidit. in his inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum, in quibus una sororis amici tui, hominis bruti qui hoc utatur, et <uxoris>²⁶ illius lepidi qui haec tam neglegenter ferat. haec te volui *παριστορησαι*; sumus enim ambo belle curiosi.

- 26 Unum etiam velim cogites. audio Appium *πρόπυλον* Eleusine facere; num inepti fuerimus si nos quoque Aca<de>miae fecerimus? 'puto' inquires. ergo id ipsum scribes ad me. equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo; volo esse aliquod monumentum,²⁷ odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum, sed ut tibi placebit, faciesque me in quem diem Romana incidant mysteria certiores et quo modo hiermaris. cura ut valeas. post Leutricam pugnam die septingentesimo sexagesimo quinto.

²⁵ vidi illum (*Sjögren*)

²⁶ *add. Schütz*

²⁷ monumentum meum *Boot* : mei monu- *Kayser*

LETTER 115 (VI.1)

and some onagers for good measure. I never saw such a coxcomb. But listen to the end of the tale. He lodged in Laodicea with Pompeius Vindillus and left his belongings there when he set out to meet me. In the meanwhile Vindillus dies. Since the Great Pompey was supposed to have a claim on his estate, C. Vennonius went to the house, and as he was putting everything under seal he came upon Vedius' luggage. In this were discovered five ladies' portraits in miniature, including one of your friend's sister, you know whose wife³⁸—they live up to their names both of them, the one by having aught to do with the fellow, the other by tolerating these goings on so easily. I thought I'd tell you this en passant. We are both fond of a piece of scandal.

There is one other thing I should like you to think over. I hear that Appius is making a gateway at Eleusis. Would it be out of the way if I did the same for the Academy? 'I think it would,' you'll say. Very well, just write and tell me so. I am really very fond of Athens, the actual city. I want to have some memorial there, and I hate false inscriptions on other people's statues. But as you think best. And you'll let me know what day the Roman Mysteries fall and what sort of a winter you have had. Look after yourself. On the seven hundred and sixty-fourth day after the battle of Leuctra.³⁹

³⁸ The lady was Junia, half-sister of Brutus (*brutus* = 'stupid') and wife of M. Aemilius Lepidus (*lepidus* = 'charming').

³⁹ I.e., Clodius' killing; see Letter 106, note 1. At the battle of Leuctra (371) the Spartan king Cleombrotus was killed fighting against the Thebans.

CICERO

116 (VI.2)

Scr. Laodiceae ex. m. Apr., ut. vid., an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cum Philogenes, libertus tuus, Laodiceam ad me salutandi causa venisset et se statim ad te navigaturum esse diceret, has ei litteras dedi, quibus ad eas rescripsi quas acceperam a Bruti tabellario. et respondebo primum postremae tuae paginae, qua¹ mihi magnae molestiae fuit quod ad te scriptum est a Cincio de Stati sermone; in quo hoc molestissimum est, Statium dicere a me quoque id consilium probari. <ego>² autem de isto hactenus dixerim, me vel plurima vincla tecum summae coniunctionis optare, et<si>³ sunt amoris artissima; tantum abest ut ego ex eo quo
- 2 astricti sumus laxari aliquid velim. illum autem multa de istis rebus asperius solere loqui saepe sum expertus, saepe etiam leniri⁴ iratum; id scire te arbitror. in hac autem peregrinatione militiave nostra saepe incensum ira vidi, saepe placatum. quid ad Statium scripserit nescio; quicquid acturus de tali re fuit, scribendum tamen ad libertum non fuit. mihi autem erit maximae curae ne quid fiat secus quam volumus quamque oportet. nec satis est in eius modi re se quemque praestare, ac maximae partes istius officii sunt <p>ueri Ciceronis sive iam adulescentis; quod quidem illum soleo hortari. ac mihi videtur valde matrem, ut debet, amare teque mirifice; sed est magnum illud quidem verum tamen multiplex pueri ingenium; quod ego regendo habeo negoti satis.

¹ quae (SB)² add. Watt³ add. Plus⁴ lenivi* (coni. SB)¹ A divorce between Quintus and Pomponia.

LETTER 116 (VI.2)

116 (VI.2)

Laodicea, latter part of April (?) 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your freedman Philogenes has come to pay his respects to me in Laodicea and says he is returning to you at once by sea, so I am giving him this letter in reply to yours delivered by Brutus' courier. And first I shall reply to your last page, where the account in Cincius' letter to you of his conversation with Staius vexed me deeply. The most vexatious thing about it was that Staius should say that I too approve this idea.¹ On that let me say only one thing: so far from wishing the bond between us to be in any way relaxed, I should welcome as many and as intimate links with you as possible, though those of affection, and of the closest, exist already. As for *him*, I have often found that he is apt to speak rather harshly in these matters, and again that his anger is often mollified. I think you know this. During this foreign trip or rather service of ours I have repeatedly seen him flare up and calm down again. What he may have written to Staius I cannot say. Whatever step he proposed to take in such a matter he ought not to have written to a freedman. I shall do my utmost to prevent any action contrary to our wishes and to what is right. But in a matter of this sort it is not enough to answer for oneself, and a large share of this responsibility falls upon the boy, or young man as he now is. This I am in the habit of urging upon him. He does seem to me to be very fond of his mother, as he should be, and extraordinarily fond of you. But the boy's nature, though gifted, is complex, and I have plenty to do guiding it.

3 Quoniam respondi postremae tuae paginae prima mea, nunc ad primam revertar tuam. Peloponnesias civitates omnis maritimas esse hominis non nequam sed etiam tuo iudicio probati, Dicaearchi, tabulis credidi. is multis nominibus in Trophoniana Chaeronis narratione Graecos in eo reprehendit quod maritima⁵ secuti sint, nec ullum in Peloponneso locum excipit. cum mihi auctor placeret (<et>enim erat *ιστορικώτατος* et vixerat in Peloponneso), admirabar tamen et vix credens⁶ communicavi cum Dionysio. atque is primo est commotus, deinde, quod de deo [cum]⁷ isto Dicaearch<e>o⁸ non minus bene existimabat quam tu de C. Vestorio, ego de M. Cluvio,⁹ non dubitabat quin ei crederemus. Arcadiae censebat esse Lepreon quoddam maritimum; Tenea autem et Aliphera et Tritia *νεόκτιστα* ei videbantur, idque *τῶ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγῳ* confirmabat, ubi mentio non fit istorum. itaque istum ego locum totidem verbis a Dicaearcho transtuli. 'Phliasios' autem dici sciebam et ita fac ut habeas; nos quidem sic habemus. sed primo me *ἀναλογία* deceperat, Φλιοῦς,

⁵ mare tam (SB)

⁶ adgred(i)ens (coni. SB* : accedens *Bosius*)

⁷ del. SB

⁸ add. *Purser*

⁹ incluíno *vel sim.* (*Manutius*)

² What follows concerns two points raised by Atticus on a passage in Cicero's work *On the Republic*.

³ The Latin word can mean both 'maps' (not that Dicaearchus' book is likely to have actually contained these) and business 'accounts.' Other plays on business terms follow.

⁴ This work of Dicaearchus seems to have had as its framework

Having answered your last page with my first, I shall now come back to your first.² I took the statement that all the Peloponnesian communities adjoin the sea from the accounts³ of Dicaearchus, no scamp but a man approved by your own judgement. In the course of Chaeron's story⁴ about Trophonius he takes the Greeks to task under many heads for clinging to the coast, and makes no exception of any place in the Peloponnese. Though I thought him a good authority (after all he was extremely well informed and had lived in the Peloponnese), I was surprised and almost incredulous, so I consulted Dionysius. He was taken aback at first, but afterwards, having as high an opinion of this Dicaearchian deity⁵ as you have of C. Vestorius or I of M. Cluvius,⁶ he was satisfied that we ought to credit him. He thought that Arcadia included a place on the coast called Lepreon, while Tenea, Aliphera, and Tritia⁷ were recent foundations in his opinion, which he supported by the Catalogue of Ships,⁸ where they are not mentioned. So I took the passage over from Dicaearchus just as it stood. As for 'Phliasiens,' I know that this is the correct form, and please put it in your copies as I have done in mine. But I was deceived at first by the analogy of Phlius with Opus

an account by one Chaeron of his descent into the oracular cave of Zeus Trophonius. Its main subject is uncertain.

⁵ If the reading is right, we may infer that Dicaearchus had put his strictures about Greeks and the sea into the mouth of the god Zeus Trophonius.

⁶ Vestorius and Cluvius were businessmen resident in Puteoli, which had anciently been called Dicaearchia.

⁷ Inland towns in different parts of Greece.

⁸ In the second book of the *Iliad*.

῾Οπούς, Σιπούς, quod ῾Οπούντιοι, Σιπούντιοι; sed hoc continuo correximus.

- 4 Laetari te nostra moderatione et continentia video. tum id magis faceres, si adesses. atque hoc foro quod egi ex Id. Febr. Laodiceae ad Kal. Mai. omnium dioecesium praeter Ciliciae mirabilia quaedam effecimus; ita multae civitates omni aere alieno liberatae, multae valde levatae sunt, omnes suis legibus et iudiciis usae *ἀυτονομίαν* adeptae revixerunt. his ego duobus generibus facultatem ad se aere alieno liberandas aut levandas dedi: uno quod omnino nullus in imperio meo sumptus factus est; nullum cum dico non loquor *ὑπερβολικῶς*: nullus inquam, ne terruncius quidem. hac autem re incredibile est quantum civitates emer-
- 5 serint. accessit altera: mira erant in civitatibus ipsorum furta Graecorum quae magistratus <s>ui¹⁰ fecerant. quae sivi ipse de iis qui annis decem proximis magistratum gesserant; aperte fatebantur. itaque sine ulla ignominia suis umeris pecunias populis rettulerunt. populi autem nullo gemitu publicanis, quibus hoc ipso lustro nihil solverant, etiam superioris lustrum reddiderunt; itaque publicanis in oculis sumus. 'gratis' inquis 'viris.' sensimus. iam cetera iuris dictio nec imperita et clemens cum admirabili facili-

¹⁰ *add. Manutius*

⁹ Yet the fifth-sixth century palimpsest containing the treatise has *Phliuntios*. Apparently Atticus failed to do as he was asked.

¹⁰ Cicero evidently blamed his old allies the capitalists for their lack of support in 58.

and Sipus, which make 'Opuntians,' 'Sipuntians.' But I corrected this at once.⁹

I see that you are pleased with my moderation and disinterestedness. You would be even more so if you were on the spot. At this assize which I have been holding in Laodicea from the Ides of February to the Kalends of May for all my Districts except those of Cilicia I have produced some astonishing results. A great number of communities have been entirely cleared of debt, many others substantially relieved. All have come to life again with the acquisition of home rule under their own laws and courts. I have enabled them to free themselves wholly or partially from debt in two ways. First, no expense whatsoever has been incurred during my term as governor—and when I say 'no expense' I am not speaking in hyperbole, I mean literally none, not a penny. You would hardly believe how much that has helped to drag the communities out of the mire. Then there is another thing. The natives themselves were responsible for an astonishing number of peculations in the communities, committed by their own magistrates. I personally investigated those who had held office in the last ten years. They admitted it quite frankly. So without any open disgrace they put back the money with their own hands into the various public purses. The civic bodies for their part, which had paid the tax farmers nothing in this present quinquennium, have now without any moaning paid the arrears of the previous quinquennium as well. So I am a prime favourite with the tax farmers. 'Grateful gentry' you may say. I have experienced their gratitude.¹⁰ Then the rest of my administration of justice has been sufficiently expert on the one hand and merciful on the other, and my affability makes a great impression. Access to me

tate. aditus autem ad me minime provinciales. nihil per cubicularium; ante lucem inambulabam domi ut olim candidatus. grata haec et magna mihi que nondum laboriosa ex illa vetere militia.

6 Non. Mai. in Ciliciam cogitabam; ibi cum Iunium mensem consumpsissem (atque utinam in pace! magnum enim bellum impendet a Parthis), Quintilem in reditu ponere. annuae enim mihi operae a. d. III Kal. Sext. emerentur. magna autem in spe sum mihi nihil temporis prorogatum iri. habebam acta urbana usque ad Non. Mart.; e quibus intellegebam Curionis nostri constantia omnia potius actum iri quam de provinciis. ergo, ut spero, prope diem te videbo.

7 Venio ad Brutum tuum, immo nostrum (sic enim mavis). equidem omnia feci quae potui aut in mea provincia perficere <aut> in regno experiri. omni igitur modo egi cum rege et ago cottidie, per litteras scilicet; ipsum enim triduum quadriduumve mecum habui turbulentis in rebus quibus eum liberavi. sed et tum praesens et postea creberimis <litteris> non destiti rogare et petere mea causa, suadere et hortari sua. multum profeci, sed quantum, non plane, quia longe absum, scio.

Salaminos autem (hos enim poteram coercere) adduxi ut totum nomen Scaptio vellent solvere, sed centesimis ductis a proxima quidem syngrapha nec perpetuis sed renovatis quotannis. numerabantur nummi: noluit Scap-

¹¹ Curio, now in Caesar's interest, was vetoing moves to recall Caesar from Gaul.

LETTER 116 (VI.2)

is not at all after the usual provincial fashion. Nothing is done through my valet. I am up and about in my residence before daybreak, just as in the days when I was a candidate. These things are appreciated and thought much of; and being an old campaigner I have not so far found them irksome.

On the Nones of May I propose to leave for Cilicia. After spending June there (I only hope in peace, for a major war is threatening from Parthia), I shall devote July to my return journey, since my year's term will have been served on 30 July. I am very hopeful that there will be no prorogation. I have the city news up to the Nones of March, from which I gather that through our friend Curio's firmness¹¹ any business is more likely to be dealt with than the provinces. So I hope I shall be seeing you soon.

I come to your friend Brutus, or rather our friend, since you prefer it so. On my side everything I could manage in my province or attempt in the kingdom I have done. I have taken the matter up with the king in every possible way and am still doing so daily—by correspondence naturally, since I only had him with me for three or four days during a crisis from which I extricated him. But both on that occasion in person and afterwards in letter after letter I have never ceased asking and demanding on my account, advising and urging on his own. I have made considerable progress, but just how much I cannot at this distance say.

As for the Salaminians, with whom I could use compulsion, I brought them to the point that they were willing to pay Scaptius the entire debt, but at 1 percent interest calculated from the last renewal of the bond, not simple but compounded annually. The money was ready to put down: Scaptius refused. What have you to say, who tell me that

tius. <quid>¹¹ tu, qui ais Brutum cupere aliquid perdere? 'quaternas habebat in syngrapha.' fieri non poterat nec, si posset, ego pati possem. audio omnino Scaptium paenitere. nam quod senatus consultum esse dicebat ut ius ex syngrapha diceretur, eo consilio factum est quod pecuniam Salamini contra legem Gabiniam sumpserant. vetabat autem <e>a lex ius dici de ita sumpta pecunia; decrevit igitur senatus ut ius diceretur <ex> ista syngrapha. nunc ista ha-
 8 bet iuris idem quod ceterae, nihil praecipui. haec a me ordine facta puto me Bruto probaturum, tibi¹² nescio, Catoni certe probabo.

Sed iam ad te ipsum revertor. ain tandem, Attice, laudator integritatis et elegantiae nostrae? 'ausus es hoc ex ore tuo' (inquit Ennius), ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem me rogare? an tu si mecum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum quod non simul sis, paterere me id facere si vellem? 'non amplius' inquis 'quingenta.' cum Spartaco minus multi primo fuerunt. quid tandem isti mali in tam tenera insula non fecissent? <non fecissent> autem? immo quid ante adventum meum non fecerunt? inclusum in curia senatum habuerunt Salaminum ita multos dies ut interierint non nulli fame; erat enim praefectus Appi Scaptius et habebat turmas ab Appio. id me igitur tu, cuius mehercule os mihi ante oculos solet versari cum de aliquo officio ac laude cogito, tu me, inquam, rogas praefectus ut Scaptius sit? at hoc statueramus, ut negotiatorem neminem, idque Bruto probamus. habeat is turmas? cur

¹¹ *add. Schütz*

¹² *tibine Orelli*

¹² *Annals* 578 (Vahlen). ¹³ Leader of the great Italian slave rebellion in the late seventies.

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Brutus is only too willing to accept some loss? That he had 4 percent in the bond? That was not possible, and even if it had been, *I* could not have tolerated it. To be sure I hear that Scaptius is sorry now. As for his statement that a senatorial decree ordered judgement to be given in accordance with the bond, it was passed only because the Salaminians had broken the *lex Gabinia* in borrowing the money, which law prohibited judicial cognizance of money so borrowed. Therefore the Senate decreed that judgement be given according to this bond. It now has the same legal status as any other, no more, no less. I think I shall satisfy Brutus that I have acted correctly in this matter. As to yourself I don't know, but I shall certainly satisfy Cato.

But now to return to yourself. Do you really mean it, Atticus, you, the encomiast of my fastidious rectitude? 'This hast thou dared from thine own lips,' as Ennius¹² says, to ask me to give Scaptius mounted troops to extract the money? You tell me it sometimes chafes you that you are not here beside me. Well, supposing you *were* with me, would you let me do that if I wanted? 'Not more than fifty' you say. There were fewer with Spartacus¹³ to begin with. What damage would they not have done in so vulnerable an island? I say 'would they not have done'; I should rather say 'what did they not do, before I came on the scene?' They kept the Salaminian senate shut up in their senate house for so many days that some of them starved to death. For Scaptius was Appius' Prefect and had troops of horse from him. Well then, are *you*, whose face I do assure you is in my mind's eye whenever I contemplate any right and creditable act, are *you* asking me to make Scaptius a Prefect? I had already made a rule not to appoint any businessman and Brutus approves of it. Troops of horse for that

- potius quam cohortis? sumptu iam nepos evadit Scaptius.
- 9 'volunt' inquit 'principes.' scio; nam ad me Ephesum usque venerunt flentesque equitum scelera et miserias suas detulerunt. itaque statim dedi litteras ut ex Cypro equites ante certam diem decederent, ob eamque causam tum ob ceteras Salamini nos in caelum decretis suis sustulerunt. sed iam quid opus equitatu? solvunt enim Salamini; nisi forte id volumus armis efficere, ut faenus quaternis centesimis ducant. et ego audebo legere umquam aut attingere eos libros quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero? nimis, nimis inquam, in isto Brutum amasti, dulcissime Attice, nos vereor ne parum. atque haec scripsi ego ad Brutum scripsisse te ad me.
- 10 Cognosce nunc cetera. pro Appio nos hic omnia facimus, honeste tamen sed plane libenter; nec enim ipsum odimus et Brutum amamus et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit, quem mehercule plus plusque in dies diligo. C. Coelium huc quaestorem venire audisti? nescio quid sit hominis. [sed]¹³ Pammenia illa mihi non placent. ego me spero Athenis fore mense Septembri. tuorum itinerum tempora scire sane velim. εὐκ^η > θείαν Semproni Rufi cognovi ex epistula tua Corcyraea; quid quaeris? invideo potentiae Vestori.
- Cupiebam etiam nunc plura garrere, sed lucet; urget turba, festinat Philogenes. valebis igitur et valere Piliam et Caeciliam nostram iubebis litteris et salvebis a meo Cicerone.

¹³ *secl. SB* : sed . . . (*cum apostrophi*) *Wesenberg*

¹⁴ *On the Republic.*

¹⁵ See Letter 95, note 1.

¹⁶ Attica.

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fellow? Why not companies of foot? Quite a spendthrift Scaptius is turning out! 'The notables' says he 'so desire.' I know! They came to me all the way to Ephesus and told me with tears in their eyes of the atrocities of the troopers and their own sufferings. Accordingly I at once sent a letter ordering the departure of the troopers from Cyprus by a certain date, and that among other things is why the people of Salamis have extolled me to the skies in their public resolutions. But what does he want with cavalry *now*? The Salaminians are paying up—unless of course we wish to make them pay interest at 4 percent by armed force. Shall I ever dare to read or so much as handle the volumes¹⁴ you praise so warmly if I do anything of the sort? My dearest Atticus, you have really cared too much for Brutus in this matter, and not enough, I fear, for me. However I have written to Brutus telling him what you have written to me.

Now for the rest of my news. I am doing everything possible here on Appius' behalf, having regard to what is seemly however—but not at all half-heartedly. I have no ill will towards Appius himself, I am fond of Brutus, and Pompey, for whom I must say my regard increases from day to day, makes a very great point of it. Have you heard that C. Coelius is coming here as Quaestor? I don't know what sort of a fellow he is. I don't like this about Pammenes. I hope to be in Athens in September. I should much like to know the dates of your journeys. I have learned of Sempronius Rufus' naïveté from your letter from Corcyra and can only say that I envy Vestorius his power.¹⁵

I should love to go on gossiping a while longer, but it is light. The crowd presses, Philogenes wants to be off. All good wishes then, and please give the like to Pilia and our dear Caecilia¹⁶ when you write. My Marcus sends his love.

CICERO

117 (VI.3)

Scr. Tarsum iter faciens m. Mai. vel in. Iun. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Etsi nihil sane habebam novi quod post accidisset quam dedissem ad te Philogeni liberto tuo litteras, tamen cum Philotimum Romam remitterem, scribendum aliquid ad te fuit. ac primum illud quod me maxime angebat (non quo me aliquid iuvare posses; quippe; res enim est in manibus, tu autem abes longe gentium;

πολλὰ δ' ἐν μεταχειμῖω
νότος κυλίνδει κύματ' εὐρείας¹ ἀλός):

- obrepit² dies, ut vides (mihi enim a. d. III Kal. Sext. de provincia decedendum est), nec succeditur. quem relinquam qui provinciae praesit? ratio quidem et opinio hominum postulat fratrem, primum quod videtur esse honos, nemo igitur potior; deinde quod solum habeo praetorium. Pomptinus enim ex pacto et convento (nam ea lege exierat) iam a me discesserat. quaestorem nemo dignum
- 2 putat; etenim est levis, libidinosus, tagax. de fratre autem primum illud est: persuaderi ei non posse arbitror; odit enim provinciam, et hercule nihil odiosius, nihil molestius. deinde, ut mihi nolit negare, quidnam mei sit officii? cum bellum esse in Syria magnum putetur, id videatur in hanc provinciam erupturum, hic praesidi nihil sit, sumptus annuus decretus sit, videaturne aut pietatis esse meae fratrem relinquere aut diligentiae nugarum aliquid relin-

¹ εὐρείης (*Diggle*)² obrepit (*Ernesti*)¹ Greek quotation of unknown provenance.

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117 (VI.3)

En route to Tarsus, May or beginning of June 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have no news really, nothing subsequent to the letter I gave to your freedman Philogenes, but as I am sending Philotimus back to Rome I must write you something. I'll begin with my biggest worry, not that you can be of any help. How should you? The matter is actual and you are far, far away,

and many a wave between
the south wind rolls over the wide, salt sea.¹

The day is creeping up, as you see—I must leave the province on 30 July—and my successor is not appointed. Whom am I to leave in charge of the province? In principle and in the general expectation my brother is the man, firstly because it has the appearance of an honour, so nobody has a better claim; second, because he is the only man of praetorian rank available. Pomptinus has already left me according to covenant—he came out on that condition. Nobody thinks the Quaestor fit for the position. He is irresponsible, licentious, and light-fingered. As for my brother, there is this to begin with: I don't think he could be persuaded. He hates the province, and certainly nothing could be more boring and disagreeable. Second, granted that he might not care to say no to me, where does my duty lie? There is thought to be a major war in Syria which looks as though it will erupt into this province, there is no means of defence here, only one year's credits have been voted. In such circumstances can I as a good brother leave Quintus in charge? And can I as a good public servant

CICERO

quere? magna igitur, ut vides, sollicitudine adficior, magna inopia consili. quid quaeris? toto negotio nobis opus non fuit. quanto tua provincia melior! decedes cum voles, nisi forte iam decessisti; quem videbitur praeficies Thesprotiae et Chaoniae. necdum tamen ego Quintum conveneram, ut iam si id placeret scirem possetne ab eo impetrari; nec tamen, si posset, quid vellem habebam. hoc est igitur eius modi.

Reliqua plena adhuc et laudis et gratiae, digna iis libris quos dilaudas: conservatae civitates, cumulate publicanis satis factum; offensus contumelia nemo, decreto iusto et severo perpauci, nec tamen quisquam ut queri audeat; res gestae dignae triumpho, de quo ipso nihil cupide agemus, sine tuo quidem consilio certe nihil. clausula est difficilis in tradenda provincia; sed haec deus aliquis gubernabit.

4 De urbanis rebus scilicet plura tu scis, saepius et certiora audis; equidem doleo non me tuis litteris certior fieri. huc enim odiosa adferebantur de Curione, de Paulo; non quo ullum periculum videam stante Pompeio vel etiam sedente, valeat modo; sed mehercule Curionis et Pauli, meorum familiarium, vicem doleo. formam igitur mihi totius rei publicae, si iam es Romae aut cum eris, velim mittas quae mihi obviam veniat, ex qua me fingere possim et praemeditari quo animo accedam ad urbem; est enim quiddam advenientem non esse peregrinum atque hospitem.

² I.e., about their support for Caesar.

leave some nincompoop? So as you see I am in great worry and perplexity. The truth is I ought never to have touched this job. How I envy you *your* province! You will leave when you like—perhaps you have left already. You will place whomever you think fit in charge of Thresprotia and Chaonia. However I have not yet met Quintus so as to know whether he could be brought to agree, if I *should* decide that way. But if he could, I can't tell what I want. So that's about the size of that.

The rest of my administration brings me so far abundance of praise and gratitude, befitting the volumes you eulogize so handsomely: communities saved from bankruptcy, tax farmers more than satisfied, nobody insulted, only a very few offended by the strict justice of a ruling (but none daring to complain), military achievements worthy of a Triumph. In *that* matter I shall do nothing savouring of undue eagerness, and certainly nothing without your advice. The close of the chapter presents difficulty, in handing over the province. But some providence will guide me there.

Of home affairs you of course know more than I, you hear more often and more reliably. I am sorry you don't inform me by letter, for some disagreeable reports are coming here about Curio and Paulus.² Not that I see any danger so long as Pompey stands—or even sits, provided his health holds. But I am really sorry about Curio and Paulus, both friends of mine. So please send me a sketch of the whole political situation if you are already in Rome or when you get there, so that it meets me on my way and I can adjust myself in the light of it and work out beforehand the attitude of mind in which I ought to approach the capital. It's something not to arrive as a foreigner and a stranger.

5 Et quod paene praeterii, Bruti tui causa, ut saepe ad te scripsi, feci omnia. Cyprii numerabant; sed Scaptius centesimis renovato in singulos annos faenore contentus non fuit. Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium prolixior per ipsum quam per me in Brutum. quem tamen ego praestare non poteram; erat enim rex perpauper aberamque ab eo ita longe ut nihil possem ni<si> litteris, quibus pugnare non destiti. summa haec est: pro ratione pecuniae liber<al>ius est Brutus tractatus quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter C, Pompeio in sex mensibus promissa CC. iam in Appi negotio quantum tribuerim Bruto dici vix potest. quid est igitur quod laborem? amicos habet meras nugas, Ma<ti>nium, Scaptium; qui quia non habuit <a> me turmas equitum quibus Cyprum vexaret, ut ante me fecerat, fortasse suscenset, aut quia praefectus non est, quod ego nemini tribui negotiatori (non C. Vennonio, meo familiari, non tuo, M. Laenio), et quod tibi Romae ostenderam me servaturum; in quo perseveravi. sed quid poterit queri is qui auferre pecuniam cum posset noluit? †aut Scaptius†³ qui in Cappadocia fuit puto esse satis factum. is a me tribunatum cum accepisset, quem ego ex Bruti litteris ei detulissem, postea scripsit ad me se uti nolle eo tribuatu.

6 Gavius est quidam, cui cum praefecturam detulissem Bruti rogatu multa et dixit et fecit cum quadam mea contumelia, P. Clodi canis. is me nec proficiscentem Apamea

³ aut (*vel an vel om.*) scaptius *codd* : alteri Scaptio *coni.* SB

³ See Letter 115, note 2.

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I nearly forgot to add that, as I have often told you, I have done everything in my power for your friend Brutus. The Cypriots were ready to pay cash down, but Scaptius was not satisfied with 1 percent per month annually compounded. Ariobarzanes is as anxious to pay Brutus for my sake as he is to pay Pompey for Pompey's. However, I can't answer for him. He is a very impecunious monarch and I am too far away to do anything except by letters, with which I have kept up a steady barrage. The long and the short of it is that proportionally to the sums involved Brutus has been treated more handsomely than Pompey. Brutus has been paid about 100 talents this year, Pompey has been promised 200 over six months. Then there is Appius' affair; what I have done in that for Brutus' sake is almost beyond telling. So why should I worry? He has friends who are utter good-for-nothings—Matinius, Scaptius. The latter may be cross because he did not get from me some troops of horse to harry Cyprus, as he had done before my time, or because he is not a Prefect, an appointment which I have not given to any businessman, neither to my friend C. Vennonius nor to your friend M. Laenius—the rule I told you in Rome I should follow and to which I have kept. But how can a man grumble who would not take his money when he had the chance? As for the Scaptius who was in Cappadocia,³ I think he has no complaints. He accepted a Tribunate from me which I offered him as requested in a letter of Brutus', but later wrote to me that he did not want to take the appointment up.

There is a certain Gavius who, after I had offered him a Prefecture at Brutus' request, often both spoke and behaved in a manner insulting to me—one of the dogs who ran at P. Clodius' heels. He omitted to accompany me

prosecutus est nec, cum postea in castra venisset atque inde discederet, num quid vellem rogavit et fuit aperte mihi nescio qua re non amicus. hunc ego si in praefectis habuissem, quem tu me hominem putares? qui, ut scis, potentissimorum hominum contumaciam numquam tulerim, ferrem huius adseculae? etsi hoc plus est quam ferre, tribuere etiam aliquid benefici et honoris. is igitur Gavius, cum Apameae me nuper vidisset Romam proficiscens, me ita appellavit <ut>⁴ Culleolum vix auderem: 'unde' inquit 'me iubes petere cibaria praefecti?' respondi lenius quam putabant oportuisse qui aderant, me non instituisse iis dare cibaria quorum opera non essem usus.

7 abiit iratus. huius nebulonis oratione si Brutus moveri potest, licebit eum solus ames, me aemulum non habebis. sed illum eum futurum esse puto qui esse debet; tibi tamen causam notam esse volui et ad ipsum haec perscripsi diligentissime. omnino (soli enim sumus) nullas umquam ad me litteras misit Brutus, ne proxime quidem de Appio, in quibus non inesset adrogans et ἀκοινονόητον aliquid. tibi autem valde solet in ore esse:

Granius autem

non contemnere se et reges odisse superbos.

in quo tamen ille mihi risum magis quam stomachum movere solet; sed plane parum cogitat quid scribat aut ad quem.

⁴ *add. Schütz*

⁴ It appears that Gavius had been given the title, but Cicero took the view that he had forfeited it by his subsequent rudeness.

⁵ This evidently contemptible figure cannot be identified.

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when I left Apamea and, when subsequently he visited my camp, went off again without taking leave of me and showed quite openly that he bore me some sort of grudge. If I had counted a fellow like that among my Prefects, what would you take me for?⁴ As you know, I have never put up with rudeness from the most powerful personages; was I to tolerate it from this hanger-on? And this is going beyond mere toleration, actually to confer something in the way of a favour and distinction. Well, this Gavius, seeing me recently at Apamea as he was leaving for Rome, accosted me in a tone I should hardly dare to use to Culleolus:⁵ 'Where am I supposed to apply for my maintenance allowance as Prefect?' I answered more gently than those present thought proper to the occasion, that it was not my practice to give maintenance allowances to persons whose services I had not used. He left in a huff. If Brutus can be affected by what this scum has to say, you can love him all by yourself, I shall not be your competitor. But I expect he will behave as befits him. However I wanted you to know the facts and I have given Brutus a fully detailed account of them. To be sure (I write in confidence) Brutus has never sent me a letter, not even most recently about Appius, that did not contain something arrogant, ungracious. Now one of your favourite sayings is

Granius now
Knew his own worth and hated proud grandees.⁶

But this way of his amuses rather than irritates me. All the same he should really take a little more thought about what he writes and to whom.

⁶ See Letter 28, note 1.

- 8 Q. Cicero puer legit, ut opinor, et certe, epistulam inscriptam patri suo; solet enim aperire, idque de meo consilio, si quid forte sit quod opus sit sciri. in ea autem epistula erat idem illud de sorore quod ad me. mirifice conturbatum vidi puerum; lacrimans mecum est questus. quid quaeris? miram in eo pietatem, suavitatem humanitatemque perspexi; quo maiorem spem habeo nihil fore aliter ac deceat. id te igitur scire volui.
- 9 Ne illud quidem praetermittam. Hortensius filius fuit Laodiceae gladiatoribus, flagitiose et turpiter. hunc ego patris causa vocavi ad cenam quo die venit, et eiusdem patris causa nihil amplius. is mihi dixit se Athenis me expectaturum ut mecum decederet. 'recte' inquam; quid enim dicerem? omnino puto nihil esse quod dixit; nolo quidem, ne offendam patrem, quem mehercule multum diligo. sin fuerit meus comes, moderabor ita ne quid eum offendam quem minime volo.
- 10 Haec sunt. etiam illud: orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas contra M. Servilium. litteras mitte quam primum; si nihil <erit, id ipsum scribes, nihil>⁵ fieri, vel per tuum tabellarium. Piliae et filiae salutem. cura ut valeas.

⁵ *add. SB*

LETTER 117 (VI.3)

I think, indeed I am sure, that young Quintus has read a letter addressed to his father. He is in the habit of opening them and does so at my suggestion, in case there might be something we ought to know about. This particular letter contained the same item⁷ about your sister which you wrote to me. I could see that the boy was dreadfully upset. He cried as he lamented over it to me. In fact I was greatly impressed by the dutiful, affectionate, thoughtful way he spoke. It makes me the more hopeful that nothing untoward will happen. So I wanted you to know.

Another thing I may as well mention is that Hortensius junior was in Laodicea for the gladiators, behaving in a scandalous, disgraceful fashion. For his father's sake I asked him to dine the day he arrived and equally for his father's sake did nothing more. He told me he would wait for me in Athens in order to go back with me to Rome. 'Very good' I said. What else could I say? To be sure I don't suppose that what he said meant anything. I hope not, for I shouldn't like to offend his father, for whom, believe me, I have a great regard. If however he does accompany me, I shall handle it so as not to give offence where I least wish.

That's all—except this: would you please send me Q. Celer's speech against M. Servilius?⁸ Send me a letter as soon as you can. If no news, just say that, that there is nothing doing, even if it means sending a courier of your own. My love to Pilia and your daughter. Take care of your health.

⁷ The mooted divorce between Quintus and Pomponia.

⁸ See Caelius Rufus' account of this trial in *Ad Familiares* 84 (VIII. 8).

CICERO

118 (VI.4)

Scr. in itinere med., ut vid., m. Iun. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Tarsum veni Non. Iun. ibi me multa moverunt: magnum in Syria bellum, magna in Cilicia latrocinia, mihi difficilis ratio administrandi, quod paucos dies habebam reliquos annui muneris, illud autem difficillimum, relinquendus erat ex senatus consulto qui praeesset. nihil minus probari poterat quam quaestor Mescinius. nam de Coelio nihil audiebamus. rectissimum videbatur Quintum fratrem cum imperio relinquere; in quo multa molesta, discessus noster, belli periculum, militum improbitas, sescenta praeterea. o rem totam odiosam! sed haec fortuna viderit, quoniam consilio non multum uti licet.
- 2 Tu quando Romam salvus (ut spero) venisti, videbis, ut soles, omnia quae intelleges nostra interesse, in primis de Tullia mea, cuius de condicione quid mihi placeret scripsi ad Terentiam cum tu in Graecia esses; deinde de honore nostro. quod enim tu afuisti, vereor ut satis diligenter actum in senatu sit de litteris meis.
- 3 Illud praeterea *μυστικώτερον* ad te scribam, tu sagacius odorabere. *τῆς δάμαρτός μου ὁ ἀπελεύθερος (οἰσθα ὃν λέγω) ἔδοξέ μοι πρώην, ἐξ ὧν ἀλογεόμενος παρεφθέγγετο, πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῆς ὀνῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων <τῶν>¹ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου*

¹ *add. Wesenberg*¹ A Supplication. ² Italics mark the shift into Greek.³ Philotimus. ⁴ Milo, whose namesake was a famous athlete of Croton, and who slew the 'tyrant' Clodius.

LETTER 118 (VI.4)

118 (VI.4)

En route, mid-(?) June 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I arrived at Tarsus on the Nones of June. There I found much to disquiet me: a great war in Syria, a great deal of brigandage in Cilicia, a difficult administrative task because I have only a few days left of my year's charge; most difficult of all, somebody must be left in charge under the Senate's decree. No choice could have less to recommend it than Quaestor Mescinius—of Coelius I hear nothing. The most correct course seems to be to leave my brother Quintus with full authority. It involves many disagreeables, our separation, the danger of war, the rascality of the soldiers—there's no end to them. The whole thing is an unmitigated bore. But I must leave all this to luck since there is little room for calculation.

Now that you are safely back, I hope, in Rome, would you please attend in your usual way to all you may find to concern me, above all with regard to my dear Tullia—I gave my views about a match for her to Terentia in a letter written when you were in Greece; and secondly with regard to my prospective honour,¹ for I'm afraid that because of your absence my letter did not get sufficiently careful treatment in the Senate.

There's something else about which I must write to you *en langue voilée*, and you must lay your nose to the scent. From² the confused and incoherent way he talked the other day, I formed the impression that my wife's freedman³ (you know to whom I refer) has cooked the accounts relating to the purchase of the Crotonian tyrannicide's⁴ property. I

CICERO

τυραννοκτόνου. δέδοικα δὴ μὴ τι—νοήσεις² δήπου. τούτο δὴ περισκεψάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξασφάλισαι. non qu<e>o tantum quantum vereor scribere; tu autem fac ut mihi tuae litterae volent obviae.

Haec festinans scripsi in itinere atque agmine. Piliae et puellae Caeciliae bellissimae salutem dices.

119 (VI.5)

Scr. in castris ad Pyramum VI vel V Kal. Quint. an. 50 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Nunc quidem profecto Romae es, quo te, si ita est, salvum venisse gaudeo; unde quidem quam diu afuisti, magis a me abesse videbare quam si domi esses. minus enim mihi meae notae res erant, minus etiam publicae. qua re velim, etsi (ut spero) te haec legente aliquantum iam¹ viae processero, tamen obvias mihi litteras quam argutissimas de omnibus rebus crebro mittas, in primis de quo scripsi ad te antea. τῆς ξυναόρου τῆς ἐμῆς οὐξελευθeros ἔδοξέ μοι θαμὰ βατταρίζων <καὶ> ἀλύων ἐν τοῖς ξυλλόγοις καὶ ταῖς λέσχαις ὑπό τι πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐν
- 2 τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν τοῖς τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου. hoc tu indaga, ut soles, at hoc magis. ἐξ ἄστεως ἐπταλόφου στείχων παρέδωκεν μνῶν †καμν†² ὀφείλημα τῷ³ Καμίλλῳ, ἑαυτὸν τε ὀφείλοντα μνᾶς κδ' ἐκ τῶν Κροτωνιατικῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Χερρονησιτικῶν μῆ' καὶ μνᾶς κληρονομῆσαι χμ' [κμ].⁴ τούτων δὲ μηδὲ ὀβολὸν διευλυ-

² NONΣΗΣ ΕΙΣ *vel sim.* (Watt)

¹ tamen *vel tam vel tum* (Ernesti)

³ -ΗΜΑΤΩΝ *vel sim.* (Lambinus)

² κδ', μῆ' Bostius

⁴ secl. SB

LETTER 119 (VI.5)

am afraid that something—you'll take my meaning. Please look into it and see that the other matters are put on a safe footing. I can't put all I fear into words. You must see that a letter comes flying to meet me.

I write this in haste, on the road, in fact on the march. Give my love to Pilia and pretty little Caecilia.

119 (VI.5)

In camp on the Pyramus, 25 or 26 June 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You must surely be in Rome by now. If so, I'm glad of your safe arrival. All the while you have been away from Rome it seemed as though you were farther from me than if you had been at home. I knew less about my own affairs and less about public affairs too. So although by the time you read this I hope to have put some of the road behind me, please send a rapid succession of letters to meet me, as gossipy as you can make them, about this, that, and the other, but more especially about what I wrote to you some time ago. *At¹ my reckonings and talks with my spouse's freedman, he kept stammering and losing his way, so that I got the impression that he had done some cooking of accounts in the matter of the man of Croton's property. Ferret this out in your usual style, but still more the following: On leaving the city of the seven hills² he transferred a claim of * minae to Camillus, and himself as owing 24 minae on the Crotonian property and 48 on the Chersonesian, also stated amount by legacy as 640 minae. Not an*

¹ Italics mark the passages in Greek.

² Rome.

τῷσθαι, πάντων ὀφειληθέντων τοῦ δευτέρου μηνὸς τῆ
 νουμηνία. τὸν δὲ ἀπελεύθερον αὐτοῦ, ὄντα ὁμώνυμον
 τῷ Κόνωνος πατρί, μηδὲν ὀλοσχερῶς πεφροντικένοι.
 ταῦτα οὖν πρῶτον μὲν ἵνα πάντα σφύζηται, δεύτερον
 δὲ ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν τόκων ὀλιγορήσης τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προ-
 εκκειμένης ἡμέρας. ὅσας * * *⁵ αὐτοῦ⁶ ἠνέγκαμεν
 σφόδρα δέδοικα· καὶ γὰρ παρῆν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατα-
 σκεψόμενος καὶ τι σχεδὸν ἐλπίσας· ἀπογνοὺς δ' ἀλό-
 γως ἀπ<ῆλθ>εν⁷ ἐπειπὼν 'εἶκω "αἰσχρὸν τοι δηρὸν τε
 μένειν . . .," meque obiurgavit vetere proverbio 'τὰ μὲν
 3 διδόμενα . . . ' reliqua vide et quantum fieri potest per-
 spice.

Nos etsi annum tempus [est] prope iam emeritum⁸
 habebamus (dies enim xxxiii erant reliqui), sollicitudine
 provinciae tamen vel maxime urgebamur. cum enim arde-
 ret Syria bello et Bibulus in tanto maerore suo maximam
 curam belli sustineret ad meque legati eius et quaestor et
 amici eius litteras mitterent ut subsidio venirem, etsi exer-
 citum infirmum habebam, auxilia sane bona sed ea Gala-
 tarum, Pisidarum, Lyciorum (haec enim sunt nostra
 robora), tamen esse officium meum putavi exercitum ha-
 bere quam proxime hostem quoad mihi praeesse provin-
 ciae per senatus consultum liceret. sed quo ego maxime
 delectabar, Bibulus molestus mihi non erat, de omnibus
 rebus scribebat ad me potius. et mihi decessionis dies
 λεληθότως obrepebat. qui cum advenerit, ἄλλο πρόβλη-

⁵ κλοπᾶς vel sim. excidisse putat Watt

⁶ ATTO (Sjögren) ⁷ add. SB : ἀπήει Watt

⁸ tamen meritum (Manutius et Victorius)

³ I.e., Timotheus. Whose freedman he was is not clear.

LETTER 119 (VI.5)

obol of this alleged to have been cleared, though it was all owing on the 1st of the second month. His freedman, namesake of Conon's father,³ *alleged to have paid absolutely no attention. So please see first that all these sums are taken care of and second don't overlook the interest accruing from the date agreed. I am much alarmed about how much I have lost by his pilferings (?). He came to spy out the ground, and with some sort of expectation of profit. When that was disappointed he left without reason given, remarking 'I give up. "Shame to stay long . . .,"'*⁴ and took me to task with the old saw about beggars and choosers. As for the other matters, see to them and explore as far as possible.

I have now got my year's service pretty well over (33 days remain), but the cares of my office have never weighed on me so heavily. Fighting has blazed up in Syria, where Bibulus in his own terrible bereavement⁵ has the responsibility of a major war on his hands. His Legates and Quaestor and friends have written asking me to come to his assistance. My army is weak—the auxiliaries are pretty good but are made up of Galatians, Pisidians, and Lycians; such is the backbone of my force. None the less I felt it my duty to keep the army as close to the enemy as possible so long as under the Senate's decree I can legally remain in charge of the province. But much to my gratification Bibulus is not troubling me—he writes to me about everything under the sun rather than this. And the day of my departure draws imperceptibly nearer. When it comes

⁴ From *Iliad*, 2.298: 'Shameful it is to stay long and return empty-handed.'

⁵ Two sons of Bibulus had been murdered in Egypt.

CICERO

μα, quem praeficiam, nisi Calvus quaestor venerit; de quo adhuc nihil certi habebamus.

- 4 Cupiebam mehercule longiorem epistulam facere, sed nec erat res de qua scriberem nec iocari prae cura poteram. valebis igitur et puellae salutem Atticulae tuae⁹ dices nostraeque Piliae.

120 (VI.7)

Scr. Tarsi, ut vid., m. Quint. an. 50

CICERO <ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Quintus filius pie sane (me quidem certe multum hortante, sed currentem) animum patris sui sorori tuae reconciliavit. eum valde etiam tuae litterae excitarunt. quid quaeris? confido rem ut volumus esse.

Bis ad te antea scripsi de re mea familiari, si modo tibi redditae litterae sunt, Graece ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς. scilicet nihil est movendum; sed tamen ἀφελῶς percontando <de> nominibus Milonis et ut expediat ut mihi receperit hortando aliquid aut proficies <aut certe perspicias>.¹

- 2 Ego Laodiceae quaestorem Mescinium expectare iussi, ut confectas rationes lege Iulia apud duas civitates possim relinquere. Rhodum volo puerorum causa, inde quam primum Athenas, etsi etesiae valde reflant; sed istuc² plane volo his magistratibus, quorum voluntatem in sup-

⁹ articulate (*Malaespina et Dahlman* : Ἀττικωτάτη *Madvig*)

¹ *add. SB*

² istuc* *add. conl. SB* : domum vel Romam *Purser*

¹ Philotimus.

LETTER 120 (VI.7)

there is another problem, whom I am to put in charge, unless Quaestor Calvus arrives. I have no definite news of him yet.

I should really like to make a longer letter of it, but I have nothing to write about and am too anxious for jesting. So keep well and give my love to your little Attica and our dear Pilia.

120 (VI.7)

Tarsus (?), July 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Young Quintus has certainly acted like a good son in reconciling his father's mind towards your sister, not it is true without a good deal of encouragement from me, but I was spurring a willing horse. Your letter too has greatly stimulated him. Altogether, I am satisfied that the matter stands as we wish.

I have written to you twice about my finances, if only you got the letters, in Greek, riddle fashion. No doubt it's best to let things stay as they are. But by making innocent enquiries about the claims due to Milo and urging him¹ to clear the thing up as he gave me his word he would you will get something done or at any rate find something out.

I have instructed Quaestor Mescinius to wait at Laodicea so that I can leave my accounts made up in two towns as required by the *lex Julia*. I want to go to Rhodes for the boys' sake, from there as quickly as possible to Athens, though the Etesians are blowing hard the other way. But I definitely want to get back while the present magistrates are in office, having had a sample of their good

CICERO

plicatione sum expertus. tu tamen mitte, quaeso, mihi obviam litteras num quid putes rei publicae nomine tardandum esse nobis.

Tiro ad te dedisset litteras, nisi eum graviter aegrum Issi³ reliquissem; sed nuntiant melius esse. ego tamen angor; nihil enim illo adolescente castius, nihil diligentius.

121 (VI.6)

Scr. Sidae c. III Non. Sext. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1 Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris eius socer. 'id quidem' inquis 'di - approbent!' ita velim, teque ita cupere certo scio. sed crede mihi, nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram; qui Romam venerunt factis sponsalibus. sed hoc spero melius. mulieres quidem valde intellego delectari obsequio et comitate adolescentis. cetera noli ἐξ ακανθίζειν.

2 Sed heus tu, πυρὸς εἰς δῆμον Athenis? placet hoc tibi? etsi non impediabant mei certe libri; non enim ista largitio fuit in civis sed in hospites liberalitas. me tamen de Academiae προπύλῳ iubes cogitare, cum iam¹ Appius de Eleusine non cogitet?

De Hortensio te certo scio dolere. equidem excrucior;

³ esse (*Manutius*)

¹ quoniam (*Manutius*)

¹ Dolabella. ² Atticus had evidently made a present of grain to the city of Athens. ³ I.e., he had taken action.

LETTER 121 (VI.6)

will in the matter of the Supplication. However do pray send a letter to meet me and tell me whether for political reasons you think I ought to dawdle.

Tiro would have sent you a letter but for the fact that I left him seriously ill at Issus. But they tell me he is better. Even so I am acutely worried. He is such a well-behaved, conscientious young fellow.

121 (VI.6)

Side, ca. 3 August 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Here am I in my province paying Appius all manner of compliments, when out of the blue I find his prosecutor¹ becoming my son-in-law! 'Good luck to that,' say you. So I hope and I am sure you so desire. But believe me it was the last thing I expected. I had actually sent reliable persons to the ladies in connexion with Ti. Nero, who had treated with me. They got to Rome after the *fiançailles*. However I hope this is better. The ladies are evidently quite charmed with the young man's attentiveness and engaging manners. For the rest, no black paint please!

But what's all this? *Panem*² *populo* at Athens? Do you think that is in order? Not that *my* volumes have anything against it, since it was not a largesse to fellow countrymen but a piece of generosity to foreign hosts. But do you tell *me* to 'think about' the Academy porch, when Appius has already given up *thinking*³ about Eleusis?

I am sure you will be grieving about Hortensius.⁴ For

⁴ Cicero had heard that Hortensius was dying.

deceram enim valde cum eo familiariter vivere.

- 3 Nos provinciae praefecimus Coelium. 'puerum' inquires 'et fortasse fatuum et non gravem et non continentem.' adsentior; fieri non potuit aliter. nam quas multo ante tuas acceperam litteras in quibus ἐπέχειν te scripseras quid esset mihi faciendum de relinquendo, eae me pungebant. videbam enim quae tibi essent ἐποχῆς causae, et erant eadem mihi. puero traderem? <id rei publicae non utile>.² fratri autem? illud non utile nobis. nam praeter fratrem nemo erat quem sine contumelia quaestori, nobili praesertim, anteferrem. tamen, dum impendere Parthi videbantur, statueram fratrem relinquere, aut etiam rei publicae causa contra senatus consultum ipse remanere; qui postea quam incredibili felicitate discesserunt, sublata dubitatio est. videbam sermones: 'hui, fratrem reliquit! num³ est hoc non plus annum obtinere provinciam? quid quod senatus eos voluit praeesse provinciis qui non praefuissent? at hic triennium.'

- 4 Ergo haec ad populum: quid quae tecum? numquam essem sine cura, si quid iracundius aut contumeliosius aut neglegentius, quae fert vita hominum. quid si quid filius, puer et puer bene sibi fidens? qui esset dolor? quem pater non dimittebat teque id censere moleste ferebat. at nunc Coelius non dico equidem 'quod egerit,' sed tamen multo minus laboro. adde illud: Pompeius, eo robore vir, iis radicibus, Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium:

² *add. SB*

³ non (s)

⁵ Atticus used a Greek term (*epoche*; see Letter 351.3) denoting philosophic doubt.

LETTER 121 (VI.6)

my own part I am deeply distressed. I had made up my mind to live on really close terms with him.

I have put Coelius in charge of the province. You'll say he is a boy, and perhaps a silly boy, without sense of responsibility or self-control. I agree. There was nothing else to be done. The letter I had from you quite a long time ago in which you wrote that you were suspending judgement⁵ as to what I ought to do about a deputy struck home. I saw the reasons for your 'suspense of judgement,' and they were my reasons too. Should I hand over to a boy? Contrary to public interest. To my brother then? That was contrary to my own (except my brother there was no one whom I could put ahead of the Quaestor, a nobleman too, without insulting him). None the less, so long as the Parthians appeared to be coming down on us, I had decided to leave my brother, or even for the country's sake to stay on myself in contravention of the Senate's decree. But when by an incredible stroke of luck they disappeared, my doubts were removed. I could hear the talk: 'Aha, left his brother, has he? Hardly what one would call governing for one year only, that! Thought the Senate wanted governors without previous service. This chap's had three years of it.'

So much for the public ear. For your own, I should never have had a minute's peace of mind for fear of some piece of irritability or rudeness or carelessness—these things happen. Then there's his son, a boy, and a boy with a fine conceit of himself—any incident involving him would be *most* distressing. His father was unwilling to send him away and was annoyed at your advising it. But as things are, Coelius—I won't say 'can please himself,' but still I am much less concerned. Another point: Pompey, with all his power and backing, chose Q. Cassius without lots cast,

CICERO

ego sorte datum offenderem, ut etiam inquireret in eum quem reliquissem? hoc melius, et huius rei plura exempla, senectuti quidem nostrae profecto aptius. at te apud eum, di boni, quanta in gratia posui! eique legi litteras non tuas sed librari tui.

Amicorum litterae me ad triumphum vocant, rem a nobis, ut ego arbitror, propter hanc *παλιγγενεσίαν* nostram non neglegendam. qua re tu quoque, mi Attice, incipe id cupere, quo nos minus inepti videamur.

122 (VI.8)

Scr. Ephesi Kal. Oct. an. 50 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cum instituissem ad te scribere calamumque sumpsissem, Batonius e navi recta ad me venit domum Ephesi et epistulam tuam reddidit Π^1 Kal. Oct. laetatus sum felicitate navigationis tuae, opportunitate Piliae, etiam hercule sermone eiusdem de coniugio Tulliae meae. Batonius autem meros terrores ad me attulit Caesarianos, cum Lepta etiam plura locutus est, spero falsa sed certe horribilia: exercitum nullo modo dimissurum, cum illo praetores designatos <tris>,² <Q.>³ Cassium tribunum pl., Lentulum consulem
- 3 facere, Pompeio in animo esse urbem relinquere. sed heus tu, num quid moleste fers de illo qui se solet anteferre patruo sororis tuae fili? at a quibus victus!

¹ Π *cod. Tornesianus* : prid(ie) *codd. superstites*

² *add. SB* ³ *add. coni. SB**

⁶ The return from exile. ¹ Calidius, who seems to have tried again for the Consulship and failed; see Letter 112, note 3.

LETTER 122 (VI.8)

similarly Caesar Antony. Was I to offend an officer assigned to me by lot, and have him spying too on the man I appointed? No, this is the better way; there are more precedents for it and for an old man like me it's clearly more appropriate! As for yourself, I have put you in his best books, tremendously so I assure you, and read him your letter or rather your secretary's.

My friends' letters beckon me to a Triumph, something I feel I ought not to neglect in view of this second birth⁶ of mine. So you too, my dear fellow, must start wanting it, so that I shan't look so foolish.

122 (VI.8)

Ephesus, 1 October 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had no sooner set about writing to you and picked up my pen than Batonius arrived at my house in Ephesus straight from shipboard and gave me your letter, on 29 September. I was happy to hear what a good voyage you had, of Pilia's opportune arrival, also let me add of her remarks about my Tullia's marriage. But Batonius brought me quite blood-curdling reports of Caesar, and told Lepta more still—untrue I hope, but certainly enough to make one shiver: that he will on no account give up his army, that three Praetors-Designate, Q. Cassius the Tribune, and the Consul Lentulus are on his side, and that Pompey is minded to abandon Rome. And now, my good sir, are you sorry about the personage who is apt to set himself above your sister's son's uncle?²¹ To be beaten by such competitors too!

CICERO

4 Sed ad rem. nos etesia vehementissimi tardarunt; detraxit XX ipsos dies etiam aphractus Rhodi. Kal. Oct. Epheso conscendentes hanc epistulam dedimus L. Tarquinio⁴ simul e portu egredienti sed expeditius naviganti. nos Rhodiorum aphractis ceterisque longis navibus tranquillitates aucupaturi eramus; ita tamen properabamus ut non posset magis.

5 De raudusculo Puteolano gratum. nunc velim dispicias res Romanas, videas quid nobis de triumpho cogitandum putes, ad quem amici me vocant. ego, nisi Bibulus, qui dum unus hostis in Syria fuit pedem porta non plus extulit quam <consul>⁵ domo sua, adniteretur de triumpho, aequo essem animo; nunc vero *ἄισχρὸν σιωπᾶν.* sed explora rem totam, ut quo die congressi erimus consilium capere possimus.

<S>at⁶ multa, qui et properarem et ei litteras darem qui aut mecum aut paulo ante venturus esset. Cicero tibi plurimam salutem dicit, tu dices utriusque nostrum verbis et Piliae tuae et filiae.

123 (VI.9)

Scr. Athenis Id. Oct. an. 50 (§ 5)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1 In Piraeaea cum exissem prid. Id. Oct., accepi ab Acasto servo meo statim tuas litteras. quas quidem cum exspec-

⁴ tarquinio (*vel- ino*) *codd.*, *SB**: -itio s, *edd.*

⁵ *add. Schütz* ⁶ *add. Schütz*

² From Euripides' lost *Philoctetes*: "Tis shame to be mute and let barbarians speak' (fr. 796, Nauck).

LETTER 123 (VI.9)

But to business. Etesians of unusual strength have held us up. An open boat too cost us twenty clear days at Rhodes. I am giving this letter to L. Tarquinius on the Kalends of October as I take ship from Ephesus. He is leaving port along with ourselves, but has less to cumber his voyage. We shall be waiting for calm spells to suit the Rhodian craft and the other long ships. Not but what we are making all possible haste.

Thanks for dealing with the petty cash at Puteoli. Now would you please take a look at affairs in Rome, see what in your opinion I ought to think about the Triumph to which my friends are beckoning me on? If it were not that Bibulus is exerting himself to get one, who so long as there was a single Parthian in Syria did not stir a step from the city gates any more than from his house when he was Consul, I should be easy. As it is, 'shame to be mute.'² But do explore the whole matter so that we can make the decision the day we meet.

That's enough, as I'm in a hurry and the bearer will arrive the same time as myself or only a little before. Marcus sends you his best love. Give the same from us both to Pilia and your daughter.

123 (VI.9)

Athens, 15 October 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Immediately on landing at Piraeus on 14 October I received your letter from my slave Acastus. Having waited for one a long time I was surprised when I saw the sealed

CICERO

tassem iam diu, admiratus sum, ut vidi obsignatam epistulam, brevitatem eius, ut aperui, rursus *σύγχυσις* litterularum, quae solent tuae compositissimae et clarissimae esse, ac, ne multa, cognovi ex eo quod ita scripseras te Romam venisse a. d. XII Kal. Oct. cum febris percussus vehementer, nec magis quam debui, statim quaero ex Acasto, ille et tibi et sibi visum et ita se domi ex tuis audisse ut nihil esset incommodi;¹ id videbatur approbare quod erat in extremo, febriculam tum te habentem scripsisse, sed te amavi² tamen admiratusque sum quod nihilo minus ad me tua manu scripsisses. qua re de hoc satis; spero enim, quae tua prudentia et temperantia est, <et> hercule, ut me iubet Acastus, confido te iam ut volumus valere.

2 A Turrano te accepisse meas litteras gaudeo. *παράφύλαξον*, si me amas, *τὴν τοῦ φυρατοῦ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτίκα γὰρ*³ hanc, quae mehercule mihi magno dolori est (dilexi enim hominem), procura, quantulumcumque est, Precianam hereditatem; prorsus ille ne attingat. dices nummos mihi opus esse ad apparatus triumphi; in quo, ut praecipis, nec me *κενὸν* in expetendo cognosces nec *ἄτυφον* in abiciendo.

3 Intellexi ex tuis litteris te ex Turrano audisse a me provinciam fratri traditam. adeo ego non perspexeram prudentiam litterarum tuarum? *ἐπ' ἔχ<ειν>*⁴ te scribebas: quid erat dubitatione dignum, si esset quicquam cur placeret fratrem et talem fratrem relinqui? *ἀθ' ἑτησις* ista mihi

¹ incommode (*Vollgraff*)

² sed clamavi (*vel am-*) (*Wesenberg*)

³ ΑΙΤΟΤΑ *vel αὐτότατα* (*Watt*) ⁴ *add. Victorius*

¹ Perhaps the scholarly personage of Letter 2.2.

LETTER 123 (VI.9)

letter that it was so short, and when I opened it I was again surprised at the irregularity of the writing—yours is usually beautifully precise and legible. And then, to be brief, I learned from your own statement that you had a fever when you arrived in Rome on 19 September. I was greatly alarmed, as was only right and proper, and at once enquired of Acastus. He said that, as you and he both thought and as he had heard from your people at home, there was nothing wrong. That seemed to be confirmed by the remark at the end of your letter that you had ‘a slight touch of fever’ when you wrote. But I wonder you wrote to me in your own hand just the same, and I appreciate it. So enough about that. Knowing how prudent and self-disciplined you are I hope and indeed am confident, as Acastus tells me to be, that you are by now as well as we wish you.

I am glad you have received my letter from Turranius.¹ I beg you earnestly to keep a vigilant eye on the *philotimy*² of the Chef. For example, look after Precius’ legacy, such as it is (I am really very sorry to get it; I was fond of him)—don’t let *him* get his fingers on it. You can say that I need the money for Triumph expenses. In that matter you shall find me, according to your precept, neither *glorieux* in demanding nor *modeste* in declining.

I gather from your letter that Turranius told you I had handed the province over to my brother. Can you suppose I was so blind to the wisdom of your letters? You wrote that you were ‘suspending judgement.’ What ground would there have been for hesitation if there had been anything to be said *for* leaving my brother in charge, and

² The Greek word (a play, of course, on Philotimus’ name) means ‘ambition.’ ‘Chef’ = ‘cooker of accounts.’

CICERO

tua, non ἐποχὴν videbatur. monebas de Q. Cicerone puero ut eum quidem neutiquam relinquerem: 'τοῦ μὸν ὄνειρον ἐμοί.' eadem omnia quasi collocuti essemus vidimus. non fuit faciendum aliter, meque ἐπιχρονία ἐποχὴν tua dubitatione liberavit, sed puto te accepisse de hac re epistulam scriptam accuratius.

- 4 Ego tabellarios postero die ad vos eram missurus; quos
 5 puto ante venturos quam nostrum Saufeium, sed eum sine
 meis litteris ad te venire vix rectum erat. tu mihi, ut pol-
 liceris, de Tulliola mea, id est de Dolabella, perscribes, de
 re publica, quam provideo in summis periculis, de censori-
 bus, maximeque de signis, tabulis quid fiat, referaturne. Id.
 Oct. has dedi litteras, quo die, ut scribis, Caesar Placenti-
 am legiones IIII. quaeso, quid nobis futurum est? in arce
 Athenis statio mea nunc placet.

124 (VII.1)

Scr. Athenis XVII Kal. Nov. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Dederam equidem L. Saufeio litteras et dederam ad te
 unum, quod, cum non esset temporis mihi ad scribendum
 satis, tamen hominem tibi tam familiarem sine meis litteris
 ad te venire nolebam; sed, ut philosophi ambulant, has tibi
 redditum iri putabam prius. sin iam illas accepisti, scis me

³ The Greek saying means literally: '(You tell) my own dream to me.' ⁴ Ap. Pulcher as Censor was harrying art collectors of whom he himself was one of the most notorious.

⁵ An alarmist rumour had it that Caesar was transferring troops from Gaul to Italy.

LETTER 124 (VII.1)

such a brother? Your suspension of judgement looked to me more like outright rejection. You warned me about young Quintus, not to leave him behind on any account. Great minds!³ We saw exactly eye to eye, as though we had talked it over together. Any other course would have been wrong, and your longstanding suspension of judgement freed me from any hesitation. But I expect you have received a letter I wrote on the subject in greater detail.

I am going to send couriers to you all tomorrow. I expect they will arrive before friend Saufeius, but it would scarcely have been right for him to join you without a letter from me. On your side please write to me as you promise, all about my little Tullia, i.e. about Dolabella, and the political situation, which I foresee to be extremely dangerous, and the Censors, more particularly what is toward about statues and pictures⁴—is there to be a motion in the Senate? I am dispatching this letter on the Ides of October, the day on which you say Caesar is taking four legions to Placentia.⁵ Pray what is to become of us? My present station in the citadel at Athens is to my liking.

124 (VII.1)

Athens, 16 October 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I gave L. Saufeius a letter for you, and for nobody else, because even though I did not have time enough for writing I was unwilling that so close a friend of yours should join you without a letter from me. But at the rate philosophers move I imagine this will reach you first. If however you have already received the other, you are aware that I

Athenas venisse prid. Id. Oct., e navi egressum in Piraeum tuas ab Acasto nostro litteras accepisse, conturbatum quod cum febre Romam venisses bono tamen animo esse coepisse quod Acastus ea quae vellem de adlevato corpore tuo nuntiaret, cohorruisse autem in e<ο>¹ quod tuae litterae de legionibus Caesaris adferrent; et egi[sse]² tecum ut videres ne quid φιλοτιμία eius quem nosti nobis noceret; et, de quo iam pridem ad te scripseram, Turranius autem secus tibi Brundisi dixerat (quod ex iis litteris cognovi quas a Xenone, optimo viro, accepi), cur fratrem provinciae non praefecissem exposui breviter. haec fere sunt in illa epistula.

- 2 Nunc audi reliqua. per fortunas, omnem tuum amorem quo me es amplexus omnemque tuam prudentiam, quam mehercule ego in omni genere iudico singularem, confer iam ad eam curam, ut de omni statu meo cogites. videre enim mihi videor tantam dimicationem, nisi idem deus qui nos melius quam optare auderemus Parthico bello liberavit respexerit rem publicam—sed tantam quanta numquam fuit. age, hoc malum mihi commune est cum omnibus; nihil tibi mando ut de eo cogites, illud meum proprium πρόβλημα, quaeso, suscipe. videsne ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus [Pompeium et Caesarem]³ ac vellem a principio te audisse amicissime monentem,

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι εἴπειθες.
[πατρίδος]⁴

sed aliquando tamen persuasisti ut alterum complecterer quia de me erat optime meritis, alterum quia tantum vale-

¹ in eo *Mueller* : me *codd.* ² egisse (*SB*)

³ *del. Victorius* ⁴ *del. Schütz*

LETTER 124 (VII.1)

arrived at Athens on 14 October; that on disembarking at Piraeus I received a letter from you by our friend Acastus; that my consternation at the news of your arrival in Rome with a fever turned to something more optimistic at Acastus' satisfactory report of your recovery; but that I fell a-shivering at the news in your letter about Caesar's legions; and I asked you to see that I came to no harm from the *philotimy* of you know who, and I briefly explained why I had not put my brother in charge of the province, a matter on which I had written to you previously but which Turranius (as I learned from the letter given me by the excellent Xenon) misreported to you at Brundisium. Such more or less are the contents of that letter.

Now let me tell you the rest. For mercy's sake, put all your affection, lavished on me as it is, and all your wisdom, remarkable in every field as I do assure you I regard it, into one single concern, the consideration of my position in toto. I fancy I see the greatest struggle—unless the same Providence that delivered me from the Parthian war better than I could have dared to hope takes pity on our country—the greatest that history has ever known. Well, that is a calamity which I shall have to bear along with the rest of the world. I don't ask you to think about that. But do pray take up this personal problem of my own. You see, don't you, that at your instigation I have made friends with both the contestants. And I only wish I had listened to your affectionate admonitions from the first. 'The heart within my breast you ne'er could sway.'¹ However in the end you persuaded me to make friends with one of them because of all he had done for me and with the other because of his

¹ From *Odyssey*, 9.33.

- bat. feci igitur, itaque effeci omni obsequio ut neutri illorum quisquam esset me carior. haec enim cogitabamus, nec mihi coniuncto cum Pompeio fore necesse peccare in re publica aliquando nec cum Pompeio sentienti pugnandum esse cum Caesare; tanta erat illorum coniunctio. nunc impendet, ut et tu ostendis et ego video, summa inter eos contentio. me autem uterque numerat suum, nisi forte simulat alter. nam Pompeius non dubitat; vere enim iudicat ea quae de re publica nunc sentiat mihi valde probari. utriusque autem accepi eius modi litteras eodem tempore quo tuas ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur.
- 4 Verum quid agam? non quaero illa ultima (si enim castris res geretur, video cum altero vinci satius esse quam cum altero vincere), sed illa quae tum agentur cum venero, ne ratio absentis habeatur, ut exercitum dimittat. 'dic, M. Tulli.' quid dicam? 'expecta, amabo te, dum Atticum conveniam?' non est locus ad tergiversandum. contra Caesarem? 'ubi illae sunt densae dexterae?'; nam ut illi hoc liceret adiuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno pl. ab ipso autem? etiam a Gnaeo nostro in illo divino tertio consulatu. aliter sensero? 'αἰδέομαι' non Pompeium modo sed 'Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας.' 'Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην καταθήσει'; quis? tu ipse

² For the Consulship of 48.

³ Cicero imagines himself in the Senate, called on to speak by the presiding magistrate.

⁴ Probably a (Latin) verse quotation.

⁵ The privilege of standing in absentia was conferred on Caesar by a law of 52 proposed by the entire board of Tribunes.

LETTER 124 (VII.1)

power. So I did, and by conciliating them in every possible way I managed to win as high a place in their several good graces as any other man's. We calculated that on the one hand joined with Pompey I should never be obliged to go politically astray, while on the other hand as Pompey's ally I ought not to be at loggerheads with Caesar—they were so closely linked. Now, as you represent and as I see myself, there looms ahead a tremendous contest between them. Each counts me as his man, unless it be that one of them is only pretending—for Pompey has no doubts, judging correctly that I strongly approve of his present politics. Moreover I received letters from both at the same time as yours, conveying the impression that neither has a friend in the world he values more than myself.

But what am I to do? I don't mean in the last resort—if war is to arbitrate, I am clear that defeat with one is better than victory with the other—I mean in the proceedings that will be set on foot when I get back to prevent his candidature² in absentia and to make him give up his army. 'Speak, M. Tullius!'³ What shall I say? 'Be so kind as to wait until I see Atticus'? There's no room for fence-sitting. Against Caesar then? 'Where are those close-clasped hands?'⁴ For I helped to get him this privilege, as requested by himself at Ravenna in connexion with Caelius who was Tribune⁵—and not only by him but by our Gnaeus too in that immortal third Consulship of his. Or shall I take a different line? 'I fear' not Pompey only but 'the Trojan men and dames.'⁶ 'Polydamas will foremost cry me shame.'

Apparently Caesar had asked Cicero to use his influence with Caelius Rufus, who was one of its members.

⁶ See Letter 25, note 2.

scilicet, laudator et factorum et scriptorum meorum.

- 5 Hanc ergo plagam effugi per duos superiores Marcel-
lorum consulatus cum est actum de provincia Caesaris;
nunc incido in discrimen ipsum. itaque 'ut stultus primus
suam sententiam dicat,' mihi valde placet de triumpho nos
moliri aliquid, extra urbem esse cum iustissima causa.
tamen dabunt operam ut eliciant sententiam meam. ride-
bis hoc loco fortasse: quam vellem etiam nunc in provincia
morari! plane opus fuit, si hoc impendebat. etsi nil mis-
erius; nam ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, volo te hoc scire: omnia illa
prima quae etiam <tu> tuis litteris in caelum ferebas
6 ἐπίτηκτα fuerunt. quam non est facilis virtus! quam vero
difficilis eius diuturna simulatio! cum enim hoc rectum et
gloriosum putarem, ex annuo sumptu qui mihi decretus
esset me C. Coelio quaestori relinquere annum, referre
in aerarium ad HS \bar{M} , ingemuit nostra cohors, omne illud
putans distribui sibi oportere, ut ego amicior inveniret
Phrygum et Cilicum aerariis quam nostro. sed me non
moverunt; nam et mea laus apud me plurimum valuit nec
tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit
quod praetermiserim. sed haec fuerit, ut ait Thucydides,
ἐκβολῆ λόγον non inutilis.
- 7 Tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis: primum quo
artificio tueamur benevolentiam Caesaris, deinde de ipso
triumpho; quem video, nisi rei publicae tempora impedi-

⁷ I.e., in 51 and 50. ⁸ Apparently a verse proverb, rather like 'Fools rush in where angels fear to tread.'

⁹ If Cicero went inside the ancient city boundary he would automatically lose his proconsular status and forfeit the prospect of a Triumph.

LETTER 124 (VII.1)

Being who? You yourself of course, the encomiast of my doings and writings.

I escaped this dilemma during the two earlier Marcel-line Consulships⁷ when the Senate discussed Caesar's command; now I am coming in just at the crisis. Accordingly, 'to let the dunce state his opinion first,'⁸ I am strongly in favour of my doing something about a Triumph, and so staying outside Rome with the best possible excuse.⁹ Even so they will try to draw a statement of my views. You may laugh when I say it, but I wish to heaven I was still back there in my province. It would really have been better, if this was hanging over us. Not that anything could have been more wretched. *En passant*, I want you to know that all those fine things at the start, which you too used to praise sky-high in your letters, were only veneer. How far from easy a thing is virtue, how difficult its simulation for any length of time! I felt it would be a fine and proper thing to leave Quaestor C. Coelius a year's maintenance and to return a million sesterces to the Treasury out of the year's expense allowance decreed to me. My staff set up a wail, thinking the whole amount ought to be disbursed among themselves, so that I, if you please, should show myself up as a better friend to the treasuries of Phrygians and Cilicians than to our own! But they left me unmoved. My own good name came first with me, while on the other hand I have left nothing undone that I could do for anyone in the way of marks of consideration. However, let this be, in the words of Thucydides, a not unprofitable digression.

Now you must think about my position: first, what device I can use to act up to Caesar's friendliness, second, about the Triumph itself, which, as I see it, will be easy enough to come by, unless political developments inter-

ent, εὐπόριστον. iudico autem cum ex litteris amicorum tum ex supplicatione; quam qui non decrevit, <plus decrevit>⁵ quam si omnis decresset triumphos. ei porro adsensus est unus familiaris meus, Favonius, alter iratus, Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo adfuit et ad me de sententia sua iucundissimas litteras misit. sed tamen gratulans mihi Caesar de supplicatione triumphat de sententia Catonis, nec scribit quid ille sententiae dixerit sed tantum supplicationem eum mihi non decrevisse.

8 Redeo ad Hirrum. coeparas eum mihi placare: perface. habes Scrofam, habes Silium. ad eos ego etiam antea scripsi et iam ad ipsum Hirrum. locutus enim erat cum iis commode, se potuisse impedire sed noluisse; adsensum tantum⁶ esse Catoni, amicissimo meo, cum is honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixisset; nec me ad se ulla litteras misisse, cum ad omnes mitterem. verum dicebat; ad eum enim solum et ad C<r>assipedem⁷ non scripseram.

9 Atque haec de rebus forensibus: redeamus domum. diiungere me ab illo volo; merus⁸ est φυρατής, germanus Lartidius. 'ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἑάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ.' reliqua expediamus, hoc primum, quae⁹ accessit cura dolori meo—sed tamen hoc, quicquid est, Precianum cum iis rationibus quas ille meas tractat admisceri

⁵ *add. Brunus* ⁶ tamen (*SB*)

⁷ cassi(i) fidem (*Brunus*)

⁸ mirus (*Manutius*)

⁹ quod (*SB*)

¹⁰ Cato, who had proposed that Cicero should be congratulated on the excellence of his civil administration.

¹¹ The letter is extant: *Ad Familiares* 111 (XV.5).

LETTER 124 (VII.1)

vene. I am judging both from my friends' letters and from the Supplication. The man¹⁰ who spoke against the motion gave me more in his own proposal than if he had voted me all the Triumphs in creation. Two members agreed with him, one, Favonius, a friend of mine, the other, Hirrus, with a grudge against me. Moreover Cato witnessed the decree and wrote to me about his motion in the pleasantest way.¹¹ All the same, in congratulating me on the Supplication Caesar is triumphant about Cato's motion, not mentioning *what* he proposed, only that he was against the grant.

To come back to Hirrus: you had made a start in mollifying him towards me. Finish the job! You have Scrofa and Silius to help. I wrote to them even before, and I have now written to Hirrus himself. He had spoken them fair, said that he could have obstructed but chose not to do so; he had merely registered support for Cato, a very good friend of mine, in a proposal most flattering to me; and yet I had not written to him, though I had sent letters to everyone else. He was right there. He and Crassipes were the only ones I did not write to.

So much for public matters, now let's go back home. I want to dissociate myself from that man. He's nothing but a cooker of accounts, a real Lartidius.¹² 'But let what's past be past, though sore our hearts.'¹³ Let us get things straight in future, and this to start with—it's brought me worry on top of grief—but this Precius inheritance, whatever it amounts to, I don't want it mixed up with the business which *he* is handling on my account. I have written to

¹² Perhaps a real or stage villain whose name had become a byword. ¹³ From *Iliad*, 18.112.

CICERO

nolo. scripsi ad Terentiam, scripsi etiam ad ipsum, me quicquid posset nummorum ad apparatus sperati triumphi ad te redacturum. ita puto ἀμεμπτα fore; verum ut libebit. hanc quoque suscipe curam, quem ad modum expediamur;¹⁰ id tu et ostendisti quibusdam litteris ex Epiro <an>¹¹ Athenis datis et in eo ego te adiuvabo.

125 (VII.2)

Scr. Brundisii fort. VI Kal. Dec. an. 50 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Brundisium venimus VII Kal. Dec. usi tua felicitate navigandi; ita belle nobis 'flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites' (hunc σπονδειαζοντα si cui voles τῶν νεωτέρων pro tuo vendito).
- 2 Valetudo tua me valde conturbat; significant enim tuae litterae te prorsus laborare. ego autem, cum sciam quam sis fortis, vehementius esse quiddam suspicor quod te cogat cedere et prope modum infringat. etsi alteram quartanam Pamphilus tuus mihi dixit decessisse et alteram leviolem accedere. Terentia vero, quae quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisinam venit quo ego in portum mihi que obvia in foro fuit, L. Pontium sibi in Trebulano dixisse narrabat etiam eam decessisse; quod si ita est, quod

¹⁰ experi- (TP)

¹¹ add. Lambinus (aut Wesenberg)

¹ A hexameter verse of Cicero's own manufacture, recalling the fashionable 'neoteric' style of Catullus and Calvus by the

LETTER 125 (VII.2)

Terentia and to himself as well that I proposed to hand over to you any money I could to meet the expenses of my prospective Triumph. In this way I hope there won't be any cavilling—but that's as he likes. Please also make it your concern to see how I am to get clear. You said you would in a letter from Epirus (or was it Athens?), and I shall cooperate.

125 (VII.2)

Brundisium, 25 November (?) 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

We arrived at Brundisium on 24 November, as favoured in the crossing as yourself, with a fair wind behind us. 'Softly, softly, from Epirus blew the Onchesmitic breeze.'¹ There! You can commend this spondeiazon as your own to one or other of the avant-garde.

I am greatly perturbed about your health, for your letter indicates that you are really unwell. And knowing how brave you are I suspect it must be something truly severe that makes you give way and almost breaks you down. Your man Pamphilus however told me that one of your quartans had left you and the other was coming in a milder form; while Terentia, who arrived at the gates of Brundisium at the same time as I got to the harbour and met me in the market square, says that L. Pontius told her in the Trebula country that this latter had gone too. If that is so, as I most

mock-learned 'Onchesmitic' (Onchesmus was a port in northern Epirus) and the ending in a double spondee (Ōnchēsmitēs). A verse with the latter peculiarity was called a 'spondeiazōn.'

maxime mehercule opto, <gaudeo>,¹ idque spero tua prudentia et temperantia te consecutum.

- 3 Venio ad epistulas tuas; quas ego sescentas uno tempore accepi, aliam alia iucundiolem, quae quidem erant tua manu; nam Alexidis manum amabam quod tam prope accedebat ad similitudinem tuae, [litterae manum]² non amabam quod indicabat te non valere. cuius quoniam mentio facta est, Tironem Patris aegrum reliqui, adulescentem <doctum et diligentem>,³ ut nosti, et adde, si quid vis, probum; nihil vidi melius. itaque careo aegre et, quamquam videbatur se non graviter habere, tamen sum sollicitus maximamque spem habeo in M'. Curi diligentia, de qua ad me scripsit Tiro et multi nuntiarunt. Curius autem ipse sensit quam tu velles se a me diligi, et eo sum admodum delectatus. et mehercule est quem facile diligas; *αὐτόχθων* in homine urbanitas est. eius testamentum deporto trium Ciceronum signis obsignatum cohortisque praetoriae; fecit palam te ex libella, me ex terruncio. in Actio Corcyrae Alexio me opipare muneratus est. Q. Ciceroni obsisti non potuit quo minus Thyamim videret.

- 4 Filiola tua te delectari laetor et probari tibi *φυσικῆν* esse *τῆν <στοργῆν τῆν>*⁴ *πρὸς τὰ τέκνα*. etenim si hoc non est, nulla potest homini esse ad hominem naturae adiunctio; qua sublata vitae societas tollitur. 'bene eveniat!' inquit Carneades, spurce, sed tamen prudentius quam Lucius noster et Patron, qui, cum omnia ad se referant <nec>

¹ *add. nescioquis* ² *del. Watt* ³ *add. SB* (doctum Wesenberg : diligentem s) ⁴ *add. Wesenberg*

² Cicero himself and his brother and nephew. His son, being a minor, could not witness the will.

LETTER 125 (VII.2)

earnestly pray it may be, I am very glad, and I expect it is the reward of your prudence and temperance.

I come to your letters, a spate of which reached me simultaneously, each more agreeable than the last—those, that is, which were in your own hand. I liked Alexis' hand because it so nearly resembles your own, but again I didn't like it because it showed you were unwell. Apropos of him, I have left Tiro at Patrae sick, an accomplished, conscientious young fellow as you know and, you are at liberty to add, an honest one. I never saw a better. So I miss him sorely, and though he did not seem to be very bad I am anxious. My chief hope is in M'. Curius' care, of which Tiro has written to me and many others have brought me word. As for Curius himself, he realized how much you wanted me to like him, and I was much taken with him. He is indeed an easy fellow to like—he has a genuine Roman esprit. I am bringing his will home, witnessed by three Ciceros² and my official staff. He left you one tenth of his estate and me one fortieth, openly. Alexio³ made royal provision for my entertainment on the Foreland of Corcyra. Nothing would do for our nephew but he must see the Thyamis.

I am glad your little daughter gives you pleasure and that you agree that affection for one's children is part of nature. Indeed if this is not the case there can be no natural tie between one human being and another, and once you abolish that, you abolish all society. 'And good luck!' says Carneades—an abominable thing to say, but not so naïve as the position of our friend Lucius⁴ and Patro; when they

³ Presumably manager of Atticus' estate at Buthrotum.

⁴ Saufeius.

quicumque alterius causa fieri putent et cum ea re bonum virum esse oportere dicant ne malum habeat, non quo^d id natura rectum sit, non intellegunt se de callido homine loqui, non de bono viro. sed haec, opinor, sunt in iis libris quos tu laudando animos mihi addidisti.

5 Redeo ad rem. quo modo exspectabam epistulam quam Philoxeno dedisses! scripseras enim in ea esse de sermone Pompei Neapolitano. eam mihi Patron Brundisi reddidit; Corcyrae, ut opinor, acceperat. nihil potuit esse iucundius; erat enim de re publica, de opinione quam is vir haberet integritatis meae, de benevolentia quam ostendit eo sermone quem habuit de triumpho. sed tamen hoc iucundissimum, quod intellexi te ad eum venisse ut eius animum erga me perspiceres; hoc mihi, inquam, accidit iucundissimum.

6 De triumpho autem nulla me cupiditas umquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas litteras quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est. a quo si ea gesta essent quae scripsit, gauderem et honori faverem; nunc illum, qui pedem porta quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cuius exercitu spes illius exercitus habuit, idem non adsequi dedecus est nostrum—nostrum, inquam, te coniungens. itaque omnia experiar et, ut spero, adsequar. quod si tu valeres, iam mihi quaedam explorata essent; sed, ut spero, valebis.

7 De raudusculo Numeriano multum te amo. Hortensius

⁵ quo (SB)

LETTER 125 (VII.2)

make self-interest their only yardstick while refusing to believe in any altruistic act and maintain that we should be good only to avoid getting into trouble and not because goodness is naturally right, they fail to see that they are talking about an artful dodger, not a good man. But I think all this is in the volumes which you have encouraged me by praising.

To get to business: impatiently indeed did I await the letter you said you had given to Philoxenus, for you wrote that it contained an account of your conversation with Pompey at Naples. Patro gave it to me at Brundisium—he had received it at Corcyra, I believe. It made the pleasantest of reading, covering as it did the political situation, the great man's opinion of my uprightness, and the good will he showed in what he said about my Triumph. But what pleased me most of all was to perceive that you had visited him in order to ascertain his sentiments towards me. I repeat, that pleased me most of all.

With regard to the Triumph, I was never in the least eager until Bibulus sent that quite shameless letter which resulted in a Supplication in the most handsome terms. If he had done what he claimed I should be delighted and wish him the honour. As it is, if Bibulus is honoured, who did not stir a foot outside the town gate so long as there was a Parthian this side Euphrates, while I, whose army was *his* army's hope and stay, am not similarly honoured, why, we are humiliated—and I mean 'we,' you as well as I. So I shall try all I know and I trust I shall succeed. If you were well, I should already have been safe on certain points. But you *will* be well, I trust.

With regard to Numerius' bit of money I am very much obliged to you. I am longing to know what Hortensius has

quid egerit aveo scire, Cato quid agat; qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. dedit integritatis, iustitiae, clementiae, fidei mihi testimonium, quod non quaerebam; quod postulabam negavit. [id] itaque Caesar iis litteris quibus mihi gratulatur et omnia pollicetur quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingrattissimi iniuria! at hic idem Bibulo dierum xx.⁶ ignosce mihi: non possum haec ferre nec feram.

- 8 Cupio ad omnis tuas epistulas, sed nihil necesse est; iam enim te videbo. illud tamen de Chrysippo (nam de altero illo minus sum admiratus, operario homine; sed tamen ne illo quidem quicquam improbius)—Chrysippum vero, quem ego propter litterularum nescio quid libenter vidi, in honore habui, discedere a puero insciente me! mitto alia quae audio multa, mitto furta; fugam non fero, qua mihi nihil visum est sceleratius. itaque usurpavi vetus illud Drusi, ut ferunt, praetoris in eo qui eadem liber non iuraret, me istos lib<e>ros non addixisse, praesertim cum adesset nemo a quo recte vindicarentur. id tu, ut videbitur, ita accipies; ego tibi adsentiar.

Uni tuae disertissimae epistulae non rescripsi, in qua est de periculis rei publicae. quid rescriberem? valde eram

⁶ xx] x *T. Frank*

⁵ In his will. ⁶ Hortensius had married Cato's wife Marcia by amicable agreement between the parties. After his death she remarried her former husband. Cicero's second query may therefore amount to: 'will Cato remarry Marcia?'

⁷ To perform as a freedman certain duties to his ex-master.

⁸ In formal manumission procedure the slave had to be claimed from his master 'into freedom' by a competent person. Here the procedure seems to have been informal and therefore

LETTER 125 (VII.2)

done⁵ and what Cato is doing.⁶ To me he has been disgracefully spiteful. He gave me an unsolicited testimonial for uprightness, justice, clemency, and honourable dealing, while what I asked for he refused. Accordingly Caesar, in a letter of congratulation in which he promises me full support, is fairly cock-a-hoop at Cato's 'most ungrateful' ill-usage. And the same Cato votes twenty days to Bibulus! You must forgive me, I cannot and will not swallow such things.

I should like to answer all your letters, but there is no need as I shall be seeing you in no time. One thing though about Chrysippus—I am less surprised about the other, a mere mechanic, though he too is a thorough-paced scamp. But Chrysippus, whom for the sake of a smattering of letters he had I liked to have about me and made much of, to leave the boy without my knowledge! His other misdeeds, plenty of which are coming to my ears, his pilferings, I leave; but his absconding I won't stand, it's the most blackguardly thing I ever met with. So I have followed the precedent of Drusus the Praetor, so they say, in the case of the slave who would not retake the oath⁷ after manumission, and have denied giving them their freedom—all the more easily as no competent Claimant was present on the occasion.⁸ You will react to this as you think proper and I shall assent to your judgement.

I have not replied to one very eloquent letter of yours in which the dangers to the commonwealth are discussed.

revocable at will. But it is also possible to render 'as there was no one from whom they could rightly be claimed,' explaining that Cicero could not properly combine the roles of master and presiding magistrate.

CICERO

perturbatus. sed ut nihil magno opere metuum Parthi faciunt, qui repente Bibulum semivivum reliquerunt.

126 (VII.3)

Scr. in Trebulano v Id. Dec. an. 50 (§ 12)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 A. d. VIII Id. Dec. Aeculanum veni et ibi tuas litteras legi quas Philotimus mihi reddidit; e quibus hanc primo aspectu voluptatem cepi, quod erant a te ipso scriptae, deinde earum accuratissima diligentia sum mirum in modum delectatus. ac primum illud in quo te Dicaearcho adsentiri negas: etsi cupidissime expetitur a me est¹ et te approbante ne diutius anno in provincia essem, tamen non est nostra contentione perfectum. sic enim scito, verbum in senatu factum esse numquam de ullo nostrum qui provincias obtinuimus quo in iis diutius quam ex senatus consulto maneremus, ut iam ne istius quidem rei culpam sustineam, quod minus diu fuerim in provincia quam fortasse fuerit
- 2 utile. sed 'quid si hoc melius?' saepe opportune dici videtur, ut in hoc ipso. sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusvis rei me aut adiutorem velim esse aut certe non expertem; sin vincuntur boni, ubicumque essem, una cum iis victus essem. qua re celeritas nostri reditus ἀμεταμέλητος debet esse. quod si

¹ sit (*Wesenberg*)

⁹ I.e., they turned tail for no apparent reason.

¹ An advocate of the active life as opposed to the contemplative. Atticus may be supposed to have written in reply to Letter

LETTER 126 (VII.3)

What could I reply? I am greatly disturbed. However when I think of how the Parthians all of a sudden left Bibulus half-dead⁹ I am not very much afraid of anything.

126 (VII.3)

Near Trebula, 9 December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 6 December I arrived at Aeculanum, where I read your letter delivered to me by Philotimus. The first glance at it gave me pleasure, for the writing was your own; and then I was wonderfully gratified by the trouble you had taken to write in such detail. To begin with the point on which you say you disagree with Dicaearchus,¹ it is true I did my very utmost, and with your approval, to avoid being kept more than a year in my province, but the result was not due to any effort of mine. You may take my word for it that not a word was said in the Senate at any time about any of us governors of provinces to countenance us remaining in them beyond the time specified by its decree. So I cannot even be held to blame for not staying in my province as long as might perhaps have been expedient. But the common saying 'It may be all for the best' seems to apply here, as so often. For if matters can be brought either to a peaceful settlement or to victory for the honest men, I should in both of these two cases wish to help or at any rate not to be on the outside. On the other hand if the honest men lose the day, I should have lost it with them wherever I was. Therefore my returning so quickly should be no matter for

124.5 that he wished Cicero *had* stayed in Cilicia, for it looked as though there would be more to keep him active in Rome.

ista nobis cogitatio de triumpho iniecta non esset, quam tu quoque approbas, ne tu haud multum requireres illum virum qui in sexto libro informatus est. quid enim tibi faciam, qui illos libros devorasti? quin nunc ipsum non dubitabo rem tantam abicere, si id erit rectius. utrumque vero simul agi non potest, et de triumpho ambitiose et de re publica libere. sed ne dubitaris quin, quod honestius, id mihi futurum sit antiquius.

- 3 Nam quod putas utilius esse, vel mihi quod tutius sit vel etiam ut rei publicae prodesse possim, me esse cum imperio, id coram considerabimus quale sit; habet enim res deliberationem, etsi ex parte magna tibi adsentio<r>. de animo autem meo erga rem publicam bene facis quod non dubitas, et illud probe iudicas, nequaquam satis pro meis officiis, pro ipsius in alios effusione illum in me liberalem fuisse, eiusque rei causam vere explicas; †et eis†² quae de Fabio Caninioque acta scribis valde consentiunt. quae si secus essent totumque se ille in me profudisset, tamen illa quam scribis custos urbis me praeclarae inscriptionis memorem esse cogeret nec mihi concederet ut imitarer Volcacium aut Servium, quibus tu es contentus, sed aliquid nos vellet nobis dignum et sentire et defendere; quod quidem agerem, si liceret, alio modo ac nunc agendum est.

² et ea conī. SB

² The sixth book of *On the Republic* describes the ideal statesman. ³ Probably that Caesar did not feel he could rely on Cicero's political support. ⁴ C. Fabius, a friend of Atticus, and C. Caninius Rebilus were Legates of Caesar, who was apparently thought to have treated them badly in some way.

⁵ Before setting out into exile Cicero had dedicated a statue of

LETTER 126 (VII.3)

regret. In fact if this notion of a Triumph, which you too approve, had not been put into my head, you really would not have much cause to desiderate the ideal sketched in my sixth volume.² What, after all, as an eager reader of that work, would you want me to do? Why even at this stage I shall not hesitate to throw away the great prize, if that turns out to be the right thing. Certainly the two roles of candidate for a Triumph and independent statesman are not to be played simultaneously. But rest assured that honour will come first with me.

As for your view that it is more expedient (either as safer for me personally or perhaps as enabling me to render service to the state) that I retain my military authority, we shall go into that together. It's quite a question, though I agree with you to a large extent. You do well to have no doubts of my patriotism. You are quite right too in your judgement that Caesar has not behaved by any means as handsomely to me as he ought in view of my services and his own lavishness towards others, and you explain the reason³ for this correctly. What you write of his dealings with Fabius and Caninius⁴ chimes very well. But even if this were otherwise and he had showered upon me everything he had to offer, the Protectress of Rome⁵ to whom you refer would not let me forget her noble inscription or allow me to make Volcacious or Servius my model, whom you think good enough. She would wish me to take and maintain some line worthy of myself. That is what I should do, if I were able, in a way different from what circumstances now prescribe.

Minerva Protectress of the City (= Athena Poliouchos) on the Capitol. The wording of the inscription is unknown.

- 4 De sua potentia dimicant homines hoc tempore periculo civitatis. nam si res publica defenditur, cur ea consule isto ipso defensa non est? cur ego, in cuius causa rei publicae salus consistebat, defensus postero anno non sum? cur imperium illi aut cur illo modo prorogatum est? cur tanto opere pugnatum ut de eius absentis ratione habenda decem tribuni pl. ferrent? his ille rebus ita convaluit ut nunc in uno civi spes³ ad resistendum sit; qui mallet tantas
- 5 ei viris non dedisset quam nunc tam valenti resisteret. sed quoniam res eo deducta est, non quaeram, ut scribis, 'ποῦ σκάφος τὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν;': mihi σκάφος unum erit quod a Pompeio gubernabitur. illud ipsum quod ais, 'quid fiet cum erit dictum "dic, M. Tulli?": σύντομα, 'Cn. Pompeio adsentior.' ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor; sic enim sentio, maximo in periculo rem esse. vos scilicet plura, qui in urbe estis; verum tamen haec video, cum homine audacissimo paratissimoque negotium esse, omnis damnatos, omnis ignominia adfectos, omnis damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere, omnem fere iuventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem, tribunos valentis addito Q.⁴ Cassio, omnis qui aere alieno premantur, quos pluris esse intellego quam putaram (causam solum illa causa non habet, ceteris rebus abundat); hic omnia facere omnis ne armis decernatur, quorum

³ res (*Lambinus*)

⁴ C. (*Corradus*)

⁶ See Letter 124, note 5.

⁷ I.e., 'which is the side to join?' The citation, which is inaccurate and out of line with the original context, comes from Euripides' *Women of Troy* (455). Atreus' sons were Agamemnon and Menelaus.

LETTER 126 (VII.3)

What we now see is a struggle for personal power at the community's risk and peril. If it is in defence of the constitution, why was the constitution not defended when Caesar himself was Consul? Why was I, with whose cause the survival of the constitution was bound up, not defended in the following year? Why was his command extended, and in such a fashion? Why was there such pressure to get the ten Tribunes to bring in the law about his candidature in absentia?⁶ By these steps he has become so strong that hope of resistance now depends on one man; and I would rather that *he* had not given Caesar such formidable strength in the first place than that he should resist him now that he is so powerful. However, since that is the pass we have come to, I shall not in your phrase ask 'Where the bark of Atreus' sons?'⁷ The only bark for me will be the one that has Pompey at the helm. As for your question 'What will happen when the word comes "Speak, M. Tullius?"' *Tout court*, 'I agree with Cn. Pompeius.' Pompey himself however I shall privately urge to peace. For my feeling is that things are in a very parlous state indeed. No doubt you people in Rome are better informed. All the same I see this much: we are dealing with a man who fears nothing and is ready for anything. All persons under legal sentence or censorial stigma, and all who deserve the one or the other, are on his side, so are pretty well all the younger people, all the desperate city rabble, some sturdy Tribunes, Q. Cassius now included, all the debt-ridden, who I find are worth more than I supposed!—Caesar's side lacks nothing but a cause, all else they have in abundance. Here I find everyone moving heaven and earth against decision by war, the results of which are always unpredictable and

CICERO

exitus semper incerti, nunc vero etiam in alteram partem magis timendi.

Bibulus de provincia decessit, Veientonem praefecit; in decedendo erit, ut audio, tardior. quem cum ornavit Cato declaravit iis se solis [non] invidere quibus nihil aut non multum ad dignitatem posset accedere.

6 Nunc venio ad privata; fere enim respondi tuis litteris de re publica et iis quas in suburbano et iis quas postea scripsi<sti>. ad privata venio. unum etiam, de Caelio: tantum abest ut meam ille sententiam moveat ut valde ego ipsi quod de sua sententia decesserit paenitendum putem. sed quid est quod ei vici Lucei sint addicti? hoc te praetermisisse miror.

7 De Philotimo, faciam equidem ut mones. sed ego †mihi†⁵ ab illo hoc tempore non rationes exspectabam quas tibi edidit, verum id reliquum quod ipse in Tusculano me referre in commentarium mea manu voluit quodque idem in Asia mihi sua manu scriptum dedit. id si praestaret, quantum mihi aeris alieni esse tibi edidit, tantum et plus etiam mihi ipse deberet. sed in hoc genere, si modo per rem publicam licebit, non accusabimur posthac; neque hercule antea negligentes fuimus sed et amicorum <et publicorum negotiorum>⁶ multitudine occupati. ergo utemur, ut polliceris, et opera et consilio tuo, nec tibi erimus, ut spero, in eo molesti.

⁵ *del. coni. SB*

⁶ *add. SB*

⁸ Like Cicero himself.

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now may even be apprehended as more likely than not to turn out wrong.

Bibulus has quitted his province, leaving Veiento in charge. I hear that he will not hurry himself on the return journey. In doing him honour Cato made it plain that he confines his jealousy to those⁸ whose prestige admits of little or no enhancement.

Now I come to private matters—I have answered your political letters more or less, both the one you wrote at your place near Rome and the later one. I come to private matters. One thing more, about Caelius:⁹ so far from letting him influence my views, I think it a great pity for himself that he has changed his. But what is this about Luceius' properties being knocked down to him? I am surprised you didn't mention it.

About Philotimus, I shall certainly do as you advise. But it's not the accounts he produced to you that I am expecting from him now but the balance which he himself asked me at Tusculum to enter in my memorandum in my own hand and which he also gave me in writing under his own hand in Asia. If he were paying that, *he* would owe me as much as and even more than my total debts as he represented them to you. Well, in future I shall not be found wanting in this department, that is if the state of the country allows, nor indeed have I been negligent in the past, but preoccupied by the multitude of affairs, both of state and of my friends. So I shall avail myself of your services and advice, which you kindly promise, though I hope I shan't put you to too much trouble in that way.

⁹ Following in Curio's wake he had suddenly joined Caesar's party.

- 8 De serpirastris cohortis meae, nihil <est> quod doleas; ipsi enim se collegerunt admiratione [in te] integritatis meae. sed me moverat nemo magis quam is quem tu minime⁷ putas. idem et initio fuerat et nunc est egregius; sed in ipsa decessione significavit sperasse se aliquid et id quod animum induxerat paulisper non tenuit, sed cito ad se rediit meisque honorificentissimis erga se officiis victus pluris ea duxit quam omnem pecuniam.
- 9 Ego a Curio tabulas accepi, quas mecum porto. Hortensi legata cognovi; nunc aveo scire quid †hominis†⁸ sit et quarum rerum a<u>ctionem instituat; nescio enim cur, cum portam Flumentanam Caelius occuparit, ego Puteolos non meos faciam.
- 10 Venio ad 'Piraeaa,' in quo magis reprehendendus sum quod homo Romanus 'Piraeaa' scripserim, non 'Piraeum' (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt), quam quod addiderim <'in'>; non enim hoc ut oppido praeposui sed ut loco; et tamen Dionysius noster et qui est nobiscum Nicias Cous non rebatur oppidum esse Piraeaa. sed de re videro. nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est quod non ut de oppido locutus sum sed ut de loco, secutusque sum non

⁷ nemo (*Watt, sed vide CLA*)

⁸ heredis *coni. SB*

¹⁰ Atticus will have written something to the effect that Cicero's staff seemed to need knee splints to strengthen their moral legs.

¹¹ Perhaps Q. Cicero. Atticus would never have expected *him* to behave improperly in this respect.

¹² Entrance to the Velabrum from the Campus Martius. Presumably Luceius' property was situated there.

¹³ Hortensius had left property in Puteoli which Cicero would have liked to buy.

LETTER 126 (VII.3)

As for the knee splints¹⁰ for my staff, you need not distress yourself. They pulled themselves together of their own accord, in admiration of my uprightness. But none of them disturbed me more than the one¹¹ whom you think 'the last man.' And yet he had behaved admirably to begin with and does now. But just as we were leaving he intimated that he had hoped for something, and fell for a little while below the standard he had set himself. But he soon came to himself again. My compliments and attentions won him over, and he valued them more than any amount of money.

I have received the will from Curius and am bringing it with me. I note Hortensius' legacies. Now I am longing to know what the heir (?) gets and what items he's putting up to auction. Since Caelius has occupied the Flumentane Gate,¹² I don't see why I shouldn't acquire Puteoli.¹³

Now I come to Piraeus, in which matter as a Roman I am more open to criticism for writing *Piraeaa* instead of *Piraeum*,¹⁴ the form universally used by our countrymen, than for adding the preposition. I prefixed it not as to a town but as to a locality—and after all our friend Dionysius and Nicias of Cos, who is with us, think Piraeus is *not* a town. But the matter of fact I leave for further enquiry. If I *have* made a mistake it is in speaking as of a locality instead of a town, and I had for precedent I won't say

¹⁴ I.e., the Greek form of the accusative instead of the Latin. What follows turns on a point in Latin grammar, namely that the preposition which is usual with verbs expressing motion towards or away from an object is normally not used when the object is a town. Cicero claims that Piraeus, the port of Athens, was not properly a town but a district ('deme') of Attica.

dico Caecilium, 'mane ut ex portu in Piraeum' (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est), sed Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi, 'heri aliquot adulescentuli coimus in Piraeum'; et idem, 'mercator hoc addebat, captam e Sunio'; quod si *δήμους* oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quam Piraeus.

11 Sed quoniam grammaticus es, si hoc mihi *ζήτημα* persolveris, magna me molestia liberaris. ille mihi litteras blandas mittit; facit idem pro eo Balbus. mihi certum est ab honestissima sententia digitorum nusquam; sed scis illi reliquum quantum sit. putasne igitur verendum esse ne aut obiciat id nobis aliquis, si languidius, aut repetat, si fortius? quid ad haec reperis? 'solvamus' inquis. age, a Caelio mutuabimur. hoc tu tamen consideres velim. puto enim, in senatu si quando praeclare pro re publica dixerō, Tartesium istum tuum mihi exeunti, 'iube sodes nummos curari.'⁹

12 Quid superest? etiam. gener est suavis mihi, Tulliae, Terentiae; quantumvis vel ingeni vel humanitatis †satis†; reliqua, quae nosti, ferenda. scis enim quos †aperierimus†;¹⁰ qui omnes, praeter eum de quo per te egimus, reum me facerent. ipsis enim expensum nemo ferret. sed haec coram; nam multi sermonis sunt.

⁹ curare (*Corradus**)

¹⁰ reiecerimus *Goodyear*: praeterierimus *coni. SB*

¹⁵ Both quotations are from Terence's play *The Eunuch* (539, 114). ¹⁶ Since joining Caesar's party Caelius had become affluent; but Cicero is not serious.

¹⁷ Tarshish, west of the less ancient Gades (Cadiz), which was Cornelius Balbus' native town. After the destruction of the former by the Carthaginians the two places were often confused.

Caecilius ('when I went early from the harbour to Piraeus'), for his Latinity is not much to go by, but Terence, whose plays were supposed from the elegance of their diction to be the work of C. Laelius: 'Yesterday a party of us young fellows went to Piraeus' and 'The trader added that she was taken from Sunium'¹⁵—if we are going to say that demes are towns, then Sunium is as much a town as Piraeus.

But since you have turned schoolmaster, perhaps you will once for all solve my problem for me and take a big load off my mind. Caesar sends me smooth letters and Balbus does the same on his behalf. I am determined not to stray an inch from the path of strict honour. But you know how much I still owe him. Don't you think there is a danger of having it thrown in my teeth by someone or other if I take a weak line or payment demanded if I take a strong one? What do you suggest? 'Pay up' perhaps. All right, I'll borrow from Caelius!¹⁶ But I would like you to give it your consideration. I suppose that if I ever make a fine patriotic speech in the Senate your friend from Tartessus¹⁷ will politely ask me for a banker's draft on my way out!

Now, let me see. Oh yes, my son-in-law. We all find him charming, Tullia, Terentia, myself. He is as clever and agreeable as you please. Other characteristics, of which you are aware, we must put up with. After all you know what the rejected suitors were like (?). Every man of them, except the one¹⁸ in whose case you were intermediary, would have put me into debt—nobody would advance *them* a penny. But of all this when we meet; it will take a good deal of talking over.

¹⁸ The young man from Arpinum, 'Pontidia's candidate.'

CICERO

Tironis reficiendi spes est in M'. Curio, cui ego scripsi tibi eum gratissimum facturum.

Data v Id. Dec. a Pontio ex Trebulano.

127 (VII.4)

Scr. in Cumano, ut vid., c. Id. Dec. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Dionysium flagrantem desiderio tui misi ad te, nec mehercule aequo animo, sed fuit concedendum. quem quidem cognovi cum doctum, quod mihi iam ante erat notum, tum sanctum, plenum officii, studiosum etiam meae laudis, frugi hominem, ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum.
- 2 Pompeium vidi III Id. Dec.; fuimus una horas duas fortasse. magna laetitia mihi visus est adfieri meo adventu; de triumpho hortari, suscipere partis suas, monere ne ante in senatum accederem quam rem confecissem, ne dicendis sententiis aliquem tribunum alienarem. quid quaeris? in hoc officio sermone eius¹ nihil potuit esse prolixius. de re publica autem ita mecum locutus est quasi non dubium bellum haberemus: nihil ad spem concordiae; plane illum a se alienatum cum ante intellegeret, tum vero proxime iudicasse; venisse Hirtium a Caesare, qui esset illi familiarissimus, ad se non accessisse et, cum ille a. d. VIII Id. Dec. vesperi venisset, Balbus de tota re constituisset a. d. VII ad

¹ sermonis (*Jørgensen*)

LETTER 127 (VII.4)

My hope of getting Tiro back to health lies in M'. Curius, to whom I have written that he will oblige you greatly.

Dispatched on 9 December from Pontius' house near Trebula.

127 (VII.4)

Cumae (?), ca. 13 December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am sending you Dionysius, who is on fire with impatience to see you; reluctantly I must say, but I had to agree. I have found him not only a good scholar, which I already knew, but upright, serviceable, zealous moreover for my good name, an honest fellow, and in case that sounds too much like commending a freedman, a really fine man.

I saw Pompey on 10 December. We were together for something like two hours. He seemed very happy to see me back; encouraged me about the Triumph, promised to do his part, and advised me not to attend the Senate before I had got the matter settled for fear I might make an enemy of some Tribune or other in the course of debate. In fact on this personal matter his language could not have been more forthcoming. On the political situation he talked as though we were certainly in for war, nothing to suggest a hope of agreement. He told me that although he had previously been aware of Caesar's complete estrangement from himself, a very recent incident had confirmed his opinion. Hirtius, a very close friend of Caesar's, had come from him to Rome, but had not approached himself; he had arrived on the evening of 6 December, and Balbus

CICERO

- Scipionem ante lucem venire, multa de nocte eum profectum esse ad Caesarem. hoc illi *τεκμηριῶδες* videbatur esse
 3 alienationis. quid multa? nihil me aliud consolatur nisi quod illum, cui etiam inimici alterum consulatum, fortuna summam potentiam dederit, non arbitror fore tam amentem ut haec in discrimen adducat. quod si ruere coeperit, ne ego multa timeo quae non audeo scribere. sed ut nunc est, a. d. III Non. Ian. ad urbem cogito.

128 (VII.5)

Scr. in Formiano med. m. Dec. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Multas uno tempore accepi¹ tuas, quae mihi, quamquam recentiora audiebam ex iis qui ad me veniebant, tamen erant iucundae; studium enim et benevolentiam declarabant. valetudine tua moveor et Piliam in idem genus morbi delapsam curam tibi adferre maiorem sentio. date igitur operam ut valeatis.
- 2 De Tirone video tibi curae esse; quem quidem ego, etsi mirabilis utilitates mihi praebet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem et modestiam malo salvum quam propter usum meum.
- 3 Philogenes mecum nihil umquam de †lusgenio†² locutus est; de ceteris rebus habes Dionysium. sororem tuam

¹ litteras accepi vel a- epistolas *codd. aliquot*

² HS \bar{c} (centū) vel HS CCICD ICQ *coni. SB*

LETTER 128 (VII.5)

had arranged to call at Scipio's before dawn on the 7th for a talk on the whole situation. But Hirtius had left to join Caesar in the middle of the night. This seemed to Pompey proof positive of estrangement. In short, my only comfort is that I don't believe that Caesar, given a second Consulship even by his enemies and immense power by the grace of fortune, will be mad enough to put all this in jeopardy. But if he does start plunging, then indeed I fear much that I dare not write down. Anyway as matters stand I propose to come to Rome on 3 January.

128 (VII.5)

Formiae, mid-December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have received a number of letters from you all at once. Though I am getting more recent news from my visitors here, I was glad to have them, for they showed your warm interest in my welfare. I am much concerned to hear of your illness, and I know how much more anxious you must be now that Pilia has contracted the same sort of complaint.¹ Try both of you to get well.

I see you are not forgetting Tiro. He is extraordinarily useful to me when well in all sorts of ways, both in business and in my literary work, but I hope for his recovery more because he is such a nice, modest fellow than for my own convenience.

Philogenes never said a word to me about the HS 100,000 (?). On other matters you can consult Dionysius.

¹ O. Perlwitz, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, p. 76, suggests a malaria contracted at Buthrotum.

non venisse in Arcanum miror. de Chrysippo, meum consilium probari tibi non moleste fero. ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore (devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν et -habet alia δύσχρηστα), sed de Formiano Tarracinam prid. Kal. Ian., inde Pomptinum †summam†, inde Albanum Pompei; ita ad urbem III Non., natali meo.

- 4 De re publica cottidie magis timeo. non enim boni, ut putant<ur>,³ consentiunt. quos ego equites Romanos, quos senatores vidi, qui acerrime cum cetera tum hoc iter Pompei vituperarent! pace opus est. ex victoria cum multa mala tum certe tyrannus existet. sed haec prope diem coram.

- Iam plane mihi deest quid ad te scribam; nec enim de re publica, quod uterque nostrum scit eadem, et domestica
5 nota sunt ambobus. reliquum est iocari, si hic sinat; nam ego is sum qui illi concedi putem utilius esse quod postulat quam signa conferri; sero enim resistimus ei quem per annos decem aluimus contra nos. 'quid senti<e>s⁴ igitur?' inquis. nihil scilicet nisi de sententia tua, nec prius quidem quam nostrum negotium aut confecerimus aut deposuerimus. cura igitur ut valeas; aliquando ἀπόρρηται quartanam istam diligentia quae in te summa est.

³ *add. Mueller*

⁴ *add. Wesenberg*

² Pompey had left Rome for Campania on 7 December to take over two legions stationed there and raise new levies.

LETTER 128 (VII.5)

I am surprised your sister has not gone to Arcanum. I am glad you approve of the course I took about Chrysippus. No, I don't intend to go to Tusculum at all at the present time (it's out of the way for people coming to meet me and has other inconveniences), but shall leave Formiae for Tarracina on 29 December, from there go to * in the Pontine marshes, and from there to Pompey's place at Alba, thus reaching Rome on my birthday, 3 January.

The political situation alarms me more every day. It is not as though the honest men, as they are reckoned, were agreed. You would hardly credit me if I told you of the Roman Knights and Senators too I have heard using the bitterest language about the conduct of affairs in general and this trip of Pompey's² in particular. Peace is what is wanted. Victory will bring many evils in its train, including the certainty of a despot. But we shall talk of this together soon.

Just now I have really nothing to write to you about—not politics because we both have the same information, and domestic matters too are known to both of us. Jokes are all that's left, with *his*³ kind permission—for I am one of those who hold it more expedient to concede his demands than to join battle. It is late in time for us to resist a man whom we have been building up against ourselves for ten years. 'What line will you take then?' you may ask. None of course which you do not advise and none before I have either settled my own affair⁴ or given it up. Look after your health therefore, and take pains (no man better) to shake off this quartan of yours at long last.

³ Caesar's.

⁴ The Triumph.

CICERO

129 (VII.6)

Scr. in Formiano c. XIII Kal. Ian. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Plane deest quid ad te scribam. nota omnia tibi sunt, nec ipse habeo a te quod exspectem. tantum igitur nostrum illud sollemne servemus, ut ne quem istuc euntem sine litteris dimittamus.
- 2 De re publica valde timeo, nec adhuc fere inveni qui non concedendum putaret Caesari quod postularet potius quam depugnandum. est illa quidem impudens postulatio, opinione †valentior†.¹ cur autem nunc primum ei resistam<us>? ‘οὐ γὰρ δὴ τόδε μείζον ἔπι κακὸν’ quam cum quinquennium prorogabamus, aut cum ut absentis ratio haberetur ferebamus, nisi forte haec illi tum arma dedimus ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. dices ‘quid tu igitur sensurus es?’ non idem quod dicturus. sentiam enim omnia facienda ne armis decertetur, dicam idem quod Pompeius, neque id faciam humili animo. sed rursus hoc permagnum rei publicae malum, esse² quodam modo mihi praeter ceteros non rectum me in tantis rebus a Pompeio dissidere.

¹ tamen lenior *cont.* SB

² est et (SB)

LETTER 129 (VII.6)

129 (VII.6)

Formiae, ca. 18 December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have really nothing to write to you about. You know all there is to know, and I on my side have nothing to expect from you. So let me just keep up my old-established habit of not letting anyone go your way without a letter.

The political situation alarms me deeply, and so far I have found scarcely anybody who is not for giving Caesar what he demands rather than fighting it out. The demand is impudent no doubt, but more moderate than was expected (?). And why should we start standing up to him now? 'Sure, 'tis no worse a thing¹ than when we gave him his five years extension or when we brought in the law authorizing his candidature in absentia. Or did we put these weapons into his hands only to fight him now that he is equipped and ready? You will ask me what line I shall take in the House. Not the same as in my own mind. *There* I shall vote for peace at any price, but in the House I shall echo Pompey, and I shall not do it in a spirit of subservience either. But it is yet another major misfortune for the country that for me especially there is in a way something wrong in dissenting from Pompey on such high matters.²

¹ From *Odyssey*, 12.209.

² Cicero often refers to the debt of gratitude he owed Pompey for coming to his rescue in 57.

CICERO

130 (VII.7)

Scr. in Formiano XII, ut vid., Kal. Ian. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 'Dionysius, vir optimus, ut mihi quoque est perspectus, et doctissimus tuique amantissimus, Romam venit xv Kal. Ian. et litteras a te mihi reddidit.' tot enim verba sunt de Dionysio in epistula tua; illud, putato, non adscribis, 'et tibi gratias egit.' atqui certe ille agere debuit et, si esset factum, quae tua est humanitas, adscripsisses. mihi autem nulla de eo *παλινωδία* datur propter superioris epistulae testimonium. sit igitur sane bonus vir; hoc enim ipsum bene fecit, quod mihi sui cognoscendi penitus etiam istam facultatem dedit.
- 2 Philogenes recte ad te scripsit; curavit enim quod debuit. eum ego uti ea pecunia volui quoad liceret; itaque usus est menses XIII.
- 3 Pomptinum cupio valere et, quod scribis in urbem introisse, vereor quid sit; nam id nisi gravi de causa non fecisset. ego, quoniam III Non. Ian. Compitalicius dies est, nolo eo die in Albanum venire, ne molestus sim familiae; veniam III Non. Ian. igitur, inde ad urbem prid. Non. tua *λῆψις* quem in diem incurrat nescio, sed prorsus te commoveri incommodo valetudinis tuae nolo.
- 4 De honore nostro, nisi quid occulte Caesar per suos tribunos molitus erit, cetera videntur esse tranquilla; tranquillissimus autem animus meus, qui totum istuc aequi boni facit, et eo magis quod iam a multis audio constitutum

¹ Cicero had expected Pomptinus to stay outside the city limits so as to take part as Legate in his own Triumph.

LETTER 130 (VII.7)

130 (VII.7)

Formiae, 19 (?) December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

‘The excellent Dionysius, as I also know him to be, a fine scholar too with a warm affection for you, arrived in Rome on 16 December and gave me a letter from you.’ That, no more and no less, is what you write about Dionysius in your letter. You don’t add, let us say, ‘and he expressed his gratitude to you.’ And yet he certainly ought to have done so, and if he had it would have been unlike your kindly self not to have added it. However I can’t recant about him after the testimonial in my earlier letter. Agreed then that he is a very fine fellow. Indeed I actually feel beholden to him for giving me this insight among others into his character.

Philogenes was correct in what he wrote to you. He paid what he owed. I wanted him to put the money to use for the time allowed. Accordingly he did so for fourteen months.

I hope Pomptinus is getting well. You say he has entered Rome, which makes me uneasy. He would not have done so without a strong reason.¹ 2 January being Crossways Day I don’t want to go to Alba that day in case my arrival might be troublesome for the staff. That shall be for the 3rd therefore, and from there to Rome on the 4th. I don’t know what day your fever is due, but I certainly wouldn’t have you think of making a move to the detriment of your health.

With regard to my Triumph, unless Caesar gets up something underhand through his Tribunes, all seems to be calm sailing. Calmest of all is my own mind, which takes the whole business philosophically, all the more so as I hear

esse Pompeio et eius consilio in Siciliam me mittere quod imperium habeam. id est Ἀβδηρικόν; nec enim senatus decrevit nec populus iussit me imperium in Sicilia habere; sin hoc res publica ad Pompeium refert, qui me magis quam privatum aliquem mittit? itaque si hoc imperium mihi molestum erit, utar ε<α>¹ porta quam primam² videro.

5 Nam quod scribis mirificam expectationem esse mei neque tamen quemquam bonorum aut satis bonorum dubitare quid factur³ sim, ego quos tu bonos esse dicas non intellego. ipse nullos novi, sed ita, si ordines bonorum quaerimus. nam singulares sunt boni viri; verum in dissensionibus ordines bonorum et genera quaerenda sunt. senatum bonum putas, per quem sine imperio provinciae sunt (numquam enim Curio sustinisset, si cum eo agi coeptum esset; quam sententiam senatus sequi noluit, ex quo factum est ut Caesari non succederetur), an publicanos, qui numquam firmi sed nunc Caesari sunt amicissimi, an faeneratores, an agricolas, quibus optatissimum est otium? nisi eos timere putas ne sub regno sint qui id numquam, dum modo otiosi essent, recusarunt.

6 Quid ergo? exercitum retinentis cum legis dies transierit rationem haberi placet? mihi vero ne absentis quidem; sed cum id datum est, illud una datum est. an-

¹ *add. Victorius*

² *primum (Popma)*

³ *sensus codd. superstites*

² Made by M. Marcellus in May. The Senate sometimes instructed the Consuls to 'make representations to' (or 'treat with')

from many quarters that Pompey and his council have settled to send me to Sicily because I have military authority. That is senseless. I have no mandate either from Senate or Assembly to hold command in Sicily. If on the other hand the state leaves this to Pompey, why send me rather than a private individual? So if this military authority is going to be a nuisance, I shall walk in by the first gate I see.

You say my advent is awaited with extraordinary interest, but that none of the honest, or fairly honest, men have any doubt about what I shall do. I don't understand whom you mean by 'the honest men.' I don't know of any, that is if we are thinking in terms of classes. There are honest individuals, but in political conflicts one has to look for honest men by classes and categories. Do you reckon the Senate as 'honest'? It is thanks to them that the provinces now have no governors. Curio would never have stood out if representations had been started with him. But the Senate would not support the proposal,² with the result that no successors to Caesar were appointed. Well then, the tax farmers—never reliable, now warmly attached to Caesar—or the capitalists, or the farmers, whose first prayer is for peace? Or do you suppose they are frightened of living under an autocracy? They never have objected to that, so long as they were left in peace.

You may ask whether I approve of allowing a commander who retains his army after the expiry of the term legally assigned to stand for office. I disapproved even of allowing his candidature in absentia; but the one concession implied the other. Do we approve of the ten years'

recalcitrant Tribunes, i.e., put pressure on them by the threat of counteraction such as their suspension or removal from office.

norum autem⁴ decem imperium et ita latum <placet>? placet igitur etiam me expulsus et agrum Campanum perisse et adoptatum patricium a plebeio, Gaditanum a Mytilenaeo, et Labieni divitiae et Mamurrae placent et Balbi horti et Tusculanum. sed horum omnium fons unus est. imbecillo resistendum fuit, et id erat facile; nunc legiones XI, equitatus tantus quantum volet, Transpadani, plebes urbana, tot tribuni pl., tam perdita iuventus, tanta auctoritate dux, tanta audacia. cum hoc aut depugnandum est aut habenda e lege ratio. 'depugna' inquis 'potius quam servias.' ut quid? si victus eris, proscribare, si viceris, tamen servias? 'quid ergo' inquis 'acturus es?' idem quod pecudes, quae dispulsae sui generis sequuntur greges; ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros aut eos quicumque dicentur boni sequar, etiam si ruent. quid sit optimum male contractis rebus plane⁵ video; nemini est enim exploratum cum ad arma ventum sit⁶ quid futurum sit, at illud omnibus, si boni victi sint, nec in caede principum clementiorem hunc fore quam Cinna fuerit nec moderatiorem quam Sulla in pecuniis locupletum.⁷ ἐμπολιτεύομαί σοι iam dudum, et facerem diutius nisi me lucerna desereret. ad summam, 'dic M. Tulli.' 'adsentior Cn. Pompeio,' id est T. Pomponio.

Alexim, humanissimum puerum (nisi forte, dum ego absum, adulescens factus est; id enim agere videbatur), salvere iubeas velim.

⁴ enim (SB) ⁵ plane non Sedgwick ⁶ est (Mueller)
⁷ aliquid excidisse susp. est SB

³ I.e., P. Clodius.

⁴ Theophanes of Mytilene had adopted Balbus.

LETTER 130 (VII.7)

command and the way it was conferred? Then we also approve of my expulsion and the loss of the Campanian land and the adoption of a patrician³ by a plebeian and of a man from Gades by a man from Mytilene,⁴ and we approve of the fortunes of Labienus and Mamurra and of Balbus' estates in the suburbs and at Tusculum. But the root of all these things is one and the same. We should have stood up to him when he was weak, and that would have been easy. Now we have to deal with eleven legions, all the cavalry he may want, the Gauls beyond Po, the city populace, all these Tribunes, our demoralized youth, and a leader strong in prestige and hardihood. We must either fight him or allow his candidature as by law authorized. 'Better fight than be a slave,' you say. For what? Proscription if you're beaten and if you win slavery just the same? What am I going to do then? What stray cattle do when they follow droves of their own species. As an ox follows the herd, so I shall follow the honest men or whoever may be called such, even if they plunge. The *best* course in the straits to which we are reduced I see clearly enough. For nobody can be sure what will happen once the fight is on, but everybody can assume that if the honest men are beaten Caesar will be no more merciful than Cinna in the slaughter of leading men and no more temperate than Sulla in plundering the rich. Well, I have been inflicting my political views on you all this while, and I should go on doing so if the lamp were not going out. To sum up: 'Speak, M. Tullius!' 'I agree with Cn. Pompeius,' i.e. with T. Pomponius.

Please greet Alexis for me, a most courteous lad, unless he has become a young man while I have been away—he seemed to be heading that way.

CICERO

131 (VII.8)

Scr. in Formiano VI aut V Kal. Ian. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quid opus est de Dionysio tam valde adfirmare? an mihi nutus tuus non faceret fidem? suspicionem autem eo mihi maiorem tua taciturnitas attulerat, quod et tu soles conglutinare amicitias testimoniis tuis et illum aliter cum aliis de nobis locutum audiebam. sed prorsus ita esse ut scribis mihi persuades; itaque ego is in illum sum quem tu me esse vis.
- 2 Diem tuum ego quoque ex epistula tua quadam quam incipiente febricula scripseras mihi notaveram et animadverteram posse pro re nata te non incommode ad me in Albanum venire III Non. Ian. sed, amabo te, nihil incommodo valetudinis feceris. quid enim est tantum in uno aut altero die?
- 3 Dolabellam video Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente sed iuberi mutare nomen. est *πολιτικὸν σκέμμα* rectumne sit nobili adulescenti nomen mutare mulieris testamento. sed id *φιλοσοφώτερον διευκρινήσομεν* cum sciemus quantum quasi sit in trientis triente.
- 4 Quod putasti fore ut ante quam istuc venirem Pompeium viderem, factum est ita; nam VI Kal. ad Lavernium <me> consecutus est. una Formias venimus et ab hora octava ad vesperum secreto collocuti sumus. quod quaeris ecquae spes pacificationis sit, quantum ex Pompei multo

¹ I.e., fever day. ² No more is heard of this, so Dolabella must be supposed to have refused.

LETTER 131 (VII.8)

131 (VII.8)

Formiae, 25 or 26 December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

There is really no need to be so emphatic about Dionysius, as though a nod from you would not satisfy me. Your silence made me the more suspicious because it is a practice of yours to cement friendships by your testimonials and because I am told he has talked about me different ways to different people. But you quite convince me that it is as you say, and so I feel towards him as you wish.

I too had made a note of your day¹ from one of your letters which you wrote me as a touch of fever was coming on and had observed that it would not be inconvenient, relatively speaking, for you to visit me at Alba on 3 January. But don't, I beg you, do anything to the detriment of your health. After all one or two days are not so important.

I see that Dolabella is down for a third share in Livia's will along with two coheirs, but is required to change his name. It is a question in political ethics whether it is right for a young man of noble family to change his name under a lady's will. But we shall solve the problem more scientifically when we know approximately how much a third share of a third share amounts to.²

Your forecast that I should be seeing Pompey before I came your way has proved correct. On the 25th he overtook me near Lavernium. We went back to Formiae together and talked privately from two o'clock till evening. The answer to your question whether there is any hope of a pacification, so far as I could see from Pompey's talk,

et ccurato sermone perspexi, ne voluntas quidem est. sic enim existimat, si ille vel dimisso exercitu consul factus sit, *σύγχυσις τῆς πολιτείας* fore, atque etiam putat eum, cum audierit contra se diligenter parari, consulatum hoc anno neglecturum ac potius exercitum provinciamque retenturum; sin autem ille fureret, vehementer hominem contemnebat et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat. quid quaeris? etsi mihi crebro *ἕξυνός Ἐννάλιος* occurrebat, tamen levabar cura virum fortem et peritum et plurimum auctoritate valentem audiens *πολιτικῶς* de pacis simulatae periculis disserentem. habebamus autem in manibus Antoni contionem habitam x Kal. Ian., in qua erat accusatio Pompei usque a toga pura, querela de damnatis, terror armorum. in quibus ille 'quid censes' aiebat 'facturum esse ipsum, si in possessionem rei publicae venerit, cum haec quaestor eius infirmus et inops audeat dicere?' quid multa? non modo non expetere pacem istam sed etiam timere visus est. ex illa autem sententia relinquendae urbis †mover†¹ hominem, ut puto. mihi autem illud molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Caesari et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum; est enim *ἄμορφον ἀντιπολιτενομένου χρεωφειλέτην* esse. sed haec et multa alia coram.

¹ moveo *vel* movi *coni.* SB

LETTER 131 (VII.8)

which lacked neither length nor detail, is that there isn't even the desire for one. His view is that if Caesar is made Consul, even after giving up his army, it will mean the subversion of the constitution; and he further thinks that when Caesar hears that preparations against him are energetically proceeding he will forego the Consulate this year and prefer to retain his army and province. But should Caesar take leave of his senses, Pompey is quite contemptuous of anything he can do and confident in his own and the Republic's forces. All in all, though I often thought of 'Mars on both sides,'³ I felt relieved as I heard such a man, courageous, experienced, and powerful in prestige, discouraging statesman-wise on the dangers of a false peace. We had in front of us a speech made by Antony on 21 December containing a denunciation of Pompey from the day he came of age, a protest on behalf of the persons condemned,⁴ and threats of armed force. Talking of which Pompey remarked: 'How do you expect Caesar to behave if he gets control of the state, when his feckless nobody of a Quaestor dares to say this sort of thing?' In short, far from seeking the peaceful settlement you talk of, he seemed to dread it. I think * move him from the idea of abandoning Rome. What irks me the most is that Caesar must be paid his money and the wherewithal for my Triumph diverted to that purpose. It does not look well to be in debt to a political opponent. But of this and much else when we are together.

³ I.e., the uncertainties of battle. The phrase is the beginning of a line in the *Iliad* (18.309): 'Enyalios (= Ares, Mars) fights on both sides and slays the slayer.'

⁴ By the courts set up by Pompey in 52.

CICERO

132 (VII.9)

Scr. in Formiano IV Kal. Ian. an. 50

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 'Cottidiene' inquis 'a te accipiendae litterae sunt?' si habebo cui dem, cottidie. 'at iam ipse ades.' tum igitur cum venero desinam. unas video mihi a te non esse redditas, quas L. Quinctius, familiaris meus, cum ferret ad bustum
- 2 Basili vulneratus et despoliatus est. videbis igitur num quid fuerit in iis quod me scire opus sit. et simul hoc *διευκρινήσεις πρόβλημα* sane *πολιτικόν*:—

Cum sit necesse aut haberi Caesaris rationem illo exercitum vel per senatum vel per tribunos pl. obtinente, aut persuaderi Caesari ut tradat provinciam atque exercitum et ita consul fiat, aut, si id ei non persuadeatur, haberi comitia sine illius ratione illo patiente atque obtinente provinciam, aut, si per tribunos pl. non patiat <et> tamen quiescat, rem adduci ad interregnum, aut, si ob eam causam quod ratio eius non habeatur exercitum adducat, armis cum eo contendere, illum autem initium facere armorum aut statim nobis minus paratis aut tum cum comitiis amicis eius postulantibus ut e lege ratio habeatur impetratum non sit, ire autem ad arma aut hanc unam ob causam quod ratio non habeatur aut addita causa si forte tribunus pl. senatum impediens aut populum incitans notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus [sit]¹ di-

¹ *secl. SB*

¹ On the Appian Way near Rome. The place had a bad name for robberies.

LETTER 132 (VII.9)

132 (VII.9)

Formiae, 27 December 50

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You may wonder whether you have to expect a letter from me every day. The answer is 'yes,' provided I have people to take them. And if you point out that I shall be with you in person very soon, I answer that when I am I shall stop writing. I notice that one letter of yours has miscarried. Its bearer, my friend L. Quinctius, was robbed with violence at Basilus' tomb.¹ So please see whether it contained anything I ought to know and at the same time please solve the following problem which is nothing if not political:

The possibilities are as follows: (1) Caesar's candidature may be admitted while he still retains his army either by favour of the Senate or of the Tribunes. (2) Caesar may be persuaded to hand over his province and army and so become Consul. (3) If he be not so persuaded, elections may be held without admission of his candidature, he not obstructing and meanwhile retaining his province. (4) Should he obstruct this by means of Tribunes but not resort to violence, there will be an interregnum. (5) If he brings up his army because his candidature is not accepted we must fight him. Now he may begin military operations (a) at once, before we are properly ready, or (b) at the elections, when his friends demand that his candidature be admitted according to the law and the demand is rejected. Further he may resort to arms either (a) on the single pretext of the rejection of his candidature or (b) on some additional pretext, if it should happen that a Tribune obstructing the Senate or stirring up the people and being censured or curtailed in his functions by senatorial decree or removed

CICERO

censve se expulsus ad illum confugerit, suscepto autem bello aut tenenda sit urbs aut ea relicta ille comite et reliquis copiis intercludendus—quod horum malorum, quorum aliquod certe subeundum est, minimum putes.

- 3 Dices profecto persuaderi illi ut tradat exercitum et ita consul fiat. est omnino id eius modi ut, si ille eo descendat, contra dici nihil possit, idque eum, si non obtinet ut ratio habeatur retinentis exercitum, non facere miror; nobis autem, ut quidam putant, nihil est timendum magis quam ille consul. 'at sic malo' inquit 'quam cum exercitu.' certe; sed istuc ipsum 'sic' [o]² magnum malum putat aliquis, neque ei remedium est ullum; cedendum est, si id volet. 'vide consulem illum iterum quem vidisti consulatu priore.' 'at tum imbecillus plus' inquit 'valuit quam tota res publica. quid nunc putas?' et eo consule Pompeio certum est esse in Hispania. o rem miseram! si quidem id ipsum deterrimum est quod recusari non potest, et quod ille si faciat, iam a³ bonis omnibus summam ineat gratiam.

- 4 Tollamus igitur hoc quo illum posse adduci negant; de reliquis quid est deterrimum? concedere illi quod,⁴ ut idem dicit, impudentissime postulat. nam quid impudentius? tenuisti provinciam per annos decem non tibi a senatu sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos; praeteriit tempus non legis sed libidinis tuae, fac tamen

² *del. Manutius*

³ *iam iam (Sturmius)*

⁴ *post dicit positum vellet SB*

² In what follows Cicero has in mind his recent conversation with Pompey.

³ Pompey.

from office or expelled or claiming to have been expelled should take refuge with him. War once begun, either (a) Rome would have to be held or (b) Rome would have to be abandoned and Caesar cut off from his supplies and his remaining forces. Of these evils, one of which is inevitable, which do you consider the least?

No doubt you will say that he be persuaded to hand over his army and so become Consul. True, this would be a course against which, if he were to bring himself to it, nothing could be said, and I am surprised that he does not do so if his claim to stand while retaining his army is not allowed. From our standpoint however, as certain persons² think, no prospect is more formidable than Caesar as Consul. 'Better thus' you will say, 'than with an army at his back.' Assuredly, but this very 'thus' is considered a disaster by somebody; and yet there is no help for it. If that is what he wants we must let him have it. 'You have put up with him as Consul before, put up with him again.' 'Ah, but he was weak then' comes the answer, 'and yet stronger than the entire state. What do you think he will be like now?' And if he is Consul, Pompey is resolved to stay in Spain. A wretched situation indeed if the worst of all contingencies is something which cannot be refused and which, should he accept it, would make all the honest men immediately and heartily grateful to him!

Well then, let us eliminate this possibility which they say he cannot be brought to accept. Which is the worst of those that remain? Surely to concede what the same person³ calls his most impudent demands. For could impudence go further? You have kept a province for ten years, years given you not by the Senate but by yourself through factious violence. The time is up, the time set not by law

CICERO

legis; ut succedatur decernitur; impedis et ais 'habe meam rationem.' habe tu nostram. exercitum tu habeas diutius quam populus iussit, invito senatu? 'depugnes oportet, nisi concedis.' cum bona quidem spe, ut ait idem, vel vincendi vel in libertate moriendi. iam si pugnandum est, quo tempore, in casu, quo consilio, in temporibus situm est. itaque te in ea quaestione non exerceo. ad ea quae dixi adfer si quid habes. equidem dies noctesque torqueor.

133 (VII.10)

Scr. ad urbem XIII Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Subito consilium cepi ut ante quam luceret exirem, ne qui conspectus fieret aut sermo, lictoribus praesertim laureatis. de reliquo neque hercule quid agam neque quid acturus sim scio; ita sum perturbatus temeritate nostri amen-tissimi consili. tibi vero quid suadeam, cuius ipse consilium exspecto? Gnaeus noster quid consili ceperit capiatve nescio adhuc,¹ in oppidis coartatus et stupens. omnes, si in Italia consistet, erimus una; sin cedet, consili res est. adhuc certe, nisi ego insanio, stulte omnia et incaute. tu, quaeso, crebro ad me scribe vel quod in buccam venerit.

¹ *distinxit SB*

¹ The news of Caesar's invasion threw Rome into panic. Pompey, the Consuls, and a host of others fled south.

LETTER 133 (VII.10)

but by your own whim—but grant it was by law. The appointment of your successor is resolved. You obstruct and say ‘admit my right to stand.’ What about *our* rights? Who are you to keep an army longer than the people have ordained, against the will of the Senate? ‘You will have to fight if you don’t give me what I want.’ Very well, fight we will, in good hope (as the same person says) of victory or of death as free men. War once decided, the time depends on chance, the plan of campaign on circumstances. So I won’t take up your time on that question. If you have any views on what I have said, let me know them. For my part I have no peace day or night.

133 (VII.10)

Near Rome, 18 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have decided on the spur of the moment to leave before daybreak so as to avoid looks or talk, especially with these laurelled lictors. As for what is to follow, I really don’t know what I am doing or going to do, I am so confounded by the rashness of this crazy proceeding of ours.¹ As for yourself, what can I recommend—I am expecting advice from *you*. What our Gnaeus has decided or is deciding I don’t yet know, cooped up there in the country towns in a daze. If he makes a stand in Italy we shall all be with him, but if he leaves, it’s a matter for consideration. So far anyhow, unless I am out of my mind, there has been nothing but folly and recklessness. Pray write to me often, if only just what comes into your head.

CICERO

134 (VII.11)

Scr., ut vid., in Formiano x Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quaesio, quid est hoc? aut quid agitur? mihi enim tenebrae sunt. 'Cingulum' inquit 'nos tenemus, Anconem amisimus; Labienus discessit a Caesare.' utrum de imperatore populi Romani an de Hannibale loquimur? o hominem amentem et miserum, qui ne umbram quidem umquam τοῦ καλοῦ viderit! atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio, occupare urbis civium quo facilior sit aditus ad patriam, χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, φυγάδων καθόδους, sescenta alia scelera moliri, 'τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὄσπ' ἔχειν Τυραννίδα'? sibi habeat suam fortunam! unam mehercule tecum aplicationem in illo lucrativo tuo sole malim quam omnia istius modi regna,
- 2 vel potius mori miliens quam semel illius modi quicquam cogitare. 'quid si tu velis?' inquis. age, quis est cui velle non liceat? sed ego hoc ipsum velle miserius esse duco quam in crucem tolli. una res est ea miserior, adipisci quod ita volueris. sed haec hactenus; libenter enim in his molestiis ἐνσχολάζω σοι.¹
- 3 Redeamus ad nostrum. per fortunas, quale tibi consilium Pompei videtur? hoc quaero, quid² urbem reliquerit; ego enim ἀπορῶ. tum nihil absurdius. urbem tu relinquant?

¹ COCON (*Victorius*) ² quod (*SB*)

¹ Cicero uses a Greek word applied by the Stoics to their moral ideal. In his philosophical writings he translates it with Latin *honestum*, which I translate 'moral good' below.

LETTER 134 (VII.11)

134 (VII.11)

Formiae (?), 21 January (?) 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Pray, what's all this? What is going on? I am in the dark. 'We hold Cingulum, we've lost Ancona, Labienus has deserted Caesar.' Is it a Roman general or Hannibal we are talking of? Deluded wretch, with never in his life a glimpse of even the shadow of Good!¹ And he says he is doing all this for his honour's sake! Where is honour without moral good? And is it good to have an army without public authority, to seize Roman towns by way of opening the road to the mother city, to plan debt cancellations, recall of exiles, and a hundred other villainies 'all for that first of deities, Sole Power'² He is welcome to his greatness. I would rather a single hour with you, warming myself in that 'bonus' sunshine³ of yours, than all such autocracies, or rather I had sooner die a thousand deaths than entertain one such thought. You may say 'But supposing you *did* wish for it?' Come! Anyone is allowed to *wish*. But I reckon the mere wish a sorrier thing than crucifixion. There is only one thing sorrier still, and that is for a man in such a case to get what he wishes for. But there's enough. In the midst of these disquietudes I like to make you my lecture class.

To come back to our friend. What *do* you think, for heaven's sake, of Pompey's line—I mean, why has he abandoned Rome? I don't know what to make of it. At the time it looked the most senseless thing. Abandon Rome? I sup-

² From Euripides' *Phoenissae*, 506.

³ Atticus may be supposed to have called the sunshine at his home a 'bonus' because it did not have to be paid for.

- ergo idem, si Galli venirent? 'non est' inquit 'in parietibus res publica.' at in aris et focus. 'fecit Themistocles.' fluctum enim totius barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat. at idem Pericles non fecit anno fere post quinquagesimo, cum praeter moenia nihil teneret. nostri olim urbe reliqua capta arcem tamen retinuerunt. 'οὕτως που τῶν πρόσθεν
- 4 ἐπεινόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.' rursus autem ex dolore municipali sermonibusque eorum quos convenio videtur hoc consilium exitum habiturum. mira hominum querela est (nescio istic,³ sed facies ut sciam) sine magistratibus urbem esse, sine senatu. fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. quid quaeris? alia causa facta est. nihil iam concedendum putant Caesari. haec tu mihi explica qualia sint.
- 5 Ego negotio praesum non turbulento; vult enim me Pompeius esse quem tota haec Campania et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem dilectus et negoti summa referatur; itaque vagus esse cogitabam. te puto iam videre quae⁴ sit ὁρμὴ Caesaris, qui populus, qui totius negoti status. ea velim scribas ad me, et quidem, quoniam mutabilia sunt, quam saepissime; acquiesco enim et scribens ad te et legens tua.

³ isticine *Wesenberg*

⁴ qua *coni. SB*

⁴ During the Persian invasion (480) Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to abandon Athens and take to their fleet. Not so

LETTER 134 (VII.11)

pose you would have done the same if the Gauls were coming? 'House walls' he might answer 'don't make the Republic.' But altars and hearthstones do. 'Themistocles did it.' Yes, because one city could not stand against the tide of the whole barbarian world.⁴ But Pericles did not half a century later, though he held nothing except the town walls. Our own forebears still held the citadel after the rest of Rome was in enemy hands. 'Such the brave tales we've heard of men of old.'⁵ And yet again, to judge from the indignation in the towns and the talk of the people who come my way, it looks as though this proceeding may achieve something after all. The public outcry is astonishing (whether so in Rome I do not know, but you will inform me) at the thought of the capital without magistrates or Senate. Finally the picture of Pompey on the run affects people marvellously. In a word, the case is altered. They are now against any concessions to Caesar. You must explain to me what all this adds up to.

I have a fairly quiet job to look after. Pompey wants me to exercise supervision over all this part of Campania and the sea coast, with general authority over recruiting, etc. I therefore expect to be moving about from place to place. I imagine that by now you see the direction of Caesar's drive, the popular reaction, the state of the whole business. I hope you will write to me about these matters and as often as possible, since they won't stand still. Both when writing to you and when reading what you write I feel calmer.

Pericles in the Peloponnesian War or the Romans in the Gallic invasion of 390.

⁵ From *Iliad*, 9.524.

CICERO

135 (VII.12)

Scr. in Formiano IX Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Unam adhuc a te epistulam acceperam datam XII Kal. [Iun.], in qua significabatur aliam te ante dedisse, quam non acceperam. sed quaeso ut scribas quam saepissime, non modo si quid scies aut audieris sed etiam si quid suspicabere, maximeque quid nobis faciendum aut non faciendum putes.
- 2 Nam quod rogas curem ut scias quid Pompeius agat, ne ipsum quidem scire puto; nostrum quidem nemo. vidi Lentulum consulem Formiis X Kal., vidi Libonem; plena timoris et erroris omnia. ille iter Larinum; ibi enim cohortes et Luceriae et Teani reliquaque in Apulia. inde utrum consistere uspiam velit an mare transire nescitur. si manet, vereor ne exercitum firmum habere non possit; sin discedit, quo aut qua, aut quid nobis agendum sit nescio. nam istum quidem cuius *Φαλαρισμὸν* times omnia taeterime facturum puto; nec eum rerum prolatio nec senatus magistratuumque discessus nec aerarium clausum tardabit. sed haec, ut scribis, cito sciemus.
- 3 Interim velim mihi ignoscas quod ad te scribo tam multa totiens; acquiesco enim et tuas volo elicere litteras maximeque consilium quid agam aut quo me pacto geram. demittamne me penitus in causam? non deterreor periculo sed dirumpor dolore: tamne nullo consilio aut tam contra meum consilium gesta esse omnia! an cuncter et tergi-

¹ I.e., cruelty; reference is to Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum.

LETTER 135 (VII.12)

135 (VII.12)

Formiae, 22 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have so far received one letter from you dispatched the 19th, in which you indicate that you had sent another earlier which I have not received. But I do beg you to write as often as you can, anything you know or hear or even just suspect; above all what you think I ought to do or not to do.

As for your request that I should let you know what Pompey is about, I don't think he knows himself; certainly none of us knows. I saw Consul Lentulus at Formiae on the 21st and Libo also. No sign of anything but panic and bewilderment. Pompey is making for Larinum, where there are some cohorts, as also at Luceria and Teanum and in the rest of Apulia. Once there, whether he wants to make a stand at any point or to go overseas is unknown. If he stays, I am afraid it may be impossible for him to have a strong army. If he goes, I don't know his route or destination or what I am to do. As for the man whose Phalarism¹ you dread, I expect nothing but atrocities from him. Neither the suspension of business nor the departure of Senate and magistrates nor the closure of the Treasury will put a brake on him. But as you say, we shall know shortly.

Meanwhile I hope you will forgive me for writing to you so much and so often. It calms me, and I want to elicit letters from you, above all advice on what to do or how to behave. Shall I fling myself whole-hearted into the cause? I am not deterred by the risk, but I *am* bursting with indignation at the utter lack of judgement, or shall I say the flouting of *my* judgement, in the whole proceedings. Or

CICERO

verser et iis me dem qui tenent, qui potiuntur? *αἰδέομαι Τρωῶας*, nec solum civis sed etiam amici officio revocor, etsi frangor saepe misericordia puerorum.

- 4 Ut igitur ita perturbato, etsi te eadem sollicitant, scribe aliquid, et maxime, si Pompeius Italia cedit, quid nobis agendum putes. M'. quidem Lepidus (nam fuimus una) eum finem statuit, L. Torquatus eundem. me cum multa tum etiam lictores impediunt. nihil vidi umquam quod minus explicari posset. itaque a te nihil dum certi exquiro sed quid videatur, denique ipsam *ἀπορίαν* tuam cupio cognoscere.
- 5 Labienum ab illo discessisse prope modum constat. si ita factum esset ut ille Romam veniens magistratus¹ et senatum Romae offenderet, magno usui causae nostrae fuisset. damnasse enim sceleris hominem amicum rei publicae causa videretur, quod nunc quoque videtur, sed minus prodest; non enim habet cui prosit, eumque arbitror paenitere, nisi forte id ipsum est falsum, discessisse illum. nos quidem pro certo habebamus.
- 6 Et velim, quamquam, ut scribis, domesticis te finibus tenes, formam mihi urbis exponas, ecquod Pompei desiderium, ecquae Caesaris invidia appareat, etiam quid censeas de Terentia et Tullia, Romae eas esse an mecum an aliquo tuto loco. haec et si quid aliud ad me scribas velim vel potius scriptites.

¹ magistratum (*Wesenberg*)

² See Letter 25, note 2.

³ To Pompey.

LETTER 135 (VII.12)

shall I temporize and sit on the fence and offer myself to those in actual possession of power? 'I fear the Trojans,'² and my obligations not only as a citizen but as a friend³ call me back. And yet pity for the boys often makes me waver.

You see my perplexity. You have similar anxieties, but write something, and above all tell me what you think I ought to do if Pompey leaves Italy. M'. Lepidus (we have been together) has fixed that as his limit, L. Torquatus likewise. I am hampered by my lictors among many other embarrassments. It is the most intractable problem I ever met. So I do not ask anything definite from you yet, merely your opinion. Failing that, I want to hear of your puzzlement.

It is pretty well established that Labienus has left Caesar. If it had worked out so that he came to Rome and found the magistrates and Senate there, he would have been of great use to our cause. He would have appeared as having pronounced the guilt of a friend for country's sake, as indeed he does even now, but he renders less service because he has nobody to render it to. I imagine he regrets his action, unless by any chance the report is untrue and he has not left at all. *We* have it for certain.

Although you say you are keeping inside your own gates, I should be grateful if you would make me a sketch of things in Rome. Is Pompey missed? Are there any signs of odium against Caesar? Also tell me what you think about Terentia and Tullia. Should they stay in Rome or with me or in some place of safety? Please let me have a letter about all this or anything else there may be, or rather a series of letters.

CICERO

136 (VII.13)

Scr. Minturnis VIII Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 De Vennonianis rebus tibi adsentior. Labienum ἤρωα iudico. facinus iam diu nullum civile praeclarius, qui, ut aliud nihil, hoc tamen profecit, dedit illi dolorem; sed etiam ad summam profectum aliquid puto. amo etiam Pisonem, cuius iudicium de genere suspicor visum iri grave. quamquam genus belli quod sit vides: ita civile est ut non ex civium dissensione sed ex unius perditu civis audacia natum sit. is autem valet exercitu, tenet multos spe et promissis, omnia omnium concupivit. huic tradita urbs est nuda praesidio, referta copiis. quid est quod ab eo non metuas qui illa templa et tecta non patriam sed praedam putet? quid autem sit acturus aut quo modo nescio, sine senatu, sine magistratibus;¹ ne simulare quidem poterit quicquam πολιτικῶς. nos autem ubi exurgere poterimus aut quando? quorum dux quam ἀστρατήγητος tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota fuerint; quam autem sine consilio res testis. ut enim alia omittam decem
- 2 annorum peccata, quae condicio non huic fugae praestitit? nec vero nunc quid cogitet scio; ac non desino per litteras sciscitari. nihil esse timidius constat, nihil perturbatius. itaque nec praesidium, cuius parandi causa ad urbem retentus est, nec locum ac sedem praesidi ullam video. spes omnis in duabus invidiose retentis paene alienis leg(ion) >i-

¹ magistratu (*Wesenberg*)

¹ Pompey's homeland. ² These had been detached from Caesar's army some six months before for service in the East.

LETTER 136 (VII.13)

136 (VII.13)

Minturnae, 23 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

About Vennonius' affairs I agree with you. I call Labienus a hero. It is the finest political action we have seen for a long while. If he has achieved nothing else, he has made Caesar smart. But I think there is some general benefit as well. And bravo Piso! I suspect his verdict on his son-in-law will carry weight. But you see what kind of war we are fighting. A civil war if you will, but one that has arisen not from a conflict in the civic body but from the recklessness of one unscrupulous Roman, who, however, is strong in his army, has many folk tied to him by hopes and promises, and covets every man's all. The capital has been handed over to him undefended and full of wealth. Anything can be apprehended from a man who sees Rome's temples and homes not as his country but as so much plunder. But what he will do or how he will do it, without Senate or magistrates, I don't know. He will not be able to put up so much as a façade of constitutional procedure. As for us, where shall we hope to raise our heads or when? You too remark on our leader's bad generalship, who did not even know what was going on in Picenum.¹ To his lack of judgement the facts themselves stand witness. To say nothing of his other errors over ten years, would not any terms have been preferable to this flight? Nor can I say what his plans are now, though I am continually writing to enquire. It is generally agreed that he is in a state of utter panic and confusion. Accordingly I see no sign of the defensive force which he was kept at Rome to prepare nor of any place or rallying point for such a force. The whole hope lies in two legions²

CICERO

bus. nam dilectus adhuc quidem invitorum est et a pugnando abhorrentium; condicionum autem amissum tempus est. quid futurum sit non video; commissum quidem a nobis certe est sive a nostro duce ut e portu sine gubernaculis egressi tempestati nos traderemus.

3 Itaque de Ciceronibus nostris dubito quid agam; nam mihi interdum amandandi videntur in Graeciam. de Tullia autem et Terentia, cum mihi barbarorum adventus ad urbem proponitur, omnia timeo, cum autem Dolabellae venit in mentem, paulum respiro. sed velim consideres quid faciendum putes, primum *πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλές* (aliter enim mihi de illis ac de me ipso consulendum est), deinde ad opiniones, ne reprehendamus quod eas Romae velimus esse in communi bonorum fuga. quin etiam tibi et Peducaeo (scripsit enim ad me) quid faciatis videndum est; is enim splendor est vestrum ut eadem postulentur a vobis quae ab amplissimis civibus. sed de hoc tu videbis, quippe cum de me ipso ac de meis te considerare velim.

4 Reliquum est ut et quid agatur quoad poteris explores scribasque ad me et quid ipse coniectura adsequare; quod etiam a te magis exspecto. nam acta omnibus nuntiantibus a te exspecto futura; *‘μάντις δ’ ἄριστος . . .’* loquacitati ignosces, quae et me levat ad te quidem scribentem et elicit tuas litteras.

5 Aenigma succonum² ex Velia plane non intellexi; est enim numero Platonis obscurius.

² oppiorum (*SB*, *ducibus Watt* (sacconum) et *Bosio*)

³ Now one of Caesar's favourite officers. ⁴ From Euripides (play unknown, fr. 973 Nauck): 'The best prophet is the good guesser.' ⁵ On Plato's 'nuptial number' see *Republic*, 546.

LETTER 136 (VII.13)

kept back not without discredit and scarcely his own. As for the levies, the men so far are reluctant and have no stomach for fighting. And the time for making terms has been let slip. What will come I cannot foresee, but it is certain that through our own fault or our leader's we have put to sea without a rudder and committed ourselves to the mercy of the storm.

And so I am in doubt what to do about our boys. Sometimes I feel it might be best to send them to Greece out of the way. As to Tullia and Terentia, when I picture the barbarians marching on Rome I fear all manner of things; but when I think of Dolabella³ I feel a little better. But I should be grateful to you if you would consider what you think should be done, making safety the first consideration (I have to apply a different standard to their case than to my own) and public opinion the second, lest I incur criticism for wanting them to stay in Rome in the general exodus of the honest folk. Indeed you too and Peducaeus, who has written to me, have to consider what you are going to do. Your distinction is such that as much is expected from you as from the highest in the land. But this I can leave to you—considering I want you to think about *my* position and my family's.

It remains for you to explore what is going on as far as you can and write it to me, and what you are able to guess yourself—I expect the latter from you even more than the former. Everyone tells me what *has* happened, from you I expect things to come. 'He prophesieth best . . .'⁴ You'll forgive my garrulity; it relieves me, writing to *you*, and draws your letters.

Your enigma of the juice merchants from Velia has simply defeated me, it's darker than the Platonic Number.⁵

CICERO

137 (VII.13a)

Scr. Minturnis VII Kal. Febr. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Iam intellexi tuum aenigma; Oppios enim de Velia saccones¹ dices. in eo aestuavi diu. quo aperto reliqua patebant et cum Terentiae summa congruebant.
- 2 L. Caesarem vidi Minturnis a. d. VIII Kal. Febr. mane cum absurdissimis mandatis, non hominem sed scopas solutas, ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit; nisi forte non dedit et hic sermone aliquo adrepto pro mandatis abusus est.
- 3 Labienus, vir mea sententia magnus, Teanum venit a. d. VIII Kal. ibi Pompeium consulesque convenit. qui sermo fuerit et quid actum sit scribam ad te cum certum sciam. Pompeius a Teano Larinum versus profectus est a. d. VIII Kal.; eo die mansit Venafri. aliquantum animi videtur nobis attulisse Labienus. sed ego nondum habeo quid ad te ex his locis scribam; ista magis exspecto, quid illinc adferatur, quo pacto de Labieno ferat, quid agat Domitius in Marsis, Iguvi Thermus, P. Attius Cinguli, quae sit populi urbani voluntas, quae tua coniectura de rebus futuris. haec velim crebro et quid tibi de mulieribus nostris placeat et quid acturus ipse sis scribas.

Si scriberem ipse, longior epistula fuisset, sed dictavi propter lippitudinem.

¹ saccones (*Bosius*)

¹ Greek *opos* means 'juice.' The Oppii seem to have been bankers, hailing from Velia in southern Italy.

LETTER 137 (VII.13a)

137 (VII.13a)

Minturnae, 24 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Now I understand your enigma. By the 'juice merchants of Velia' you must mean the Oppii.¹ I cudgelled my brains over it a long while. Once that was solved the rest was plain and tallied with Terentia's figure.

Early on 23 January I saw L. Caesar at Minturnae bearing a ridiculous message—a loose broom if ever there was one. Indeed it looks to me as though Caesar were deliberately making mock of us in giving *him* a message on matters of such moment—unless perhaps he never gave one, and the fellow has caught up some piece of conversation which he has palmed off as a message.

Labienuis, a great man *me iudice*, arrived at Teanum on the 22nd. There he met Pompey and the Consuls. Of what was said and done I shall write to you when I have definite information. Pompey left Teanum on his way to Larinum on the 23rd, staying overnight at Venafrum. Labienus seems to have put a little fight into us. But I have nothing to write to you yet from this part of the world. I am rather expecting your news—what reports from Caesar, how he is taking it about Labienus, what Domitius is doing in the Marsian country and Thermus at Iguvium and P. Attius at Cingulum, what is the feeling among the city populace, what your forecast of things to come. Please write to me often about all this, also what you recommend anent my womenfolk and what you yourself are going to do.

If I was writing myself this letter would have been longer, but I have dictated it because I am suffering from ophthalmia.

CICERO

138 (VII.14)

Scr. Calibus VI Kal. Febr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 A. d. VI Kal. Febr. Capuam Calibus proficiscens, cum leviter lippirem, has litteras dedi.¹

L. Caesar mandata Caesaris detulit ad Pompeium a. d. VIII Kal., cum is esset cum consulibus Teani. probata condicio est, sed ita ut ille de iis oppidis quae extra suam provinciam occupavisset praesidia deduceret; id si fecisset, responsum est ad urbem nos redituros esse et rem per senatum confecturos. spero posse² in praesentia pacem nos habere; nam et illum furoris et hunc nostrum copiarum suppaenitet.

- 2 Me Pompeius Capuam venire voluit et adiuvare dilectum; in quo parum prolixè respondent Campani coloni gladiatores Caesaris qui Capuae sunt, de quibus ante ad te falsum ex Torquati litteris scripseram, sane commode Pompeius distribuit binos singulis patribus familiarum. scutorum³ in ludo CIO⁴ fuerunt; eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur. sane multum in eo rei publicae provisum est.

- 3 De mulieribus nostris, in quibus est tua soror, quaeso videas ut satis honestum nobis sit eas Romae esse cum ceterae illa dignitate discesserint. hoc scripsi ad eas et ad te ipsum antea. velim eas cohortere ut exeant, praesertim cum ea praedia in ora maritima habeamus cui ego praesum ut in iis pro re nata non incommode possint esse. nam si

¹ dictavi *coni.* SB ² esse (*Moser*)

³ scutorum *Goodyear* ⁴ IOO *codd. superstites* : IO *Schütz*

¹ Presumably the letter was dictated.

LETTER 138 (VII.14)

138 (VII.14)

Cales, 25 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am dispatching this letter, as I leave Cales for Capua (25 January), my eyes being slightly out of order.¹

L. Caesar brought Caesar's message to Pompey on 23 January, when he was with the Consuls at Teanum. The terms offered were approved, but on condition that Caesar withdrew his troops from the towns he had occupied outside his province. If he did that he was told that we should return to Rome and settle matters through the Senate. I hope there is a chance of peace for the time being. Caesar is not quite happy in his madness nor Pompey in the forces at his disposal.

Pompey has expressed a wish for me to go to Capua and help with the levy, in which the response among the Campanian settlers is less than enthusiastic. Caesar's gladiators at Capua, about whom I earlier sent you a false report based on Torquatus' letter, have been very sensibly distributed by Pompey among the population, two per household. There were 1,000 shields in the establishment and they were said to be going to break out. Certainly a valuable precaution in the public interest.

About our womenkind, among whom your sister is included, pray consider whether it is quite creditable to us that they should stay in Rome when other ladies of their rank have left. I have written to them to that effect, as previously to yourself. I should like you to urge them to leave, especially as I have properties on the coast which is under my authority where they might stay without inconvenience (relatively speaking). If my son-in-law is a sore

CICERO

quid offendimus in genero nostro, quod⁵ quidem ego praestare non debeo—sed id fit maius quod mulieres nostrae praeter ceteras Romae remanserunt. tu ipse cum Sexto scire velim quid cogites de exeundo de totaque re quid existimes. equidem ad pacem hortari non desino; quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum cum civibus. sed haec ut fors tulerit.

139 (VII.15)

Scr. Capuae v Kal. Febr. an. 49 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ut ab urbe discessi, nullum adhuc intermisi diem quin aliquid ad te litterarum darem, non quo haberem magno opere quid scriberem sed ut loquerer tecum absens; quo mihi, cum coram id non licet, nihil est iucundius.
- 2 Capuam cum venissem a. d. vi Kal., pridie quam has litteras dedi, consules conveni multosque nostri ordinis. omnes cupiebant Caesarem abductis praesidiis stare condicionibus iis quas tulisset; uni Favonio leges ab illo nobis imponi non placebat, sed is <non>¹ auditus in consilio. Cato enim ipse iam servire quam pugnare mavult; sed tamen ait in senatu se adesse velle cum de condicionibus agatur, si Caesar adductus sit ut praesidia deducat. ita, quod maxime opus est, in Siciliam ire non curat; quod metuo ne obsit, in senatu esse vult. Postum<i>us autem, de quo nominatim senatus decrevit ut statim in Siciliam iret

⁵ quem Watt

¹ add. F. Schmidt

LETTER 139 (VII.15)

point with some, though really I should not have to answer for that, still the fact that my womenfolk of all others have remained in Rome makes it worse. I should be glad to know what you yourself and Sextus mean to do about leaving and what you think about the whole business. I continue to urge peace. Even an unjust peace is better than the most just of wars against one's countrymen. But that's as fortune wills.

139 (VII.15)

Capua, 26 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Since I left Rome I have not let a day pass so far without sending you some sort of letter, not that I have had a great deal to write about but just to talk to you in absence. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than that, when I can't do it face to face.

On arriving at Capua yesterday (the 25th) I met the Consuls and many members of the Senate. They were all hoping that Caesar would withdraw his garrisons and stand by the terms he has proposed, all except Favonius, who did not approve of letting Caesar dictate conditions to us. But he got no hearing in the conclave. Even Cato now prefers slavery to war. However he says he wants to be present in the Senate when the terms are debated, if Caesar is induced to withdraw his garrisons. So he does not trouble about going to Sicily, where his presence is urgently needed, but wants to be in the Senate, where I am afraid it will be in the way. Postumius, who was specifically directed by the Senate to proceed immediately to Sicily and

CICERO

Fur>fanoque succederet, negat se sine Catone iturum et suam in senatu operam auctoritatemque quam magni aestimat. ita res ad Fannium pervenit. is cum imperio in Siciliam praemittitur.

- 3 In disputationibus nostris summa varietas est. plerique negant Caesarem in condicione mansurum, postulataque haec ab eo interposita esse quo minus quod opus esset ad bellum a nobis pararetur. ego autem eum puto facturum ut praesidia deducat; vicerit enim si consul factus erit, et minore scelere vicerit quam quo ingressus est. sed accipienda plaga est; sumus enim flagitiose imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia, quam quidem omnem non modo privatam quae in urbe est sed etiam publicam quae in aerario est illi reliquimus. Pompeius ad legiones Appianas² est profectus; Labienum secum habet. ego tuas opiniones de his rebus exspecto. Formias me continuo recipere cogitabam.

140 (VII.16)

Scr. Calibus III Kal. Febr. an. 49 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Omnis arbitror mihi tuas litteras redditae esse, sed primas praepostere, reliquas ordine quo sunt missae per Terentiam. de mandatis Caesaris adventuque Labieni et responsis consulum ac Pompei scripsi ad te litteris iis quas a. d. v Kal. Capua dedi, pluraque praeterea in eandem epistulam conieci.

² ac(c)inas *vel sim.* (Lipsius)

LETTER 140 (VII.16)

take over from Furfanus, refuses to go without Cato, and sets no small store by his own activity and influence in the House. So it came to Fannius. He is being sent ahead to Sicily with military authority.

There is a wide variety of opinion in our debates. Most people say that Caesar will not keep to his terms and that he has only put forward these demands to stop us making the necessary preparations for war. My own opinion is that he will in fact withdraw his garrisons. After all, if he is elected Consul he will have won, and with a lesser measure of criminality than that on which he has embarked. But we must take our medicine. We are scandalously ill prepared both in men and money; indeed we have left Caesar all there is of the latter in Rome, public, in the Treasury, as well as private. Pompey has left to join Appius' legions,¹ taking Labienus with him. I am waiting for your views about all this. I intend to return to Formiae at once.

140 (VII.16)

Cales, 28 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I think all your letters have reached me, but the first in the wrong order, the rest in the order you sent them through Terentia. I wrote to you about Caesar's message, Labienus' arrival, and the answer given by the Consuls and Pompey in a letter I dispatched from Capua on the 26th, and I threw a number of other items into the same letter.

¹ See Letter 136, note 2. One of the two sons of C. Claudius Pulcher, both called Appius, may have brought them to Italy from Gaul.

CICERO

- 2 Nunc has exspectationes habemus duas, unam quid Caesar acturus sit cum acceperit ea quae referenda ad illum data sunt L. Caesari, alteram quid Pompeius agat; qui quidem ad me scribit paucis diebus se firmum exercitum habiturum spemque adfert, si in Picenum agrum ipse venerit, nos Romam redituros esse. Labienum secum habet non dubitantem de imbecillitate Caesaris copiarum; cuius adventu Gnaeus noster multo animi plus habet.

- Nos a consulibus Capuam venire iussi sumus ad Non. Febr. Capua profectus sum Formias a. d. III Kal.; eodem die cum Calibus tuas litteras hora fere nona accepissem, 3 has statim dedi. de Terentia et Tullia tibi adsentior; ad quas scripseram ad te ut referrent. si nondum profectae sunt, nihil est quod se moveant quoad perspiciamus quo loci sit res.

141 (VII.17)

Scr. in Formiano IV Non. Febr. an. 49 (§ 5)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tuae litterae mihi gratae iucundaeque sunt. de pueris in Graeciam transportandis tum cogitabam cum fuga ex Italia quaeri videbatur; nos enim Hispaniam peteremus, illis hoc aeque commodum non erat. tu ipse cum Sexto etiam¹ nunc mihi videris Romae recte esse posse. etenim minime amici Pompeio nostro esse debetis; nemo enim umquam tantum de urbanis praediis detraxit. videsne me etiam iocari?
- 2 Scire iam te oportet L. Caesar quae responsa referat a Pompeio, quas ab eodem ad Caesarem ferat litteras; scrip-

¹ *del. coni. SB*

LETTER 141 (VII.17)

We now have two things to wait for: one, what is Caesar going to do when he gets the reply which L. Caesar has been given to transmit to him, two, what is Pompey doing. He writes to me that within a few days he will have a strong army and holds out the hope that once he himself gets to Picenum we shall go back to Rome. He has Labienus with him, confident in the weakness of Caesar's forces. His arrival has put much more heart into our Gnaeus.

We have been instructed by the Consuls to return to Capua by the Nones of February. I left Capua for Formiae on the 28th, and received your letter at Cales the same day, about 3 o'clock, so I am sending this straight away. I agree with you about Terentia and Tullia. I had written to tell them to consult you. If they have not yet set out, there is no call for them to move until we see how things stand.

141 (VII.17)

Formiae, 2 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am grateful for your letters and enjoy them. I thought of shipping the boys over to Greece when it looked as though flight from Italy was in view. We should in that case have gone to Spain, which would not have been so suitable for them. It looks to me as though you yourself and Sextus can still properly stay on in Rome. You certainly have little cause to love our friend Pompey. Nobody has ever knocked so much off property values in town. I still have my joke, you see.

You ought to know by now the reply which L. Caesar is taking back from Pompey and the letter which he is

tae enim et datae ita sunt ut proponerentur in publico. in quo accusavi mecum ipse Pompeium qui, cum scriptor luculentus esset, tantas res atque eas quae in omnium manus venturae essent Sestio nostro scribendas dederit; itaque nihil umquam legi scriptum *Σηστιωδέστερον*. perspici tamen ex litteris Pompei potest nihil Caesari negari omniaque et cumulate quae postulet dari. quae ille amen- tissimus fuerit nisi acceperit, praesertim cum impudentis- sime postulaverit. quis enim tu es qui dicas 'si in His- paniam profectus erit,' 'si praesidia dimiserit'? tamen conceditur, minus honeste nunc quidem violata iam ab illo re publica illatoque bello quam si olim de ratione habenda impetrasset. et tamen vereor ut his ipsis contentus sit. nam cum ista mandata dedisset L. Caesari, debuit esse paulo quietior dum responsa referrentur; dicitur autem nunc esse acerrimus.

- 3 Trebatius quidem scribit se ab illo VIII Kal. Febr. ro- gatum esse ut scriberet ad me ut essem ad urbem; nihil ei me gratius facere posse. haec verbis plurimis. intellexi ex dierum ratione, ut primum de discessu nostro Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse ne omnes abessemus. itaque non dubito quin ad Pisonem, quin ad Servium scrip- serit. illud admiror, non ipsum ad me scripsisse, non per Dolabellam, non per Caelium egisse; quamquam non as- pernor Trebati litteras, a quo me unice diligi scio. rescripsi
4 ad Trebati (nam ad ipsum Caesarem, qui mihi nihil scripsisset, nolui) quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile; me tamen in praediis meis esse neque dilectum ullum

LETTER 141 (VII.17)

carrying from Pompey to Caesar, as it was written and dispatched for public display. In my own mind I blamed Pompey, who is an excellent writer, for giving our friend Sestius the job of composing documents of such importance, which will come into general circulation. And in fact I have never read anything more typically Sestian. But it is plain from Pompey's letter that Caesar is refused nothing, all his demands are met and more than met. It will be sheer lunacy for him not to accept, especially as his demands are the height of impudence. Who is he to say 'on condition that Pompey goes to Spain, that he dismisses his forces'? Nevertheless it's conceded, with less dignity it is true, now that he has committed treason and made war on the state, than if he had been allowed his point about his candidature earlier on. And yet I fear even this may not satisfy him. After giving that message to L. Caesar he might have been expected to keep a little quieter until the answer came back, but in fact he is said to be extremely active just now.

Trebatius writes that on 22 January Caesar asked him to write urging me to stay near Rome. He says I could do nothing that would please Caesar more, and develops the subject at great length. Counting up the days I perceived that as soon as Caesar heard of our departure he began to be anxious lest we should all be gone. Accordingly I don't doubt that he has written to Piso and to Servius. What surprises me is that he did not write to me himself, or through Dolabella or Caelius. Not that I despise Trebatius' letter. I know he has a peculiar regard for me. I wrote back to Trebatius (I did not care to write to Caesar himself as he had written nothing to me) pointing out how difficult that would be for me at the present time, but adding that I was staying on my estates and had not undertaken any

CICERO

neque negotium suscepisse. in quo quidem manebo dum spes pacis erit; sin bellum geretur non deero officio nec dignitati meae, pueros ὑπεκθήμενος in Graeciam. totam enim Italiam flagraturam bello intellego; tantum mali <est>² excitatum partim ex improbis, partim ex invidis civibus. sed haec paucis diebus ex illius ad nostra responsa responsis intellegentur quorsum evasura sint. tum ad te scribam plura, si erit bellum; sin autem <otium aut>³ etiam indutiae, te ipsum, ut spero, videbo.

- 5 Ego IIII Non. Febr., quo die has litteras dedi, in Formiano, quo Capua redieram, mulieres exspectabam; quibus quidem scripseram tuis litteris admonitus ut Romae manerent. sed audio maiorem quendam in urbe timorem esse. Capuae Non. Febr. esse volebam, quia consules iusserant. quicquid huc erit a Pompeio adlatum, statim ad te scribam, tuasque de istis rebus litteras exspectabo.

142 (VII.18)

Scr. in Formiano IIII Non. Febr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 IIII Non. Febr. mulieres nostrae Formias venerunt tuaque erga se officia plena tui suavissimi studi ad me pertulerunt. eas ego, quoad sciremus utrum turpi pace nobis an misero bello esset utendum, in Formiano esse volui et una Cicerones. ipse cum fratre Capuam ad consules (Nonis enim

² *add. R. Klotz (post excitatum Lambinus)*

³ *add. SB, duce Tyrrell*

LETTER 142 (VII.18)

recruitment of troops or other activity. I shall hold to that as long as there is hope of peace. But if war is to be waged I shall not fall short of my duty and position, having put the boys out of harm's way in Greece. It is evident to me that the whole of Italy will be ablaze with warfare. Such is the holocaust kindled by our countrymen, some wicked, some jealous.¹ But in a few days' time we shall see from Caesar's reply to our reply which way things are going to turn out. I shall write to you further if it's to be war; if peace, or even an armistice, I shall hope to see you in person.

I am expecting my wife and daughter today (2 February) at Formiae, where I have returned from Capua. I did write to tell them to stay in Rome, prompted by your letter, but I hear that nervousness there has increased for some reason. I want to be in Capua on the Nones of February because the Consuls have so instructed. I shall write to you at once of any news that comes in here from Pompey and shall expect your letters about affairs in town.

142 (VII.18)

Formiae, 3 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 2 February our ladies arrived at Formiae and brought me news of all your characteristically kind and zealous offices towards them. Until we know whether we are to have peace without honour or war with its calamities I have thought it best for them to stay in my house at Formiae and the boys too. My brother and I are leaving for Capua

¹ Of Caesar probably (see Commentary in *CLA*).

adesse iussi sumus) III Non. profectus sum, cum has literas dedi.

- 2 Responsa Pompei grata populo et probata contioni esse dicuntur; ita putaram. quae quidem ille <si> repudiarit, iacebit; si acceperit, <vicerit>.¹ 'utrum igitur' inquires 'mavis?' responderem si quem ad modum parati essemus scirem. Cassium erat hic auditum expulsam Ancona eamque urbem a nobis teneri. si bellum futurum est, negotium utile. Caesarem quidem L. Caesare cum mandatis de pace misso tamen aiunt acerrime dilectum habere, loca occupare, vincire praesidiis. o perditum latronem! <o> vix ullo otio compensandam hanc rei publicae turpitudinem! sed stomachari desinamus, tempori pareamus, cum Pompeio in Hispaniam eamus. haec optima² in malis, quoniam illius alterum consulatum a re publica ne data quidem occasione reppulimus. sed haec hactenus.
- 3 De Dionysio fugit me ad te antea scribere; sed ita constitui, expectare responsa Caesaris, ut, si ad urbem rediremus, ibi nos expectaret, sin tardius id fieret, tum eum arcesseremus. omnino quid ille facere debuerit in nostra illa fuga, quid docto homine et amico dignum fuerit, cum praesertim rogatus esset, scio, sed haec non nimis exquiro a Graecis. tu tamen videbis, si³ erit, quod nolim, arcessendus, ne molesti simus invito.
- 4 Quintus frater laborat ut tibi quod debet ab Egnatio solvat; nec Egnatio voluntas deest nec parum locuples est,

¹ *add. SB*

² *opto (Lipsius)*

³ *nisi coni. SB*

¹ Perhaps *nisi* ('unless') should replace *si* ('if').

² He owed money to Quintus.

today (the 3rd) to join the Consuls, having been instructed to report there on the Nones.

Pompey's reply is said to be popular and to have gained the approval of a public meeting. This is what I expected. If Caesar rejects it, he will be generally condemned; if he accepts, he will have won the game. You will ask which I prefer. I should answer that if I knew the state of our preparations. There is a report here that Cassius has been thrown out of Ancona and that the town is in our hands. A useful bit of work, if it is to be war. As for Caesar, they say that notwithstanding L. Caesar's peace mission he is intensely active in raising troops, occupying positions, and securing them with garrisons. Unscrupulous brigand! Can any peace make up for this national disgrace? But I must curb my temper, accept the necessities of the hour, and go to Spain with Pompey. That is the best to be made of a bad job, seeing that we did not protect the commonwealth from Caesar's second Consulship even when we were given the chance. But enough of this.

I forgot to write to you before about Dionysius, but what I have decided to do is to wait for Caesar's reply. If we return to Rome he can wait for us there; if that is postponed, I shall send for him then. To be sure I know what he ought to have done when I fled the capital, what was becoming in a man of his attainments and a friend, especially when he was asked; but I don't expect too much in this way from Greeks. You will however take care not to trouble him against his will if¹ I have to send for him, which I hope will be unnecessary.

My brother Quintus is much concerned to pay his debt to you through Egnatius,² nor does Egnatius lack the will and he is sufficiently well off. But considering the times

CICERO

sed cum tale tempus sit ut Q. Titinius (multum enim est nobiscum) viaticum se neget habere idemque debitoribus suis denuntiarit ut eodem faenore uterentur, atque hoc idem etiam L. Ligus fecisse dicatur, nec hoc tempore aut domi nummos Quintus habeat aut exi<ge>re ab Egnatio aut versuram usquam facere possit, miratur <te> non habuisse rationem huius publicae difficultatis. ego autem etsi illud *ψευδησιώδειον* (ita enim putatur) observo, *μηδὲ δίκην . . .*,³ praesertim in te, a quo nihil umquam vidi temere fieri, tamen illius querela movebar. hoc, quicquid est, te scire volui.

143 (VII.19)

Scr. in Formiano III Non. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Nihil habeo quod ad te scribam, qui etiam eam epistulam quam eram elucubratus ad te non dederim; erat enim plena spei bonae, quod et contionis voluntatem audieram et illum condicionibus usurum putabam, praesertim suis. ecce tibi III Non. Febr. mane accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furni, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Caesaris legationem. plane oppressi videmur nec quid consili capiam scio. nec mehercule de me laboro; de pueris quid agam non habeo. Capuam tamen proficiscebar haec scribens, quo facilius de Pompei rebus cognoscerem.

³ 'Do not judge a case until you hear both sides' (*audi alteram partem*).

LETTER 143 (VII.19)

are such that Q. Titinius, of whom we see a good deal, says he has no money for travel expenses and has informed his debtors that their loans are to be extended at the same rate (a step which L. Ligus is said to have taken too), considering too that at the present time Quintus does not have the ready cash and cannot get it out of Egnatius nor yet borrow it in any quarter, he is surprised that you have not made allowance for this general stringency. As for me, I like to follow the maxim, attributed (wrongly, as is thought) to Hesiod, 'judge not a cause . . .',³ especially in your case, for I have never known you do anything without good reason. But still I have some sympathy with his grievance. I wanted you to know, be it as it may.

143 (VII.19)

Formiae, 3 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have nothing to write to you about, indeed I have not dispatched a letter which I had already written to you by lamplight. It was full of optimism because I had heard of the feeling in the public meeting and thought Caesar would take the terms, particularly as they were of his own making. Then, at daybreak on 3 February, comes your letter along with others from Philotimus and Furnius and one from Curio to Furnius, in which he ridicules L. Caesar's embassy. We seem to be quite crushed, and I don't know what course to take. It's really not myself I am worried about but the boys; I don't know what to do about them. However I am leaving for Capua as I write this, hoping there to come by information about Pompey's affairs more easily.

CICERO

144 (VII.20)

Scr. Capuae Non. Febr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Breviloquentem iam me tempus ipsum facit. pacem enim desperavi, bellum nostri nullum administrant; cave enim putes quicquam esse minoris his consulibus, quorum ego * * *¹ spe audiendi aliquid et cognoscendi nostri apparatus maximo imbri Capuam veni prid. Non., ut eram iussus. illi autem adhuc, id est Nonis, nondum venerant, sed erant venturi inanes, imparati. Gnaeus autem Luceriae dicebatur esse et adire cohortis legionum Appianarum² non firmissimarum. at illum ruere nuntiant et iam iamque adesse, non ut manum conserat (quicum enim?) sed ut fugam intercludat.
- 2 Ego autem in Italia 'καὶ συναποθαινεῖν,' nec te id consulo; sin extra, quid ago? ad manendum hiems, lictores, improvidi et negligentes duces, ad fugam hortatur amicitia Gnaei, causa bonorum, turpitudine coniungendi cum tyranno; qui quidem incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus. haec velim explices et me iuves consilio, etsi te ipsum istic iam calere puto; sed tamen quantum poteris. ego si quid hic hodie novi cognoro, scies; iam enim aderunt consules ad suas Nonas. tuas cottidie litteras exspectabo; ad has autem cum poteris rescribes. mulieres et Cicerones in Formiano reliqui.

¹ ad congressum *vel sim. excidisse censuit SB*² itinarum *vel itinerum vel a(c)tinarum (Lipsus)*¹ Greek, perhaps from an unknown play.

LETTER 144 (VII.20)

144 (VII.20)

Capua, 5 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

The facts of the situation now make me laconic. I have given up hope of peace, and our people are doing nothing to wage war—don't imagine these Consuls are worth twopence. To meet them (?), in the hope of getting some news and acquainting myself with our preparations, I arrived at Capua in pouring rain on the 4th, as instructed. They have as yet (i.e. on the Nones) not arrived, but are on their way, empty-handed and unprepared. Gnaeus is said to be at Luceria, visiting cohorts of Appius' legions, which are none too reliable. As for Caesar, they say he is plunging, will be down on us any minute, not to join battle (who is there for him to fight with?) but to cut off escape.

For my part, in Italy I am ready 'e'en to die with him,¹ and on that I don't ask your advice. But out of Italy? What do I do? 'Stay' say winter, lictors, improvident and negligent leadership: 'go' say my friendship for Gnaeus, the cause of the honest men, the dishonour of alliance with a despot, as to whom it is doubtful whether he will take Phalaris or Pisistratus as his model. Please sort it all out and help me with your advice, though I suppose you yourself have now got plenty to think about in Rome. But do your best. If I hear any news here today you shall know of it—the Consuls will be here presently for their Nones. I shall expect a letter from you every day. Please reply to this when you can. I have left the ladies and the boys at Formiae.

CICERO

145 (VII.21)

Scr. Calibus VI Id. Febr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 De malis nostris tu prius audis quam ego; istinc enim emanant. boni autem hinc quod exspectes nihil est. veni Capuam ad Non. Febr., ita ut iusserant consules. eo die Lentulus venit sero. alter consul omnino non venerat VII Id.; eo enim die ego Capua discessi et mansi Calibus. inde has litteras postridie ante lucem dedi. haec Capuae dum fui cognovi: nihil in consulibus, nullum usquam dilectum; nec enim conquisitores *φαινοπροσωπεῖν* audent, cum ille adsit, contraque noster dux nusquam sit, nihil agat, nec nomina dant; deficit enim non voluntas sed spes. Gnaeus autem noster (o rem miseram et incredibilem!) ut totus iacet! non animus est, non consilium, non copiae, non diligentia. mittam illa, fugam ab urbe turpissimam, timidissimas in oppidis contiones, ignorationem non solum adversari sed etiam suarum copiarum: hoc cuius modi est? VII Id. Febr. Capuam C. Cassius tribunus pl. venit, attulit mandata ad consules ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore aerario auferrent, statim exirent. urbe relicta redeant; quo praesidio? deinde exeant; quis sinat? consul ei rescripsit ut prius ipse in Picenum. at illud totum erat amissum; sciebat nemo praeter me ex litteris Dolabellae. mihi dubium non erat quin ille iam iamque foret in Apulia, Gnaeus noster in navi.
- 2

LETTER 145 (VII.21)

145 (VII.21)

Cales, 8 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You hear of our misfortunes sooner than I, for they flow from your quarter. Of good news you need expect none from here. I went to Capua for the Nones of February as the Consuls had directed. Lentulus arrived late that day. The other Consul had not arrived at all on the 7th, on which day I left Capua and stayed the night at Cales. From there I am dispatching this letter before daybreak on the 8th. While in Capua I learned this much, that the Consuls are worthless and that there is no troop levying anywhere. The recruiting officers dare not show their noses with Caesar in the offing, while our leader by contrast is nowhere and does nothing; and there are no volunteers. It is not loyalty they lack but hope. As for our Gnaeus, it is a lamentable and incredible thing. How utterly down he is! No courage, no plan, no forces, no energy. I won't dwell on what is past—the disgraceful flight from Rome, the craven speeches in the towns, the ignorance of his own forces, let alone the enemy's. What do you make of this latest? On 7 February C. Cassius the Tribune arrived in Capua with a message for the Consuls instructing them to go to Rome, remove the money from the Inner Treasury, and leave again at once. So having abandoned the capital they are expected to go back without any military force and then leave with every chance that they may be prevented! The Consul replied asking Pompey to go himself to Picenum first. But Picenum is completely lost—no one knows except me, from a letter of Dolabella's. I have no doubt that Caesar will be in Apulia any minute and our Gnaeus on board ship.

CICERO

- 3 Ego quid agam σκέμμα magnum, neque mehercule mihi quidem ullum, nisi omnia essent acta turpissime neque ego ullius consili particeps—sed tamen, quid¹ me deceat. ipse me Caesar ad pacem hortatur, sed antiquiores litterae quam ruere coepit. Dolabella, Caelius me illi valde satis facere. mira me ἀπορία torquet. iuva me consilio si potes, et tamen² ista quantum potes provide. nihil habeo tanta rerum perturbatione quod scribam; tuas litteras exspecto.

146 (VII.22)

Scr. in Formiano v Id. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Pedem in Italia video esse nullum qui non in istius potestate sit. de Pompeio scio nihil, eumque, nisi in navim se contulerit, exceptum iri puto. o celeritatem incredibilem! huius autem nostri—sed non possum sine dolore accusare eum de quo angor et crucior. tu caedem non sine causa times, non quo minus quicquam Caesari expediat ad diurnitatem victoriae et dominationis sed video quorum arbitrio sit acturus. recte †sit†¹ censeo cedendum.
- 2 De Oppiis² egeo consili. quod optimum factu videbitur facies. cum Philotimo loquere, atque adeo Terentiam habebis Idibus.

¹ quod (SB) ² tantum conī. SB

¹ recte sit. sed TP ² oppidis vel -dis iis (Boot)

¹ Cicero had decided to send the women back to Rome, but he soon changed his mind again.

LETTER 146 (VII.22)

What I am to do is a great question, though I should not find it a question at all, believe me, but for the disgraceful mishandling of our affairs at every point and my own complete exclusion from their conduct—all the same it is a question what is the fitting course for me. Caesar himself urges me to peace, but the letter was written before he started plunging. Dolabella and Caelius say he is very well satisfied with my behaviour. I am at my wits' end. Help me with your advice if you can, and anyhow look after things in Rome as far as you can. With everything in the melting pot like this I have nothing to write. I expect a letter from you.

146 (VII.22)

Formiae, 9 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Clearly there is not a foot of Italian soil which is not in Caesar's grasp. Of Pompey I know nothing, and unless he takes refuge aboard ship I expect he will be caught. The rapidity of movement is beyond belief. As for our man—but it is painful for me to complain of him when I am so desperately anxious about his fate. You may well be afraid of a massacre, not that anything would be less in Caesar's interests if he wants his victory and personal power to last, but I can easily see the kind of people at whose beck he will be acting. Let us hope it will be all right (?); but (?) my advice is to leave.

As regards the Oppii I have nothing to suggest. You will do what seems best. Talk to Philotimus—or rather you will have Terentia¹ on the Ides.

CICERO

Ego quid agam? qua aut terra aut mari persequar eum qui ubi sit nescio? etsi terra quidem qui possum? mari quo? tradam igitur isti me? fac posse tuto (multi enim hortantur), num etiam honeste? nullo modo quidem. a te petam consilium, ut soleo? explicari res non potest. sed tamen si quid in mentem venit velim scribas, et ipse quid sis acturus.

147 (VII.23)

Scr. in Formiano IV Id. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 v Id. Febr. vesperi a Philotimo litteras accepi Domitium exercitum firmum habere, cohortis ex Piceno Lentulo et Thermo ducentibus cum Domiti exercitu coniunctas esse, Caesarem intercludi posse eumque id timere, bonorum animos recreatos Romae, improbos quasi percultos. haec metuo equidem ne sint somnia, sed tamen M'. Lepidum, L. Torquatum, C. Cassium tribunum pl. (hi enim sunt nobiscum, id est in Formiano) Philotimi litterae ad vitam revocaverunt. ego autem illa metuo ne veriora sint, nos omnis plane¹ iam captos esse, Pompeium Italia cedere; quem quidem (o rem acerbam!) persequi Caesar dicitur. persequi Caesar Pompeium? quid? ut interficiat? o me miserum! et non omnes nostra corpora opponimus? in quo tu quoque ingemiscis. sed quid faciamus? victi, oppressi, capti plane sumus.

¹ p(a)ene (*Wesenberg*)

¹ Usually understood as 'in my Formian villa,' but they were staying in their own places (cf. Letter 154.1)

LETTER 147 (VII.23)

For myself, what am I to do? How am I to follow, be it by land or sea, a man whose whereabouts I don't know? —though as to following him by land, that's impossible. If by sea, to what destination? Shall I then hand myself over to Caesar? Supposing I could do so safely (many urge me that way), can I also do it honourably? Most decidedly not. Well, shall I seek advice from you as usual? The problem is insoluble. None the less if anything occurs to you, please write, and tell me what you yourself are going to do.

147 (VII.23)

Formiae, 10 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the evening of 9 February I had a letter from Philotimus to the effect that Domitius has a strong army, that the cohorts from Picenum under Lentulus and Thermus have joined Domitius' army, that Caesar may be, and is afraid of being, cut off, that the honest men in Rome have taken fresh heart and the villains are pretty well floored. For my part I fear this is all fancy, but M'. Lepidus, L. Torquatus, and C. Cassius the Tribune, who are with me (i.e. in the Formiae district¹) have been brought back to life by Philotimus' letter. But I am afraid the other tale has more truth in it, that we are all prisoners outright and Pompey leaving Italy. Caesar (I hate to write it) is said to be in pursuit of him. Caesar pursuing Pompey? For what? To kill him? Oh, God! Why are we not all throwing our bodies in the way? You too must be groaning at the thought. But what can we do? We are beaten, overwhelmed, prisoners pure and simple.

CICERO

- 2 Ego tamen Philotimi litteris lectis mutavi consilium de mulieribus. quas, ut scripseram ad te, Romam remittebam; sed mihi venit in mentem multum fore sermonem: me iudicium iam de causa publica fecisse, qua desperata quasi hunc gradum mei reditus esse quod mulieres revertissent. de me autem ipso tibi adsentior, ne me dem incertae et periculosae fugae, cum rei publicae nihil prosim, nihil Pompeio; pro quo emori cum pie possum tum libenter. manebo igitur, etsi vivere . . .
- 3 Quod quaeris hic quid agatur, tota Capua et omnis hic dilectus iacet; desperata res est, in fuga omnes sunt, nisi quid eius modi fuerit ut Pompeius istas Domiti copias cum suis coniungat. sed videbamus omnia biduo triduove scituri.

[L.]² Caesaris litterarum exemplum tibi misi; rogaras enim. cui nos valde satis facere multi ad me scripserunt; quod patior facile, dum, ut adhuc, nihil faciam turpiter.

148 (VII.24)

Scr. in Formiano III Id. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Philotimi litterae me quidem non nimis sed eos qui in his locis erant admodum delectarunt. ecce postridie Cassio litterae Capua a Lucretio, familiari eius, Nigidium a Domi-

² *del. Victorius*

LETTER 148 (VII.24)

However after reading Philotimus' letter I changed my mind about the ladies. I was going to send them back to Rome as I wrote to you, but it occurred to me that there would be a great deal of talk. It would be said that I had now passed judgement on the national cause, that I had despaired of it, and that the return of my wife and daughter was a prelude to my own. As for me personally, I agree with you that I ought not to abandon myself to a doubtful and dangerous flight overseas since I should do no good to the commonwealth and no good to Pompey—for whom I can die not only dutifully but gladly. So I shall stay, though the thought of living . . .

You ask what is toward here. Capua and the whole recruiting effort here is absolutely at a standstill. Hope is dead, everyone is in flight, unless something happens such as Pompey joining up those forces of Domitius' with his own. But it looks as though we shall know everything in two or three days' time.

I am sending you a copy of Caesar's letter as you requested. Many people have written telling me that he is very well satisfied with me. I have no objection to his being so, provided that, as hitherto, there is nothing in my conduct to blush for.

148 (VII.24)

Formiae, 11 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Philotimus' letter gave great pleasure not so much to me as to those hereabouts. Then next day comes a letter from Capua to Cassius from his friend Lucretius, stating that

CICERO

tio Capuam venisse; eum dicere Vibullium cum paucis militibus e Piceno currere ad Gnaeum, confestim insequi Caesarem, Domitium non habere militum VI milia.¹ idem scripsit Capua consules discessisse. non dubito quin Gnaeus in fuga sit; modo effugiat. ego a² consilio fugiendi, ut tu censes, absum.

149 (VII.25)

Scr. in Formiano III aut prid. Id. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum dedissem ad te litteras tristis et metuo ne veras de Lucreti ad Cassium litteris Capua missis, Cephalius venit a vobis; attulit etiam a te litteras hilariores nec tamen firmas, ut soles. omnia facilius credere possum quam quod scribitis, Pompeium exercitum <firmum> habere. nemo huc ita adfert omniaque quae nolim. o rem miseram! malas causas semper obtinuit, in optima concidit. quid dicam nisi illud eum scisse (neque enim erat difficile), hoc nescisse? erat enim ars difficilis recte rem publicam regere. sed iam iamque omnia sciemus et scribemus ad te statim.

150 (VII.26)

Scr. in Formiano Id. Febr., ut vid., an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Non venit idem usu mihi quod tu tibi scribis, 'quotiens

¹ vim vel III (Wesenberg)

² ego vel e vel o vel a (R. Klotz)

LETTER 150 (VII.26)

Nigidius has arrived at Capua from Domitius and that according to him Vibullius is scurrying to Gnaeus from Picenum with a handful of troops and with Caesar in close pursuit. Domitius is said not to have 6,000 men. Lucretius also wrote that the Consuls had left Capua. I have no doubt that Gnaeus is a fugitive. I only hope he gets away. Personally, as you advise, I am not thinking of flight.

149 (VII.25)

Formiae, 11 or 12 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After I had dispatched a gloomy and I fear veracious letter about Lucretius' letter to Cassius sent from Capua, Cephalio arrived from you people in Rome. He brought a more cheerful letter from you too, though not so solidly based as yours generally are. I can believe anything sooner than what you and the others write, that Pompey has a strong army. Nobody who comes here so reports, rather all manner of bad news. It is a melancholy story. Invariably successful in bad causes, he has fallen down in the best of all. What can one say except that there he knew his way (it was not difficult) and here he did not? To guide the state aright was not an easy art. However I shall know everything any day now and shall write to you at once.

150 (VII.26)

Formiae, 13 February (?) 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My experience differs from yours. You say 'whenever I

exorior'; ego enim nunc <primum>¹ paulum exorior, et maxime quidem iis litteris quae Roma adferuntur de Domitio, de Picentium cohortibus. omnia erant facta hoc biduo laetiora. itaque fuga quae parabatur repressa est. Caesaris interdicta, 'si te secundo lumine hic offendero . . .', respuuntur; bona de Domitio, praeclara de Afranio fama est.

- 2 Quod me amicissime admones ut me integrum quoad possim servem, gratum est; quod addis, ne propensior ad turpem causam videar, certe videri possum. ego me ducem in civili bello quoad de pace ageretur n<eg>avi² esse, non quin rectum esset sed quia, quod multo rectius fuit, id mihi fraudem tulit. plane eum cui noster alterum consulatum deferret et triumphum (a<t> quibus verbis! 'pro tuis rebus'³ gestis amplissimis) inimicum habere nolueram. ego scio et quem metuam et quam ob rem. sin erit bellum, ut video fore, partes meae non desiderabuntur.

- 3 De HS $\bar{x}\bar{x}$ Terentia tibi rescripsit. Dionysio, dum existimabam vagos nos fore, nolui molestus esse; tibi autem crebro ad me scribenti de eius officio nihil rescripsi quod diem ex die exspectabam ut statuerem quid esset faciendum. nunc, ut video, pueri certe in Formiano videntur hiematuri. et ego⁴ nescio. si enim erit bellum, cum Pompeio esse constitui. quod habebo certi, faciam ut scias.

¹ *add. TP* ² *navi vel nam (Victorius)*

³ *ut prorsus (Lambinus)* : pro rebus *Corradus*

¹ From Ennius' *Medea*—typical tyrant's talk.

supposed to be on his way from Spain to Italy.

² He was

the rejection of Caesar's overtures in 59–58.

³ Probably

⁴ Pompey.

⁵ Cicero feared that if he took a strong anti-Caesarian line

LETTER 150 (VII.26)

pluck up spirit.' I am plucking up spirit a little now for the first time, chiefly because of the letters I am getting from Rome about Domitius and the Picene cohorts. In the last couple of days everything has taken on a brighter look. Accordingly the flight which was in preparation has been checked. Caesar's interdicts ('If on a second dawn I find you here')¹ are scornfully rejected. Domitius is in good, Afranius² in splendid repute.

Thank you for your most friendly advice to keep my hands free as long as possible. You add a warning against seeming partial to the discreditable cause. Certainly it is possible that I may seem so. I refused to take a leading role in a civil war so long as peace negotiations were proceeding, not that it would not have been proper to do so but because an action³ much more proper had been my undoing. Frankly I did not care to make an enemy of a man to whom our friend⁴ was offering a second Consulship and a Triumph (and in what terms! 'In recognition of your splendid achievements'). I know whom to fear and why.⁵ But if it is to be war, as I see it will be, my part shall not be found wanting.

Terentia has written back to you about the HS 20,000. As for Dionysius, while I thought I should be on the move I did not choose to trouble him, and I did not reply to your frequent mention of his loyal disposition because I was waiting from one day to the next to decide what should be done. Now, as I see it, the boys at any rate are likely to spend the winter at Formiae. And I? I don't know. If it is to be war I have decided to be with Pompey. I shall let you

Pompey might make up his differences with Caesar and then throw him to the wolves (see Letters 161D.7, and 199.5).

CICERO

ego bellum foedissimum futurum puto, nisi qui, ut tu
sc<rib>is,⁴ Parthicus casus exstiterit.

151 (VIII.1)

Scr. in Formiano XV vel XIV Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cum ad te litteras dedissem, redditae mihi litterae sunt a Pompeio: cetera de rebus in Piceno gestis quas¹ ad se Vibullius scripsisset, de dilectu Domiti, quae sunt vobis nota, nec tam laeta erant in iis litteris quam ad me Philotimus <scrips>erat. ipsam tibi epistulam misissem, sed iam subito fratris puer proficiscebatur; cras igitur mittam. sed in ea Pompei epistula erat in extremo ipsius manu 'tu censeo Luceriam venias; nusquam eris tutius.' id ego in eam partem accepi, haec oppida atque oram maritimam illum pro relicto habere, nec sum miratus eum qui caput
- 2 ipsum reliquisset reliquis membris non parcere. ei statim rescripsi, hominemque certum misi de comitibus meis, <me> non quaerere ubi tutissimo essem; si me vellet sua aut rei publicae causa Luceriam venire, statim esse venturum; hortatusque sum ut oram maritimam retineret, si rem frumentariam sibi ex provinciis suppeditari vellet. hoc me frustra scribere videbam; sed uti in urbe retinenda tunc,

⁴ *add. Orelli*

¹ qu(a)e (SB)

LETTER 151 (VIII.1)

know anything definite. I think there will be an atrocious war unless, as you say, some Parthian stroke of luck⁶ intervenes.

151 (VIII.1)

Formiae, 15 or 16 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After I had dispatched a letter to you I received one from Pompey. The bulk of it concerned operations in Picenum as reported by Vibullius and Domitius' levying of troops, things which you in Rome already know. They were not however so cheerful sounding in this letter as Philotimus had represented them to me in his. I should have sent you the letter itself, but my brother's boy is leaving now suddenly, so I shall send it tomorrow. However in that letter of Pompey's, at the end and in his own hand, are the words 'As for yourself, I advise you to come to Luceria. You will be as safe there as anywhere.' I took this to mean that he has given up the towns here and the coast for lost, nor am I surprised that having abandoned the head he does not spare the limbs. I am writing back at once and sending a trusty person, one of my staff, to tell him that I am not looking for the safest place I can find. If he wants me to go to Luceria either on his own or the public account, I say I shall go at once. I also urge him to hold on to the sea coast if he wants to be supplied with grain from the provinces. I realize I write this to no purpose, but as formerly on hold-

⁶ Like the unexpected Parthian withdrawal from Syria the previous summer.

- sic nunc in Italia non reliquenda testificabar sententiam meam. sic enim parari video, ut Luceriam omnes copiae contrahantur et ne is quidem locus <sit>² stabilis sed ex eo
- 3 ipso, si urgeamur, paretur fuga; quo minus mirere si invitus in eam causam descendo in qua neque pacis neque victoriae ratio quaesita sit umquam sed semper flagitiosae et calamitosae fugae. eundum,³ ut quemcumque fors tulerit casum subeam potius cum iis qui dicuntur esse boni quam videar a bonis dissentire. etsi prope diem video bonorum, id est lautorum et locupletum, urbem refertam fore, municipiis vero his relictis refertissimam; quo ego in numero essem, si hos lictores molestissimos non haberem, nec me M'. Lepidi, L. Volcaci, Ser. Sulpici comitum paeniteret, quorum nemo nec stultior est quam L. Domitius nec in-
- 4 constantior quam Ap. Claudius. unus Pompeius me movet, beneficio non auctoritate; quam enim ille habeat auctoritatem in hac causa? qui, cum omnes Caesarem metuebamus, ipse eum diligebat; postquam ipse metuere coepit, putat omnis hostis illi esse oportere. ibimus tamen Luceriam, nec eum fortasse delectabit noster adventus; dissimulare enim non potero mihi quae adhuc acta sint displicere.

Ego si somnum capere possem, tam longis te epistulis non obtunderem. tu, si tibi eadem causa est, me remunerere sane velim.

² *add. Mueller (post stabilis Ernesti)*

³ *sed eundum vel e- tamen coni. SB*

LETTER 151 (VIII.1)

ing the capital so now on not abandoning Italy I am putting my view on record. Clearly the plan is to concentrate all our forces at Luceria and not to make even that a firm point, but to prepare for flight from Luceria itself if we are pressed—so you may be the less surprised if I embark with reluctance in a cause in which there has at no time been any attempt to plan either peace or victory, but always infamous and disastrous flight. I must go, so that rather than appear to be at variance with the honest men I may meet whatever fate fortune brings in company with those who are so called. And yet I can see that Rome will soon be full of honest men, i.e. men of style and substance, full to bursting indeed when the townships here are given up. I should be one of them if I did not have these confounded nuisances of lictors, and I should not be ashamed to be in company with M'. Lepidus, L. Volcacius, and Ser. Sulpicius. None of them is more stupid than L. Domitius or more fickle than Ap. Claudius. Pompey alone counts with me, because of what he did for me, not because of the weight of his name. What weight after all could it carry in this cause? When all of us feared Caesar, Pompey was his friend; now that *he* has started to fear him he expects us all to be Caesar's enemies. However I shall go to Luceria, and it may be that my coming won't make him any happier, for I shall not be able to conceal my disapproval of what has been done so far.

If I could get any sleep I should not bore you with such long letters. If you are in the same case, I very much hope you will repay me in kind.

CICERO

152 (VIII.2)

Scr. in Formiano XIII Kal. Mart. an. 49 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Mihi vero omnia grata, et quod scripsisti ad me quae audieras et quod non credidi>sti quae digna diligentia mea non erant et quod monuisti quod sentiebas. ego ad Caesarem unas Capua litteras dedi, quibus ad ea rescripsi quae mecum ille de gladiatoribus suis egerat, brevis sed benevolentiam significantis, non modo sine contumelia sed etiam cum maxima laude Pompei; id enim illa sententia postulabat qua illum ad concordiam hortabar. eas si quo ille misit, in publico proponat velim. alteras eodem die dedi quo has ad te; non potui non dare, cum et ipse ad me scripsisset et Balbus. earum exemplum ad te misi. nihil arbitror fore quod reprehendas; si qua erunt, doce me quo modo μέμψιν¹ effugere possim. 'nihil' inquires 'omnino scripseris.' qui magis effugiam² eos qui volent fingere? verum tamen ita faciam, quoad fieri poterit.
- 2

Nam quod me hortaris ad memoriam factorum, ditorum, scriptorum etiam meorum, facis amice tu quidem mihi que gratissimum, sed mihi videris aliud tu honestum meque dignum in hac causa iudicare atque ego existimem. mihi enim nihil ulla in gente umquam ab ullo auctore rei publicae ac duce turpius factum esse videtur quam a nostro amico factum est, cuius ego vicem doleo; qui urbem reliquit, id est patriam, pro qua et in qua mori praeclarum

- 3 fuit. ignorare mihi videris haec quanta sit clades; es enim

¹ esse (*Gronovius*) ² effugias (*SB*)

¹ Towards Atticus himself, who if the reports had been true

LETTER 152 (VIII.2)

152 (VIII.2)

Formiae, 17 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the contrary I thank you for everything: for letting me know what you heard, for not believing reports which made me out less punctilious¹ than I am, and for telling me your opinion. I sent Caesar one letter from Capua in reply to the representations he made to me about his gladiators. It was short but friendly, and so far from abusing Pompey praised him highly, as my argument, urging him to a settlement, required. If he has sent the letter to third parties, well, I should be happy to have him post it up in public. I am dispatching another today. I could not do otherwise since both he and Balbus had written to me. I am sending you a copy of my letter. I don't think you will find anything to censure. If you do, then show me how I am to escape adverse criticism. 'Don't write at all,' you may say. How would that help me to escape people who will be willing to *fabricate*? However, that is what I shall do as far as I can.

You urge me to remember what I have done and said and even written. That is friendly of you and I appreciate it very much, but you seem to have a different idea of what is honourable and fitting for me in the present struggle than that which I hold myself. In my view no statesman or general of any nation has ever behaved more disgracefully than our friend. I grieve for him. He has abandoned Rome, his country, for which and in which it would have been glorious to die. You don't seem to realize what a disaster

might have felt hurt at Cicero's 'casualness' in failing to keep him informed.

CICERO

etiam nunc domi tuae, sed invitis perditissimis hominibus esse diutius non potes. hoc miserius, hoc turpius quicquam? vagamur egentes cum coniugibus et liberis; in unius hominis quotannis periculose aegrotantis anima positas omnis nostras spes habemus, <non> expulsi sed evocati ex patria; quam non servandam ad reditum nostrum sed diripiendam et inflammandam reliquimus. ita multi nobiscum sunt? non in suburbanis, non in hortis, non in ipsa <urbe>? et, si non sunt, non erunt? nos interea ne Capuae quidem sed Luceriae, et oram quidem maritimam iam relinquemus, Afranium expectabimus <et> Petreium; nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis. hic tu in me * * *³ illud desideras? nihil de me dico, alii viderint; hic quidem quae est * * *³ domi vestrae estis et eritis omnes boni. quis istic se mihi non ostendit? quis nunc adest hoc bello (sic enim iam appellandum est)?⁴ Vibulli res gestae sunt adhuc maximae. id ex Pompei litteris cognosces, in quibus animadvertito illum locum ubi erit διπληῆ: videbis de Gnaeo nostro ipse Vibullius quid existimet. quo igitur haec spectat oratio? ego pro Pompeio libenter emori possum, facio pluris omnium hominum neminem; sed non ita uno in eo iudico spem de salute rei publicae. significas enim aliquanto secus quam solebas, ut etiam Italia, si ille cedat, putes cedendum; quod ego nec rei publicae puto esse utile nec liberis meis, praeterea neque rectum neque honestum. †sed cur†⁴

³ *Graeca, velut φρόνημα ἀριστοκρατικόν et ἀριστοκρατία, excidisse coni. SB* ⁴ *sequitur coni. SB*

² Ironical.

³ Some expressions, probably Greek, meaning 'aristocratic spirit' and 'aristocracy' seem to have dropped out of the text.

LETTER 152 (VIII.2)

this is, for you are still in your own house, though you cannot stay there except by sufferance of utter reprobates. But *this* is the last word in misery and shame. We wander about in penury with our wives and children, our entire hopes dependent on the life of a man who falls dangerously ill once a year, not expelled but summoned out of our mother city. And we leave her not in safe keeping against our return but a prey to loot and arson. Are there so many with us? Are they not on their estates near Rome or in the suburbs or in the city itself? And if not now, won't they be soon? We meanwhile are not in Capua even, but in Luceria. We shall presently be giving up the coast, we shall wait for Afranius and Petreius—Labienus is not grand enough for us.² Are such the circumstances in which you would like to see 'my old * * *'? I say nothing of myself, let others do that. What * * *³ is there here? All you honest men are in your own homes and mean to stay there. Who but professed his readiness to me back in Rome, and who is reporting present *now* in this war, as it already has to be called? Vibullius' operations have been highly successful so far. You will see that from Pompey's letter. Note the place where you will find an arrow. You'll see what Vibullius himself thinks of our Gnaeus. Well, where does all this tend? I can willingly lay down my life for Pompey, there is not a man living I value more highly. But I do not, as you do, judge him to be the Republic's only hope of salvation. For you suggest, somewhat out of keeping with your previous attitude, that you think I ought even to leave Italy if Pompey does so. Now *I* do not think this would be in the public interest or in that of my children, nor yet right and honourable. Follows the question(?): 'Can you then bear

CICERO

'poterisne igitur videre tyrannum?' quasi intersit audiam an videam, aut locupletior mihi sit quaerendus auctor quam Socrates, qui, cum xxx tyranni essent, pedem porta non extulit. est mihi praeterea praecipua causa manendi; de qua utinam aliquando tecum loquar!

Ego XIII Kal., cum eadem lucerna hanc epistulam scripsissem qua inflammaram tuam, Formiis ad Pompeium, si de pace ageretur, profect<ur>us; si de bello, quid ero?⁵

153 (VIII.3)

Scr. in Caleno noctu XII-XI Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Maximis et miserrimis rebus perturbatus, cum coram tecum mihi potestas deliberandi non esset, uti tamen tuo consilio volui. deliberatio autem omnis haec est, si Pompeius Italia excedat, quod eum facturum esse suspicor, quid mihi agendum putes. et quo facilius consilium dare possis, quid in utramque partem mihi in mentem veniat explicabo brevi.
- 2 Cum merita Pompei summa erga salutem meam familiaritasque quae mihi cum eo est, tum ipsa rei publicae causa me adducit ut mihi vel consilium meum cum illius consilio vel fortuna <cum fortuna> coniungenda esse videatur. accedit illud: si maneo et illum comitatum optimorum et clarissimorum civium desero, cadendum est in unius potestatem; qui etsi multis rebus significat se nobis esse

⁵ videro s

LETTER 153 (VIII.3)

the sight of a tyrant?' As though it mattered whether I hear of him or see him, or as though I needed a better precedent than Socrates, who never put a foot outside the gates when there were thirty tyrants in Athens! Moreover I have a reason for staying peculiar to myself,⁴ which I only wish I may some day be able to discuss with you.

I am leaving Formiae today, 17 February, having written this letter by the light of the same lamp with which I burned yours, to join Pompey. If peace be our business I shall help, but if war, what is my position going to be?

153 (VIII.3)

Cales, night of 18–19 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Troubled as I am by matters of the gravest and saddest consequence and lacking the opportunity of consulting with you in person, I still want the benefit of your advice. The whole question at issue is this: if Pompey leaves Italy, as I suspect he will, what do you think I ought to do? It may help you to advise me if I set out briefly the points which occur to my mind in favour of either course.

Besides the signal obligations to Pompey under which I lie in the matter of my restoration and my personal friendship with him, the public cause itself leads me to feel that my course and my fortunes should be linked with his. There is a further point. If I stay and desert that company of right-minded and illustrious Romans, I must needs fall into the hands of one man. That man it is true lets it appear

⁴ We cannot be sure what this was.

amicum (et ut esset a me est, tute scis, propter suspicionem huius impendentis tempestatis multo ante provisum), tamen utrumque considerandum est, et quanta fides ei sit habenda et, si maxime exploratum sit eum nobis amicum fore, sitne viri fortis et boni civis esse in ea urbe in qua cum summis honoribus imperiisque usus sit, res maximas gesserit, sacerdotio sit amplissimo praeditus, non futurus <sit qui fuerit>¹, subeundumque periculum sit cum aliquo †fore†² dedecore, si quando Pompeius rem publicam recuperarit. in hac parte haec sunt.

- 3 Vide nunc quae sint in altera. nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter, addo etiam nihil ni<si> contra consilium auctoritatemque meam. omitto illa vetera, quod istum in rem publicam ille aluit, auxit, armavit, ille legibus per vim et contra auspicia ferendis auctor, ille Galliae ulterioris adiunctor, ille gener, ille in <ad>optando P. Clodio augur, ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior, ille provinciae propagator, ille absentis in omnibus adiutor, idem etiam tertio consulatu, postquam esse defensor rei publicae coepit, contendit ut decem tribuni pl. ferrent ut absentis ratio haberetur, quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua, Marcoque Marcello consuli finienti provincias Gallias Kal. Mart. die restitit—sed ut haec omittam, quid foedius, quid perturbatius hoc ab urbe discessu sive

1 *add. Lehmann*

2 *si forte con. SB*

LETTER 153 (VIII.3)

in many ways that he is my friend, and, as you know, I set myself long ago to make him such because of my premonition of the storm that was brewing, but two things are to be considered: first, how far he is to be trusted, second, no matter how definitely his amity is assured, whether it is the part of a brave man and a patriot to remain in a city in which he has held the highest offices and commands, has done great things, and been invested with an exalted priestly function, in a reduced status and in prospect of danger along perhaps with some discredit (?) should Pompey ever restore the constitution. So much on one side.

Now look at what can be said on the other. Our friend Pompey's proceedings have throughout been destitute alike of wisdom and of courage; and, I may add, contrary throughout to my advice and influence. I say nothing of ancient history—his building up and aggrandizing and arming Caesar against the state, his backing the violent and unconstitutional passage of Caesar's laws, his addition of Transalpine Gaul to Caesar's command, his marriage to Caesar's daughter, his appearance as Augur at P. Clodius' adoption, his greater concern for my restoration than for the prevention of my banishment, his prolongation of Caesar's tenure, his consistent support during Caesar's absence, his pressure (even during his third Consulship, after he had taken up the role of champion of the constitution) on the ten Tribunes to propose their law enabling Caesar to stand in absentia, a privilege which he confirmed after a fashion by a law of his own, his opposition to Consul M. Marcellus when he tried to fix the Kalends of March as the term of Caesar's command in Gaul—to say nothing of all this, what could be more undignified or more disorderly than this withdrawal from the capital or rather this dis-

potius turpissima in qua sum<us>³ fuga? quae condicio non accipienda fuit potius quam relinquenda patria? malae condiciones erant, fateor, sed num quid hoc peius?

- 4 At recuperabit rem publicam. quando? aut quid ad eam spem est parati? non ager Picenus amissus? non patefactum iter ad urbem? non pecunia omnis et publica et privata adversario tradita? denique nulla causa, nullae vires, nulla sedes quo concurrant qui rem publicam defensam velint. Apulia delecta est, inanissima pars Italiae et ab impetu huius belli remotissima; fuga et maritima opportunitas visa quaeri desperatione, †invite cepit†⁴ Capuam, non quo munus illud defugerem, sed sine * * *⁵ causa in qua nullus esset ordinum, nullus apertus privatorum dolor, bonorum autem esset aliquis sed hebes, ut solet et ut ipse sensissem, multitudo et infimus quisque propensus in alteram partem, multi mutationis rerum cupidi. dixi ipsi me nihil suscepturum sine praesidio et sine pecunia. itaque habui nihil omnino negoti, quod ab initio vidi nihil quaeri praeter fugam. eam si nunc sequor, quam⁶ cum illo non; ad quem cum essem profectus, cognovi in iis locis esse Caesarem ut tuto Luceriam venire non possem. infero mari nobis incerto cursu hieme maxima navigandum est. age iam, cum fratre an sine eo⁷ cum filio an quo modo? in utraque enim re summa difficultas erit, summus animi dolor. qui autem illius impetus erit in nos absentis for-

³ turpissima(m) que sum *vel* -pissima (SB)

⁴ non recepi *Hofmann*

⁵ *lacunam ind. SB sic fere explendam: copiis dux esse nolui in ea*

⁶ quon(i)am (*Frederking*)

⁷ et (*Scheller*)

graceful flight in which we are now involved? Would not *any* peace terms have been preferable to the abandonment of the mother city? The terms were bad I grant, but was anything worse than this?

You may say that he will restore the constitution. When? What provision is there for implementing such hopes? Picenum has been lost, the road to the capital left open, its entire wealth, public and private, handed over to the enemy. To cap all, there is no organization, no power, no rallying point for would-be defenders of the constitution. Apulia was selected, the most sparsely populated area in Italy and the most remote from the onset of this war, apparently in despair as a coastal region convenient for flight. I declined (?) Capua, not that I shirked the post, but I did not want to be a leader without a force (?) in a cause which aroused no passion either in any order or, overtly, among private individuals, and in which the feelings of the honest men, though not wholly inactive, were as usual, and as I myself had observed, far from keen, whereas the populace and the lower orders sympathized with the other side and many were eager for revolution. I told Pompey to his face that I would undertake nothing without troops and money. Accordingly I have had nothing whatever to do, because I saw from the start that flight pure and simple was intended. If I now follow it, what is to be my route? I cannot go with Pompey. When I set out to join him I learned that Caesar's whereabouts made it unsafe for me to go to Luceria. I must take ship by the Western Sea to an uncertain destination in the depth of winter. Then again, am I to go with my brother or without him with my son, or how? Either way will involve the greatest embarrassment and distress of mind. And imagine Caesar's fury against me

tunasque nostras! acrior quam in ceterorum, quod putabit fortasse in nobis violandis aliquid se habere populare. age iam, has compedes, fascis, inquam, hos laureatos efferre ex Italia quam molestum est! qui autem locus erit nobis tutus, ut iam placatis utamur fluctibus, ante quam ad illum venerimus? qua autem aut quo nihil scimus.

- 6 At si restitero et fuerit nobis in hac parte locus, idem fecero quod in Cinnae dominatione <L.>⁸ Philippus, quod L. Flaccus, quod Q. Mucius, quoquo modo ea res huic quidem cecidit; qui tamen ita dicere solebat, se id fore videre quod factum est sed malle quam armatum ad patriae moenia accedere. aliter Thrasybulus, et fortasse melius; sed est certa quaedam illa Muci ratio atque sententia, est illa etiam Philippi, et, cum sit necesse, servire tempori et non amittere tempus cum sit datum. sed in hoc ipso habent tamen idem fasces molestiam. sit enim nobis amicus, quod incertum est, sed sit; deferret triumphum. non accipere ne periculosum sit, <accipere> invidiosum ad bonos. 'o rem' inquis 'difficilem et inexplicabilem!' atqui explicanda est; quid enim fieri potest? ac ne me existimaris ad manendum esse propensioem quod plura in eam partem verba fecerim, potest fieri, quod fit in multis quaestionibus, ut res verbosior haec fuerit, illa verior. quam ob rem, ut maxima de re aequo animo deliberanti, ita mihi des

⁸ *add. Lambinus*

¹ Scaevola the Pontifex. These three leading Roman nobles remained in Rome during the Marian domination (87-83). The

LETTER 153 (VIII.3)

and my possessions when I am away. It will be more bitter than in other cases because he will perhaps reckon that an attack on me will bring him a measure of popularity. Then look at the awkwardness of taking these shackles of mine, I mean these laurelled *fascēs*, overseas. And what place will be safe for us, even supposing we have calm seas, until we reach Pompey?—and we know neither route nor destination.

Supposing on the other hand I stay behind and find a place in Caesar's party, I shall be doing what L. Philippus and L. Flaccus and Q. Mucius¹ did during Cinna's regime—however it turned out for the last named. And yet Mucius used to say that he saw his fate would be what it actually was but preferred it to marching in arms against the walls of his native city. Thrasybulus chose otherwise and perhaps better. Still there is something to be said for Mucius' line and point of view, something too for Philip-pus'—trimming one's sails when necessary, but taking one's opportunity when it comes. But there too these same *fascēs* get in my way. Supposing Caesar is friendly to me, which is not certain, but suppose it: he will offer me my Triumph. To refuse may be dangerous, to accept will damage me with the honest men. 'A difficult, an insoluble problem,' you may say. Yet solved it has to be. What alternative is there? And in case you think I am more inclined towards staying because I have argued at greater length that way, it may be, as is often the case in controversies, that there are more words on one side but more truth on the other. Therefore, as a man calmly weighing in his mind a matter

third was killed by the Marians, the two former went over to Sulla when he returned to Italy.

CICERO

consilium velim. navis et in Caieta est parata nobis et Brundisi.

- 7 Sed ecce nuntii scribente me haec ipsa noctu in Caleno, ecce litterae Caesarem ad Corfinium, Domitium Corfini cum firmo exercitu et pugnare cupiente. non puto etiam hoc Gnaeum nostrum commissurum, ut Domitium relinquat; etsi Brundisium Scipionem cum cohortibus duabus praemiserat, legionem Fausto conscriptam in Siciliam sibi placere a consule duci scripserat ad consules. sed turpe Domitium deserere erit implorantem eius auxilium. est quaedam spes, mihi quidem non magna sed in his locis firma, Afranium in Pyrenaeo cum Trebonio pugnassee, pulsum Trebonium, etiam Fabium tuum transisse cum *⁹ cohortibus; summa autem, Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare. id si est, in Italia fortasse manebitur. ego autem, cum esset incertum iter Caesaris quod vel ad Capuam vel ad Luceriam iturus putabatur, Leptam misi ad Pompeium <et> litteras; ipse, ne quo inciderem, reverti Formias.

Haec te scire volui scripsique sedatiore animo quam proxime scripseram, nullum meum iudicium interponens sed exquirens tuum.

154 (VIII.6)

Scr. in Formiano x Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Obsignata iam ista epistula quam de nocte daturus eram, sicut dedi (nam eam vesperi scripseram), C. Sossius praetor

⁹ numerum excidisse putavit SB

LETTER 154 (VIII.6)

of the greatest importance, I ask your advice. I have a ship in readiness at Caieta and another at Brundisium.

But lo and behold! As I write this very letter at night in my lodge at Cales, here come messengers and a letter to announce that Caesar is before Corfinium and Domitius inside the town, with a powerful army eager for battle. I don't believe that Gnaeus will crown all by leaving Domitius in the lurch—though he *had* sent Scipio with two cohorts to Brundisium and written to the Consuls that he wished one of them to take the legion raised by Faustus to Sicily. But it will be a disgraceful thing to desert Domitius when he is begging for help. There is a hope of sorts, not much in my mind but strongly held hereabouts, that Afranius has engaged and beaten Trebonius in the Pyrenees, further that your friend Fabius has changed sides with * cohorts; and the long and short of it is that Afranius is on his way here with a large force. If that is true perhaps there will be no evacuation of Italy after all. As for me, since Caesar's movements are uncertain—it is thought he may march either on Capua or on Luceria—I have sent Lepta to Pompey with a letter. I myself am returning to Formiae to avoid falling into a trap.

I desired you to know this. I have written in a more composed frame of mind than when I last wrote, not intruding any opinion of my own but seeking yours.

154 (VIII.6)

Formiae, 20 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had already sealed the letter I was going to dispatch to you before daybreak, as I actually did (I wrote it the pre-

CICERO

in Formianum venit ad M'. Lepidum, vicinum nostrum, cuius quaestor fuit. Pompei litterarum ad consules exemplum attulit:

2 Litterae mihi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII¹ Kal. Mart. adlatae sunt; earum exemplum infra scripsi. nunc, ut ego non scribam, tua sponte te intellegere scio quanti rei publicae in<tersit>² omnis copias in unum locum primo quoque tempore convenire. tu, si tibi videbitur, dabis operam ut quam primum ad nos venias, praesidi Capuae quantum constitueritis³ satis esse relinquant.

3 Deinde supposuit exemplum epistulae Domiti quod ego ad te pridie miseram. di immortales, qui me horror perfudit! quam sum sollicitus quidnam futurum sit! hoc tamen spero, magnum nomen imperatoris fore, magnum in adventu terrorem. spero etiam, quoniam adhuc nihil nobis obfuit nisi⁴ timiditas et⁵ negligentia, hoc quod cum fortiter et diligenter tum etiam mehercule * * *.

4 * * * modo enim audivi quartanam a te discessisse; moriar si magis gauderem si id mihi accidisset. Piliae dic non esse aequum eam diutius habere nec id esse vestrae
5 concordiae. Tironem nostrum ab altera relictum audio. sed eum video in sumptum ab aliis mutuatum; ego autem Curium nostrum si quid opus esset rogaram. malo Tironis verecundiam in culpa esse quam illiberalitatem Curi.

1 VIII (*Corradus*)

2 *add. Victorius*

3 constitueris s, *Watt, SB**

4 nihil (*Boot*)

5 imitasset *vel* muta- (*Madvig*)

LETTER 154 (VIII.6)

vious evening), when C. Sossius the Praetor arrived at my house at Formiae to see my neighbour M'. Lepidus, under whom he served as Quaestor. He brought a copy of Pompey's letter to the Consuls:

I have received a letter from L. Domitius on 17 February, a copy of which I append. As matters now stand I know that you will realize for yourself without any letter from me how important it is for the public interest that all forces should be concentrated at the earliest possible moment. You will take steps, if you see fit, to join us as soon as possible, leaving in Capua as large a garrison as you and your colleague judge to be sufficient.

He then appended a copy of Domitius' letter which I sent you yesterday. Gods above, I am shivering all over with suspense. What is going to happen? Still I am hopeful that there will be great power in our general's name, great terror in his advent. I hope too that, since only cowardice and negligence have stood in our way hitherto, the present operation, which seems likely to be (?) conducted with resolution and energy and also let me add * * *

* * * for I have just heard that your quartan has left you. Hang me if I am not as delighted as if it had happened to me. Tell Pilia it is not fair that she should keep hers any longer, nor proper in so united a couple. I hear that Tiro has lost one of his. But I see he has been borrowing money outside to meet his expenses. I had asked our friend Curius to advance anything required. I would rather think the fault lies with Tiro's bashfulness than with any stinginess on Curius' part.

CICERO

155 (VIII.7)

Scr. in Formiano IX Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Unum etiam restat amico nostro ad omne dedecus, ut Domitio non subveniat. 'at nemo dubitat quin subsidio venturus sit.' ego non puto. 'deseret igitur talem civem et eos <quos>¹ una sci<t e>sse, cum² habeat praesertim xx³ ipse cohortis, xxx Domitius?' nisi me omnia fallunt, deser<et>. incredibiliter pertimuit, nihil spectat nisi fugam; cui tu (video enim quid sentias) me comitem putas debere esse. ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo. quod enim tu meum laudas et memorandum dicis, malle quod dixerim me cum Pompeio vinci quam cum istis vincere, ego vero malo, sed cum illo Pompeio qui tum erat aut qui mihi esse videbatur; cum hoc vero qui ante fugit quam scit aut quem fugiat aut quo, qui nostra tradidit, qui patriam reliquit, Italiam relinquit, si malui, contigit: victus sum. quod superest, nec ista videre possum, quae nunquam timui ne viderem, nec mehercule istum, propter quem mihi non modo meis sed memet ipso carendum est.
- 3 Ad Philotimum scripsi de viatico sive a Moneta (nemo enim solvit) sive ab Oppiis, tuis contubernalibus. cetera apposita tibi mandabo.

¹ *add. Victorius*

² scis(se) secum (*SB* : scis esse cum *Victorius*)

³ *ex (Sjögren)*

¹ This epigram became famous.

² See Letter 124.4.

LETTER 155 (VIII.7)

155 (VIII.7)

Formiae, 21 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Only one thing remains to fill up the cup of our friend's dishonour—not to go to Domitius' help. 'But nobody doubts that he will go.' I don't think so. 'Is he then going to leave such a Roman in the lurch, and those whom he knows are with him, and that too when he himself has twenty cohorts and Domitius thirty?' Unless I am altogether out, yes. He is shaking in his shoes and aims at nothing but flight, in which you think (for I see what you feel) I ought to keep him company. Well, I know whom to flee but I don't know whom to follow.¹ You praise that 'memorable' saying² of mine, that I prefer defeat with Pompey to victory with those others. Why, so I do, but with Pompey as he then was or as I thought him to be. But *this* Pompey, who takes to his heels before he knows where he is running or whom he is running from, who has surrendered all that is ours, has abandoned Rome, is abandoning Italy—well, if I preferred defeat with him I have my wish, defeated I am. For the rest, I can't bear the sight of things I never feared to see, nor, I will add, of the man³ who has robbed me not only of what I had but of what I was.

I have written to Philotimus about travel money, telling him to get it either from the Mint,⁴ as no one is paying debts, or from your cronies the Oppii. I shall give you other commissions as may be requisite.

³ Caesar rather than Pompey.

⁴ Perhaps in exchange for bullion.

CICERO

156 (VIII.4)

Scr. in Formiano VIII Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster, cuius ego cum satis cognossem mores tuo tamen potius stabam iudicio quam meo, ne tui quidem testimoni, quod ei saepe apud me dederas, veritus superbum se praebuit in fortuna quam putavit nostram fore; cuius fortunae nos, quantum humano consilio effici poterit, motum ratione quadam gubernabimus. cui qui noster honos, quod obsequium, quae etiam ad ceteros contempti cuiusdam hominis commendatio defuit? ut meum iudicium reprehendi a Quinto fratre vulgoque ab omnibus mallet quam illum non efferrem laudibus, Ciceronesque nostros meo potius labore subdoceri quam me alium magistrum quaerere; ad quem ego quas litteras, di immortales, miseram, quantum honoris significantis, quantum amoris! Dicaearchum mehercule aut Aristoxenum diceres arcessi, non unum hominem¹ omnium
- 2 loquacissimum et minime aptum ad docendum. sed sit² memoria bona: me dicet esse meliore. quibus litteris ita respondit ut ego nemini cuius causam non reciperem. semper enim 'si potero,' 'si ante suscepta causa non impediar'; numquam reo cuiquam tam humili, tam sordido, tam nocenti, tam alieno tam praecise negavi quam hic mihi plane <sine> ulla exceptione praecidit. nihil cognovi ingratus; in

¹ non unum *vel* hominem (s (novi), Purser)² est (SB)

LETTER 156 (VIII.4)

156 (VIII.4)

Formiae, 22 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your friend (better not say 'our') Dionysius, on whose character I preferred your judgement to my own even after I had come to know it pretty well, has not been deterred even by consideration for the testimonials which you have so often given me on his behalf from a display of bump-tiousness in what he thought would be my changed fortunes—the vicissitudes of which I intend to govern with some measure of rational calculation so far as that is humanly possible. From me he has had every possible compliment and compliance; I have even recommended this rather dingy figure to others on every occasion, preferring to let my brother Quintus and the world in general find fault with my judgement rather than refrain from singing his praises, preferring that our boys should be taught on the side by my own labour rather than to look for another tutor for them. And the letter I sent him, heavens above, what a complimentary, affectionate letter it was! It might have been Dicaearchus or Aristoxenus I was asking to join me, instead of an arrant chatterbox and a thoroughly incompetent teacher. But let it be admitted he has a good memory: he shall find that I have a better! He answered my letter as I should never answer a man whose case I was not going to take. One always says 'if I can manage it,' 'if I am not hindered by another case already undertaken.' I have never given any defendant, no matter how humble, how abject, how guilty, how complete a stranger, such a blank refusal as this quite unqualified 'no' I have had from Dionysius. It is the most ungrateful piece of behaviour I

CICERO

quo vitio nihil mali non inest. sed de hoc nimis multa.

- 3 Ego navem³ paravi. tuas litteras tamen exspecto, ut sciam quid respondeant consultationi meae.

Sulmone C. Atium⁴ Paelignum aperuisse Antonio portas, cum essent cohortes quinque, Q. Lucretium inde fugisse scis, Gnaeum ire Brundisium, <Domitium>⁵ desertum. confecta res est.

157 (VIII.5)

Scr. in Formiano VIII Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cum ante lucem VIII Kal. litteras ad te de Dionysio dedissem, vesperi ad nos eodem die venit ipse Dionysius, auctoritate tua permotus, ut suspicor; quid enim putem aliud? etsi solet eum, cum aliquid furiose fecit, paenitere. numquam autem cer<ri>tior¹ fuit quam in hoc negotio. nam quod ad te non scripseram, postea audivi a tertio miliario tum eum isse 'πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἡέρα θυμήναντα,' multa, inquam, mala cum dixisset: suo capiti, ut aiunt. sed <vid>e² meam mansuetudinem: conieceram in fasciculum una cum tua ve<he>mentem³ ad illum epistulam; hanc ad me referri volo, nec ullam ob aliam causam Pollicem servum a pedibus meis Romam misi. eo autem ad te scripsi ut, si tibi forte reddita esset, mihi curares referendam, ne in illius manus perveniret.

³ autem (s)

⁴ attium *vel* act- (*Malaespina*)

⁵ *add. Lipsius*

¹ *add. Bosius*

² *add. Mueller*

³ *add. Ernesti*

¹ Atticus would know (we do not) what occasion was meant.

LETTER 157 (VIII.5)

ever knew, and ingratitude contains all the vices. But that's more than enough about him.

I have a ship ready, but I am waiting for a letter from you to know your answer to my consultation.

You know that C. Atius Paelignus at Sulmo has opened the gates to Antony, though he had five cohorts, that Q. Lucretius has fled the town, that Gnaeus is en route for Brundisium and Domitius left in the lurch. It's all over.

157 (VIII.5)

Formiae, 22 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After I had dispatched a letter to you about Dionysius before daybreak on the 22nd, Dionysius himself arrived at my house that same evening, induced by your promptings as I suspect—what else am I to think? Though to be sure he is apt to be sorry after one of his crazy outbursts; and he has never shown himself more crackbrained than in this affair. I did not tell you, but I heard afterwards that he went from the third milestone on that occasion¹ after 'full many an idle, angry toss of horn,'² i.e. after much cursing and swearing, which I hope may come home to roost, as they say. But admire my gentle nature! I put a strongly worded letter to him in the bundle along with yours. I should like that restored to me, and for this and no other purpose I have sent Pollex, one of my personal attendants, to Rome. And I am writing to you so that if by chance it has been delivered to you you may see it is returned to me to make sure it does not get into his hands.

² From a Greek poet, perhaps Callimachus.

CICERO

- 2 Novi si quid esset scripsissem. pendeo animi exspectatione Corfiniensi, [in]⁴ qua de salute rei publicae decernitur.

Tu fasciculum qui est 'M. Curio' inscriptus velim cures ad eum perferendum Tironemque Curio commendes et ut det ei⁵ si quid opus erit in sumptum roges.

158 (VIII.8)

Scr. in Formiano VII Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 O rem turpem et ea re miseram! sic enim sentio, id demum aut potius id solum esse miserum quod turpe sit. aluerat Caesarem, eundem repente timere coeperat, condicionem pacis nullam probarat, nihil ad bellum pararat, urbem reliquerat, Picenum <a>miserat culpa, in Apuliam se compegerat, ibat in Graeciam, omnis nos ἀπροσφωνήτους,
- 2 expertis sui tanti, tam inusitati consili relinquebat. ecce subito litterae Domiti ad illum, ipsius ad consules! fulsisse mihi videbatur τὸ καλὸν ad oculos eius, et exclamasse ille vir qui esse debuit

πρὸς ταῦθ' ὃ τι χρῆ καὶ παλαμάσθων
καὶ πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθων·
τὸ γὰρ εὔ μετ' ἐμοῦ.

at ille tibi πολλὰ χαίρειν τῷ καλῷ dicens pergīt Brundisium. Domitium autem aiunt re audita et eos qui una

⁴ *secl. SB* ⁵ *peti (Boot)*

¹ From Euripides (fr. 918 Nauck).

LETTER 158 (VIII.8)

If there was any news I should tell you. I am in suspense waiting for the outcome at Corfinium, where the existence of the Republic is at stake.

Would you see that the package addressed 'to M'. Curius' is duly forwarded to him and commend Tiro to Curius and ask him to advance Tiro anything that may be required to meet expenses?

158 (VIII.8)

Formiae, 23 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What a dishonourable and therefore miserable business! For I hold that misery lies chiefly or rather solely in dishonour. He built Caesar up, then suddenly began to fear him, rejected all terms of peace, made no preparations for war, abandoned Rome, culpably lost Picenum, squeezed himself into Apulia, was off to Greece leaving us all without a word, without any part in so momentous and extraordinary a plan. Then of a sudden comes Domitius' letter to him and his to the Consuls. It seemed to me as though the light of Honour had shone before his eyes and the man he should have been had cried aloud

So let them scheme what they must,
And contrive to my bane what they may:
Right is with me.¹

But Pompey, waving adieu to Honour,² is making for Brundisium. As for Domitius, they say that on hearing the news

² See Letter 134, note 1.

CICERO

essent se tradidisse. o rem lugubrem! itaque intercludor dolore quo minus ad te plura scribam; tuas litteras expecto.

159 (VIII.10)

Scr. in Formiano VI Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Dionysius cum ad me praeter opinionem meam venisset, locutus sum cum eo liberalissime; tempora exposui, rogavi ut diceret quid haberet in animo; me nihil ab eo ipso invito contendere. respondit se quod in nummis haberet nescire quo loci esset; alios non solvere, aliorum diem nondum esse. dixit etiam alia quaedam de servulis suis qua re nobiscum esse non posset. morem gessi. dimisi a me, ut magistrum Ciceronum non libenter, ut hominem ingratum non invitus. volui te scire, et quid ego de eius facto iudicarem.

160 (VIII.9a)

Scr. in Formiano v Kal. Mart. an. 49 (§ 2)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 *Εὐγενῆ* tua consilia et tamen pro temporibus non incauta mihi valde probantur. Lepido quidem (nam fere *συνδιμερεύομεν*, quod gratissimum illi est) numquam placuit ex Italia exire, Tullo multo minus; crebro enim illius litterae ab aliis ad nos commeant. sed me illorum sententiae minus

LETTER 160 (VIII.9a)

he and those with him have given themselves up. A tragic business! Sorrow prevents me from writing more. I wait to hear from you.

159 (VIII.10)

Formiae, 24 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Dionysius having come to me contrary to my expectation, I spoke to him in the most liberal way. I explained the circumstances and asked him to tell me what he had in mind, saying that I was not demanding anything of him against his own free will. He replied that he did not know what shape his investments were in. Some of his debtors were not paying, others were not yet due to pay. He added some stuff about his slaves as a reason why he could not keep us company. I let him have his way and dismissed him. As a teacher for the boys I was sorry to lose him, as an ingrate I let him go without reluctance. I wanted you to know, and to know my opinion of his behaviour.

160 (VIII.9a)

Formiae, 25 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your counsels, honourable and yet not imprudent or regardless of the times we live in, are very much to my mind. Lepidus (we spend pretty well all day in one another's company, which he is very glad to do) never meant to leave Italy, Tullus much less—his letters often come my way from others. But their views do not weigh with me so

movebant; minus multa dederant illi rei publicae pignora. tua mehercule auctoritas vehementer movet; adfert enim et reliqui temporis recuperandi rationem et praesentis tuendi. sed obsecro te, quid hoc miserius quam alterum plausus in foedissima causa quaerere, alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? et mehercule quamvis amemus Gnaeum nostrum, ut et facimus et debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit, laudare non possum. nam sive timuit, quid ignavius? sive, ut quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum caede fore putavit, quid iniustius? sed haec omittamus; augemus enim dolorem retractando.

- 2 VI Kal. vesperi Balbus minor ad me venit occulta via¹ currens² ad Lentulum consulem missu Caesaris cum litteris, cum mandatis, cum promissione provinciae, Romam ut redeat; cui persuaderi posse non arbitror, [ni]si³ erit conventus. idem aiebat nihil mal<l>e Caesarem quam ut Pompeium adsequeretur (id credo) et rediret in gratiam (id non credo, et metuo ne omnis haec clementia ad unam illam crudelitatem colligatur). Balbus quidem maior ad me scribit nihil mal<l>e Caesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere. tu, puto, hoc credis. sed cum haec scribebam v Kal., Pompeius iam Brundisium venisse poterat; expeditus enim antecesserat legiones XI <Kal.>⁴ Luceria.

¹ occultavit (*Manutius*)

² occurrens (*Victorius* : acc- anon. ap. *Iunium*)

³ non arb- nisi (*SB* : arb- si *Nipperdey*) ⁴ add. *Orelli*

¹ Caesar. The Greek word used is applicable to mythological monsters.

LETTER 160 (VIII.9a)

much; they have not given so many pledges to the state as I. *Your* advice does weigh with me heavily, I do assure you. It offers a plan for redeeming the future and keeping the present uncompromised. But I ask you, could anything be more lamentable than the way one of the two is earning applause in a foul cause while the other earns unpopularity in a fine one—one is looked upon as the preserver of his enemies, the other as the forsaker of his friends? And really, love our friend Gnaeus as I may and do and ought to do, I cannot commend his failure to come to the aid of such men as these. If he was afraid, what could be more craven? Or if, as some think, he thought their massacre would be good propaganda for his own side, what could be more cynical? But let us leave all this, we only make it worse for ourselves by harping upon it.

On the evening of the 24th Balbus junior visited me. He was travelling posthaste on a secret mission from Caesar to Consul Lentulus, bearing a letter, a verbal message, and the promise of a province to induce him to return to Rome. I don't think he can be persuaded, if the meeting takes place. Balbus also said that Caesar would like nothing better than to come up with Pompey (I believe him there) and be reconciled—there I don't believe him, and I am afraid that all this piling up of clemency may be simply a prelude to the cruelty we feared. Balbus senior for his part writes to me that Caesar would like nothing more than to live without fear under Pompey's primacy. You believe this of course! But as I write on the 25th Pompey can already have reached Brundisium. He set off ahead of his troops on the 19th from Luceria, travelling light. But this portent¹

CICERO

sed hoc *τέρας* horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est. plane quid futurum sit nescio.

161 (VIII.11)

Scr. in Formiano III Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quod me magno animi motu perturbatum putas, sum equidem, sed non tam magno quam tibi fortasse videor; levatur enim omnis cura cum aut constitit consilium aut cogitando nihil explicatur. lamentari autem licet illud quidem¹ totos dies; sed vereor ne, nihil cum proficiam, etiam dedecori sim studiis ac litteris nostris. consumo igitur omne tempus considerans quanta vis sit illius viri quem nostris <libris> satis diligenter, ut tibi quidem videmur, expressimus. tenesne igitur moderatorem illum rei publicae quo referre velimus omnia? nam sic quinto, ut opinor, in libro loquitur Scipio: 'ut enim gubernatori cursus secundus, medico salus, imperatori victoria, sic huic moderatori rei publicae beata civium vita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, virtute honesta sit; huius enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum esse perfectorem volo.' hoc Gnaeus noster cum antea numquam tum in hac causa minime cogitavit. dominatio quaesita ab utroque est, non id actum, beata et honesta civitas ut esset. nec vero ille urbem reliquit quod eam tueri non posset nec Italiam quod ea pelleretur, sed hoc a primo
- 2

¹ tamen (*Boot*)

¹ Of *On the Republic*.

LETTER 161 (VIII.11)

is horribly wide-awake and swift and thorough. What will happen I simply don't know.

161 (VIII.11)

Formiae, 27 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You say you suppose I am in great perturbation and uneasiness of mind. So I am, but not so much so as perhaps you think. Anxiety is always relieved when one has reached a firm decision or alternatively when thinking proves futile. One can lament to be sure all day long. But I do no good by that, and I fear I may even be a discredit to my studies and writings. I therefore spend all my time reflecting on the essential greatness of the figure I have portrayed conscientiously enough, in your opinion at least, in my volumes. Do you remember the standard which I want my ideal statesman to apply to all his actions? This is what Scipio says in Book V,¹ I think: 'Just as a fair voyage is the object of the pilot, health of the physician, victory of the general, so our statesman's object is the happiness of his countrymen—to promote power for their security, wealth for their abundance, fame for their dignity, virtue for their good name. This is the work I would have him accomplish, the greatest and noblest in human society.' To this our Gnaeus has never given a thought, least of all in the present context. Both of the pair have aimed at personal domination, not the happiness and fair fame of the community. Pompey did not abandon Rome because he could not have defended her, nor Italy because he was driven from her shores. His plan from the first has been to ransack every

cogitavit, omnis terras, omnia maria movere, reges barbaros incitare, gentis feras in Italiam armatas adducere, exercitus conficere maximos. genus illud Sullani regni iam pridem appetitur, multis qui una sunt cupientibus. an censes nihil inter eos convenire, nullam pactionem fieri potuisse? hodie potest. sed neutri σκοπὸς est ille, ut nos beati simus; uterque regnare vult.

- 3 Haec a te invitatus breviter exposui; voluisti enim me quid de his malis sentirem ostendere. προδρασιζω igitur, noster Attice, non hariolans, ut illa cui nemo credidit, sed coniectura prospiciens: 'iamque mari magno . . .'; non multo, inquam, secus possum vaticinari; tanta malorum impendet Ἰλιάς. atque hoc nostra gravior est causa qui domi sumus quam illorum qui una transierunt, quod illi
- 4 [qui]² alterum metuunt, nos <u>trumque. cur igitur, inquis, remansimus? vel tibi paruimus vel non occurrimus vel hoc fuit rectius. conculcari, inquam, miseram Italiam videbis proxima aestate <aut alterius>³ aut utriusque [in] mancipiis ex omni genere collectis, nec tam <singulorum proscr>iptio⁴ pertimescenda, quae Luceriae multis sermonibus denuntiata esse dicitur,⁵ quam universae⁶ interitus; tantas in configendo⁷ utriusque viris video futuras. habes coniecturam meam. tu autem consolationis fortasse aliquid exspectasti. nihil invenio; nihil fieri potest miserius, nihil perditius, nihil foedius.
- 5 Quod quaeris quid Caesar ad me scrips<er>it, quod saepe, gratissimum sibi esse quod quierim, oratque in eo

² del. Buecheler ³ add. Madvig

⁴ add. Boot et Victorius ⁵ est igitur (Gronovius)

⁶ universam (s : -ae rei p. Buecheler)

⁷ obligendo (Victorius)

LETTER 161 (VIII.11)

land and sea, to stir up foreign kings, to bring savage races in arms to Italy, to raise enormous armies. He has been hankering for a long while after despotism on the Sullan model, and many of his companions are eager for it. Or would you maintain that no agreement or settlement between them was possible? It is possible today. But neither sees our happiness as his mark. Both want to reign.

I have briefly set this out at your invitation—you wanted me to declare what I feel about these afflictions. So I prophesy, my dear Atticus, not inspired like the girl whom nobody believed but by rational forecast: 'And now on the great sea . . .'² Yes, I can vaticinate in pretty much the same strain on this vast impending Iliad of evils. And we who have stayed at home are worse off than those who have crossed overseas in that they fear one of the pair while we fear both. Why then have I stayed? Perhaps it was that I followed your advice, perhaps that I did not fall in with Pompey, perhaps that it was the better thing to do. Yes, you will see our poor Italy trampled over this summer by the bondslaves of one or both the protagonists, scraped together from every species of humanity. It is not so much the proscription of individuals that we have to fear, the threat of which is said to have been common talk at Luceria, as the destruction of the whole country—so enormous will be the power on either side when the clash comes. Such is my forecast. Perhaps you expected some comfort. I can find none. A more miserable, hopeless, horrible situation there could not be.

You ask me what Caesar said in his letter. The usual thing, that he is greatly obliged for my quiescence and begs

² From Cassandra's prophecy in Ennius' *Alexander*.

ut perseverem. Balbus minor haec eadem mandata. iter autem erat eius ad Lentulum consulem cum litteris Caesaris praemiorumque promissis si Romam revertisset. verum cum habeo rationem dierum, ante puto tramissurum quam potuerit conveniri.

6 Epistularum Pompei duarum quas ad me misit negligentiam meamque in rescribendo diligentiam volui tibi notam esse. earum exempla ad te misi.

7 Caesaris hic per Apuliam ad Brundisium cursus quid efficiat exspecto. utinam aliquid simile Parthicis rebus! simul aliquid audiero, scribam ad te. tu ad me velim bonorum sermones; Romae frequentes esse dicuntur. scio equidem te in publicum non prodire, sed tamen audire te multa necesse est.

Memini librum tibi adferri a Demetrio Magnete ad te missum *περὶ Ὁμονοίας*. eum mihi velim mittas. vides quam causam mediter.

161A (VIII.11A)

Scr. Luceriae IV Id. Febr. an. 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

Q. Fabius ad me venit a. d. IIII Id. Febr. is nuntiat L. Domitium cum suis cohortibus XI<I>¹ et cum cohortibus XIII quas Vibullius adduxit ad me iter habere; habuisse in

¹ *add. Boot*

³ See Letter 150, note 6.

¹ Not the letter mentioned in Letters 151.1 and 152.4, and

LETTER 161A (VIII.11A)

me to continue therein. Balbus junior brought a message from him to the same effect. He was travelling to Consul Lentulus with a letter from Caesar and promises of rewards if he returned to Rome. But reckoning up the days I think he will cross before a meeting can take place.

I wanted you to know the offhand style of two letters sent me by Pompey and the care with which I answered them. I am sending you copies.

I am waiting to hear the result of this rapid march of Caesar's through Apulia on Brundisium. If only there could be something like the Parthian business!³ As soon as I hear anything I shall write to you. Please let me know how the honest men are talking. They are said to be in Rome in good muster. I know you don't go out in public, but still you must hear a lot.

I remember a book 'On Concord' being brought to you by Demetrius of Magnesia, dedicated to yourself. Would you kindly send it to me? You see the sort of brief I am getting up.

161A (VIII.11A)¹

Luceria, 10 February 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO M. CICERO IMPERATOR

Q. Fabius² came to me on 10 February. He reports that L. Domitius is on his way to join me with twelve cohorts of his own and fourteen brought in by Vibullius, that he in-

161B.1, but written soon after it and received by Cicero after he had replied to it with Letter 161B. See Commentary in *CLA*.

² Perhaps Q. Fabius Vergilianus, Legate to Ap. Pulcher in Cilicia.

CICERO

animo proficisci Corfinio a. d. v Id. Febr.; C. Hirrum cum v cohortibus subsequi. censeo ad nos Luceriam venias; nam te hic tutissime puto fore.

161B (VIII.11B)

Scr. in Formiano xv vel xiv Kal. Mart. an. 49

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

- 1 A. d. xv Kal. Mart. Formiis accepi tuas litteras; ex quibus ea quae in agro Piceno gesta erant cognovi commodiora esse multo quam ut erat nobis nuntiatum, Vibullique virtutem industriamque libenter agnovi.

Nos adhuc in ea ora ubi praepositi sumus ita fuimus ut navem paratam haberemus. ea enim audiebamus et ea verebamus ut, quodcumque tu consilium cepisses,¹ id nobis persequendum putaremus. nunc quoniam auctoritate et consilio tuo in spe firmiore sumus, si teneri posse putas Tarracinam <et> oram maritimam, in ea manebo, etsi praesidia in oppidis nulla sunt. nemo enim nostri ordinis in his locis est praeter M. Eppium, quem ego Minturnis esse volui, vigilantem hominem et industrium. nam L. Torquatum, virum fortem et cum auctoritate, Formiis non habemus; ad te profectum arbitramur.

- 2 Ego omnino, ut tibi proxime placuerat, Capuam veni eo ipso die quo tu Teano Sidicino es profectus; volueras enim me cum M. Considio pro praetore illa negotia tueri. cum eo venissem, vidi T. Ampium dilectum habere diligentis-

¹ percepisses (*Baiter*)

LETTER 161B (VIII.11B)

tended to leave Corfinium on 9 February, and that C. Hirrus is following with five cohorts. I advise you to join us at Luceria, as I think you will be safest here.

161B (VIII.11B)

Formiae, 15 or 16 February 49

M. CICERO IMPERATOR TO CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL

I received your letter on 15 February at Formiae, from which I learned that the operations in Picenum have gone much more favourably than had been reported to us, and was glad to note the spirit and energy shown by Vibullius.

I have hitherto remained at my post of responsibility on the coast, but have kept a ship in readiness. From what I heard and from what I feared I felt that I must follow whatever plan you might adopt. Now that thanks to your initiative and planning our prospects are brighter, if you think Tarracina and the coastal area can be held, I shall stay there, though the towns are without garrisons, none of our order¹ being in this area except M. Eppius, whom I desired to stay at Minturnae—he is an alert, energetic fellow. L. Torquatus, a brave gentleman whose name carries weight, is not with me at Formiae. I think he has set out to join you.

For myself, pursuant to your wish expressed shortly beforehand, I went to Capua the very day you left Teanum Sidicinum—you had asked me to look after affairs there with Propraetor M. Considius. On my arrival I found T. Ampius zealously engaged in raising troops and handing

¹ I.e., the senatorial. Pompey was to understand 'except myself (and my brother).'

CICERO

sime, ab eo accipere <L.>² Libonem, summa item diligentia et in illa colonia auctoritate. fui Capuae quoad consules. iterum, ut erat <e>dictum a consulibus, veni Capuam ad Non. Febr.; cum fuissem triduum, recepi me Formias.

- 3 Nunc quod tuum consilium aut quae ratio belli sit ignoro. si tenendam hanc oram putas, quae et opportunitatem et dignitatem habet et civis egregios et, ut arbitror, teneri potest, opus est esse qui praesit; <s>in omnia unum in locum contrahenda sunt, non dubito quin ad te statim veniam, quo mihi nihil optatius est, idque tecum quo die ab urbe discessimus locutus sum. ego si cui adhuc videor segnior fuisse, dum ne tibi videar, non laboro, et tamen si, ut video, bellum gerendum est, confido me omnibus facile satis facturum.
- 4 M. Tullium, meum necessarium, ad te misi cui tu, si tibi videretur, ad me litteras dares.

161C (VIII.11C)

Scr. Canusii x Kal. Mart. an. 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI IMP.

S.v.b. Tuas litteras libenter legi; recognovi enim tuam pristinam virtutem etiam in salute communi. consules ad eum exercitum quem in Apulia habui venerunt. magno opere te hortor pro tuo singulari perpetuoque studio in rem publicam ut te ad nos conferas, ut communi consilio

² *add. SB*

² See *CLA* Vol. IV, Appendix IV.

LETTER 161C (VIII.11C)

them over to L. Libo, whose zeal was no less conspicuous and who is very highly respected in the colony. I remained at Capua as long as the Consuls. I visited the town a second time, in accordance with the Consuls' edict, for the Nones of February, and after a stay of three days returned to Formiae.²

At the present time I am ignorant of your intentions and plan of campaign. If you think this coast line should be held (it has value both practical and sentimental, also an outstandingly loyal population, and in my opinion, it *can* be held), someone must be in command. If on the other hand everything is to be concentrated at one point, I am in no doubt about joining you immediately. Nothing would please me better, and I told you so the day we left Rome. If some think me insufficiently active hitherto, I do not care, so long as you do not share their opinion. At the same time, if war must be waged, as evidently it must, I am confident that I shall have no difficulty in meeting all expectations.

I am sending you M. Tullius, a familiar of mine, so that you may give him a letter for me if you are so disposed.

161C (VIII.11C)

Canusium, 20 February 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO M. CICERO IMPERATOR

Greetings. I was glad to read your letter, recognizing your old spirit still forward in the public welfare. The Consuls have joined the army under my command in Apulia. I strongly urge you, in view of your outstanding and unwavering patriotism, to make your way over to us, so that

CICERO

rei publicae adffictae opem atque auxilium feramus. cen-
seo via Appia iter facias et celeriter Brundisium venias.

161D (VIII.11D)

Scr. in Formiano III Kal. Mart. an. 49 (§ 4)

M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

- 1 Cum ad te litteras misissem quae tibi Canusi redditae sunt, suspicionem nullam habebam te rei publicae causa mare transiturum, eramque in spe magna fore ut in Italia possemus aut concordiam constituere, qua mihi nihil utilius videbatur, aut rem publicam summa cum dignitate defendere. interim nondum meis litteris ad te perlatis ex iis mandatis quae D. Laelio¹ ad consules dederas certior tui consili factus non exspectavi dum mihi a te litterae redderentur, confestimque cum Quinto fratre et cum liberis nostris
- 2 iter ad te in Apuliam facere coepi. cum Teanum Sidicinum venissem, C. Messius,² familiaris tuus, mihi dixit aliique complures Caesarem iter habere Capuam et eo ipso die mansurum esse Aeserniae. sane sum commotus, quod, si ita esset, non modo iter meum interclusum sed me ipsum plane exceptum putabam. itaque tum Cales processi, ut ibi potissimum consisterem, dum certum nobis ab Aesernia de eo quod audieram referretur.
- 3 At mihi, cum Calibus essem, adfertur litterarum tuarum exemplum quas tu ad Lentulum consulem misisses. hae scriptae sic erant, litteras tibi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII Kal. Mart. adlatas esse, earumque exemplum subscripseras; magnique interesse rei publicae scripseras omnis

¹ dialio *vel sim.* (*Corradus*)

² missius (*Manutius*)

LETTER 161D (VIII.11D)

in concert we may bring aid and comfort to our afflicted country. I advise you to travel by the Appian Way and come quickly to Brundisium.

161D (VIII.11D)

Formiae, 27 February 49

M. CICERO IMPERATOR TO CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL

When I sent you the letter which you received at Canusium it did not enter my mind that in the state's interests you would be going overseas. I was in high hopes that we should succeed either in establishing peace, which appeared to me the most expedient course, or in honourably defending the state in Italy. In the meanwhile, before my letter reached you, I learned of your intentions from the message you sent to the Consuls by D. Laelius. I did not wait to receive a reply from you, but started out immediately to join you in Apulia together with my brother Quintus and our children. When I got to Teanum Sidicinum, your friend C. Messius and several others told me that Caesar was marching on Capua and would be stopping that very night at Aesernia. I was considerably alarmed, for if this was true I thought that not only was my route cut but I myself nothing but a prisoner. I therefore proceeded to Cales, which seemed the best place to stay until reliable news came in from Aesernia about what I had heard.

However, while at Cales, I was brought a copy of a letter which you had sent to Consul Lentulus. It was to the effect that a letter from L. Domitius had been brought to you on 17 February, and of this you appended a copy and wrote that it was of great public importance that all forces should

copias primo quoque tempore in unum locum convenire, et ut praesidio quod satis esset Capuae relinqueret. his ego litteris lectis in eadem opinione fui qua reliqui omnes, te cum omnibus copiis ad Corfinium esse venturum; quo mihi, cum Caesar ad oppidum castra haberet, tutum iter esse non arbitrabar.

Cum res in summa expectatione esset, utrumque simul audivimus, et quae Corfini acta essent et te iter Brundisium facere coepisse; cumque nec mihi nec fratri meo dubium esset quin Brundisium contenderemus, a multis qui e Samnio Apuliaque veniebant admoniti sumus ut caveremus ne exciperemur a Caesare, quod is in eadem loca quae nos petebamus profectus celerius etiam quam nos possemus eo quo intenderet venturus esset. quod cum ita esset, nec mihi nec fratri meo nec cuiquam amicorum placuit committere ut temeritas nostra non solum nobis sed etiam rei publicae noceret, cum praesertim non dubitarem quin, si etiam tutum nobis iter fuisset, te tamen iam consequi non possemus.

- 4 Interim accepimus tuas litteras Canusio a. d. x Kal. Mart. datas, quibus nos hortaris ut celerius Brundisium veniamus. quas cum accepissemus a. d. III Kal. Mart., non dubitabamus quin tu iam Brundisium pervenisses, nobisque iter illud omnino interclusum videbamus neque minus nos esse captos quam qui Corfini fuissent; neque enim eos solos arbitrabamur capi qui in armatorum manus incidissent sed eos nihilo minus qui regionibus exclusi intra praesidia atque intra arma aliena venissent.

- 5 Quod cum ita sit, maxime vellem primum semper tecum fuisset, quod quidem tibi ostenderam cum a me

LETTER 161D (VIII.11D)

be concentrated in one place at the earliest possible moment. You further asked him to leave an adequate garrison in Capua. On reading this I conceived, as did everyone else, that you intended to march on Corfinium with your entire force, and I did not think it would be safe for me to travel there with Caesar encamped before the town.

At the height of our suspense news arrived simultaneously of the outcome at Corfinium on the one hand and on the other that you had set out for Brundisium. Neither I nor my brother thought twice about pressing on to Brundisium, until we were advised by many persons coming from Samnium and Apulia to beware of falling into Caesar's hands, since he had started for the same area that we were making for and might be expected to reach his destination even more rapidly than we could do. In these circumstances neither I nor my brother nor any of our friends thought it right to run the risk of injuring the state as well as ourselves by our own imprudence, particularly as we felt sure that even if the journey had been safe for us it was now too late for us to catch up with you.

Meanwhile I have received your letter of 20 February from Canusium in which you urge me to come quickly to Brundisium. By the date of its receipt, 27 February, I feel sure that you have already arrived at Brundisium. It is clear to me that our route there is now completely cut and that we are taken prisoner no less than the men in Corfinium. For I put in that category not only those who have fallen into the hands of enemy troops but also and equally those who are cut off territorially and find themselves on the wrong side of enemy garrisons and armies.

In these circumstances my chief wish is that I had stayed with you all along, as indeed I made clear to you

CICERO

Capuam reiciebam; quod feci non vitandi oneris causa sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu non posse, accidere autem mihi nolebam quod doleo viris fortissimis accidisse. quoniam autem tecum ut essem non contigit, utinam tui consili certior factus essem! nam suspicione adsequi non potui, quod omnia prius arbitratus sum fore quam ut haec rei publicae causa in Italia non posset duce te consistere. neque vero nunc consilium tuum reprehendo, sed fortunam rei publicae lugeo; nec, si ego quid tu secutus sis non perspicio, idcirco minus existimo te nihil nisi summa ratione fecisse.

6 Mea quae semper fuerit sententia primum de pace vel iniqua condicione retinenda, deinde de urbe (nam de Italia quidem nihil mihi umquam ostenderas), meminisse te arbitror. sed mihi non sumo ut meum consilium valere debuerit; secutus sum tuum, neque id rei publicae causa, de qua desperavi, quae et nunc adflicta est nec excitari sine civili perniciosissimo bello potest, sed te quaerebam, tecum esse cupiebam, neque eius rei facultatem, si qua erit, praetermittam.

7 Ego me in hac omni causa facile intellegebam pugnandi cupidis hominibus non satis facere. primum enim prae me tuli me nihil malle quam pacem, non quin eadem timerem quae illi sed ea bello civili leviora ducebam. deinde suscepto bello, cum pacis condiciones ad te adferri a teque ad ea<s> honorifice et large responderi viderem, duxi

LETTER 161D (VIII.11D)

when I was declining the Capuan command. This I did, not to avoid responsibility, but because I saw that the town could not be held without an army and did not wish to happen to me what to my regret has happened to some very gallant gentlemen. Since however it was not my good fortune to be with you, I do wish I had been informed of your plans. It was impossible for me to fathom them by guesswork, since the last thing I thought could happen was that our national cause should prove unable to maintain itself in Italy under your leadership. Nor am I now criticizing your decision; I only mourn the plight of the Republic. And if I am unable to perceive what is behind your action, I am not on that account any the less confident that you have had excellent reasons for all you have done.

I think you remember what my opinion has always been, first as to preserving peace even on bad terms and second as to the capital (I do not say Italy, for you never told me anything about that). But I do not presume to suggest that my view ought to have prevailed. I have followed yours, not for the sake of the Republic, of which I have despaired and which now lies in the dust only to be revived by a calamitous civil war, but seeking you and desiring to be with you. And if I find opportunity to effect that, I shall not let it slip.

Throughout the present struggle it has been easy for me to see that the bellicose among us are dissatisfied with my conduct. To begin with I made no secret of my preference for peace above any other outcome, not that their fears for the consequences were not also mine but holding these consequences a lesser evil than civil war. Then after the commencement of hostilities, observing that terms of peace were presented to you and that you replied to them

meam rationem; quam tibi facile me probaturum pro tuo in me beneficio arbitrabar. memineram me esse unum qui pro meis maximis in rem publicam meritis supplicia miserima et crudelissima pertulissem, me esse unum qui, si offendissem eius animum cui tum cum iam in armis essemus consulatus tamen alter et triumphus amplissimus defereretur, subicerer isdem proeliis, ut mea persona semper ad improborum civium impetus aliquid videretur habere populare. atque³ haec non ego prius sum suspicatus quam mihi palam denuntiata sunt, neque ea tam pertimui, si subeunda essent, quam declinanda putavi, si honeste vitare possem.

- 8 Quam ob rem⁴ illius temporis, dum in spe pax fuit, rationem nostram vides, reliqui facultatem res ademit. iis autem quibus non satis facio facile respondeo; neque enim ego amicior C. Caesari umquam fui quam illi neque illi amiciores rei publicae quam ego. hoc inter me et illos interest, quod, cum et illi cives optimi sint et ego ab ista laude non absim, ego condicionibus, quod idem te intellexeram velle, illi armis disceptari maluerunt; quae quoniam ratio vicit,⁵ perficiam profecto ut neque res publica civis a me animum neque tu amici desideres.

³ neque *Mueller*

⁴ quam brevem (*SB* : brevem *Madvig*)

⁵ misit (*Brunus*)

LETTER 161D (VIII.11D)

in complimentary and handsome fashion, I took stock of my own position; and in view of your past kindness to me I did not think I should have any difficulty in justifying my conclusions in your eyes. I bore in mind that my situation was exceptional. My important services to the state had earned me a cruel and savage punishment. If I gave offence to a personage who, even when we were already in arms, was being offered a second Consulship and a most glorious Triumph, I should have to fight my battles over again, for further demonstration that bad citizens somehow find me a popular figure to attack. I did not have to guess these consequences, I was openly threatened with them. Nor was I so much afraid of incurring them if duty required as desirous of avoiding them if I honourably could.

There then you have my account of the period when peace might still be hoped for; over what followed circumstances deprived me of any power. To my critics I have a simple answer. I have never loved C. Caesar better than they, nor have they loved the Republic better than I. The difference between us is this: while they are very good patriots and I have some claim to that honourable title, I preferred that differences should be settled by negotiations, which I understood to be your desire also, they by force. Since their policy has triumphed, I need hardly say that I shall give the state no cause to complain of my patriotism nor you of my friendship.

CICERO

162 (VIII.12)

Scr. in Formiano prid. Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Mihi molestior <lippitudo> erat etiam quam ante fuerat; dictare tamen hanc epistulam malui quam Gallo Fabio amantissimo utriusque nostrum nihil ad te litterarum dare. nam pridie quidem, quoquo modo potueram, scripseram ipse eas litteras quarum vaticinationem falsam esse cupio. huius autem epistulae non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis a me dies intermittatur quin dem ad te litteras, sed etiam haec iustior, ut a te impetrarem ut sumeres aliquid temporis †quo tibi quia¹ perexiguo tempore† opus est. explicari mihi tuum consilium plane volo, ut penitus intellegam.
- 2 Omnia sunt integra nobis; nihil praetermissum est quod non habeat sapientem excusationem, non modo probabilem. nam certe neque tum peccavi cum imperatam iam Capuam non solum ignaviae dedecus² sed etiam perfidiae suspicionem fugiens accipere nolui, neque cum post condiciones pacis per L. Caesarem et Fabatum adlatas cavi ne animum eius offenderem cui Pompeius iam armatus armato consulatum triumphumque deferret. nec vero haec extrema quisquam potest iure reprehendere, quod mare non transierim. id enim, etsi erat deliberationis, tamen obire non potui; neque enim suspicari debui, cum praesertim ex ipsius Pompei litteris, idem quod te video existimasse, non dubitarim quin is Domitio subventurus esset, et plane quid rectum et quid faciendum mihi esset diutius cogitare malui.
- 3

¹ *al. tibi et quia vel q- t-*² *deiectus (Orelli)*

LETTER 162 (VIII.12)

162 (VIII.12)

Formiae, 28 February 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My eyes are even more troublesome than formerly, but I prefer to dictate this letter rather than not to give a line to our common and very good friend Fabius Gallus to take to you. Yesterday to be sure I wrote in my own hand as best I could a letter of prophecy which I hope may prove false. My reason for writing now is not merely my reluctance to let a day pass without sending you a letter but a more valid one, namely to induce you to do me the favour of devoting some of your time * * *. I certainly do want to have your advice set out for me so that I thoroughly understand it.

My position is quite uncompromised. For any past omissions on my part I have a rationally just, and not merely plausible, excuse. Assuredly I was not wrong when, avoiding not only the discredit of cowardice but the suspicion of treachery, I refused to take the Capuan command when actually ordered to do so. Neither was I wrong when after L. Caesar and Fabatus had brought Caesar's peace terms I was chary of offending a man to whom Pompey was offering a Consulship and a Triumph while both had arms in their hands. Nor can anyone fairly blame me in this last phase for not going overseas. That would have needed thinking about in any case, but in fact I could not manage it. Indeed I could not be expected to guess the plan, particularly as from Pompey's own letter I was firmly under the impression (and I see you thought the same) that he would go to Domitius' rescue; and frankly I wanted more time to consider what was the right and proper thing to do.

- 4 Primum igitur haec qualia tibi esse videantur, etsi significata sunt a te, tamen accuratius mihi perscribas velim, deinde aliquid etiam in posterum prospicias fingasque quem me esse deceat et ubi me plurimum prodesse rei publicae sentias, ecquae pacifica persona desideretur an in bellatore sint omnia.
- 5 Atque ego, qui omnia officio metior, recordor tamen tua consilia, quibus si paruissem, tristitiam illorum temporum non subissem. memini quid mihi tum suaseris per Theophanem, per Culleonem, idque saepe ingemiscens sum recordatus. qua re nunc saltem ad illos calculos revertamur quos tum abieciimus, ut non solum gloriosis consiliis utamur sed etiam paulo salubri<ori>bus. sed nihil praescribo;
- 6 accurate velim perscribas tuam ad me sententiam. volo etiam exquiras quam diligentissime poteris (habebis autem per quos possis) quid Lentulus noster, quid Domitius agat, quid acturus sit, quem ad modum nunc se gerant, num quem accusent, num cui suscenseant—quid dico num cui? num Pompeio. omnino culpam omnem Pompeius in Domitium confert, quod ipsius litteris cognosci potest quarum exemplum ad te misi. haec igitur videbis et, quod ante ad te scripsi, Demetri Magnetis librum quem ad te misit de concordia velim mihi mittas.
-

LETTER 162 (VIII.12)

First therefore I should like your opinion on these points. You have already indicated it, but I should be glad if you would write it out for me in greater detail. Secondly I hope you will also take a look into the future and sketch the figure I ought to present and the capacity in which you think I could best serve the country—is a peacemaking role required or does all rest with the warrior?

Duty is my yardstick in all things, but still I remember advice of yours which, if I had heeded it, would have spared me the sorrow of those old days. I remember what you urged upon me at that¹ time through Theophanes and through Culleo, and I have often recalled it with bitter-remorse. So let me now at all events return to the standards I then rejected and take counsels of safety (in some slight degree) as well as of glory. But I am not telling you what to say. I want you to write out your opinion in detail for me to read. I also want you to make every effort (you have those through whom you can make enquiries) to find out what our friend Lentulus² and Domitius are doing and what their plans are, how they are behaving now, whether they blame anyone or have a grievance against anybody—I do not know why I say 'anybody' when I mean Pompey. To be sure Pompey puts all the blame on Domitius, as can be seen from his own letter of which I am sending you a copy. All right then, you will look into this, and as I wrote to you earlier, please send me the book Demetrius of Magnesia dedicated to you on Concord.

¹ In 59. On this advice of Atticus see *CLA* Vol. I, pp. 17f.

² Spinther.

CICERO

162A (VIII.12A)

Scr. Luceriae XII Kal. Mart., ut vid., an. 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. C. MARCELLO

L. LENTULO COSS.

- 1 Ego quod existimabam dispersos nos neque rei publicae utilis neque nobis praesidio esse posse, idcirco ad L. Domitium litteras misi, primum ut ipse cum omni copia ad nos veniret; si de se dubitaret, ut cohortis XVIII quae ex Piceno ad me iter habebant ad nos mitteret. quod veritus sum factum est, ut Domitius implicaretur, ut neque ipse satis firmus esset ad castra facienda, quod meas XVIII et suas XII cohortis in tribus oppidis distributas haberet (nam partim Albae, partim Sulmone collocavit), neque <se>, si vellet, expedire posset.
- 2 Nunc scitote me esse in summa sollicitudine. nam et tot et talis viros periculo obsidionis liberare cupio neque subsidio ire possum, quod his duabus legionibus non puto esse committendum ut illuc ducantur; ex quibus tamen non amplius XIII cohortis contrahere potui, quod¹ Brundisium praesidium misi neque Canusium sine praesidio, dum abessem, putavi esse dimittendum.
- 3 D. Laelio mandaram, quod maiores copias sperabam nos habituros, ut, si vobis videretur, alter uter vestrum ad me veniret, alter in Siciliam cum ea copia quam Capuae et circum Capuam comparastis et cum iis militibus quos Faustus legit proficisceretur, Domitius cum XII suis cohortibus eodem adiungeretur, reliquae copiae omnes Brun-

¹ quod duas *Mueller*, duce *Buecheler*, sed vide *CLA*

LETTER 162A (VIII.12A)

162A (VIII.12A)

Luceria, 18 February (?) 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO C. MARCELLUS AND
L. LENTULUS CONSULS

Holding as I do that while we are scattered we can neither be of use to the state nor any protection to one another, I wrote to L. Domitius asking him first to join me himself with his entire force; and if he hesitated for himself I asked him to send me the nineteen cohorts which were on their way to me from Picenum. What I feared has happened. Domitius is in the toils, and has neither the strength to take the field himself, having distributed my nineteen and his own twelve cohorts between three towns (he stationed some at Alba and some at Sulmo), nor the means of extricating himself if he wished.

I must tell you that I am now in the utmost anxiety. On the one hand I am eager to free so many brave men of such quality from the danger of a siege. On the other, I cannot go to their assistance because I do not think I can trust the two legions at my disposal so far as to take them there. Actually I have not been able to assemble more than fourteen cohorts out of their complement because I have sent a garrison to Brundisium and did not think that Canusium should be left empty of a garrison during my absence.

Hoping to have a larger force I sent you word by D. Laelius that, if you saw fit, one or other of you should join me, while his colleague should proceed to Sicily with the force which you raised in Capua and the surrounding area and with the troops recruited by Faustus, that Domitius with his own twelve cohorts should be attached to this force, and that all remaining forces should be concentrated

CICERO

disium cogere et inde navibus Dyrrachium transportarentur. nunc cum hoc tempore nihilo magis ego quam vos subsidio Domitio ire possim * * *² se per montis explicare, non est nobis committendum ut ad has XIII cohortis quas dubio animo habeo hostis accedere aut in itinere me consequi possit.

- 4 Quam ob rem placitum est mihi (†*altia*†³ video censeri M. Marcello et ceteris nostri ordinis qui hic sunt) ut Brundisium ducerem hanc copiam quam mecum habeo. vos hortor ut quodcumque militum contrahere poteritis contrahatis et eodem Brundisium veniatis quam primum. arma quae ad me missuri eratis, iis censeo armetis milites quos vobiscum habetis. quae arma superabunt, ea si Brundisium iumentis deportaritis vehementer rei publicae profueritis. de hac re velim nostros certiores faciatis. ego ad P. Lupum et C. Coponium praetores misi ut se vobis coniungerent et militum quod haberent ad vos deducerent.⁴

162B (VIII.12B)

Scr. Luceriae III Id. Febr. an. 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

- 1 Valde¹ miror te ad me nihil scribere et potius ab aliis quam a te de re publica me certiolem fieri. nos disiecta manu pares adversariis esse non possumus; contractis nostris copiis spero nos et rei publicae et communi saluti prodesse posse. quam ob rem cum constituisses, ut Vibullius mihi

² ipse autem fortasse possit *add. Wesenberg*, possit ipse *Castiglioni*

³ *altia vel alcia*] atque (*sed ac*) ita *Manutius* : *talia Tyrrell*

LETTER 162B (VIII.12B)

at Brundisium and transported from there by sea to Dyrrachium. As matters now stand, since I cannot go to Domitius' assistance any more than yourselves at the present time * * * get away through the mountains, I must not risk letting the enemy approach these fourteen cohorts of whose loyalty I am doubtful or overtake me on the march.

I have therefore decided (and I find that M. Marcellus and those others of our order who are here approve this course) to take the force I have with me to Brundisium. I urge you on your part to muster all the troops you can and come likewise to Brundisium as soon as possible. I advise that you use the arms which you were going to send me to equip the men you have with you. It will be an important service to the state if you will bring any arms left over by mule to Brundisium. Please inform our friends of this. I have sent instructions to Praetors P. Lupus and C. Coponius to join you with such troops as they have.

162B (VIII.12B)

Luceria, 11 February 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO L. DOMITIUS PROCONSUL

I am very much surprised that you do not write to me and that I am informed of the public concerns by others rather than by you. With our power split we cannot be a match for the enemy; concentrating our forces I hope we may be able to serve the state and the general welfare. Accordingly I am at a loss to understand why, having decided as

⁴ *post deducerent valde habent codd., infra transposuit R. Klotz* ¹ *vide supra*

CICERO

scripserat, a. d. v Id. Febr. Corfinio proficisci cum exercitu et ad me venire, miror quid causae fuerit qua re consilium mutaris. nam illa causa quam mihi Vibullius scribit levis est, te propterea moratum esse quod audieris Caesarem Firmo progressum in Castrum Truentinum venisse; quanto enim magis appropinquare adversarius coepit, eo tibi celerius agendum erat ut te mecum coniungeres prius quam Caesar aut tuum iter impedire aut me abs te excludere posset.

- 2 Quam ob rem etiam <atque etiam> te rogo et hortor, id quod non destiti superioribus litteris a te petere, ut primo quoque die Luceriam ad <me>² venires, ante quam copiae quas instituit Caesar contrahere in unum locum coactae vos³ a nobis distrahant. sed si erunt qui te impediunt ut <v>illas⁴ suas servent, aequum est me a te impetrare ut cohortis quae ex Piceno et Camerino venerunt, quae fortunas suas reliquerunt, ad me missum facias.

162C (VIII.12C)

Scr. Luceriae XIV Kal. Mart. an. 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

- 1 Litteras abs te M. Calenius ad me attulit a. d. XIII Kal. Mart.; in quibus litteris scribis tibi in animo esse observare Caesarem et, si secundum mare ad me ire coepisset, confestim in Samnium ad me venturum, sin autem ille circum istaec loca commoraretur, te ei, si propius accessisset, resistere velle.

² *add. Otto* ³ nos (*num recte?*) (*Hervagius*)

⁴ *add. Graevius*

LETTER 162C (VIII.12C)

Vibullius wrote to me to leave Corfinium with your army on 9 February and join me, you subsequently changed your plans. The reason which Vibullius gives me, that you delayed because you heard Caesar had advanced from Firmum and reached Castrum Truentinum, is of no validity, for the nearer the enemy's approach the faster you should have acted in order to join me before Caesar was in a position either to interfere with your march or to cut me off from you.

Accordingly I once again beg and urge you, as I have continually asked you in my previous letters, to come to me at Luceria on the earliest possible day before those forces which Caesar has begun to muster are collected at one point so as to cut you off from us. If however you are held back by certain persons anxious to save their farms, I am surely entitled to expect you to release the cohorts which have come in from Picenum and Camerinum, leaving their own possessions behind them, and let them join me.

162C (VIII.12C)

Luceria, 16 February 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO L. DOMITIUS PROCONSUL

M. Calenius has brought me a letter from you on 16 February. In that letter you write that you propose to watch Caesar, and that if he starts to move in my direction along the coast you will at once march into Samnium to join me, whereas if he stays in your neighbourhood you wish to stand against him should he approach nearer.

Te animo magno et forti istam rem agere existimo, sed diligentius nobis est videndum ne distracti pares esse adversario non possimus, cum ille magnas copias habeat et maiores brevi habiturus sit. non enim pro tua providentia¹ debes illud solum animadvertere, quot in praesentia cohortis contra te habeat Caesar, sed quantas brevi tempore equitum et peditum copias contracturus sit. cui rei testimonio sunt litterae quas Bussenius ad me misit, in quibus scribit, id quod ab aliis quoque mihi scribitur, praesidia Curionem quae in Umbria et Tuscis erant contrahere et ad Caesarem iter facere. quae si copiae in unum locum fuerint coactae, ut pars exercitus ad Albam mittatur, pars ad te accedat, ut non pugnet sed locis suis repugnet, haerebis, neque solus cum ista copia tantam multitudinem sustinere poteris ut frumentatum eas.

2 Quam ob rem te magno opere hortor ut quam primum cum omnibus copiis hoc venias; consules constituerunt idem facere. ego M. Tuscilio ad te mandata dedi providendum esse ne duae legiones sine Picentinis cohortibus in conspectum Caesaris committerentur. quam ob rem nolito commoveri si audieris me regredi, si forte Caesar ad me veniet; cavendum enim puto esse ne implicatus haeream. nam neque castra propter anni tempus et militum animos facere possum neque ex omnibus oppidis contrahere copias expedit, ne receptum amittam; itaque non amplius XIII cohortis Luceriam coegi.

3 Consules praesidia omnia deducturi sunt aut in Siciliam ituri; nam aut exercitum firmum habere oportet quo confidamus perrumpere nos posse aut regiones eius modi

¹ prudentia *codd. superstites*

LETTER 162C (VIII.12C)

I appreciate your generous and courageous spirit in this matter, but we must be careful to avoid a situation in which we are divided and therefore no match for the enemy, since he has large forces and will soon have larger. It would ill befit your foresight to consider only how many cohorts Caesar has against you at the present moment without regard to the size of the forces, both horse and foot, which he will shortly muster. That is attested by a letter sent to me by Bussenius, in which he says, as do others of my correspondents also, that Curio is mustering the garrisons which were in Umbria and Etruria and marching to join Caesar. If these forces are concentrated at one point, with part of his army sent against Alba and part advancing upon you, Caesar not offering battle but repelling attack from favourable positions, you will find yourself in a trap, unable single-handed with your present force to stand against such numbers for foraging purposes.

Therefore I earnestly urge you to come here as soon as possible with your entire force. The Consuls have decided to do likewise. I sent you word by M. Tuscilius that I must be careful not to let the two legions into sight of Caesar without the cohorts from Picenum. Do not therefore be disturbed if you hear of my retiring should Caesar march against me. I feel I must be on my guard against falling into a trap. I cannot take the field because of the time of year and the disposition of my men, nor would it be wise to collect the garrisons out of all the towns in case I lose my line of retreat. For that reason I have gathered no more than fourteen cohorts at Luceria.

The Consuls will bring off all the garrisons or go to Sicily. We must either have an army strong enough to allow us to feel confident of breaking through or we must hold

CICERO

obtinere e quibus repugnemus, id quod neutrum nobis hoc tempore contigit, quod et magnam partem Italiae Caesar occupavit et nos non habemus exercitum tam amicum² neque tam magnum quam ille. itaque nobis providendum est ut summae³ rei publicae rationem habeamus. etiam atque etiam te hortor ut cum omni copia quam primum ad me venias. possumus etiam nunc rem publicam erigere, si communi consilio negotium administrabimus; si distrahemur, infirmi erimus. mihi hoc constitutum est.

- 4 His litteris scriptis †sic adpoete†⁴ mihi litteras et mandata attulit. quod me hortare ut istuc veniam, id me facere non arbitror posse, quod non magno opere his legionibus confido.

162D (VIII.12D)

Scr. Luceriae XIII Kal. Mart. an. 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCOS. S. D. L. DOMITIO PROCOS.

- 1 Litterae mihi a te redditae sunt a. d. XIII Kal. Mart., in quibus scribis Caesarem apud Corfinium castra posuisse. quod putavi et praemonui fit, ut nec in praesentia committere tecum proelium velit et omnibus copiis conductis [per] te¹ implicet, ne ad me iter tibi expeditum sit atque istas copias coniungere optimorum civium possis cum his legionibus de quarum voluntate dubitamus. quo etiam magis tuis litteris sum commotus; neque enim eorum militum quos mecum habeo voluntate satis confido ut de omnibus fortunis rei publicae dimicem neque etiam qui ex dilectibus conscripti sunt consulibus convenerunt.

² amplum (SB)
¹ al. pr(a)eter te : penitus conii. SB

³ summam (Lambinus)

⁴ Sicca (Hof-

¹ al. pr(a)eter te : penitus conii. SB

LETTER 162D (VIII.12D)

areas from which we can fight back. Neither advantage is ours at present because on the one hand Caesar has occupied a great part of Italy and on the other we do not have an army as well-disposed and as numerous as his. We must therefore see that we take account of the main interests of the state. Yet again I urge you to join me as soon as possible with your whole force. Even now we can put the country on her feet if we apply ourselves to the task in concert. If we are divided we shall be weak. That is my fixed opinion.

After I had written this letter * brought me your letter and message. I do not think I can comply with your request that I should join you because I have no great confidence in these legions.

162D (VIII.12D)

Luceria, 17 February 49

CN. MAGNUS PROCONSUL TO L. DOMITIUS PROCONSUL

A letter of yours has been delivered to me on 17 February in which you say that Caesar has encamped at Corfinium. What I thought and predicted is happening. He is unwilling to join battle with you at present and having collected all his forces hems you in, obstructing your road to me and preventing you from joining your own thoroughly loyal forces with the legions here whose disposition is doubtful. I am therefore all the more disturbed by your letter. I do not have enough confidence in the disposition of the men I have with me to fight a battle on which the whole future of the commonwealth would be staked, and the levies raised for the Consuls have not yet mustered.

CICERO

- 2 Qua re da operam, si ulla ratione etiam nunc efficere potes, ut te explices, hoc quam primum venias, ante quam omnes copiae adversarium conveniant. neque enim celeriter ex dilectibus hoc homines convenire possunt et, si convenirent, quantum iis committendum sit qui inter se <ne> noti <quidem> sunt contra veteranas legiones non te praeterit.

163 (VIII.13)

Scr. in Formiano Kal. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librari manus et eadem causa brevitatis; etsi nunc quidem quod scriberem nihil erat. omnis exspectatio nostra erat in nuntiis Brundisinis; si nactus hic esset Gnaeum nostrum, spes dubia pacis, sin ille ante tramisisset, exitiosi belli metus.

- Sed videsne in quem hominem inciderit res publica, quam acutum, quam vigilantem, quam paratum? si mehercule neminem occiderit neque cuiquam quicquam ademerit, ab iis qui eum maxime timuerant maxime diligetur. multum mecum municipales homines loquuntur, multum rusticani; nihil prorsus aliud curant nisi agros, nisi villulas, nisi nummulos suos. et vide quam conversa res sit: illum quo antea confidebant metuunt, hunc amant quem timebant. id quantis nostris peccatis vitiisque <e>venerit non possum sine molestia cogitare. quae autem impendere putarem scripseram ad te, et iam tuas litteras exspectabam.

LETTER 163 (VIII.13)

Therefore do your best, if even at this stage you can by any means manage it, to extricate yourself and to come here as soon as possible before the entire enemy forces have joined up. The men from the levies cannot muster here rapidly, and if they did, you will appreciate how little confidence could be placed in troops who do not even know one another against veteran legions.

163 (VIII.13)

Formiae, 1 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My clerk's hand will serve as an indication of my ophthalmia and likewise as an excuse for brevity, not that there is anything to say *now*. My whole mind is fixed in expectation of news from Brundisium. If Caesar has found our Gnaeus there, there is a faint hope of peace, but if he has crossed over beforehand, there is the fear of a deadly war.

But do you see what sort of man this is into whose hands the state has fallen, how clever, alert, well prepared? I verily believe that if he takes no lives and touches no man's property those who dreaded him most will become his warmest admirers. Both town and country people talk to me a great deal. They really think of nothing except their fields and their bits of farms and investments. And look how the tables are turned! They fear the man they used to trust and love the man they used to dread. I cannot think without distress of the blunders and faults on our side which have led to this result. My forecast of what impends I have already given you and I am now waiting to hear from you.

CICERO

164 (VIII.14)

Scr. in Formiano VI Non. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Non dubito quin tibi odiosae sint epistulae cottidianae, cum praesertim neque nova de re aliqua certio rem te faciam neque novam denique iam reperiam scribendi ullam sententiam. sed si dedita opera, cum causa nulla esset, tabellarios ad te cum inanibus epistulis mitterem, facerem inepte; euntibus vero, domesticis praesertim, ut nihil ad te dem litterarum facere non possum, et simul, crede mihi, requiesco paulum in his miseriis cum quasi tecum loquor, cum vero tuas epistulas lego, multo etiam magis. omnino intellego nullum fuisse tempus post has fugas et formidines quod magis debuerit mutum esse a litteris, propterea quod neque Romae quicquam auditur novi nec in his locis, quae a Brundisio absunt propius quam tu bidui aut tridui.¹ Brundisi autem omne certamen vertitur huius praesertim² temporis; qua quidem expectatione torqueor. sed omnia ante No^{na}s³ sciemus. eodem enim die video Caesarem a Corfinio post meridiem profectum esse, id est Feralibus, quo Canusio mane Pompeium; eo modo autem ambulat Caesar et iis diariis militum celeritatem incitat ut timeam
- 2 ne citius ad Brundisium quam opus sit accesserit. dices 'quid igitur proficis, qui anticipes eius rei molestiam quam triduo sciturus sis?' nihil equidem; sed, ut supra dixi, tecum perlibenter loquor, et simul scito labare meum consi-

¹ biduum aut triduum (*Lambinus*)² *add. SB*³ *add. Boot*

LETTER 164 (VIII.14)

164 (VIII.14)

Formiae, 2 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am sure you find daily letters a bore, especially as I give you no news and indeed can no longer think of any new theme to write about. But while it would certainly be silly of me to send you special couriers with empty letters and for no reason, I can't bring myself not to give a line for you to those who are going anyway, especially if they are of the family, and at the same time I do, believe me, find a modicum of relaxation in these miseries when I am as it were talking to you, much more still when I am reading your letters. I do of course realize that since these flights and alarms of ours began there has never been a time when epistolary silence would have been more appropriate in that there is no news either in Rome or in this part of the world, which is two or three days' journey closer than you to Brundisium. And Brundisium is the focus of the whole struggle so far as the immediate future is concerned. I am racked with suspense on that account. But we shall know all before the Nones, for I see that Caesar left Corfinium on the afternoon of the same day, All Souls' Feast,¹ on which Pompey left Canusium at dawn. In view of Caesar's marching habits and the rations with which he stimulates his men to speed I am afraid he may reach Brundisium sooner than desirable. You will ask me what good I do by anticipating the unpleasantness of something that I shall know in three days' time. None at all to be sure. But as I said above, I love talking to you. Besides I must tell you

¹ The Ferialia, 21 February.

lium illud quod satis iam fixum videbatur. non mihi satis idonei sunt auctores ii qui a te probantur. quod enim umquam eorum in re publica forte factum exstitit? aut quis ab iis ullam rem laude dignam desiderat? nec mehercule laudandos existimo qui trans mare belli parandi causa profecti sunt, quamquam haec ferenda non erant; video enim quantum id bellum et quam pestiferum futurum sit. sed me movet unus vir, cuius fugientis comes, rem publicam recuperantis socius videor esse debere. 'totiensne igitur sententiam mutas?' ego tecum tamquam mecum loquor. quis autem est tanta quidem de re quin varie secum ipse disputet? simul et elicere cupio sententiam tuam, si manet, ut firmior sim, si mutata est, ut tibi adsentiar. omnino ad id de quo dubito pertinet me scire quid Domitius acturus sit, quid noster Lentulus. de Domitio varia audimus: * * *⁴ modo esse in Tiburti aut †lepidi quo cum lepidus accessisset ad urbem, quod item falsum video esse; ait enim Lepidus eum nescio quo penetrasse itineribus <occultis>,⁵ occultandi sui causa an maris a<di>piscendi—ne⁶ id quidem scit; ignorat etiam⁷ de filio. addit illud sane molestum, pecuniam Domitio satis grandem quam is Corfini habuerit non esse redditam. de Lentulo autem nihil audimus. haec velim exquiras ad meque perscribas.

⁴ excidit aliquid, velut modo ad Pompeium festinare, quod falsum est (Purser)

⁵ add. Lambinus

⁶ nam ne con. SB

⁷ enim (Madvig)

LETTER 164 (VIII.14)

that my decision, which seemed by now pretty well settled, is wavering. The examples² which you approve are not quite good enough for me. What act of political courage have these people ever performed and who expects anything laudable from them? Not to be sure that I regard as laudable those who have left to prepare war overseas, intolerable as things here were; I see too well what a terrible, baneful war it will be. But the thought of one man weighs with me. On the face of it I ought to be his companion in flight and his fellow worker in restoring the Republic. If you complain of my chopping and changing, I answer that I talk to you as to myself. In so great a matter must not any man argue with himself this way and that? Besides I want to draw *your* opinion—if it is still the same I shall be the steadier, if it has changed I shall agree with you. Of course it is relevant to my problem to know what Domitius and our friend Lentulus are going to do. Of Domitius there are different reports * * * According to another he is at Tibur or in the neighbourhood of the capital (?). That too is evidently untrue, since Lepidus says he has made his way secretly somewhere to stay in hiding or it may be to gain the coast—that too he does not know. Neither has he any news of the son. He adds that a fairly large sum of money which Domitius had in Corfinium has not been restored to him. Very tiresome!³ Of Lentulus we hear nothing. I should be grateful if you would go into this and write to me in detail.

² Volcacius and M'. Lepidus; see Letter 177.7.

³ Ironical, surely.

CICERO

165 (VIII.15)

Scr. in Formiano v Non. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 A. d. v Non. Mart. epistulas mihi tuas Aegypta reddidit, unam veterem, IIII Kal. quam te scribis dedisse Pinario, quem non vidimus; in qua <ex>spectas quidnam praemissus agat Vibullius, qui omnino non est visus a Caesare (id altera epistula video te scire ita esse), et quem ad modum redeuntem excipiam Caesarem, quem omnino vitare cogito, et †aut hemonis†¹ fugam intendis commutationemque vitae tuae, quod tibi puto esse faciendum, et ignoras Domitius cum fascibusne sit; quod cum scies, facies ut sciamus. habes ad primam epistulam.
- 2 Secutae sunt duae prid. Kal. ambae datae, quae me convellerunt de pristino statu, iam tamen, ut ante ad te scripsi, labantem. nec me movet quod scribis 'Iovi ipsi iniquum'; nam periculum in utriusque iracundia positum est, victoria autem ita incerta ut deterior causa paratior mihi esse videatur. nec me consules movent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio facilius moventur. officii me deliberatio cruciat cruciavitque adhuc. cautior certe est mansio, honestior existimatur traiectio; malo interdum multi me non caute quam pauci non honeste fecisse existiment. de Lepido et

¹ ἀθήμερον *Winstedt*

¹ Vibullius was captured at Corfinium and released, but nothing is known of the mission (possibly the report confused him with N. Magius; see Letter 174C, note 1).

LETTER 165 (VIII.15)

165 (VIII.15)

Formiae, 3 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 3 March Aegypta delivered your letters. One was an old letter of 26 February which you say you gave to Pinarus, whom I have not seen. In it you wonder how Vibullius is getting on with his mission¹ (Caesar never even saw him, and I see from your second letter that you know this), and how I am going to receive Caesar on his way back (I mean to avoid him altogether). You also purpose flight 'that very day' (?) and a change in your way of life (I think you are right), and you don't know whether Domitius has the fasces with him² (when you do you will tell me). So there's your first letter answered.

Two letters followed, both dated 28 February, which tore me from my earlier stance—though as I wrote to you I was already wavering. It is not what you say about 'bearing hard on Jove himself'³ that influences me—there is danger in the anger of either and victory is uncertain, except that the worse cause seems to me to be the better equipped. Nor am I influenced by the Consuls, who are themselves as unstable as a feather or a leaf. What torments me, and has all along, is the question of duty. To stay is certainly the more prudent course, to go overseas is thought the more honourable. Sometimes I feel as though I had rather be thought to have acted imprudently by many than dishonourably by a few. As for your question about

² As Proconsul. Domitius had been appointed to succeed Caesar in Transalpine Gaul. ³ A proverb for violent anger or truculence, here with reference to Pompey.

CICERO

Tullo quod quaeris, illi vero non dubitant quin Caesari praesto futuri in senatumque venturi sint.

- 3 Recentissima tua est epistula Kalendis data, in qua optas congressum pacemque non desperas; sed ego cum haec scribebam nec illos congressuros nec, si congressi essent, Pompeium ad ullam condicionem accessurum putabam. quod videris non dubitare, si consules transeant, quid nos facere oporteat, certe transeunt vel, quo modo nunc est, transierunt. sed memento praeter Appium neminem esse fere qui non ius habeat transeundi; nam aut cum imperio sunt, ut Pompeius, ut Scipio, Sufenas,² Fannius, Voconius, Sestius, ipsi consules, quibus more maiorum concessum est vel omnis adire provincias, aut legati sunt eorum. sed nihil differo;³ quid placeat tibi et quid prope modum rectum sit intellego.

Plura scriberem, si ipse possem; sed, ut mihi videor, potero biduo. Balbi Corneli litterarum exemplum quas eodem die accepi quo tuas misi ad te, ut meam vicem doleres, cum me deri<deri>⁴ videres.

165A (VIII.15A)

Scr. Romae c. Kal. Mart. an. 49

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

- 1 Obsecro te, Cicero, suscipe curam et cogitationem dignissimam tuae virtutis, ut Caesarem et Pompeium perfidia hominum distractos rursus in pristinam concordiam redu-

² setenas (*Ursinus*)

³ desero (*SB*)

⁴ *add. Brunus*

LETTER 165A (VIII.15A)

Lepidus and Tullus, they have quite made up their minds to meet Caesar and take their seats in the Senate.

The most recent of the batch was dispatched on the Kalends, in which you pray for a meeting and do not despair of peace. But at the time I write I don't think they will meet, or that if they do Pompey will agree to any terms. You seem to be in no doubt what I ought to do if the Consuls cross the water. Well, they are certainly crossing, or as things now stand have crossed already. But remember that except for Appius there is practically no one among them not legally entitled to go overseas, being either in military command, like Pompey, Scipio, Sufenas, Fannius, Voconius, Sestius, and the Consuls themselves, who by ancient custom have the right to visit any province they please, or else Legates of these. But I am not postponing the issue. I see what you favour and what, broadly speaking, is right.

I should write more if I could write myself. However I think I shall be able to do so in a couple of days. I am sending you a copy of a letter from Cornelius Balbus which I received the same day as I dispatched your letter to you, so you can be sorry for me when you see how I am mocked.

165A (VIII.15A)

Rome, ca. 1 March 49

BALBUS TO CICERO IMPERATOR

I beg you, dear Cicero, put your thoughts and concern upon a design eminently worthy of your character, I mean the restitution of the old happy relations between Caesar and Pompey, now that intriguers have set them at variance.

CICERO

cas. crede mihi Caesarem non solum fore in tua potestate sed etiam maximum beneficium te sibi dedisse iudicaturum, si huc te reicis. velim idem Pompeius faciat; qui ut adduci tali tempore ad ullam condicionem possit magis opto quam spero. sed cum constiterit et timere desierit, tum incipiam non desperare et tuam auctoritatem plurimum apud eum valituram.

- 2 Quod Lentulum consulem meum voluisti hic remanere, Caesari gratum, mihi vero gratissimum me dius fidius fecisti; nam illum tanti facio qui¹ non Caesarem magis diligam. qui si passus esset nos secum, ut consueveramus, loqui et non se totum etiam et etiam ab sermone nostro avertisset, minus miser quam sum essem. nam cave putes hoc tempore plus me quemquam cruciari, quod eum, quem ante me diligo, video in consulatu quidvis potius esse quam consul^{}. quod si voluerit tibi obtemperare et nobis de Caesare credere et consulatum reliquum Romae peragere, incipiam sperare etiam consilio senatus, auctore te, illo relatore Pompeium et Caesarem coniungi posse; quod si factum erit, satis me vixisse putabo.

- 3 Factum Caesaris de Corfinio totum te probaturum scio; et, quo modo in eius modi re, commodius cadere non potuit quam ut res sine sanguine confieret.

Balbi mei tuique adventu ^{<te>}² delectatum valde gaudeo. is quaecumque tibi de Caesare dixit quaeque Caesar scripsit, sci^{<o>},³ re tibi probabit, quaecumque fortuna eius fuerit, verissime scripsisse.

¹ *utqui *Munro* ² *add. Watt (ante valde Brunus)*

³ *add. Victorius*

¹ There is no other evidence for this alleged desire of Cicero's.

LETTER 165A (VIII.15A)

Believe me when I say that Caesar will not only put himself in your hands but will consider himself under the deepest obligation to you if you will bend your mind that way. I only wish that Pompey may do the like; but I rather pray than hope that he may be brought to any sort of accommodation at such a time. But when he settles down and regains a sense of security, *then* I shall begin not to despair of your influence counting heavily with him.

Caesar is grateful to you for desiring my friend Consul Lentulus to stay here,¹ and I am indeed more than grateful. I have so high a regard for him that Caesar himself is no dearer to me. If he had let me talk to him as I used to do and had not repeatedly and absolutely declined conversation with me, I should be less unhappy than I am. For you must not think that anyone at the present time suffers more keenly than I do when I see a man who is dearer to me than myself become in his Consulship the sorry travesty of a Consul. But if he will listen to you and believe me about Caesar and serve out the rest of his term of office in Rome, I shall begin to hope that by the Senate's advice, with you to inspire and him to propose, Pompey and Caesar may yet come to be reconciled. If and when that happens I shall feel I have lived long enough.

I know that Caesar's action over Corfinium will have your entire approval; and in such circumstances a bloodless finish to the business was the best possible outcome.

I was very glad to hear that you were pleased to see my (and your) dear boy.² Whatever he told you about Caesar and whatever Caesar wrote to you, Caesar will, I am sure, prove to you by his actions, however fortune may go with him, that he wrote it in all sincerity.

² See Letter 160.2.